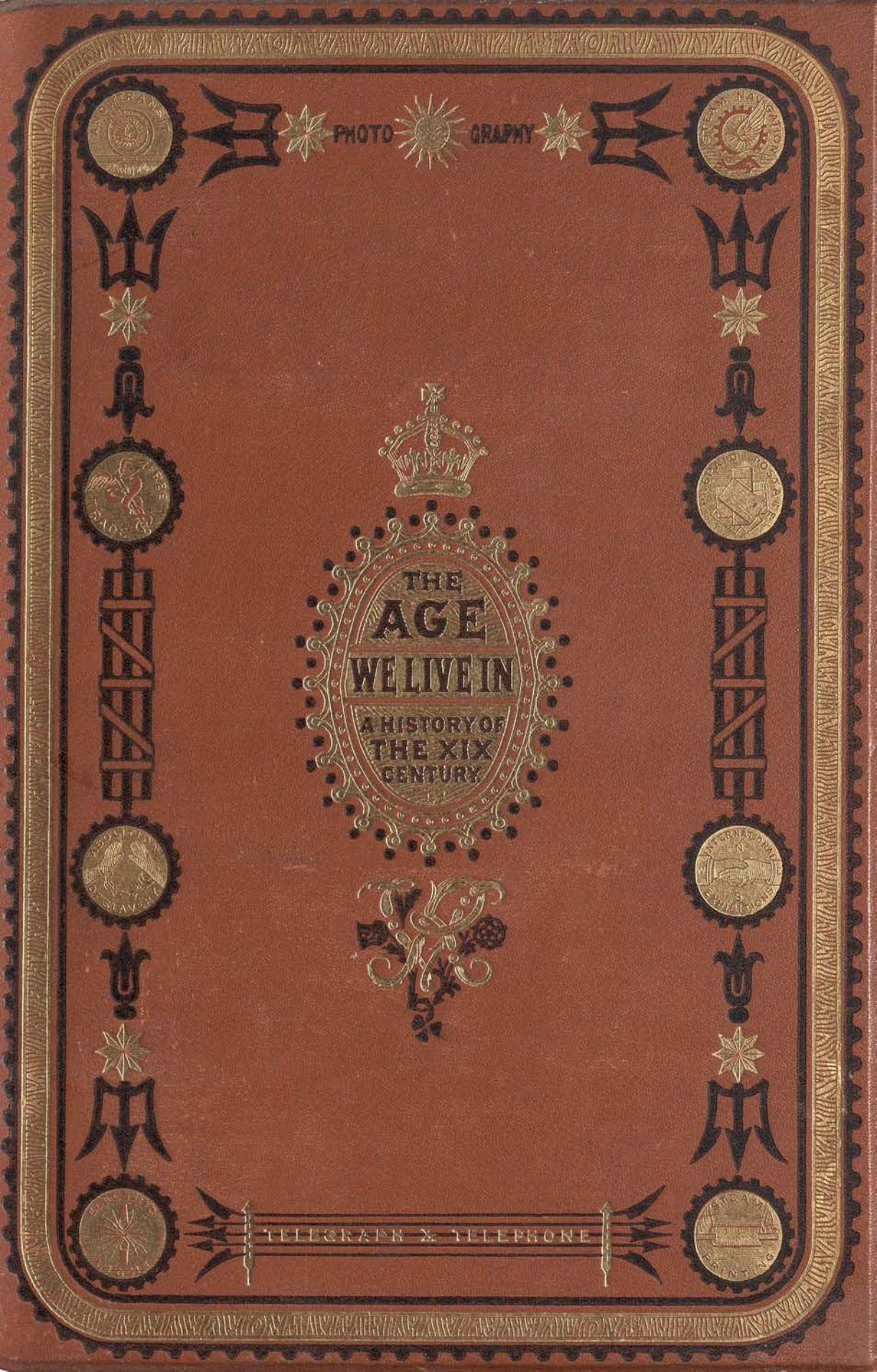
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THE

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. IV.

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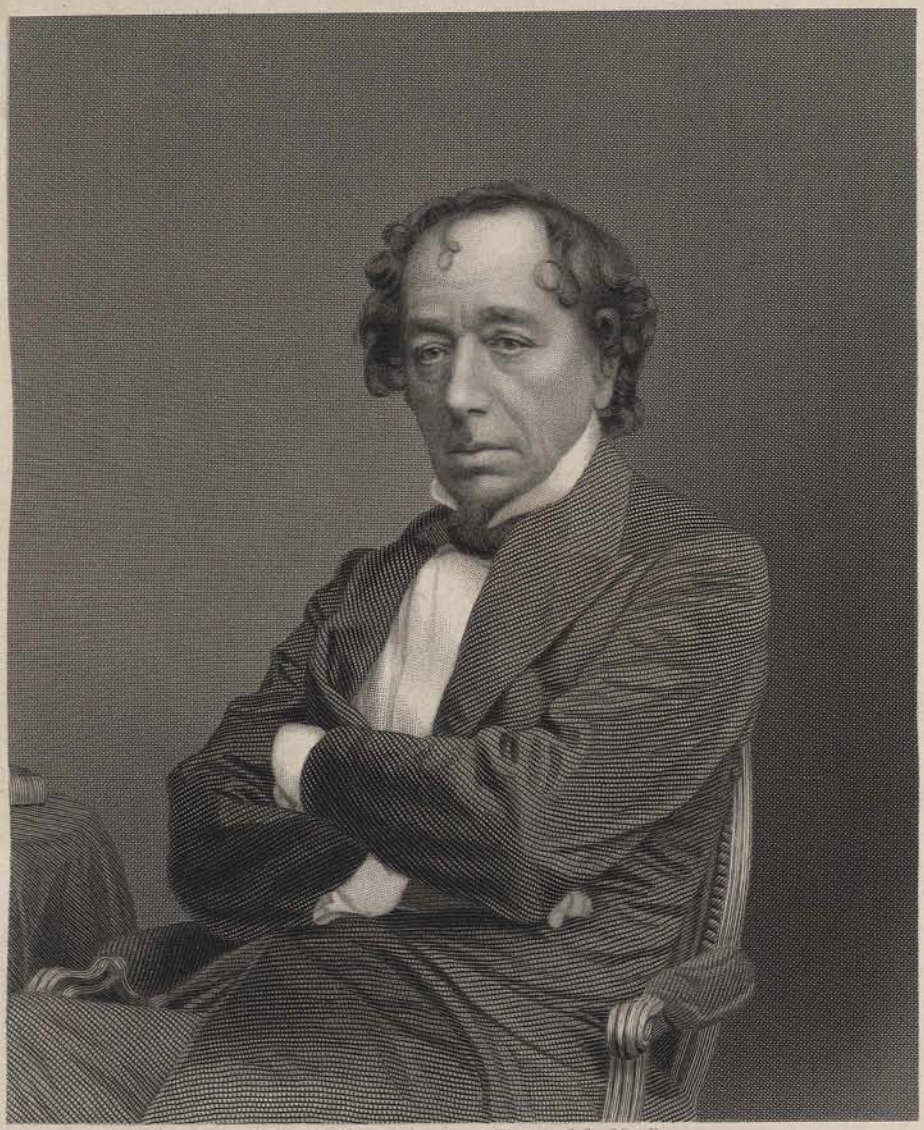

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THE RIGHT HON. BENJAMIN DISRAELI.

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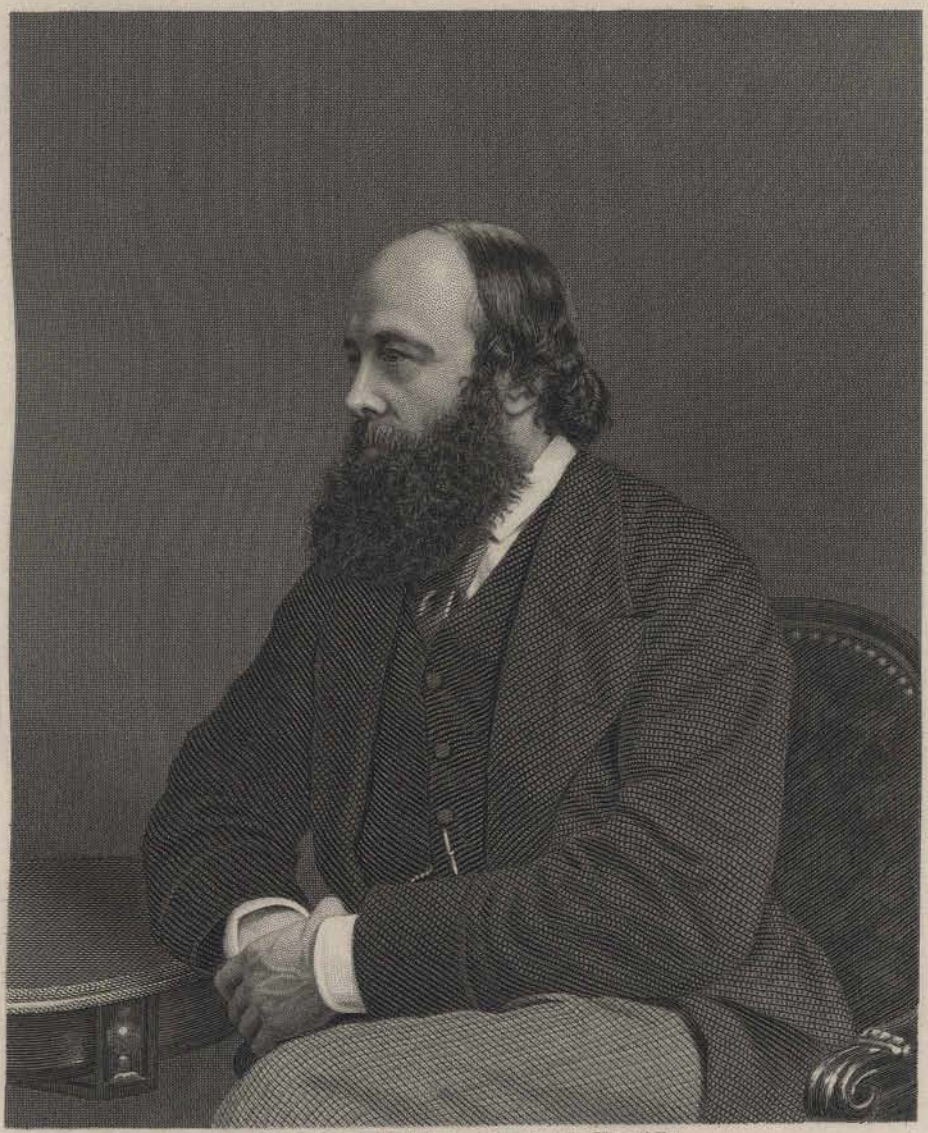

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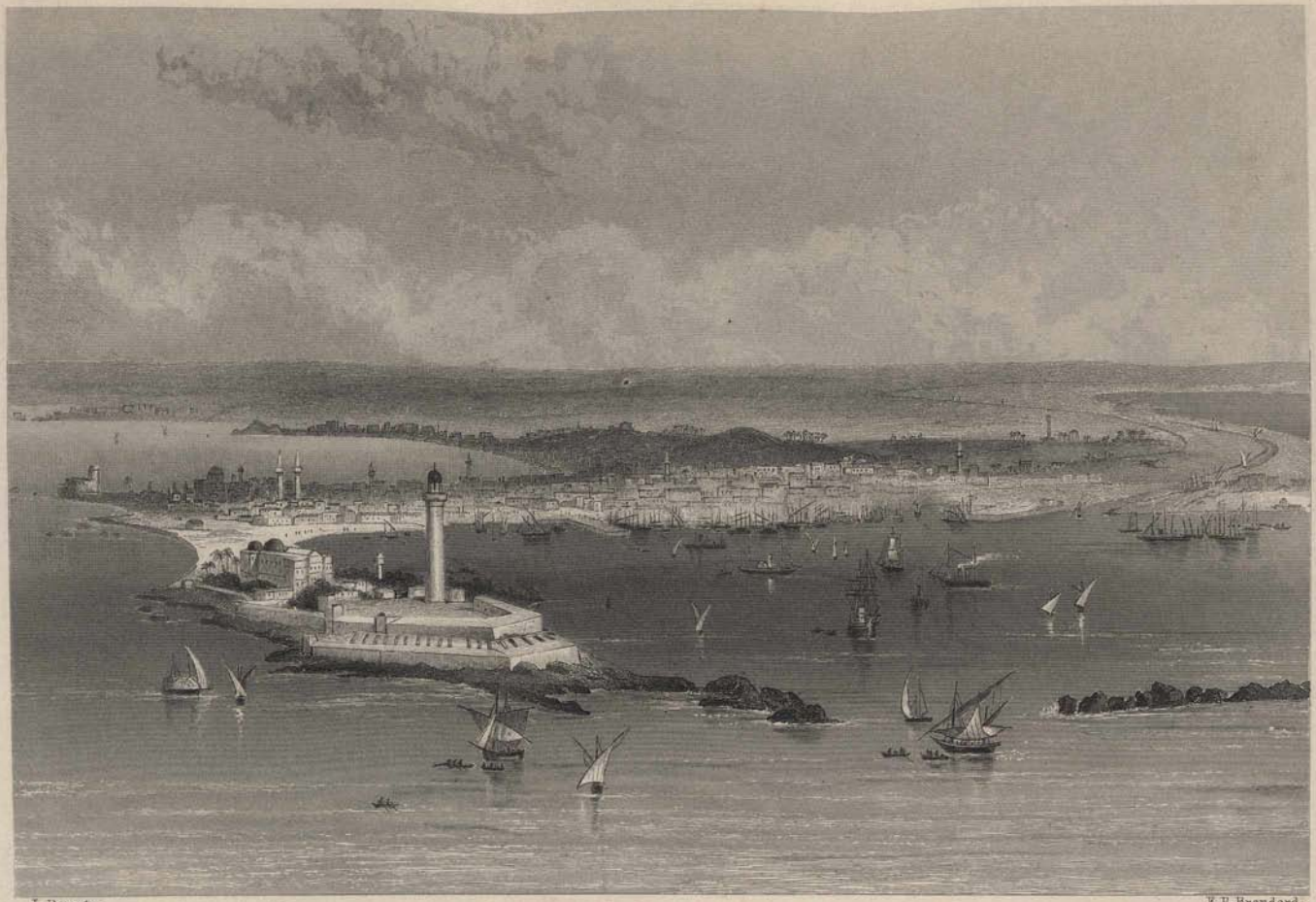

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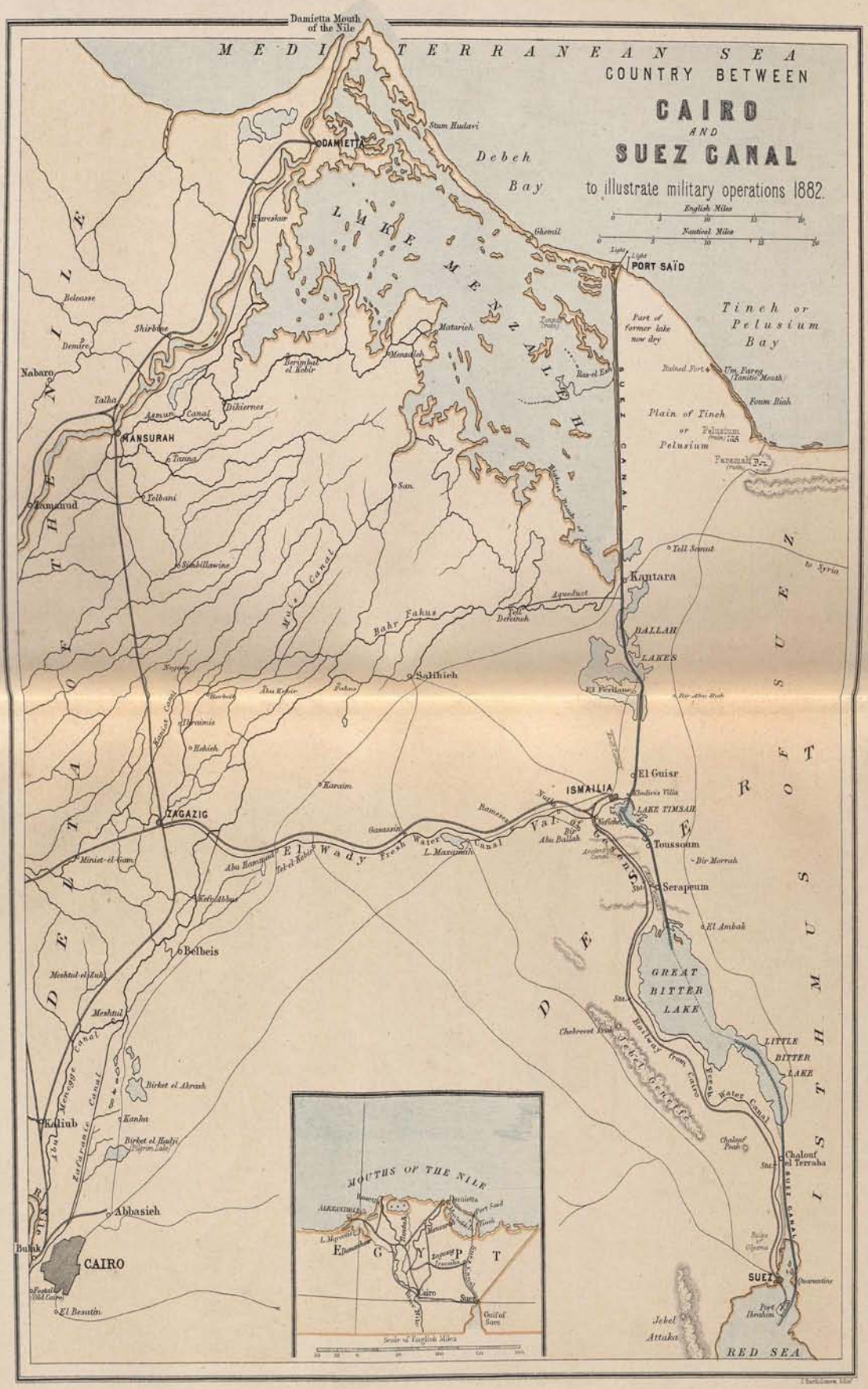

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Commissioners were tried by court-martial and dismissed the service, but it was held that public justice was not satisfied so long as Governor Eyre was allowed to escape due punishment for his misdeeds. An association, called the Jamaica Committee, was formed for the purpose of bringing him and his subordinates to account. A counter association was founded for the purpose of defending him. The Conservative Attorney-General, Sir J. Rolt, was called upon to take proceedings against the ex-Governor of Jamaica, but declined to prosecute, and the Jamaica Committee themselves commenced a prosecution against him, but did not succeed in getting bills of indictment beyond the initiatory stage. They were always thrown out by the grand jury.

One of these unsuccessful attempts afforded the Lord Chief-Justice of England (Sir Alexander Cockburn) an opportunity of delivering a charge to the grand jury, which, with rare ability, stated the facts of the case, analyzed the evidence, and laid down the legal limits of the military power even in cases of insurrection. The whole proceedings, from first to last, in Gordon's case were grossly illegal. He was arrested at a place where martial law did not exist, where the ordinary courts of law were open, and where he could have been tried with all due legal forms and safeguards, and was forcibly conveyed to a place where martial law had been proclaimed. He might have been detained for security, if that had been deemed necessary, on board a British man-of-war, and allowed time and opportunity to prepare his defence and to summon witnesses to prove his innocence. But, instead, he was hurriedly brought to trial before an incompetent and grossly illegal tribunal, constituted in a manner wholly without authority or precedent. The prisoner, thus brought by unlawful means before an illegal tribunal, was tried and condemned upon testimony composed of vague rumours, hearsay talk, statements made when Gordon was not present, and 'depositions made apparently to supplement evidence previously given and not thought strong enough.' 'After the most careful perusal of the evidence given against him,' said Chief-Justice Cockburn, 'I come irresistibly to the conclusion that if the man had been tried upon that evidence!—I must correct myself—he could not have been tried upon that evidence. I was going too far—a great deal too far—in assuming that he could. He could not have been tried upon that evidence. Three-fourths—I had almost said nine-tenths—of the evidence upon which that man was convicted and sentenced to death, was evidence which, according to no known rules—not only of ordinary law, but of military law—according to no rules of right or justice could possibly have been admitted; and it never could have been admitted if a competent judge had presided, or if there had been the advantage of a military officer of any experience in the practice of courts-martial.' Such as the so-called evidence was, even if it had been admissible and true, in the opinion of the Chief-Justice, it was fitted to prove the innocence rather than the guilt of the prisoner. 'So far,' he said, 'from there being any evidence to prove that Mr. Gordon intended this insurrection and rebellion, the evidence, as well as the probability of the case, appears to be exactly the other way.'

The great body of the people of Great Britain cordially concurred in the opinion of the Chief-Justice, and regarded Governor Eyre's conduct as utterly indefensible. It was, indeed, urged on the other side that though he acted illegally he had crushed the rebellion, and that the merciless punishments which he inflicted on the blacks saved the lives of the whites. 'Consider,' it was said by one of his defenders, 'what the horrors of a successful outbreak in Jamaica might be, or even of an outbreak successful for a few days; consider what blood its repression would cost even to the negroes themselves, and then say whether anyone ought to shrink from inflicting a few superfluous floggings and hangings if these would

help to strike terror and make new rebellion impossible? Even the flogging of women—disagreeable work, no doubt, for English soldiers to have to do—if it struck terror into their husbands and brothers, and thus discouraged rebellion, would it not, too, be justified?' Such a mode of defending the Jamaica atrocities—as illogical as it is immoral—would justify any extent of cruelty and any number of official murders, provided the perpetrators of these deeds were of opinion that torturing and killing the innocent would strike terror into the guilty and prevent rebellion. But the apologists for Governor Eyre and his subordinates persistently shut their eyes to the fact that the insurrection had collapsed as suddenly as it commenced; that it was at an end before the soldiers began to burn houses, flog women, and shoot and hang men; that there was not the slightest necessity for the hurried execution of Mr. Gordon, for he was as well secured on board a British man-of-war as he would have been in a British prison; and he could, therefore, without any injury to the public welfare, have been reserved for a fair and legal trial, and deliberate punishment if he had been found to deserve it. The truth seems to be that the Jamaica authorities and old slave-holders, knowing well that the negroes had real and serious grievances to complain of, were panic-stricken when the news of the insurrection reached them, and that Governor Eyre, instead of preserving the calmness and firmness befitting his official position, became infected with the panic and lost his head. Overpowering terror and not deliberate cruelty led to what Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary, termed 'grave acts of undoubted cruelty, oppression, and injustice.' Governor Eyre's official career was of course at an end, but the Government, not much to their credit, decided that he should be reimbursed from the public funds for the expenses he had incurred in consequence of the proceedings taken against him.

It was quite understood that Lord Palmerston's disinclination to alter and extend the Reform Bill was acquiesced in by all parties during the life of that skilful and successful statesman. But as soon as he passed away the truce between the two great political parties came to an end. The advanced Liberals immediately pressed their claims, and Earl Russell and Mr. Gladstone were quite prepared to accede to their demands. The Premier had for some years past indicated an anxious desire to associate his name once more with a measure of Parliamentary Reform, but his efforts had hitherto proved abortive. Now, however, that he was once more at the head of the Government, he fancied that he could renew his proposal to amend and extend the system of representation in more propitious circumstances, and with much greater chances of success. Accordingly, at the opening of Parliament, Her Majesty intimated in the speech from the throne that she had directed information to be procured in reference to the right of voting in the election of members of Parliament, and that when the information was complete 'the attention of Parliament will be called to the result thus obtained, with a view to such improvements in the laws which regulate the right of voting in the election of members of the House of Commons as may tend to strengthen our free institutions and conduce to the public welfare.' The prudence of this step was doubted by many who were not unfriendly to the extension of the franchise. Lord Palmerston is reported to have bequeathed to future Ministers the advice never to introduce a Reform Bill in the first session of a new Parliament, and there were cogent reasons why his successors should have followed this prescient advice. The country was quiescent on the subject; there was no strong desire expressed in any quarter for an amendment of the Reform Bill. And the members of the Lower House, who had just passed through the ordeal of a keenly-contested and costly election, were not likely to regard with much favour a measure which,

if it should become law, would have the effect of compelling them in the course of a few months to run the risks and incur the expenses of another contest. The state of the country, too, was not propitious for such an experiment. The public attention was occupied with apprehensions of cholera, the ravages of the cattle plague, threatened disturbances in Ireland, and an outbreak of war on the Continent, with apprehended riots in Jamaica and a probable collision with the King of Abyssinia. If Earl Russell had followed the wise and witty advice of his old friend Sydney Smith, and had kept a foolometer as a test of public opinion, he would have deferred his Reform Bill till 'a more convenient season.'

The Bill was introduced on the 12th of March by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a House crowded in every part. It had been expected with great curiosity and some anxiety. The former was speedily satisfied and the latter dispelled, for the measure gave satisfaction to no party. The Bill proposed to reduce the county franchise from £50 to £14, and the borough franchise from £10 to £7. There was also a lodger franchise, and a proposal to admit persons having an investment of £50 or upwards in a Savings Bank. It was calculated that altogether 400,000 new electors would be added to the register, of whom 200,000 were supposed to belong to the working classes. Mr. Gladstone's speech in explaining and recommending the provisions of the Bill was powerful and eloquent, but it failed to excite any strong feeling in its favour, either in the House or in the country. The Conservatives, who were opposed to all reform, expressed undisguised hostility to the measure. The small body of Radicals in the House could not feel any enthusiasm for a reform which proposed to make such a small change in the borough franchise, while a considerable number of the Whig supporters of the Government regarded the Bill with secret aversion. As soon as it became evident that the country was indifferent to the fate of the measure, the House became anxious in one way or other to get rid of it. One party alleged that the Bill was founded on no particular principle, and that it did not reach any well-defined basis. Others found fault with it because it would have left our representative system still full of anomalies, and that, while correcting some, it would have created others. A third party, headed by Earl Grosvenor, the eldest son of the Marquis of Westminster, were dissatisfied because the Government had announced their intention to defer their Bill for the redistribution of seats until after the measure for lowering the franchise had passed; and an amendment was moved by Lord Grosvenor, and seconded by Lord Stanley, calling upon them to bring forward their Redistribution Bill at once, which was rejected by only a majority of five in a House of 631 members. The debate lasted eight nights, and was characterized by extraordinary ability and eloquence. The speeches delivered by Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer, Sir Hugh Cairns, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Bright, and especially Mr. Gladstone's reply at the close of the debate, were universally admired. After reminding the Conservative party of the battles they had fought for maintaining civil disabilities on account of religious belief, against the first Reform Act, and in favour of Protection, he said—

'You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side. The great social forces which move us in their might and majesty, and which the tumult of our debates does not for a moment impede or disturb—these great social forces are against you. They are marshalled on our side, and the banner which we now carry, though perhaps at some moment it may droop on our sinking heads, yet it soon will float again in the eye of heaven, and it will be borne by the firm hands of the united people of the three kingdoms, perhaps not to an easy, but to a certain, and to a not distant victory.'

The smallness of their majority must have convinced the Government that they had little or no prospect of being able to carry the measure, but they resolved to proceed with it. Meanwhile they brought forward,

on Monday, May 7th, their Bill for the redistribution of seats, and also their Bills dealing with the representation of Scotland and Ireland, so that the whole of the Government scheme of Reform was now before the House; but the opposition of the dissatisfied members was in no degree diminished. The Conservative party, who at this time were decidedly hostile in principle to any attempt to lower the franchise, were joined by a section of the Liberals who on this point coincided with their sentiments. Their leader was Mr. Robert Lowe, who had been Vice-President of the Council in Lord Palmerston's Administration, and had resigned his office in consequence of an adverse vote of the House of Commons, which was afterwards acknowledged to have been entirely undeserved, and was in consequence rescinded. He was an able and accomplished man, but hard, cynical, and sarcastic, and seemed to take delight in making unpleasant remarks, and giving pain to his opponents. His speeches had no pretensions to eloquence, but they abounded in pungent, pointed, epigrammatic sayings, easily remembered and quoted. There is no reason to doubt that he honestly hated the Reform Bill, as calculated to strengthen the Democratic party in the country, and to put great power into the hands of political demagogues and 'banded unions.' United with him was Mr. Horsman, nephew of the Earl of Stair, who had at one time been Chief Secretary for Ireland, and might have risen to even higher office but for an irritable temper and impracticable disposition. Speaking of him Mr. Bright said—

'The right honourable gentleman is the first of the new party who has expressed his great grief, who has entered into what may be called his political cave of Adullam, and he has called about him everyone that was in distress, and everyone that was discontented.* He has long been anxious to form a party in this House. There is scarcely anyone on this side of the House who is able to address the House with effect, or to take much part in our debates, whom he has not tried to bring over to his party or cabal, and at last he has succeeded in hooking the member for Calne [Mr. Lowe]. I know there was an opinion expressed many years ago by a member of the Treasury Bench and of the Cabinet that two men would make a party. When a party is formed of two men so amiable, so discreet, as the two right honourable gentlemen, we may hope to see for the first time in Parliament a party perfectly harmonious and distinguished by mutual and unbroken trust. But there is one difficulty which it is impossible to remove. This party of two reminds me of the Scotch terrier which was so covered with hair that you could not tell which was the head and which was the tail of it.'

The party thus humorously described and designated speedily received considerable accessions from the Palmerstonian Whigs who thought the Bill unreasonable, or who were averse to the disfranchisement of the smaller boroughs, or who dreaded the expense and risk of a new election. The position taken up by this section of the Ministerialists encouraged the Conservatives to exert themselves to the utmost to get rid of the Bill, and thus to destroy the Government. The two parties combined, however, did not venture to propose in direct terms that the Bill should be thrown out, but they sought to bring about its rejection in a sinister and circuitous way. The Government acceded to a proposition that the Franchise and Redistribution Bills should be combined and submitted to one Committee. Amendments to the motion to go into Committee, however, kept pouring in, principally from the Adullamites. Sir R. Knightley moved that it be an instruction to the Committee to make provision for the better prevention of bribery and corruption, and carried his motion against the Government by a majority of ten, though its real

* Mr. Bright's allusion was to 1 Sam. xxii. 1, 2, 'David escaped to the cave of Adullam, and everyone that was in distress, and everyone that was in debt, and everyone that was discontented, gathered themselves unto him, and he became a captain over them.' It was shrewdly suspected and alleged at the time that if Mr. Lowe and Mr. Horsman had not, as Mr. Bright said, 'been left out of the daily ministrations' when the Government was constituted, their opposition to the Bill would have been less acrimonious. The name of Adullamites, which they received, is likely to become permanent in the political history of our country.

and scarcely concealed object was to destroy the Bill. When the Bill at last got into Committee the strife was renewed more keenly than ever. Lord Stanley moved that the clauses relating to the county franchise should be postponed until the redistribution of seats should first have been dealt with, but the motion was rejected by a majority of twenty-seven. Mr. Walpole proposed that the county franchise should be fixed at £20 instead of £14, but his amendment was negatived by a majority of fourteen. Mr. Ward Hunt moved that in defining the county franchise, rating should be made the standard of value instead of rental, but his motion was lost by 280 votes to 273. Lord Dunkellin, eldest son of the Marquis of Clanricarde, on the 18th of June made a similar proposal respecting the borough franchise. He pleaded that rating should be substituted for rental, on the ground that the alteration would prove an insurmountable 'barrier to universal suffrage,' while it would admit the best qualified of the working class to the suffrage. It would, however, have had the practical effect of raising the franchise to £8 instead of £6. After a keen debate a division was taken in a House of 619 members, and the amendment was carried by a majority of eleven. The announcement was received with the most tumultuous demonstrations of joy by the Conservatives and their allies. Lord Russell's scheme of Reform and his Ministry thus came to an end together.

CHAPTER VII.

The Derby Administration—Popular agitation on the subject of a Reform Bill—The Hyde Park Riot—London Meeting in support of Reform—Laying of the Cable between Europe and America—Position of the Government in the House of Commons—Their resolution to deal with the Reform Question—Their mode of procedure—Dissatisfaction of the House—The Ten Minutes Bill—Resignation of three Members of the Cabinet—Provisions of the Bill ultimately introduced—The Compound Householder—The Tea-room Party—Changes made in the Reform Bill—New Constituencies—The 'Conservative Surrender'—Reception of the Bill by the Lords—Their amendments rejected by the Commons—The Bill becomes Law—Changes made by it in the Representative System—The 'Education' of the Conservative Party—Autumn Session of Parliament—The Abyssinian Captives—Expedition sent for their release—The Irish Question—Mr. Maguire's Motion—Mr. Gladstone's Resolutions—Lord Stanley's Amendment—Return of the Abyssinian Expedition—Death and Character of Lord Brougham—Dissolution of Parliament—Resignation of the Ministry—Mr. Gladstone's Administration.

On the resignation of the Russell Administration, the Queen intrusted Lord Derby with the task of forming a new Ministry. It was generally understood that owing to his advanced age and infirm health, and his aversion to the labours and responsibilities of official life, he was reluctant to undertake the task imposed upon him, but fidelity to his party, as well as the duty he owed to his sovereign and to the country, left him no alternative. He attempted to form a Coalition Ministry, and solicited Mr. Lowe to become a member of the Cabinet, but the offer was declined, and the Adullamites publicly intimated that they were bound to prove that they had not been actuated by ambitious or selfish motives in overturning Earl Russell's Government. Lord Derby's new Ministry differed little from the one he had formed in 1852. Mr. Disraeli became once more Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, Lord Chelmsford was appointed Lord Chancellor, Lord Stanley became Foreign Secretary, Lord Carnarvon Colonial Secretary, Mr. Walpole assumed the management of the Home Office, and Lord Cranbourne (formerly Lord Robert Cecil) was intrusted with the charge of the affairs of India. The Marquis of Abercorn, a popular Irish nobleman, was nominated Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Mayo Chief Secretary. The formation of the Ministry was not completed until the 9th of July. The business of the session was brought to a close as speedily as possible, and the Parliament was prorogued by Commission, with the usual formalities, on the 10th of August.

While the Reform Bill was under discussion the people displayed the utmost indifference, but when Mr. Gladstone's unskilful strategy, and the divisions of the Liberal party, had proved fatal to the measure, the artisans of London and the great manufacturing towns met in vast numbers and denounced, in no measured terms, the members of Parliament who had persisted in withholding what they regarded as their rights. The Reformers of the metropolis resolved to hold a monster meeting in Hyde Park, which was to be presided over by Mr. Edmond Beales, president of the Reform League. The Government were of opinion that such an assemblage would be dangerous to the public peace, and a notice forbidding the meeting was issued, signed by Sir Richard Mayne, the head of the London Police. The council of the League, however, conceived that the authorities had no legal right to take this step, and they resolved to disregard the prohibition. Accordingly, on the 23rd of July, numerous processions, with banners and bands of music, marched towards Hyde Park, but found the gates closed. They made a formal demand for admission, which was refused, on the authority of the Chief Commissioner, by the police who guarded the Park. Mr. Beales and his friends then re-entered their car-

riage and proceeded to Trafalgar Square, followed by a large crowd. A meeting was held there in the most orderly manner, resolutions were passed in favour of the extension of the suffrage, along with votes of thanks to Messrs. Gladstone and Bright, who had so zealously exerted themselves in the cause.

Meantime a large and disorderly crowd, composed of London roughs and pickpockets, with a mixture of sightseers and mischievous youths, remained at the entrance to the Park, near Hyde Park Corner. They drove in the railings near the Marble Arch, which had not been very securely fixed, and easily overpowering the resistance offered by the comparatively small body of police, they poured tumultuously into the Park. They did a good deal of injury to the flowers and shrubs; several encounters took place with the police, and a few of the mob were made prisoners; but the tumult was speedily suppressed, and no serious mischief was done. It is alleged, however, that the Ministry regarded the riot with great apprehension, and that it convinced them of the necessity of passing a measure of reform. In the course of the autumn vast bodies of men were collected at Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow, and other seats of manufacturing and commercial industry, to demand an extension of the suffrage. These great open-air meetings were all peaceable and orderly, but considerable apprehensions were entertained that the march in military order of the organized working men's societies of London through the West End streets, which was announced to take place on the 3rd of December, might lead to dangerous disturbances. Their leaders boasted that their numbers would amount to 200,000, but it turned out that they did not exceed 25,000, and the procession was attended with no more serious inconvenience than the interruption for a day of public traffic and business. The meeting which was held at St. James' Hall, London, is noteworthy for the rebuke which Mr. Bright administered to Mr. Ayrton, who had found fault with the Queen for not affording some mark of recognition to the people who had gathered in large numbers in front of the Palace. 'I am not accustomed,' said the great orator, 'to stand up in defence of those who are possessors of crowns, but I could not sit and hear that observation without a sensation of pain. I think there has been by many persons great injustice done to the Queen in reference to her desolate widowed position; and I venture to say this, that a woman, be she the queen of a great realm, or be she the wife of one of your labouring men, who can keep alive in her heart a great sorrow for the lost object of her life and affection, is not at all wanting in a great and generous sympathy for you.' The tremendous burst of cheering with which these remarks were received showed that zeal for reform had in no way diminished the loyalty of the people, or the strength of their affection and sympathy for their widowed sovereign.

Just before the adjournment of Parliament (July 27th, 1866) an event took place which was at once a great scientific exploit and an important social benefit—the laying of the cable between Europe and America. The attempt to unite the two continents by means of inter-oceanic telegraphy had been repeatedly made, but hitherto without success. The first effort was made in 1857, but the cable broke when the vessels engaged in laying it had only got about 300 miles from the west coast of Ireland. Next year the enterprise was renewed, but was frustrated mainly by stormy weather. In the course of the summer another attempt was made, the cable was actually laid, and for a brief space communication between Europe and America was kept up. Queen Victoria congratulated the President of the United States upon 'the successful completion of the great international work,' and expressed her conviction that 'the President will unite with her in fervently hoping that the electric cable, which now connects Great Britain with the United States, will prove an

additional link between the nations, whose friendship is founded on their common interests and reciprocal esteem.' There were great rejoicings in both countries; but the signals suddenly became faint, and the messages undecipherable, and the communication was speedily broken off. This much, however, had been gained, that though the construction of the cable had been found defective, the practicability of the project had been proved beyond doubt. Another attempt made in 1865 also failed, but at last in 1866, by dint of great skill, patience, and perseverance, in spite of many difficulties, the enterprise was crowned with success. 'Our shore end has just been laid,' the first telegram announced, 'and a most perfect cable, under God's blessing, completes telegraphic communication between England and the continent of America.' Very appropriately, one of the earliest messages was from the British sovereign. 'The Queen congratulates the President on the successful completion of an undertaking which she hopes may serve as an additional bond of union between the United States and England.' An answer was received breathing the same spirit—'The President of the United States acknowledges with profound gratification the receipt of Her Majesty's despatch, and cordially reciprocates the hope that the cable that now unites the Eastern and Western hemispheres may serve to strengthen and perpetuate peace and amity between the Government of England and the Republic of the United States.'

The agitation throughout the country, during the autumn and winter, on the question of Reform, had produced a great impression on the mind of the new Prime Minister. He was in a decided minority in the House of Commons, and was well aware that, as he owed his position to the dissensions of the Liberal members rather than to the strength of the Conservative party in the country, it would be impossible for him to retain office unless he could in some way get rid of the troublesome question of Reform. Owing to the differences of opinion that were well known to exist in the Cabinet, no steps were taken in regard to this matter until the assembling of Parliament was at hand, when Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli succeeded in persuading their colleagues to allow them to introduce a measure which they declared should be so framed as to strengthen rather than weaken the Conservative cause. Accordingly, when the Parliament opened on February 5th, 1867, the speech from the throne intimated that the attention of Parliament would be again called to the state of the representation of the people, and the hope was expressed, in terms characteristically ambiguous, that their 'deliberations, conducted in a spirit of moderation and mutual forbearance, may lead to the adoption of measures which, without unduly disturbing the balance of power, shall freely extend the elective franchise.'

On the 11th of February Mr. Disraeli announced that the Government had resolved to proceed by way of resolution. He informed the House that Reform was no longer to be a question determining the fate of Ministers—in other words, that the Government had no fixed resolution on the subject. Their object was to bring out the prevailing intention or bias of the House, and this once ascertained the Ministry would conform to it, and make it the ground and measure of their plans. He gave it to be understood that the Bill was to be the Bill of the House of Commons rather than of the Government.* He thought that if the two parties would agree beforehand among themselves as to the sort of measure they wanted, the rest would be easy. No doubt this would have been the case, but it was a very chimerical

* A picture in one of the comic journals represented a number of M.P.'s, with Russell and Bright at their head, thronging with eager curiosity to look at a large picture of Reform in a magnificent frame. Disraeli is standing on the other side, and with great solemnity and earnestness is drawing aside a curtain, revealing a perfectly blank canvas, which he invites them to fill up as they think best.

expectation that Conservatives and Liberals, whose traditions, opinions, and objects in regard to the question of Reform were wide as the poles asunder, would agree as to the nature and extent of the measure which should be brought forward by the Government. The resolutions, when they were submitted to the House, were quite in keeping with this absurd notion. One of them declared that 'it is contrary to the constitution of this realm to give any one class or interest a predominating power over the rest of the community.' Another called on the House to affirm that it is expedient to revise the existing redistribution of seats, and a third affirmed that in carrying out this revision the main consideration should be 'the expediency of supplying representation to places not at present represented, and which may be considered entitled to that privilege.' Such platitudes as these were not likely to be of much service in promoting the work of creating a Bill which would satisfy both sides of the House. But there were other resolutions, declaring that the franchise should be based upon the principle of rating, that there should be plurality of votes in boroughs, and that votes might be given by means of polling papers, which were certain to excite a violent discussion and to show a wide difference of opinion.

The reception given to these resolutions by the House made it evident that it would be hopeless to press them. Mr. Lowe and Mr. Bright agreed that it would be a mere waste of time to discuss such proposals. On the following day the Government intimated that they would not ask the House to proceed further with the resolutions. On the 25th of February Mr. Disraeli gave an outline of the kind of Reform Bill which he intended to introduce. The occupation franchise was to be reduced to £6 in the boroughs and to £20 in the counties—the qualification in both cases to be based on rating. A vote was to be given to every man who had £50 in the funds, or £30 in a Savings Bank, or who paid 20*s.* in direct taxes during the year. The franchise was also to be conferred on ministers of religion, lawyers, doctors, certified schoolmasters, and university graduates. The manner in which these proposals were received by the House convinced the Government that they would not give satisfaction. Next day Mr. Disraeli intimated that he would introduce a new Bill on the subject. These sudden and repeated changes created great surprise and curiosity, but in a short time the whole story transpired. 'Two schemes,' said Lord Derby, 'were originally brought under the consideration of the Government, and both differed as to the amount and extent of the franchise. The more extensive of the two schemes was that to which the resolutions had originally pointed, and more especially the fifth, under which would have been introduced the system of plurality of votes, which might allow us to extend the franchise lower than we otherwise would. One distinguished member of the Cabinet (General Peel) entertained strong objections to the course pursued, but in order to secure unanimity he waived those objections. I then hoped that the larger and more comprehensive scheme would have been fixed on; but to my surprise and regret I found that two of my most valued colleagues, on reconsideration, disapproved of the scheme, and felt compelled to withdraw the assent they had given to it. Of course I at once relieved the third colleague from the assent he had given, and it then became necessary for the Government to consider what course they would adopt. Ultimately we determined to submit to the House of Commons a measure which we did not consider satisfactory, but which we hoped might for a time settle the question. But it very shortly became obvious that on neither side of the House would the proposition of the Government meet with a concurrence, and therefore it became necessary last week to consider whether we should adhere to our second proposition or revert to the first. We resolved on taking the latter course. Our scheme will in a short time be laid before

the other House of Parliament, and I trust that before the expiration of the present week I shall be able to supply the place of the colleagues I have had the misfortune to lose.'

The explanations of the Prime Minister respecting the extraordinary changes of policy made by the Ministry were by no means complete or satisfactory. But the statements made by Sir John Pakington, who was transferred from the Admiralty to the War Office on his re-election at Droitwich, placed the whole circumstances in a singular and most amusing light. The Government, it appeared, had prepared two Reform Bills—the one larger and more comprehensive than the other. The more liberal Bill was to be first offered for the acceptance of the House. If it met with a cold reception, then the other and more restricted measure was to be produced. At a meeting of the Cabinet on Saturday, February 23rd, General Peel had some scruples about the comprehensive Bill, but at the urgent request of Lord Cranbourne he consented to waive his objections, and the Cabinet broke up under the impression that they were perfectly agreed, and that the Bill was to be introduced on Monday, the 25th. Next day (Sunday), however, Lord Cranbourne went carefully through the figures, and came to the conclusion that the Bill would differ little in many boroughs from household suffrage, pure and simple. On making this discovery he immediately tendered his resignation, and Lord Carnarvon followed his example. A meeting of the Cabinet was hastily summoned on Monday to decide what was to be done in these circumstances. By this time, Sir John Pakington says, it was past two o'clock. Lord Derby had to address a Conservative meeting at half-past two, and at half-past four Mr. Disraeli had to introduce his promised Bill in the House of Commons. 'Literally,' Sir John said, 'they had not half an hour—they had not more than ten minutes—to make up their minds what course they were to adopt.' In this emergency it was resolved that Mr. Disraeli should introduce 'not the Bill agreed to on Saturday, but the alternative measure which they had contemplated in the event of their large and liberal measure being rejected by the House of Commons.' Sir John would not say that they had not made a mistake. If they had had even an hour or two for consideration they perhaps would not have taken that course. But they had not an hour—they had only ten minutes—and so they committed themselves to what he admitted was 'a false course of procedure.' In the afternoon Mr. Disraeli brought in his second-class measure, which received the designation that it has ever since borne of 'the Ten Minutes Bill.'

The reception given to the Bill, introduced in these ridiculous circumstances, showed plainly that it would be repudiated by both sides of the House. It was, therefore, withdrawn next day, as we have already mentioned, and on the 18th March Mr. Disraeli brought in the comprehensive Bill based on the resolutions, and General Peel, Lord Cranbourne, and Lord Carnarvon resigned their offices. Sir Stafford Northcote succeeded Lord Cranbourne as Secretary of State for India, Sir John Pakington replaced General Peel at the War Department, and the Duke of Buckingham became Colonial Minister in the room of Lord Carnarvon. Mr. Corry was made First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Duke of Richmond was appointed President of the Board of Trade—the office vacated by Sir Stafford Northcote.

The Bill proposed to confer the franchise in boroughs on all householders who paid rates of 20*s.* a year in direct taxation, or who had a certain sum of money in the funds or Savings Bank. There was also an educational franchise, and a proposal to give a double vote to a ratepaying occupier who paid 20*s.* of assessed taxes. But there were so many checks and counterbalancing provisions, all intended to limit the extent of the franchise, that, as Mr. Bright justly said, the whole

scheme was a plan for offering something with the one hand and quietly withdrawing it with the other. It might be fitly described in the words of Mr. Burke with reference to the Government constructed by Lord Chatham in 1766—it was a measure 'so checkered and speckled; a piece of joinery so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaic; such a tesselated pavement without cement—here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white, —that it was, indeed, a very curious thing, but utterly unsafe to touch and insecure to stand on.' As might have been expected, the measure was severely handled by members on both sides of the House. Lord Cranbourne declared that the securities would be swept away immediately, and that household suffrage, pure and simple, would be the result. Mr. Disraeli protested emphatically that the Government would never introduce household suffrage, 'pure and simple,' but this the measure became in the end. The dual vote was ridiculed on all sides, and was at once dropped from the Bill. So were the fancy franchises. A new lodger franchise was introduced. The Bill required that an occupier should have lived two years in the house for which he was rated before he was entitled to vote. That period was reduced to one year, in spite of the strenuous opposition of the Government. There still remained, however, one limitation to the extension of the franchise, so powerful that if it was retained it would in some boroughs have actually reduced the existing number of voters.

In most of the large towns in England great numbers of the occupiers of small houses were not themselves rated for the relief of the poor. The landlords were allowed to compound for the rates of these tenants. They became responsible for their payment, and received a certain reduction in return for saving the parochial authorities the trouble and risk of collecting them. The amount was, of course, included in the rent, so that, after all, the rates were really paid by the tenants, though their names did not appear on the rate-book. These compound householders were so numerous that they were alleged to constitute two-thirds of all the occupiers under £10. On the 5th of April a meeting of about 140 members of the Liberal party was held at Mr. Gladstone's house to decide upon the course which should be taken in regard to the compound householders. It was decided that Mr. Coleridge should propose a resolution to the effect that 'in every parliamentary borough the occupiers of tenements below a given rateable value be relieved from liability to personal rating,' but that at the same time they should not be entitled to vote. The object of this proposal was to exclude the very poorest class of householders from the franchise, and at the same time to secure that in every case where a house was rated the occupier should obtain the franchise, whether the rates were paid by his landlord or by himself. A party of from forty to fifty advanced Liberals, however, were dissatisfied with this attempt to exclude a portion of the householders from the franchise, and they held a meeting in the tea-room of the House of Commons, at which they resolved that they would only support the first clause of Mr. Coleridge's resolution, which applied to the law of rating. The resolution was of necessity altered to meet their views, and in its amended form was at once accepted by the Government. The 'Tea-room party,' as they were called, were vehemently assailed for their unfaithfulness to their colours. 'What can be done in parliamentary parties,' said Mr. Bright at a great Reform demonstration at Birmingham, 'if every man is to pursue his own little game? A costermonger and donkey would take a week to travel from here to London, and yet by running athwart the London and North-Western line they might bring to total destruction a great express train; and so very small men, who during their whole political lives have not advanced the question of Reform by one hairbreadth or by

one moment of time, can in a critical hour like this throw themselves athwart the objects of a great party, and mar, it may be, a great measure that sought to affect the interests of the country beneficially for all time.'

An amendment proposed by Mr. Gladstone, with the object of making the direct and personal payment of rates by the householder not essential to the possession of the franchise, was rejected by a majority through the aid of a number of Liberal members, who joined the Government in opposing it. Mr. Gladstone was so much mortified at this result that he withdrew the remaining amendments of which he had given notice, and announced his intention to abstain personally from any further attempt to alter the basis of the borough franchise presented by the Bill. Other members, however, persevered in their efforts to amend its provisions. It would be tedious to enumerate all the changes that were made upon the measure, or the vicissitudes that it underwent during its progress. It was repeatedly in imminent danger of shipwreck, but the Ministry were determined to obtain the credit of passing a Reform Bill of some kind; since the country was bent on having reform, they might as well comply with the demand and keep their places. Mr. Disraeli repeatedly declared that if this or that amendment were forced upon them they would withdraw the Bill, but they always, after considering the matter, thought better of it, and agreed to accept the alteration. Even the compound householder, who had caused so much trouble, was at last got rid of by the abolition of the system of compounding. The Government, to the surprise of their supporters as well as of their opponents, struck their flag on what they had professed to regard as 'a vital point,' and consented to have the name of every occupier put on the rate-book, and to give every occupier a vote. Household suffrage, pure and simple, was thus established in all the borough constituencies. The occupation franchise in counties, which the Bill proposed to fix at £15, was reduced to £12. All the ten changes which Mr. Gladstone had enumerated as necessary to render the measure satisfactory, but which no one at first expected the Government to accept, were adopted with the exception of one, the least important of them all. The Bill, in fact, now went further than either Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Bright desired, and had been transformed into a thoroughly Radical measure. With regard to the redistribution clauses of the Bill, they underwent considerable alterations in Committee. In some cases the Government succeeded in defeating the proposed amendments; in others they were compelled to accept them. It was at first intended that boroughs with only 7000 inhabitants returning two members should in future return only one. The standard was raised to 10,000. Four boroughs were disfranchised—Reigate, Totness, Great Yarmouth, and Lancaster—which had been found guilty of general and scandalous bribery and corruption. Two seats were to be assigned to Hackney, two to Chelsea, with Kensington; one to each of twelve boroughs, which up to this time had not been represented; an additional member — making three members each—were given to Liverpool, Manchester, and Leeds. Two members were given to West Kent, North Lancashire, and East Surrey. South Lancashire was divided into two districts, and two members were assigned to each division. Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, Devonshire, Somersetshire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Cheshire, Norfolk, Staffordshire, and Essex were divided into three electoral districts, each of which was to be represented by two members. A member was given to the University of London; but the proposal of the Government to unite with it, for electoral purposes, the High Church University of Durham was rejected by the House.

The 'Conservative Surrender,' as the *Quarterly Review* termed it, was complete. All the securities and precautions with which the Bill bristled when it passed the

second reading had now wholly disappeared. 'A clear majority of votes in a clear majority of constituencies had been made over to those who have no other property than the labour of their hands.' It was not without reason that General Peel said that 'the proceedings in reference to this Bill had taught him three things—first, that nothing had so little vitality as "a vital point;" second, that nothing was so insecure as a "security;" and third, that nothing was so elastic as the conscience of a Cabinet Minister.' The measure, said Lord Cranbourne, was chiefly the work of the Opposition. 'Ten demands had been made by the leader; one of them, referring to provisions for excluding the poorest and most dependent voters from the franchise, was of a Conservative tendency; the other nine were Liberal. The first had failed; the other nine had been carried. The dual vote was dead. The two years' residence was cut down to one. The lodger franchise was introduced. The distinction between compounder and non-compounder was removed. The tax franchises were abolished. The group of miscellaneous by-franchises had disappeared. The occupation franchise in counties was reduced. The redistribution of seats was enlarged. The voting papers had been condemned. Such was the triumph of the Government.' Throughout the whole of the protracted discussions on the Bill Mr. Disraeli had to listen to such taunts and sarcastic remarks, as well as to bitter observations on his inconsistency, double-dealing, and betrayal of the Conservative cause. The denunciations of his policy were peculiarly severe at the third reading of the Bill. 'I should deeply regret,' said Lord Cranbourne, 'to find that the House of Commons has applauded a policy of legerdemain; and I should, above all things, regret that this great gift to the people—if gift you think it—should have been purchased at the cost of a political betrayal which has no parallel in our parliamentary annals, which strikes at the root of all mutual confidence, which is the very soul of our party government, and on which only the strength and freedom of our representative institutions can be sustained.'

The Bill was read a third time on the 15th of July, and was sent up to the House of Lords next day. The second reading was moved by Earl Derby on the 21st. An amendment, proposed by Earl Grey, was negatived, and after a debate extending over two evenings, the Bill was read a second time without a division. At this critical moment Lord Derby was unfortunately seized with illness, and Lord Malmesbury was in consequence intrusted with the charge of the measure. In the absence of the Premier the peers seem to have imagined that they could alter the Bill at their pleasure. They, indeed, accepted the household franchise, but they imposed upon the occupier below £10 the obligation of paying the borough rate as well as the poor rate, in order to obtain the franchise. They raised the copyhold and leasehold qualifications from £5 to £10. They reintroduced the optional use of voting-papers, which, as Lord Cranbourne remarked, were to transfer the business of the polling-booth to the magistrates' drawing-room. On the motion of Lord Cairns they raised the lodger franchise from £10 to £15, and enacted that in any contested election in which three members are to be chosen, no elector should be allowed to vote for more than two. They conferred upon the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge the privilege of voting at elections in these boroughs, as well as in the university elections. These attempts to restrict the operation of the Bill roused the indignation of the citizens of London and other great towns who were chiefly interested in the lodger clause, and the machinery of agitation was at once put in operation. It was evident that if the Government should think fit to adhere to these changes in the Bill, they would rouse a storm of opposition which they had no power to resist. Lord Derby, in spite of the strong advice of his medical attendants, made his appearance in the House of Lords

on the 6th of August, and proposed that the Peers should reverse their decision with regard to the lodger franchise. 'Whereupon the whole majority, obedient to the word of command, executed, with military precision, its right-about face, and replaced with unanimity the figure they had condemned.' Several unsuccessful attempts were made by Liberal and independent peers to enlarge the scheme of redistribution contained in the Bill; a clause was added, enacting that Parliament need not henceforth be dissolved on the demise of the Crown. Another clause was moved by Earl Grey, providing that a member of the House of Commons accepting an office of profit under the Crown, which did not disqualify him for Parliament, should not vacate his seat, but it was opposed by Lord Derby, who expressed his preference for the arrangement already sanctioned by the other House, that re-election should not be required in the case of a member who merely exchanged one office for another.

When the Bill was returned to the House of Commons, the amendments introducing the use of voting-papers, altering the copyhold franchise, and conferring on graduates the right to vote in the boroughs of Oxford and Cambridge, were rejected. The provision made for the representation of minorities was strenuously opposed, and gave rise to a keen discussion. When it was previously proposed in the House of Commons, Mr. Disraeli declared that such an arrangement would be 'erroneous in principle and pernicious in practice.' It was also strongly opposed by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright, and although supported by Mr. J. S. Mill and some other Liberals it was withdrawn. Mr. Disraeli now recommended its adoption by the House of Commons, on the ground that since the other amendments proposed by the Lords had been rejected, it would tend to smooth matters between the two Houses if this provision which they had inserted in the Bill were allowed to remain. Mr. Bright argued that the clause would extinguish the political life of the country, it would nullify the boon conferred on the four great towns, each of which would for the future in all divisions on great political questions be represented by one member. Mr. Goschen said minorities were already over-represented, and this further step would only be mischievous. Nomination minorities were to be established in place of nomination boroughs. The proposal was simply an experiment to limit the power of great towns. It was taking a step towards making members delegates and not representatives. Mr. Gladstone said he did not agree with the principle of representation of individuals instead of the representation of communities. The latter had always been the principle of representation in this country. The proposal would inflict great injustice on the large towns, and he asked the House not to give to those towns, excited by the sense of wrong, the provocation to commence a new agitation for further changes. Mr. Lowe, on the other hand, pleaded earnestly for the retention of the clause. Its aim, he said, was to give to the communities affected by it a representation corresponding to the state of opinion in them. The worship of numbers was a political superstition; the true end of representation was to represent as nearly as possible all classes in a community. In the end the clause was retained by a majority of 49. The Upper House acquiesced in the alterations made by the Commons, and the Bill received the royal assent on the 15th of August.

The Bill which, after passing through many perils and vicissitudes, and undergoing so many and so extensive alterations, had at length become a part of the constitution of the kingdom, introduced momentous changes into our representative system. It was truly, as Lord Derby termed it, 'a leap in the dark,' and was regarded with great uneasiness and anxiety, not only by the Conservative party throughout the country, but by not a few Liberals. It conferred the franchise in boroughs on all

male householders rated for the relief of the poor, and on all lodgers who had been resident for one year and paid a rent of not less than £10 a year. In counties it gave votes to persons possessing property of the clear annual value of £5, and to occupiers of lands and tenements paying £12 a year. It disfranchised four boroughs and semi-disfranchised twenty-two others having a population of less than 10,000. It created several new constituencies, gave a third member to four large towns, and one to the University of London.

The kindred measures for Scotland and Ireland were postponed till next session. When they came before the House they excited comparatively little interest and no opposition. Scotland obtained a borough franchise the same as that of England, freed, however, from the ratepaying clause, which had been held as a 'vital principle,' but was struck out of the Bill in spite of the opposition of the Government. The Scottish county franchise was based either on the possession of £5 clear annual value of property, or on an occupation of £14 a year. Seven additional members, obtained by the disfranchisement of some small English boroughs, were added to the fifty-three returned by Scottish constituencies. Glasgow received an additional member, and was thus transformed, much against the wish of its citizens, into a three-cornered constituency. The town of Dundee obtained an additional member, the counties of Aberdeen, Ayr, and Lanark were divided into two electoral districts, returning one member each, and the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews, and of Glasgow and Aberdeen combined obtained each a representative. The Irish Bill reduced the borough franchise from £8 to £4, but made no change in the county franchise, which was £12, or in the arrangement of seats.

That the Bill as it became law was a thoroughly Democratic measure cannot be denied. In its essential features it went beyond any scheme that had been advocated even by the advanced Liberal party in Parliament. Mr. Disraeli himself afterwards frankly admitted that this was the case, and boasted that he had been educating his party for seven years to this Democratic standard. At a banquet given to him in Edinburgh in November, 1867, he said, 'I had, if it be not too arrogant to use this phrase, to *educate our party*. It is a large party, and requires its attention to be called to questions of this kind with some pressure. I had to prepare the mind of Parliament and the country on this question of Reform.'*

'The whole tone of that harangue,' it was justly said, 'was one of jubilant exultation natural to a leader who had led his party step by step from one abandonment of traditional principle to another. He had been their schoolmaster to bring them to Democracy, they had been his unconscious and half-reluctant pupils. They had learned from him line upon line and precept upon precept. Having organized and disciplined his followers to resist the advancing tide of Democracy, he was by their efforts borne into power. Having gained the position of a Conservative Minister, with a large Conservative following, he introduced a Reform Bill, guarded and fenced with restrictions and limitations of a Conservative tendency. As the debate went on he threw overboard all checks and safeguards whatsoever, took suggestions from every quarter and section of the House, forgot or despised the Ministerial duty of initiating the proposition of a Ministerial Bill, left his own colleagues in the lurch, and accepted the amendments of his opponents; ended by making his astonished but unconscious partisans the successful champions of the Democracy they abhorred; and having done all this, he had the assurance to tell them that in the lowness of the franchise which they had extended lay the essence of Conservatism.'

* Tenniel, in his cartoon entitled 'Fagin's Political School,' has hit off very happily the idea conveyed in this statement. Disraeli is depicted in the character of Fagin the Jew in 'Oliver Twist,' and is represented as picking the pocket of a lay figure of Lord John Russell, hung round with bells, of a document labelled 'Reform Bill.' Lord Derby, with his hands in his pockets, is surveying the trick with an amused expression of countenance; Sir John Pakington and Sir Stafford Northcote are looking on with mingled surprise and admiration at their leader's dexterity; Lord Stanley, as the 'Artful Dodger,' is regarding the scene somewhat contemptuously, while Lord Cranbourne and Lord Carnarvon are leaving the apartment in mingled indignation and disgust.

At the commencement of the session the Ministry were profuse in their promises of legislation, and intimated their intention to deal with colonial consolidation, investigation of the law of trades unions, extension of the Factory Acts to other trades, improvement of the mercantile marine, of the navigation laws, of the relations between Irish landlords and tenants, the amendment of the law of bankruptcy, and numerous other important subjects; but the attention of Parliament had been so completely absorbed by the discussions on the Reform Bill, that it was impossible to devote time to the settlement of any other important question. There was little opportunity afforded even to discuss the affairs of Ireland. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was continued, a futile attempt was made to deal with the tenure of land, and discussions respecting the Irish Church took place in both Houses, but led to nothing.

An autumn session was held in November for the purpose of making provision for an expedition against Abyssinia. Theodore, the king of that country, on some trivial pretext had seized Mr. Cameron, Her Majesty's consul at Massowah, an island on the African shore of the Red Sea, along with other British subjects, and had obstinately refused to release them. He was a passionate, suspicious barbarian, ambitious and cruel, and liable to sudden impulses of savage fury, in which he was guilty of shocking deeds of cruelty. Consuls were stationed at Massowah 'for the protection of British trade with Abyssinia and with the countries adjacent thereto;' and Mr. Plowden, who was appointed to that office in 1848, became an active ally of Theodore, and lost his life in one of the savage monarch's quarrels. Captain Cameron, his successor in the office of consul, was instructed to take no part in King Theodore's quarrels, and was reminded that he held no representative character in Abyssinia. Probably in consequence of this inhibition Theodore seemed to imagine that the British Government was unfriendly to him. A letter which he wrote to Queen Victoria was left unanswered; he therefore fancied himself slighted, and seized and imprisoned all the British subjects within his reach, including the British consul, who had imprudently visited Abyssinia at this period. Two embassies had been sent in succession to induce the savage ruler to set at liberty the persons he had seized and imprisoned in violation of all international law, but without effect; and he had even detained the envoys, Mr. Rassam, assistant British Resident at Aden, and Lieutenant Prideaux and Dr. Blanc. A peremptory demand had then been made that they should be released within three months, but no attention had been paid to it. The Government in these circumstances considered that they had no alternative but to send a large military expedition for the purpose of recovering the captives. Several members of both Houses dwelt upon the great and almost insuperable difficulty of a campaign in a country so inaccessible, and of which so little was known; but the general feeling was that the expedition was necessary to support the honour and dignity of the nation, as well as for the sake of the lives and liberty of Her Majesty's subjects. Mr. Disraeli informed the House of Commons that 'according to a rough but careful and confident estimate, the expedition would cost £3,500,000, but would certainly not exceed £4,000,000, and pledged himself that the expedition would leave the country as soon as the captives were recovered. The money asked by the Government was accordingly voted to defray the expense of the operations, and the addition of a penny per pound to the Income Tax was agreed to in order to provide the funds, to be supplemented by the balances in the Exchequer.

The session of 1868 found the Derby Government still in a considerable minority in the House of Commons, but confronted by an Opposition too divided to be easily combined in any movement for its overthrow. As Mr. Bouverie remarked, the Liberal party had leaders who would not

lead, and followers who would not follow. Instead of an organized party they were little better than a rabble. The two Houses commenced their sittings on the 13th of February, and on that day Mr. Disraeli introduced a Bill having for its object the more effectual prevention of corrupt practices at parliamentary elections. Lord Derby's health had for a considerable time been in an unsatisfactory state, and his growing infirmities at length compelled him to retire from office. His resignation was formally announced on the 25th of February, coupled with the intimation that the Queen had commanded Mr. Disraeli to form an Administration. This was accomplished without difficulty. Mr. Ward Hunt became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and all the members of the Government retained office under the new First Lord of the Treasury with the exception of Lord Chelmsford, who was removed from the Chancellorship to make room for Sir Hugh Cairns. There was no change in the policy of the Administration, for Mr. Disraeli had throughout been the real though not its nominal head.

The Irish question was once more forced upon the attention of Parliament. It was still unhappily deemed necessary that the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act should be renewed; but it was generally felt that the Fenian plot, though in itself base and cowardly, indicated the existence of strong disaffection in the country, arising out of undoubted evils and grievances. On the 16th of March Mr. Maguire, member for Cork, in a speech of great ability and eloquence, moved that the House should resolve itself into a committee, with the view of taking into immediate consideration the condition of Ireland. The motion was opposed by the Ministry, who, while admitting that Ireland was a prey to evils of the most serious kind, intimated their disapproval of the remedies which had been proposed by the Liberal party in regard both to the tenure of land and the existence of the Established Church. Lord Mayo, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, declared that the destruction of the Irish Church would not conciliate one enemy, while it would alienate many friends. The Government, however, he said, proposed to confer a charter and an endowment on a new Roman Catholic University. Policy and justice might demand the equalization of ecclesiastical endowments in Ireland, but, he added, in words which have become famous, this must be done by the process of levelling upwards, not downwards. The Government were prepared, with this view, to take into favourable consideration the claims both of the Irish Roman Catholics and the Presbyterians, but not to disendow the Established Church. 'The Lord hath delivered them into our hands,' was Mr. Gladstone's remark, aside, when this statement of the Government's intentions was made by Lord Mayo. In the course of the protracted discussion which took place on Mr. Maguire's motion, Mr. Gladstone condemned in strong terms Lord Mayo's intimation that the *Regium Donum* to the Presbyterians might be increased, and a grant made to the Roman Catholics from the Consolidated Fund. The Government had placed before the House and the country the alternative—endow all sects or endow none. He had no hesitation in choosing the latter, and in expressing his conviction that 'the Irish Church as a State church must cease to exist.'

Mr. Maguire's motion was withdrawn, and a few days after the leader of the Opposition gave notice of his intention to move the following resolutions:—

1. That, in the opinion of this House, it is necessary that the Established Church of Ireland should cease to exist as an establishment, due regard being had to all personal interests and to all individual rights of property.

2. That, subject to the foregoing consideration, it is expedient to prevent the creation of new personal interests by the exercise of any public patronage, and to confine the operations of the ecclesiastical commissioners of Ireland to objects of immediate necessity, or involving individual rights, pending the final decision of Parliament.

3. That a humble address be presented to Her Majesty, humbly praying that with the view to the purposes aforesaid, Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to place at the disposal of Parliament her interest in the temporalities of the archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical dignities and benefices in Ireland and in the custody thereof.

When these resolutions were formally proposed by Mr. Gladstone on the 30th of March, it became evident that the Government had no confidence either in their own ability to resist the disestablishment of the Church, for which these resolutions were intended to prepare, or in the general feeling of the country in regard to this question. The following amendment, which Lord Stanley proposed on Mr. Gladstone's resolutions, clearly indicated this state of feeling on their part:—'That this House, while admitting that considerable modifications in the temporalities of the united Church in Ireland may, after the pending inquiry, appear to be expedient, is of opinion that any proposition tending to the disestablishment or disendowment of that Church ought to be reserved for the decision of the new Parliament.'

Mr. Gladstone at once called attention to the evidence this amendment afforded, that the Ministry were not prepared to defend the existence of the Irish Church. Before this amendment was announced he thought the thread of the remaining life of the Irish Established Church was short; he now regarded it as shorter still. All that was asked on its behalf was delay, not a permanent existence. It was defended, however, with great fervour by Mr. Gathorne Hardy, who had been appointed Home Secretary in the room of Mr. Walpole. Casting aside all considerations of amendment, compromise, or delay, he strenuously insisted on a 'no surrender' policy. Lord Cranbourne commented with marked severity on the conduct of the Government, and especially on Mr. Disraeli for his 'legerdemain' procedure. He said the leader of the Opposition offered them a policy, the Foreign Secretary offered them a paltry excuse for delay, the amendment was 'a more than Delphic resolution'—it gave no clue to the policy of Ministers. No amount of disestablishment or disendowment was excluded by this amendment. In 1865 Lord Stanley had seconded a resolution which, like this, made general admissions and pleaded for delay on the question of Reform, and the end of it was household suffrage. And so he predicted the result of carrying this amendment would be that next year perhaps the Irish Protestant members would find themselves voting humbly with Mr. Disraeli for the disestablishment of the Irish Church. The ambiguity of the amendment indicated either no policy at all, or a policy which the Ministry were afraid to avow. The attitude they had assumed was neither wise, firm, nor creditable. He was prepared, he said, to meet the motion of Mr. Gladstone by a direct negative, but not to fight in the dark by supporting an amendment which, if carried, would merely keep the cards in the hands of Ministers to shuffle just as convenience or exigency might require.

Mr. Bright, in a speech of great ability, pointed out that the result of government by a minority was confusion and chaos. There was really neither government nor opposition. The Ministerialists could neither support their own views nor adopt those of the Opposition. There were only two pretences, he said, on which a State Church could be maintained in Ireland—the one religious, the other political. As a religious institution for the conversion of Roman Catholics, the Irish Church had been a deplorable failure. It had not only not made Catholics into Protestants, but it had made Catholics in Ireland more intensely Roman than the members of that Church are found to be in any other country in Europe or in America. As a political institution it had been equally a failure, for though the State for long years had defended it by the sword, the present condition of Ireland was anarchy subdued by force. Mr. Lowe assailed the Irish Church with biting sarcasm and fierce denunciation. 'It is founded,' he said, 'on injustice; it is

founded on the dominant rights of the few over the many, and shall not stand. You call it a Missionary Church; if so, its mission is unfulfilled—it has failed utterly. Like some exotic brought from a far country with infinite pains and useless trouble, it is kept alive with difficulty and expense in an ungrateful climate and ungenial soil. The curse of barrenness is upon it; it has no leaves, it bears no blossoms, it yields no fruit. Cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?' Mr. Henley, General Peel, Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord Mayo, and Mr. Disraeli argued vigorously on the other side of the question, but they were seriously hampered by the ambiguous character of the amendment which they supported, and were obliged to have recourse to the expedient of attacking the policy of the Liberal party rather than of vindicating their own. Mr. Disraeli accused Mr. Gladstone of appearing as the representative of the High Church Ritualists and the Irish Romanists, who had long been in secret combination and were now in open confederacy for the destruction of the union between Church and State. At the close of the fourth night of this memorable debate Lord Stanley's amendment was rejected by a majority of sixty (270 to 330), and Mr. Gladstone's motion, that the House should go into committee, was carried by 328 votes to 272—a majority of fifty-six.

The Easter holidays had now arrived, and afforded an opportunity to both parties to hold public meetings and to appeal to the country for support to their respective views. A deep interest was taken in the settlement of the question at issue, but the agitation was of the most orderly and peaceful kind. The two Houses met again after the Easter recess on the 20th of April, and it was agreed that the Commons should resume consideration of Mr. Gladstone's resolutions on the 27th. After a debate, extending over three nights, the House divided on the first resolution on Friday morning, the 30th of April, when 330 voted for and 265 against it—a majority against the Government of sixty-five. The unexpected increase of the majority was regarded as an indication that the proposal to disestablish the Irish Church was gaining ground in the country.

On the announcement of the numbers, Mr. Disraeli said that the vote had altered the relations of the Government with the House, and it would consequently be necessary that they should consider their position. He therefore proposed that the House should adjourn until the following Monday, which was agreed to.

On the day named (May 4th) the Prime Minister stated, in the presence of a crowded House, that he had waited upon the Queen, and, with the full concurrence of his colleagues, had advised Her Majesty to dissolve Parliament, and had at the same time intimated to her that if she was of opinion that the question at issue could be more satisfactorily settled, and the interests of the country better promoted by the immediate retirement of the present Government, they were prepared to quit her service. He had then tendered his resignation. After taking a day for consideration, the Queen had declined to accept the resignation of her Ministers, and had signified her readiness to dissolve Parliament as soon as the state of public business would permit. Under these circumstances he had advised Her Majesty to appeal to the new constituencies; and if the House would cordially co-operate with the Government in expediting public business a dissolution might take place in the course of the autumn.

While the British Parliament were engaged in the discussion of these domestic questions, information was received of the success of the expedition sent to recover the Abyssinian captives. It was despatched from Bombay, under the command of Sir Robert Napier, an Indian officer of great experience and high reputation. The captives, some of whom had been four years in confinement, consisted of Consul Cameron, Mr. Rassam, who had been assistant British Resident at Aden, Lieutenant Prideaux,

and Dr. Blanc, who had accompanied him on his mission, and were employed on official business when they were seized and imprisoned. There were also among the captives a number of German missionaries, with their wives and children, and some teachers, artists, and workmen. The savage ruler treated them in the most capricious manner—at one time chaining them two-and-two, and threatening them with death; at another, coming into their prison half dressed, and bringing with him a bottle of wine, which he made them share with him. As he obstinately refused to set his prisoners at liberty, it was deemed absolutely necessary to send a force to compel their release.

Theodore was early made aware of the disembarkation of the British troops, but he boasted that he was prepared to meet them, and he seems at times to have fancied that he would be able to hold his fortress at Magdala against their assaults. The march of an army over the rocky highlands of Abyssinia would have been impracticable in the face of a brave and active enemy; but in their progress through deep ravines and over high hills the British forces met with no opposition whatever. In the beginning of April, 1868, after traversing 400 miles of mountainous and difficult country, often under a tropical sun, or amid storms of rain and sleet, they appeared before Magdala. An encounter took place beween them and Theodore's army at some distance from the fortress. The Abyssinians behaved with great spirit and courage, and made repeated desperate charges upon their enemies, which, however, were easily repulsed. They had 500 men killed and a much larger number wounded. The British did not lose a single man, and had only nineteen wounded.

Next morning Theodore sent Lieutenant Prideaux and Mr. Flad with a flag of truce to offer terms. The captives were set free and sent into the camp, but Theodore refused to surrender. The British commander was therefore under the necessity of making an assault on his almost inaccessible stronghold. Magdala was situated upon an isolated rock, rising many hundred feet above the plain, protected by lofty and almost overhanging cliffs, so precipitous that a cat could not climb them except at two points—north and south—at each of which a steep narrow path leads up to a strong gateway. Shot, shell, and rockets made no impression upon the gateway, which was protected by a strong stockade. But the assailants forced their way up the ascent in spite of the obstacles they had to encounter, and carried the stockade, which was defended by Theodore in person with a small band of faithful followers, the rest of his army having abandoned the place. On entering the fortress they found the dead body of Theodore a short way from the gate. Finding further resistance hopeless, he shot himself with a pistol before our soldiers reached the place where he stood. They found in the fortress upwards of thirty pieces of artillery, many of great weight, with ample stores of ammunition.

In order that the fortress should not fall into the hands of a fierce Mahommedan tribe, the hereditary enemies of the Christians, Sir Robert Napier resolved to destroy it. He therefore set it on fire, and, to use his own expression, of Magdala, 'nothing but blackened rock remains.' In a letter addressed to the Secretary of State, the General thus sums up the results of the campaign: 'The province of Tigre, which we found just struggling into independence, has been somewhat strengthened and settled by us. Gobaze, an Abyssinian chief who had shown himself friendly to the expedition, and at the date of our arrival was attempting a hopeless opposition to Theodore, should now be able to establish his position. Theodore had acquired by conquest a sovereignty which he knew only how to abuse. He was not strong enough to protect the people from other oppressors, while yet able to carry plunder and cruelty into every district he himself might visit.

I fail to discover a single point of view from which it is possible to regard his removal with regret.'

After the destruction of Magdala the expedition set out on its return, and the first detachment of troops arrived at Portsmouth on the 21st of June. The enterprise was skilfully planned and most effectively conducted from its commencement to its close. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to the troops employed in the expedition, and to their General, who was elevated to the peerage as Baron Napier of Magdala, and rewarded with a pension. The cost of the expedition amounted to upwards of £9,000,000 sterling. Loud complaints were made that the fact of its enormous expense was carefully concealed from the public until after the general election.

While the House of Commons was engaged in the consideration of Mr. Gladstone's resolutions the news was received of the death of Lord Brougham at Cannes, on the 7th of May, in the ninetieth year of his age. It attracted little notice, but thirty years before the demise of no other public man would have excited so much attention. From the time of his admission to the Scottish bar at the close of last century onwards, Henry Brougham was regarded as a person of gigantic abilities and extraordinary attainments. He was one of the founders of the *Edinburgh Review*. Sydney Smith, to whom the honour of the first suggestion of this celebrated periodical is due, 'had so strong an impression,' Jeffrey says, 'of Brougham's indiscretion and rashness, that he would not let him be a member of our association, though wished for by all the rest. He was admitted, however, after the third number, and did more work for us than anybody.' Brougham, indeed, continued for more than forty years to be one of the principal contributors to the work; and his articles, though not always judicious, were characterized by great ability, and contributed largely to the celebrity and success of the Whig organ. When he entered Parliament in 1810 it soon became apparent that very few politicians ever brought to the business of practical politics a larger acquaintance with everything relating to the history and prospects of the human race. He devoted himself heart and soul to the cause of civil and religious liberty, and directed the thunders of his eloquence against such gross and glaring evils as colonial slavery, Orders in Council, flogging in the army, Roman Catholic disabilities, and the perversion of public charities. He was especially zealous in the cause of education and of parliamentary reform, and his eloquent advocacy of these and other kindred causes contributed greatly to their success. He has been justly termed the hundred-handed Briareus of his party. There was nothing he did not touch, and with powerful effect. His industry was stupendous, it seemed impossible to exhaust his unwearied exertions in whatever he undertook. Apart from his labours in Parliament and in his own profession, which would have fully occupied the time of most men, Brougham found leisure to establish schools and write lectures for them, to superintend the composition and publication of books of popular science, to write articles for the *Edinburgh Review* and pamphlets, to compose treatises on refraction, on the integral calculus, on natural theology, on chemistry, on the objects, advantages, and pleasures of science, on the eloquence of the ancients, on colonial policy, on the state of the nation, on education, on the statesmen of the time of George III., and indeed on an endless succession of subjects. His intellect was quick, powerful, and brilliant, rather than sound; and his judgment was often warped by his prejudices and feelings. His eloquence was of a very high, though not of the highest order, and his natural talent for sarcasm made him a most formidable opponent in the House or at the Bar. His sustained flights of indignant or argumentative declamation—as in his defence of Queen Caroline, and in the case of Mr. Williams, tried for libel on the Durham

clergy—have rarely been equalled. 'On rolled the stream of his eloquence, strong from conviction, vehement from passion, and burning with invective as the occasion demanded.' His moral qualities were unfortunately not equal to his intellectual powers. He was self-willed and imperious, with an irresistible passion for domineering and impatience of contradiction, and was habitually and notoriously actuated by ungenerous jealousy of every rival. One who knew him well affirmed that there never was a direct personal rival, or one who was in a position which, however reluctantly, implied rivalry, to whom he was just, and his envy often led to implacable hostility. 'Had it not been for his moral failings,' says Lord Cockburn, 'Brougham, inferior to no modern statesman in eloquence, and superior to them all in knowledge, enlightened views, industry, and fire, would have been the greatest man in civil affairs of this age; but neither genius nor oratory, even when worthily exerted, can command their natural influence when combined with habits which create enemies hourly, or when exposed to the imputation of heartlessness or insincerity. Accordingly, with all his powers and celebrity, Brougham has never been at the head, as its *trusted* leader, of any party. He has compelled all the world to admire, and most of it to fear him, and for many years he has guided this nation in the formation of sound views throughout that revolution of opinion which has agitated men during his day, and has always been above the paltriness of pecuniary temptation, and his fidelity to his principles and party was never impeached till lately; yet he has never had any following of the heart, his very eloquence has often suffered from its disclosing insincerity, and this generally in passages which obtained and deserved the loudest applause.'

For a number of years before his death the once powerful and admired orator and statesman had passed almost out of sight. He ceased to take any part in public affairs, and passed a good deal of his time in Cannes, where he died and was buried.

The procedure adopted by the Government, in retaining office after they had been defeated by large majorities in the House of Commons, was severely condemned by a number of members on the Liberal side of the House, who denounced it as unconstitutional, and as an expedient to induce the House to give a two months' lease to a Government which they neither trusted nor were trusted by. They were prevented, however, from taking any active steps to eject the Government from office by their knowledge that Mr. Disraeli would in that case immediately dissolve the Parliament and appeal to the existing constituencies; and that, whatever might be their response, a second dissolution would necessarily require to be made in the following year, when the new Reform Bill came into operation. The Ministry, therefore, though in a considerable minority, were allowed to retain their places till the new election. Mr. Gladstone's two remaining resolutions, however, were put to the House and adopted, the Government declining to divide against them. A suspensory Bill was subsequently brought in by Mr. Gladstone, and carried in the House of Commons without much opposition, and in the Upper House by a majority of 192 votes to 97. By this measure the exercise of the Crown patronage in connection with the Irish Church, pending the disestablishment proposal, was in the meantime suspended, so that no new life interests could be created in connection with that body.

The Scottish and Irish Reform Bills were pushed forward as rapidly as possible. The Government underwent several mortifying defeats in connection with the former, and when the ratepaying clause was struck out another ministerial crisis took place, which, however, like the others, passed over very easily. The Bribery Bill decided that the jurisdiction of the House over cases of this sort should be transferred to the judges. The Boundary Bill and the Registration

Bill, which it was necessary to pass before an appeal to the new constituencies could properly take place, were pressed through both Houses and became law. A Bill was also carried to authorize the Government to purchase the electric telegraphs from the various private companies to which they belonged, and to combine them into one great national system. The Government made a rather unfavourable bargain, but the arrangement has in the end been advantageous to the country. On the last day of July the Parliament was prorogued with a view to its dissolution, and the proclamation declaring that it was dissolved was issued on the 11th of November, 1868.

The Irish Church, the fate of which was to be determined by the impending election, was an institution without precedent or parallel in the history of Europe. Sydney Smith, indeed, went further, and said—'There is no abuse like it in all Europe, in all Asia, in all the discovered parts of Africa, and in all we have heard of Timbuctoo.' It had long been 'a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence' to all unprejudiced and judicious men. A succession of Irish viceroys had earnestly recommended its reduction, and declared that it weakened instead of strengthening the connection between Great Britain and Ireland. Lord Brougham regarded 'the great abuse of the Irish Established Church as the master evil, the source of perennial discord.' One of his successors on the woolsack said, 'the Irish Church was at the bottom of all the unhappiness which Ireland suffered;' and another of them said he 'believed the Protestant Church in Ireland to be one of the most mischievous institutions in existence.' Earl Grey 'believed the Church of Ireland to be the main source of all that misery and oppression under which the Irish, for nearly three centuries, had suffered;' and Lord Lytton, Colonial Secretary in Lord Derby's Administration, said 'he considered the words "Irish Church" to be the greatest bull in the language. It was called the Irish Church because it was a church not for the Irish.' 'The Church of Ireland,' he added, 'costs as much for the police and soldiers as for the clergy themselves. Do we imitate the Saviour or the Arabian impostor when we carry the Bible in the one hand and the sword in the other?' Count Cavour, with all his admiration of British institutions, was constrained to say that the State Church in Ireland 'remains to the Catholics a representative of the cause of their miseries, a sign of defeat and oppression. It exasperates their sufferings, and makes their humiliation more keenly felt.'

This 'alien church,' as it was termed, was obnoxious to the people of Ireland, not only on account of its origin and the restriction of its benefits to a small minority of the nation, but owing to the character of its clergy, who for more than two centuries were, as a body, scandalously negligent in the discharge of their duties. It was no uncommon thing for a cluster of parishes to be formed into a single benefice for the behoof of a man who contented himself with levying the tithes and spending them at Cheltenham, or on the shores of the Mediterranean, doing no duty whatever in any of his parishes, and not even appointing a curate to officiate in his absence. Dean Swift described the Irish prelates as men sunk in indolence, whose chief business it was to bow and job at the Castle. The only spiritual function, he says, which they performed was ordination, and when he saw what persons they ordained, he doubted whether it would not be better that they should neglect that function as they neglected every other. It is scarcely possible, indeed, to speak in too strong terms of the character and conduct of the men who, down to the close of last century, were appointed by the Government to the Sees, cathedral offices, and the best livings in the Irish Church. Swift, in bitter irony, says that no doubt the English Ministers nominated excellent men to the bishoprics of Ireland, but unhappily they were waylaid and murdered by highwaymen on their

journey, who possessed themselves of their official documents, and were inducted into their offices. The enormous amount of money accumulated by many of these bishops, as shown by their testamentary bequests, is almost incredible. The Irish clergy of the present day are men of a very different stamp, and, as a body, conspicuous for their piety and their zeal, but it was utterly impossible for them to undo the evil that had been done by their predecessors.

Efforts were made at various times to lessen the hardships and oppression of the system. Towards the close of last century an end was put to book-money, an oppressive exaction levied on Roman Catholic priests, who were compelled to account to the Episcopalian clergy for the baptismal and marriage fees which they had received from their own flock. Then agistment tithe was abolished; vestry cess and ministers' money—a most oppressive impost—followed. In 1833 no fewer than ten bishoprics were abolished by an Act of Parliament brought in by Mr. Stanley (afterwards Earl Derby), then Irish Secretary, and their revenues, together with those of suspended dignities, and benefices, and disappropriated tithes, were vested in a Board of Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The commutation of the tithes, by which their payment was transferred from the tenants and became a rent-charge on the estates of the landlords, who received a bonus of 25 per cent. as a recompense for their trouble and risk of loss in collecting the money, had lessened the burden as well as the unpopularity of the system, as the clergy who received and the tenants who paid the tithes no longer came into direct collision, but the system itself remained essentially unchanged. If the attempt made by Lord John Russell to appropriate to educational purposes the tithes in parishes where there were no resident Protestants had been adopted, it would in all probability have delayed for a good many years the disestablishment of the Church. But it is a marked characteristic of the defenders of such institutions that they can never be induced, until it is too late, to give up a part to save the rest.

A Commission was appointed in 1835 to inquire into the state of the Irish Church, and from the report of the Commissioners it appears that the adherents of the Church at that time amounted to 800,000; that their spiritual instruction was intrusted to two archbishops, ten bishops, 326 deans, prebendaries, and canons, and 2200 clergymen, of whom a number were pluralists and non-resident—some living in other parts of Ireland, others in England or on the Continent, wholly neglecting all their pastoral duties. The incomes of the bishops and other dignitaries amounted to upwards of £208,000 a year, and the total annual income of the Church to £650,753. Out of 1338 churches then existing in Ireland, 474 had been erected by Parliament since the beginning of the present century, and adding to the sums expended in building churches the cost of glebe houses and glebe lands, it appeared that during the past and present centuries no less than £920,900 had been voted to the Irish Church out of the public exchequer. The report of the Commissioners further shows that in 1835 there were 151 parishes in Ireland in which there was not a single adherent of the Irish Church, and that in 860 parishes there were in the aggregate fewer than fifty Episcopalians. Pluralities had been greatly reduced in number, but there were still eighty-one in existence, and about the same number of prebends, &c., which, by the admission of their holders, were complete sinecures, having no duty of any kind attached to them.

Between 1835 and 1868 considerable activity had been manifested, by the prelates and influential friends of the Established Church, in the erection of new churches and in the increase of the number of ministers; but though its revenues and its clergy were increasing, the number of its adherents had been steadily diminishing with the decreasing population of the

country. When the census of 1861 was taken it was found that the number of parishes in which there was not a single Episcopalian had increased to 199.* The ecclesiastical revenue of these parishes varied from £100 to £500 a year.

The total population of Ireland at the census of 1861 was found to be 5,798,540, of whom 4,505,265 were Roman Catholics, 600, 345 Protestant Nonconformists, chiefly Presbyterians, and the members of the Established Church amounted to 693,357. The revenues of the church amounted, in round numbers, to £700,000 a year, so that the religious instruction of every man, woman, and child connected with that church cost more than 20*s.* a head. It thus appeared that the Irish clergy were paid seven times more for their services than the ministers of the Established Church of Scotland before the Disruption.

In every part of the country the Anglo-Irish Church was in a decided minority, but in many districts it included a mere fraction of the population; in others, as we have shown, it had not a single adherent. In Ulster, where it was least needed—because instruction in the doctrines of the Protestant religion was most abundantly supplied beyond its pale—its adherents amounted to 20 per cent. of the whole population. In Leinster it possessed 11·89, in Munster 5·10, and in Connaught 4·15 per cent. In the four dioceses—Armagh, Down, Derry, and Dublin—in which Protestantism was strongest, on the aggregate the adherents of the Irish Church formed 19·3 per cent. of the population. In other eight dioceses they averaged only 5½. In none of the thirty-two dioceses were the Episcopalians equal to the Roman Catholics, while in four they were outnumbered by the Presbyterians. In twenty dioceses the Anglicans averaged only 4·7 per cent. of the population, or 6940 on an average to each diocese; while there was an average of 131,150 Roman Catholics in each of these dioceses, comprehending nearly one-half of all the inhabitants of Ireland. On the other hand, the value of the livings in these twenty dioceses was at that time £242,324, or an average of £12,116 per diocese.

Descending from whole dioceses to particular benefices, the total number of benefices in the Irish Church was returned by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners as 1510 in number. Of these 752 contained on an average 184 Anglicans per benefice. The average gross income of these 752 livings was £322 a year. The cost of clerk, sexton, and other requisites for divine service amounted to at least £16 additional per benefice. If we add to this the share of each incumbency in the expense of an Episcopal supervision, it will be found that the cost of maintaining the Irish Church amounted on an average to more than £2 a head throughout one-half of the Irish benefices. With regard to the remaining 615 livings, in none of them did the adherents of the Church exceed 200 souls. In 229 of these benefices there was an average Anglican population of only 23 persons, young and old; and allowing five souls to a family, and deducting rectors and clerks, there remained an average of not quite three families for the ministerial sphere of duty of each of the 229 incumbents. The average value of their livings was £296 a year, exclusive of glebe-house; and adding the cost of Episcopal functions, and clerk and sexton, each of the twenty-three Episcopalians in these 229 benefices cost £15 per head for their religious instruction. Taking a smaller subdivision, there were eighty-five of them, in none of which did the Anglican population exceed twenty. The actual average number in each was 11, and the total Anglican population of the whole amounted to 955. The total cost averaged £20 per head out of the ecclesiastical revenues.

To sum up the facts stated in the report of the Commissioners, the Irish Church at this time had two archbishops, one with an income of £12,000, the other with £7700 a

* These were civil parishes. It was no uncommon occurrence for a number of civil parishes to be combined into one ecclesiastical benefice for the purpose of increasing the emoluments of the incumbent.

year, and ten bishops with an average income of £4592 each, to perform a much smaller amount of work among them than in the sister Church of England was allotted to many a single bishop. It had 2200 clergymen to take the spiritual oversight of 693,000 persons, young and old, a proportion more than five times the number which was thought sufficient for the Scottish Establishment before the Disruption. It cost about £700,000 a year, more than 20*s.* a head for every adherent. It had 199 parishes in which there was not a single Episcopalian, and 860, from which it drew a revenue of £58,000, in which it had less than fifty adherents, including persons of both sexes and of all ages. In the great majority of these parishes the members of the Establishment consisted only of the rector and his family, the sexton with his family, and the households of a few persons connected with the coastguard. The church thus contained not less than 600 clergymen holding benefices, but having nothing deserving the name of a congregation—shepherds without a flock—drawing revenues with no duties to perform in return, 'crying aloud in the wilderness,' as Sydney Smith said, 'preaching to a congregation of hassocks and stools.'

The question submitted for the decision of the constituencies was whether the Irish Church should be disestablished, and wholly or only partially disendowed, and their reply was decidedly in favour of the policy advocated by Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Disraeli had flattered himself with the expectation that there was a class below the £10 householders who were friendly to a Conservative policy, and who, now that they were enfranchised, would give their support to the Government, but the result showed that he was entirely mistaken in this notion. The Liberal party largely increased their majority in the English boroughs and in Scotland and Ireland. Only seven Conservative members were returned by the Scottish constituencies, and the Liberals now for the first time won several boroughs in the province of Ulster, in which the Conservative influence had hitherto been paramount. On the other hand, the Conservatives were still powerful in the English counties, and they gained some signal and unexpected victories even in the boroughs. Mr. Mill lost his seat for Westminster mainly through his own perverse and injudicious conduct. Mr. Roebuck was defeated at Sheffield, and Mr. Milner Gibson at Ashton-under-Lyne. Mr. Gladstone himself was rejected by South Lancashire but was returned for Greenwich, and the Marquis of Hartington was replaced in the Northern Division of that county by a younger son of the Earl of Derby, and was subsequently elected for the Radnor Boroughs. It is a strange circumstance that all the eight members returned by the county of Lancaster, and by a considerable number even of its boroughs, were Conservatives. There were only eleven Liberals, against twenty-one Conservatives, elected by that great mining and manufacturing district. The strong dislike entertained by the working classes in Lancashire to the Irish was believed to have contributed largely to this result. Mr. Lowe was elected as the representative of the London University—the only constituency in England, Mr. Disraeli said, which would have accepted him. It had been confidently predicted that the effect of the new Reform Bill would be the return to Parliament of a large number of men representing the views and projects of an extreme, if not of a revolutionary party. But the event completely falsified these prophecies. A considerable number of working men's candidates indeed offered themselves for election, but one and all were unsuccessful. The new House of Commons appeared on the whole to be less marked in its Liberalism than its predecessor. The main difference between the two was the increase of the Liberal majority from sixty to 120. No fewer than 227 new members obtained seats in this Parliament.

The Ministry accepted at once the decision of the constituencies without waiting

for the assembling of Parliament. On the 1st of December the Cabinet resolved on their immediate resignation, and Mr. Gladstone was sent for by the Queen and requested to form a new Administration. The chief offices were for the most part intrusted to his former colleagues, but Mr. Bright, to the general satisfaction of the country, accepted the position of President of the Board of Trade. It was well known that he did so with reluctance, and only from a sense of duty. 'I should have preferred much,' he said, 'to remain in the common rank of the simple citizenship in which heretofore I have lived. There is a charming story contained in a single verse of the Old Testament which has often struck me as one of great beauty. Many of you will recollect that the prophet, in journeying to and fro, was very hospitably entertained by what is termed in the Bible a Shunamite woman. In return for the hospitality of his entertainment he wished to make her some amends, and he called her and asked her what there was that he should do for her: "shall I speak for thee to the king or to the captain of the host?" And it has always appeared to me a great answer that the Shunamite woman returned. She said, "I dwell among my own people." When the question was put to me whether I would not step into the position in which I now find myself, the answer from my heart was the same—I wish to dwell among my own people.' Mr. Bright, however, felt constrained to yield to the voice of the people enforcing the request of the Prime Minister. Some of the extreme Liberals expressed their disapproval of the accession to office of the great Tribune of the people. 'I should have liked him better,' wrote one of this class, 'had he continued to abide among his own people.' 'Mr. Bright in the Cabinet,' said another, 'would both extinguish and be extinguished.' The result has completely falsified these predictions. The member for Birmingham has shown himself as cautious, moderate, and conciliatory in the Cabinet as he was vigorous and unsparing in Opposition.

There was not likely to be any want of ability, or energy, or courage in dealing with momentous and urgent questions on the part of an Administration containing Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, Mr. Lowe, Lords Granville and Clarendon, the Duke of Argyll, and the Marquis of Hartington; and their accession to office at this juncture was hailed with satisfaction by the great body of the people.

CHAPTER VIII.

State of relations between Austria and Prussia—Supremacy of Austria—Weak and impolitic conduct of the King of Prussia—Policy of his successor—Views of Bismarck—Contest between him and the Chamber of Deputies—His arbitrary conduct—Military preparations—Aggressive policy of Prussia—Bismarck's attentions to the French Emperor—His object—His secret treaty with Italy—Treaty of Gastein—Its effect on European opinion—Austria's refusal to cede Venetia—Bismarck's intrigues and double dealing—Attempts of the neutral Powers to prevent war—Bismarck's insolent despatch—Resolution of the Diet to mobilize its army—Prussia declares war—Overruns the Minor States—Condition of the Prussian army—Position of the Austrian forces—The Prussian invasion of Bohemia—Successes of the Prussians—The battle of Sadowa—Defeat of the Austrians—Progress of the victors—Cession of Venetia to the French Emperor—His interposition—Armistice and termination of the war—Battle of Custozza—Defeat of the Italians—Naval battle at Lissa—The Italian fleet worsted—Treaty of Prague—Prussian gains—Prussia's deification of force and fraud—Its effect on Europe—Result of the war on Austria—Her previous arbitrary policy—Concordat with the Pope—Judicious conduct of the Hungarian Diet—Adoption of a Liberal Policy by the Austrian Emperor—Concordat repudiated—State of Spain—Arbitrary and profligate conduct of the Queen and her Ministry—Breaking out of a revolution—Its success—Flight of the Queen—Provisional Government—Election of the Cortes—Difficulty in obtaining a King.

It had long been foreseen that in all probability war would sooner or later take place between Austria and Prussia for supremacy in Germany. King Frederick William III., a monarch of brilliant and highly cultivated powers, but weak and facile in character, was offered the Imperial Crown in 1848, but rejected it because it was tendered to him by the nation and not by the Princes. From that day forward the Prussian monarch sank lower and lower in public esteem and influence, and was obliged to accept the humiliating conditions dictated by Prince Schwarzenburg at Olmütz, and to return to his previous inferior position. A tacit agreement had heretofore existed between Austria and Prussia, Prince Metternich taking the lead in all European questions, but leaving Prussia a certain liberty of action in North Germany, and particularly in matters of material interest like the Zollverein. Moderate and judicious politicians earnestly recommended that such a position in the Confederation should be conceded to Prussia as would induce that Power to exert its influence in behalf of the common interests of Germany. But Schwarzenburg, the new Austrian Prime Minister—haughty, imperious, and short-sighted—had made up his mind to use his victory over the Prussian sovereign in the most relentless manner, and, as he openly avowed, was determined first to abase Prussia and then to destroy it. The idea of German unity was utterly distasteful to him, and his object was to obtain the admission of the whole dominions of Austria into the Confederation, and to make her the mistress of an empire of seventy millions of inhabitants. The poor Prussian King was willing to yield even to this demand, and but for the protest of Britain and France the whole Austrian Empire would have been received into the Bund. When the illness of the King of Prussia in 1858 made it necessary that his brother should be appointed Regent, a new and different policy was speedily inaugurated. Bismarck, who now began to come to the front, expressed his conviction that the existing federal relations were unprofitable, and in critical times even dangerous, for Prussia, and that in the opinion of the majority of the Confederation Prussia ought always to yield, even when they thought her in the right. 'We have no means,' he said, 'of coming to a permanent and satisfactory arrangement with this policy within the pale of the existing federal treaties. I consider our present federal relations as a disease of Prussia which we shall be obliged to cure sooner or later with fire and sword, if we do not take preventive measures in seasonable time.'

But though the Prussian people felt humiliated by long subjection to Austria, the Berlin Cabinet were not yet prepared to take decisive measures to elevate the position of Prussia in Germany. They waited, however, and watched for every opportunity of advancing her claims by fair means or by foul. It became necessary, in the first instance, to strengthen the military power of Prussia, to be in readiness to strike promptly and vigorously when the time came to assert her supremacy. 'Prussia,' said Bismarck, 'is obliged to collect her force for a favourable moment, which has already been missed several times. Her frontiers are not favourable for a healthy commonwealth. The great questions of our times are to be decided not by speeches and resolutions, but by blood and iron.' The experience of 1859 had satisfied the Prince Regent, who became king on the death of his brother in 1861, that the equipment, training, and discipline of the Prussian army had become obsolete, and that a thorough reform was necessary in order that Prussia might maintain her rank as a great Power. But the proposal to raise the necessary funds for the reorganization of the army was ill received by the Deputies, and a demand was made, and supported by a great majority, that the time of effective service exacted by law from every Prussian subject should be reduced from three to two years.

The contest which thus began between the Ministry and the House of Deputies in 1861 continued to be waged with great bitterness. Bismarck, who was now Prime Minister, attempted to browbeat rather than conciliate them. On one occasion he said —'When we shall deem it necessary to make war, we shall do so with or without the concurrence of this House.' He insisted that the King should be allowed to carry out unconditionally his plans for the reform of the army against the will of the majority. The House refused to grant the ways and means, and Bismarck resolved to govern without a budget legally voted. The Deputies insisted that the Government should not be entitled to appropriate any money without the consent of the House; but Bismarck contended that if the Government and the Legislature could not agree on the budget, the last budget would remain in force till an agreement had been arrived at. He took care that they should not agree when the full amount demanded was not granted. The Deputies on one occasion voted, but reduced the budget, and Bismarck induced the Upper House to reject it. He then declared that no provision for this case had been made by the Constitution, and that therefore he intended to govern by the last budget. He was quite indifferent to the opposition of the House and the clamour of the people so long as he was able to levy the existing taxes. In this way the army was enlarged and prepared for the work which it was in due time to be called on to perform. It was meanwhile carefully concealed that the reason why the King and his Minister were keeping under arms a much larger body of regular troops than had served for his predecessor, was that they might be in readiness to attack and plunder their neighbours. It must be admitted that this nefarious project was quite in keeping with the hereditary policy of the Berlin Cabinet. The King, after the robbery of Schleswig-Holstein, said—'In anxious anticipation of what has now taken place, I have been forced for years to consider it as the first duty of my royal office to prepare Prussia's military resources for a strong development of force.'

The first step in Prussia's aggressive movements was the breach of the Treaty of 1852 and the attack on Denmark. The pretext for this war was her desire to liberate the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein from the alleged tyranny of the Danish King; but, as it ultimately became evident, her real object was to annex them by force to her own dominions. When this flagrant violation of treaties, and of the rights both of the rulers and the people of these Duchies, was accomplished, the second step speedily

followed. Bismarck foresaw that a rupture with Austria would inevitably follow the armed intervention in the Duchies, whatever course the Cabinet of Vienna might pursue. Had Austria refused to join in the attack upon Denmark, she would have had against her not only Prussia, but all the other German States, who were vehement in their demand that the Duchies should be annexed to Germany. The Cabinet of Vienna had not moral courage to resist this unrighteous claim, and consented, though with reluctance, to become the accomplice of Prussia in the spoliation of the gallant little kingdom which both Powers were bound by treaty to protect. Bismarck was quite well aware that this false step on the part of Austria placed her in his grasp, and that a pretext for a quarrel, whenever it suited his purpose to bring it about, could easily be found in the questions which would arise out of the joint occupancy of the provinces and the contested rights of the Diet in connection with them.

Before he made the long-meditated attempt to wrest from Austria the imperial ascendency in Germany, and to break up the existing Federal system of that country, Bismarck thought it necessary to secure the neutrality of France. He eagerly sought the acquaintance and cultivated the friendship of Louis Napoleon. In July, 1864, he had frequent conversations with the French Minister, M. Rouher, at Carlsbad, to whom he hinted at the necessity of giving Prussia a better geographical configuration. If this were arranged she would be at liberty to break with the Holy Alliance, and to choose suitable allies; and no alliance would be more fitting in every way or more acceptable than that of France. Both Powers had the same interest in Venetia and the East, and France might be recompensed for the increase of Prussian territory by appropriating Luxemburg and Belgium.

In 1864 Bismarck, in order to induce Austria to become the accomplice of Prussia in the Danish War, agreed to support the Emperor Francis Joseph against Italy, in the event of an attack on Venetia. In the following year the Prussian Minister at Florence was instructed to sound General La Marmora as to an alliance with Prussia in case of a war with Austria. These overtures were cordially welcomed by the Italian Premier, and he immediately began to sketch out a plan for the proposed campaign, but the refusal of the Prussian king to sanction this enterprise compelled Bismarck to relinquish his scheme. The Convention of Gastein between Austria and Prussia speedily followed. A reconciliation took place between the Austrian Emperor and his uncle, and they agreed to make common cause against revolution and infidelity. The impression which this Convention made on the various European Powers was highly unfavourable to both the contracting parties. Britain expressed deep indignation at the manner in which Denmark had been despoiled and the prey divided by the two aggressors. Italy accused Prussia of treachery; the Middle German States turned in disgust from Prussia, and took their revenge by acknowledging Italy; the people of Holstein and Schleswig protested that they would not be sold at so much a head. The French Ministry, in a circular despatch to their agents, strongly condemned the Convention. 'We regret to find in this combination,' they said, 'no other basis but force—no other justification but the convenience of the parceners. This is a practice to which Europe now-a-days had got disaccustomed, and one is obliged to look for precedents in the most unfortunate epochs of history. Violence and conquest pervert the notions of right and the conscience of the people.' A despatch expressed in similar terms was sent by Earl Russell to the British agents at Foreign Courts.

In this unpleasant position, suspected and distrusted on all sides, Bismarck had a difficult part to play. He tried in vain to soothe the wounded feelings of the Italian Ministry. He then attempted, not without success, to gain over the French Emperor

to his views. Louis Napoleon was anxious that his programme that Italy should be free from the Alps to the Adriatic should be fulfilled, and Bismarck promised to fulfil this favourite aim by an alliance of Prussia with Italy. Over and above, there can be no doubt that the French Emperor believed that a war between Austria and Prussia would be protracted, and would exhaust the resources of both Powers, leaving him the arbiter of Europe. Having thus secured the neutrality of France, Bismarck entered into a secret treaty with Victor Emmanuel (8th April), by which, if Prussia within three months should declare war with Austria, Italy was obliged to attack Venetia. War once declared the two Powers were bound not to make any separate treaty of peace, and to continue hostilities till Italy should have obtained Venetia and Prussia an equivalent territory in Germany. Victor Emmanuel would willingly have come to a direct understanding with Austria for the cession of Venetia, but the Emperor, with that absurd pride which had repeatedly proved most injurious to his interests, regarded this proposal as a matter of military honour, and rejected the confidential overtures on this subject which were made by the Cabinet of Florence. Count Mensdorff, the Viennese Prime Minister, addressed a despatch to the ambassadors in London and Paris, declaring that Austria would rather encounter a double war than cede one of her most important provinces, either for money or under a moral pressure. Notwithstanding this high-sounding declaration, the Austrian Ministry, shortly before the outbreak of the war, agreed by a secret treaty to cede Venetia to France, but the concession came too late. Italy was by this time inextricably bound up with Prussia, and could not accept the cession without the consent of her ally, which of course could not be obtained. It is very characteristic of the Prussian Prime Minister that several months after he had declared to the French Emperor that he was determined upon war, and the secret treaty of offensive alliance with Victor Emmanuel against Austria had been signed, he continued, with consummate effrontery and perfidy, to protest that his master, the King of Prussia, cherished nothing but friendly sentiments towards his nephew, the Emperor, and he had even the hardihood to complain that Austria was meditating an attack on the Prussian dominions.

Even yet war might have been prevented if Austria had possessed a statesman with sufficient sagacity to perceive the game Bismarck was playing, and firmness to adhere to the proper course to baffle it. But though Austria behaved with great moderation in spite of the manifold provocations which she received for the express purpose of provoking her to take the initiative in the war, the Cabinet at Vienna fell into serious mistakes, and omitted to avail themselves of several opportunities of baffling Bismarck's nefarious designs. The public feeling in Germany was strongly manifested against a fratricidal war. The Middle States evidently intended to side with Austria. The French Chamber of Deputies expressed their conviction that the policy of Prussia was perilous to the peace of Europe, and the Prussian King himself was decidedly averse to appear before the world as the ally of the revolutionary King of Italy, and was still more reluctant to abandon the hereditary policy of his family. Bismarck, however, at last succeeded, by a series of discreditable intrigues, in bringing his royal master, as he said, to the edge of the ditch which he would have to jump.

About the end of May the three neutral Powers—Britain, France, and Russia—made an official attempt to prevent the war by proposing a Conference in Paris for the purpose of settling the affairs of the Elbe Duchies, the Italian question, and the German Federal reforms, as far as they were of interest to the other European countries. Bismarck was thunderstruck when he learned that Austria had accepted the invitation, as it was clearly her interest

to do, but the Emperor was unfortunately induced by Count Moritz Esterhazy to make it a previous condition that the negotiations should exclude all pretensions on the part of any one of the parties in question to a territorial aggrandizement. In consequence of this condition the French Emperor declared that it was useless for the Great Powers to meet, and the proposed Conference was abandoned.

Bismarck was still at a loss how and under what pretext to begin the war. On the 24th of March he had made a really revolutionary proposal for the reorganization of all Germany by a Radical Parliament, chosen by direct and universal suffrage, though only three months earlier he had appealed to Austria to combine with him against the revolution. Austria replied she was quite willing to assist in effecting that reform, but that it could only be accomplished at a time of peace and in a spirit of concord. Bismarck, thus once more foiled, addressed to the Austrian Minister a despatch, which was justly designated as of 'unmeasured arrogance and impertinence, in language unknown not only to courts but to gentlemen.' Austria responded by convoking the States of Holstein to deliberate on the affairs of the province, and submitted the whole question to the Diet. Prussia dispersed the States by force, arrested the Austrian Commissioner, and stopped one of the Imperial couriers. The troops of Austria evacuated Altona and marched through Hanover. Still no blow was struck. Austria then laid the question of the Duchies before the Diet, and proposed that the whole Federal army should be called out to her assistance—a perfectly legal proposition, though its expediency in the circumstances may be doubted, as Austria was quite unprepared to open the campaign. It was supported by a decided majority of the Bund, and Bismarck immediately declared war, and forthwith invaded the territories of the States which had supported Austria.

The Germanic Confederation consisted of States united by a common nationality. It was by its very nature 'a perpetual Confederation for the maintenance of the external and internal safety of Germany;' the members of the Confederation, great and small, were equal with regard to their right, and they were equally bound to maintain the Act which constituted their Union. They expressly engaged not to make war against each other upon any pretext, nor to pursue their differences by force of arms, but to submit them to the Diet, and to the ultimate decision of that body. The Treaty of Vienna, to which Prussia and all the other States of Europe were parties, bound them to the same agreement. But the most solemn engagements were no stronger than cobwebs to bind Bismarck and his royal master when they deemed it their interest to break them. And they violated them without hesitation when they pronounced the Federal compact at an end, and declared that Prussia would 'consider the imperative requirements of her self-preservation as more important than her relations to the Germanic Confederation.'

On the 16th of June, the day after the Frankfort Diet, by a majority of ten votes to five, decreed that the forces of the different States should be mobilized, the Prussian army entered Saxony and took possession of Leipzig. The manifesto of the Austrian Emperor justly affirmed that Prussia by such a step had 'substituted open violence for right and justice.' The Minor German States were unready and ill prepared for war, and the storm struck them from the quarter in which they least expected to meet it. The rapidity with which the Prussian armies overran the Northern States of Germany, and completed in a week the conquest of a large body of undefined principalities, proves to a demonstration that the whole operation had been carefully prepared beforehand. The Hanoverian army, after courageously repelling an attack of the enemy, was surrounded by a force greatly superior in numbers, and compelled to capitulate. The Prussian

King professed to regard this result as 'a visible interposition of Providence' in his behalf. The city of Frankfort was occupied by the Prussian forces on the 16th of July without any resistance, and a heavy contribution was even forced upon the inhabitants. The free city of Hamburg also was seized in the same unwarrantable manner, and was amerced in a large sum of money.

The case of Austria was different. Her army was believed to be the second in Europe, and Marshal Benedek, who commanded the forces in the North, was an officer of the highest reputation, and was regarded as an abler commander than any of the Prussian generals. But the Viennese Cabinet, neglecting the warnings of their Commander-in-Chief, precipitated a rupture before their army was ready for action. The Confederates of Austria, too, were quite unprepared, and were paralyzed by the suddenness of the attack. A Federal army, which was intrusted to cover Frankfort, remained inactive until its co-operation was of no service; and the Bavarians, who were to have taken part in the war with 100,000 men, were not ready before the end of the campaign. The Saxon army alone among the contingents of the smaller States joined the Austrians in Bohemia, and performed good service to the common cause. On the other hand, the Prussian army had been carefully disciplined and prepared for the enterprise which they were about to undertake. The extended period of service, and the budgets required for the equipment of the troops, had been enforced by royal prerogative after they had been rejected by the House of Deputies. The army itself and the accessories of the service had been brought into a condition of perfect efficiency by Count Von Roon, Minister of War, and General Von Moltke, chief of the Royal Staff, had arranged all the movements of the campaign, while Austria and her allies were wasting their time in political intrigues, and confidently believing that peace would not be broken. Bismarck had for some time been satisfied that the power of Austria and her confederates was hollow, and the possession by the Prussian troops of the only breech-loading muskets in Europe increased his confidence in the result of the war. Bismarck's expectations, however, were not shared by the military authorities of France, Russia, and Britain, by whom the quality of the Prussian troops and of their generals was undervalued, while they believed that the advantage in numbers, in physical strength, and in experience of war was on the side of the Austrians.

Marshal Benedek was compelled by the premature action of his Government to allow the Prussians to anticipate him in the occupation of Dresden, and he concentrated his troops in a defensive position within the mountainous angle of Bohemia. His base rested on a great line of fortresses and strong positions connected by railways; and holding the concentric position, with the power of manœuvring in the inner line, he expected to meet and defeat in detail the several Prussian corps, which were necessarily separated from each other by a considerable extent of difficult country. But he was not prepared for the rapid movements of the enemy, which completely foiled his plans.

The whole Prussian force was divided into three main armies. The first, under Prince Frederick Charles, occupied Saxony, and threatened the frontiers of Bohemia; the second army, under the Crown Prince, operated in Silesia; and a third army, called the army of the Elbe, under General Herwarth, was ready to march on the right flank of the first army. On the 22nd of June the headquarters of the first army were established at Hirschfield, a village situated on the Neisse, a few miles to the north-east of the frontier town of Zittau, which covers the outlet of the passes from Saxony into Bohemia. Next day the army crossed the frontier in two columns, one of which marched by way of Görlitz and the other by Zittau. On the 26th an artillery engagement took place at Reichenberg

between the Prussian advanced guard and an Austrian battery, the result of which was that the Austrians fell back upon Münchengrätz. Here two days later the invading forces attacked a body of Austrians and Saxons, who made an obstinate resistance, but were ultimately driven back in the direction of Gitschin, followed by the Prussians, who took up a position on the high ground in front of the town.

Meanwhile the second army marched through Silesia to the eastern openings in the mountains leading into Bohemia. In order to deceive the enemy the Prussians made a feint as if they intended to cross the frontier from Neisse by way of Widenau; but while the Austrians were expecting them to debouch in that direction they turned to the right, and passing, without opposition, the frontier at Reinerz and Landshut, they suddenly made their appearance on the west at Nachod and Trautenau. In a succession of combats during the last week of June the Prussians uniformly obtained the advantage. In their encounters with the army of the Crown Prince, the Austrians lost many thousands in killed and wounded, besides 8000 prisoners and twenty guns. The Third Prussian Army, under General Herwarth, effected a junction with the First Army on the 28th of June. Marshal Benedek had taken up a strong position at Dubenitz in order to meet the Second Army, under the Crown Prince, as it debouched from the Elbe; but the failure of General Clam Gallas to hold the town of Gitschin exposed the left flank of Benedek's army, and compelled him to fall back in the direction of Königgrätz. He evidently felt the danger to which he was now exposed in his new position, and seems also to have lost confidence in his troops, for at this juncture he telegraphed to the Emperor at Vienna the ominous words—'Sire, you must make peace!' He could not, indeed, fail to be aware that the Italian regiments in the Austrian service were disaffected, and that the Hungarians were lukewarm in the Imperial cause.

The movements of the Prussian forces had hitherto been directed by General von Moltke from headquarters at Berlin. But now, when a decisive battle was at hand, the king and he joined the army at Gitschin on the 2nd of July. The Austrian army was drawn up on a range of low undulating hills, between the villages of Smirzitz and Nechanitz, the centre occupying a hill on which stood the village of Klum, embowered in thick trees and gardens. This was the key of the position. Beyond this line, at some distance to the north, there is a similar ridge of greater elevation. Further back still is the picturesque broken country formed by the projecting spires and lower ranges of the Riesengebirge Mountains. In the valley, between the first and second ridge, runs the Bistritz rivulet, on which the villages of Sadowa and Nechanitz are situated. The army which Marshal Benedek had to defend this position, about nine miles in length from right to left, consisted of about 225,000 men, but a large deduction must be made for the baggage guards, the various escorts, the garrisons of Josephstadt and Königgrätz, the sick, and the killed, wounded, and prisoners in the recent actions. He was strong in cavalry, and his artillery consisted of about 540 guns.

At seven o'clock on the morning of the 3rd of July the Prussians commenced their attack on the Austrian position. A number of villages were dotted at intervals on the low hills on the field of battle, and there the fiercest encounters took place. Notwithstanding the great advantage of the needle guns, which enabled the Prussians to fire at least three shots for one, the Austrians firmly held their ground. The carnage was dreadful, especially at the wood above Sadowa, and that between Sad wa and Benatek, on the Austrian right, where the hostile forces fought with the bayonet. The latter place was carried after a frightful struggle, which cost many thousands of lives. One Prussian regiment, which went in nearly 3000 strong, with ninety officers,

came out on the further side with only two officers and between 300 and 400 men standing; all the rest were killed or wounded.

The Prussians, by hard fighting, had gained several positions, but at one o'clock they were brought to a standstill, and had great difficulty in retaining the ground they had won. It seemed by no means improbable that they would be defeated, but at this critical moment the army of the Crown Prince, which had been eagerly expected, reached the battle-field. About half-past one the Austrian forces, which had gallantly held the village of Klum, though it had been for some time in flames, found themselves suddenly exposed to a cross fire on their right from the troops brought up by the Crown Prince. 'The lines of dark blue,' wrote a spectator of the battle, 'which came in sight from the right teemed from the vales below as if the earth yielded them. They filled the whole background of the awful picture, of which Klum was the centre. They pressed down on the left of the Prague road—in square, in column, deployed, or wheeling hither and thither—everywhere pouring in showers with deadly precision—penetrating the whole line of the Austrians; still they could not force their stubborn enemy to fly. On all sides they met brave but unfortunate men, ready to die if they could do no more. At the side of the Prague road the fight went on with incredible vehemence. The Austrians had still an immense force of artillery, and although its concentrated force swept the ground before it, its effect was lost in some degree by reason of the rising-ground above, and at last by its divergence to so many points to answer the enemy's cannon. Cherta and Visa were now burning, so that from right to left the flames of ten villages and the flashes of guns and musketry contended with the sun that pierced the clouds in illuminating the seas of steel and the fields of carnage. It was three o'clock. The efforts of the Austrians to occupy Klum and free their centre had failed; their right was driven down in a helpless mass towards Königgrätz, quivering and palpitating as shot and shell tore through it.' The Austrians were at last forced to yield by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy. But their splendid cavalry 'hung like white thunder clouds on the flanks' of the Prussian infantry and threatened their front, keeping them in square and solid columns, and the Prussian horse, recognizing their inferiority, did not venture to press the pursuit. Benedek was thus enabled to cross the Elbe in safety with the remains of his forces, and he eventually halted at Olmütz.

After this decisive defeat the Austrians sent to the Prussian headquarters to propose an armistice, but the request met with a peremptory refusal. The victorious army proceeded to advance in three divisions, one taking the road to Brünn, the capital of Moravia; a second marched towards Olmütz; and the army of the Elbe turned westward in the direction of Iglau. Brünn was occupied by the Prussians on the 12th of July. Moravia was abandoned by the Austrians, and on the 17th Prince Charles Frederick occupied Lundenburg Junction, and thus cut off communication between the strong fortress of Olmütz and Vienna. General Benedek had meanwhile been deprived of the chief command of the Austrian army, which was conferred on the Archduke Albert, who was then at the head of the Austrian army in Venetia. The superseded general was ordered to withdraw his troops across the Danube, to defend the capital. He succeeded in sending a considerable number of men by railway to Vienna, and with the remainder he fought his way to Presburg, which was already threatened by the Prussians under Prince Frederick Charles.

At this critical moment the war was suddenly and unexpectedly brought to a termination. The Emperor of Austria, seeing that he was overmatched by the Prussians in the North, while a very large portion of his best troops were engaged in a profitless contest with the Italians for Venetia, determined to carry into effect his secret

treaty with France, and to surrender Venice to that power. He knew that by taking this step he would call the French Emperor to his assistance, and would reinforce his shattered forces on the Danube by the troops, 135,000 strong, now confronting the Italian army on the Adige. If his false pride had not prevented him from giving up Venetia at an earlier period, the issue of the war would in all probability have been different. Louis Napoleon of course accepted the province thus tendered to him, and telegraphed to the King of Prussia offering his mediation, and proposing an armistice. The Prussians, as Bismarck frankly admitted, were not in a situation to refuse the mediation of France. 'Nobody,' he said, 'could expect us to carry on two wars at the same time. Peace with Austria had not been concluded; were we to imperil the fruits of our glorious campaign by plunging headlong into hostilities with a new—a second enemy?' The armistice was therefore agreed upon, which, in the first instance, was to last for five days, beginning from the 22nd of July. The preliminaries for a treaty of peace between Austria and Prussia were signed at Nikolsburg on the 26th of July, but the treaty was not definitely concluded until the 23rd of August.

The fortune of war, which had been so unpropitious to Austria in the north, had run strongly in her favour in Italy. The proposal to make an attack upon Austria had been hailed with the utmost enthusiasm by all classes of the Italians. For this there was no other reason or pretext except the determination to rescue Venetia from the German yoke, and to set Italy free 'from the Alps to the Adriatic.' A formal declaration of war against Austria was issued by the King of Italy on the 20th of June, two days after a similar step had been taken by the King of Prussia. General Della Marmora, resigning his office as Prime Minister to Baron Ricasoli, took the command, under the King, of one division of the regular army, while General Cialdini, with 100,000 men, prepared to cross the Lower Po on the east of the Quadrilateral fortresses. On the 23rd of June the King and Della Marmora crossed the Mincio in force, intending to take up a strong position between Villafranca and the group of hills between Valeggio, Somma Campagna, and Castelnuovo. They came into collision with the main body of the Austrians at Custozza, between Peschiera and Verona, and after a protracted and obstinate contest, in which the valour of the soldiers made some compensation for the mistakes committed by the generals, they were driven back with heavy losses, and compelled to recross the Mincio. After the battle of Custozza the Italian army did not attempt any active operations, and Garibaldi, who had taken the field at the head of an undisciplined and badly-equipped body of volunteers, failed to obtain any considerable success.

The Italians were equally unfortunate in a naval combat with the Austrian fleet, which shortly after took place off Lissa. Lissa is a fortified island belonging to Austria in the Adriatic, off the coast of Dalmatia, and the Italian fleet, under Admiral Persano, proceeded to attack it on the 18th of July. They had succeeded in overcoming the sea batteries by the fire of the fleet, and had commenced the disembarkation of the troops on the morning of the 20th, when the Austrian squadron, commanded by Admiral Tegethoff, hove in sight. Preparations for battle were immediately made on both sides. The Austrian fleet consisted of twenty-six sail, seven of which were ironclads. The Italians had a greater number of vessels, including eleven ironclads and a large ram. Very little skill was displayed on either side. A great deal of confusion seems to have existed throughout the conflict, and the main object of each vessel appears to have been to run its opponent down. After the engagement had lasted two hours both sides drew off, but the Italians had by far the worst of it. One of their vessels, named the *Palestro*, was set on fire and blew up, with the loss of all her

crew, except a few who were picked up by the other vessels. The Austrian line-of-battle ship the *Kaiser*, with Admiral Tegethoff on board, ran into the *Re d'Italia*, and struck her with such force that she sank, with her whole crew of more than 600 men. Admiral Persano retired with the shattered remnant of his ships to Ancona.

The defeat of their forces both on land and sea inflicted a severe disappointment on the Italians, and taught them by painful experience that patriotic enthusiasm is an inadequate substitute for strategic skill and administrative vigour. They no doubt attained the main object for which they had entered into the war; but their satisfaction was greatly diminished by the conduct of the Austrian Government in transferring Venetia to the French Emperor, and not to the King of Italy—a useless and needless act very unwisely extorted by Louis Napoleon, which was not rendered more palatable by his insisting on the offensive ceremony of an appeal to the suffrages of the inhabitants. Everyone knew that they were merely asked to express their concurrence in a foregone conclusion, and they showed their discretion by unanimously expressing their desire to be incorporated with the Kingdom of Italy. The peninsula was thus at last made free from foreign domination. The only exception to the national sovereignty consisted in the city of Rome and the very limited dominions of the Holy See.

Negotiations for the conclusion of peace between Austria and Prussia had for some time been carried on at Prague, and the treaty was at last signed on the 23rd of August. It definitely sanctioned the union of the Lombardo-Venetian provinces to the Kingdom of Italy, recognized the dissolution of the German Bund, and consented to a new formation of Germany in which the Imperial State of Austria should take no part, transferred to the King of Prussia all the rights Austria had acquired to the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, 'with the understanding that the people of the northern district of Schleswig, if by free vote they express a wish to be united to Denmark, shall be ceded to Denmark accordingly'—a condition which remains to this day unfulfilled. Bismarck had set his heart on the annexation of Saxony, but this the Emperor of France would not permit, and the most galling result of the French intervention to him was the stipulation in the treaty that 'the Kingdom of Saxony should remain within its present limits.' Austria consented to pay forty million Prussian dollars for the expenses incurred by Prussia on account of the war, but from that sum one-half was deducted as the amount due to Austria by the Elbe Duchies.

As the result of the war, Prussia obtained not only the exclusion of Austria from the German Confederation, but in addition a large accession of territory. The Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were formally made over to her, and she forcibly annexed Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Hesse-Hamburg, that part of Hesse-Darmstadt which lies to the north of the Maine, and the little principality of Hohenzollern, the cradle of the Prussian royal house, situated on the borders of Lake Constance, between Würtemberg and Switzerland.

Something might be said in justification of the annexation of Hesse-Cassel and Nassau, which separated the Prussian monarchy into two parts, and the follies and misgovernment of their rulers made the population desirous of incorporation with Prussia. But the case was different with regard to Hanover. If the hostility of the sovereign to Prussia prevented his restoration to his hereditary throne, he could easily have been compelled to abdicate in favour of his son, who certainly could not have been more hostile to Prussian supremacy than the King of Saxony or the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt. The Hanoverians were strongly opposed to annexation, and Bismarck himself admitted in his conversations with Count Münster that the immense majority of the people of Hanover

were desirous that their country should remain as an independent State. Frankfort and Hamburg had certainly no wish to be deprived of their ancient privileges as free cities, and to be reduced to the condition of an appanage of the Prussian monarchy. But the claims of rulers and the rights of the people were alike disregarded when they stood in the way of Prussia's aggrandizement. And Bismarck, who boldly declared that in his estimation might made right, had no scruple in incorporating four millions of Germans by the bare right of conquest. The reception given to the Prussian troops by the States and towns which they invaded and seized unmistakably proved that the people were well aware that the fate in store for them was subjection to the iron sway of the Prussian military system and the Prussian police. Everywhere the invaders were received in sullen silence, and were regarded not as liberators from the arbitrary control of their own petty and unpopular rulers, but merely as the instruments of extending to the conquered provinces that system of insolent oppression for which Prussia had so long been notorious.

The destruction of the German Diet, the war with Austria, and the forcible annexation of the minor States, were quite in accordance with the hereditary policy of the Prussian dynasty, which may be said to have deified force and fraud. In every page of the history of that monarchy may be found examples of the same aggressive and ambitious spirit prompting the Sovereigns and Ministers of Prussia to similar acts of treachery, bad faith, and violence. 'The maxims by which the conduct of that Court has been governed since it assumed a place among the greater Powers of Europe, are so incredibly cynical and immoral that the authenticity of the document that contains them has been denied. But the acts of the Prussian Government for the last hundred and fifty years transcend even the language of her rulers. No other Government has laid it down as an avowed principle that self-aggrandizement justifies the breach of any engagement, and the partition or seizure of unoffending neighbours. Prussia alone, since the fall of Napoleon, has done more than proclaim these principles—she has given effect to them.' The unchecked success of such a power in this enterprise gave a fatal blow to political morality; contributed largely to shake all trust in those public engagements on which the peace of the world depends; taught mankind once more the cruel lesson that strength alone, and not law, can give them security; placed all the smaller States of Central Europe at the mercy of three or four colossal Empires; and compelled even these Empires to augment their immense military establishments, and to press their whole adult male population into the ranks of their armies.

It must be admitted, however, that it was the French Emperor who struck the first serious blow at the existing rights and engagements of the European Powers by the Italian War of 1859, in which he showed that he was prepared forcibly to impose his personal policy upon foreign nations. But in extenuation of this step it might be urged that the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy was a great gain to the cause of humanity and freedom. No such apology, however, can be made for the unprovoked attack of Prussia on Denmark and the robbery of the Elbe Duchies, and it is undeniable that on Prussia alone rests the moral guilt of the war with Austria, which was undertaken without a shred of legal right or political provocation. After the Italian War Prince Albert always entertained suspicions of the policy of the French Emperor, and in a letter to the present King of Prussia, congratulating him on his accession to the throne, he said, 'What especially pleases me is the prospect of seeing for the future among the five Powers a Continental Power that will take its stand simply and solely upon the domain of justice and equity, and will thus become a corrective element of the highest

importance in the great Continental policy of intrigue.' This expectation was unfortunately not destined to be realized. The invasion of the Duchies, the treaty of Gastein, the secret agreement with Italy to join in an attack on Austria, and the annexation of Hanover and Frankfort, were actions far more remote from 'the domain of equity and justice' than any which the French Government had attempted. A united Germany, under a central power, with a national Parliament, was no doubt highly desirable both for the sake of that country itself and for the interests of Europe, and if it had been brought about by the lawful and peaceful means pointed out by Prince Albert in his masterly 'Memorandum on German Affairs,' would have been cordially hailed by every friend of civil and religious liberty and of social progress. But a union effected by fraud and violence, by 'blood and iron,' as Bismarck termed it, has been productive of incalculable evil. It not only cost the lives of many thousands of Germans, who perished at the hands of their brethren in a fratricidal war, but also broke down the barriers of public law and the existing constitution of Europe, and has compelled the Continental Powers to keep on foot those immense armies which have become an almost overwhelming burden on the industry of the people. Europe has ever since been in a state, not of peace, but of armed truce.

On the other hand, the exclusion of Austria from Germany was a great gain to that country, and ultimately to Austria itself. The influence of the Viennese Cabinet in the German Diet had been 'evil only—evil continually.' Austria was a State composed less of German than of non-German elements, and was governed by a policy usually quite different from German interests and views. Its system of government, as Prince Albert said, was so wholly based upon stagnation that it could not hold out a hand to progress of any kind without shattering its own foundations. It had no other object than to crush German freedom, and it systematically impeded and stifled every movement in the Diet which was calculated to promote the progress of the people. The rulers of the smaller German States consequently looked to Austria for protection against the indignation of their subjects on account of their tyrannical proceedings. The expulsion from the German Diet of a power so hostile to improvement in every department of public life was an indispensable preliminary to the commercial and intellectual, as well as political, developments of the nation.

The Vatican was undoubtedly the heaviest loser of all by the defeat of Austria. If that Power had been victorious, as the Papal Court confidently expected, the Papacy might have regained all that it had lost during the previous six disastrous years. In that case the territories taken from the Pontiff by the Italian Government would almost certainly have been once more subjected to the priestly sway which its subjects so bitterly detested. But when Austria, the last of the great Ultramontane Powers, disappeared from the field, it was evident that the temporal power of the Pope would speedily come to an end. After the Austrian defeat at Sadowa the Roman Catholic journals loudly lamented that there was now no State 'dependent upon the Vicar of Jesus Christ;' that all had abjured the official character of the Roman Catholic faith; that though there were still 'Catholic peoples there was no longer any really Catholic government or nation.'

Austria herself has in the long run been benefited by her expulsion from the German Diet, which has rendered her the great Danubian Empire that Talleyrand wished to establish in 1809 against the aggression of Russia. It has been still more beneficial to the various provinces of her empire, and especially to Hungary. The policy of Austria, from the time of the Revolution in 1848 downwards, had been arbitrary, unjust, and unwise. Her treatment of Hungary had been in flagrant

violation of the treaty by which that kingdom was annexed to the Austrian Empire. Although laid prostrate by the combined armies of Russia and Austria, and compelled by the most brutal violence to renounce their claim to independence, her people were determined never to forego their hereditary rights. The Viennese Camarilla had made the young emperor not only violate all the promises which he had made during the revolutionary storm of 1848, but also to destroy all the forms of a representative constitution. A system of pure absolutism was formally proclaimed by an Imperial decree, and the Ministers were declared to be responsible solely to the Crown. It very soon appeared that this reactionary policy had excited strong dissatisfaction in the hereditary dominions of the Emperor as well as in Hungary and Croatia, and that it was quite impossible to carry out this despotic form of government. Various expedients were tried by Schwarzenberg and his like-minded colleagues to induce the people to submit to this system of absolutism, and repeated changes were made in its form, but without altering its spirit. The Hungarians remained quiescent under the yoke, but offered a firm though passive resistance to the imperial decrees.

After the defeat of Austria in the Franco-Italian war, the Emperor promulgated, in October, 1859, a new Constitution or Imperial Diploma for all his dominions, by which he conferred on the Reichsrath legislative powers and some control of the national finances. It declared that all matters of legislation relating to the 'kingdoms and countries belonging to the Hungarian Crown should be managed in the sense of their former Constitutions;' and by Imperial letters addressed at the same time to Baron Vay, the Emperor intimated that 'for the future the ancient principle of the public law of Hungary, that legislative power can only be exercised by the Sovereign with the participation of the Hungarian Diet, shall be valid.' The Hungarians, however, wisely refused to be satisfied with concessions so vague and insufficient, and which were granted not as their right, but as a royal boon. They therefore persisted in their demands that their hereditary Constitution should be restored; that the Emperor, after swearing to that Constitution, should be crowned at Pesth as King of Hungary; that they must be secured in their right to a separate administration of the kingdom, for the purposes of war and of finance; and that one of three persons nominated by the Diet should be appointed by the Emperor as Palatine of the kingdom. These were the fundamental conditions on which the right of the Kaiser to the throne of Hungary rested; and to assent to the abrogation of these rights would, they affirmed, have reduced their country to the position of an Austrian province. The Government of Vienna, however, refused to concede these demands, and in consequence the Hungarian people remained in a state of chronic irritation highly dangerous to the safety of the empire.

The policy of the Vienna Cabinet at this time was as injurious to religious as to civil liberty. In August, 1855, a Concordat was concluded between the Pope and the Emperor of Austria, which Prince Albert justly branded as 'atrocious.' 'By that document greater rights and privileges within the Austrian Empire were conceded than the Papal See had been able in the days of its greatest power to extort from any German sovereign. It made the conscience, the education, and the religious guidance of the Empire wholly subservient to the dictates of Rome, and pledged the civil authority to enforce whatever the Vatican might enjoin.' After the disastrous termination of the war with Prussia, Baron Beust, a Protestant, who had previously been Prime Minister of Saxony, was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs by the Austrian Emperor, and his influence was exerted to improve and liberalize the policy of the Cabinet. Francis Joseph had made an earnest appeal to the Hungarian people during the war to rally round the Crown, and in answer to a

speech from the throne in February, 1866, the Hungarian Diet stated their grievances in very plain and explicit terms. 'We have not,' they said, 'Parliamentary government; we have not responsible Ministers; the municipalities, the counties, the districts, and the towns have not regained their constitutional position; the absolute system prevails in all branches of the Administration. We ask, therefore, of your Majesty continuity of right in the sense of our especial laws, Parliamentary government, a responsible Ministry, and the re-establishment of the municipalities.'

An Imperial Rescript, read to the Hungarian Diet on the 19th of November, made large but vague promises respecting the introduction of responsible government and the management of affairs common to the whole empire. The Diet rejoined in an address informing the Emperor in distinct terms that his promises and avowals did not allay their apprehensions or satisfy their demands. They required the immediate restitution of their Constitution, and not promises 'dependent upon time and conditions,' and they reminded the Emperor that 'by the Pragmatic Sanction the succession to the throne was made conditional upon the support of the laws and Constitution of the nation.' It had evidently become a matter of life and death to the Empire to pacify and consolidate Hungary, and the Viennese Cabinet saw that it was impossible any longer to refuse or evade the demand that its ancient Constitution should be restored. Accordingly, on the 18th of February, 1867, a message from the Government was communicated to all the Diets of the Empire, intimating that a responsible Ministry had been appointed for Hungary as a preliminary condition of an arrangement with that kingdom. On the 8th of June the Emperor and Empress were crowned at Pesth King and Queen of Hungary, with the ancient formalities. A solemn oath was taken by the Emperor to observe the Constitution, which had been previously restored by a Diploma, signed by him in the presence of the Magnates and Deputies. Speaking as King of Hungary, he acknowledged the continuity of Hungarian rights and the validity of the Pragmatic Sanction, on which the Hungarians had throughout the struggle relied as defining the rights of the nation to its elected dynasty. At the same time an 'Act of Grace' was published, cancelling and annulling all the sentences which had been passed upon any of the Hungarians for political offences; forfeited estates were restored, and permission was given to all political exiles to return to their own country. A coronation gift of the Hungarian nation was presented to the King and Queen in two silver caskets containing 50,000 ducats. The money was made over by them for the support of the widows and orphans of 'former Honveds, and of invalids of the same force incapacitated from supporting themselves by their own labour.' The gift was significant of the altered relation between the Emperor and the people, for the Honveds were Hungarians who had fought against Austria in 1848 and 1849 in defence of their constitutional rights.

The Constitutional Reichsrath was also revived and assembled at Vienna, and it lost no time in showing that the powers intrusted to it were to be vigorously exercised in vindicating the rights and privileges of the people. Measures were prepared and passed by triumphant majorities, in spite of the strenuous opposition of the priests, to emancipate the schools from the control of the clergy; to make marriage a civil rite; to sanction divorce on certain specified grounds; and to define the relations of the different religious denominations to each other. All citizens were declared equal before the law; inviolability of domicile was guaranteed. Letters were to be sacred, except in cases of a judicial order. Right of petition, right of meeting, right of speech, teaching, writing, and printing were established, as well as freedom of religion. Again, in May, 1868, further laws were passed withdrawing entirely both marriage

and education from ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Marriage was made matter of civil contract, and the State schools were thrown open to all, without distinction of creed. The last vestiges of the Concordat were swept away by measures introduced by Prince Auersperg into the Reichsrath, in January, 1874, for the regulation of the relations between Church and State. The conduct of the Ultramontane party provoked the Ministry to take steps for the protection both of the Government and the people, and to place the Roman Catholic Church, as to all but its purely spiritual functions, under the control of the State. The appointment of the priests was made subject to the sanction of the Government, who might under certain conditions demand their dismissal. The limits of the spiritual authority to be exercised by the priests were defined; rules were prescribed for the education and training of candidates for the priesthood; the rights of ecclesiastical bodies, of congregations, and of parties were dealt with; and provision was made for the proper appropriation of endowments. Monastic bodies were brought under the direct surveillance of the civil authority; clerical endowments were subjected to taxation; and the existence and rights of Protestant denominations were recognized. In short, the entire policy, civil and ecclesiastical, of the Austrian Government was reversed, and the Power which for ages had been the bulwark of absolutism, the tool for executing the decrees of the Romish Church, and the enemy of all progress, became one of the most liberal and tolerant of Continental Governments.

For a good many years Spain had been in a state of chronic insurrection. The Government was of the most arbitrary and oppressive character. All freedom of thought was repressed, and rights of conscience were systematically violated. The education of the young was placed in the hands of the Jesuits, and the forms of the Constitution were abused to plunder the people and minister to the extravagance and corruption of the Court. The profligate conduct of the Queen had alienated all feelings of loyalty and lost her all personal respect. Her Ministers and worthless minions had rendered the country contemptible in the eyes of Europe. The flagitious policy of Louis Philippe and the Queen-Mother, Christiana, had borne its natural fruit, and at length the people could no longer tolerate a system under which they felt themselves disgraced as well as oppressed, and the whole nation, including the army and the fleet, rose in righteous indignation and swept it away. In the month of April, 1868, insurrectionary movements broke out in Catalonia, and the province was placed in a state of siege. About the end of the month a change of Ministry took place in consequence of the death of Marshal Narvaez, the President of the Council, and a new Cabinet was formed under Gonzalez Bravo, but there was no improvement in the mode of conducting public affairs. In July several Spanish generals, including Marshal Serrano (Duke de la Torre), were arrested, and without any form of trial put on board ship at Cadiz, and sent to the Canary Islands. Several other generals were banished to the Balearic Islands, while some were imprisoned in Spain. At the same time the Queen's sister and her husband, the Duke and Duchess de Montpensier, were ordered to leave the country, and on their refusal to comply with this illegal injunction they were sent on board a Spanish ship of war, and conveyed to Lisbon. In the month of September a revolution broke out, and its leaders sent at once a vessel to bring back the exiled generals from the Canary Islands. On the 17th General Prim, who after his last abortive attempt at insurrection had taken refuge in England, reached Cadiz. On the following day the Spanish fleet at that port, under the command of Admiral Topete, and the garrison in the city declared for the revolution; and on the 19th Marshal Serrano and the other banished generals arrived at Cadiz. The Marshal,

who had formerly been President of the Senate, placed himself at the head of the movement, and it was joined by the whole of Andalusia. At this crisis the Ministry resigned, and General Concha was appointed President of the Council. The command of the royal army was conferred upon the Marquis de Novaliches, who marched upon Cordova, which was occupied by the insurgents. At the bridge of Alcolea, on the Guadalquiver, about fifteen miles from that town, he encountered the hostile force, commanded by Marshal Serrano. The royal troops were defeated, and their commander received a wound of which he died two days after. It was evidently hopeless to attempt to arrest the progress of the revolution, as the royal forces were now fraternizing with the people. The Queen had no resource but to make her escape from Spain as speedily as possible. She took refuge in France, arriving at Biarritz on the 30th of September. Thence, after obtaining a brief interview with the French Emperor, she proceeded to Bayonne.

On the 3rd of October Marshal Serrano entered Madrid at the head of his victorious troops, and was received with the utmost enthusiasm by the inhabitants. He was authorized by the Central Junta of the capital to exercise in the meantime supreme power, and to appoint a Ministry until a Constitutional Assembly should meet. A provisional Ministry was accordingly formed, which on the 28th of October was recognized by the representatives of Britain, France, Prussia, and Portugal. General Prim was appointed Commander-in-Chief. A decree was issued suppressing the Society of the Jesuits throughout Spain, ordering its colleges and institutions to be closed within three days, and declaring its whole property sequestrated to the State. Another decree declared that henceforth primary education should be absolutely free, restored the normal schools which Isabella's Ministers had suppressed, and reappointed the professors they had removed. A third decree proclaimed the absolute liberty of the press, and abolished the censorship on literary and dramatic publications. An electoral law was promulgated by the Government, authorizing every citizen of twenty-five years of age, who was not deprived of his political rights, to vote at the election of town councillors, provincial deputies, and members of the Cortes.

The general election to the Constituent Cortes took place in January, 1869, and the result was estimated to give to the Monarchical party 250 votes against 75 or 80 Republicans. The Cortes were opened on the 11th of February. Senor Rivero was elected President of the Chamber. A draft of a new Constitution was prepared by a Commission, and adopted by a great majority. It proposed a hereditary Monarchy, and a Cortes consisting of a Senate and a Chamber to make laws. The executive power was to be vested in the King, who was to exercise it through his Ministers. Marshal Serrano was appointed Regent until a King should be elected and inaugurated. General Prim was appointed head of the Ministry. The Republican party took up arms in various districts of the country, but as the troops of the line adhered steadily to the Government the insurrection was suppressed, though not without severe fighting, especially at Saragossa and Valencia. It was evident that the country cordially approved of the resolution of the Cortes that the form of government should be Monarchical, not Republican, but the question who was to be King was the great difficulty. Two years elapsed before a suitable candidate was elected by the Cortes, and induced to accept the unstable throne.

CHAPTER IX.

Report of Committee of House of Commons on Trades' Unions—Act of 1824—Use of Combinations—Regulations of Unions in regard to Apprentices—Non-Unionists and the Rate of Wages—Effect of Combinations and Strikes on the public interests—Strike of the Colliers in the West of Scotland—Effects of Strikes on the Workmen and on Trade—Strike of the Calico Printers and of the Glasgow Cotton-Spinners—Ruinous results—The Preston Strike—Secret Oaths of the Trades' Unions—Their acts of violence and murder—Sheffield Trades' Unions—Commission of Investigation—Disclosures respecting the rules and operations of the Trades' Unions—The Brickmakers and Plasterers—Outrages of the Unionists in Ireland, and at Sheffield and Manchester—Summary of the Report of the Commissioners—Their recommendations—Acts of Parliament passed in 1871 and 1875—Regulations of the Iron Shipbuilders on the Clyde—The Co-operative Movement—The Rochdale Equitable Pioneers.

TRADES' Unions, or combinations of workmen in particular branches of skilled industry for the purpose of securing what they consider an adequate reward for their labour, have long been in existence in this country, but until the present century they had been declared unlawful. Their condemnation by the Legislature, however, did not prevent their extension over nearly the whole kingdom. The secrecy in which the proceedings of these associations were involved proved exceedingly mischievous both to the members and the public. The barbarous outrages perpetrated by the members of Trades' Unions, in order to effect their purpose, at length rose to such a height that the House of Commons appointed a Committee to investigate the subject. In the report afterwards issued this Committee state—

'The evidence adduced before them proved that the Combination Laws had been inefficient in repressing those associations of workmen, which had so often dictated to their masters the rates of wages, the hours, and manner of working. There was hardly a trade in the three kingdoms (the type-founders in London excepted) in which the journeymen were not regularly organized, and were not prepared to assist with money, to a great extent, any body of workmen who chose to stand out against their employers. Of these the tailors were the best organized. It appeared that the whole body of journeymen tailors is divided into two classes, denominated flints and dungs; the former work by the day and receive equal wages, the latter work generally by the piece. There are a number of houses of call for the flints, each of which elects a delegate; the delegates again elect five of their number, called the town, who rule the whole trade with unlimited power. The whisper is spread among the body that there is to be a strike, and without discussing the subject they strike whenever they are ordered to do so. Systems of a similar kind extended, it was shown, throughout the country, and with few exceptions they had been successful in attaining their objects. Sometimes the workmen had proceeded to the most outrageous excesses, and several examples were adduced to the Committee in which murder had been committed without scruple in order to obtain their end. In many places the object of these combinations had been, not so much to augment wages as to prevent workmen who had not served a regular apprenticeship in the particular district from finding employment there.

'While the laws against combination failed in their object, the terror they inspired from being sometimes, though but rarely, enforced, produced, it was conceived, in the workmen a feeling of personal hostility towards their masters, and a growing dissatisfaction with the laws of their country. Upon this ground it was deemed advisable to try whether a more lenient and liberal system might not be productive of good effects; and with that view a general assent was given to a Bill which, while it abolished all the old regulations of the Combination Laws, denounced severe punishment against those who should attempt to influence or overawe by violence or intimidation.'

It was indeed high time that an attempt should be made to amend the existing laws which regulated the relations between masters and workmen, and to remedy the evils which had arisen out of the unjust distinction made by the law between master and servant and master and workman. A mere combination of workmen to raise their wages was unlawful. A combined effort to raise wages or to fix the price of labour was treated as a

dangerous conspiracy, and had repeatedly been made the subject of trial and punishment. An Act was passed in 1824, which was originated by Mr. Hume, for the purpose of redressing these grievances of the workmen, and making it lawful for a combination to do what it was lawful for an individual workman to do. It swept away about thirty Acts from the Statute-Book, and legalized simple combination on the part both of masters and workmen, subject only to certain restrictions and punishments in the event of violence or intimidation being proved against the members of the combination or the persons employed by them.

Adam Smith has said that there is 'a tacit but constant and uniform combination of masters not to raise the wages of labour above their actual rate. Their interest naturally dictates such a course. It follows that in a trade where the employers are few in number as compared to the workmen, combination of some kind is necessary to enable the latter to deal with the former on anything like equal terms. It is impossible to deny that the isolated workman is at a disadvantage in making a contract with the capitalist. He is individually weak. Circumstances may limit the field for his labour to a small number of employers, perhaps to one. It can rarely happen that any individual workman is a necessity to the master, it may often happen that an individual master is necessary to the man. The man cannot afford to wait; the capitalist has a reserve to fall back upon. Suspension may be to him a serious pecuniary loss; to the workman it is life or death. Capital is power; he who holds the purse has many forces on his side, but an empty sack cannot stand upright.' 'Men are beginning to understand,' says one of the Union witnesses who gave evidence before the Commission, 'that if they have not a good organization and a fund at their back, they may apply to their masters in vain to advance their wages.' It would be unjust to say that masters *never* voluntarily raise the wages from a pure sense of equity and fairness toward their men, but it must be admitted that as human nature is constituted some pressure may often be needed to induce the capitalist to part with a larger portion of that profit which is to be shared between himself and his workmen. The employer is master of the situation unless the men can go to him in a body, with a reserve fund at their back, and say, 'The rate of profit which you are reaping has become such as to exceed the fair return for your capital, and to entitle us to a larger share of the produce. The workmen in other districts similarly circumstanced are receiving the higher wages we ask for. Concede this addition, or we shall decline to work for you.'

It is of course undeniable that wages are regulated by the law of supply and demand, but combination is necessary to enforce this law upon the capitalist; and if the men have a right to combine for increased wages, they must also possess the right to suspend working when their demand is refused. A strike is a great calamity, and inflicts serious injury on masters and men alike, and on the trade of the country; but it at least determines the question whether it is demand or supply that is in excess. The Unionists, however, will not suffer that question to be fairly tried. The point at issue is whether the masters can get other men to labour for them on the terms which their own workmen refuse; but the Unionists employ violent means to prevent other men from accepting these terms. By means which set at nought the fundamental rules of political economy, the plainest dictates of common sense, and the laws both of God and man, they shut out the supply of labour, do injustice to their fellow-workmen, who are forcibly prevented from accepting what they regard as suitable terms, and thus seek to compel their employer to grant their demands. 'An increase of wages thus produced is nothing else than pure extortion,' and in the long run is highly injurious to the interests of the working classes themselves.

In most of the Trades' Unions it was at that time, and probably still is, a fixed principle that persons not belonging to the Association should not be permitted to work for any of the masters by whom Unionists were employed; and if any master insisted on his right to employ a person who was not a member of the Union, the whole combined workmen in his employment immediately *struck*, and until the obnoxious workman was dismissed no other member of the combination was permitted to enter the master's employment. In order to secure a monopoly of the trade it was usually enacted by the ruling committee of the Union that no master should employ more than a small proportion of apprentices to the skilled workmen.* In some trades he was only permitted to employ one apprentice for three skilled workmen, in some one for four, in others one for five. In the articles of an association of operative cotton-spinners which at one time existed in Glasgow there was the following regulation:—

'This Association binds and obliges every one of its members to refrain from instructing any individual in the art of spinning, except such as are sons or brothers of a spinner who may have been, or is at present, a member of this Association.'

If the master ventured to engage more than the prescribed number of apprentices, he received a command from the committee of the Union to dismiss immediately the extra hands. If he disobeyed the order the whole combined workmen in his employment received notice that they must forthwith strike, which they were of course obliged to do. The same method was employed to get rid of an overseer or manager to whom the men had taken a dislike. Notice was given to the master that he must, by a certain day, dismiss the obnoxious manager. If he proved refractory intimation was given to his workmen that they must strike on a day specified, and if the day arrived without the mandate being complied with the whole of the men disappeared.

The regulation limiting the number of apprentices is still maintained in a number of trades. It is rigidly enforced, for example, by the ironworkers in the shipbuilding trade on the Clyde. It is self-evident that, apart from the hardship this regulation inflicts on the masters, it is in the highest degree unjust both to the persons who are prevented from learning this trade and to the public at large. Every man has an undoubted right to follow whatever trade or profession he may think fit, and it is an act of the grossest tyranny for any man to prohibit his fellow-men from learning his trade, lest by so doing they should lower the rate of his wages. If every trade were to adopt this regulation (and one trade has as much right to do so as another), the result would be that a very large number of persons would be prevented from learning any method of earning their bread. But, as it is impossible for every trade to carry this plan into operation, it is obvious that those who do so inflict a grievous wrong on the workmen of other trades, and on unskilled labourers. If the iron shipbuilders succeed in diminishing the supply of hands by limiting the number of apprentices, it is plain that the youths who, but for this restriction, would have become ironworkers must betake themselves to other trades. No doubt, by adopting this regulation, the ironworkers have increased their wages,

* O'Connell, in a powerful speech denouncing the conduct of the Trades' Unions of Dublin, mentions two striking cases which show the lengths to which they went in enforcing this rule. A master manufacturer in Dublin took as an apprentice a boy, the son of an old servant who had been thirty years in his employment, but the workmen turned out against it, and the boy had to be withdrawn. A man and his wife died of cholera, leaving a young family. The master in whose employment the man had been, with praiseworthy humanity, took two helpless orphans, the children of these people, as apprentices. The Unionists revolted at this, and insisted on their immediate discharge, to which the master was obliged to accede. O'Connell mentions another case—that of a man who had worked thirty years in a factory, and was asked by the employer how he could serve him. The man said he should be greatly benefited by having his son taken as an apprentice, and that it would be an act of charity. The boy was so taken, but the workmen turned out against it, and the boy had to be withdrawn.

but not only must this increase have been taken virtually from the pockets of the public, but the wages of other mechanics have necessarily been lowered by the additional hands that have been forced into their handicraft.*

The ruling committee also took upon them to fix the number of hours the men were to labour, and the minimum of wages they were to receive—that is, the rate below which not only no member of the Union, but no person whatever, should work to any master. The obvious effect of this resolution was to discourage anything like talent and industry, and to give a premium on indolence and stupidity. It is plain that the sum which the master was compelled to pay to the idle and unskilful workmen more than he was worth must necessarily have been deducted from the wages of the intelligent and industrious workman. So far was the system carried of depressing the clever and diligent operatives that task work was condemned by some of the Unions in Ireland as an 'unmitigated robbery' of the rights of others; and the following most extraordinary rule was in some places one of their fundamental laws:—

'Should any member of this society be known to boast of his superior ability as to either the quality or quantity of the work he can do, either in public or private company, he shall pay a fine of half a crown, or be expelled the society.'

Had matters been in their natural state masters would have found it their interest to recompense clever and industrious workmen in proportion to the value of their services, and to pay others of an opposite character only according to their deserts. But under these Trades' Union regulations all workmen were put upon a level, and superior merit was neither recognized nor remunerated. The system was neither more nor less than a tax upon diligence and skill in order that indolence and carelessness might be maintained at an unjust rate of payment.

'Nature and nature's God,' said O'Connell in an eloquent address to the workmen of Dublin, 'have created men with different degrees of talent. There are some superior to others in manual dexterity and intellectual acquirements; some are superior in one line, some in another, and this is the case with all men. You act in a manner inconsistent with this dispensation of nature. You do not, it is true, say to your employer, "You shall not give this man ten times as much as you pay him now," but you prevent the possibility of such an event by compelling the employer to pay the unworthy man more than he deserves, and thus preventing the man who by God was destined to rise to a higher and more comfortable station from acquiring the means of accomplishing his will.'

In a good many trades at this time if a master required to take on any additional hands he was not allowed a choice of workmen. He must go to a certain office, termed among some trades 'a house of call,' and there take the first man who stood upon the list for employment. This regulation was strictly enforced among a considerable number of trades in London, Dublin, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, and probably in most of the large towns. 'Its levelling and injurious effect upon the real interests of the workmen and the free employment of labour is sufficiently evident. One main inducement to increased industry, skill, or activity is taken away when idleness is in this manner put on a level with industry, talent with remissness, and skill with inattention.' But the great majority of the members of Trades' Unions at this period adhered to it most tenaciously, for an obvious reason. The inferior or at least moderately-skilled workmen are at all times more numerous than the best, and it is therefore the interest of the numerical majority in every skilled trade to compel their employers to take them in rotation.

* 'If the tailors, the spinners, &c., keep up a higher rate of wages it can only be by restricting their numbers; for if 50,000 tailors, for instance, can obtain certain wages now, 100,000 could not obtain the same. Supposing, then, that they multiply at the same rate as other men, what do they do with their children? They clearly must send them to some employments; but all employments cannot send their children to other employments, and the hands in no employment be increased. If, then, the tailors, &c., keep up their wages as represented, they must do it by throwing the burden on other classes, and it would be impossible for all classes to do the same.'—*Westminster Review*, Oct. 1833.

The Trades' Unionists are quite well acquainted with the maxim of political economy, that the rate of wages depends on the proportion which the number of workmen bears to the funds for the support of labour, and they have long taken means to prevent the influx of new hands into their particular trade, who might both diminish the amount of employment for the existing members, and ultimately lower their wages. Heavy restrictions have been laid upon the admission of any persons to the benefits of these associations. Not only has the number of apprentices been limited, but a long period of apprenticeship has usually been required before the young operatives have been admitted to the skilled or initiated class; and during the whole period of probation the apprentice must pay a stated contribution into the funds of the association.

It is evident that large sums of money must be required to carry on energetically a system which interferes in so many particulars with the free employment and disposal of labour on the part both of masters and workmen. A regular weekly contribution is levied from every member according to the rate of wages he receives. The members of the Glasgow Cotton-Spinners Union paid each 2*s.* 6*d.* a week, and on extraordinary emergencies double that sum. It was proved that during the course of a few months the committee had levied no less than £11,881.

The regulations of the Trades' Unions, fixing the hours and mode of labour, and the rate of wages, are calculated to inflict great injury on the public interests. A striking example of the manner in which a well-organized combination can succeed in raising for a considerable period the price even of the most necessary articles of life is given in the enormous rise in the price of coal in 1836 and 1837. Taking advantage of the rise in the price of iron during the joint-stock combination in 1835 and 1836, the colliers of Lanarkshire issued a mandate that no collier should work more than three or four days in the week, and at the utmost five hours in each day. This order was implicitly obeyed not only by the whole combined colliers round Glasgow, but also by all the colliers in Renfrewshire, Dumbartonshire, and Stirlingshire, amounting altogether to between 2000 and 3000. The wages which the men were to receive for working between twelve and fifteen hours *a week* varied from 30*s.* to 35*s.* according to the quantity of coals they put out. This monstrous rule issued by the Union was encouraged by the coalmasters, to their great disgrace, for the obvious reason that it gave them a most undue advantage at the expense of the rest of the community. Its effect was to raise the price of coals at Glasgow from about 8*s.* 6*d.* to about 16*s.* or 17*s.* a ton, and at that price they continued for upwards of eighteen months—the last nine of which, from January to October, 1837, was a period of unexampled commercial and manufacturing distress. The price of iron fell in March, 1837, from £7 10*s.* to £4 a ton; but notwithstanding this circumstance, and the general stagnation of trade, the colliers stood out for their old rate of wages, and doggedly refused to submit to any reduction. The greater part of them, to the number of nearly 2000, struck work and continued idle for about five months, until the whole turned-out coal in the country, even of the worst kinds, was consumed. The funds of the Union having been by this time exhausted, the colliers were at length compelled to give in and commence working at the rates which had been offered by the ironmasters, viz. eight hours a day for five days a week, at which even the inferior hands could earn 5*s.* and the better workmen 6*s.* a day. The total loss caused by this combination to the colliers and their employers and the public amounted to the enormous sum of £678,000.

The entire disregard which the Unionists have shown of the rights of unskilled workmen, and of the welfare of the community, has in very many instances recoiled upon

their own heads. One of the most common effects of combinations and strikes in many departments of industry, has been that of forcing means to be adopted for abridging labour, and of the invention and introduction of improvements in machinery by which, though the public are ultimately gainers from the permanent reduction which results, yet much injury is inflicted on the combined workmen whose services are dispensed with. The following striking instance of this is mentioned by Mr. Babbage:—

'There is a process in the manufacture of gun-barrels for making what, in the language of the trade, are called "skelps." The skelp is a piece or bar of iron, about 3 feet long and 4 inches wide, but thicker and broader at one end than at the other; and the barrel of a musket is formed by forging out such pieces to the proper dimensions, and then folding or bending them into a cylindrical form until the edges overlap so that they can be welded together. About twenty years ago the workmen employed at a very extensive factory in forging these skelps out of bar-iron "struck" for an advance of wages, and as their demands were very exorbitant they were not immediately complied with. In the meantime the superintendent of the establishment directed his attention to the subject, and it occurred to him that if the circumference of the rollers between which the bar-iron was rolled were to be made equal to the length of a skelp, or of a musket barrel, and if also the groove in which the iron was compressed, instead of being made of the same width and deepness throughout, were cut gradually deeper and wider from a point on the rollers until it returned to the same point, then the bar-iron passing between such rollers, instead of being uniform in width and thickness, would have the form of a skelp. On making the trial it was found to succeed perfectly; a great reduction of human labour was effected by the process, and the workmen who had acquired peculiar skill in performing it ceased to derive any advantage from their dexterity.'

It is somewhat singular that another and a still more remarkable instance of the effect of combination amongst workmen should have occurred some years after in the very same trade.

'The process of welding the "skelps" so as to convert them into gun-barrels required much skill, and after the termination of the war, the demand for muskets having greatly diminished, the number of persons employed in making them was very much reduced. This circumstance rendered combination more easy, and upon one occasion, when a contract had been entered into for a considerable supply to be delivered on a fixed day, the men all struck for such an advance of wages as would have made the completion of the contract attended with a very heavy loss. In this difficulty the contractors resorted to a mode of welding the gun-barrels for which a patent had been taken out by one of themselves some years before this event. The plan had not then succeeded so well as to come into general use; but the stimulus produced by the combination of the workmen induced the patentee to make new trials, and he was enabled to introduce such a facility in welding gun-barrels by rollers, and such perfection in the work itself, that welding by hand-labour was not required. The workmen who had combined were of course no longer wanted, and instead of benefiting themselves by their combination, they were reduced permanently by this improvement in the art to a considerable lower rate of wages, for as the process of welding gun-barrels by hand required peculiar skill and considerable experience, they had hitherto been in the habit of earning much higher wages than other workmen of their class.'

The various extensive strikes which the Manchester spinners made between 1824 and 1831 produced precisely the same effects. These strikes were of most serious consequence both to the masters and their neighbours, as every head spinner had six or seven people working under him, who could not go on when he stopped. These people were willing to work, and the masters, pressed to execute their orders, began to think whether some plan could not be devised for doing without the head spinners. As often as the head spinners came back to work, the plan was laid aside —as often as they turned out, the wits of the masters were sharpened. At last the great strike of 1831 decided the question. Several of the capitalists, afraid of their business being driven to other countries, had recourse to the celebrated machinists, Messrs. Sharp & Co. of Manchester, requesting them to direct the inventive talents of their partner, Mr. Roberts, to the construction of a self-acting mule, in order to emancipate the trade from impending ruin. Under assurances of the most liberal encouragement

in the adoption of his invention, Mr. Roberts suspended his professional pursuits as an engineer, and set his fertile genius to construct a spinning automaton. In the course of a few months he produced a machine, called the 'Self-acting Mule,' which did the work of the head spinners so much better than they could do it themselves as to leave them no chance against it.

Another illustration of the injury which strikes inflict upon the workmen is stated by Dr. Ure in his 'Philosophy of Manufactures.'

'The art of calico printing,' he says, 'which embodies in its operations the most elegant problems of chemistry as well as mechanics, had been for a long time the sport of foolish journeymen, who turned the liberal means of comfort it furnished them into weapons of warfare against their employers and the trade itself. They were, in fact, by their delirious combinations, plotting to kill the goose which laid the golden eggs of their industry, or to force it to fly off to a foreign land, where it might live without molestation.

'In the spirit of the Egyptian task-masters, the operative printers dictated to the manufacturer the number and quality of the apprentices to be admitted into the trade, the hours of their own labour, and the wages to be paid them. At length capitalists sought deliverance from this intolerable bondage in the resources of science, and were speedily reinstated in their legitimate dominion of the head over the inferior members. The four-colour and five-colour machines which now render calico printing an unerring and expeditious process, were mounted in great establishments. It was under the high pressure of the same despotic confederacies that a self-acting apparatus for executing the dyeing and rinsing operations was devised.'

In numerous instances the exorbitant demands of workmen, enforced by strikes, have caused the removal of manufactures to other places, and have ruined the trade of the towns where these strikes occurred. The combinations and outrages of the Luddites in Nottinghamshire drove a great number of lace frames from that district, and caused establishments to be formed in Devonshire. Macclesfield and Norwich have suffered severely from the same cause.

'The business of calico printing,' says Mr. O'Connell, 'which had been long carried on in Belfast, was taken from it in consequence of the combination of the men engaged in it. The party who had embarked his capital in the trade sold off his materials, and the result was that 107 families were thrown out of bread. In the town of Bandon a cotton factory was established, which was like to give employment to many persons in that neighbourhood. The proprietor fitted up his machinery, and had received several orders. When that was known to the workmen they turned out for higher wages. The proprietor remained long enough to complete the orders he had got, but then gave up the business, and thus that neighbourhood lost an outlay in wages of £11,000 or £12,000. With respect to the city of Dublin, he was sure he did not overstate the matter when he said that wages to the amount of £500,000 a year were withdrawn from it in the manufacture of almost every article of consumption. In the foundry trade alone not less than £10,000 a year was sent out of Dublin, which would have been retained if the system of combination did not exist. The articles of hats, boots, and shoes were imported into Dublin instead of being manufactured there. So greatly did the combination among tailors raise the price of clothes that a man might go from Dublin to Glasgow, and after spending a day or two in amusing himself, return and save the whole expense of his journey in the difference between the price he should have to pay for a suit of clothes in Dublin and that for which he could buy them in Glasgow. Not very long ago there were four shipbuilders in extensive business in Dublin; there was at present not one. The trade had been removed to Drogheda and to Belfast, and if a vessel coming into the port required repairs, she was cobbled up in such a way as to enable her to get across the Channel, or to get down to Belfast, where she could be thoroughly repaired. What was the cause of this? It was that when there was any business, so as to give employment, they at once turned out for higher wages.'

A volume might be filled with an account of the injuries which unsuccessful strikes have inflicted on the working classes. It may, however, be sufficient to quote the results of only a few out of the many strikes that have taken place. In 1810 a strike took place in Manchester and the neighbourhood, whereby 30,000 persons employed in cotton-spinning went out of employment. For a considerable time £1500 a week was contributed from the earnings

of others to those who had left their work. All was unavailing. At the end of four months, after their funds were totally exhausted, and the turn-out workmen reduced to the greatest misery, the struggle ceased without having in any one particular accomplished the object of the Unionists. Some of the men were even glad to accept employment once more, not at their original, but at half those wages. In 1829 another strike took place at Manchester, which threw 10,000 individuals out of work for six months. The result is thus described by a workman in his evidence before the Factory Commission:—'The consequence was that at the end of six months they came into work again at reduced wages.' Few strikes have been more extensively supported than the celebrated Bradford turn-out of 1825–26. Before the strike for an advance 14,000 persons in the town and neighbourhood of Bradford entered their names as approving of the plan and willing to act upon it. Contributions from 152 places enabled the struggle to be kept up for ten months. The upshot was that at the end of that time the men returned to work at lower wages than before. It is melancholy to discover from the notices to their brethren at a distance the poverty in which the turn-out left the people of Bradford.

'They beg to be excused contributing in their turn. The Bradford workmen are at present utterly incapable of relieving any other class of workmen; hundreds of them cannot get bread, and few of the remainder anything else.'

'Melancholy as all this is,' says Miss Martineau, 'it is far from surprising when it is seen how money goes during a strike. In the first place the waste of maintaining many thousand people for ten months in idleness is frightful, when their future support actually depends on there being no waste. At Bradford the sum thus expended was £14,431 10*s.* 3*d.*; so when they returned to their work there was all that and whatever increase their labour might have added to it the less to pay wages with. How should the masters raise their wages?'

Towards the close of the year 1836 there was an extensive and very disastrous strike of the operative cotton-spinners of Preston, which was productive of an appalling amount of misery and wretchedness. At the time of the turn-out, the 5th November, the operatives of Preston engaged in cotton-spinning amounted to 8500 persons. Of this number it may be said that only 660 (that is, the whole of the spinners) voluntarily left their work, the greater part of the remaining 7840 being thereby thrown out of employment. After standing out for three months, and suffering the greatest extremities, they accepted of the terms which the masters had offered before the strike commenced, and besides signed a declaration to the effect that they would not at any future time, whilst in their service, become members of any union or combination of workmen. The total loss to the town and trade of Preston in this unavailing struggle was estimated at not less than £107,196.

The utter disregard on the part of the Trades' Unions at this time of the public welfare, or indeed of any interest but their own, in carrying out their schemes for raising wages, was openly proclaimed by them. The *Liberator*, which was at one time the great organ of the Trades' Unions of Scotland, boasted that the result of strikes on the part of the workmen would be the ruin of the masters, bills dishonoured, and the *Gazette* teeming with bankruptcies; but the effect of such proceedings on the interests of the workmen themselves was quite overlooked. A most instructive example of the effect of putting in practice the principles recommended occurred shortly after in connection with the strike of the calico printers in 1834. This strike, which lasted nine months, is thus described by Sir Archibald Alison, who was at that time Sheriff of Lanarkshire:—

'Messrs. Barr & Co. were calico printers at Kelvindock, near Glasgow, their business was extensive and prosperous, they had printfields in many different places, and gave employment to about 2000 persons. Their engagements, however, as might naturally have been expected with an establishment supporting so great a

number of workmen, were of a very extensive kind, and they had several heavy bills running against them in the autumn of 1834. The workmen were well aware of this, and they accordingly struck work in a body in the month of September of that year, and immediately began assaulting the new hands with whom the company endeavoured to supply their place. The military were ordered out and quartered around the mills for some months, and in their immediate neighbourhood tranquillity was perfectly maintained, and work was to a certain extent resumed with the new hands. In other quarters, however, where the mills of the same company were not protected, and soldiers could not be got, the combined workmen broke into the buildings and forcibly turned out the new hands. The intimidation produced by these riots was such that the mills were obliged to be stopped for some months; and after vainly holding out as long as they could, Barr & Co. were obliged to make a compromise with their workmen, and they began working again in January, 1835. The losses they sustained, however, by their capital being unproductive during the strike, were such that they became bankrupt in July, 1835, about six months after the strike had ceased and the working had recommenced; 2000 persons were at once thrown idle by this calamity. They immediately made the most piteous complaints to the magistrates of the county, who, however, had no public funds out of which to afford them any relief, and the helpless multitude were in a great part thrown upon the parish funds or reduced to utter despair by the consequences of their own acts, while the printfields in that quarter were totally destroyed, and that thriving branch of trade altogether extinguished. Some of the ringleaders, convicted of rioting and breaking into the mills in order to intimidate the new hands during this strike, were apprehended and brought to trial in the winter assizes at Glasgow, in January, 1835. The principal pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to eighteen months confinement in Bridewell. When liberated from prison he found the printfields, in which he had formerly been earning from 30*s.* to 35*s.* a week, deserted, and the buildings shut up or in ruins. By faithfully following out the directions of the *Liberator*, and timing the strike at the moment when heavy bills were running against their employers, the workmen had succeeded in rendering them bankrupt, destroying the great and thriving manufactory which they had set on foot. The consequence was that this ringleader found himself without employment, his furniture and effects were sold off by his landlord for rent, and he is at this moment, when burdened with a wife and eight children, breaking stones upon the public road for 8*s.* a week, and has lately tendered himself as a witness to be examined before the Combination Committee of the House of Commons in order to make public by the detail of his own sufferings and folly the practical consequences of those measures in which he formerly took so leading a part.'

The strikes which took place in Glasgow and the West of Scotland in the year 1837 were on a far more extensive scale, and were much more injurious in their results. During the summer of 1836 trade was unusually prosperous, and the cotton-spinners memorialized the masters for an advance of wages. They were at this time earning from 30*s.* to 35*s.* a week. Their request for an advance was readily granted by their employers, and their wages were raised to from 35*s.* to 42*s.* A commercial crisis, however, took place at the beginning of 1837, caused by the enormous failures in America, which overwhelmed a number of the most stable and wealthy firms in Glasgow, and prices fell so much that the masters proposed in the month of March that wages should be reduced to their previous rate. The spinners unanimously refused to accede to this proposal, and as the masters declined to give higher terms the former struck work in a body on the 8th of April. The avowed object of the strike was to retain wages, during a period of great depression of trade and low prices, at the high level which they had attained during the previous period of prosperity and high prices. In no circumstances, they declared, should their wages ever be reduced. This was the reason proclaimed by the cotton-spinners themselves, in their own organ, the *New Liberator*, of the 13th of January, 1838.

This ill-advised step on the part of the cotton-spinners was shortly followed by a similar strike on the part of the whole colliers and iron-miners in Lanarkshire. There were at that period 32,000 persons in and around Glasgow engaged directly or indirectly in the cotton trade. The colliers were 16,000 in number, and with their families amounted to about 50,000 persons,

so that upwards of 80,000 young and old were by these strikes thrown into a state of utter destitution during a period of severe national distress.

The cotton-spinners' strike, which commenced on the 8th of April, did not terminate until the 5th of August—a period of nearly eighteen weeks. It was throughout unpopular among the great body of the workmen, as the *Liberator* admits, and was forced upon them by the committee of the Union. It was brought to an abrupt termination by the arrest of the officials in a body, on the charge of their accession to the murder of John Smith, one of the new hands, on the streets of Glasgow on the 22nd of July. Three days after that event the spinners unanimously agreed to return to their work on the terms offered by the masters. It was estimated by Sheriff Alison that the direct loss of wages during this strike amounted to £78,540, and that the losses suffered by the masters and others directly or indirectly connected with the cotton trade was not less than £116,000, making the total loss to Glasgow by the strike the large sum of £194,540. The men who, under the direction of the committee, had refused from 30*s.* to 35*s.*, were allowed by the Association during the latter part of the strike only the miserable pittance of 1*s.* 6*d.* a week. A number of them were found begging in the country districts adjoining Glasgow. The condition of the female operatives—the piecers, pickers, carders, and reelers—was infinitely worse, for there was no fund whatever provided for *their* maintenance, and from the commencement they were thrown upon the streets, without either asylum, employment, or subsistence. The consequence was that crime, immorality, sickness, and death increased to a frightful degree. The unskilled labourers were of course by far the greatest sufferers, though they were in no degree responsible for the adoption of the proceedings which produced such a miserable result.

It had been the custom throughout for some, at least, of the Trades' Unions to compel all the members to take secret oaths, and this was not discontinued at the time these unions became legal. In the Glasgow Cotton-Spinners' Association members were required to swear on the Holy Scriptures that they would obey in all matters, legal or illegal, the will of the majority, as expressed by the ruling committee; and that they would keep secret the taking of the oath. In 1822 the oath was enlarged, and as one of the members said, made 'more vicious in its nature;' and subsequently a third oath was introduced which was 'much worse than either of the former.' A copy of the oath was produced by Mr. Robinson, Sheriff of Lanarkshire, before the Combination Committee of the House of Commons in June, 1825, and was found fully to bear out what was said of its tenor. It ran as follows:—

'I, A B, do voluntarily swear in the awful presence of Almighty God and before these witnesses that I will execute with zeal and alacrity, as far as in me lies, every task or injunction which the majority of my brethren shall impose upon me in furtherance of our common welfare, as *the chastisement of nobs,* the assassination of oppressive and tyrannical masters, or the demolition of shops that shall be deemed incorrigible;* and also that I will cheerfully contribute to the support of such of my brethren as shall lose their work in consequence of their exertions against tyranny, or renounce it in resistance to a reduction of wages; and I do further swear that I will *never divulge the above obligation* unless I shall have been duly authorized and appointed to administer the same to persons making application for admission, or to persons constrained to become members of our fraternity.'

The obligation under which the members of the Trades' Union came to commit acts of violence and murder at the orders of the committee was not allowed to lie dormant. Deeds of this class were repeatedly perpetrated in connection with strikes both in England and Scotland. Intimidation, mobbing, and rioting were the methods usually employed to render a strike effectual. The

* A nob was a man who during a strike continued to work at the wages offered by the masters, but rejected by the unionists.

usual practice when a strike took place, and new operatives were engaged by the masters, was to station guards, varying from five to fifteen persons, around each mill. 'The guards' duty,' as stated by one of the Unionists, 'was to try to take out the new hands who were working at reduced rates, and to prevent others going in. The means were—by advising, treating to drink, or assaulting. The guards were relieved about the middle of the day by another party, and at other times; but guards continued from the earliest hour in the morning till the work was dismissed.'

When advising, cajoling, and treating failed of effect, recourse was had to mobbing, assaulting, and throwing vitriol in the faces of the nobs. One of the witnesses in the trial of the Glasgow cotton-spinners in 1838 said—

'I was examined six or seven times before the Sheriff before I told all I have now disclosed. I was reluctant, knowing that I was under an oath not to reveal anything about the Association, and knowing that many individuals had been shot and burned with vitriol by that Association. It was a scrupulous fear of my oath and of that danger which made me keep silence to the Sheriff, until I became persuaded, by the strong assurance of the Sheriff, of protection and safety.'

When these methods had failed to terrify the new hands and their employers recourse was had to the expedient of appointing, by secret ballot, 'a secret select committee' to organize the means of assassinating the refractory operatives and masters, and setting fire to the mills of such employers as refused to submit to the demands of the Association. It was distinctly proved by evidence taken in courts of justice, and by the confessions of convicted prisoners themselves, that the committee had repeatedly hired persons to commit murder or fire-raising, and had paid large sums out of the Union funds to the perpetrators of these shocking crimes. On one occasion, when the hiring of the assassins by the committee was proved by the clearest evidence, the sum paid amounted to £100. And yet the Unionists immediately after held a public meeting, in which they disclaimed all connection with the bloody deed—representing it as the unauthorized act of a private individual at a period of great public excitement, owing to the strike that prevailed. The cotton-spinners evidently supposed that they had thus cleared themselves effectually from all participation in the foul deed. But unfortunately for them the person who was hired to assassinate the 'nob,' and who was found guilty of discharging loaded fire-arms with intent to murder, after having undergone his punishment, made a voluntary confession of the whole transaction, and his statements were corroborated thirteen years later by another witness, who was a member of the secret select committee at the time. It was proved by their concurring testimony that four men were hired by the committee of the Association to shoot a 'nob,' by way of striking terror into the rest; that there were four persons engaged in the attempted murder; that they were to be paid £100 for the deed; that the money was accordingly paid from the funds of the combination; that the expense of defending the assassins at their trial was borne by that body; that the wives of the transported assassins were maintained from its funds; and that the one who was sentenced to Bridewell was sent, after his liberation, to America at their expense.

At this time, too, an elderly woman had her house broken into during the night, and was murdered by mistake for her daughter, whom the committee had resolved to put to death, because she had warned the other female mill-workers against a diabolical plot devised for their seduction, in order to compel them to give up their work. There were various other shocking outrages perpetrated by the Unionists on the cotton-spinners who refused to strike. In various instances these unfortunate men were severely injured for life and deprived of sight by large quantities of sulphuric acid thrown in their faces.

Proceedings of the same kind were adopted during the strike of the Glasgow

cotton-spinners in 1837. When the funds of the combination were exhausted and the members reduced to beggary, while the masters still held out, the Unionists became desperate, and had recourse to their old tactics of violence, assault, and murder. The committee, when brought to trial, were charged with eleven different crimes committed during the continuance of the strike, including two attempts at fire-raising and the murder of a spinner on the streets of Glasgow. The jury returned a verdict of not proven in regard to the murder, though no impartial person could doubt that it was committed by their orders, and the foul deed was clearly proved to have been perpetrated by some person connected with and in the interest of the combination. The committee, however, was found guilty of having instigated to so many violent outrages as to warrant their banishment for seven years.

The punishment inflicted on these suborners of violence and murder had no effect in deterring others from following their example. Terrorism of the worst sort continued to be employed in promoting the interests of the Trades' Unions, and their committees ordered the most barbarous outrages to be perpetrated on those who refused to submit to their authority. The town of Sheffield had long had an evil notoriety for the shocking deeds of its workmen. 'Rattening,' as it was called—the destruction of the tools of obnoxious operatives—was one of the mildest of their modes of compelling obedience to their mandates. In some cases the houses of offenders were burned or blown up, or infernal machines were thrown into them at night. Even women were not secure from the malice of the Unionists, and were blinded and put to death in order to strike terror into recusant workmen. The masters laid these crimes at the door of the Trades' Unions in the town, but their officials, like the Glasgow cotton-spinners, indignantly denied the charge. The Government and the employers offered large rewards for the discovery of the criminals, but without effect. The committee of the Trades' Unions followed their example, in order, as they said, that by the discovery of the real criminals their innocence might be made clear as the sun at noonday.

The outrages at length became so numerous and flagrant, and the discovery of their perpetrators so difficult, that the masters appealed to the Government to investigate the condition and conduct of the Trades' Unions; and the managers of these associations, evidently feeling confident that the members dared not reveal what they knew, expressed their cordial concurrence in the demand for inquiry. A Commission was accordingly appointed to inquire into the organization and rules of Trades' Unions and other associations, and were authorized by Parliament to take evidence upon oath. Sir William Earle, ex-Chief-Justice, was appointed chairman, and with him were associated Sir Edmund Head and Mr. Merrivale, men of sound and clear views on economical questions; Lords Lichfield and Elcho, who had laboured to enlighten and conciliate the working class; Mr. F. Harrison, who had advocated the cause of Trades' Unions in the press; Mr. T. Hughes, their spokesman in Parliament; Mr. Roebuck, and other public men of the same stamp. The competency and impartiality of such a tribunal could not be questioned. The investigations of the Commissioners brought to light a state of matters among the skilled labourers in England which could scarcely have been credited, had it not been vouched by the testimony of the persons who were most deeply implicated in the proceedings of the Trades' Unionists. All that had been laid to their charge respecting their rules, and the mode in which these were enforced, was far exceeded by the disclosures of their officials. The final end and aim of the Trades' Unions was to raise the rate of wages to the highest practical point. In order to attain this end their codes contained the imposition of a certain rate below which wages should not

be allowed to fall, the limitation of the hours of labour, the prohibition of piece-work, and the interdiction in certain cases of machinery and of methods by which hand labour could be economized; regulations having for their object to check the zeal and activity of workmen who might be inclined to get on too fast with their work, and thus raise the standard of efficiency against their fellows to the advantage of their employer, the limitation of the number of apprentices in proportion to the number of journeymen employed, and a similar restriction on the employment of boys; and lastly, the exclusion of non-Union men from working along with or in lieu of Unionists.

So far was the rule against working with non-Union men carried that a father was not allowed to employ his sons to work for him without making them members of the Union.

The masons had a rule against the introduction of wrought stone, even from neighbouring quarries. This caused a great loss, for the stone is softer and easier wrought when first quarried, and around each quarry there was a set of men who were accustomed to work the stone, and who could work it very much better than masons who were not accustomed to work that particular kind of stone. But the rule was carried out with the utmost rigour.

The masons forbade the use of machinery for dressing stone. A master mason, near Ashton-under-Lyne, writes:—

'I received a quantity of sawn base from quarries near Macclesfield. My men refused to fix it, being polished, as it was against the rules of their club, and struck work accordingly. After standing out against what I considered this injustice three weeks, I was forced to submit to have the polished part defaced, so that they might polish it again by hand; and those men declared, after all this expense, it was not so good as when it came from the quarry.'

The carpenters of Blackburn had a great dislike to the importation of machine-made work from other towns. They gave notice to the master builders that they would not fix any machine-made work or mouldings that were worked outside Blackburn, as they considered that there were plenty of machinists in Blackburn who could do the work as well as people elsewhere. The resolution come to by the meeting was 'that at the expiration of one month all members belonging to the Society will cease to fix any machine-made work that may be brought from other towns.' It was intimated to Mr. Carr, a mason and bricklayer of Sheffield, that it was dangerous to use machine-made bricks. He paid no attention to the warning, and his work was injured by being squirted over with gas tar. The prohibition against the use of machine-made bricks was carried out in the strictest manner. So remorselessly did the Unionists enforce this rule, that the case was stated of seven men who, for having worked at a brick machine, were still, after the lapse of two years, excluded from employment. The men who carted the bricks were placed under a similar ban. The Bricklayers' Union, in order to back up the prohibition of the brick-makers, refused to lay the machine-made bricks. The Secretary to the Stockport Bricklayers' Union frankly stated that—

'The bricklayers being all Trade Unionists, and the brickmakers also being Trade Unionists, agree between themselves that they shall only use the bricks made by Trade Unionists. In point of fact there is an alliance offensive and defensive, that they should confine themselves to laying bricks made by Union men, and to making bricks to be laid by Union men, and the non-Union men are to be excluded on either side.'

It was admitted that the machine-made bricks were better than the hand-made bricks. The public were consequently compelled by the Unionists to use the worst article. They would not allow a moulded brick having fancy shape. They went further still, and refused to allow even hand-made bricks, the work of Unionists, to be used except within a prescribed and limited district. The Bricklayers' Union would not allow bricks to be transferred from one district to another,

and they fixed the limits of each district in the most arbitrary manner, as the following illustration, furnished by Messrs. Thomas Bates & Co., builders and brickmakers in Droylsden, four miles from Manchester, will show.

'Our brickyard,' they said, 'is situated on the bank of a canal that runs through the township, and the operative brickmakers of Manchester have thought fit to call the canal the boundary line of their district, and we are forbidden to sell or use any of the bricks over that line, and it so happens that the only part of our township where bricks are likely to be required in our day is on the other side of this so-called boundary. We have now on stock about 500,000 bricks, in addition to a plant worth £300, which under existing circumstances is so much dead capital. The whole of the bricks have been made by Union men, and according to Union prices, but in the so-called Ashton-under-Lyne district, and they must be used either there or not at all. Consequently we have been obliged to give up the works and discharge the men.'

It appears that the brickmakers endeavoured by their rules to limit the size of the bricks all over the country to one standard; and the bricklayers' labourers, not to be behind them, limited the number of bricks which each man was allowed to carry at a time. One of the rules in the Leeds Lodge decreed that 'any brother of the Union professing to carry any more than the common number, which is eight bricks, shall be fined 1*s.*, to be paid within one month, or remain out of benefit until such fine be paid; any member knowing the same (knowing that this is done by any of the labourers) shall be fined the same unless he give the earliest information to the Committee of Management.' One of the witnesses said, 'This "eight bricks" is a ridiculously small number. At Liverpool the rule is twelve bricks. I believe the usual rate all over the country is ten bricks. In the country that I have worked in (Coventry) the bricks I should think are larger and heavier than in any other district, and the rule there is ten bricks.'

The men belonging to one trade were not allowed to do the most trifling piece of work connected with any other trade, and a fine was imposed upon any master who permitted this to be done. The Plasterers' Society wrote to Mr. Peacock of Scarborough:—

'The operative plasterers are bound not to work with any bricklayers, or to cover any work of any description that has been previously commenced by any person or persons but plasterers. If you wish to finish your job with plasterers, you must stop the bricklayers from plastering.'

Some bricklayers passed by the works of Mr. Day, of Bolton, and found a carpenter enlarging the holes left for the posts in the brickwork. Mr. Day was fined £2, which he paid. In another case the aperture for a door had to be altered. The carpenter, who was waiting till it was done to put in the frame, pulled out some loose bricks. The master was fined £2, which he paid. Mr. Russell, of Bolton, was compelled to pay a fine of £5 by the bricklayers of Bolton, for setting a mason to widen a window which he could not get finished, because the bricklayers were drinking and would not work. Mr. Stone, of Newton on the Willows, was fined 15*s.* because his foreman remonstrated with his men for talking and smoking when they should have been at work, and the foreman's son was fined 5*s.* for taking part with his father. The Unions not only encouraged espionage by imposing a fine on a workman who did not at once make known to the committee any breach of those rules which might have come to his knowledge, but they had inspectors who made regular rounds to see that these rules were observed. The conduct of the Preston plasterers affords a striking example of the intolerable manner in which the rules of their Union were enforced, and of the manner in which the employer was hampered in the conduct of his business by their dictation. The secretary wrote to Mr. Walker of Preston, on the 15th of May, 1865, as follows:—

'Sir, I am requested by the Committee of this Society to inform you that you are breaking the rules of this Society by having four apprentices at

once, and you must discharge Cook or keep your son from the trade.'

On the 12th of June he received a second letter—

'Sir, I am instructed by the Committee to inform you that the stranger that is working with Joseph Fisher must pay to the Society the sum of 5*s.* or cease work immediately.'

A third letter couched in the same insolent terms was sent to Mr. Walker on the 3rd of August—

'Sir, This is to inform you that you have to stop George Hoskinson at once unless you give the Society satisfactory proof he receives the current rate of wages, besides his lodgings and travelling expenses, and you will oblige the Committee by answering this note to the Secretary right away.'

It appears that in Lancashire a master bricklayer was not only forbidden to employ workmen not belonging to the town in which he resided, although members of the Union, but that should he go beyond the district to do work, half the men employed on the job must belong to it, and that this rule was strictly enforced even when men could not be obtained from the town. It would be difficult in any other country to find a parallel to the despotic and oppressive conduct of the Manchester bricklayers, as described in the evidence of Mr. William Wildsmith:—

'I am a master bricklayer in Manchester,' he said. 'In November, 1866, I had the building of the Bury Railway Station, and at that time the building trade was very brisk in Manchester, and I used every means in my power to get men from Manchester to do the work (in accordance with the rules of the Bricklayers' Society), but I could not succeed. I applied to the men's club for them, but could get no assistance. I therefore told my foreman to engage any bricklayer who might apply for work, provided he belonged to the Bricklayers' Society; but I specially warned him not to offend the men in this respect. Eleven men were thus engaged, when on the 17th November two delegates from the Bricklayers' Society at Manchester came upon the job, and informed me that as I was a master bricklayer from Manchester I must employ as many men from Manchester as I did from elsewhere; that is to say, if I employed one man from Bury (where the work was) I must employ on the same job one man from Manchester. If I employed six men from Bury I must employ six men from Manchester, and if I wanted thirteen men seven of them must come from Manchester. In vain I pleaded that men could not be had from Manchester; these delegates told me distinctly that if I could not get Manchester men *the job must stop until I could*, notwithstanding the job was being pressed for every day. These two delegates then read to me the laws of their Society under which they were acting, and *concluded by asking me for their day's wages, amounting to* 7*s. each, and* 3*s.. each for first-class railway fare from Manchester, for coming to give me what they called their orders.* I protested against this demand, when these gentlemen told my foreman (in my presence) that if he commenced working more on that job or any other job for me until I had complied with their demands in full he would do so at his peril. Consequently my work was stopped.'

The masters all over the country acknowledged that when a man was asked to walk any distance to his work that walking formed part of the day's labour, for which they were to pay, but 'the men have turned and twisted this rule very much to the injury of the masters,' and they insisted that 'any person who is employed on any job that is at a distance from the headquarters of the master shall be allowed walking-time, *whether he requires it or not.*' A building at Powicke was being erected by bricklayers, some of whom lived on the spot and some at Worcester, four miles off. The Worcester men asked for walking-time; that is, that the walk should be counted in the day's work. This was readily granted. The men on the spot, who, of course, had no walk, demanded the same allowance, and when this was refused a strike took place. Care was taken that the walk should not be rapid; indeed, there was a rule to that effect. Mr. G. F. Trollope gave an example of the mode in which it operated:—

'I said to a young man from the country some months ago who was walking along the street going to his work, "Where are you going?" "Oh, I am going to Mr. So-and-so's to work." That was about two o'clock in the day. I said, "At what time do you expect to get there?" He said, "I do not know, sir." I said, "At the pace you are going you will get there about when it is time to leave off." He came to me afterwards and said, "Sir, I am sorry to say it, but we are not allowed

to sweat ourselves if we are walking *in your time.*" The witness went on to say, 'Their theory is this' (and a most absurd theory it is), 'that if there is work for three to be done, and they can somehow scheme it that four men shall be employed, they are doing their cause a service; and then they tell us, "If it is on day work it does not matter a pin to you—the public have to pay for it—and you can put your profit on the wages. If it is a contract we can understand how you may lose, but if it is not, what is the difference to you?"'

The knowledge, however, that a master was under contract, so far from making his men more forbearing towards him, was regarded as a favourable opportunity for compelling him to raise their wages. Mr. Wood, a contractor at Derby, wrote Mr. Mault (March 16th, 1867), describing the disgraceful treatment he had received from his men:—

'I am building a church at Rangemere the contract for which was taken in the autumn of 1865. Masons' wages were 28*s.* per week in summer and 26*s.* 6*d.* in winter. After a promise from the masons to exert themselves during the winter months I agreed not to reduce their wages, but to continue 28*s.* all the winter. See what followed. A month before the winter quarter expired they applied for an advance of 1*s.* 6*d.* per week more, making 29*s.* 6*d.*, and knowing from past experience how useless it would be not to agree to their terms, also receiving a guarantee from them that if I gave it all would go on comfortable, after a week's consideration I consented, feeling sure that I should not be called upon for any more. In three weeks after the Masons' Society served me with a notice, requiring me to pay 2*s.* 6*d.* per week in addition to the 1*s.* 6*d.*, making 32*s.* per week instead of 28*s.*, as I had expected when the contract was taken; and they also threatened to strike if I did not comply. As there was no alternative I yielded, and am paying 32*s.* at this time.'

Mr. Mault, who laid this letter before the Commissioners, says—

'Of course Mr. Wood gets no additional price for his contract, but just because the men know that in this case it is a time contract—that is to say, that the work must be done at a given time—they are enabled to do what I have read. I have, of course, known hundreds of similar cases. I know a case in particular, in which a master commenced to build the town-hall at Congleton with wages of masons at 24*s.*, and by the judicious use of the screw the men got their wages up 25 per cent. in the course of about three months; and because he would not then consent to a further rise, but rather sublet his work to a master mason of Congleton, the men even then struck against him.'

In many districts the men claimed to have a voice in the rating of the wages of all men employed. For instance, at Sheffield this was the rule:—

'No waller or builder of stone shall be paid less than 33*s.* per week when considered a skilled workman, neither shall an employer or foreman be allowed individually to judge a man as to his qualification. But a meeting shall be called of all the members on the job, who, together with the employer or foreman, shall decide the question. All members known to violate this rule shall be fined at the discretion of the Lodge.'

The same rule applied at Bristol, and the masons there said that it was a general rule of their Society. A specimen of the mode in which the rule was applied occurred in the case of a firm who were engaged in building a large hotel at Bristol, where three or four strikes had occurred. The Secretary of the Operative Mason's Society wrote them, on December 8, 1866, in the following imperious tone:—

'Gentlemen, I am instructed by the Committee to inform you that the masons who are working in your employ under the current rate of wages are for the future to have their wages fixed by the foreman and the men in conjunction with yourselves. That is the rule of the Masons' Society, and one rule must be adhered to as well as another. At a general meeting of the masons of Bristol, held last Thursday evening, it was unanimously resolved that the Committee should communicate with you on the matter, and the wages of the men to be fixed as above stated. You will please attend to the above, and get the matter settled at once.'

Hundreds of similar cases might be given to show the various devices employed by the men to extract, by fair means or by foul, the utmost possible amount of wages from the masters; but to complete the picture it is necessary to show the means they took to diminish as far as possible the amount of labour they gave in return. Here is a rule of the Bradford Lodge of the Labourers' Union:—

'You are strictly cautioned not to overstep good rules by doing double the work you are required by the Society, and causing others to do the same, in order to get a smile from the master. Such foolhardy and deceitful actions leave a great portion of good members out of employment all the year round. Certain individuals have been guilty who will be expelled if they do not refrain.'

The Friendly Society of Operative Masons had a rule to the same effect, declaring that a man should not work too fast—'chasing,' it was there called. So also the Bricklayers' Association at Manchester had, among their other rules, the following, which virtually provided that the fastest workman should be reduced to the rate of the slowest:—

'That any man found running or working beyond a regular speed, or trying to run off or take advantage of their fellow-workmen, is to be fined the sum of 2*s.* 6*d.* for the first offence; for the second offence, 5*s.*; for the third offence, 10*s.*; and if persisted in to be dealt with as the Committee think proper. Any man working shorthanded, without man for man, will be fined or punished as the Committee think proper.'

Their object, in short, was to obtain the largest possible amount of payment for the smallest possible amount of work.

The Trades' Unions exerted their power to promote their interests at the public expense in other matters than raising their wages. An instance was stated in evidence before the Commissioners where it was used to punish a successful competitor. Mr. Murdy, of Nottingham, made an estimate for plastering a row of houses, which was accepted. The trades had it in contemplation at that time to establish a Co-operative Society, and competed for the work. When they found they were not successful they sent to the builder to say that they would not allow the work to be done by contract, and so the contract was taken away from Mr. Murdy. Not content with this, they sent a circular to every master builder in Nottingham to this effect:—

'It has been resolved by the Central Committee of the Building Trades that you do not accept any tender from Messrs. Hill and Murdy from this date until we come to more amicable terms than we are at present with them.'

The Committee of the Building Trades in Manchester chose to take offence at something said or done by a young architect who has since risen to great eminence in his profession, and they sent notice to the master builders in that town that the men would not be allowed to work at any building of which he was the architect. He was in consequence obliged to leave Manchester and take up his residence in London. It was also given in evidence that the machinery of strikes had been used to make one man pay another man's debt. A Glasgow firm were erecting a building. The contractor for the plastering failed before his work was done, being in debt to his workmen for a week's wages. The Union would not allow the work to go on till the owner of the house, who owed the men nothing, not only paid them for the work done but for a week during which they had done no work.

It may excite surprise that the men themselves should have submitted to such a despotic system, which ruled them with a rod of iron, and would not allow them to choose for themselves the course to be adopted in regard to their most important business affairs. But in the first place the committee have a powerful hold upon the members by the combination in their society of two quite distinct objects. The society is both a Provident Club and a Trades' Union. It holds out important benefits to its members —lost tools replaced, assistance when out of employment, on strike, or when sick, an accident benefit, assistance to emigrate, a superannuation allowance to those who have been members over twenty-five years, and payment of funeral expenses. Now a man may have subscribed to the society for thirty years, and lose all the benefit of his subscriptions by an offence not against the rules of the Beneficent Society, but of the Trades' Union. If he commits any one of a great number of offences he ceases to be a member of the Union, and forfeits all its benefits. A member may, for example, be personally indisposed to

join in a strike, but expulsion would be the consequence of his dissent, and expulsion means the forfeiture of past contributions and of all the benefits he expected to derive from the society. Men have said to a master, as far as the question at issue is concerned, 'We would take your side rather than that of the Union, but we have paid into this Union for so many years; if we go against the Union we shall be struck off the books, and have no superannuation, no sick benefits, no assistance when out of work; in fact, we shall lose the savings of years—the only savings that we have made.' The fear of losing the result of years of economy and self-denial makes many of the members of Unions submit to orders and exactions which in other circumstances they would spurn with indignation. But the Unionists are not content with forfeiting the contributions of recusant workmen, and excluding them from the benefits of the society; they have sought in not a few cases to force them into the Unions by much harsher means.

O'Connell stated in 1837 that 'in Cork within the last two or three years no fewer than thirty-seven individuals had been burned with vitriol, many of whom were deprived of sight. These were the results of the acts of the Trades' Clubs. In Dublin four murders had been committed by similar agency. The Clubs did not themselves act openly, but they had paid agents whom they called welters. These welters attacked any man who was pointed out to them, and murdered him when the opportunity offered. There was a great difficulty in getting evidence against these parties, for unfortunately so little sympathy existed in Ireland between the governors and the governed that it was a matter of great difficulty to get the law enforced in any case. Could it, then, be a matter of surprise that such outrages remained so long without punishment? We had strong evidence of the atrocity of the crimes committed by the welters, whose number amounted to about 6000. On Thursday last the premises of a timber merchant were set on fire immediately after he had been served with a notice. These men were ready to execute any vengeance according to order, and although the trade combinations did not commit actual offences themselves, they had always a standing army in the welters. It was thus that employers were controlled.'

We have seen the nature of the outrages inflicted upon non-Unionist workmen in Glasgow and the West of Scotland, but the revelations made in Sheffield and Manchester to the Commissioners appointed to investigate the operations of the Trades' Unions in these towns, throw even the shocking outrages of the Glasgow and Dublin Unionists into the shade. The Sub-Commissioners sent down to Sheffield were three gentlemen of the bar—Mr. Overend, a distinguished Queen's Counsel, Mr. Chance, and Mr. Barstow; and they were authorized by an Act of Parliament to grant a certificate of indemnity to all persons implicated in any of the illegal proceedings who should make a full and free disclosure of the truth. The security thus offered to the persons engaged in the foul deeds which had so long disgraced the town proved effectual. The Trades' Union officials and their hired instruments became alarmed for their personal safety, and gave full and explicit evidence respecting the crimes of which they had been guilty; and the whole nation was appalled at the revelations made respecting the operations of secret, arbitrary, and irresponsible tribunals exercising despotic control over their fellow-workmen, and wreaking vengeance, with absolute impunity, on the property and the lives and limbs of those who ventured to disobey their mandates.

Out of sixty Unions existing in Sheffield fourteen were found guilty of outrages on workmen and masters, including the various sections of grinders—the chief trade of the town—the nail-makers, ironworkers, and brickmakers. Rattening, which was the mildest mode of coercion, seemed to have been of very frequent occurrence, and when it failed of effect recourse was had to the destruction of property, the hamstringing and stabbing of horses and cows, the destruction of machinery, blowing up of houses by explosive materials, waylaying, wounding, maiming, and murdering men and even women who had infringed their

edicts. These atrocities were planned, directed, and paid for by the committees of the various Trades' Unions, who now, in order to provide for their own safety, made a full confession of their crimes. The person most deeply implicated in these deeds of darkness was a public-house keeper of the name of Broadhead, the secretary and master-spirit of the Saw-Grinders' Union—a hardened villain, dead to every sentiment of humanity or remorse. At a public meeting held in Sheffield this man had the audacity to take a prominent part in the proceedings, indignantly denounced the crimes that had been perpetrated in the town, and vehemently protested against the charge that they had been sanctioned or even connived at by the Trades' Unions. Now, however, he appeared before the Commissioners, and with impassive coolness acknowledged the prominent part he had taken in organizing these criminal deeds, how he had selected the victims, hired and instructed the agents, and paid them their wages out of the funds of the Union.

A few of the cases, reported in the most brief and summary manner by the Commissioners, may serve to show the expedients resorted to by the Trades' Union officials for the purpose of enforcing obedience to their decrees:—

'James Linley, who formerly had been a scissors-grinder, had shortly before this period become a saw-grinder, and kept a number of apprentices, in defiance of the rules of the Saw-Grinders' Union. He was shot by Samuel Crookes with an air-gun, on November 12th, 1857, at the instigation of Broadhead, in a house in Nursery Street, and was slightly wounded.

'James Linley was lodging in his brother-in-law, Samuel Poole's, house, a butcher, whose wife and family were living in the house. Crookes and Hallam tracked Linley from house to house nearly every day for five or six weeks, intending to shoot him. On the 1st August they found him sitting in a public-house in Scotland Street, in a room full of people, the windows of which opened into a back yard, and from that yard Crookes shot Linley with an air-gun. The shot struck him on the side of the head, and he died from the effects of the injury in the following February. Crookes and Hallam were employed by Broadhead to shoot Linley.'

'Christopher Rotheram had been a sickle manufacturer for nearly fifty years at Dronfield, nearly five miles from Sheffield. Shortly before 1860 his men refused to pay to the Union, and he thereupon received several threatening letters, to the effect that his premises would be blown up if he did not compel them. About the year 1860 his boiler was blown up, and shortly after a can of gunpowder was thrown at night into a house belonging to him at Troway (inhabited by two of his nephews, who worked for him and were not members of the Union), and exploded. No one was hurt, but great damage was done to the house. He has had at different times nine pairs of bellows cut, twelve bands cut to pieces, and his anvils thrown into his dam. In 1865 a two-gallon bottle filled with gunpowder, with a lighted fuse attached, was placed in the night-time in his warehouse. The fire of the fuse from some cause became extinguished before it reached the powder. Adjoining the warehouse were sleeping-rooms, which at the time the bottle was placed in the warehouse were occupied by a mother, three sons, and a daughter. This, he said, "beat him," and he forced his men to join the Union, adding that "since that time they had been as quiet as bees." George Castles, the secretary of the Sickle and Reaping-hook Grinders' Association, told us that in the September of last year he saw a cash-book of the Union, containing entries of payment made at the time some of the outrages occurred, burned in the Committee-room, and also that leaves had been torn out of other books of the Union which might have implicated the Union.

'We have to report that these outrages were promoted and encouraged by the Sickle and Grinders' Union.'

'George Wastnidge, one of the above-named non-Union men, lived in a house in Acorn Street, with his wife, child, and a lodger named Bridget O'Rourke. Wastnidge, his wife, and child slept in the garret, and Mrs. O'Rourke in the chamber below fronting the street. About one o'clock in the morning of the 23rd November a can of gunpowder was thrown through the chamber window. Mrs. Wastnidge, hearing a noise, ran down into Mrs. O'Rourke's room, and found her holding in her hand a parcel emitting sparks. She seized it in order to throw it through the window, and it exploded in her hands, setting fire to her night dress and seriously injuring her. She ran upstairs, her husband stripped off her burning clothes, and in her fear she threw herself through the garret window into the street. Wastnidge dropped his little boy to persons who were below in the street, and by means of a ladder which was brought escaped from the house. Mrs. O'Rourke was found in the cellar shockingly burned. Mrs.

Wastnidge was taken to the infirmary in a state of insensibility, where she remained five or six weeks. A person of the name of Thomson was tried at York at the Spring Assizes, 1862, for the murder of Mrs. O'Rourke, and was acquitted. Robert Renshaw confessed before us that he threw the can of gunpowder into Wastnidge's house, and that he was hired to do so on the promise of £6 by William Bayles and Samuel Cutler, both members of the Fender-Grinders' Union, and he stated that it was done because Wastnidge was not right with the trade. James Robertson, now secretary and at that time acting-secretary of the Fender-Grinders' Union, stated that he paid to William Bayles £6, which he had received from Kenworthy, the then secretary of the Union, and that he had falsified the books of the Union in order that that payment should not be discovered. We report that all the above outrages were promoted and encouraged by the Fender-Grinders' Union.'

The Brickmakers' Union was not behind the Grinders' in their attempts to blow up houses, and it was proved that in addition they had killed horses and cows, and destroyed many thousands of bricks belonging to masters against whom they had taken umbrage. The Nailmakers' Union also made various attempts to blow up shops and houses with gunpowder.

The brickmakers of Manchester were quite on a par with the grinders of Sheffield in the atrocity of their crimes, committed for the promotion of their own interests. They refused to permit the employment of non-Unionists either with Union men or alone, or the use of machine-made bricks, or transference of bricks from one district to another, or any rate of wages below what they had fixed. They compelled a master brickmaker, not a member of the Union, to pay them £1 a year in order to be allowed to work at his own trade. No bricks of which they disapproved would be laid by the bricklayers, who were their firm allies. They fined a master £5 for complaining of their work. They destroyed 40,000 bricks because a master, whose works were in the Ashton district, sent bricks to Manchester in violation of their rules. They mixed thousands of needles with the clay which offending brickmakers were to use, in order to pierce and maim the hands of those who were to mould it. The shed of a master who had dismissed some Union men was set on fire by naphtha, and a great deal of property was destroyed. Horses were hamstrung, and a favourite mare belonging to an offending master was roasted to death. Blowing up with gunpowder was practised in Manchester as freely as in Sheffield. Refractory workmen were waylaid, beaten, stabbed with knives, shot at, and wounded. Some who could not swim were thrown into deep water, and narrowly escaped drowning. One person was nearly killed because he was taken for another. Watchmen were wounded in the head with slugs, and a policeman was murdered outright.

Trade outrages equally savage and shocking were found to have been perpetrated in other manufacturing towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and it seemed as if the whole structure of society in these and other trading districts was undermined. Perhaps the most significant fact of all, as showing the wholesale demoralization which Trades' Unions of this class produce among the operatives, like the Fenian and other kindred associations in Ireland, is the mode in which they regard such miscreants as Broadhead and Crookes, his willing instrument. The character and conduct of Broadhead must have been quite well known to the members of the Union, and especially to the Committee, even before the appointment of the Commission. In October, 1866, he wrote a letter relating to an outrage perpetrated at that time, which clearly showed a guilty knowledge and approbation of the deed. The press commented severely on his assertion that the victim of that outrage was nearly as bad as the perpetrator. Broadhead in consequence offered his resignation as Secretary of the Saw-Grinders' Union. After a discussion with closed doors, which lasted six hours, the members passed a vote of confidence in him, and requested him to retain his office. The revelations made to the Commissioners speedily followed. It was

proved not only by the evidence of his accomplices, but by his own confession, that he had suborned violent assaults, robbery fire-raising, and murder; that he retained in his service men whom he had hired to do these deeds, and that to pay them he had embezzled the funds and falsified the accounts of the Society. But the Saw-Grinders' Union refused to repudiate his crimes and to expel him, because, as they alleged, 'he had risked his life on their behalf, and the law afforded no remedy for the offences which he had taken upon himself to punish with death.' It would have been strange, indeed, if the law had prevented non-Unionists from engaging to work with whom and at what wages they thought proper.

At this very time Mr. Baron Bramwell, in the case of the journeymen tailors of London, while forcibly insisting on the illegality of coercing, molesting, or annoying other men in the exercise of their right of disposing of their own labour, laid it down that a combination to raise wages, even though it proceeds to the sometimes inevitable climax of a strike, is not contrary to the law of England so long as it is conducted without breach of the peace, or obstruction to or interference with other persons. No candid or reasonable person would ask more than this; but the powers of the Sheffield Unionists were, in their own estimation, so insufficient that they thought it necessary to supplement them by fire-raising, wounding, and murdering! The Unionists complained, indeed not without reason, that their associations were treated as inherently illegal, and that they were left without remedy in cases of pillage or embezzlement of their property. It was decided by the Court of Queen's Bench in January, 1867, that a Trades' Union which is also a Benefit Society, but which has among its rules any that in the judgment of the law amount to a restraint of trade, is *ipso facto* deprived of the right of recovering from a defaulting treasurer the money which he had misappropriated. This decision was given on the ground that the Society was established for illegal purposes. It is certainly right and proper that no association should be supported in doing illegal acts, but quite unjust that because it aimed at illegal as well as legal objects its funds should be embezzled with impunity. And it was felt that the Legislature might properly be called on to extend full proprietary rights, and the power of enforcing them against wrong-doers to those associations whose rules and objects were not of a criminal character. The great body of the people came at length to the conclusion that Trades' Unions are not in themselves improper or immoral, and that there is no good reason why the working classes might not combine to fix the rate of wages which they would accept from the masters, provided that they did not 'picket,' waylay, threaten, and maltreat those who were willing to take employment at the rates which the Unionists rejected.

'With regard,' said the Report of the Commissioners, 'to the general question of the right of workmen to combine together for determining and stipulating with their employer the terms on which only they will consent to work with him, we think that provided the combination be perfectly voluntary, and that full liberty be left to all other workmen to undertake the work which the parties combining have refused, and that no obstruction be placed in the way of the employer resorting elsewhere in search of a supply of labour, there is no ground of justice or of policy in withholding such a right from the workmen;' and they add that they 'are prepared to recommend that a Bill be brought in so far relaxing the existing law, in substance, as to enact that no combination of persons for the purpose of determining among themselves, or of stipulating for the terms on which they will consent to employ or be employed, shall be unlawful by reason only that its operation would be in restraint of trade.'

The Commissioners were also of opinion that 'there would be advantage to the Unions if they were established with the capacities for rights and liabilities arising from a *status* recognized by law; and that there would be advantage to the public if their proceedings were made public, and the officers of Unions acting according to law had the position to which persons discharging important duties are entitled.' They recommended there-

fore that 'facilities should be granted for such registration as will give to the Unions capacity for rights and duties resembling in some degree that of corporations, and to the public the means of knowing the rules, members, and funds of the Union, and also their expenditure and proceedings.'

Several years elapsed, however, before these judicious recommendations were carried into effect. It was not until 1871 that an Act was passed which aimed at putting an end to trade disputes, by holding the balance even between employers of labour and those employed by them. The system thus inaugurated was carried out in 1875, when masters and workmen were placed on perfect equality as regards the matter of contract. A breach of contract was to be treated on both sides as a civil, not a criminal affair, and was not to be punished by imprisonment except as that penalty would be inflicted in other cases by a county court judge for contumacious disobedience to the orders of the Court, or in certain peculiar cases where a wilful and malicious breach of a contract would inflict great injury on the public. In regard to such cases there was no distinction made between employers and the persons employed. Imprisonment might be inflicted also on any person who hid or injured the tools of workmen in order to prevent them from doing their work, or who attempted by intimidation or violence to induce others to abstain from working or to join in a strike. The right of workmen to combine for the purpose of raising wages, or for any other object which is not in itself illegal, has now been fully recognized, and no distinction is made, in the eye of the law, between them and the employers of labour. The former are at perfect liberty to unite in a resolution not to work for less than a certain rate of wages, and to carry it into effect by a strike should they think fit. The latter are equally at liberty to combine in a refusal to give the rate of wages demanded, and to vindicate their determination by a lock-out. Freedom of action in this respect is the rule prescribed by the law to both parties, but not liberty to employ intimidation or violence. But though, as one of their most zealous supporters has admitted, 'legislation has now accomplished all that any reasonable advocate of the claims of the Trades' Unions could have demanded,' the evil practice of 'picketing,' waylaying, intimidating, and assaulting non-Unionists has by no means been abandoned. Neither have the unjust and injurious regulations respecting apprentices and the freedom of labour.

In the Clyde iron shipbuilding trade restrictive regulations have been enforced to such an extent that the ironworkers are receiving from 20*s.* to 25*s.* a day, while the ship-joiners are earning only 5*s.* 6*d.*, this result having been brought about mainly by minimizing the number of apprentices. The effect has been most injurious to the ironworkers themselves, and there is great danger that shipbuilding may be driven from the Clyde, as it was a few years ago from the Thames, by the greedy and tyrannical conduct of the workmen.

A section of the working classes, more provident and foreseeing than their fellows, instituted in 1844 a Co-operative Society, and set an example which has been widely followed throughout the country. In that year it occurred to a few poor flannel weavers in Rochdale that they might combine for the purpose of economizing their expenditure by supplying themselves with good and cheap food and clothing. They were of course aware that shopkeepers had each to pay rent, rates, taxes, and other expenses, and to maintain themselves and their family out of the small profits which they received from a moderate aggregate of returns. They saw also that the system of credit entailed bad debts, thus increasing the cost of articles to honest customers, and that as the shopkeeper was often obliged in turn to purchase on credit, he could not buy in the cheapest market. It seemed evident therefore that if they could command a little capital to make a beginning, they might supply themselves with food and clothing on much more

favourable terms than by dealing at the shops. Some of them had a conscientious objection to the taking of an oath, and therefore could not appeal to a court of law to enforce payment of accounts, while others had scruples with respect to suing. They were all aware that the credit system often led to litigation, and that litigation always entailed waste of time and money. They therefore determined neither to take nor to give credit.

These pioneers of the Co-operative movement, twenty-eight in number, subscribed 2*d.* a week each, and when their joint contributions reached the amount of £28 they took a small shop in a back street of Rochdale, where they commenced their operations. After fitting up the shop, only £14 remained to purchase goods. A neighbouring shopkeeper said in derision that he could take away the whole stock-in-trade in a wheelbarrow. In all previous attempts to establish a combined enterprise of this kind the profits were divided among the shareholders, but the Rochdale co-operatives resolved that their profits should be divided among the customers in proportion to the amount of their purchases—an arrangement which was no doubt one main cause of the Society's success.

The 'Equitable Pioneers,' as the Society was termed, commenced their operations with groceries, and at the same time raised their weekly contribution per member to threepence. At the close of 1845 the Society numbered eighty members, and had a capital of £181 12*s.* 3*d.* They now added butcher meat and all sorts of clothing to their stores. Soon after reaching this stage they considered it necessary to publish an account of their objects, and of the means which they had adopted to carry them into effect.

'The objects of this Society,' they said, 'are the social and intellectual advancement of its members. It provides them with groceries, butcher's meat, drapery goods, clothes, shoes, clogs, &c. There are competent workmen on the premises to do the work of the members and execute all repairs. The capital is raised in £1 shares, each member being allowed to take not less than five and not more than 100, payable at once or by instalments of 3*s.* 3*d.* per quarter. The profits are divided quarterly as follows:—1st, interest at 5 per cent. per annum on all paid-up shares; 2nd, 2½ off net profits for educational purposes; the remainder to be divided among the members in proportion to money expended. For the intellectual improvement of the members there is a library consisting of more than 3000 volumes. The news-room is well supplied with newspapers and periodicals, fitted up in a neat and careful manner, and furnished with maps, globes, microscope, telescope, &c. The news-room and library are free to all members. A branch reading-room has been opened at Oldham Road, the readers of which meet every second Monday in January, April, July, and October to choose and sell the papers.'

In order to furnish hints for the guidance of those who applied to them for information, with a view to the formation of new societies, they printed a paper suggesting various regulations, which gives a high idea of the sound sense and intelligence of the Pioneers. They especially recommended that officers should be chosen for their integrity, intelligence, and ability, and not for their wealth or distinction.

The progress of the Rochdale Pioneers' Society was very remarkable and gratifying. The Rev. Mr. Molesworth states that in 1860 it numbered 3450 members, possessed £37,710 of funds, did business to the amount of £152,083, and had made £15,906 of profits. In 1850 they set on foot a new society, called the 'Co-operative Corn-mill Society,' in imitation of one which had been for some years in successful working at Leeds. It 1863 it was grinding nearly 1700 sacks of flour, meal, &c., per week, and in addition to the Rochdale store, with its branches, it supplied the co-operative shops of the towns and villages for many miles around.

In 1854 an association was formed in Rochdale for the purpose of manufacturing cotton, and the Pioneers' Society invested a large portion of its superabundant capital in this undertaking. The building, which contains all modern improvements, cost £40,000, the whole of which was paid before

the mill was opened. A Co-operative Sick and Burial Society was also formed, a Co-operative Turkish Bath, and a Land and Building Society. The capital invested in these various institutions was estimated in 1861 at £125,729. The depression of trade and manufactures in Lancashire in consequence of the American Civil War was a severe trial to the whole of these co-operative institutions, especially to the Cotton Manufacturing Association, but they all weathered the storm. The Pioneers notably afforded aid to some of their own members who had been reduced to distress by the cotton famine; but the Store Society for a long time gave £10 weekly to the Relief Fund, and liberal contributions to it were made also by the Corn-mill Society and the Manufacturing Association. The Pioneers have eleven substantial well-built branch stores in Rochdale, each doing a large business, and having a news-room and a reference library of its own. A fortieth part of the profits of the Society is set aside for educational purposes; their library contains a good many thousands of well-selected volumes, and a news-room supplied with the leading daily and weekly journals, and almost every important periodical.

The success of the Rochdale Society led to the establishment of similar institutions in most parts of the country. They have rapidly advanced in numbers and wealth, and now both their membership and their capital are to be counted by the hundred thousand, and their aggregate sales annually amount to a good many millions. At the Co-operative Congress held in Edinburgh in May, 1883, it was stated by the chairman, Mr. W. E. Baxter, M.P., that, leaving out of view the large Civil Service Stores in the metropolis, the total sales of the 782 retail societies in England in 1882 amounted to £13,863,498, and the sales of the wholesale societies were £3,574,695. In Scotland the total sales were £3,280,644, the wholesale being £986,446. In the ten years, from 1862 to 1871, a net profit of £3,739,093 was realized upon a total trade of £53,822,762. In the last ten years, viz. 1872 to 1881, the profit had been £13,712,176, upon a trade of £169,433,328, so that the business had increased during the last decade more than three times, and the profit more than three and a half times. During the twenty years the Co-operative Societies had made a profit of very nearly seventeen and a half millions sterling, and that profit had been at the rate of no less than 29 per cent. on the capital. The returns for Scotland showed a still more marvellous result. During the ten years from 1872 to 1881, the societies in this part of the country had done business amounting to £24,503,662, and made a profit of £2,107,401, which, with reference to the share capital employed, gave a dividend of 65 per cent. per annum, or more than double that which had been realized by their friends on the other side of the Tweed. Nor had the movement been by any means confined to Great Britain. In Austria associations were spreading all over the country; in Germany there were nearly half a million members of the People's Co-operative Banks, and about 300 similar institutions existed in Italy. The principle of co-operation has been carried in some quarters to an extent which has caused considerable dissatisfaction. It has been adopted by the civil servants of the Crown, and in Dublin and Edinburgh, as well as in London, a considerable number of the upper classes avail themselves of the advantages offered by the Civil Service Stores. But notwithstanding this drawback, and some other objections, there can be no doubt that the co-operative principle has been highly beneficial; and in addition to its pecuniary saving it has contributed not a little to train the working classes in the manufacturing districts in habits of frugality, temperance, and self-reliance.

CHAPTER X.

Position of France at the close of the War between Austria and Prussia—Vacillation of the Emperor—His claims on Prussia—Crafty policy of Bismarck—He outwits the French Ambassador—Project for a Treaty—The French Emperor's attempt to purchase Luxemburg—Hostile feeling between France and Prussia—Reorganization of the French Army—The Purchase System—Inefficiency of the Officers—Corruption of the system—Origin of the quarrel between France and Prussia—Candidature of Prince Leopold for the Spanish Throne—Excitement caused by it in France—False report about the King of Prussia's treatment of the French Ambassador—Declaration of War—Deception practised on the French Emperor—State of his Army and of the German forces—Defeat of the French at Wissembourg and Wörth—Shameful character of their retreat—Defeat at Spicheren—Depressed state of the Emperor—Resignation of the Ministry—Battle of Courcelles—Defeat of the French at Mars-la-Tour and at Gravelotte—Bazaine takes refuge in Metz—March of MacMahon to his relief—Battle of Sedan—Surrender of the Emperor and of MacMahon's Army—Conduct of the New Ministry—Riots in Paris—Deposition of the Emperor, and flight of the Empress—Proclamation of a Republic—Character of the Emperor.

THE position of France, and especially of the French Emperor, had now become exceedingly critical. The aggrandizement of Prussia, as the result of the war with Austria, which he had permitted if not encouraged, had greatly altered his own situation. The result of that war took the Emperor completely by surprise. A strong and united Germany was regarded as highly perilous to France. There can be little doubt that if Napoleon had been ready to go to war in 1866 he would at once have appealed to arms, and there is good reason to believe that Count Bismarck apprehended war from France in that year. In his celebrated speech to the Reichstag in 1874 he admitted that Prussia's position at that moment had been most critical. 'If France,' he said, 'had only had a small force at her disposal, it would have been sufficient to form a very respectable army by uniting with the South German contingents—an army which would have immediately compelled us to abandon all our successes in Austria in order to protect Berlin.' But Napoleon was not in good health, and seemed to have lost all his old energy. The unexpected and untoward results of the war had so bewildered him that he could not make up his mind to adopt any decided course. Count Walewski urged him to place at least 100,000 men on the Rhine. The Duc de Gramont wrote from Vienna that Prussia was almost exhausted, and durst not risk a war with France. Baron Beust, who visited Paris to implore the support of France in behalf of Austria, said it was only necessary for him to make a simple military demonstration in order to be master of the situation, and that if he omitted to take this step at the present moment, he would in the end have to encounter not only Prussia, but all Germany. It was pointed out by the Queen of Holland to the French Minister at the Hague that the future of the Napoleonic dynasty was at stake. All was in vain; the Emperor was of opinion that it was not advisable 'to run after hazards.' The counsel of such men as M. Lavalette and M. Rouher was preferred to the energetic advice of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, who recommended that the army should be placed on a war footing, and the favourable moment was allowed to escape.

The Emperor flattered himself that Prussia might at this juncture be induced to give her consent to the re-establishment of the frontiers of 1814, and M. Benedetti was sent to the headquarters of the Prussian army in Moravia to open negotiations with Bismarck for that purpose. He suffered himself, however, to be completely outwitted by the astute and unscrupulous Prussian Premier, who carefully avoided committing himself to any definite arrangements, but kept the French envoy in play by assuring him that he was quite disposed

to enter into the views of the Emperor. 'I shall not say anything new to your Excellency,' wrote Benedetti from Nicolsburg to his chief, 'in announcing that in M. de Bismarck's opinion we ought to look for a compensation in Belgium, and he has offered me to come to an understanding on this subject. He, however, thinks it possible to find also something in the Palatinate.' After the preliminaries of peace between Prussia and Austria were signed, the French Emperor asked for the cession of the left bank of the Rhine, but Bismarck told the French Envoy that this would be war, and the demand was not pressed. He dexterously turned it, however, to account in dealing with the Ministers of the Southern States of Germany, and so frightened them with this scheme propounded by France for compensation at their expense, that they concluded a secret treaty of defensive and offensive alliance with Prussia.

The definite peace with Austria was not quite concluded, and Bismarck therefore found it necessary to continue the game of hoodwinking the French Ambassador by what he called 'dilatory negotiations.' Prussia might without difficulty have given up to France the left bank of the Rhine, but the position of affairs was now changed, and it was impossible, he said, to cede an inch of German territory. 'Other arrangements, however, might be made to satisfy the respective interests of both countries.' It appears that the French Emperor had hitherto refused to entertain the project of seizing Belgium, and had termed such an enterprise an 'act of brigandage.' But now, baffled in all his attempts to obtain the cession of any part of Germany as compensation for the aggrandizement of Prussia, he began to listen to the voice of the tempter, and Benedetti was authorized by him to negotiate, without the knowledge of his official chief, a secret treaty with Prussia, binding that Power not to interfere with the nefarious attempt on Belgium which Bismarck had suggested. Benedetti accordingly submitted to the Prussian Premier a 'Project of a Treaty' in his own handwriting, on which Bismarck, in order to gain time, made some observations and proposed certain changes. But as soon as the Peace of Prague was signed he began to draw back, and pretended to fear that the French Emperor might make use of this secret negotiation to bring about a misunderstanding between Prussia and Great Britain. While negotiations were pending Bismarck assured the French Ambassador that France was the most desirable ally for Prussia, and that if these two Powers were closely united they would not need to fear any armed resistance to their plans, either from Britain or Russia; but Benedetti now had his eyes opened to the manner in which he had been outwitted in this discreditable intrigue, when he learned that General Manteuffel had been sent on a secret mission to St. Petersburg to negotiate an alliance with Russia. The envoy was instructed to make known to Prince Gortschakoff the projects and proposals of France, and to offer that if Russia would remain faithful to her alliance with Prussia she would not be interfered with by her ally in carrying out her policy in the East of Europe. This mission was perfectly successful, though Bismarck took care not to form any such definite engagement with Russia as would have compelled him to side openly with her.

Thus baffled by the crafty Prussian Premier in his attempts to obtain the cession of a portion of German territory, the French Emperor attempted to acquire by purchase the strong fortress of Luxemburg, on the north-eastern frontier of France. The Duchy of Luxemburg, which belonged to the King of Holland as Grand-Duke, formed part of the German Confederation, and the city had for some years past been garrisoned by Prussian troops. But in the altered circumstances of the country, the French Government alleged that in the hands of a Prussian garrison it would no longer be merely a defensive position for Germany, but would be also an offensive position against France. The

King of Holland was quite willing to dispose of the fortified city, all the more that the inhabitants had shown a strong repugnance to being incorporated with Germany. But the proposal to transfer Luxemburg to France excited great opposition on the part of the Germans, and it seemed at one period not unlikely that the affair would lead to war between the two countries. But this was happily averted by the intervention of the other European Powers. A conference of the representatives of Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Italy, and Holland was held in London in May, 1867, and a treaty was signed by them, declaring that the Duchy of Luxemburg should henceforth be considered as neutral territory, and placed under the collective guarantee of all the Powers who were parties to the treaty; that the Prussian garrison should be immediately withdrawn, and the fortress dismantled to such an extent as would be satisfactory to the King of Holland.

But though hostilities were for the present averted, there can be little or no doubt that from this time forward both parties expected that sooner or later war would take place. Like two express trains, it was said, starting from opposite stations and running on the same line, a collision was inevitable. For more than two centuries France had been the Power, as Frederick the Great remarked, without whose permission not a cannon-shot should be fired in Europe, and it was not to be endured that Prussia should now assume a higher or even an equal position. Her present ruler felt himself bound to maintain the traditions of the Napoleonic Empire, and one of these was not to suffer the undue aggrandizement of any European Power, so as to render her a dangerous enemy to France. If Prussia were allowed to carry out her schemes for the unification of Germany, her military resources would be enormously increased, and the balance of power among the European States would be completely destroyed. The position of Napoleon himself, and the permanence of his dynasty, would be seriously affected if under his sway the prestige of France should be lowered through the aggrandizement of her most hated rival. The Emperor thus felt constrained, by personal as well as public considerations, to prepare for the inevitable struggle for supremacy.

For this purpose the reorganization of the army was absolutely necessary. The Emperor, thirty years before, had advised his countrymen 'to borrow from Germany her system of public education and military organization;' and Marshal Neil, the Minister at War, now took steps, in imitation of Prussia, for doubling by a war reserve the peace strength of the French army. A new law was passed for the purpose, but its efficacy was marred by the continuance of the fatal flaw of the purchase of exemption—'the purchase of a man to be killed,' as Prince Napoleon said, 'in the stead of him who has the means.' Exoneration from active service might be obtained by a fine paid to the State. The fines thus levied were to have been applied to increase the bounties given to old soldiers who re-enlisted for further service, and to reward volunteers. But the money was misappropriated by the Government to other purposes, and consequently the battalions remained unfilled. When the war broke out only 200,000 men were forthcoming out of the 288,000 who should have been found in the ranks of the twenty-four active divisions. The reserve contingents first called on raised that number to 250,000, all that could at that critical moment be mustered to meet nearly 500,000 Germans gathering against them. Deficiency in numerical strength, however, was not the worst feature of the French army at this period—their moral power had become greatly deteriorated. The corruption of the Second Empire had seriously affected the whole military system of the country. The frugal, energetic, and experienced officers who had been raised up in the Algerian war had passed away or been set aside, and were replaced by men of no marked ability or professional

eminence. Military rank had been conferred on men of luxurious and vicious habits, like Lebœuf, De Failly, Frossard, and Douay, who owed their position not to warlike talent and experience, but to their worship of Imperialism and their sycophantish subserviency to the Empire. A few of the generals, like MacMahon and Canrobert, though by no means possessed of first-rate abilities, were esteemed and trusted, but the great majority of the superior officers had no reputation either for soldiership or ability; and generals 'who sought to make marches in carriages, and to fit their tents up as boudoirs, were ill placed over recruits who chafed at the law that let the rich escape the national service, and at the Administration that made promotion avowedly depend on favour, and ostracized all suspected of want of devotion to the dynasty.' Corruption had crept into every department. Carelessness characterized the whole system of management, and the want of discipline on the part of the soldiers served greatly to increase the danger arising from the incompetence of the officers. A great improvement had, however, taken place in the weapons employed in the army. The old muzzle-loading musket had been replaced by the Chassepot, which was believed, not without reason, to be superior to the Prussian needle-gun; and the *mitrailleuse*, a 'machine gun' which poured out thousands of balls in a minute, was expected to prove a most formidable weapon, to which nothing of the same kind could be opposed by the enemy.

To outward appearance there was no probability that the peace of Europe would be disturbed at the moment, when war at length broke out in the year 1870. In the summer of that year Lord Clarendon, the sagacious and experienced Foreign Minister in the British Cabinet, died; and when his successor, Lord Granville, entered on the duties of the office, he was informed by Mr. Hammond, the veteran Under-Secretary, that never in his experience were the prospects of peace brighter than at that moment. But the mine had long been dug, and the train laid both in France and Prussia, and only a single spark was needed to produce a terrific explosion. That spark came from a totally unexpected quarter. General Prim had very unadvisedly selected Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen for the vacant throne of Spain. Curiously enough, though it is not generally known, France and Prussia had previously discussed the project of conferring the Spanish crown on a prince of the Hohenzollern family, the second son of the reigning prince, on condition that he should marry a daughter of the Duchess of Alva, the niece of the French empress. This, however, he refused to do, and the scheme was laid aside. Somewhat later the project was renewed by Bismarck and Prim, with this difference, that the hereditary Prince himself was proposed as the candidate for the throne. Very characteristically, this scheme was to be kept a profound secret until after it had been sanctioned by the Cortes, in the hope that France would then be obliged to acquiesce in what could not be prevented; but Prim became frightened, and from apprehension that the Emperor would be deeply offended if the affair were concealed from him tried to break the news by mentioning the proposal to the French Ambassador at Madrid. The intimation set France in a flame. The King of Prussia had shortly before made a member of his family the ruler of Roumania, and he was now suddenly and surreptitiously intriguing to place another prince of his house on the throne of Spain—a country with which he had no right to intermeddle. He alleged that he had given his personal sanction only as head of the Hohenzollern family, not as King—that officially he had no hand in the candidature, and he declined to order it to be withdrawn. The French Government, who were willing on a specified condition to accept the elder brother of the Prince, had certainly no valid reason to give why they should object to the new candidate. Personal and family circumstances

indeed seemed to render him acceptable to the Napoleon family, and likely to attach him to French interests. He belonged to a Roman Catholic branch of the Hohenzollern family; his paternal grandfather was a Murat, his maternal grandmother a Beauharnais; his mother was connected with the house of Braganza-Bourbon. It was more than five centuries since he and the King of Prussia had a common ancestor. The proposal to place this cadet of the Hohenzollern family on the unstable throne of Spain was really a matter of very slight importance, but in the existing temper both of France and Germany it was sufficient to afford a pretext for open hostilities. Prince Leopold himself, in the view of the angry excitement which his candidature had produced, sent in his resignation as a candidate for the vacant throne; but the French Government insisted that the King of Prussia should openly withdraw Leopold as a candidate, and promise that in no circumstances should the Prince or any member of the Hohenzollern family become a candidate for the Spanish throne. It was well known that the demand must inevitably be refused. The King, as was expected, declared that in this, as in all other circumstances, he would reserve to himself the right to act as seemed to him good. An additional pretext for a declaration of war was needed and invented. A paragraph appeared in the *North German Gazette*, a journal which was the organ of Bismarck, to the effect that the French Ambassador, Count Benedetti, had accosted the King with an insolent demand, which was promptly and royally refused, and his access in future to the King was forbidden. The story was false, but it served its purpose. The report reached Berlin in a few hours, and excited extreme indignation among the populace, who collected on the same evening before the Palace, shouting, 'To the Rhine!' and 'To Paris!' The excitement among the Parisian mob was not less violent. The cries of the Berliners, 'Nach Paris!' were met by the counter cry, 'A Berlin!' The Duc de Gramont, the French Foreign Minister, described this paragraph to the Legislative body as a circular despatch, and amid shouts of approval declared that insult had been offered, which could only be avenged by war. The French Prime Minister, M. Ollivier, said he accepted the challenge of Prussia 'with a light heart.' The advice of the Ministry, supported by the clamour of the Parisians, was followed, and on the 15th of July the Emperor declared war against the King of Prussia. There has seldom, if ever, been a war between two adjoining countries more utterly without cause, or reflecting more discredit on the persons responsible for its terrible results.

Benedetti, as soon as he discovered Bismarck's duplicity and double-dealing, strove to make his sovereign aware of the real situation of affairs, and of Bismarck's intentions. He assured his sovereign that he should not place any confidence in the support of the Southern German States, who would be compelled at no distant time, by the national feeling of their populations, to side with Prussia. He expressed his conviction that the great body of the German people would resist to the utmost any attempt to infringe upon German territory. On the other hand, however, advisers of a different stamp declared that the population of Hanover, Saxony, and the annexed States detested Prussia, and would rise against her if a favourable opportunity were offered, and that Bavaria and Würtemburg were only waiting for a war to make common cause with France. Austria, it was alleged, had not forgotten her humiliation at Sadowa, while Italy cherished a grateful recollection of what she owed to the Emperor and the French nation. He was assured also by his generals that the French army was in a state of unequalled proficiency. There was some truth in these allegations. The policy of Bismarck was unpopular in Germany. The democratic party demanded more free institutions. The Ultramontanes abhorred the transfer

to the Protestant crown of the ruling influence in Germany. Local attachments among the populations of the absorbed and the menaced States made them dread the power of centralization. The members and friends of the royal houses which had suffered abounded in ill-will, and the unprincipled proceedings of Prussia had estranged all upright and honourable men. But a desire of unity was the master passion of the Germans. And even the Court of Würtemburg, though it was bitterly hostile to Prussia and to the cause of German unity, was afraid to oppose the almost unanimous determination of the people, and the resentment of the Hanoverians against the annexation of their country to Prussia speedily gave way, when war was declared, to burning indignation at the proposed invasion of Germany. The arrogance of the Duc de Gramont and the aggression of his master at once united the whole German people in a determination to defend their country against their hereditary enemy.

The French Emperor had been deceived in regard to the number of men in each regiment, their soldierly qualities, the excellence of their arms, and the perfection of their equipment. When the incompetent War Minister, Lebœuf, was asked if the army was ready he replied, 'More than ready.' But he was wholly devoid of the qualifications both of a general and an administrator. The commissariat broke down at the very beginning of the campaign; the artillery was deficient in the necessary material. The German officers had been carefully instructed in the geography of France, while even the French staff-officers were ignorant of the geography of their own country, and Generals wandered about in search of the troops whom they were to command. The Emperor lingered at Paris till nearly the end of July, and when he reached the Rhine he discovered everything there in a state of confusion. He found the army under officers 'who went to the field in carriages, accompanied by cooks and prostitutes.' De Failly, to whom the command of the most important province in France had been entrusted, was in the habit of banqueting daily on eight courses served on plate. Under such leaders it is no wonder that the common soldiers had become demoralized and insubordinate.

The state of the German army presented a marked contrast to that of their antagonists. The war with Austria had shown that the Prussian soldiers were in a state of high training, confident in their new weapons and organization, perfectly disciplined, and actuated by a high professional spirit. The German patriots, who had long opposed a numerous standing army as enormously expensive and dangerous to national liberty, had now come to regard it as the instrument by which the long-cherished vision of German unity could be accomplished. No pains or expense had been spared after the triumphant conclusion of the war with Austria to repair any defects which had then become manifest in the system, and to bring it to perfection. So complete were the arrangements made by Generals Von Moltke and Von Roon that an army amounting to 500,000 men, of whom 60,000 were cavalry, could all be collected and equipped by corps at a fortnight's notice.

When war was declared by the Emperor of France, on the 15th of July, everybody expected that the French army would at once take the field and pass the Rhine; but it proved to be far from fully prepared, either in men, material, or stores. It was really in cantonments, corps isolated from corps, and requiring several days to consolidate and combine it. Many of the men on the muster rolls were on furlough in distant parts of France. The Intendance had no stock of provisions to draw upon, and was in the greatest straits for means to feed the troops as they came up from the west. Ammunition for the troops as they collected had to be got together from distant depots. Even the fortresses of Metz and Strasburg, 'the watch-towers on her eastern frontier,' were discovered to have their

magazines unfilled. In consequence, the concentration of troops on the frontier was so slow that more than ten days elapsed before they were able to commence hostilities. General Moltke was reported to have said that unless the Emperor crossed the Rhine in a fortnight he would never see it, at least as a conqueror, and so it proved. 'As soon as war was declared,' wrote an old veteran officer who was then living at Hagenau, 'I went to Strasburg, expecting to see our men pass the Rhine into Baden, some 40,000 or 50,000 of them. But I came back, like a fool, as I went, for no troops crossed. Why, in the time of the Great Napoleon he would have crossed long before these ten days were over with 150,000 men, and he would have beaten the Prussians as they came up, corps after corps; and we should have had news of him at Berlin, as we did in 1806, instead of hearing how the Prussians have invaded us, and beaten our armies in detail.'

Unfortunately for the French, they had no General fit to take the command in the critical circumstances in which the army was placed. The Germans seemed at first to have intended to wait the attack of the invaders on the line of Coblenz and Mainz, no doubt in the belief that their enemy would cross the Rhine into the Palatinate before they could reach that river. But when, much to their surprise, they found that the French troops loitered and delayed operations, they resolved to carry the war into the enemy's country. While the incompetent Generals of the French army were wasting their time in wrangling, and hesitation, and useless inspections, with apparently no definite plan of operations, the immense masses of German troops, unknown to them, were concentrating on the railroad junctions near the frontier. On the 2nd of August the French Emperor advanced from Metz across the frontier, and by a cannonade from the neighbouring heights compelled a small Prussian detachment to retire from the town of Saarbrück. This petty exploit furnished matter for a despatch, in which the Emperor informed the Empress that the Prince Imperial had in this combat received his 'baptism of fire.' But even now the troops remained scattered as before, the different divisions too far separate to support each other if suddenly attacked. Two days later (Thursday, 4th August), the storm burst upon them quite unexpectedly. General A. Douay was encamped at Wissembourg, within two miles of the frontier, utterly unconscious that a force ten times his own strength was within a single day's march. At early dawn of the 4th the Crown Prince crossed the Lauter, directly in front and on both flanks of the French, in resistless force. Douay and his men fought gallantly, but were speedily driven back by the overwhelming numbers of their assailants. The General himself fell early in the action, and his division retreated in great disorder, leaving 600 prisoners and their camp in the hands of the Prussians.

Marshal MacMahon, who was stationed near Strasburg, was still incredulous that the enemy had crossed the frontier in great force, and having rallied the troops flying from Wissembourg, he took up a strong and well-chosen position on the lower spurs of the Vosges, at Wörth, two and a half German miles south-west of Wissembourg, having 55,000 men under his command. Here he was assailed on the evening of the 5th of August by the Crown Prince, with a force of 130,000 men. The French fought with desperate valour, and held their ground for fifteen hours, but they were at last overpowered and compelled to give way, leaving two standards, six mitrailleuses, thirty guns, and about 6000 prisoners in the hands of the enemy, besides two railway trains laden with provisions, and MacMahon's carriage, with all his baggage and papers. Their killed and wounded amounted to 10,000 men. The German loss was about 8000. The neglect of discipline, the want of confidence between officers and men, which proved so ruinous throughout the war, were especially manifested in this encounter.

The behaviour of the defeated army was peculiarly disgraceful, and turned their reverse into a disastrous rout. Their right, which was not pressed at all by the enemy after they gave way, fled panic-stricken, though wholly unpursued. Numbers of them, on horses stolen from their guns and trains, rushed pell-mell through Hagenau towards Strasburg, where 3000 of them arrived without their arms. MacMahon's centre and left fell into the same shameful disorder in their retreat, and when the General, after a cross march through the hills, reached Saverne on the following evening, only three of his infantry regiments had kept their ranks. Of MacMahon's entire corps only 5000 men remained on the night of the 6th to retrace their steps, broken and dispirited, towards Chalons.

This was not the only disaster which befell the French at this time, for on the same day the advanced guard of the first German army, under General Göben, came almost accidentally in contact, near Forbach, with the left wing of the French, superior to him in force, commanded by General Frossard. The French position on the steep hill of Spicheren was very strong, and the battle, which began shortly after ten o'clock in the morning, lasted till nightfall. In the end the Germans carried the heights by a bayonet charge, and compelled the French to retreat, with the loss of 2500 prisoners and a large store of guns, provisions, and camp equipage. The Germans made no attempt to follow up their victory; but Frossard's troops, forced off the direct road to Metz, succeeded by a hurried and circuitous retreat in reaching that fortress. The first stage of the war was already over. It was impossible to conceal its disastrous result. 'Marshal MacMahon has lost a battle. General Frossard, on the Saar, has been compelled to fall back. The retreat is being effected in good order. All may yet be re-established,' were the almost despairing words in which the telegram of the Emperor conveyed the tidings to Paris.

The disappointment, rage, and apprehension which the bad news excited in the capital were very great. The Ministry had neither ability nor courage to brave the storm; and the Legislative body, summoned by the Empress in her capacity of Regent, passed a vote of censure on them, and they immediately resigned. An Imperial Cabinet, with General Montauban, Count of Palikao, at its head, was formed. The command of the forces in Paris was entrusted to General Trochu, an experienced and able officer who, on account of his opposition to the Imperial system, had been allowed to languish for active employment on half pay, while incapable men had been raised to high rank and office for their courtiership. Marshal Bazaine superseded the incapable Lebœuf in the supreme conduct of the war. The Emperor himself now saw clearly that the conflict was to end in disgrace and ruin. The discoveries which he had made, since his arrival at Metz, of the scandalous conduct both of soldiers and officers, and his knowledge of the usual behaviour of the French army under reverses, must have prepared his mind for the impending catastrophe. He made no attempt to direct the movements of the troops, and both at Metz and at Paris affairs were conducted as if no Emperor existed. Owing to the state of his health he had become physically incapable of active exertion. His mind, it was alleged, had become gloomy and unsettled, and he was constantly complaining of having been misled and betrayed.

Bazaine now took up a position before Metz, having under his command the four corps which had fallen back from the Saarbrück frontier, strengthened by a detachment which Marshal Canrobert had brought up from Chalons. His forces thus collected amounted to about 130,000. On the 13th the King of Prussia, who had followed the retreating French forces to the Moselle, was before him with 250,000 men. On the 14th the German vanguard belonging to the division under General Steinmetz came up with the three corps of Decaen,

Frossard, and L'Admirault, near Courcelles, while they were crossing the Moselle. A sharp contest ensued, in which both sides claimed the victory, but the result was that the French were forced from a slightly intrenched position back to the cover of the outworks of Metz. Bazaine, now growing anxious for the safety of the Emperor, persuaded him to quit the army, and along with his son to start for Chalons by Verdun. The emperor succeeded in reaching his destination, though he narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Prussians on the way thither.

The greater part of the German forces had crossed the Moselle at Pont-à-Mousson, twenty miles higher up the river than Metz, with the view of getting between Bazaine's army and Paris. If the Marshal had been fit for his post, and could have trusted his troops, he should at once have struck boldly at the invading army while thus extended, but instead of adopting this course he began a retreat to Verdun. On the 16th the head of the French column was intercepted by the 3rd Prussian Corps at Mars-la-Tour, and a bloody battle of twelve hours' duration ensued. The Germans admitted a loss of 16,000 men; but they succeeded in arresting Bazaine's retreat westward, and next day he fell back to a strong position at Gravelotte, where the two roads from Verdun to Metz unite, five miles westward of the latter fortress. He immediately began to strengthen his position, and was busy intrenching when he was assailed by the enemy on the 18th August, at Rezonville. They succeeded in storming his lines by direct assault, but with a loss of life almost unparalleled. Several regiments, and indeed the whole 3rd Corps, were nearly annihilated. But in the end Bazaine was fairly shut up within the works around Metz. Barracks were immediately constructed of timber for the accommodation of the besiegers. A telegraph was carried round the whole of the investing camp, and a railroad was formed at a little distance from the works to connect the lines of operation. Meanwhile the Crown Prince had descended the western slopes of the Vosges into Lorraine. He detached his Baden contingent to blockade Strasburg and to make preparations for an active siege, and a portion of his Bavarian troops was detached to blockade Bitsche and Phalsbourg and other hill forts in his rear. The Crown Prince had at first intended to co-operate with the forces under Prince Frederick Charles and Steinmetz; but as this was now unnecessary he turned towards Paris, supported by a detachment from Prince Charles' army. The King followed him, and on the 25th he joined the Crown Prince at Bar-le-Duc; but already, three days before this, the French camp at Chalons had broken up.

After his signal defeat at Wörth MacMahon had retired continuously on Chalons, bringing with him the remnant of his army, amounting to only 15,000 disheartened men. De Failly had abandoned the frontier in haste and retreated to the depot at Chalons. So also did Douay, who came in from Belfort. When these various contingents had joined him MacMahon had 80,000 men under his command, and he was promised additional reinforcements from Paris wherewith to protect the direct road to the capital. But the new Minister, Palikao, and his Council at Paris, from political motives, had formed the preposterous project of ordering MacMahon to make a desperate effort to join Bazaine by Sedan and Montmédy, and thus bringing the united armies down on the rear of the Crown Prince, to cut him off from his communications with the forces under Prince Frederick Charles and with Germany.

The Emperor stated in his pamphlet of Wilhelmshöhe that this movement was undertaken in opposition to his own better judgment, and in compliance with the strongly-expressed opinion of the Regency at Paris. Marshal MacMahon also disapproved of the project, but he had not sufficient resolution to take the responsibility of refusing to obey the orders received from

the capital. The new Ministers had very unwisely led the citizens to expect that this movement would be successful, and they assured the General that every facility was afforded for it by the railroad from Mézières to Thionville, which should carry him stores and more men. The scheme, however, never had a chance of success, and it was carried out in a way which could only terminate in disgraceful failure. MacMahon set out from Rethel on the 24th of August, but so dilatory were his movements that his army spent seven days in marching from Rheims to Sedan, a distance of only fifty miles in a direct line. The German army of the Meuse, 80,000 strong, under the Crown Prince of Saxony, blocked the passage of the French down that valley, and on the 26th the Crown Prince of Prussia, having received intelligence of MacMahon's movements, turned northwards to Grand Pré and Varennes for the purpose of intercepting him. MacMahon's army marched in two columns. The left was to pass the Meuse at Sedan, the right was to march by Beaumont on Mouzon, the next passage higher up the river. On the morning of the 30th one of De Failly's divisions was shamefully surprised in its camp at Beaumont, on the left bank of the Meuse, by the Bavarians, and fled in disorder towards the river. They were hotly pursued and dreadfully cut up before they reached Mouzon. De Failly himself fell in the action. On the same day MacMahon, on the other side of the river, was attacked between Mouzon and Moulins, six miles from Carignan. After a stubborn and protracted resistance, the French were driven back to Vaux and Carignan, losing twenty-three guns and 3000 prisoners, besides a large number of killed and wounded. On the following day some severe fighting took place near the village of Bazeilles, in which the Prussians had again the advantage, and compelled the French to fall back upon the little fortress of Sedan.

On the 1st of September was fought the great battle of Sedan, which terminated in the complete destruction of the French army. It was drawn up in a semicircle on the east of the Meuse, with Sedan as the centre. The right rested on the river at Bazeilles. The other divisions were stationed at Givonne, La Chapelle, Illy, and Floing, and the left wing was placed on the Meuse north of Sedan. The French amounted to 110,000 men of all arms, but were greatly outnumbered by the Germans, who had 220,000 soldiers on the field of battle. Their great superiority in numbers as well as in spirit emboldened Von Moltke to dispense with reserves, and to throw his whole army, with the exception of one corps, in a vast circle round the French position—'a tactical performance,' says a military critic of the battle, 'fully justified by the event, but which, against any but ill-led and very disheartened troops, should have been the ruin of the assailants.' The battle began, amid a dense fog at an early hour in the morning, with the attack of the Bavarians on the village of Bazeilles. They met with a stubborn resistance, which lasted the whole day. The village had to be taken house by house, and though the assailants were in the end successful, they lost a much greater number of men than the defenders. The King of Prussia, accompanied by Von Moltke and Bismarck, took his station at eight o'clock on a hill to the west of Sedan, which commanded a complete view of the battle-field. The conflict had by this time become general, and though the French fought gallantly, the Germans, by dint of their vast numbers and superior artillery, gradually gained ground. MacMahon, who had ridden out towards Bazeilles, was severely wounded in the thigh, and the command of his army was transferred to General Wimpffen. Position after position was carried, and though the deep and wooded ravines between the villages favoured the defence, 'the fiery circle,' as King William wrote to his Queen, 'drew gradually closer round Sedan. The violent resistance of the enemy began to slacken by degrees, which we could see by

the broken battalions that were hurriedly retreating from the woods and villages.' The retreat of the French in many cases became a flight. The infantry, cavalry, and artillery rushed pell-mell into Sedan, where all was wild confusion. Waggons and military stores blocked up the streets, and horses were running masterless among struggling crowds of soldiers and citizens. The Bavarians, who had by this time overcome all resistance at Bazeilles, were vigorously attacking Balan, a suburb of the town outside the fortifications, and the Prussian guns, which had been brought forward to the heights that command Sedan, were throwing shells into the town, which was speedily in flames. At this crisis General Wimpffen made a determined effort to cut his way through the German lines, but only 2000 or 3000 of his demoralized and disheartened troops could be induced to follow him, and he was obliged to give up the hopeless attempt. King William now ordered the firing to cease, and sent Colonel Von Bronsart, an officer of the staff, with a flag of truce, to demand the capitulation of the army and the fortress. On asking for the Commander-in-Chief he was unexpectedly introduced into the presence of the Emperor, who wished to give him a letter for the King, but ultimately sent it by his Adjutant-General, Reille. The letter was to the following effect:—'Not having been able to die at the head of my troops, it only remains for me to place my sword in the hands of your Majesty.' The King replied as follows:—'Regretting the circumstances under which we meet, I accept the sword of your Majesty; and I pray you to name one of your officers provided with full power to treat for the capitulation of the army which has so bravely fought under your command.'

Next morning a capitulation was signed by which the whole French army, numbering 84,450 men, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Besides, 28,000 soldiers, twenty-eight eagles, and twenty-five pieces of artillery were captured in the battle. About 15,000 of the French troops had been pushed beyond the frontier into Belgium, and had laid down their arms in accordance with the rules of neutrality. About 330 field-pieces, 150 heavy guns, seventy mitrailleuses, 10,000 horses, and an enormous quantity of war material became the spoil of the victors.

The fallen Emperor's first meeting was with Bismarck at an early hour in the morning of the 2nd. On the road to the quarters of the Prussian Premier at Donchery, a small village near Sedan, he was met by the Count, who conducted him to the cottage of a handloom weaver. They seated themselves on two chairs on the plot of ground in front of the cottage, and discussed the exigencies of the crisis. Bismarck introduced the question of peace, but the Emperor replied that he had no power. He had surrendered himself as an individual, but he could not make terms. Upon the Empress as Regent and her Ministers the business of negotiation must devolve.

At two o'clock in the afternoon an interview between the King of Prussia and his captive took place at the Château of Bellevue, near Sedan. After it was over King William telegraphed to his Queen:—

'What a thrilling moment that of my meeting with Napoleon! He was cast down, but dignified. I gave him Wilhelmshohe, near Cassel, as the place where he will stay. Our meeting took place in a small castle in front of the western glacis of Sedan. From thence I rode through the ranks of our army round Sedan. The reception by the troops thou mayest imagine. It is indescribable.'

The Emperor proceeded at once to his destination. He passed the Saturday night at Bouiller, and went next day by railway to Verviers. He did not court, but at the same time did not shun, the observation of the people, and behaved throughout with calmness and self-possession.

The defeat of the French army at Sedan, the most signal and discreditable that ever befel a nation who thought their soldiers invincible, and the surrender of a Marshal of France with 100,000 men, to say nothing

of the capture of the Emperor, were the result of the incompetency and negligence of the French Generals and the undisciplined and demoralized state of the men.

'I had observed,' says Captain Jeannerod, 'that the number of stragglers was enormous, and I continually met soldiers who did not know where their regiments were. I had seen men and officers disabled by wounds which French soldiers of other days would have despised. I had remarked how untidy and careless the men were allowed to be about their dress and equipments. These things, slight, but significant to a military eye, had caused me, no doubt, some misgivings as to the rapidity of the success we had a right to expect. I saw also how prone French officers were to avoid the fatigues of long marches and the discomfort of bivouacs. I remember how often I have traversed the French lines at the dead of night and at early dawn, and never heard a challenge, never came across a French vidette, never have fallen in with a party of scouts. On the other hand, I have seen officers spend the time that ought to have been given to their men in cafés or in poor village inns. Often even officers of the staff seemed to neglect their duties for paltry amusements, showing themselves ignorant sometimes even of the name of the department in which they were, so that I have known a French General obliged to ask his way from peasants at the meeting of two roads. I struggled long against all this kind of evidence, but the end is only too clear. Painful it is to me, but I am bound to declare my belief that any further effort France may make will only cause useless bloodshed, and that a means of escape from her peril must now be sought otherwise than by force of arms.'

Count Palikao, in conformity with the usual practice of French rulers, had substituted for a true account of the events of a campaign which had proved so disastrous to France a series of encouraging fictions. The battles which ended with the retreat of Bazaine into Metz were represented as brilliant French victories, and during the march of MacMahon's army to relieve the Marshal the Legislative Body were assured that a splendid victory might be confidently expected. When at last the fatal news of the capitulation at Sedan reached Paris, it became necessary to confess that a disaster had occurred; but the full truth was not even then disclosed, and the Minister of War led the Chambers to believe that only 40,000 men had surrendered. The truth could not be long concealed, however, and the presentiment that the abandonment of Bazaine would involve a revolution at Paris, which had induced the Count to impel MacMahon to his desperate adventure, was realized without delay. On the 4th of September, while the Legislative Body were discussing the proposal of M. Thiers to appoint a Commission for the government and defence of the country, their hall was invaded by a mob headed by the National Guards on duty at the door. They demanded the overthrow of the Imperial dynasty and the immediate proclamation of a republic. All attempts at restoring order were vain. The greater number of the Deputies quitted the Chamber, and the ringleaders of the mob, along with the extreme section of the Legislative Body, declared the deposition of the Emperor and proclaimed a republic under a Provisional Government, consisting, with the exception of M. Thiers, who refused to accept office, of the Deputies for Paris. General Trochu was appointed President, Jules Favre Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Gambetta Minister of the Interior. No resistance was offered; Palikao and his colleagues took to flight, the Palace of the Tuileries was plundered by the National Guards and Mobiles, and the Empress, threatened by the rabble, robbed by her attendants, and deserted by her courtiers, with difficulty made her escape to England. The republic was proclaimed also at Lyons, Bordeaux, Marseilles, and other provincial towns. 'The fickle populace, intoxicated with joy at the proclamation of the republic, danced like maniacs over the grave of the national honour, even while 100,000 French soldiers were defiling before their conquerors, and, like spiteful children, stabbed the pictures and broke the busts of the man who, whatever might be his faults, had conferred innumerable benefits on Paris.'

Thus the Second Empire crumbled into dust, without a hand being lifted in its defence. All the familiar instances of fallen

greatness with which it is customary to 'point a moral and adorn a tale' fall short of the sudden and disastrous termination of the career of the ruler of France. Very rarely has any one ever fallen from a position so elevated and seemingly so secure to a depth of humiliation so abject and profound by a process so speedy and irresistible. However criminal the means by which he rose to imperial power, or questionable the arts by which he sustained himself on the throne, or selfish the objects at which he aimed, and indefensible his conduct in plunging his subjects into that war which proved so ruinous both to him and to them, a fall so sudden and irretrievable could not but excite commiseration. It would not be fair, however, to throw the whole blame of the war on the fallen Emperor. No small share of the obloquy rests on the other party in the contest. Their hands were not clean. But the French people themselves were largely to blame for the war and its results. The lust of conquest and national aggrandizement manifested by all parties—Orleanists, Bonapartists, and Republicans of every hue—and their insatiable vanity, had for three centuries led them to undertake protracted and bloody wars, and invasions of the territory of their neighbours, and even of far-distant nations with whom they had no ground of quarrel. The fallen Emperor undoubtedly was largely responsible for the unjustifiable and sanguinary war with Germany, but he could not have effected his purpose unless he had been supported by the mass of his subjects. His object was to strengthen his tottering throne and to give stability to his dynasty, as well as to gratify his ambition and revenge his diplomatic defeat; and there can be no doubt that if he had returned victorious from the war, and had succeeded in extending the frontiers of his kingdom, he would have been welcomed with acclamation by those who after his fall loaded him with reproaches. It was to the restless vanity and thirst for glory and lust of conquest on the part of the people, and especially of the Parisians, as much as to the pride and ambition of their ruler, that this desolating war and its terrible results were owing. The guilt rests on them no less than on him, and in the result they as well as he 'rewarded evil to themselves,' and were made to 'eat of the fruit of their own doings.'

It is an act of bare justice to remember in his disasters the good Louis Napoleon did or attempted to do, and the difficulties he had to encounter. It is undeniable that under his rule France enjoyed a large amount of prosperity. He spent millions of money in the country, but quitted it a poor man. Paris was indebted to him for its reconstructions and vast improvements. His foreign policy was not disinterested or judicious, but to him it was mainly owing that Italy is united and free. One leading principle of his policy was a cordial alliance with Britain. Of all the rulers who ever sat on the throne of France he was our best ally. But as regards his own country his government was founded in its origin on a combination of force and fraud, and was throughout an example of right based only upon power. During his whole reign the French nation was really under despotic rule. The Imperial Court was tainted with the worst vices of a corrupt civilization, and set an example of profuse luxury which was closely copied by the whole circle of Ministers and official persons. The system which thus prevailed was adverse to public honesty and fatal to public spirit. On the surface all was gorgeous, but all beneath was unsound. The Emperor was directly responsible for this evil influence, and for the corruption which is the natural fruit of despotism, where the free and wholesome air of public opinion can never penetrate—that corruption which, flowing directly from the throne, permeated every department of government and every class of society, and was one main cause of the Emperor's ruin. Having sown the wind he reaped the whirlwind.

CHAPTER XI.

The Germans resolve to continue the War—Their objects—General disapproval of their policy—Position of the French Forces—Visit of M. Thiers to the various European Courts—Failure of the attempt to arrange an armistice—Surrender of Toul and Strasburg—Conduct of Bazaine—Surrender of Metz—Activity of Gambetta—Organization of new French armies—Victory at Baccon—Energetic measures of General D'Aurelle—Sortie of General Trochu—Operations on the Loire—German modes of warfare—Enormous requisitions—Burning of villages—Shocking cruelties on women and children—Execution of Francs-tireurs and Peasants—Bismarck's excuses—Sufferings of the besiegers and of the citizens of Paris—Dispersion of the forces outside the city—Bourbaki's army—Failure of the final sortie—Capitulation of Paris—Election of an Assembly—M. Thiers appointed Chief of the Executive—Terms of peace—Disapproval of their severity—Impolicy of the treatment of France by the Germans.

THE new Government and the Republican party seem to have cherished the notion that after the deposition of the Emperor, who was the responsible promoter of the war, the Germans would be willing to accept an ample pecuniary indemnity for the sacrifices which they had been compelled to make in defence of their country, and to conclude an honourable and not humiliating peace with the French Government. Some phrases in one of the proclamations of the King of Prussia were interpreted into a statement that he had made war, not against France, but against the Imperial dynasty. The war, it was alleged, was not the war of the French people—its sins and its disasters alike were attributable to the deposed and captive Emperor; and now that the invader, who had sought to outrage the national rights and territory of the Germans, was a prisoner in their own hands, and disowned by his own countrymen, hostilities ought forthwith to cease. The Germans, however, were by no means disposed to accept the plea which sought to exonerate the French people by laying all the blame on their ruler. Magnanimity was at no time a characteristic of the Prussian sovereigns. Their kingdom had been almost entirely made up of provinces which they had acquired from their neighbours by force or fraud. It was not at all likely that they would lose such a favourable opportunity, when France lay apparently helpless beneath the heel of the invader, of making coveted additions to their territories.

The objects at which they aimed were speedily avowed. Bismarck, in a circular-letter to the foreign representatives of the Prussian Court, declared that—

'The unanimous voice of the German Governments and German people demands that Germany shall be protected by better boundaries than we have had hitherto against the dangers and violence we have experienced from all French Governments for centuries. As long as France remains in possession of Strasburg and Metz, so long is its offensive power strategically stronger than our defensive, so far as all South Germany and North Germany on the left bank of the Rhine are concerned. Strasburg in possession of France is a gate always wide open for attack on South Germany. In the hands of Germany Strasburg and Metz obtain a defensive character.'

On the other hand, M. Jules Favre, the French Foreign Minister, had anticipated this demand by declaring in a circular addressed to the French representatives at foreign Courts, 'We will not cede either an inch of our territory or a stone of our fortresses.' It was evident, therefore, that the war was to proceed, and that, as Jules Favre said, the King of Prussia was resolved 'to give to the world of the nineteenth century the cruel spectacle of two nations destroying one another, and in forgetfulness of humanity, reason, and science heaping corpse upon corpse and ruin upon ruin.'

The approval and sympathy of Britain, and indeed of Europe, had up to this period

been given to the Germans, who had been assailed by the French Emperor when willing to remain at peace with him. But the tide of public feeling henceforth ran strong against them. In his address to the French nation, on crossing the frontier after the battles of Spicheren and Forbach, the Prussian King declared that he made war not on the French nation, but on the French army. But now he proclaimed that the quarrel of Germany was with France, and France alone. Not content with repelling the attacks of the invader, and overthrowing his dynasty, he now resolved to carry on a war of conquest against the French people. Instead of pressing the contest to the last extremity, the victorious monarch, as soon as he had rolled back the tide of invasion and taken the invader himself prisoner, might very well have set a noble example for the world to admire and other kings to imitate. If he had stayed the march of his armies, saying to his conquered enemy, 'You invaded my country; I will do yours no such wrong; for the sake of humanity no more blood shall be shed, no more wars made, no more widows created, no more innocent children reduced to orphanage, no more happy homes desolated,' he would have won a nobler place than perhaps any king holds in the page of history. But the King of Prussia thought fit to follow a course much more in accordance with the traditions and hereditary policy of his house, which for centuries has been notorious for its grasping ambition, greed, selfishness, and perfidy. From lust of conquest, thirst for territorial aggrandizement, and the desire to humble an ancient enemy, he persisted in carrying on a war which inflicted the most tremendous losses on his own people as well as on his enemies, demoralized his subjects as well as drained his country of its best blood, and which turned against him the moral feeling of the world. 'Justifying his purpose by a pretext which had not even the merit of plausibility, King William decreed the continuance of the war, with its bloodshed and all its accompaniments of unutterable horror, such as the burning of Bazeilles and Ablis, for the avowed object of uniting to Germany, in an enforced and detested bond, populations who are enthusiastically French.'*

Had the invaders foreseen the resistance they were to encounter from the capital, it is more than doubtful if they would not have offered after Sedan terms of peace which would have been accepted by the French. But the Prussian monarch and his Prime Minister seem to have taken it for granted that France was helpless beneath the iron heel of her enemy, and that the capital, almost stripped of regular troops, would surrender on the appearance of their victorious forces before it. They speedily found, however, that in laying siege to the city they had undertaken an enterprise which would tax their skill and resources to the uttermost. Paris was determined to resist to the last extremity. 'After the forts,' said M. Jules Favre, 'we have the ramparts, after the ramparts we have the barricades,' and if Paris succumbed 'France should avenge her.'

Four or five days after the capitulation at Sedan the army of the Crown Prince, accompanied by the king, began an unopposed march upon Paris. Hasty measures had previously been taken for furnishing the city with provisions. The roads and railways in the neighbourhood were broken up, and all the scattered troops within reach were collected to assist in the defence, together with large detachments of Mobile Guards from the provinces, and with the

* The feeling of our own nation, and indeed of all European nations, was well expressed in some lines which appeared at the time in the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

'Oh shame upon your colours! shame
Upon the vaunted German name!
What if he dealt the foremost blow—
Your old hereditary foe!
What if his rash unchastened hand
Lit up the war-fires in your land—
Can all your pedants, all your schools,
Teach you no newer, better rules
Than thus to answer wrong with wrong?
To preach the gospel of the strong?
And to the end perpetuate
The bitter legacy of hate?'

able-bodied part of the city population. On the 13th of September General Trochu held a grand review of the National Guards and Mobiles. From 200,000 to 300,000 men were drawn up for inspection. An order of the day was issued stating that 70,000 men would be required for daily service on the ramparts. The Provisional Government determined to remain in Paris after despatching two of their number to establish a Supplementary Government at Tours. On the 19th the German troops, from 200,000 to 230,000 in number, took up their appointed positions and completed the investment of the city. The communication between Paris and the rest of France then ceased.

Though the supply of able-bodied men was amply sufficient to garrison the city, there were at first no arms to put into their hands, and there was a want of officers to organize and train them. They were especially deficient in field artillery. The arming of the motley force under General Trochu could, of course, only be gradually effected. The guns had to be cast, and the horses and gunners trained, and until this was effected sorties in force, on which the defence mainly depended, could not be undertaken. Meanwhile the famous fortifications of Paris, constructed thirty years before, were of great service in keeping the besiegers at a distance. They consisted first of a continuous rampart more than seventy feet wide, faced with a wall or scarp thirty feet high, having a ditch in front twenty feet deep, the circuit of which measures twenty-four miles. Outside, at distances from the ramparts varying from one to three or four miles, is a chain of fifteen forts, all of perfect construction, the smallest being capable of holding 4000 men. A military critic says—

'The works themselves are models of their kind, They are constructed not so much for passive as for active defence. The garrison of Paris is expected to come out into the open, to use the forts as supporting points for its flanks, and by constant sallies on a large scale, to render impossible a regular siege of any two or three forts. Thus, whilst the forts protect the garrison of the town from a too near approach of the enemy, the garrison will have to protect the forts from siege batteries; it will constantly have to destroy the besiegers' works. Let us add that the distance of the forts from the ramparts precludes the possibility of an effective bombardment of the town until two or three, at least, of the forts shall have been taken. Let us further add that the forts are at the junction of the Seine and the Marne, both with extremely winding courses, and with a strong range of hills on the most exposed side. The north-eastern front offers great natural advantages, which have been made the best of in the planning of the works.'

The only organized army remaining in France after the surrender of Marshal MacMahon was shut in at Metz, under Bazaine, and consisted of 150,000 men, exclusive of the regular garrison, and was invested by the first and second German armies under General Manteuffel and Prince Charles Frederick, consisting of about 210,000 men, spread over a circumference of twenty-seven miles. At Strasburg a French garrison of 19,000 men was besieged by 70,000 Germans. Toul, which commanded the railroad from Nancy by Chalons and Epernay to Paris, was garrisoned by 2000 Mobiles. Verdun, on the Meuse, which similarly commanded the direct railroad from Metz, passing by Rheims and Soissons, to Paris, was defended by Mobiles and National Guards. Thionville, Longwy, Montmédy, and Mézières, all held French garrisons and prevented the Germans from using the railroad passing by these places to Rheims and Paris. Toul and Verdun were besieged and the other fortresses were blockaded. The blockades of Bitsche and Phalsbourg were continued; they occupied about 18,000 German troops.

It was commonly believed in Paris that the neutral powers would offer their mediation, and the British Government would willingly have promoted overtures for peace, but Bismarck had intimated that Germany and France alone must settle the terms of a pacification. M. Thiers at this crisis undertook to visit the various European

Courts, beginning with London, in the hope of inducing the Governments to interpose in behalf of the French people; but without effect. The Committee of Defence, deriving their authority from the mob of Paris, had no power to bind the nation to permanent conditions of peace. Their intention was to convene the Electoral Colleges all over France, in order to choose a Constituent Assembly which could establish the government of the country on a legal basis. Bismarck, who felt fully the diplomatic difficulties of the situation, professed himself anxious to facilitate the election of an Assembly which might represent the country; but it was found impracticable to arrange the terms of an armistice. In an interview with the French Foreign Minister, M. Jules Favre, Bismarck demanded the surrender of Toul and Strasburg, and as the Constituent Assembly was to meet in Paris, 'he desired to have the forts commanding the capital—Mount Valerian, for instance.' M. Favre justly remarked, 'that it would have been more simple to have asked for Paris at once.' He peremptorily refused to comply with the conditions specified, though the two fortresses mentioned were on the eve of capitulation, and he says, 'I took my leave expressing to him my conviction that we should fight as long as we could find in Paris an element of resistance.' The French Foreign Minister justly remarked that his mission had not been useless, since it had stripped Prussia of the ambiguity in which she had hitherto enveloped herself. 'She had declared that she only attacked Napoleon and his soldiers, but respected the nation. Now, however, when the Emperor has fallen it is the nation who are to blame. Republican France is regarded as more hostile than even the Emperor to German unity.' The war was therefore to continue, not for defence, but for conquest.

The Mobiles who composed the garrison of Toul held out most obstinately, but were at last obliged to surrender on the 23rd of September. Four days later Strasburg, which had suffered terribly from the bombardment of the enemy, capitulated after a siege of forty-five days, and upwards of 17,000 Frenchmen became prisoners of war, and 70,000 Germans were liberated to take part in the operations carried on in other parts of the country. Metz still held out, and the chance of retrieving the fortunes of the war now depended mainly on the firmness and fidelity of Bazaine; but both were doubtful. Since the proclamation of the Republic in Paris, instead of confining himself to his military duty, he had taken part in an intrigue to bring about the restoration of the Imperial dynasty. On the 21st of October General Boyes arrived at Versailles on a confidential mission from Marshal Bazaine, and about the same time General Bourbaki, after an interview with the Prussian General, went straight to England with a mysterious message to the Empress. It afterwards transpired that Bazaine had concerted with the Prussian Government a project of summoning the Senate and Legislative Body to meet in some town in the north of France, under the authority of the Empress and the protection of his army, to establish a regency on behalf of the Prince Imperial, and to negotiate a peace which would have been practically dictated by Bismarck. This preposterous plot was defeated by the good sense of the Empress, who prudently declined to have anything to do at present, either for herself or her son, with political combinations and intrigues.

Bazaine, occupying the centre of a circle with 150,000 troops, and with every strategical advantage in his favour, might have forced his way out at first if he had made a resolute and well-planned effort to break through the Prussian cordon. But he lost the favourable opportunity, and his subsequent sallies were quite ineffective. His troops began to be straitened for provisions; sickness broke out in the camp; a spirit of discontent became visible among his soldiers; disorganization crept into their ranks, and they grew spiritless and demoralized. At length, on the 27th of

October, after a siege of ten weeks, the great fortress of Metz surrendered, with the three Marshals, Bazaine, Canrobert, and Lebœuf, with the veteran General Changarnier, and numerous other generals and officers, with 170,000 men, and all their weapons, stores, and materials, including 2800 guns and 40,000,000 francs. The surrender of Metz, which set at liberty 225,000 men, whose presence was urgently required in a different part of the country, has been pronounced 'the most calamitous event for France of this most calamitous war.' It appears certain that if Bazaine had held out until the French victory of Baccon, just fifteen days longer, which a resolute and leal-hearted general would have done, the Germans must have raised the siege of Paris.

Bazaine has been loudly accused of treachery, and after the close of the war he was brought to trial, found guilty, and condemned to death. The sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life; but he succeeded in making his escape from his prison, and has since lived in obscurity. He was certainly an inefficient commander, quite unfit for the position in which he was placed, and he seems to have attempted to play a political part for which he was even more unfit. A writer who was in Metz during the siege says:—

'After Sedan and the fall of the Empire, it became evident to all that Marshal Bazaine refused to act upon the aggressive. He would not compromise himself in any way—to play a waiting game was his policy. To this cause alone is due the abandonment of a fortress almost impregnable, which never fired a shot from its walls, and into which no shot ever fell; which sent away an army "vanquished by famine" with six days' full rations; the soldiers, as I myself saw, handing out from their fourgons huge portions of bacon to the people as they were led away into captivity.'

Others, however, ascribed the capitulation to the utter want of discipline among officers and men, which had made the army simply unmanageable. No general, it was said, could deliberately betray an army of 173,000 men to an army of 200,000 if they did not want to be betrayed. The officers spent their time in discreditable amusements and luxury, leaving their soldiers to starve and grow mutinous. A military critic remarks:—'The statement of Marshal Bazaine, if correct, that when he surrendered he had only 65,000 men available for offensive operations, supplies, when collated with the numbers comprised in the capitulation, at once the strongest condemnation of the soldiery and an undeniable excuse for their commander.'

It had been evident from the first that the deliverance of the capital depended on the formation without the walls of the city of such an army, properly organized, equipped, and provisioned, as would suffice, in co-operation with the garrison, to compel the besiegers to abandon the enterprise. In the provinces the military organization of each department had been intrusted to the leading Republican journalist of the district, and had, in most cases, been very inefficiently carried out. The Red Republicans of Lyons and Marseilles scarcely recognized the authority of the Committee of Defence, and the members of the Supplementary Government at Tours were inert and useless. But fresh energy was infused into their councils by the arrival there, on the 9th of October, of the energetic Minister, Gambetta, who had made his way out of Paris in a balloon. He was received by the people with loud acclamations, and at once assumed the post of Minister of War. He pushed on with indefatigable activity the formation of a new national army. His irrepressible energy, sanguine enthusiasm, and remarkable talent for organization infused new and vigorous life into the measures adopted to expel the invaders from the French soil. He was now virtually dictator of France, and flying about the country like a meteor, he infused such energy into the defensive measures that the formation of three new armies was commenced and rapidly effected. Count Keratry raised forces in Brittany; General Bourbaki for a time held the chief

command in the North, with his headquarters at Lille; Garibaldi, who sympathized strongly with the French people in their hour of adversity, was associated with General Gambier in the Vosges. The main army, called the Army of the Loire, consisting of 130,000 men, was placed under General D'Aurelle des Paladines, a Crimean veteran and a strict disciplinarian, who had succeeded in establishing a system of training and subordination to which the French soldiers had for some years been strangers. After a succession of sharp contests, Orleans was taken, on the 10th of October, by the Bavarians under General Von der Tann; but he was compelled to evacuate that city on the 10th of November, on the approach of a greatly superior force under General D'Aurelle, and took up a position at the neighbouring village of Coulmiers, covering his line of retreat towards Paris. Here he was attacked by the French, and, after an obstinate defence, prolonged throughout the day, the Bavarians fell back in good order to Toury, leaving two guns, a number of provision and ammunition waggons, and 1000 prisoners in the hands of the French; but the arrival of the Duke of Mecklenburg with large reinforcements prevented D'Aurelle from following up his success. The victory of Baccon came in good time to revive the spirit of Paris and of the provinces, which, by a long succession of failures, along with the capitulation of Metz, Strasburg, Thionville, Phalsbourg, and Montmédy, and the occupation of Rouen, Amiens, and Orleans, had somewhat depressed, though it had not destroyed their confidence in the possibility of ultimate triumph. About the middle of November Prince Frederick Charles effected his junction with the Bavarians under the Duke of Mecklenburg, and assumed the chief command of the German army of the Loire, now reduced to 90,000 men. General D'Aurelle, whose forces were greatly superior in numbers to the enemy, constructed large intrenchments in the forest north of Orleans, which he caused to be armed with heavy ship guns brought from the arsenal at Rochefort. His general position was far more compact than that of the Germans, and availing himself of his superior facilities of concentration, on the 28th of November he made a furious attack on the left wing of the German army at Beaune-la-Rolande. After a battle which lasted six hours, the French were on the eve of gaining the victory, when Prince Frederick Charles came up with reinforcements, just in time to prevent the defeat of the Germans. The French regular troops, and especially the Pontifical Zouaves under General Charette, fought with conspicuous gallantry to open the road to Paris; but the raw levies which formed the bulk of the French army were unable to resist the steady discipline of the German veterans, and were driven back with considerable loss. The movement of General D'Aurelle had been concerted with General Trochu in Paris, who was to make a grand sortie for the purpose of breaking through the iron girdle that encompassed the city. His plan was to make a real attack against the position held by the Würtembergers and Saxons between Bonneuil and Noisy le Grand, and at the same time to make demonstrations on the west and south-west in order to distract the attention of the besiegers. Considerable damage was inflicted on the German works on the west, and they suffered heavy losses from the French batteries. The conflicts with the troops of Saxony and Würtemberg, which lasted over three days, were of the most desperate character. The villages of Villiers, Champigny, and Brie were taken by the French and retaken by the Germans; but the terrible fire from the forts rendered them utterly untenable. The losses of the besiegers in these encounters amounted to at least 8000 men, which was much greater than that of the French. The garrisons left by them in the villages which had been the occasion of so much slaughter were not withdrawn till the evening of the 4th, after intelligence had been received that

General D'Aurelle had missed his blow. Trochu's plan was evidently limited to effecting a lodgment on the further side of the Marne, close to the lines of the besiegers, and holding it until the expected arrival of the 60,000 French soldiers who fought at Beaune. General Trochu entirely fulfilled his part of the programme, and it is obvious, if General D'Aurelle had been equally successful, and had made an attack on the rear of the Würtembergers at the same time that the troops who had sallied out from Paris under Ducrot assailed them in front, that the Germans would have been compelled to raise the investment of the city.

Although the French had failed to effect the main object of this combined attack, they had gained from it very decided advantages, both moral and physical. The result of the two days' fighting had given immense encouragement to the garrison and population of Paris, from the conviction which it produced that they could break the investing line whenever they might attempt it. Furthermore, two *lodgments* had been effected for ulterior operations, covering the passage of the river, and on the enemy's side of it, and affording points of concentration for large bodies of troops, within twenty minutes' march of the enemy's line.

On the evening of the 30th November, news having been received of the success of the great sortie from Paris, it was resolved by Gambetta that a general forward movement should be made of the Loire Army. The 16th and 17th French Corps, under Generals Chanzy and Sonnis, attacked and defeated Von der Tann at Patay (December 16th); but the Duke of Mecklenburg having joined the Bavarian commander during the night with large reinforcements, the positions captured by the French on the previous day were retaken. The Germans pressed on, and the French retreated to Orleans, which was entered by the invaders on the 5th, after a battle which lasted from 3 p.m. until after dark on the 4th. A part of the French army retreated across the Loire, but the great mass, dividing into two separate armies, commanded respectively, upon the dismissal of D'Aurelle, by Generals Bourbaki and Chanzy, retreated to the south-east and south-west, on the right bank of the river. From the 7th to the 10th encounters took place between General Chanzy and the Duke of Mecklenburg, in which both sides claimed the victory. Orleans was garrisoned by the Bavarian corps of Von der Tann, which left Germany 30,000 strong and was now reduced to 5000 effective men.

'That the French army should have been fighting in the open field at all, when we recall the helpless condition of France after Sedan, is not a little surprising,' says the military critic already quoted, 'but that they should have fought within thirteen days such battles as Beaune-le-Rolande, Patay, Bazoches, Ceutly, Chevilly, Chilleure, Orleans, and the four battles about Beaugency, on terms so nearly equal, sometimes superior, against the best German troops, effecting their retreat on all but one occasion without serious loss or confusion, is little less than a miracle, and reflects the highest honour on General D'Aurelle and the subordinate generals who organized and commanded the Army of the Loire.'

The movements of the German armies on both sides of the Loire compelled the Delegation, with the exception of Gambetta, to remove their seat of Government to Bourdeaux, and General Chanzy, no longer embarrassed by the duty of protecting Tours, moved westward, with the purpose of drawing reinforcements from Brittany. The Duke of Mecklenburg moved along the right bank of the Loire towards Tours, which ultimately surrendered after being shelled without any notice given, and when it was not occupied by troops who meant to defend it. The Germans, however, found the position too distant to be held with advantage, and it was evacuated immediately after it had surrendered.

While these events were occurring before Paris and on the Loire, General Manteuffel was overrunning the northern provinces. On the 27th November he defeated the French Army of the North in front of

Amiens, thence marched to Rouen, and after exacting from it a fine of 15,000,000 francs, divided his army into three bodies, one of which made a demonstration against Havre, while another occupied Dieppe, but retired again after two days. A third appeared at Evreux and threatened Cherbourg, which, however, he prudently did not venture to attack. The French Army of the North, which was in his rear, was daily receiving accessions, and by the 23rd of December had collected an army of 60,000 men at Pont de Noyelle, a mile and a half to the north-east of Amiens. On that day they encountered the army of Manteuffel; the battle lasted for seven hours, and both sides claimed the victory. In the east General Werder defeated the French at Ognon, and took possession of Dijon on the 29th; but though the Baden division stormed the French position at Nuits, they suffered very severe losses, and immediately after Werder evacuated Dijon, which was occupied by Garibaldi, and moved off in a north-westerly direction.

It is now time to say something respecting the manner in which the Germans carried on the war.

It is a recognized right of an invading army to obtain supplies of provisions from the inhabitants of the country on paying a fair market price for the articles which they require; but the Prussians have always been notorious for their rapacity and the arbitrary manner in which they made exactions on the people whom they invaded. They acted in this way in France, during the campaign of 1814, to the great disgust of the Duke of Wellington, and also in Denmark and Austria in 1866; but they carried their system of plunder to the highest point during the war with France in 1870. They exacted enormous sums from the towns which they seized. Eight millions sterling were extorted from Paris; Nancy had to pay £200,000, Rheims £120,000, Chalons £64,000, Rouen £62,500, and other places in the same proportion. Even in country villages a requisition was made of 25 francs (£1) a head, besides exorbitant demands of provisions of all kinds. It was their regular practice, in imitation of the Greek brigands, to carry off the gentlemen and clergymen of the neighbourhood as hostages for the payment of these arbitrarily imposed contributions.

It was remarked by the Duke of Wellington, when denouncing the forced contributions of the Prussians in 1814, that 'when officers were allowed to make requisitions for their troops, they soon began to make them for themselves, and those who demanded provisions to-day would call for money to-morrow.' His Grace had no doubt heard stories of the 'looting' practised by the Prussian officers, even of high rank, under Blucher; but the extent to which they practised '*carrying as a souvenir*' (to use their own phrase) the portable property of the French in 1870 completely casts into the shade their 'pickings and stealings' in 1814. It was their regular habit to strip the houses of the better class of every portable article of value. In short, the whole body of invaders, from King William down to the drummer-boy, were evidently bent on converting their 'glorious war' into a profitable speculation. And it must be admitted that to a very considerable extent they succeeded in the attainment of their object.

Still more disgraceful, however, was their wanton destruction of the property which they were unable to carry away with them. The soldiers destroyed everywhere public works and monuments of all kinds without the smallest military or even personal advantage to themselves, in obedience, they alleged, to the specific orders of their highest officers.

It had of late been believed that the 'usages of war' had undergone a favourable modification, that the barbarities and cruelties practised in former times were now reprobated by the whole civilized world, and especially that respect for private property and for the personal security of non-combatants had now become part of the

international law of Europe. But the manner in which the Prussians waged war in France was a return to the worst usages of barbarous times.

'The laws of war,' says General Hamley, 'as promulgated by the Prussians, may be condensed in the case of invasion into the general axiom that the population of the invaded country lose their rights of property and of personal security, while the persons and effects of the invaders become absolutely sacred. In practice this takes the two distinct forms of the law of requisition and the law of penalty for resistance. Every species of movable property which any district held by the invader contains is subject to the demands of the commander of the troops that occupy it. This property is liable to be transported to particular points by the horses and vehicles of the inhabitants, which always form an important item in the booty. The penalty for non-compliance, or tardy compliance, with a requisition is a pecuniary fine. For the payment of this the chief inhabitants are seized as hostages. The town or village, the inhabitants of which protect their property, is to be burnt. The town or village in which invading troops have suffered themselves to be surprised is to be burnt. The district in which damage is done to bridges, roads, or railways, is to be fined or devastated. The inhabitants who do the damage are to be put to death. All these things are they not written in the orders issued by the Prussian chiefs? and have not these orders been punctually executed? In ordinary cases, to confiscate property by force, to burn buildings and stores, and to put people to death for such reasons as those quoted, are acts bearing names which need not be mentioned. It is difficult to say why those acts should lose their character if committed by invaders. And it is to be observed that the enforcement of these laws of war is not merely the annulling of ordinary law, but the inversion of it. For whereas a man in all peaceful countries is entitled and encouraged to defend his own property and person, while he who assails them does so at his own proper risk, in this case defence suddenly becomes a crime, to be visited by the extremest penalties, and it is the aggressor who is to be protected by laws of extraordinary severity.'

The testimony of impartial observers leaves no doubt that after the capitulation of Sedan the invaders practised 'a calculated refinement of pillage and ruin and general brutality, for the purpose of cowing all resistance on the part of the French people.' First of all they made enormous requisitions from the towns, and even rural districts, which they enforced in the most barbarous and heartless manner. Then they had recourse to the burning of villages where they had met with unexpected opposition, thus visiting on the helpless inhabitants the justifiable acts of resistance on the part of Mobiles and Francs-tireurs, which the villagers had no power to prevent.

The details furnished by eye-witnesses of the atrocities perpetrated by the invaders on old men, women, and children were of the most shocking character; farm-houses, hamlets, and villages were reduced to ashes on pretexts frivolous or false, the open country behind the Germans being left as bare as an Eastern plain after the flight of locusts. In the north-eastern departments, and the districts within fifty miles around Paris, on which the scourge of war fell most heavily, the whole face of the once fertile and beautiful country was changed into one vast scene of devastation and misery.

'Exactly as the conflagration, driven onwards by the wind, sweeps over the great prairies of the West—in front is a wide expanse of verdant grass enamelled with summer flowers, behind a black, charred, desolate wilderness—so has the fiery tide of war passed over the fairest portion of the gayest country in Europe. The young men have gone, in thousands of cases, never to return. At home remain the old men, the women, the children, mourning the loss of their sons, their husbands, their fathers, or waiting in that terrible uncertainty which is but despair disguised. The wretched peasantry, their little cottages, homesteads, and outbuildings a mass of smouldering ruins—cattle driven off to feed the invading armies—their forage and fodder either eaten up or burned—their fields, once trim and smiling, trodden under foot by the trampling troops of cavalry—vines crushed by the heavy wheels of artillery and ammunition waggons—their houses sacked—all their stores of food, all articles of domestic use and portable furniture ruthlessly seized and carried off. Their position may be summed up in the few sad words—starvation stares them in the face.'

'Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord.'

The testimony borne at the time by

the correspondents of the London journals fully bears out this description. Mr. Bullock, the correspondent of the *Daily News*, says that the burning of Bazeilles at the battle of Sedan was an act of vengeance wreaked 'on victims of whose innocence I have been at the utmost pains to convince myself.' The details of this act of savage cruelty were of the most revolting kind.

'From the strength of the houses,' he says, 'the French troops and a number of Francs-tireurs believed they would be able to hold the place successfully against the enemy, and there can be no doubt that a desperate contest happened in the streets. The Bavarians lost heavily, but it was in a fair fight with the French soldiers, and the massacre of the inhabitants those who survive declare to have been of the most unwarrantable character. In many of the villages numbers hid themselves in the cellars of their houses. M. Robarts, a wealthy brewer, and his servant were dragged from the cellar of their house and shot. In another house *two children, named Dehaye—one six months old and the other eighteen months old—were pitched from the window of their house into the street by the Bavarians, then thrown back again into the house, which was set on fire, and the children burned*, but their parents escaped. A young man, named Remy, thirty-two years of age, who had been confined to his bed two years with a spinal complaint, was bayoneted and killed as he lay on his couch. In another house a man, named Vanchelet, his daughter, his brother-in-law, and his father-in-law were fastened in the cellar and burned to death. Their charred remains were subsequently buried by some of the neighbours who had known them. Out of a population of nearly 2000 scarcely fifty remain.'

'No description,' says an English visitor to the place shortly after, 'can convey an idea of the completeness of the destruction which has fallen upon the place. All that can be said is that a month ago there was a bright busy village, or rather small town, consisting of half-a-dozen streets, and numbering nearly 3000 inhabitants—a well-to-do town, evidently with plenty of good shops, cafés, rows of neat and even handsome houses, and every sign of comfort and prosperity. Now about one-half of these houses are mere blackened shells, with bulging tottering walls; the other half are simply represented by heaps of rubbish. From one end of the village to the other there is nothing remaining that can be called a house.'

This barbarous devastation was the work of the Bavarians, who made themselves conspicuous in the work of rapine and destruction. Irritated by their losses and the obstinacy of the defence of the marines, they in revenge burned the place on the heads of the inhabitants.

'Beaurepaire,' says Mr. Bullock, 'which nine days ago was a hamlet containing thirty families, is now a little Bazeilles, with a single family lodging in the single outhouse that remains. From these burned villages the women and little children were unhoused at the beginning of winter, besides losing the bulk of their linen, clothes, and bed furniture, which was plundered, in the first instance, by the German soldiers, and then sold by them to the Jews and others, who are reported to follow the camp in waggons.'

A French pastor—a man of high character and unimpeachable veracity, writing from Dreux to the *Times*, describes, in thrilling terms, the barbarity with which the Germans, *acting by order*, burned the village of Cherizy, by sprinkling furniture and wood-work with a composition of petroleum, which they carried for incendiary purposes in revenge for their having been repulsed by Francs-tireurs a few days before in an attack on Dreux:—

'On their way back to Houdain they set fire to all the detached houses they found on their way, and having reached the hamlet of Meyangère they entered the first farm—a magnificent agricultural establishment, the monumental gate of which attracts the attention of passers by. The farmer, terrified by the fate of Cherizy, sought to escape it by offering all that he possessed. The soldiers accepted refreshments, but showed none the less their sinister intentions of executing the barbarous orders they had received. When the farmer saw them quietly taking up the matches from the mantelpiece, he entreated them with tears, for the sake of his wife and of his five children, to spare him. Vain supplications! useless tears! they went, without manifesting either emotion or regret, to set fire to the barns full of the products of the year's peaceful labours. I saw from my windows, in the space of three kilometres, four dwellings which reddened the sky with their gloomy light. It was a scene which filled the mind with an indescribable sadness. I went twenty-seven hours after into the hamlet, the houses of which were reduced to heaps of ruins. Having entered the farm once so

prosperous, I saw in one of the buildings to the left an enormous fire, which I perceived on approaching was consuming the last remains of the stores of corn.'

Again the same writer—

'The requisitions of the Prussians are without measure; they do not leave a village till they have carried off everything. So great is the terror they inspire that we hear on all sides of suicides; of women throwing themselves into wells; of old men hanging themselves; of whole families suffocating themselves. A great number of people have become mad.'

Another writer in the *Daily News*, dating from Thionville, describes the condition of Haute Yutz, a neighbouring village, distinguished by its wretched state:—

'It has lost everything. Early in the war the inhabitants were driven from it by Prussian orders, and had to take refuge in the country round. In some cases it was only at the point of the bayonet that the people were forced to leave their once happy homes. In the wars of Napoleon I. this village was burned by the Prussians. In the present instance the houses were left, but the people were forbidden to touch the potatoes in their fields. In disobedience to these orders one man, Jean Klupp, and two children were shot in the fields while trying to get some of their own potatoes. By this ruthless act seven orphan children have been left destitute. On their return to the village, after the fall of Thionville, the villagers found every house stripped to the bare walls, the furniture, doors, windows, and cupboards broken up and burned for firewood by the soldiery. Three houses were burned entirely, and the village altogether is in a sad state of destitution, 200 souls requiring immediate relief.'

Mr. Thomas, writing to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, from Marley, near Versailles, on 8th October, after describing the condition of many villages on the road which he traversed from Chalons to Versailles, thus continues:—

'But things got worse as we proceeded. At the village of Boissy St. Leger most of the inhabitants had fled. Here the place was entirely sacked, as also the town of Villeneuve St. George close by. The wanton destruction is beyond description. The soldiers seemed to take a savage delight in breaking everything they could not carry away or make use of. The horses were accommodated in the cafés, and the tables, chairs, cooking utensils, and beds carried into the fields for the soldiers who were encamped there. All the live stock and the contents of the gardens are taken wholesale. I went into a very good house about fifteen kilometres from Boissy, on the road to Versailles. There was not a whole or sound thing in the house, except the piano, which was uninjured. Every cupboard, drawer, and desk had been smashed open, and the contents heaped together in endless confusion. In the bedrooms the contents of the wardrobes were lying about, the clothing of the family who inhabited the house being scattered all over the place. Even the children's toys were destroyed, the chimney and the looking-glasses sharing the same fate. At the Château of Grois Bois, the residence of the Prince of Wagram, I saw an officer carry off one of the carriages and some harness, although he had been entertained by the steward left in charge of the place. All the horses had been carried off, as well as the sheep and other animals. We stopped for two hours at a very large farmhouse and distillery on the north side of Paris. It was in a lamentable condition. Everything that man could do to destroy the place was done, except burning it. From the dwelling-house to the distillery literally everything was smashed and destroyed. In the distillery the machinery was all broken up, the wheels and pipes being rendered useless, and the staves of the barrels being driven in. There was a pond in the middle of the farmyard, and into this the carts and waggons had been upset.'

The conduct of the Prussians in every department of this cruel and sanguinary war was quite in keeping with these proceedings. Tours, as we have seen, was shelled without any notice being given to the inhabitants, and when there were no troops meaning to defend it. Strasburg, though inhabited by those whom the Germans claimed as brethren, was to a great extent, and purposely, battered and burned down before any damage whatever was done to the ramparts. As soon as a conflagration broke out near the cathedral, destroying the ancient library with its inestimable treasures, a storm of projectiles was concentrated on the spot to prevent the working of the fire-engines. In numerous instances, as we have seen, villages and towns were destroyed, and the inhabitants butchered merely because detachments of Prussian troops had there been repulsed by Mobiles or regular forces. At Nemours,

for example, a patrol of forty-seven Uhlans had quartered themselves in an inn without sufficient precautions for their own safety. In the night 300 Mobiles arrived, and made them prisoners after a short resistance. A day or two after 5000 Prussians surrounded the town, pointed artillery against it, and a force of 1200 cavalry and infantry marched in, commanding all persons to retire within their houses. The authorities were summoned to hear the sentence—two hours' pillage and the burning of the quarter where the affair had taken place, as well as the houses of all the members of the Committee of Defence. By urgent entreaties the Prussians consented to burn only the quarter in which the inn stood; the floors were saturated with petroleum, and the houses fired with shells. The two railway stations and fifteen houses were burned in presence of the authorities, who were forced to witness the execution, and under the personal superintendence of the officers, whose answer to all appeals for pity and mercy was that they had *special orders.* After thoroughly pillaging the house of the commandant of the National Guard and another fine mansion, they left the town, carrying off the Maire and three of the chief citizens, whom they only sent back on payment of a ransom of 100,000 francs (£4000).*

A still more flagrant example of the manner in which the Prussians carried on warfare in France occurred at Nogent-le-Roi, near Chaumont, on the Haute-Marne.

'On the 6th of December a Prussian detachment paid a visit to that town, which contained 3800 inhabitants, to give effect to large requisitions. Some Mobiles, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, came up at once to drive them out. Next day they came back in force with artillery, but 400 Mobiles, who had come from Langres, barricaded themselves in the town, replied to the fire, and killed thirty men. The enemy then retired the second time to Chaumont, but on the 12th, having learned that the Mobiles had evacuated Nogent, which was now left defenceless, they returned with artillery to the number of from 7000 to 8000 men, and bombarded the town—reprisals the more odious as the place was not responsible for the legitimate defence maintained by regular troops. Presently the Prussian commander, finding petroleum more expeditious than bombs, which, however, had done not a little harm, ordered his soldiers to enter the dwellings and to saturate with this liquid the houses and furniture, even to the mattresses. This unheard-of order was executed at once in spite of the protestation of the inhabitants, women and children, who affirmed, with perfect truth, that they had taken no part in the contest, and had offered no resistance. Eighty-eight houses were reduced to ashes, as well as the large and fine cutlery works of M. Vitry. All this time shots were fired in the streets at the wretched inhabitants as they fled, and six of them were killed. The principal citizens were arrested upon no charge and carried off to Chaumont. The *Adjeut*, M. Combes, was dragged thither through the snow on his naked feet, his arms bound and his head bare, without being allowed to put on his clothes.'

'Shortly before the cessation of hostilities, the railway bridge over the Meuse was blown up by a large detachment of French cavalry which had arrived from a distance, and the German guard were carried off prisoners. Such a brilliant feat called for vengeance, but on whom? The French cavalry were gone far out of reach, but Fontenoi was close by the broken bridge, and for no reason but this a detachment of troops was immediately sent from Nancy to destroy the village.'

But a darker indictment remains behind. The wholesale execution of Francs-tireurs has drawn down upon the German invaders the execration of the whole civilized world. Instructions were issued by the Prussian military authorities for the guidance of the Landsturm, or sedentary militia, in the event of Prussia being invaded in 1813. Every able-bodied man not serving with either the line or Landwehr was required to join the Landsturm battalion of his district to assist in that sacred struggle against an invader which sanctions every means of resistance. 'The clergy of all denominations are to be ordered, as soon as the war breaks out, to preach insurrection, to paint

* A similar course was followed during the invasion of Denmark in 1864. A squadron of Uhlans were surprised during the night at a place called Assindrup by a division of huzzars (Denmark had no volunteers or Franc-tireurs). In revenge for this purely military success, a considerable Prussian force speedily came and burned down the farm-houses where the Uhlans had been quartered.

French oppression in the blackest colours, to remind the people of the Jews under the Maccabees, and to call upon them to follow their example. . . . Every clergyman is to administer an oath to his parishioners that they will not surrender any provisions, arms, &c., to the enemy until compelled by actual force.' The men of the Landsturm were to wear no uniform but a military cap and belt; they were to shoot at their enemies from behind hedges, hay-stacks, and houses; to inflict every possible injury upon them; and, 'if the enemy should appear in superior strength, the arms, caps, and belts are to be hid, and the men appear as simple inhabitants.'

But a mode of resisting an invading army which was not only lawful but highly praiseworthy on the part of the Prussians was reckoned an unpardonable crime in the French people. The Francs-tireurs were not guerillas or armed peasants. They all wore a uniform—of many different fashions, indeed, but all distinctly and unequivocally differing from the dress of the peasantry. They were regularly commissioned and brigaded; they were attached to the armies of the districts in which they operated, and if captured could not conceal or disavow their character. But the Prussian military authorities seemed to be of opinion that, while they had a perfect right to invade and conquer France, the attempt of the French people to defend their country in the only manner left them was an offence justly punishable with death. A general order for the whole army was published forbidding most expressly to bring in the Francs-tireurs as prisoners, and ordering to shoot them down by drum-head court-martial wherever they showed themselves. These savage orders, worthy of an Attila, were carried out in the most ruthless manner, and wholesale executions of Frenchmen took place where the only offence was that they practised against the invaders of their country precisely the same means of injury and annoyance authoritatively prescribed for the guidance of the Prussian people.

Through the Geneva Convention the neutrality and immunity of ambulances, and of the attendants engaged in the benevolent work of ministering to the wounded and sick, were formally recognized by all European Governments. The Germans did not disavow the principle with which, previous to the war, they had expressed their concurrence, but they practically repudiated it whenever it suited their convenience to do so. An example of the heartless manner in which in many cases they disregarded the claims of humanity took place at Versailles itself, the headquarters of the King of Prussia. 'After the fight at Brie and Champigny the Dutch ambulance, under M. van der Welde, was taken possession of by the Prussians, the wounded French were thrown out on the floor, and the medical attendants were obliged to return to Holland with the loss of all their materials.'

The atrocities perpetrated by the German armies on the French people do not rest on the authority of the sufferers or of the correspondents of the English journals; they are recorded by their own papers, and sometimes boasted of, though occasionally reprobated, by their own journalists. The French Government entered its official protest against the German mode of warfare; and in a circular issued by Count Chandordy (29th November, 1870), specified a number of the atrocious deeds of the invaders. Prince Bismarck, in his very tardy reply, did not attempt to dispute the allegations of the French Minister, but met them by countercharges, such as firing on ambulances and *parlementaires*. These alleged occurrences, however, even if they had really taken place, which is more than doubtful, were attributable rather to the misconduct of individuals than to a system of warfare officially adopted. Even with regard to this class of offences, the German soldiers were at least as blameworthy as their opponents, while the atrocities of which the invading armies were guilty were executed in obedience to superior orders. In short, the Prussian mode of carrying on

hostilities, not only in France, but in Denmark and Austria, was a return to a system of warfare which was believed to have been repudiated by the whole of Europe, and was worthy of a savage rather than of a civilized people.

The German forces engaged in the siege of Paris, thinned by unceasing conflicts, and to some extent by exposure and disease, had a hard struggle to maintain their lines of investment on the one hand, and to repel the attacks of the provincial armies on the other. But it was impossible for them to abandon the contest on which they had entered, and their leaders were determined to carry it out at whatever cost. Accordingly a new levy of German Landwehr, to the amount of 200,000 men, was required from Germany; and though the people complained bitterly of the frightful sacrifices they were called on to make, they had no resource but to comply with the demand, and the new levies were sent across the Rhine about the middle of December.

Meanwhile Paris, the luxurious city, that 'lived deliciously with the great ones of the earth,' where 'gaud and glitter, vanity, frivolity, and vice' seemed the leading characteristics of the inhabitants, showed that there were sterling qualities beneath them which sustained the people under the pressure of an overwhelming crisis. It was a startling surprise that a population 'so vast, so various, so excitable,' whose lower classes were so turbulent and ferocious, and whose upper classes seemed so thoroughly saturated with frivolity and selfishness, should, under the pressure of adversity, have proved so patriotic and unselfish. But their sacrifices came too late to save the city or the country.

The hopes of deliverance cherished by the Parisians depended on the action of the three armies of the north, centre, and west, which were endeavouring to break through the lines of the enemies surrounding the city, and earnestly striving to force their way to its walls. But though their numbers were large, these armies consisted for the most part of raw levies who had never fired a musket before, and were not able to cope with the well-drilled and experienced soldiers of Germany. Immediately before Christmas General Faidherbe fought a battle with Manteuffel, in which both sides claimed the victory, but the French General was soon after defeated by General Goeben. General Chanzy, who commanded one portion of the army of the Loire, had maintained the struggle with singular obstinacy, but his raw levies were defeated in front of Le Mans (11th January, 1871) with a great loss of prisoners. The only considerable French army now remaining in the field was marching north-eastward, under General Bourbaki, in the hope of overwhelming General Werder, who was posted at Vesoul for the purpose of covering the siege of Belfort.

It is the opinion of military critics that if Bourbaki's march eastward had been as ably executed as it was skilfully planned, he might have thrown Werder back into the valley of the Rhine, and seized upon the Paris and Strasburg Railway. In that case it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for the Germans to maintain the investment of Paris. But he was an incompetent commander, and his troops were badly equipped and disheartened by a long series of misfortunes. His movements were so dilatory that it took him five days to traverse 20 miles, and though he had 130,000 men under his command, while Werder had only 40,000, after losing 10,000 men during the three days' battle of Belfort, he failed to drive the Germans from their position, and gave orders for a retreat. Considerable numbers of his troops were intercepted and taken prisoners. Finally, forced away from their home communications, no road remained open to them but that into Switzerland, and at the beginning of February the remnant of Bourbaki's army, 80,000 in number, crossed the frontier in a state so deplorable as to recall the retreat from Moscow, and were disarmed by the Swiss militia, while the General

himself in despair attempted to commit suicide. With the exception of the disorganized bodies of Mobiles, commanded by Chanzy and Faidherbe, and of two or three remaining garrisons, there was no longer a French army in existence, and at all points the vast outer circle which covered the siege of Paris remained impenetrable.

Meanwhile the frost, which had set in with tremendous severity, had proved exceedingly trying both to the besiegers and the besieged. The German commanders had hitherto relied on famine to compel the final surrender of the city, but they now resolved that the long-threatened bombardment should no longer be delayed. On the last day of 1870 the besiegers captured Mount Avron, which was done with unexpected ease, owing to the French having been taken by surprise. In the course of the first week in January Forts Nogent, Rosny, and Noisy, on the east side of Paris, were silenced by the German batteries, and a cannonade was commenced against the southern forts. Several sorties were attempted by the French troops but without success, and at length a final effort was made on the 19th of January to break through the line of the besiegers. It was at first successful, and several positions were captured, but in the end the German reserves were brought up, and after heavy loss these positions were regained, and the assailants driven back into the city.

Matters were now rapidly approaching a crisis in the city. The death-rate was steadily increasing. The last week of 1870 had given a total of nearly 4000 deaths, and by the end of January, 1871, it had risen to 4465. Sickness and starvation were extending their ravages on all sides; the rations of bread were reduced, and 8000 horses, hitherto spared for the public service, were now slaughtered to furnish food for the people, many of whom were suffering great privations.

After the failure of the sortie on the 19th of January, the Provisional Government saw at last that their case was hopeless, and after some preliminary negotiations, M. Jules Favre, on the 28th of January, signed the capitulation of Paris, including a general suspension of arms, except on the Swiss frontier, where at that moment imminent ruin was threatening the forces of Bourbaki, and the siege of Belfort was being pressed to a successful conclusion by General Werder. The terms of the capitulation were that the forts were to be occupied by the German troops, who were also to be allowed to enter Paris, and that the arms of the garrison were to be surrendered. But the National Guard, notwithstanding Bismarck's prudent warning, were permitted, at the request of Jules Favre, to retain their arms, for the professed purpose of maintaining order. True to their plundering propensities, the Germans required that Paris should pay a contribution of 200,000,000 francs within a fortnight. The definite conclusion of peace was referred to an Assembly to be immediately convoked at Bordeaux with sovereign powers.

It had been foreseen that as the surrender of Paris would not take place until the inhabitants were in imminent danger of starvation, prompt measures would require to be taken for their relief. Accordingly a large subscription had been collected in London for this purpose, and vast trains, laden with provisions, had, with the consent of the German commanders, been forwarded through their lines, even before the armistice was signed. As soon as intercourse with the outer world was restored, special trains were despatched day by day from London with additional supplies of flour, rice, biscuit, fish, and fuel, and with 7000 head of live stock. The distress had been greatest in the lower section of the middle classes and amongst the tradesmen, whose feeling of independence made them unwilling to claim a share of the public rations, and whose means were insufficient to meet the heavy price of provisions.

Gambetta, who had for some months exercised dictatorial power outside the walls of Paris, attempted to repudiate the

convention and to continue the war. He declared that 'no reactionary or cowardly Assembly should be summoned, but one which should be ready for anything rather than assist at the assassination of France,' and he issued a decree which purported to disqualify for a seat in the Assembly all members of the families that had heretofore reigned in France, and any person who had held office under the late Empire. But the Government of the National Defence declared this decree null and void, and on the arrival of some of its members at Bordeaux Gambetta immediately resigned his office.

The elections throughout France took place on the 8th of February. The candidates were connected with all the parties in France—Legitimists, Imperialists, Orleanists, and Republicans of every hue. But though Paris and other large towns returned a number of candidates of an advanced Radical type, such as Louis Blanc, Victor Hugo, Gambetta, and Rochefort, the great majority of those elected were of comparatively moderate and Conservative opinions. M. Thiers was returned for twenty out of the eighty-six departments, a decisive proof that he was regarded at this juncture by the great mass of his fellow-countrymen as the statesman who was most likely to extricate France from its overwhelming difficulties.

On the 13th of February the Assembly met at Bordeaux and appointed M. Grevy as its president. The Government of Defence then resigned their powers into its hands, and the Assembly unanimously resolved to appoint M. Thiers, as the most eminent of living Frenchmen, the head of the Executive Administration. He immediately selected M. Dufaure, Jules Favre, Jules Simon, and other public men of a similar stamp, to constitute his Ministry; and he had the shrewdness to associate with himself a Council of the Assembly, that it might share the responsibility of a peace which was certain to be unpalatable. The preliminaries of peace were signed at Versailles on the 26th of February, on the conditions imposed and inexorably insisted on by the conquerors. The province of Alsace, with the exception of Belfort and its environs and Metz, with the part of Lorraine which lies between that fortress and the former frontier, were ceded to Germany. A pecuniary compensation of five milliards of francs, or £200,000,000, was also extorted, to be paid by instalments ranging over three years. As security for the payment of this enormous sum, the German forces were to occupy, at the expense of France, the greater part of the territory which they had overrun, but the departments were to be successively evacuated in a specified order, as the instalments were paid. As the continuance of the war was simply impossible, the French negotiators had no alternative but to accept these terms, intolerably hard though they certainly were, and the Bordeaux Assembly approved them by a majority of five to one.

It had been stipulated by a separate convention that the Germans were to occupy a certain portion of the French capital as a sign and symbol of their triumph, and on the 1st of March 30,000 of their troops marched down the Champs Elysées, and bivouacked in the Place de la Concorde and the gardens of the Tuileries. The Parisian authorities took all possible precautions to prevent a collision between the inhabitants and their conquerors. A cordon of troops was posted round the whole quarter which the latter occupied, and the Germans found there only silence and emptiness. It was a great relief to the authorities on both sides when the invaders were safely beyond the boundaries of the city without any collision or mischief done.

The severity of the conditions of peace exacted from France excited strong disapprobation throughout Europe, and especially in Britain. Great popular meetings were held in London and in several provincial towns to express sympathy with the French people under the cruel treatment which they had received at the hands of the Prus-

sians. Special indignation was expressed at the forcible severance of Alsace and Lorraine from France, in spite of the protests and entreaties of the entire population of these provinces. The pretexts which Bismarck put forth to justify this violation of the rights of the people were contemptuously scouted by all unprejudiced and candid observers. It was simply absurd to suppose, after what had taken place, that Germany needed any protection against a French invasion, and if, as Bismarck alleged, the possession of Metz and Strasburg afforded peculiar facilities for aggressions on South German territories, that danger could have been completely averted by dismantling these fortresses. But the possession of these provinces had long been coveted by Prussia, and on the downfall of Napoleon in 1815 her leading statesmen addressed a memorial to the Allied Powers at Paris, advocating the policy of seizing Alsace and Lorraine, in order to afford territorial 'securities' against future French aggressions. Great Britain and Russia, however, peremptorily refused to permit this spoliation. The Duke of Wellington, with his usual sagacity, set forth the grounds on which good policy would prevent the Allied Powers from insisting on territorial cessions such as would prolong the war-feeling among the French people. If such demands, he said, were enforced on the sovereign and people of France, 'there is no statesman who would venture to recommend to his sovereign to consider himself at peace, and to place his armies upon a peace establishment. *We must, on the contrary, if we take this large cession, consider the operations of war as deferred till France shall find a suitable opportunity of endeavouring to regain what she has lost,* and after having wasted our resources in the maintenance of overgrown military establishments in time of peace, we shall find how little useful the cessions we shall have acquired will be against a national effort to regain them.'

Bismarck, however, instead of following the moderate and judicious policy recommended by Wellington, chose rather to act on the maxim of Machiavelli, to crush those whom you cannot conciliate. Believing, as he said, that France would never forgive her defeat and the injuries inflicted on her in the war with Germany, he resolved to disable her to the utmost extent possible. He speedily discovered, as he was compelled to admit, that this work had only been half done—that France possessed a wonderful power of recovery, which in no long time completely effaced all traces of the ravages of the war; while, on the other hand, Germany has left behind her in France a legacy of hatred and a thirst for revenge, which has compelled her rulers to impose intolerable burdens on their subjects in order to maintain, during peace, armaments and military preparations on the most gigantic scale.

CHAPTER XII.

The Red Republicans—Their Plots during the Siege—Mismanagement on the part of the Authorities—Murder of Generals Lecomte and Thomas—Lullier and Assi leaders of the Insurrection—Inefficiency of the Government—The Communal Elections—Outbreak of the Communists—Their Central Committee—Failure of Negotiations—Impolitic Conduct of M. Thiers—Commencement of Hostilities—Bombardment of the City—Dissensions among the Communist Leaders—Their Enforcement of Conscription—Capture of the Forts—Entry of the Besiegers into Paris—Burning of the Public Buildings by the Reds—Murder of the Hostages—The Pétroleuses—Conduct of the Communist Leaders—Frightful Slaughter of the Insurgents—Punishment of the Ringleaders—Payment of the German Indemnity—Withdrawal of the Invading Army—The King of Prussia made Emperor of Germany—Effect of the War on the Interests of his Country—Financial Difficulties—The Falk Laws—Bismarck's Social and Economical Policy—Socialism—Dishonourable Treatment of the King of Hanover—Corruption and Prosecution of the Press—Bismarck's Foreign Policy—His Attempt to pick a Quarrel with France—Pressure of the Military System on the Resources of the Country.

No sooner had Paris been freed from its foreign enemy than it was called on to encounter a more destructive adversary within its own walls. There had long been a band of Red Republicans in the French capital, the enemies of law, order, and property; and during the four long months of the siege, when Paris, to use the coarse and cynical expression of Bismarck, was 'frying in its own gravy,' they made repeated attempts to obtain the command of the city. But throughout that terrible period, when the resignation, self-sacrifice, and endurance evinced by the inhabitants surprised alike their friends and their foes, the patriotism and regard for order shown by the immense majority of the inhabitants repressed the insurrectionary projects of the turbulent faction of the Communists. The chief strength of this party lay among the white blouses of Belleville, led by Flourens, Pyat, and Blanqui. Flourens was the son of the celebrated physiologist, who was at one time secretary of the Academy of Sciences. He was a young man of decided ability and great scientific attainments, but reckless and chimerical, a mere fanatical revolutionist, who wished to overturn existing social institutions from their very foundation. Associated with him was Delescluze, a man well advanced in life—a grim, austere ascetic, who had had experience of nearly all the prisons of France and its colonies, and sacrificed everything in life to the pursuit of his own visionary political ideal. Felix Pyat was justly accused by his associates of having passed his life 'in stirring up revolutionary fires, and then skulking off to leave his friends to brave the danger and consequences of the conflagration.'

Under the leadership of these 'professors of revolution,' repeated abortive plots against the Government were formed, and after the surrender of Metz a serious outbreak took place, accompanied by a demand for the Commune. A mob of 5000 or 6000 National Guards took possession of the Hôtel de Ville and made prisoners of the Government. Through a well managed stratagem, the building was recaptured by Trochu's party without bloodshed. The General now appealed to the citizens in support of his authority, and the result was an overwhelming vote of confidence in his favour. The Communists numbered only 54,000, while 340,000 votes were given for the Government. After this signal defeat the Red Republicans made no further attempt to overturn the Committee of National Defence until the 22nd of January, 1871. On that day an insurrection took place in the streets, and a good many lives were lost.

The intimation made on the 28th, that negotiations were being entered into for a capitulation caused prodigious excitement, which was greatly increased next day when the terms were made known. The elections followed, and it was soon discovered that a large proportion of the members of the Assembly were Imperialists and Royalists.

The Communists were infuriated almost to madness. The Committee of National Defence, notwithstanding the warnings they had received that revolutionary elements were smouldering in the city, were so infatuated as to stipulate, on the surrender of the city, for the retention of their arms by the National Guard, who were in consequence furnished with the means of an insurrection against the Government.

General d'Aurelle des Paladines, a strict disciplinarian, was appointed to the command of the National Guard; but his authority was disregarded by the battalions composed of the working classes, who had taken possession of the guns on the heights of Montmartre, as well as of a large park of fine bronze cannon in the Place Wagram (the product of a patriotic subscription of the National Guard) in order to save it from the Germans. After a fortnight spent in negotiation with the revolutionists, a detachment of regular troops was, on the 18th of March, ordered to take possession of the guns. At four o'clock that morning strong detachments of cavalry and infantry, commanded by Generals Vinoy and Lecomte, surrounded the heights of Montmartre and disarmed the sentinels who guarded the contested pieces. But the officers in command had most culpably neglected to provide horses for the conveyance of the guns from the place, and in the course of two hours a body of the National Guard assembled to prevent their removal. A captain of Chasseurs, who ordered his men to fire upon the National Guard, was shot dead, and his men, when commanded to fire, deserted to the insurgents, shouting 'Vive la Republique.' General Lecomte was carried off a prisoner. The attempt to seize the guns was now wholly frustrated. General Vinoy, who had planned it, retreated with his troops into the interior of Paris. General Thomas, formerly commander-in-chief of the National Guard, was discovered in plain clothes among the spectators of these proceedings, and was immediately taken to the house where General Lecomte was confined. After a mock trial the two generals were dragged out into the garden of the house, and brutally murdered by the armed rabble.

The news of the assassination of the two generals sent a thrill of horror through the capital, but no steps were taken to punish the assassins. Uncertain of the fidelity of the army, the Government was for the time reduced to inaction. On the evening of the 18th the insurgents took possession of the Hôtel de Ville, the Ministry of Justice, and the military headquarters in the Place Vendôme, and began to erect barricades in all directions. No one seemed to know who the men were that had thus taken possession of the capital, and whom the battalions of Montmartre and Belleville implicitly obeyed. It afterwards transpired that Lullier and Assi were the principal leaders in bringing about this movement. The former was a crack-brained naval officer, whose violent conduct, reckless courage, and power of speech, had given him great influence over the populace. He quarrelled with the Central Committee, of whose views he did not approve, and they had him arrested and shut up at Mazas. He made his escape, however, from prison, and at the time of its overthrow he was in secret correspondence with M. Thiers, having engaged himself to sweep away the Commune. Assi was a person of a different stamp. He was a hard-headed, resolute artisan, the ringleader of the famous strike at the Creuzot Ironworks in 1870, and a leading spirit of the 'International Working Men's Association.' The object of that notorious society was direct legislation by the people, the abolition of the law of inheritance, and the holding of land in common as collective property. Some of its leading members publicly declared that it aimed at the overthrow of all religion, the substitution of science for revelation, of human justice for divine justice, and the suppression of marriage. Assi's colleagues speedily became jealous of his influence, and under the pretext that he was in secret correspondence with M. Picard, they put

him in prison, so that curiously enough the two men who mainly brought about the revolution had little or nothing to do with its ultimate direction.

The Assembly had found it necessary to remove from Bordeaux, where it was difficult if not impossible to carry on the Government of the country. They could not, however, venture to remain in Paris, as General Vinoy said he would not answer for the fidelity of his troops, and they resolved to hold their meetings at Versailles. If the Government had acted with promptitude at this critical moment the insurrection might have been suppressed at once. The supporters of the Commune did not muster more than 50,000. The National Guards of the more orderly districts kept their ground, and showed a determination to put down anarchy and violence. The great body of the inhabitants displayed an excellent spirit. It was expressly stated that in less than three days 110,000 citizens, and the brave young men of the schools of Law and Medicine, had rallied to the flag of the Government elected by universal suffrage. But while the party of order was thus taking prompt measures for the protection of the lives and property of the citizens, the Assembly at Versailles was in a state of confusion and uproar, acting under an unreasoning hatred of the capital, involving the insurgents and the loyal inhabitants in one common condemnation. The only action taken by the Government was to remove General d'Aurelle from the command of the National Guard, and to appoint Admiral Saisset in his place. This choice was quite inexplicable, and proved most unfortunate. The Admiral was a simple-minded sailor, ignorant of the world, destitute of political experience and tact, and totally unfit for the duty intrusted to him. He seems to have lost his head, and doing nothing that he ought to have done, he disappeared from view for some days altogether, and finally made his escape to Versailles in disguise and on foot.

The Central Committee had appointed the Communal elections to take place on the 22nd of March. The whole of the journals of Paris of any consideration, without distinction, protested on the 21st against the elections being held on the 22nd, at the dictation of the Hôtel de Ville; but neither the Government nor the Assembly took the slightest notice of this powerful manifestation of opinion, though the insurgents were so far influenced by it that they delayed the elections till the 26th.

The party of order made a demonstration on the evening of the 21st, and two or three thousand strong, but without arms, they paraded the boulevards in procession, crying, '*Vive l'ordre!*' '*Vive l'Assemblée Nationale!*' '*Vive la Republique!*' On the next day a vast body, apparently unarmed, though it afterwards appeared that a considerable number carried revolvers and poniards, descended the boulevards in the same way, and marched to the Place Vendôme, where the insurgents had barricaded themselves. The front ranks on both sides got mixed up together, there was a great deal of shouting, and it is alleged that the Communists showed signs of yielding, and of an inclination to fraternize with the men of order. At this critical moment an insurgent officer in command gave orders to fire. Volley succeeded volley, numbers were killed or wounded, and the crowd fled in disorder.

Civil war was now imminent. The loyal and peaceable National Guard took up arms and prepared to resist the aggressions of the Communists. An influential deputation went to Versailles to ask for the assistance of only five or six thousand men to support the party of order in their defence of the city, but without effect. They were told that it would be better for the National Guard to establish order by their own unaided exertions.

The Communal elections took place on the 26th, and as the middle classes generally abstained from voting, the Reds obtained an easy victory. The Central Committee now formally abdicated its

functions. A provisional form of constitution was adopted. Nine committees were elected to preside over the nine different departments of the Government. These committees elected delegates to act as the ministerial body of the Commune. The notorious adventurer Cluseret was appointed Delegate of War, Jourde of Finance, Viard of Subsistence, Paschal Grousset of Foreign Affairs, Protot of Justice, Raoul Rigault of General Safety, Leo Franckel of Labour and Exchange, Andrieu of Public Works, with a committee of five members to assist each of the delegate ministers. In a short time considerable changes took place in this extemporized constitution. A committee of the National Guard, affecting to derive its authority from military election, and a self-elected Committee of Public Safety, divided the functions of government with the municipality. A *junto*, called the Central Committee, representing more especially the International, continually meddled with the operations of the other committee under the pretence of being the family council of the National Guard. The members changed as often as the forms, disunion and jealousy speedily arose among them, and one after another of the very leaders of the insurrection were sent to Mazas.

The Commune, without dictating to France, claimed to be supreme in Paris, which was to be a free city in a free state, to enjoy its own laws, its own executive, its own police; there was to be no army but the National Guard, which was to elect its own officers. The other large towns of France were to be organized after a similar fashion. The Committee issued a long list of decrees, some of them unjust, some of them absurd and impracticable, and most of them were habitually violated by the leaders of the Commune themselves.

'One of the avowed objects of the insurrection was that the National Guard should elect the whole of its own officers, including the Commander-in-Chief. Yet Eudes, Duval, Bergeret, Cluseret, Rossel, and Dombrowski were appointed and removed one after the other as despotically as if they had been fighting for the Czar of all the Russias. The Commune proclaimed the inviolability of personal liberty, liberty of conscience, and liberty of labour, while they filled their prisons with arbitrary arrests, shut up the churches, and constrained workmen, by fear of execution, to leave their workshops and shoulder the musket. They invited free manifestation of opinion, while all public meetings but those they chose to authorize were forbidden by fear of a fusillade, and all newspapers but their own were suppressed. They announced the end of militarism and functionarism, and Paris was turned into a camp ruled by military law, although the state of siege was nominally abolished.'

The symptoms of a desperate struggle impending were now apparent, and the general uneasiness and suspense of the inhabitants showed that every one was aware of its character and dreaded its result. Few carriages were to be seen on the streets or boulevards, and the cafés and restaurants were deserted. During the last days of March not less than 160,000 inhabitants quitted the capital, and those who remained endeavoured, as far as possible, to keep quiet and out of sight. The chiefs of the Commune were never wearied ringing the changes on the prodigality of the Second Empire, but the number of pensions which they voted to the widows and relatives of soldiers was enormous, and they were by no means restricted to lawful widows or legitimate children.

Various projects of conciliation were set on foot by those who were anxious to terminate this inhuman strife and to avoid the horrors of civil war. But the Commune repudiated the authority of the Assembly, and declared that, having been elected for the special purpose of making peace, it ought to have been dissolved when that purpose was served. They demanded that whenever the rival jurisdictions came into collision the Council should supersede the Assembly. They also claimed to take possession of the Bank, and to control the finances. On the other hand, the Assembly and the Government regarded the Commune as a set of criminals with whom they

could make no terms. Nothing would suffice but absolute and unconditional submission. Delegates were deputed by the municipal council of Lyons to visit Paris and Versailles, and to use their utmost efforts to bring about a reconciliation; but they failed to make any impression upon the Commune, who doggedly refused to recognize the sovereignty of the Assembly. They were willing that the Commune should dissolve if the Assembly would also dissolve. On the other hand, M. Thiers could not be induced to give his consent to the restoration of the full municipal franchises of Paris, which it was believed would have greatly promoted the work of conciliation. The delegates pointed out to him that 'the extreme centralization to which France had been subjected had enervated the public spirit of the country, and was, in fact, the cause in great part of their recent calamities.' But on this point they found him immovable. So resolute was he in carrying out his ruinous policy of centralization, that when the Assembly, in a rare moment of good sense and moderation, voted that every town in France should elect its own mayor, M. Thiers compelled them, by a threat of resignation, to rescind the vote. Meanwhile the Government were collecting troops at Versailles with all possible expedition, for they had resolved not to commence operations against Paris until a sufficient force had been formed of released prisoners of war returned from Germany.

The first movement took place on the 2nd of April, when a corps of 10,000 men retook the Bridge of Neuilly, and drove the Communists into the city. Next day a body of the insurgent National Guard, 100,000 strong, marched out of Paris under Gustave, Flourens, Bergeret, and Duval. The right wing, under Bergeret, wavered and dispersed at the approach of a body of troops under General Vinoy. A division of 15,000 men, under Flourens, was defeated, and their leader was killed. Duval was captured, and as he was being led off to Versailles in company with other prisoners, General Vinoy passed by, and observing from Duval's uniform that he was an officer, ordered him to be immediately shot.

Marshal MacMahon had by this time arrived at Versailles, and at the request of M. Thiers he assumed, on the 8th of March, the command of the forces under the National Assembly. The returned soldiers, who had been prisoners in Germany, were steadily pouring into France day by day. M. Thiers resolved, however, that he would not permit an advance against Paris until he had collected a sufficient army to make success certain. Military operations were therefore delayed for several weeks. Dombrowski, a daring and reckless Polish soldier of fortune, was appointed by Cluseret commandant of Paris, and resolutely encountered the assaults of the besiegers. The bombardment of the city commenced about the end of April, and was carried on with great vigour and effect. By the end of the first week in May no less than 128 batteries were in action against the besieged city. Fort after fort was captured, and it was evident that the insurgents could not much longer hold out against the besiegers. They were now indeed in a state of utter disorganization. Mutual suspicion and distrust had broken out among their leaders, and their jealousy and personal vanity involved them in incessant disputes and quarrels. 'It is neither dread of the Prussians,' said Rochefort in his paper, the *Mot d'Ordre*, 'nor the shells of M. Thiers which enervates Paris and kills our hopes; it is gaunt suspicion that weighs us down. The Hôtel de Ville distrusts the Minister of War, who distrusts the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Fort of Vanves distrusts Montrouge, Montrouge distrusts Bicêtre, Rigault distrusts Rossel, and Rossel distrusts Dombrowski.' Lullier, Bergeret, Assi, and Delescluze were one after the other dismissed and imprisoned. Cluseret, the War Minister, was superseded by Rossel, his aide-de-camp, a gallant but wrong-headed young officer, who had persuaded himself that the Government had forfeited its claim

to his allegiance by making terms with the invader. After a few days' tenure of his post, Rossel was in his turn dismissed and imprisoned, and during the last ten days of the Commune there was no permanent or recognized Minister of War.

The financial affairs of the Commune were in as unsatisfactory a state as their system of management. Nearly 26,000,000 francs had been paid into their Treasury, derived from *octrois*, the duty on tobacco, loans from the Bank of France, the sale of valuable church articles, the tax levied on railways, and the confiscation of the funds belonging to the International Society for Aid to the Wounded. But only 800,000 francs remained. Nearly 25,000,000 had been expended on the pay of the National Guard, reckoned at 190,000 men receiving, some 2½, and others 1½ francs a day, besides the pay of officers and special corps, the pay and maintenance of the members of the Commune and of other public bodies. Various projects of confiscation were started to meet the exigencies of the case, but ruin overtook the projectors before their schemes could be carried into effect. They made a commencement, however, of the work of plunder, by demolishing the house of M. Thiers, and confiscating his valuable collection of pictures, books, and statues. The column erected to the memory of Napoleon I. in the Place Vendôme was pulled down and broken to pieces; and the metal of which the column was composed, along with the statue of the Emperor by which it was surmounted, was ordered to be sold.

The military arrangements of the Commune had fallen into inextricable confusion. 'Every one,' as Rossel said, 'wished to deliberate, and no one to obey.' One of its earliest decrees was the abolition of conscription; but like the other decrees, it was completely disregarded. At first military service was declared obligatory only on unmarried men between seventeen and thirty-five; afterwards on all men, married or unmarried, between nineteen and forty. Before the commencement of hostilities great numbers of young men, having a well-founded dread of the measures likely to be taken by the insurgents, left the city, and were allowed to depart without hindrance; but after the 5th of April all the railway stations and outlets of the city were watched, to prevent the able-bodied men from escaping. Numbers, however, contrived to evade the vigilance of the 'watchers,' and found their way outside the walls; some by means of false passports, some in the disguise of women and of carters, draymen, and porters, while some let themselves down from the walls by night. Every effort was made by the Commune to catch the fugitives. A decree was issued, calling upon the inhabitants to denounce them; a list was required from the *concierge* of the inmates of every house. The punishment denounced at first on every recusant was that he should be disarmed. Then he was informed that he was incurring the risk of a court-martial, whose *only* punishment was death. Then a decree was issued that all who refused to fight should be seized and marched off to prison by an armed band of women. And finally, the refractory National Guard of the eighth arrondissement were required to present themselves, under pain of death, within twenty-four hours. Towards the end of the reign of the Commune the outlets of the streets were occupied by companies of the Communal soldiers, and the houses were searched for persons liable to serve who wished to escape impressment. An immense number of unfortunate men were thus compelled to take part in the insurrection, and the presence of these 'pressed' combatants in the ranks of the Communists contributed not a little to the ruin of the cause.

By the end of the first week in May no less than 128 battalions were in action against the besieged city. Fort Issy, with 109 guns, was soon taken, the insurgents evacuating it under cover of the night. On the 14th May the garrison of Fort Vanves,

finding this stronghold no longer tenable, made their escape by a subterranean passage communicating with Montrouge, leaving fifty guns and eight mortars behind them. By the capture of Fort Vanves the south-west front of the *enceinte* was deprived of the last of its outlying defences. The German forces, who still occupied the forts on the north and east of the city, prevented all egress on that side. The Bois de Boulogne was occupied by a strong body of Marshal MacMahon's troops. The siege had evidently reached its last stage; but it was unexpectedly brought to a termination by the entrance, on the 21st of May, of a body of 300 men into the city by the gate of St. Cloud, which had been left undefended. A private of the Municipal Guard, named Ducatel, who lived near that point, contrived to make the Versailles troops aware that that part of the *enceinte* had been abandoned by the insurgents. A strong body of troops immediately followed the first detachment; and in the course of Monday, the 22nd, the besiegers, 80,000 in number, were advancing steadily into the interior of the city. Next day the *Buttes* Montmartre and the Northern Railway Station were in their hands, and Generals Cissey and Vinoy were marching on the Hôtel de Ville and the Tuileries.

The insurgents were now filled with the madness of despair, and resolved to carry out a plan for the destruction of the city which had been long contemplated by their leaders as the probable termination of their resistance. 'Paris will be ours,' said Cluseret twelve months before, 'or it will cease to exist.' Jules Vallès proclaimed more than once that all precautions were taken to prevent Paris from falling into the hands of the enemy. 'If M. Thiers is a chemist he will understand us.' Placards were posted throughout the city by the Commune, giving formal instructions for charging all the sewers near the barricades with gunpowder. Large quantities of petroleum had been prepared, and requisitions of this and other formidable materials were being made up to the last moment. The official journal of the Commune demanded that the citizens should render an account of all the chemical products they possessed, and warnings were issued that 'the possessors of phosphorus and chemical products which have not replied to the appeal of the official journal expose themselves to an immediate seizure of these articles.' On the 23rd of May an order was published by the Central Committee that 'every house from which a single shot is fired, or any aggression whatever committed against the National Guard, will be immediately burned.' Another order, also dated on the 23rd, and signed by Delescluze and other six of the leaders of the Commune, proclaimed that 'the citizen Millière, with 150 *fuseens* (composed of the most worthless scoundrels, with the worst women and vagrant boys of each district), will burn the suspected houses and public monuments of the left bank. The citizen Dereure, with 100 *fuseens*, will undertake the first and second arrondissements. The citizen Billioray, with 100 *fuseens*, is charged with the tenth and twentieth arrondissements.' There is every reason to believe that the Communists intended to destroy the whole city; but the sudden and unforeseen entry of the troops disconcerted their plans, and prevented them from carrying their preparations fully into effect.

But deeds more atrocious far than the burning of the public buildings were perpetrated by these monsters in human form during the last days of their existence. After Duval was put to death by orders of General Vinoy the chiefs of the Commune, infuriated at this deed, resolved to adopt the Prussian system of seizing hostages.* They immediately arrested the Archbishop of Paris, the Curé of the Madeleine, and a great number of other priests and influential laymen. On the 5th of April the Commune published a decree that any execution of a

* The Commune avowed that they followed the example of the Prussians in the use of petroleum, as well as in the seizure of hostages.

prisoner of war of the Commune should be followed immediately by the execution of a triple number of the hostages in custody. It was not, however, till the night of the 21st—the night of the entry of the troops—that this sanguinary decree was carried into effect. The murder of the hostages was the work of Raoul Rigault and Ferré, his subordinate. Rigault came of a respectable family, and was educated for the bar; but the unbridled licentiousness and drunkenness in which he revelled seems to have turned his brain, and he was known among his comrades as 'a mixture of shamelessness, blasphemy, and absinthe.' He was at first appointed Delegate of Public Safety, and afterwards Procureur-Général of the Commune. When he relinquished the former office he appointed as his successor an accountant of the name of Ferré, 'a man of his own age, but of still more odious and sinister character.'

These two kindred spirits, along with Protot, the Delegate of Justice, according to their usual custom spent the evening of the 21st at a small theatre called the Délassements Comiques, which during all the time of the Commune gave a series of burlesque performances, accompanied with singing and dancing. After the performance the triumvirate ordered supper for six in the adjoining café, where they were in the habit of supping in the society of three of the female performers. While they were waiting at the supper-table for the actresses to change their dress and join them they occupied themselves with drawing up a list of the hostages to be put to death next day.

The confusion into which the assassins were thrown by the sudden entry of the troops into the city delayed the execution of the horrid deed, but on the evening of the 23rd Rigault, accompanied by a party of armed men, repaired to the prison of St. Pelagie, and calling out Chaudey, a late writer in the *Siècle*, caused him to be shot at once. Three sergents-de-ville were put to death immediately afterwards without even the pretence of a trial. On the following night the convent of the Dominicans of Arceuil was assailed by a band of frenzied Communists, and the monks were shot down as they fled into the streets. The hostages had been transferred from Mazas to the prison of La Roquette, and on the 24th the miscreant Ferré repaired thither after having set fire to the Préfecture de Police, and given orders that the prisoners there should not be released but burned alive. A court-martial was held for the trial of the hostages, over which Ferré presided; but the principal persons among them were not brought before the court, but were simply called out of their cells and shot in batches. Monseigneur Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, a prelate of blameless character and tolerant disposition, was the first to suffer. Some of the party who were ordered to shoot him fell on their knees and implored his pardon, but were forced back with curses and blows by their comrades. Along with the Archbishop, M. Bonjean, the President of the Supreme Court of France, the Curé of the Madeleine, and other three priests were put to death. The rest of the hostages were shot in batches on succeeding days.

The court-martial, which continued to sit at La Roquette, was composed of a set of depraved, drunken wretches, who occupied themselves with condemning gendarmes and chance prisoners, especially priests captured in the streets. A guard consisting of young scoundrels and abandoned women brought in fresh prisoners for the firing parties. The assassins made sport of their victims, pretending that they were to be set at liberty, and shooting them when they were making their escape. They then rushed forward to make sure that they were dead and robbed them of their money. Monseigneur Surat was told that he might leave his prison, but as soon as he was outside its walls he was shot by a band of women armed with revolvers. At the close of this horrid butchery Ferré liberated a band of convicted criminals, put arms in their hands, and told them they were free, but that they must massacre

sixty-six defenceless gendarmes, whom they accordingly murdered. He then sent out another band of emissaries, laden with cans of petroleum, to spread the conflagration which by this time was raging in the city.

It was on the night of the 21st May that the most splendid edifices of Paris were set on fire. Next morning, when the Versaillist troops were pressing onwards, the Tuileries, the Palais Royal, the Hôtel de Ville, the Rue Royale, the Ministry of Finance, and other public offices were all in flames. As the insurgents were driven back, step by step, they left nothing but ghastly ruins behind them. At every barricade which intersected the streets there was a large quantity of incendiary materials piled up, and when the National Guards were compelled to retreat they carried these inflammatory substances into the houses, and ordered the inhabitants to assist them in sprinkling petroleum on the walls and floors; if they refused they were shot or thrown into the flames. In almost all quarters of the city these deeds of incendiarism and murder were perpetrated.

'One of the most frightful of these scenes took place on the 25th in the Boulevard St. Martin, between the theatre of that name and the Théâtre de l'Ambigu. The insurgents massacred all the inhabitants, women and children included, of every floor in the house, because, in the general pillage and havoc which they were making of the premises, one of the band got a blow from an indignant proprietor. They then set fire to the building and to the neighbouring theatre, which was one of the most popular in Paris.'

For two days and a night the contest continued to rage in the streets of Paris; shot and shell falling thickly around the houses; the insurgents falling back step by step, and fighting desperately from barricade to barricade. On Thursday M. Thiers telegraphed to the prefects of the Departments:—

'We are masters of Paris, with the exception of a very small portion, which will be occupied this morning. The Tuileries are in ashes; the Louvre is saved. A portion of the Ministry of Finance, along the Rue de Rivoli, the Palais d'Orsay, where the Council of State held its sittings, and the Court of Accounts have been burned. Such is the condition in which Paris is delivered to us by the wretches who oppressed it. We have already in our hands 12,000 prisoners, and shall certainly have 18,000 to 20,000. The soil of Paris is sown with corpses of the insurgents.'

On Friday Belleville, the stronghold of the Reds, was encircled by the forces of L'Admirault and Vinoy. The seven barricades by which it was defended were carried one after the other, and in the end the whole quarter was captured, along with a large body of the insurgents. The final struggle took place on Saturday and Sunday, in the cemetry of Père la Chaise. It was obstinate and sanguinary, though hopeless on the part of the insurgents. Women as well as men took part in the contest. No quarter was given, and in the end the Versailles troops remained masters of the field. The Buttes, Chaumont, and Mènel-Montant had meanwhile fallen into the hands of L'Admirault, and with the surrender of a detachment of National Guards at Vincennes, on Monday, the last show of resistance came to an end.

The leaders of the Commune showed in the final struggle their utter want of self-sacrifice, or of any patriotic or ennobling principle. Not one of them seems to have thought of anything but of his own self-conceit, fanaticism, or personal safety. Cluseret and Felix Pyat succeeded in making their escape from the burning city. Raoul Rigault was shot while defending a barricade in the Faubourg St. Germain, where his body was found, hideously mangled. Delescluze, when no hope of successful resistance remained, put on his hat and coat, took his stick and walked quietly up to the barricade of the Château d'Eau, where he speedily met the death he desired. Millière was taken to prison, and shot at the Pantheon, where the day before he had presided over the execution of thirty National Guards who had refused to fight at the barricades. With his last breath he cried 'Vive la Commune!' 'Vive le Peuple!' 'Vive l'Humanité!' Vallès was stabbed

and left to perish miserably in the streets. Dombrowski, Eudes, and Bergeret were killed or mortally wounded at the barricades. Rochefort fled from the city, but was captured and consigned to prison. Vengeance was inflicted without mercy on the leaders who were recognized at the moment, and on all who were found in arms or suspected of complicity in the insurrection, women as well as men. Multitudes were shot without trial, on mere suspicion, and no doubt many innocent persons perished. Stories got about, and in the panic were universally believed, of *pétroleuses* (a name coined for the occasion)—female incendiaries who were said to have glided furtively from street to street during the last days of the Commune, feeding the conflagration of the public buildings with petroleum and incendiary chemical compounds. It is impossible to say how much truth there was in these reports, but there is every reason to believe that they caused the summary execution of many hundreds of innocent persons. Paris was for some days a veritable charnel-house, and dead bodies lay in heaps amid the blackened ruins. At Belleville and Père la Chaise, where the contest had been most deadly, the air was poisoned with their numbers. It was estimated that no fewer than 10,000 of the insurgents had been killed during the last week of the Commune. The killed and wounded of the Versailles troops amounted to 2500. When the conflagration, which lasted for some days, was finally extinguished, it was found that the greater part of the Tuileries, the Library of the Louvre, a portion of the Palais Royal, the Hôtel de Ville, the Ministry of Finance, the Théâtres Lyrique and Du Châtelet, and about two thousand private dwellings had been consumed in the flames. The Red Commune had threatened to perish in a sea of blood and under a canopy of fire, and it had kept its word!

The number of prisoners in the hands of the Government amounted to 33,000; of these upwards of 10,000 were liberated without trial. The members of the Commune itself and its most conspicuous agents were brought to trial before a court-martial held at Versailles, which commenced its proceedings about the end of August. Lullier, the naval officer; Ferré, the infamous author of the massacre of the hostages, and Colonel Rossel were condemned to death. Urbain, Trinquet, Assi, Billioray, Paschal Grousset, Jourde, the Finance Minister of the Commune, Courbet, the painter, and five others were sentenced, some to imprisonment, others to transportation. The arch-agitator Henri Rochefort was condemned to transportation for life. The capital sentence passed on Lullier was commuted by the Committee of Pardons, but they refused to listen to the numerous and earnest intercessions on behalf of Rossel, who alone, among the leaders of the insurgents, deserved any sympathy. He was shot on the 28th of September, along with Ferré and Bourgeis, a sergeant. Vergdageur, the Communist officer in command of the company who murdered Generals Lecomte and Thomas, and seven accomplices were also condemned and executed.

The National Assembly had a very difficult task to perform in restoring order and framing a new constitution for the country. They were not well fitted for such a critical undertaking. Flourens described them as 'a Chamber, the counterpart of that of the Restoration; a chamber of ghosts of people who were thought to be dead long ago, and who appeared to be quite untouched, to be still alive; marquises and abbés who had, without doubt, sat in the States-General of 1789 on the benches of the nobility and clergy; a collection of bald heads, deaf ears, and eyes which blinked at any ray of sunlight. The Assembly ought to have had a grave-digger for doorkeeper. For such owls the cry of "*Vive la République!*" was an intolerable outrage.' A large majority of the '*Rurals*,' as this resuscitated party was called, were in favour of the restoration of monarchy in France. Some advocated the claims of the

Count de Chambord, grandson of Charles X., while others insisted that a constitutional monarchy should be established under the House of Orleans. A few would even have been willing to see the deposed Emperor resume the reins of power. M. Thiers himself was favourable to a limited monarchy, and it was well known that he was personally attached to the family of his old master Louis Philippe. But it was impossible, in the critical circumstances of the country, to come to any decision on the subject, and meanwhile a moderate Republic seemed to be the only practicable form of Government. By its own continued existence, and through the absence of competitors, it gradually became fairly consolidated, and notwithstanding the defeat and resignation of successive Presidents and Ministries it has continued to hold its ground, and bids fair to become permanent.

The financial condition of the country, the reconstruction of the army, the supplementary elections to the National Assembly, the remodelling of the old Departmental Councils, and the Bill for the indemnification of the invaded departments required the immediate attention of the Executive Government. They had also to make arrangements for the payment of the stipulated indemnity to the Germans. The first half milliard of francs was to be paid within a month after the re-establishment of order in Paris; a milliard during the course of the year; another half milliard on May 1st, 1872; the remainder of the indemnity on March 2nd, 1874. A deduction, however, was to be made of 325,000,000 of francs in consideration of the railway lines in Alsace and Lorraine, to be taken over by the Germans. These instalments were to be followed by the successive evacuation of the departments, which the invaders were to occupy as 'material guarantees' until the whole debt was discharged. M. Thiers had set his heart on getting rid as speedily as possible of the German army of occupation, not only on account of the cost of maintaining so large a body of men, but especially because their presence in the country was felt as degrading to the national independence and honour. Accordingly, by energetic financial exertions, and especially by the expedient of a national loan of £120,000,000, which was covered many times over by subscriptions, he quickly raised the sum required for the first instalment. In return for the concession to Alsace and Lorraine of free trade with France till the end of 1872 Bismarck was induced to accept Government bills for short dates as payment of another instalment, and six departments in the east of France were evacuated at once by the German soldiers. Thus, by the end of October, out of the thirty-six departments held by the invading forces in the month of February, only six remained in their hands. The facility with which the money was raised for this purpose shows the great wealth of France, notwithstanding the losses occasioned by the war. The arrangements for the payment of the balance of the indemnity were so successful that the German army of occupation was withdrawn in September, 1873—a year and a half before the time at which it was originally stipulated that the payment should be completed.

The victorious King of Prussia seems to have thought that it would crown his military successes and add to his dignity to appropriate the mantle and title of the Emperor whom he had dethroned. In his eagerness to secure this coveted prize he did not even wait till he had returned to his own capital with the spoils of France, but with singular bad taste he caused the inaugural ceremony to be hastily performed at Versailles. The title of Emperor was not conferred upon him by the acclamations of a free and united people or on the vote of a national Diet. It was tendered to him in private by a junto of petty princes, whose troops were at that moment serving under his orders. In the course of the autumn negotiations were instituted for the extension of the North German Confederacy

to the Southern States, and an arrangement, including the reservation of certain sovereign rights to Bavaria and Würtemberg, was finally accepted by the North German Parliament. On the suggestion of the Grand-Duke of Baden, the King of Bavaria proposed to the other German Princes that the King of Prussia should be requested to assume the title of Emperor, and the North German Parliament despatched a deputation to Versailles to intimate its assent to his assumption of that dignity. The Imperial Constitution provides that the Emperor, as President of the German Bund, shall have absolute power of making war when there is any danger of invasion, and of making peace under all circumstances. When there is no such danger the Emperor can only make war with the support of a majority of the Federal Council, in which Prussia has less than a third of the whole number of votes. In the Parliament, which is elected by an extensive suffrage, the representation of every State is proportionate to its population. These arrangements, however, seemed to the advocates of German unity to come very far short of the national amalgamation which they desired and had been led to expect. The revived German Empire, they asserted, had given them the shadow only and not the substance. One of their leaders declared that by adopting this constitution the Germans 'have sacrificed the unity they have made such efforts to obtain, and for the sake of which they have abandoned so many liberties.'

The King of Prussia returned to his capital on the 16th of March, 1871, bedizzened with his new honours, and was received with enthusiastic acclamations. Bismarck was made a Prince, appointed Chancellor of the Empire, and received a magnificent estate in Lauenburg, one of the provinces of which Denmark had been robbed. Honours and liberal rewards were bestowed also on Count Moltke and Von Roon, who had contributed so largely to the triumph of the German arms. In no long time, however, it appeared that their victories, like the book described in the Apocalyptical vision, though sweet in the mouth were bitter in the belly. The vast sums of money extorted from the conquered country speedily vanished, and while heavily taxed France, with an enormous debt, enjoyed a growing surplus, Germany, which had no public debt, found her revenue constantly decreasing. On the other hand, the expenditure both of the Empire and of the German States steadily increased. In 1873 the imperial budget amounted to 340,500,000 marks; in 1877 it was 540,500,000. The taxes imposed upon the people increased year by year, while the wealth of the nation as regularly diminished. But financial difficulties were by no means the most formidable troubles of the German Empire and the Prussian kingdom.

Bismarck's first contest was with the Roman Catholic Church. He had hitherto been favourable to that body, but finding that its prelates and priests were hostile to his policy he resolved to place them, on purely political grounds, under restrictions of the most galling and indeed unwarrantable character. He attempted to deprive the Church of that legitimate authority without which she could not discharge her functions. He required that Roman Catholic parents should send their children to receive religious instruction from a priest who had been superseded by his bishop. He induced the Reichstag to pass a law restricting the liberty of the pulpit, which caused great bitterness among the Roman Catholics. The priests were excluded by law from the inspection of schools, the Jesuits were expelled the country, and the exercise of ecclesiastical disciplinary power was put under the strict control of the president of the province. All existing places of ecclesiastical education were placed under civil supervision, both as regarded the teachers and the course of teaching. The appointment of every priest was subjected to the civil President or Prefect, so that the clergy were simply made civil functionaries. The

Falk laws, in short, as they were termed, from the Minister by whom they were proposed, deprived the Church of those rights and liberties which are essential to its very existence. They were condemned by the public opinion of Europe, and have completely failed of their effect. At the same time, though Bismarck did not intend to annoy the Protestant Church, the effect of his legislation was to make it the mere creature of the State, dependent upon a Chamber of which more than one-third consisted of Roman Catholics and Jews.

In order to carry through such laws as these the Chancellor was obliged to make concessions to the extreme Liberals on political, social, and economical questions which have proved most prejudicial to the welfare of the country. His legislation on social and economical questions in particular has exercised a very hurtful influence on the life of the German people. The removal of all restrictions on loans has brought usury to a fearful height. The absence of any check on the adulteration of food has opened a flood-gate for the manufacture and open sale of articles of the most deleterious kind. The unlimited liberty granted to joint-stock companies, together with the sudden influx of capital caused by the French indemnity, has led to the formation of gigantic schemes, which in many cases were no better than gross swindles, and of course ended in a ruinous collapse. Wholesale bankruptcies were the natural result of the corruption, falsehood, and venality in which these adventures originated. In the course of six years the number of spirit shops in Prussia was nearly doubled, and the consumption of alcoholic drinks was well-nigh quadrupled. Pauperism in the large cities increased fearfully, and so has crime of every kind, murder included. The charitable institutions are overcrowded with children wilfully abandoned. Depression and discontent prevail everywhere. Pessimism has become rampant in the higher classes, Socialism among the lower, and the country is undermined with secret societies. The life of the Emperor has been repeatedly attempted—and on the last occasion he was severely wounded—by emissaries of these societies. Severe penal laws have been passed for the suppression of Socialism, but without success. Measures of a different but still more injudicious character have been proposed by the Chancellor in order to conciliate the working classes, such as a scheme for increased taxation in order to create State funds for benefit societies, for temporary relief in case of sickness, or accident, or loss of work, and for pensions in case of permanent injury and of old age. But all these Socialistic plans have met with keen and persistent hostility on the part of the great mass of the people. The main body of the Liberals, with the Ultramontanes, who unite with them on these questions, and even the Socialists themselves, are of opinion that social evils cannot be removed or alleviated by such means as these. They see clearly that Bismarck's Socialism means at one extremity the pauperizing of the working classes, at the other an enormous increase of that system of centralization of which Germany has more than enough already.

Under the Bismarck system of government the Prussian press is either intimidated or bribed, and Germany has become 'the country where public opinion is fabricated, centralized, and monopolized in the service of the Government and the Exchange.' The independent and honourable newspapers are rigorously prosecuted on the slightest pretext, and especially for any expression of their disapproval of the Chancellor's policy. But bribery and corruption are more potent than even prosecutions in obtaining a paramount influence over the German press. The way in which Bismarck obtained the necessary funds for this purpose is singularly characteristic of the man. The late King of Hanover, previous to the seizure of his dominions by Prussia in 1866, sent a sum of nineteen million thalers from the Treasury

to London, in order to prevent the money from falling into the hands of the invaders. The Prussian Government, in their turn, sequestrated the King's private property in Hanover. By the mediation of Lord Stanley an arrangement was agreed to by King George and Bismarck. His Majesty was to restore the money taken from the Hanoverian Treasury, and in return eleven millions were to be invested in Prussian 4½ per cents., and another five millions in other securities mutually to be agreed on, the King to receive the interest half-yearly. A treaty to that effect was signed and ratified by the ex-King of Hanover and the King of Prussia, and the Treasury funds were sent back from London and handed to the Prussian authorities. No sooner was this done than Bismarck professed to have discovered a vast Guelphic conspiracy for the restoration of King George to his throne, and he asked, and of course received, the sanction of the Prussian Landstag to retain the sixteen millions, and to employ the interest of the money to 'follow these reptiles into their holes.' Nothing more was heard of the Guelphic conspiracies, but the Prussian Premier, by this ingenious but most disreputable trick, obtained the command of a secret fund of about £100,000 a year, by means of which he has secured the support of a large number of journals, both in Germany and out of it. The advocacy of the financial journals is obtained in a way equally discreditable both to their owners and the Government.

The financial policy of Prussia after the war with France was as unsound and impolitic as its social measures. An attempt was made to obtain for the Government a monopoly of tobacco, but the Commission appointed to consider the proposal reported that it was too impracticable. The scheme for buying up the private Prussian railways fell to the ground as soon as it was launched, and the proposal to settle the fares of all German railways by decree of the Federal Council has also proved a failure. Bismarck entered into negotiations with the various manufacturing and commercial interests in the country, and ended with producing a tariff which, as was well said of it, 'favoured the great landlords, the ironmasters, and the spinners; and damaged the small proprietors, the textile industry, and all those branches which use half-manufactured articles, the trading and the shipping interest, and all those consumers who live upon fixed salaries and wages.' The result, as might have been foreseen, has been most disastrous to the mercantile industries of the country, and both masters and workmen are suffering severely from this Protectionist legislation.

Prince Bismarck's foreign policy has always been his strongest point. He has shown himself utterly unscrupulous in carrying out his schemes, but they have generally been successful. The mode in which he managed to bring about a reconciliation with Austria, and then to unite that Power and Russia in an alliance with Germany, was a master-stroke of diplomacy. But even in this department he has met with signal discomfiture. He had hoped that France was crushed for at least one generation by the war with Germany, and was greatly alarmed by the astonishing elasticity which she had shown in recovering from her great defeat. He therefore resolved to pick a quarrel with her before her military reorganization was completed. His first step for that purpose was to send a confidential message to Prince Gortschakoff, expressing a hope that, in the event of hostilities with France, which he assumed to be necessary, he might rely on the friendly neutrality of Russia, offering in return to leave her free to execute her projects in the East. To his great disappointment and mortification, his overtures were at once rejected, his brother Chancellor drily remarking that his own information did not lead him to believe in the alleged hostile intentions of France, and that Russia had no intention whatever of disturbing existing arrangements in the East.

Notwithstanding this rebuff, Prince Bismarck did not relinquish his sinister designs against France. The official journals were instructed to indicate that war was in prospect, and that there were 'influential persons in France anxious to prevent the French Republic from being consolidated, and looking forward to an aggressive alliance with Austria and Italy.' Lord Derby, who was at that time Foreign Secretary, in his speech of May 31st, 1875, stated not only that expression was given to these sentiments by the press, but that 'persons of the highest authority and position had said that if war was to be avoided it seemed necessary that the French armaments should be discontinued, and that there seemed good ground to fear that the next step might be a formal request from Germany to France to discontinue arming. Had that request been made it would have been very difficult to preserve peace.'

The Emperor of Germany had been kept entirely ignorant of what was going on, but at this juncture the Russian Ambassador, on his way through Berlin to London, made him aware of Bismarck's designs, and informed him that the British and Russian Cabinets had resolved that they would jointly interfere to prevent war. The Emperor was surprised and alarmed at the information, and declared that he was firmly determined to maintain peace. On the following morning Bismarck had an interview with the Emperor, and when challenged by him for his hostile designs against France, he had the effrontery to declare that there was no truth in the allegation, and that the report had originated with stock-jobbers and Ultramontanes. The Emperor professed to credit his assertions, but he has since kept a vigilant watch over his Chancellor's policy towards France.

The danger of an alliance between Russia and France has always been prominently before the mind of the Prussian Chancellor, and the belief that a friendly understanding had been come to by these two powers was assigned as the reason for the extraordinary activity displayed in 1879 by all the Prussian military departments. It was stated at that time, on high authority, that if Germany were about to commence immediate hostilities her preparations could not have been more energetic or complete. Altogether, there cannot be less than 1,500,000 in that country constantly withdrawn from industrial pursuits, and converted into mere consumers of the fruits of other men's labours, adding nothing whatever to the national resources. The forcible severance from France of two of her fairest provinces and her two strongest fortresses rankles in the minds of Frenchmen of all classes and of all political parties, and is regarded by the whole nation as an unpardonable injury which, sooner or later, must be avenged and redressed. The well-known existence of this feeling makes it necessary that the German army should be kept up, even in time of peace, on a gigantic war scale. The burden is already too heavy to be borne, and it is growing year by year more oppressive as the national resources are becoming exhausted. The withdrawal of so large a portion of the flower of the people from industrial pursuits must greatly diminish the amount of the fruits of national industry, and cripple the energies of trade and commerce, while, at the same time, it throws an increasingly heavier burden on the rest of the community. The demand for the necessaries of life, and the exactions of the tax-gatherer, are augmenting, while the power of production is diminishing. But this is not the only or perhaps the worst evil which the present overgrown military system has entailed upon the country. A calm observer has said of Bismarck, he has increased Germany, but he has lessened the Germans. He has founded a German Empire, but he has lowered the character and intelligence of the German people. Not only is the country drained of its wealth, in order to support the huge army which his policy has rendered a matter of necessity, but the undue importance

attached to the military profession, and the rank assigned to military persons, tend greatly to lower the position of all other professions and pursuits. The prodigious and noxious shade of gigantic military institutions is fatal to the growth and, indeed, to the existence of free political life, and the national energies, violently repressed, are forced into irregular and secret channels, and ultimately find vent in general dissatisfaction, secret associations, conspiracies, and insurrections. It is this state of affairs that has originated those secret societies by which Germany is now honeycombed, and has mainly contributed to the wide diffusion of Socialistic and Democratic opinions among the professional class, as well as among artisans and mechanics, which it is vain to attempt to crush by additional restrictions on the freedom of the press and the expression of public opinion, or to hope to counteract by a Protectionist policy and reconciliation with the Vatican. The only effectual remedy for the social discontent which pervades the German people, and especially the Prussian nation, is disarmament, but this it is impossible to undertake, unless the other Continental Governments will mutually agree to reduce their military establishments. National jealousies, however, and selfish and sinister interests, to say nothing of the apprehension of outbreaks among their own subjects, render any such agreement hopeless. Above all, the consciousness that France is only biding her time, and will avail herself of the first favourable opportunity to avenge the humiliation and spoliation which she has suffered at the hands of Prussian statesmen and soldiers, makes the maintenance of a colossal army a matter of absolute necessity on the part of Germany, though her rulers are quite well aware that it is draining her resources, and raising a spirit of deep discontent and insubordination among her people.

CHAPTER XIII.

Unscrupulous conduct of the Prussian Government—Their attempt to fix a quarrel on Britain—Russia's repudiation of the Treaty with the other European Powers—Connivance with Prussia—Conference of the Powers—Revision of the Treaty—Position of Spain—Assassination of General Prim—Disordered state of the country—Accession to the throne of Queen Isabella's son, Alfonso XII.—Meeting of the General Council at Rome—Its real character—Dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope—Overthrow of the Temporal Power of the Pontiff—Annexation of the Papal States to the Kingdom of Italy—Rome made its capital—Position and behaviour of the Pope—Condition of the United States—Assassination of President Lincoln—Conduct of President Johnston—The 'Carpet-baggers'—Corruption and jobbery in the South—Distressed condition of the Southern States—The 'Ku Klux Klan'—State of the Negro Population—Their gradual improvement—Mormonism—Joseph Smith—His character and fate—Migration of the Mormons to Utah—Causes of the increase of the Mormons—Influence of Polygamy.

It was noted as somewhat ominous that when the war with France was evidently about to have a successful issue, the Prussian Government showed a disposition to quarrel with Britain. The act of supplying belligerents with the means of carrying on hostilities had not hitherto been regarded as a violation of neutrality, and during the Crimean War arms and ammunition had been freely exported from Prussia into Russia. A similar course had been followed during the Franco-German War both by private American traders and even by the War Department at Washington, which had furnished the French with enormous quantities of rifled cannon and ammunition. Not only had no complaint against these proceedings been made by the Prussian authorities, but the North-German Government expressly forbade its consul at New York to interfere with this traffic in arms; and the relations between the Confederation and the United States continued friendly, and even intimate. But a comparatively insignificant exportation of arms from England to France was made the subject of repeated angry protests on the part of the Prussian Foreign Minister. It was difficult to avoid a suspicion that Bismarck had some sinister object in view in thus seeking to fasten a quarrel upon the British Government; and when, in November, 1870, Prince Gortschakoff announced that the Czar intended to repudiate the neutralization of the Black Sea imposed upon Russia by the Treaty of Paris, no one doubted that Bismarck had been privy to this unprincipled and audacious deed. The prohibition of the maintenance of a Russian fleet and arsenal in the Black Sea was the main condition on which the Allies consented to make peace with Russia at a time when they were in full and absolute possession of that sea and Russia was completely exhausted. The renunciation of a treaty so deliberately made, and in which it was stipulated in express terms that it 'cannot be either annulled or modified without the assent of the Powers signing it,' was doubly mischievous. It not only renewed the danger of Russian aggression on Turkey, but dealt a severe blow to the faith of all treaties. The pretexts by which Prince Gortschakoff attempted to defend this flagrant breach of international law are unworthy of refutation. The Czar repudiated the obligations under which he had come as the price of peace, simply because he knew that the other parties to the treaty were either not able or not willing at that time to enforce them. Russia prevented Austria and Denmark from taking the side of France in the deadly war which was then raging, and now, in return, Prussia intimated her acquiescence in Russia's violation of the Treaty of Paris. The morality of the two Powers was quite on a par. 'The proceeding of Russia,' observed Earl Granville in his despatch to Sir A. Buchanan, 'annuls all treaties. The object of a treaty is to

bind the contracting parties to each other. According to the Russian doctrine every party submits everything to its own authority, and is only obliged to itself'—a principle which is absolutely fatal to the existence and authority of all international contracts. His Lordship forcibly protested on behalf of the British Government against the Russian procedure, reserving the right of opposing any attempt to carry its doctrines into effect; and Austria, Italy, and Turkey united in support of the protest. The unprincipled conduct of Russia excited great indignation throughout the United Kingdom, but the immediate risk of a collision was happily averted by the general adoption of a proposal made by Bismarck that a conference should be held in London to discuss the affair 'without any foregone conclusion as to its results.' The Conference assembled on January 17, 1871. It first of all assented to a protocol declaring it to be an essential principle of international law that no State could release itself from the obligations of a treaty unless with the consent of the other contracting Powers. After various meetings and lengthened discussions it agreed (March 13) to a treaty, in which, among other provisions, an article was inserted abrogating the clause for the neutralization of the Black Sea. Permission was at the same time given to the Porte to open the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to the vessels of war of friendly and allied Powers, in case the Turkish Government should think it necessary to do so in order to insure the execution of the Treaty of 1856. It was entirely out of the question for Britain to have gone to war for the purpose of compelling Russia to observe her treaty obligations; but the result of the Conference tended to weaken the power and to diminish the popularity of the Government.

Although the nomination of a Hohenzollern prince to the Spanish throne had been the spark which kindled hostilities between France and Germany, Spain, 'like a traveller who has carelessly set an avalanche in motion, pursued her own course without regard to the distant ruin.' After an interval the proposal was renewed to offer the crown to Prince Amadeus, second son of Victor Emmanuel, and on the 16th of November the Cortes elected him king by the votes of a considerable majority of the whole number of members. The Republicans were exceedingly indignant at this step, and, with the lawless violence which has so often disgraced Spanish political factions, General Prim was assassinated before the newly-elected monarch could take possession of his throne. All sections of the Liberal party, however, rallied round the Government, and even Admiral Topete, hitherto the strenuous supporter of the Duc de Montpensier, gave it his support. It seemed for a short time as if the rule of the new sovereign were to be acquiesced in by all parties in the kingdom, and his spirited bearing and evident anxiety to identify himself with the Spanish nation appeared to have acquired for him general popularity. But the fierce struggles of the various factions, who made a stable government impossible, were speedily renewed; the insurrection in Cuba required the presence of not less than 80,000 troops to suppress it; and the supporters of Don Carlos once more rose in arms to maintain his pretensions to the crown. Progressists and Moderado Ministries replaced each other in rapid succession, while the Republicans opposed and embarrassed them all impartially, and some of the extreme members of that faction on two different occasions made an attempt on the life of the king. At length Amadeus, finding that his earnest efforts to govern on constitutional principles were completely baffled by factious partisans, abdicated the throne in 1873, and left the country. On his departure the Cortes acceded to the demand of the minority, and proclaimed a Republic. Immediately thereafter the Carlist rising spread and became more formidable. The Republican leaders were quite incapable of preserving order in a country disgraced by incessant disturbances

and savage massacres, and by chronic agitation and insurrections. The Republic, though not formally abolished, was put in abeyance, the Cortes was forcibly dissolved, and a Provisional Government was appointed, under Serrano, which lasted for two years. Another military revolution then took place in 1875, and the captain-general of Madrid suddenly proclaimed the son of Queen Isabella, a youth of seventeen, as king, under the title of Alfonso XII. The nation, though it was not consulted in regard to the matter, willingly acquiesced in the restoration of monarchy. Since the accession of the youthful monarch the Civil War has been brought to a close, and the Republicans have not renewed their agitation for the overthrow of the Constitution. Alfonso has conducted the affairs of his kingdom with moderation and prudence, and under his sway Spain is enjoying peace and prosperity, to which it had long been a stranger.

The annexation of Rome and its territory to the kingdom of Italy may be regarded as to some extent the result of the Franco-German war, and it is somewhat remarkable that within the same year the Papacy should have claimed the possession of the divine prerogative of infallibility, and been deprived of the imperial sovereignty which it had held for a thousand years. On 29th June, 1868, the Pope formally summoned the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church to meet in a General Council, to be held at Rome in December, 1869. The assembly, however, was not entitled to be regarded as a General Council in the sense in which that word was used in the earlier ages of the church, or even in the sense in which it was used at the time when a council was held at Trent. As was pointed out at the time when it was summoned—'It is not a Council of the old Roman Empire. That is an institution which is dead and buried with the past. It is not a Council in which the laity are represented with the clergy. For the first time it excludes them. It is not a Council in which all parts of Christendom are represented. The Eastern churches, though invited, have refused to come. The Protestant churches were merely insulted, and have not been invited at all. It is, therefore, a Council of the Latin Church and nothing more.'

The main object for which this assemblage of the prelates of the Latin communion was held was to issue a formal decree proclaiming the infallibility of the Pope, and every precaution was taken that this result should be a foregone conclusion. Somewhat unexpectedly, however, a spirited opposition was offered to this dogma by an able and intelligent minority, composed of the most accomplished English and American bishops; a portion of the French prelates, headed by the Archbishop of Paris and the Bishop of Orleans, mindful of the old principles of the Gallican church; the most learned bishops of Germany and Austria; and the collective hierarchy of Hungary. They demonstrated with unanswerable arguments that the proposition under discussion was directly contradicted by history as well as by reason. But the great majority of the Council were impervious to argument. The Pope had anticipated opposition by largely adding to the number of prelates governing imaginary sees, and the crowd of subservient Italian bishops outnumbered the ecclesiastical representatives of the centres of civilization. The numbers present were the result of a gigantic sham, as the author who wrote under the designation of Pomponio Leto felt constrained to avow:—

'There were five primates and above 130 archbishops. These, however, had not all the charge of a diocese; and among the patriarchs (none of whom were present) were some who had never in their lives left Rome. There were also a considerable number of archbishops and bishops *in partibus* (all nominated by the Pope), who were not diocesans, and scarcely knew the geographical situation of the territories whence they derived their designations; all these, however, were equally admitted to the Council and allowed to vote. Abbots and generals of orders had also a seat,

together with the power of voting, although without any real claim to that privilege.'

In this way the numbers present at the Vatican Council were swelled and the opposition swamped. Cordial acknowledgments, remunerations, and honours were showered on all who said or did anything in favour of infallibility, while those who were hostile or lukewarm received unmistakable indications that their conduct would not be overlooked. After a lengthened but utterly useless controversy the dissentients were made aware of what they might have known thoroughly from the beginning, that the Pope had set his heart on the acceptance of the dogma by the Council. On 3rd July their leaders held a meeting, in which they finally determined to desist from a contest henceforward useless and possibly dangerous; and when the debate was concluded and the decision given, out of nearly 200 non-contents, only two were found in their places who had the courage to say '*Non placet.*' One of these was a Neapolitan, and the other an American who presided over a see called 'Little Rock.'

The infallibility of the Pope was thus made an article of faith which all Roman Catholics are bound to believe on peril of their salvation. Archbishop Manning, who was rewarded with the rank of cardinal for his indefatigable exertions to induce the Council to adopt this dogma, affirms that the privilege of infallibility is personal, independent, absolute, and distinct.

'It can be circumscribed by no human or ecclesiastical law, and in the exercise of his supreme doctrinal authority he (the Pope) does not depend for the infallibility of his definitions upon the consent or consultation of the episcopate, but only on the Divine assistance of the Holy Ghost.'

'The General of the Jesuits,' says the Abbé Guetter of France, 'governs the Roman Church in the present day, and these Jesuits think it necessary for their plans that the Romanists all over the world should be under the absolute authority of one man whom they can turn to purpose. Accordingly, they have coerced the Council to declare, in the words of Dr. Manning, that the "Pope is the supreme Judge on earth, and Director of the consciences of men, of the peasant who tills the field and the prince that sits upon the throne." The whole domain of human thought—religious, political, philosophical, scientific—is under his sole control. He stands in precisely the same relation to the family of mankind that Jehovah did of old to the trembling Israelites who encamped at the sacred mountain.'*

The decree of the Council respecting the infallibility of the Pope was immediately followed by the downfall of his temporal power. At the commencement of the Franco-German War the Italian Government facilitated the withdrawal of the French garrison from Rome by renewing the Convention guaranteeing the Papal territories from invasion. On the collapse of the military power of France, however, and the overthrow of the empire, a great agitation arose in Italy for the acquisition of Rome. It became evident that if the Government refused or delayed to take steps for that purpose the Movement Party would themselves invade the sacred city. The Italian Cabinet, therefore, having been released by the new French Government from engagements respecting the occupation of Rome contracted with the Emperor, induced Victor Emmanuel to take possession of the city on the pretext of protecting the Pope against revolutionary attacks. Accordingly, on the 20th of September a considerable body of Italian troops appeared before the gates of Rome. The

* Mr. Gladstone, in his pamphlet on 'The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance,' endeavours to show that 'since the Pope claims infallibility in faith and morals, and since there are no departments and functions of human life which do not and cannot fall within the domain of morals, and since he claims also the domain of all that concerns the government and discipline of the church, and moreover claims the power of determining the limits of these domains, and does not sever them by any acknowledged or intelligible line from the domains of civil duty and allegiance; therefore every convert and member of the Papal church places his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another.' This attack on the decree of the Council led to a keen controversy, in which Cardinals Newman and Manning took part, and endeavoured, with little success, to prove that 'the Vatican Council has left the authority of the Pontiff precisely where it found it.'

Pontiff was by no means grateful for the protection thus thrust upon him, but finding resistance hopeless he prudently directed his troops to make only a formal resistance to the entrance of Victor Emmanuel's forces. A popular vote or *plébiscite* of the citizens declared almost unanimously in favour of annexation, and the Roman State was publicly proclaimed to have become a part of the kingdom of Italy. The Italian Parliament was then dissolved, and a new Assembly confirmed the annexation, and resolved that the seat of government should be transferred to Rome.

It was not to be expected that the Pope should acquiesce in his own dethronement, but he resisted the pressure put upon him by some of his cardinals to leave the city altogether and seek an asylum in some country still faithful to the Papal See. 'Many here counsel me to leave Rome,' he said, 'but where am I to go? There is not one of the Catholic powers that would not after a time find my presence an embarrassment, so that I should have to wander from one country to another; and it is very hard for an old man to turn vagabond.' Pius IX. knew well how hopeless it was to expect that any of the Catholic powers would help him in his hour of need. Spain, the most Catholic country in Europe, had just elected a king out of the family of the monarch who had deprived the Pope of his dominions. To his application for aid Austria had replied by a courteous but decided refusal, and Republican France was more hostile to the Papal authority and pretensions than some countries avowedly Protestant.

The Bill of the Papal Guarantees, which passed through the Italian Parliament in May, defined the position which the dethroned Pontiff was henceforth to occupy towards the kingdom of Italy. His person was declared to be sacred and inviolable, and he was to be received by the authorities with royal honours. He was to have as many guards as he pleased to protect his person and his palace. An annual allowance was settled upon him of nearly £120,000, free from all rates and taxes. His Holiness was to retain possession of the Vatican, the Lateran, and Castel-Gandolfo, with all their out-buildings and furniture; and the palaces, as well as the libraries and the picture-galleries which they contained, were to be inalienable and free from all imposts. There was to be no restriction on the Pope's correspondence with his bishops and the whole Roman Catholic community, and he was to have a post office and telegraphic service of his own for each of his palaces. All the Papal seminaries, academies, universities, and colleges in Rome and the suburban dioceses were to be solely under his control. With regard to the relations between Church and State, the Government relinquished the privilege which it had hitherto possessed of presenting persons to offices and benefices in the Church, on condition that Italian subjects alone should be appointed. It also declared that the royal sanction should no longer be required to give effect to the decrees of the ecclesiastical authorities, with the exception of those relating to church property. No appeal was henceforth to be allowed against a sentence of the ecclesiastical courts; but on the other hand, the civil authorities were not to be permitted to assist in executing ecclesiastical sentences. In short, the new arrangements realized Count Cavour's memorable scheme of 'a free Church in a free State.'

The Pope was thus placed in a great dilemma by these liberal concessions, which conferred upon him greater authority than he had ever before possessed in the management of ecclesiastical affairs in Italy. He was most reluctant, however, to avail himself of the new powers conceded to him by the Italian Government, and for a time he preferred leaving vacant the sees that fell in to availing himself of the privilege to fill them without any reference to the royal sanction. When he at length held a Secret Consistory for the purpose of filling up the vacant sees in the Italian kingdom, he

availed himself of the opportunity to deliver an 'Allocution' inveighing against the Italian Government, repudiating the Papal Guarantees, and claiming to nominate the bishops, not in virtue of any boon conceded to him by the King of Italy, but by his indefeasible authority as the Vicar of Christ. Pius IX. continued till the close of his long life to confine himself to the Vatican, where he declared he was kept a prisoner by a sacrilegious government, whom he excommunicated and anathematized as 'Pharisees,' 'Philistines,' 'thieves,' 'revolutionists,' 'Jacobins,' 'impious,' 'children of Satan,' and 'enemies of God.'

While continental Europe was thus convulsed by sanguinary wars and agitated by secular and ecclesiastical revolutions, the United States of America were passing through a period of great difficulty and anxiety. Scarcely had the Northern States begun to feel grateful for the termination of the contest which had occupied their undivided attention and absorbed their energies for four years, when they were shocked by the assassination of the man who had presided over the affairs of the country during this protracted and sanguinary struggle. President Lincoln was shot in the theatre at Washington on the night of the 14th April, 1865, by a silly half-crazed actor of the name of J. Wilkes Booth, who it appears had long meditated this crime. On the same night Mr. Seward, who was confined to bed in consequence of an accident, was assailed and dangerously wounded, as were several members of his family, by a person of the name of Payne. Lincoln died next morning, but Seward ultimately recovered of his wounds. Booth and some of his accomplices were pursued and overtaken at a place called Bowling Green, in Caroline county, Virginia, where they had taken refuge in a barn. They refused to surrender, and Booth was killed by 'awkward or timid' officers of justice. Payne was captured, and he and three of his accomplices were tried before a military tribunal, found guilty, and hanged on the 7th of July. The only other person who suffered capital punishment was a Captain Wirtz, the keeper of the Confederate military prison at Andersonville. He had under his charge a number of Federal prisoners of war, whom he was accused of having treated with revolting cruelty. He was tried by a military commission at Washington, and was found guilty, sentenced to death, and hanged in the early part of November.

The assassination of President Lincoln caused deep sorrow not only in the United States but throughout Europe, and especially in Great Britain, where he was held in high esteem for the simplicity of his character, his straightforwardness, and integrity. The object which he had kept steadily in view throughout the struggle between the North and South was the maintenance of the Union, to which all other matters were subordinated. On more than one occasion he endeavoured to negotiate a peace on condition that the war should terminate; and it was well understood that an amnesty, without exception, would be offered to the Confederate chiefs. His untimely death at the termination of the contest by the hand of a wretched assassin, who combined 'the kindred characters of an unprincipled zealot and a histrionic charlatan,' was regarded with universal sorrow.

Mr. Andrew Johnston, Vice-President, on the death of Mr. Lincoln, assumed, according to constitutional law, the vacant office of President. Great distrust was felt towards him by the advocates of a peaceful and moderate policy. He was the only prominent Southern and slave-holder who had opposed secession, and he had in consequence suffered personally during the war. In his former office as Military Governor of Tennessee he had shown, in his maintenance of Federal authority, a high-handed disregard of the laws of the country, and he entered upon his new career in a manner calculated to raise a strong prejudice against him. One of his first acts was to issue a proclamation charging President

Davis and other members of his Government with being accomplices in the murder of President Lincoln, and offering large rewards for their apprehension. Davis was in consequence pursued with great alacrity, and was captured at Irwinsville, in Georgia, on the 10th of May. He was conveyed to Fort Monroe, where he was kept a close prisoner for some time, but was subsequently set at liberty.

A number of the extreme Republicans, such as Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens, demanded that the Confederate States should be treated as a conquered country, and that General Lee and other leaders of the Southern party should be brought to trial and executed; but General Grant interposed, and insisted that the capitulation should be maintained inviolate. The restored Union was thus saved from the great crime which her chief magistrate meditated in the newness of his power, and in his desire to obtain revenge for the sufferings and terrors which the country had endured. President Johnston after a time became more moderate in his demands, and devoted his energies not to the punishment of enemies, but their conversion into friends. He did not persist in his proposal to confiscate the estates of the richer Southern proprietors for the purpose of effecting, by the subdivision of land and the immigration of Northern settlers, a social as well as political revolution. He invited the Southern States to resume their position in the Union, and the performance of their Federal rights and duties, on terms which, though unpalatable to them, were on the whole not unjust. He required from State Conventions and Legislatures the repudiation of the ordinance of Secession and of the Confederate debt, the abolition of slavery and protection for the freedmen, and the adoption of the constitutional amendment by which slavery was to be prohibited throughout the Union.

Very serious difficulties had to be encountered in the reconstruction of the Union. The President and Congress differed widely in their views as to the manner in which this should be accomplished, and the Republican majority became at last so hostile to his policy that they brought forward an impeachment against him, which, however, they were compelled to abandon. Actuated by a vindictive feeling towards the Southern aristocracy, they passed, over the veto of the President, a series of Acts providing for the assembling of a Constituent Convention, to be elected by universal suffrage, but excluding all persons who had taken an active part in the civil or military service of the Confederacy, thus enfranchising the negroes and disfranchising their late masters. The consequence of this enactment was that in nearly all the States the Conventions were elected by negro majorities, and that their leadership fell into the hands of 'carpet-baggers'—penniless adventurers from the Northern States, who were supposed to carry all their worldly goods in their carpet-bags, and who flocked to the South as mere seekers of fortune, 'with philanthropy on their lips and hopes of plunder in their hearts.' These unscrupulous adventurers had no difficulty in gaining the confidence of the negroes, and by means of their votes succeeded in getting into office and obtaining the control of the legislature. Their main object was, of course, to enrich themselves out of the State funds, and they availed themselves to the utmost of the favourable opportunity thus afforded them. The result was the transference to the South of the worst practices of the Tammany Ring in New York. 'Each State was ruled by a corrupt knot of obscure politicians, who amassed fortunes in a few months by embezzlement, by bribe-taking, and by the sale of offices, of influence, and of contracts. Corruption managed the Legislatures, prevailed in the State Houses, and sat on the bench of justice; while jobbery, collusion, and vulgar fraud wasted the finances and swelled the public expenditure. Half the proceeds of taxation never reached the State treasury, subsidies granted to railways went into the pockets of the "rings," the railways

contracted for remained unmade, and loans subscribed were stopped on the way to the relief of the State necessities. To keep up the system debt was heaped upon debt and tax upon tax, until the taxpayer, in multitudes of instances, allowed his land to go out of cultivation from sheer inability to meet the ever-increasing demands thus poured in upon him.' A Mississippi planter told the Committee of Congress that it took his whole crop of cotton in 1871 to pay his taxes. In Kershaw county, South Carolina, with a population of 11,000, tax executions were issued in 3600 cases. It was officially stated that in two years nearly 1,250,000 dollars had been paid out of the State treasury for which no vouchers could be found, while the expenditure on 'offices and salaries,' which amounted to 123,800 dollars in 1860, had become 581,640 dollars in 1871. The disbursements of the South Carolina treasury exceeded its revenue by 170,683 dollars. In all the Southern States, except Virginia and Tennessee, the State debts had enormously increased under the administration of these Northern adventurers. Alabama owed 5,000,000 dollars in 1866; it owed 24,000,000 dollars in 1872. North Carolina was 'reconstructed' in 1868; its debt was then 24,000,000 dollars—10,000,000 dollars more than it was in 1860. In four years it had grown to 34,000,000 dollars.

The devastated state of the South at the close of the war greatly aggravated the burden of taxation thus imposed upon it to fill the pockets of the 'carpet-baggers.' Mr. Somers, an Englishman, who spent several months in 1870 and 1871 in a tour of observation in the Southern States, says that in the magnificent valley of the Tennessee he found, even at that time, nearly six years after the close of the war—

'Burned-up gin-houses, ruined bridges, mills and factories, of which latter the gable-walls only are left standing, and large tracts of once-cultivated land stripped of every vestige of fencing. The roads, long neglected, are in disorder, and have in many places become impassable; new tracts have to be made through the woods and fields, without much respect to boundaries. Borne down by losses, debts, and accumulating taxes, many who were once the richest among their fellows have disappeared from the scene, and few have yet risen to take their place. This unhappy valley is no exception; all over the South the same ruin is spread. The commercial ruin is even worse. The mere money loss in the abolition of slavery was £400,000,000 sterling, though the loss was one by which civilization and humanity have gained. The banking capital, estimated at £200,000,000, was swamped in the extinction of all profitable banking business, and finally in a residuary flood of worthless Confederate money. The whole insurance capital of the South—probably £100,000,000 more—also perished. The well-organized cotton, sugar, and tobacco plantations, mills, factories, coal and iron mines, and commercial and industrial establishments, built up by private capital, the value of which in millions of pounds sterling cannot be computed—all sank and were engulfed in the same war.'

The census returns of the value of property in 1870, as compared with 1860, place in a very striking light the enormous losses inflicted on the Southern States by the war. The value of Virginia and West Virginia was 657,021,336 dollars in 1860; it had sunk to 480,800,267 dollars in 1870. South Carolina had diminished in taxable value during the ten years from 489,319,128 dollars to 174,409,491 dollars. Mississippi stood at a valuation of 509,427,912 dollars in the year before the war; four years after the war it was valued at only 154,635,527. Louisiana fell to about half its former valuation; Florida to less than half; Georgia to less than one-third. Mr. Wells, special commissioner of revenue, estimated the direct expenditure and loss of property by the Confederate States, in consequence of the war, at 2,700,000,000 dollars. He gives the following description of the condition in which the South was left:—

'In 1865 this section of our country, which in 1860 represented nearly one-third of the entire population and (omitting the value of the slaves) nearly two-sevenths of the aggregate wealth of the nation, found itself, as the result of four years' civil war, entirely prostrate, without industry,

without tools, without money, credit, or crops; deprived of local self-government, and to a great extent of all political privileges; the flower of its youth in the hospitals or dead upon the battle-field; with society disorganized, and starvation imminent or actually present.'

No wonder that in these circumstances the Southerns bitterly resented the treatment they received from conventions elected by the votes of the coloured freedmen, and ruled by greedy, grasping, and thoroughly unprincipled Northern adventurers. The veterans of Lee's victorious armies would have made short work with the 'carpet-baggers' had they been left with only negroes to back them, but as these men had been put in their places by the military governors appointed directly from Washington, it was to the politicians at the capital that they looked for support. The enormous sums of which these adventurers plundered the Southerns enabled them always to get matters settled to their entire satisfaction.

Whenever any 'carpet-bag' ring wanted additional authority to keep down the whites, or felt apprehensions on account of the scandal occasioned abroad by some nefarious transaction in which it had been engaged, a deputation from the Republican party in the State managed by the ring in question at once repaired to Washington, and by means of backstairs influence and bribery it almost always obtained its desires. Subjection to the domination of men of this class at length drove the Southerns out of all patience, and as soon as the Federal forces were reduced secret societies, known as 'Ku Klux Klan,' sprang up all over the South, and perpetrated the most atrocious outrages upon the negroes and such 'carpet-baggers' as fell into their power. The members of this secret organization, by moving in considerable bodies at night, clad in a peculiar costume and executing a wild justice, spread alarm both among Federal soldiers and negroes. When out on these expeditions they wore a uniform of black calico, called a 'shroud,' and a long tapering hat, with a black veil over the face, completed the disguise. The secret of the membership was kept with remarkable fidelity. In no instance was a member of the Ku Klux successfully arraigned or punished, though their acts often flew right in the face of the reconstructed authorities, and were not in any sense legal.

'The overt acts of the Ku Klux,' says Mr. Somers, 'consisted, for the most part, of the disarming of dangerous negroes, the infliction of Lynch law on notorious offenders, and, above all, in the creation of one feeling of terror as a counterpoise to another. . . . A real terror reigned for a time among the white people, and in this situation the Ku Klux started into being. It was one of those secret organizations which spring up in disordered states of society, when the bonds of law and government are almost dissolved, and when no confidence is felt in the regular administration of justice. But the power with which the Ku Klux moved in many parts of the South, the knowledge it displayed of all that was going on, the fidelity with which its secret was kept, and the complacency with which it was regarded by the general community, gave this mysterious body a prominence and an importance seldom attained by such illegal and deplorable associations.'

In its later days the Ku Klux became a mere engine of robbery and violence, and remains of it were to be found for some time in the bands of robbers who infested the swamps and forests of North Carolina.

The most difficult part of the task which the close of the war imposed upon the authorities of the United States was the reorganization of the system of labour in the South, and the protection of and provision for 4,500,000 slaves suddenly transformed into freemen. The war had been waged not in the interest of the slaves, but for the preservation of the Union, and it was not until it was seen that this object could not be otherwise attained that slavery was abolished. In consequence, during the early years of the war, no arrangements were made for the support of the negroes who, whenever a Northern army appeared, sought refuge within its lines. At first they were most frequently repelled by the

commanders, most of whom were supporters of slavery, and were unwilling to give any countenance to the agitation for its abolition. The miserable creatures, thus driven away, died in thousands from want and disease, till their sufferings becoming matter of public scandal the Government was obliged to adopt measures for their relief. Congress established, as a temporary measure, the 'Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands,' to watch over the interests of the freedmen in the Southern States; to protect them in the exercise of all their civil rights; to feed and clothe them, find them work, superintend the contracts between them and their employers, and to enforce their execution on either side. This arrangement was attended with the most beneficial effects. At first, indeed, the freedmen, excited by the discussions which were going on about them, and stimulated by interested appeals from 'carpet-baggers,' were not disposed to work for hire. Cherishing some vague notions that they were now to become masters where they had hitherto been slaves, they made excessive and most unreasonable demands for wages, which it was impossible to satisfy; and 'they had to learn, by bitter experience, that the difference between slavery and freedom was simply that they might choose their own work, and select their masters, and own the proceeds of their labour.' In no long time the great body of the emancipated negroes settled down steadily to work. It was not to be expected that they would all at once toil with the zest and energy of freemen; but though the old stimulus of the overseer and his lash was wanting they soon began to feel the higher stimulus of reward. The pressure of necessity compelled them, in the first instance, to labour in order to live, and they gradually came under the influence of the higher motives arising out of their new condition. They learned, though slowly, to take care of themselves; to get rid of their improvident habits, and to cherish the feelings of independence and self-respect. Their desire to own a mule and cart, or a house, or a strip of land, and to make a provision for sickness and old age, and for their families in case of death, contributed to make them work industriously and save money. In the course of five or six years a very large proportion of the deposit accounts in savings banks in the South were kept by negroes. It soon became evident that the productions of free labour were superior to those of slave labour. Mr. Wells, in his official report in 1872, says—'The new cotton is far superior in cleanliness, strength, and uniformity of fibre and absence of waste to any ever before sent to market; while a new variety, originating in Mississippi—"the *Peeler*"—has been introduced and brought to market, which commands a price from 25 to 30 per cent. higher than gram-seed cotton of the same grade, because of superior staple.'

The planters also have been under the necessity of adapting themselves to their new position as the employers, not the owners, of their labourers. The increasing demand for the rice, sugar, and tobacco, and especially for the cotton, grown in the greatest abundance in the Southern States, has enormously increased the demand for labourers to cultivate the soil; and those who need the services of the negro, and employ him, have learned in time to appreciate his good qualities and to exercise a good deal of kindly patience towards his bad ones. The large planters are dependent almost entirely on negro labour, and as they have no longer the lash at command to stimulate the indolent and careless, they have been obliged to adopt other and very different means to induce their hands to work. The system generally adopted is that of partnership between master and workmen in the products of the soil. The labourer receives as his wages half the cotton he picks or the corn he grows, and in addition has a free cottage, abundance of wood from the estate for fuel and for building his corn-cribs and out-houses. He is also allowed to keep hogs

and milch cows and young cattle, which roam and feed with the same right as those of the proprietor of the estate, and free of charge. In some districts the share system takes two forms—one-third of the crop with rations, one-half the crop without rations. Under this new social organization it is not surprising that there should have arisen a class of negro tenant-farmers and negro small landed proprietors, who, along with shopkeepers, teachers, and preachers, may be expected in time to form a negro middle class.

One of the most gratifying proofs of the elevation of the class of freedmen is the great increase in the numbers of their schools, teachers, and scholars. 'A surprising thirst for knowledge,' says General Howard, 'is manifested by the coloured people; children give earnest attention and learn rapidly, and the adults, after the day's work, often devote the evening to study.' In ten years the attendance of coloured persons at school had increased in Alabama from 114 to 15,185; in Arkansas, from 5 to 5784; in Louisiana the increase was from 275 to 11,076, and in South Carolina from 365 to 16,865.

Returning prosperity to the South, increasing trade, and communication with the North and with Europe, have all contributed to induce the planters to adapt themselves to their new position. In the course of time, after many fierce conflicts between the Republican and Democratic parties, the extensive and vindictive disfranchisements and disqualifications inflicted on all who in any way had given aid or countenance to the Confederate struggle were abolished. Roads, railways, and canals were repaired, ruined towns and villages were rebuilt, the desolate battle-fields were covered with crops, and the outward traces of the long and sanguinary contests were effaced. But the moral and social effects of this convulsion are still visible, and in some instances are keenly felt. The Northern States took a most unfair advantage of their victory to establish a prohibitory tariff, which imposes an overwhelming burden on the industry of the South. The planter is compelled to pay an exorbitant price for everything he requires—for his clothes, his tools, his household goods, his manures, his coal—in order that a few manufacturing 'interests' in the North may obtain large profits. Northern trade is protected at the expense of Southern agriculture. Mr. Somers says, that 'while cotton can be bought at Liverpool at 3 or 4 cents. per lb. above its price on the plantations, anything from Liverpool can only be bought on the plantations at 200 or 300 per cent. above its value there. One planter stated that there was not a negro on his cotton-growing estate who could afford to wear a cotton shirt, so expensive a luxury does protection make such an article of clothing. A pair of coarse negro boots—one of the cheapest articles in the stores—is charged five dollars.' The planters further complain that, in order to compete with new rivals in the market, they have to sell their cotton cheap, while they have to buy everything dear, and yet out of the small margin of profit thus left there is a vast taxation to pay. The direct taxes alone amount to one-fourth of a merchant's income. In these circumstances it is no wonder that discontent and irritation prevail everywhere throughout the South.

'The dissatisfaction of the country folks of South Carolina (and it was the same elsewhere) with the present state of the Government of the United States is palpable enough. They exclaim bitterly against the corruption which prevails in public life. They are utterly opposed to the high tariff on European goods, looking on it simply as a means of plundering the cultivators of soil in the South and West for the benefit of Northern manufacturers, overgrown, they say, in wealth and adepts in bribery and lobby-rolling. They point to the enormous prices of goods sold in the Southern towns, and long for the growth of manufactures among themselves, and the direct importation of foreign goods into their own seaports.'

The injustice which the Protectionist tariff inflicts on the South is greatly aggravated by the knowledge that the system

owes its origin and support not merely to the short-sighted selfishness of Northern politicians, but also and largely to the expenditure of vast sums of money by the protected 'interests' in bribing members of Congress and purchasing backstairs influence. The establishment of the system of 'lobbying' is undoubtedly one of the greatest evils that has sprung out of the Civil War, which, by its lavish expenditure and by placing supreme power in the hands of very worthless and corrupt men, has materially contributed to bring about a state of things that is eating like a cancer into American society. The whole revenue system of America became a mass of corruption, as the evidence taken before the American courts of justice, in some memorable cases, proved beyond the possibility of contradiction. The national treasury was plundered of at least £10,000,000 per annum by the notorious 'whisky ring,' which pursued systematically the business of deceiving or corrupting the Government officials. Nor was this an isolated case. 'The frauds in tobacco, fermented liquors, and coal-oil were believed to be relatively greater than those on distilled spirits. According to universal agreement, little more than half the internal taxes were now collected, while of the other half two-thirds probably went into the pocket of the fraudulent dealer, in order that the public might save the other third.' In these circumstances it need excite no surprise that the head of the most important service in the Government should calmly accuse his subordinates in a mass of being in collusion with thieves. The charge was not denied, and though no member of Congress, and indeed 'no man in the United States doubted its truth, yet nothing was done to correct this evil, which in England would have cost the strongest ministry its office, and the largest parliamentary majority its seats.

'Nor was it only in the national service that venality showed itself superior to Government and more powerful than law. The great corporations, whose wealth and power were now extending beyond limits consistent with the public interest, found no difficulty in buying whatever legislation they wanted from the State Legislatures, and whatever justice they required from the elective judiciary of New York. The frauds and embezzlement in the management of the affairs of the city of New York were even more scandalous than those connected with Congress and the Executive. The taxation of one of the worst managed cities in the world amounts to about six millions a year, and three-fourths of that sum have been embezzled and squandered.'

In this necessarily very brief sketch of the condition of the United States after the great Civil War the remarkable Mormon organization cannot be passed over without notice. The tale has been often told, and is familiar to everyone, of the early history of this religious imposture—how Joseph Smith, a member of a family in Manchester (United States), notorious for 'indolence, foolery, and falsehood,' whose 'whole object in life was to live without work,' pretended to have found a sacred book with gold plates containing a divine revelation, which his own father-in-law declared to have been 'got up for speculation, and in order that the fabricators might live upon the spoils of the credulous.' There was, indeed, a combination of worldly schemes and spiritual pretensions through the whole of Smith's religious system. Thus he entitles himself, in one edition of the 'Book,' 'President, seer, translator, prophet, apostle, and elder of the Church of Latter-day Saints throughout the earth, dealer in town lots, temples, merchandise, bank stock, and prairie lands, retailer of books, stationery, caps, letters, post and wrapping paper, and general of Nauvoo militia.' Thus the Great Temple was built 'for the glory of God, for all the kings of the earth to take refuge in,' and 'guaranteed to pay 5 per cent. to all the shareholders' in the edifice. Smith was certainly not a person of any moral

or intellectual eminence; but it is only fair to state that his honesty and fair dealing in business matters were unimpeachable. He was put upon his trial for numerous charges thirty-nine times before various tribunals, which could have no interest in treating him with favour, or even with mercy, and was uniformly acquitted. But though the charge of complicity in assassination and other criminal accusations were not established, those of voluptuousness, sensuality, and unscrupulousness were clearly proved.

As Mormonism took up an extra-legal unnatural position it was extremely unpopular among all classes, and its adherents received outrageous and ruffianly treatment from the populace of the different localities in which they attempted to settle. At last Smith obtained a location at Nauvoo from the State of Illinois, and there assumed an authority above the government and the laws of the country, decided all cases by a tribunal which was composed of seven of his adherents, and afforded an asylum to criminals who had escaped from the hands of justice in other parts of the United States. In 1844 he had no fewer than 10,000 devotees under his authority, who regarded his commands as the words of God. In that year he offered himself as a candidate for the presidency of the United States. The number of his adherents steadily increased, and converts began to flow in from Europe. His imperious and arbitrary authority roused opposition even in Nauvoo, especially of those who had apostatized from the body. One of these men set up a newspaper at Nauvoo, and Smith, enraged at its attacks, in his capacity as mayor suppressed the paper and destroyed the printing-presses. The people in the vicinity of the settlement were roused to fury at this attack on the liberty of the press, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Carthage prepared to march on the Mormons with arms and artillery. Smith proclaimed martial law, but was persuaded to submit to the authorities at Carthage, and under their guardianship he and his brother Hyrum were foully murdered by the populace on the 27th of June, 1844.

During the three years of persecution which followed this outrage the Mormons were compelled for safety to live as a military encampment, and endured great suffering and loss of life. They at length resolved to seek a new location in a district where they could be completely isolated from their fellow-creatures. One hundred and forty pioneers were sent out from Nauvoo in search of a future Eden, and were followed by the advanced guard of 4000 persons, headed by Brigham the Seer, who arrived at the Great Salt Lake on the 24th of July, 1847. In this valley, defended by sterile volcanic passes, and girt by vast waterless deserts, 1000 miles on the one side and 600 on another from any settled country, the Mormons established their new settlement of Utah. In no long time this tract of land, which, whitened by an alkaline crust when they chose it as their refuge from persecution, bore little vegetation but the sage bush, and even old trappers promised to give 1000 dollars for every ear of corn that should be grown on it, was converted by their skilful organization and unremitting industry into a terrestrial Eden, where ninety-three bushels of corn were produced by a single acre. In the course of twenty years no fewer than 150,000 souls were settled in the City of the Salt Lake.

The hope of the Mormons, however, that they would be allowed to enjoy a kind of monastic existence in this secluded spot, was doomed to disappointment. The discovery of gold in California transformed their solitude into the great midway station between the Missouri River and the Pacific Ocean. Tens of thousands of adventurers, many of them daring and unscrupulous, made Utah their temporary halting-place, and it required all the efforts of their chief and prophet, though armed with despotic power, to keep his subjects submissive to

his authority, and to prevent the inroads of the 'Gentiles' on the harems of the saints. A system of terrorism was established for this purpose, which was carried out by a band of ruffians at the command of the prophet. Shocking stories were told of the deeds perpetrated by them, and there is good reason to believe that assassinations of refractory disciples were of frequent occurrence.

The continued increase of the Mormon population is supplied, not by the United States, but by emigrants from Europe, who are in the proportion of ten to one of the native Americans. A considerable number come from Denmark and Switzerland, but England and Wales furnish by far the largest proportion. No fewer than ten Mormon 'branches' or congregations assemble every Sunday in London for religious worship, and they have numerous agents throughout the country, especially in Wales, who carry on the work of recruiting with great zeal and no inconsiderable success. Their converts chiefly belong to a section of the working classes who are low in social position, and are possessed of little knowledge, either secular or sacred. The inducements which Mormons hold out are artfully adapted to the character and condition of the agricultural population and the lower, or at least the more ignorant, grade of artisans, and are rather of an economical than a religious character. The practical advantages which they secure to the intending emigrant are not without their influence. It is certain that no ships under the provisions of the 'Passengers Act' afford such safe and comfortable accommodation as those under the administration of the Mormon agents. Instead of being exposed, like the ordinary emigrant, to all the annoyances and discomforts of a heterogeneous crowd during the voyage, and to the frauds and overcharges of the land-sharks the moment they touch the American shore, these converts live in the Mormon ship like one family, under firm yet kindly discipline, with every provision for comfort, decorum, and internal peace. On their arrival in the New World they are welcomed by members of the confraternity, who have made all arrangements for their safe journey to their promised home. As they all bring with them some money or goods, these proselytes add to the wealth as well as to the industrial power of the Utah population.

With regard to the doctrines of the Mormons, the nonsense of the golden plates and the tables of the law seems now to be kept out of sight by the Prophet and the elders. Even the 'Book of Mormon,' which was compiled by Joseph Smith, has been to a considerable extent superseded by the 'Book of Doctrine and Covenants,' issued in 1841—an authorized collection of new revelations to explain and amplify the doctrine in the course of growth. One curious feature of this book is its distinct condemnation of polygamy. 'We believe,' it says, 'that one man should have one wife and one woman but one husband, except in the case of death, when either is at liberty to marry again.' The repudiation of this tenet of the revealed Mormon faith is no doubt so far borne out by the principle enunciated in 1856, that 'the knowledge and faith of the Church have greatly increased through the revelation of more advanced doctrines in the Gospel.'

Though the revelation sanctioning a plurality of wives was said to have been given to Joseph Smith in July, 1841, it was not until August, 1852, that it was solemnly published by his successor, Brigham Young, in the tabernacle at Great Salt Lake City. 'Without the doctrine this revelation makes known to us,' he said, 'no man could raise himself high enough to become a god.' From that time forth polygamy has taken its place among Mormon institutions without dispute or contradiction, and doubtless is the main source of attraction to a certain class of converts. The practice of indulging in a plurality of wives soon became general, and within six years of the promulgation

of the decree there were nearly 400 families in Utah containing seven or more wives, and few having only one. With regard to the moral influence of this system no better authority can be adduced than that of the late Mr. Horace Greely. In a lecture delivered at New York, giving the result of his personal observations at Utah, he dwelt at length on the curses being rapidly developed by the great social evil of the Mormons' polygamy, and while he characterized the people as industrious and peaceful, and did not question their honesty in the profession of their peculiar doctrines, he saw, he believed, in this vice alone the sure evidences of confusion and ultimate ruin.

'Talk of love!' he said; 'no man that was not stone-blind, who saw the stone walls that inclosed the prison-houses of the women, could assume that there was love among these people. It was safe-bind safe-find, the necessary law of such relations. Every day further developed the truth of this. The wealthy were building higher walls. It was but a repetition of the system which had proved the downfall of so many nations, and in Utah, as in these, either polygamy will be abolished or there will be many a bloody struggle. He had met there the son of one who had been a wealthy merchant in New York, and an alderman when that position was not synonymous with robber. The son was not as wealthy as the father had been. He had two wives nevertheless; one of them was the daughter of the other. The affair was looked upon quite as a matter of course by the saints, and he supposed worked as well as the three-cornered affair could be expected to behave itself, until he went home one day and found the young one had disappeared. She had not been heard of when he [the lecturer] had left, nor did he presume he had since recovered her. She preferred, no doubt, the favours which were not divided with her mother. He had also, even among the bishops, met several not over-happy in their marital relations; one who had among his wives two of his nieces, another whose two wives (he was modest) never spoke to each other on any occasion, which made the house rather awkward to visitors. Only imagine [said the lecturer] a family of twelve children with four or five mothers; to bring them up in one house you have as fair a start for hell as you can well imagine. Ten years of such a purgatory would make a man long for the sound of Gabriel's trumpet.'

A system created by priestly despotism, and founded on a gross perversion of moral principle, is not likely to be of long duration. An open schism in opposition to it has been made by one of Joseph Smith's sons, and as might have been expected, the 'Josephites' are more obnoxious to the saints than the Gentiles are. An impression exists in the Republican party that the strong arm of the State should be invoked to put down polygamy, if not Mormonism itself. But unless the righteous indignation of the people on the one hand, and the imperious conduct of the Mormon despots on the other, should provoke a collision, the probability is that the policy of the more moderate party will continue to be followed—'to await and guide the natural causes which are operating to the overthrow of polygamy and the submission of the Mormon aristocracy; to maintain a sufficient military force to keep the peace and to protect the "Gentiles" in that freedom which the Mormons themselves offer to all settlers; to remove all Federal officers who practise polygamy; and for the rest to trust to the influence of free immigration, public opinion, Christian missions, and the Pacific railroad.'

CHAPTER XIV.

Death of Earl Derby—The Irish Land Tenure System—Mr. Gladstone's Land Bill—The English Education Bill—Dissatisfaction of the Nonconformists—Scheme for the reconstruction of the Army—Abolition of the Purchase System by Royal Warrant—Opposition of the House of Lords—Their censure of the Ministry—The *Alabama* Question—Abortive attempts to settle it—Commissioners sent to America—Treaty of Washington—Indirect claims of the United States—Geneva Convention—Decision of the Arbitrators unfavourable to Britain—Diminishing popularity of the Government—The Irish University Bill—Its rejection—Rearrangement of the Ministry—Dissolution of Parliament—Defeat of the Government—Their resignation—Formation of a new Ministry.

THE disestablishment of the Irish Church was not the only important measure relating to Ireland which Mr. Gladstone's Government intended to bring forward. The Premier at once prepared to deal with the Irish land system. In directing his energies to this much-needed reform he had no longer to encounter the formidable opposition of the leader of the Conservative party. Lord Derby died on the 23rd of October, 1869. His death made no great blank in public affairs, for he had virtually retired from active life on making over the premiership of his Ministry to Mr. Disraeli. His career had been energetic and influential, but he had no pretensions to the character of a statesman. In the earlier period, while he was colleague of Earl Grey, he carried the emancipation of the West Indian slaves, he established national education in Ireland, and by the abolition or amalgamation of several bishoprics he dealt the first blow to the Irish Church, of which he was the most strenuous defender. He was on the eve of becoming the leader of the Liberal party when he deserted its ranks, and after an interval became a member of Sir Robert Peel's second ministry. He was three times Prime Minister of a Conservative administration, and yet, in order, as he said, to 'dish the Whigs,' he became the instrument of passing a much more democratic Reform Bill than the Liberal party had ventured to propose. His debating powers were of the highest order, and Macaulay said of him that his knowledge of the science of parliamentary defence resembled an instinct. The prominent features of his oratory are very happily described in 'The New Timon'—

> 'The brilliant chief, irregularly great,
> Frank, haughty, rash—the Rupert of debate .!
> Nor gout nor toil his freshness can destroy,
> And time still leaves all Eton in the boy.
> . . . . . .
> Yet who not listens with delighted smile
> To the pure Saxon of that silver style.'

'His charge is irresistible,' said Disraeli; 'but when he has driven the force directly opposed to him off the field, he returns to find his camp in the possession of the enemy.' He was a very formidable antagonist and a desperately hard hitter, as O'Connell and Shiel found to their cost; and his readiness, especially in reply, his remarkable fluency, the appropriateness as well as purity of his language, and the felicity of his illustrations and retorts, obtained for him a place in the front rank of the parliamentary orators of his day. His speeches have, however, not obtained a permanent place in political literature, and are already neglected and forgotten. His eminent abilities, playful humour, and genial disposition, along with his extensive estates and illustrious ancestry, made him admirably fitted for the position which he held, from the death of the Duke of Wellington till the time of his own decease, as the leader of the Conservative aristocracy of England, and the fit representative both of its good qualities and its defects.

Mr. Gladstone, during his electioneering campaign in Lancashire, had declared that

the Irish Upas-tree had three great branches —the State Church, the Land Tenure System, and the System of Education—and that he intended to hew them all down if he could. Having effected the disestablishment of the Irish Church, he now proceeded to deal with the Irish tenure of land, which had always been in a most unsatisfactory state. Various remedies had been proposed, and various efforts had been made to bring about a settlement of this much-vexed question, but none of them had given general satisfaction, or had been carried to a successful issue. The Irish agitators had painted 'landlordism,' as they called it, in the most odious colours, and they wrote and spoke as though there were no such things as good landlords or bad tenants in Ireland. Impartial and trustworthy persons who visited that country with the special object of ascertaining its true condition affirmed that they had found not a few tenants 'so impoverished, so ignorant, so unimproving that their presence on a well-managed English estate would not be tolerated for six months.' On the other hand, Mr. M'Lagan, member for Linlithgowshire, says—'The class of noblemen and gentlemen owners of extensive estates generally show more consideration—I should say indulgence—for tenants on their estates than on almost any estate in England and Scotland. The farms are low-rented and the tenants contented, though they are only tenants from year to year. In many cases the tenants are now assisted in all permanent improvements; perhaps in some instances this is carried too far. . . . I do not say there are no bad landlords in Ireland. I know some cases of cruel oppression, and in legislating we should put it out of the power of a bad landlord to perpetrate injustice, cruelty, and oppression.'

Mr. Gladstone's object was to put an end to cases of this kind, and to protect the tenants against the oppression of bad landlords and their agents. The possession of land was the only means of living to a large portion of the Irish people. The need of it was therefore so vital that a rent was constantly offered which the tenants could never pay. Hence the arrears of rent accumulated to an enormous amount, and as a matter of course evictions, followed by outrage and murder, were of frequent occurrence. The return of evictions moved for by the Earl of Belmore showed that between 1861 and 1871 there had been in all Ireland 37,164 ejectments, of which two-thirds were for non-payment of rent. Various remedies were proposed for this great evil. 'My plan,' said Daniel O'Connell, 'is that no man shall be a tenant for less than twenty-one years.' It was alleged by some that a secured tenure for not less than thirty-one years would be practically a set-off against all claims on the landlord at the end of the lease for any improvements voluntarily executed during its term. Fixity of tenure was a general demand, by which one class meant only 'a title to fair compensation to the tenant on the part of the landlord when the tenant may be leaving a holding that he has improved.' The great majority, however, who used this cry meant by fixity of tenure 'the right of occupiers to hold their farms for ever at a fixed rent, and to sell or bequeath their interest subject to certain conditions.' Mr. Gladstone resolved to follow a middle course, and to confer upon the tenants throughout Ireland a legal right, founded on and closely resembling the privilege which custom has secured to the Ulster farmers. In that province a system had grown up, that had gradually acquired something like the force of law, under which a tenant was allowed to remain in undisturbed possession of his holding so long as he paid his rent. He was also entitled, on giving it up, to compensation for unexhausted improvements, and was at liberty to sell the 'goodwill' of his farm to the incoming tenants. Mr. Gladstone's Bill legalized this custom, and made it universal. A tenant ejected from his farm was entitled to claim compensation for his improvements, and the tribunal

established for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the measure was authorized to take into consideration not merely the legal, but the equitable, conditions of each case. The Bill passed through both Houses of Parliament after a long discussion, but with comparatively little opposition, and received the royal assent on August 1, 1870.

The establishment of a system of education for England was the next great achievement of Mr. Gladstone's Ministry. The state of elementary education in England was extremely discreditable both to the Government and the nation. While Scotland, a comparatively poor and small nation, had possessed an efficient system of public education for three centuries, the common people in England, with all its wealth and enterprise, had been left in a state of gross ignorance. Efforts had been made by successive Liberal Governments to remedy a state of matters which was a standing reproach to the country, but these had all been frustrated, partly by the strenuous opposition of the Conservative party and the Church, and partly by the want of adequate support from the English Nonconformists. It was with the utmost difficulty that Lord John Russell obtained a scanty pittance from the Treasury to stimulate and assist private benevolence in providing instruction for the poor. Although the amount granted for this purpose was gradually augmented, and the number of schools established in connection with it correspondingly increased, the system failed to overtake the educational wants of the community. It had no claim to be called national, and in fact, owing to the short-sighted and disastrous policy of a large section of the English Nonconformists, it had been left mainly in the hands of the Church, and the friends of secular education of course protested against the enforcement of religious instruction which it involved. As the Government aid was contingent on strictly local exertions, it could not reach the most neglected and therefore the most needy localities, and there was no authority lodged in any quarter to compel the attendance at school of the children of ignorant and careless parents. Notwithstanding the exertions made by voluntary and philanthropic benevolence and zeal, there were hundreds of thousands of children in the country for whose instruction no provision had been made. Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues were anxious to remedy these defects and to provide a system of national education adapted to the condition and commensurate with the wants of the people. Their object, as the Prime Minister himself said, was to give fair scope for educational action both to the party which desired a complete national system and only tolerated voluntary schools, and to the party which were only desirous of supplying, by the agency of the state, what that principle was unable to effect. The Education Bill, which was introduced by Mr. Forster on February 7, 1870, proposed to establish a system of School Boards in England and Wales, with authority to erect schools, to levy rates for their support, and to frame by-laws compelling the attendance of all children from five to twelve years of age within the school district. Existing schools might be adopted under the Bill, on condition that they were pronounced efficient, that they agreed to be examined by an undenominational inspector, and that they adopted a conscience clause as part of their regulations. In addition to the local school-rates the schools were to be supported by grants from the Treasury and by fees paid by the scholars. The Bill abolished the old restriction that all schools recognized by the Department should either be connected with some religious denomination or should read and teach the Scriptures. It also abrogated the rule that denominational schools should be inspected by members of their own denomination, and in addition prohibited all inspection of religious instruction. It provided that 'no religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the schools,' but it placed

no restriction on the power to give religious instruction or to expound any creed.

The Bill at first appeared likely to meet with a favourable reception, but when its provisions were carefully examined, some of them provoked the hostility both of the Nonconformists and the advocates of secular education. The former were indignant at the proposal to continue grants from the Treasury to denominational schools, while the latter insisted that the instruction given in the national schools should be purely secular. Mr. Forster, however, pleaded that there were several powerful bodies in the country who were conscientiously opposed to the severance of secular from religious instruction, and would resist to the utmost any attempt to enforce such a regulation, and refused to go further than to compel all schools receiving State aid to adopt a conscience clause for the protection of parents and children prohibiting religious instruction during the hours devoted to the teaching of the secular branches. The Nonconformists, however, resisted so strenuously the proposal to continue grants of public money to denominational schools that, but for the support given by the Conservative party, there was a strong probability that the Government would have been defeated. When the Education Bill was introduced into the House of Commons it contained a clause authorizing School Boards to grant assistance out of the rates to denominational schools, but owing to the strong opposition which it provoked, this clause had to be withdrawn. In order, however, to pacify the supporters of the denominational system, Mr. Gladstone promised that the Privy Council grants to these schools should be augmented, and that the increase would probably amount to 50 per cent. In consequence of this policy the great body of the Nonconformists were alienated from the Government, of which they had hitherto been the main support, and they denounced Mr. Forster's Bill as, in the words of Mr. Bright, 'a Bill for encouraging denominational education.' But the measure, though imperfect in not a few of its details, and open to serious objections even in regard to its principles, has nevertheless been productive of most beneficial results.

It is singular that almost all the reforms carried out by Mr. Gladstone's Government had the effect of weakening its strength and swelling the ranks of its enemies. The course adopted by the Government with respect to the organization of the army and the abolition of the system of purchase of officers' commissions excited strong dissatisfaction, not only in the whole Conservative party, but among a considerable number of stanch Liberals. This system began in the year 1683. Ten years later it was prohibited by William III., but in 1702 the purchase of a commission in the army was recognized by the Court of Chancery as a legal transaction. Various restrictions were from time to time imposed upon the sale of commissions, and ultimately a fixed scale of prices was arranged and sanctioned by the Horse Guards. The real price of a commission, however, greatly exceeded the regulation and legal price, and very large sums of money were often paid for commissions in favourite regiments. The abolition of the purchase system had been advocated from time to time by army reformers. But the system was cordially approved by the Duke of Wellington and other high authorities, who asserted that it was essential to the efficiency and almost to the existence of the army.

In 1871, however, Mr. Cardwell, the Secretary at War, brought forward a scheme for the reconstruction of the army, one important part of which was the abolition of the purchase system for officers' commissions, and the substitution of promotion according to merit. Reforms in the army, he declared, were impeded at every turn by the direct or indirect operation of purchase. The private interests affected by this proposal were to be dealt with not only justly but liberally, for the officers were to be compensated not merely for the legal value of their commissions, but for the excess of

prices beyond the regulation sum which they had paid in accordance with custom. Every effort was made by the Conservative party to obstruct the progress of the measure through the House of Commons. So obstinate was the resistance of the military members, that Sir Roundell Palmer said 'a course had been taken the like of which he never remembered. Other great measures affecting great interests had been opposed without the minority endeavouring to baffle the majority by mere consumption of time. Conduct like that followed in the present instance was neither in the interest of the country, of the army, nor of Conservative principles.' These obstructive proceedings were so far successful that after four months of discussion Mr. Cardwell informed the House that in consequence of the prolonged and obstinate resistance to the Bill, which, as Mr. Gladstone subsequently said, threatened to make legislation physically impossible, the Government found that it would be impracticable to carry through the scheme of army reorganization which they had introduced, and that they would only insist on the purchase clauses and the transfer of power over the militia and volunteers from the Lords Lieutenants to the Crown. The Bill thus altered and limited was read a third time in the House of Commons (3rd July, 1871), and was immediately sent up to the Lords. The strenuous resistance to the measure in the Lower House encouraged the Lords to oppose even the limited scheme, and at a meeting of the Conservative peers, held the morning before the second reading of the Bill was moved, it was resolved that it should be rejected. The Duke of Richmond, a highly respectable nobleman, of moderate abilities but of good position, was put forward to move an amendment declaring that the House of Lords was unwilling to pass the second reading until a comprehensive plan of army reorganization should have been laid before it. The discussion was conducted on both sides with great ability, and not only the leading Conservative peers, but influential Liberals like Lord Dalhousie and Lord Grey, argued strongly against the abolition of purchase. Lord Sandhurst, however, a high military authority, warmly supported the scheme of the Government. He did not believe, he said, that the moral influence of a commanding officer could be maintained over a thousand men while they knew that his power to command was being put up to auction, and they sold like a flock of sheep. After a discussion, which lasted two days, and was characterized by great bitterness and vindictive feeling, the Government were defeated by a majority of twenty-five, composed entirely of Scottish and Irish peers who had been virtually nominated in a body by the Conservative leaders.

Mr. Gladstone, however, was not inclined to acquiesce in this decision, and he now adopted a course which led to a keen and bitter controversy. Affirming that the system of purchase was created by a royal warrant, he announced to the House of Commons that he had advised Her Majesty to issue a new warrant, declaring that all regulations made by her or by any of her predecessors regulating or fixing the prices at which commissions might be bought, or in any way authorizing the purchase or sale of such commissions, shall be cancelled. Admission to the rank of an officer was henceforth, in the great majority of cases, to depend on open competition, but two or three supplementary modes were provided, and the Brigade of Guards was not affected by the warrant. Promotion up to the rank of major was, as a rule, to be determined by seniority, and in the higher ranks by selection. This remarkable stroke of policy excited great astonishment, and was at first hailed with exultation by the Liberal party as a signal triumph over the Upper House. But on reflection this feeling greatly abated, and not a few of the leading Liberal journals expressed their disapproval of the new warrant. Mr. Disraeli denounced it as 'part of an avowed and shameful conspiracy against the undoubted privileges of the other House of Parliament.' The legality

of this exercise of the royal prerogative was unquestionable, but the propriety of the course which Mr. Gladstone had taken to bring the discussion respecting the abolition of purchase in the army to a close was regarded by influential Liberals as unfair to the House of Lords, and not worthy of the Ministry or of the principles which they professed. Sir Roundell Palmer, whose great legal knowledge and reputation for candour and impartiality entitled his opinion to peculiar weight, while expressing his conviction that the issuing of the warrant was within the constitutional power of the Crown, added (which was really a disapproval of the course taken by the Government), 'I should have been glad if it had been generally and clearly understood from the beginning that, subject to the sense of Parliament being ascertained with reference to the point of compensation, the form of procedure would be that which was eventually adopted, because it is certainly an evil that the adoption of one constitutional mode of procedure rather than another should appear to arise from an adverse vote of the House of Lords.'

The Peers were placed in a dilemma. If they had rejected the Bill after the warrant abolishing purchase was issued they would have deprived the officers who had bought their commissions of all compensation. They consequently felt that they had no alternative but to pass the measure which they had previously resolved to postpone; but they determined at the same time to pass a vote of censure on the Ministry for the manner in which they had contrived to abolish the purchase system. When, therefore, the second reading of the Bill was moved on July 31, the Duke of Richmond proposed to add the following words:—

'That this House, in assenting to the second reading of this Bill, desires to express its opinion that the interposition of the Executive during the progress of a measure submitted to Parliament by Her Majesty's Government in order to attain by the exercise of the prerogative, and without the aid of Parliament, the principal object included in that measure, is calculated to depreciate and neutralize the independent action of the Legislature, and is strongly to be condemned; and that this House assents to the second reading of this Bill only in order to secure the officers of Her Majesty's army compensation to which they are entitled consequent on the abolition of purchase in the army.'

The motion of the Duke, after a keen debate, in which Earl Russell and several other Liberal Peers took part against the Government, was carried by a majority of eighty. Lord Derby, who had strenuously supported the abolition of purchase, 'heartily joined in the vote of censure.' 'The resolution,' he said, 'might not produce a political change, but it would place on record their opinion that astuteness was not statesmanship, and that smart practice did not pay in the long run.'

The abolition of the system of purchase, and the principle of promotion in the army by merit, have been productive of most beneficial results, and are now regarded with general approbation; but at the time this reform was very injurious to Mr. Gladstone's Ministry, and raised up a host of enemies who eagerly sought their overthrow. Thoughtful men of all parties concurred in the opinion expressed by M. Eugène Dufeuille:—

'There springs from this affair two charges against Mr. Gladstone. First, a want of knowledge and a want of respect for the Upper House, if he submitted without consideration to the opinion of the Lords a question with which they were not competent to deal; and second, a violation of the Constitution, if, as we are inclined to think, he has withdrawn from the authority of the Lords a question on which they were entitled to decide.'

The abolition of the system of purchase in the army was not the only question that arose at this time to trouble and injure Mr. Gladstone's Government. The United States began to press for a settlement of the *Alabama* claims. These claims were first presented by the American Minister, Mr. Adams, to Earl Russell in 1862; but the Premier and Foreign Secretary steadfastly

disclaimed responsibility for the acts of the *Alabama*, and refused to entertain the proposal for arbitration on this subject. When Lord Derby's Ministry came into power in 1866 negotiations were commenced afresh, and Lord Stanley expressed the readiness of the British Government to refer the *Alabama* claims to arbitration if the two Governments could agree upon the questions to be submitted to the arbiters. Mr. Seward, however, now contended that the arbitration should include the question whether Britain was justified in recognizing the Confederate States as belligerents. Lord Stanley absolutely refused to make this question the subject of any arbitration whatever, and the negotiations again fell to the ground.

The question was taken up for the third time on the arrival in this country of Mr. Reverdy Johnston, as the representative of the United States in London. Negotiations were continued after Lord Derby's Government went out of office in 1868, and a convention, which made several concessions to the American demand, was concluded under the auspices of Lord Clarendon in 1870. The Senate of the United States, however, rejected this convention, and Mr. Reverdy Johnston resigned his office. In 1871 the British Government proposed that a commission should be appointed to settle a dispute with the Americans respecting the Canadian fisheries, and Mr. Fish, the United States Secretary, suggested that the *Alabama* claims should be referred to the same body of diplomatists. The British Government gave their assent to this proposal, and sent out to Washington a commission, headed by Earl de Grey, to meet with a body of American commissioners, and to arrange all the various subjects of dispute unsettled between England and the United States. The Dominion of Canada was represented by Sir John A. Macdonald. After a long series of meetings the commissioners agreed on a basis of arbitration, which was embodied in the Treaty of Washington. It opened with an apology for the escape of the *Alabama*, which was vehemently denounced as uncalled for and humiliating. 'Her Britannic Majesty,' it was said, 'has authorized her high commissioners and plenipotentiaries to express in a friendly spirit the regret felt by Her Majesty's Government for the escape, under whatever circumstances, of the *Alabama* and other vessels from British ports, and for the depredations committed by these vessels.' An acknowledgment at the outset of this unusual kind indicated very clearly the spirit in which the arbitration was to be carried out. Three rules were laid down by the treaty for the guidance of the arbitrators. These were—

> 'A neutral Government is bound, first, to use due diligence to prevent the fitting out, arming, or equipping within its jurisdiction, of any vessel which it has reasonable ground to believe is intended to cruise or to carry on war against a power with which it is at peace, and also to use like diligence to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel which it has reasonable ground to believe is intended to cruise or carry on war as above, such vessel having been specially adapted, in whatever port within such jurisdiction, to warlike use. Secondly, not to permit or suffer either belligerent to make use of its ports or waters as the base of naval operations against the other, or for the purpose of the renewal or augmentation of military supplies, or arms, or the recruitment of men. Thirdly, to exercise due diligence in its own ports and waters, and as to all persons within its jurisdiction, to prevent any violation of the foregoing obligations and duties.'

The British Commissioners declared that their Government could not assent to these rules as 'a statement of principles of international law which were in force at the time when the claims arose,' yet, 'in order to evince its desire of strengthening the friendly relations between the two countries and of making satisfactory provision for the future,' it agreed that the arbitrators should act on these principles in deciding the *Alabama* claims. It was added that 'the high contracting parties agree to observe these rules between themselves in future, and to bring them to the knowledge of other maritime powers, and to invite them

to accede to them.' The settlement of the *Alabama* claims was to be intrusted to a body of five arbitrators, one to be appointed by Queen Victoria, one by the President of the United States, and the other three respectively by the King of Italy, the President of the Swiss Confederation, and the Emperor of Brazil. The arbitrators were to meet at Geneva, and were to decide by a majority the questions submitted to them. The question of the northern boundary between the British North American territories and the United States was referred to the arbitration of the Emperor of Germany. The Fishery question, which related to the reciprocal rights of British and American subjects to fish on each other's coasts, was to be settled by a Commission to meet at Halifax, Nova Scotia.

The conciliatory spirit displayed by the British Government seems to have emboldened the American President and his Cabinet to put forward what were called indirect claims, which had very nearly caused the treaty to be broken off. They insisted that they had a right to receive compensation for the indirect losses arising out of the cruise of the *Alabama* and the other Confederate vessels. In other words, they called upon the arbitrators to declare that Britain ought to reimburse the United States for all the expenses incurred by the prolongation of the war after the battle of Gettysburg. This monstrous demand, which even Mr. Bright protested against as insufferable, excited strong indignation among the British people of all classes and parties. To make the matter worse, it was subsequently admitted by President Grant that the demand was not honestly preferred. He never believed in the indirect claims, he said. He did not think they would do any good. He 'knew that England would not consider them.' They were put forward to conciliate Mr. Sumner, whose fanatical hatred of our country was such that he insisted that the first condition of peace with Britain should be the withdrawal of her flag from the North American continent. 'But neither Mr. Fish nor myself,' said President Grant, 'expected any good from the presentation. It really did harm to the treaty, by putting our Government and those in England who were our friends in a false position. It was a mistake, though well intended. It is a mistake even to say more than you mean, and as we never meant the indirect claims we should not have presented them, even to please Mr. Sumner.' The claim was undoubtedly a serious mistake. It was simply dishonest, according to President Grant's own admission, and was therefore a blunder which Talleyrand said was worse than a crime; but it was unfortunately only too much in keeping with the habitual tactics of American politicians. The Government of the United States were fain to withdraw the obnoxious demands, and the Genevan arbitrators spontaneously declared that these indirect claims were invalid and contrary to international law.

The five arbitrators who were named under the provisions of the Treaty of Washington were — Lord Chief-Justice Cockburn, appointed by Britain; Mr. Adams, by the United States; Count Frederick Sclopis, by Italy; M. Jacques Staempfli, by the Swiss Confederation; and Viscount D'Itajuba, by the Emperor of Brazil. They ultimately decided against Great Britain unanimously in the case of the *Alabama*, by a majority of four to one in the case of the *Florida*, and by a majority of three to two in the case of some acts of the *Shenandoah*. They dismissed all the other claims regarding the remaining vessels by a majority of three to two, and by a majority of four to one they awarded a gross sum of about three and a fourth millions to the United States in full of all claims, including interest. The result was indeed a foregone conclusion after the British Government consented that the arbitrators were to be guided by the principles laid down in the Treaty of Washington.

Sir Alexander Cockburn presented an exhaustive and eloquent protest against a

great part of the decision of the arbitrators. He argued the question in the most masterly manner, and he administered a well-merited rebuke to the railing accusations and the offensive and intolerable personalities of the American pleadings. The papers which they submitted to the arbitrators abounded in coarse and scurrilous invectives, which, if they had occurred in official despatches, would have led to a suspension of diplomatic relations. The American counsel and delegate had even the baseness to cast foul aspersions on the honesty and sincerity of Earl Russell. No man ever gives credit to another for higher motives than those by which he is himself actuated, and the low tone of morality which has long characterized American politicians, both Republicans and Democrats, makes it no matter of surprise that Messrs. Adam, Cushing, and Evarts should have had the audacity to call in question the integrity, the truthfulness, and straightforwardness which throughout Earl Russell's long career characterized both his public and private conduct. It is a significant indication of the low standard of morality among the American statesmen that, after satisfying to the utmost every claim made in connection with the acts of the *Alabama* and other Confederate privateers, they find in their hands more than two millions of the money received from the British Government for which no legitimate claim can be made.

The question as to the ownership of the small island of San Juan, near Vancouver Island, which had remained unsettled since the Oregon Treaty, was referred to the Emperor of Germany. He decided in favour of the American claim, and the island was evacuated by Britain, in consequence of the award, at the close of November, 1873.

The permanent opinion in our country respecting the Washington Treaty is that the policy which accepted it was honourable and judicious. It averted all danger of a fratricidal war and its dreadful consequences, and left our kindred in America without ground for complaint. But at the time the treaty was regarded as an 'enormous concession to the United States,' from which we had derived no advantage to ourselves. The Government, it was said, had made uncalled-for sacrifices to conciliate the Americans, who had invariably overreached us in all our negotiations and treaties.

'From first to last the proceedings of our Government seem to have been little more than a registration of the terms on which the American Government was willing to receive the submission of this country. If the Government of Mr. Gladstone had cared to maintain any decent show of insisting that the negotiations should be conducted on a system of reciprocity, they would have firmly persevered in requiring that arrangements should be made for obtaining an arbitration on our claims in respect of Fenian raids on Canada. Whatever complaints the Americans can make against us for having shown unfriendly negligence in letting the *Alabama* escape, we might bring complaints against them of an unfriendliness tenfold greater shown in repeatedly permitting the organization within their territory of regular military expeditions designed to make war upon the king's dominions. But the Fenian raid claims were given up by our Government for no better reason than because the American people were said to be resolved never to listen to these claims. The American people seem to be regarded by Mr. Gladstone's Government with mingled emotions of fear and anxiety to please, which combine to render its claims tremulous in their diffidence, its concessions servile in their eagerness.'

Accusations such as these, which were not wholly unfounded, sank deep into the public mind, and contributed not a little to diminish the popularity of the Government. Various other incidents occurred which all tended towards the same result. The Premier was accused of worrying all classes and harassing all the important interests in the country by his uncalled-for reforms; and the powerful 'liquor interest' especially became the deadly enemies of the Government, on account of a measure brought forward by the Home Secretary for increasing the penalties inflicted for drunkenness, and for shortening the hours during which public-houses might be kept

open both on Sundays and week days. An agitation which sprang up among the agricultural labourers for higher wages and better treatment greatly alarmed both the landlords and the farmers, who somehow seemed to have imagined that it arose out of Mr. Gladstone's reforming schemes. The measures which had been passed for the settlement of the Irish Church and land had utterly failed to secure the loyalty and gratitude of the Irish people. They were indeed followed by a renewal of agrarian crimes, more open defiance on the part of the Roman Catholic clergy, and by a clamorous demand for the establishment of Home Rule. In England, while the portentous rapidity with which Mr. Gladstone pressed on reforms in every department alarmed the thoughtful and moderate section of his followers, the extreme Radicals were complaining that he was advancing too slowly towards the end which they wished to attain. The English Nonconformists had been alienated by the Education Act; and the people of Scotland, though they had obtained one good measure—the reform and extension of their national system of education—complained that the interests of their country were almost wholly neglected. Some members of the Government, who took a foolish pleasure in parading with cynical contempt of public opinion sentiments the most opposed to the feelings of the people, contributed not a little by their personal administrative unpopularity to the decadence of the Ministry. The mean parsimony of the Treasury, which habitually treated every other department of the State as if it was conspiring to defraud the country, excited alternate ridicule and indignation. The supercilious and churlish tone of the subordinates in several of the departments towards the general public, and the open hostility of the permanent officials of the Treasury towards all the others, had become so notorious as to become a stock subject in the comic papers, and even in theatrical burlesques. To such a height had this spirit of discord risen that Mr. Gladstone found it necessary to assume the Chancellorship of the Exchequer in addition to his other duties, for the purpose of improving the state of matters at the Treasury. To crown all, those same individuals whose conduct contributed so much to render their superiors unpopular were themselves almost all hostile to the existing Government and extremely desirous of a change. It must be admitted that Mr. Gladstone himself was somewhat to blame for this unsatisfactory state of affairs. He never could be brought to comprehend the objections which his party not unfrequently entertained towards the details of his measures—sometimes to their apprehended results—and had little or no forbearance with the notions, the crotchets, and prejudices of the rank and file of his followers. He could not understand how men professing to hold Liberal principles should entertain any objection either to his policy or to the purposes it was intended to serve. And as the road which he had selected always seemed to him to be not only the shortest, but the best fitted to reach the desired goal, he had no patience either with loiterers or reluctant travellers, and was prone to combat rather than to conciliate opposition. Add to these defects his habitual neglect of what may be called the smaller arts of party management, and it will not be difficult to account for the fact that 'under his guidance the machine creaked and groaned, and seemed to work under a painful stress.'

While the Government was thus steadily losing ground in the country, Mr Gladstone precipitated its ruin by an ill-judged attempt to remodel the system of university education in Ireland. He had long cherished a project of this kind. In 1866 he intimated the intention of Lord Russell's Government to alter the constitution of the Queen's University, but finding that the proposal was about to meet with determined opposition, he gave a pledge that it would not be carried into effect until the House of Commons had ample time to consider

and pronounce an opinion upon the subject. But after the resignation of the Ministry had been accepted by the Queen, and they were holding office only until their successors were appointed, they issued what they called 'a supplementary charter,' which completely subverted the constitution of the Queen's University, rearranged the Board of Management to meet the views of the Ultramontane party, and 'affiliated' Maynooth and the Roman Catholic University in Dublin with the Queen's Colleges under this new Senate. The Supreme Court in Dublin, however, pronounced the supplementary charter illegal, and the attempt to alter the constitution of the university was thus frustrated. Undeterred by the failure of their predecessors in office, the Conservative Government entered into negotiations with the Roman Catholic hierarchy for a charter and an annual grant from the public funds to the university, which had been established in Dublin by a papal rescript; but the exorbitant demands of the bishops, and the threatened opposition of a large body both of Liberals and Conservatives, compelled the Ministry to lay the scheme aside.

The disestablishment of the Irish Church might have been expected to put an end to Mr. Gladstone's schemes for the subversion of the undenominational system of University education in Ireland, but this proved not to be the case. He resisted Mr. Fawcet's motion for liberalizing Trinity College, Dublin, on the ground that it would not satisfy the demands of the Roman Catholics, and he made it known that he was still bent on carrying out his favourite scheme of including the Queen's Colleges, Trinity College, Dublin, and the various Romish seminaries in Ireland, in one body placed under the government of a University Board, in which should be vested the exclusive authority to examine candidates and confer degrees. It was not, however, until 1873 that Mr. Gladstone had an opportunity of laying his scheme before Parliament. During the interval the Government were repeatedly warned of the danger they would incur if they should venture to bring forward such a project. Since the Episcopal Church in Ireland had been deprived of its endowments, which had been devoted to teaching Protestantism in churches, it was extremely improbable that the people of Great Britain would consent to grant endowments to the Romish Church for teaching Popery in colleges, and at the same time indoctrinating its pupils with the notion that science is identical with infidelity, freedom with anarchy, and that civilization and human progress are hostile to the highest interests of humanity. Scotland with one voice forbade the adoption of such a system; all true English Liberals forbade it; all that is free and independent in Ireland forbade it; and it was certain that no support would be given to it by the Conservatives, who would, without doubt, avail themselves of the opportunity to overthrow the Ministry. This state of feeling was brought under the notice of the Premier, and he was assured that in the opinion of the most sagacious and steadfast friends of the Government, if he should renew his attempt to tamper with the national colleges in the hope of conciliating the Romish priesthood, he would assuredly make shipwreck of his Administration and seriously deteriorate his personal influence.

The warning, however, was disregarded. On the 14th of February, 1873, Mr. Gladstone submitted his long-projected scheme to the House of Commons. Ireland had at this time two Universities—that of Trinity College, Dublin, which had always been under Protestant management, though its classes were open to Roman Catholic students, and the Queen's University, instituted in connection with the four Queen's Colleges for secular instruction, in which the professorships and benefits of every kind were open to persons of all denominations. At the outset the Roman Catholic bishops expressed their cordial approval of this system, but on the introduction of the

Ultramontane policy into Ireland the colleges were placed under the ban of the hierarchy. Ireland, it was said, 'has a right to Catholic education, which is indispensably necessary for the faith and morals of the Catholic people.' The avowed object of the priests was to bring about the overthrow of the National System, and to replace it with 'a system of education Catholic in all its branches—primary, intermediate, and university'—in which the managers, teachers, inspectors, books, 'practices of piety,' and symbols shall be exclusively Catholic—all, of course, maintained by grants from the Treasury. Instead, therefore, of attempting to affiliate the Roman Catholic seminaries to the Queen's University, they demanded a charter for the Dublin University, and liberal grants of public money to augment the salaries of the professors, to provide bursaries for the students, to purchase books for the college libraries, and a scientific apparatus for the class-rooms. Mr. Gladstone was quite well aware that his scheme would meet with the most determined opposition from the Irish Protestants and the English and Scottish Nonconformists, to whom the endowment of Popery in the college is quite as obnoxious as the endowment of Popery in the church. He could not have expected any material support from the Conservatives, and he must have known that it was doubtful whether the Romish bishops would consent to accept his proposals as an instalment of their claims; but he nevertheless persisted in pressing his scheme on the Legislature and the country.

He proposed to create one central university for Ireland, and to make it both a teaching and an examining body. Trinity College, the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Belfast, and the Dublin Roman Catholic University were to be affiliated with the new university. The Queen's College at Galway was to be abolished. The theological faculty of Trinity College was to be transferred to the disestablished Church of Ireland. Moral philosophy and modern history were not to be taught in the new university. The governing body of the university was to be composed, in the first instance, of twenty-eight members nominated by the crown, and included in the Act. Provision was made for filling up vacancies, and in addition to the ordinary members, one or two members of council were to be elected by the affiliated colleges, according to the number of pupils in each college. A portion of the revenues of Trinity College was to be appropriated to the support of the new institution, which was also to obtain a grant from the consolidated fund and a share of the surplus of the endowments of the disestablished Irish Church.

It soon appeared that the warning Mr. Gladstone had received as to the unfriendly reception which his scheme would meet with had been greatly understated. The opposition of the Irish Protestants, the Nonconformists, the Senatus of the Dublin University, and the friends of the higher education in Ireland might have been expected, but 'the unkindest cut of all' was the hostility of the Irish Roman Catholic members, whose votes against the Government showed the truth of what has been often said of them, that consistency, gratitude, or regard for the interests of their country, and for their professed political principles, are but as dust in the balance when set against the dictates of the Vatican and the promotion of the Papal policy. No Prime Minister that had ever presided over the Government of this country had ever done half as much to redress their grievances and to obtain for them entire equality with other sects as Mr. Gladstone had done. He had perilled office, power, and even reputation in the cause of the Irish Romanists. And yet now in his hour of need, at a time when he had put all at stake to do them service, they deliberately joined the ranks of his enemies because he refused to comply with demands unreasonable in themselves, and which it was out of his power to grant.

The defection of the Irish members

caused the rejection of the University Bill by a majority of three—287 having voted against the second reading, 284 for it—but no power or skill could have forced that measure through Parliament. The members who voted for it gave it their support merely to save the Government from defeat, with the confident expectation that it would be immediately thrown aside. The blow was fatal to the stability and prestige, though not immediately to the existence, of the Ministry. Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues tendered their resignation, and the Queen sent for Mr. Disraeli, but he wisely declined to accept office at that juncture. He had experienced the humiliation endured by a Minister who holds office without power to carry out his policy, and he resolved to wait until the tide which had set in against the Government should have reached its height. Mr. Gladstone, though anxious to get free from the responsibilities of office, was obliged to return to his place and to carry on the administration of affairs as he best could with diminished power and discredited influence. He was still, however, supported by a large majority in the House of Commons, though now reduced in number and still more in unanimity and cordiality of action.

During the autumn the Premier made an attempt to give unity and strength to his Ministry by rearranging several offices. Mr. Monsell, who had renounced Protestantism, and whose presence in the Administration had been a source of weakness and distrust, was shelved with a peerage, and Mr. Lyon Playfair, who had opposed the University Bill, succeeded him in the office of Postmaster-General. Mr. Bruce was elevated to the Upper House, and made President of the Council in the room of the Marquis of Ripon. He was replaced at the Home Office by Mr. Lowe, whose administrative miscarriages and personal unpopularity had not been counterbalanced by any brilliant financial achievements. Mr. Gladstone, as we have seen, took upon himself the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer in addition to the duties of First Lord of the Treasury. Mr. Childers resigned the office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and was replaced by Mr. Bright, whose health had now been restored. These various changes, however, did not strengthen the public confidence in the Ministry, and seat after seat was lost to them at by-elections. The defeat of the Liberal candidate for a Gloucestershire borough, which had repeatedly oscillated between the two parties, at last proved too much for Mr. Gladstone's forbearance, and to the astonishment of his friends, of his opponents, and of his own colleagues, a fortnight before the day appointed for the opening of the session of 1874, he announced the immediate dissolution of Parliament. He at the same time, in a lengthened address to the electors of Greenwich, submitted to the constituencies an elaborate financial scheme for the abolition of the Income-tax and a contribution from the national revenue in aid of local rates. It was impossible to give a careful and deliberate consideration to such proposals in the midst of the din of a fiercely-contested election, and nothing has since been heard of them; but the precedent of including a budget in an election address is not likely to be repeated.

The rash and ill-advised step taken by Mr. Gladstone met with universal disapproval, and was followed by ruinous consequences to his Administration and his supporters. The Liberal party, taken quite at unawares, without organization or any definite object or measure round which they could rally, were totally unprepared for a struggle with a compact and well-drilled body of opponents. Divisions in their own ranks handed over a considerable number of seats to the Conservatives. Others were lost by the unpopularity of their candidates or by local questions. The result was, much to the general surprise, to sweep away completely the Liberal majority—to reverse the balance of power, and to send to the House of Commons a majority of fifty or sixty Conservatives. Mr. Gladstone

would have done well to have pondered the judicious remarks of Sir Robert Peel, in his 'Memoirs' (ii. 44)—'I was no advocate for frequent or abrupt dissolutions. I had more than once had occasion to express in Council my distrust in them as remedies for the weakness of a Government, constantly bearing in mind the remark of Lord Clarendon at the commencement of his "History of the Rebellion" upon the evil effects of an ill-considered exercise of this branch of the prerogative. "No man," says he, "can show me a source from whence these waters of bitterness we now taste have more probably flowed than from these unreasonable, unskilful, and precipitate dissolutions of Parliament." And again—"The passion and distemper gotten and received into Parliament cannot be removed and reformed by the mere passionate breaking and dissolving of it."' 'The step taken by the Government,' it was justly said, 'was extremely analogous to the false tactical operation of the Emperor Napoleon and Marshal MacMahon when they resolved, in presence of a powerful invasion, to make a flank movement to the north-east of France instead of concentrating their forces and awaiting an attack, war having been declared with a very imperfect knowledge of the relative strength of the belligerents. The result in both instances was the loss not only of a battle but of an army.' In the hour of their unpopularity it seemed to be forgotten that Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues had been the successful authors of five or six measures of first-rate legislative importance—the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, the Irish Land Act, the Abolition of Purchase in the Army, the Education Act, the Judicature Act, and the Ballot Act. They left the country at peace and in a state of great prosperity, and handed over to their successors a surplus of several millions in the Treasury.

On the conclusion of the elections Mr. Gladstone at once resigned office, and a new Administration was formed, with Mr. Disraeli as Prime Minister. Lord Cairns became Lord Chancellor, and Earl Derby was made Foreign Secretary. The charge of the Indian Department was intrusted to the Marquis of Salisbury, Lord Carnarvon was appointed Colonial Secretary, Sir Stafford Northcote, who had at one time been Private Secretary to Mr. Gladstone, became Chancellor of the Exchequer. Somewhat to the surprise of the public, Mr. Cross, a Lancashire lawyer, who was new to office, was elevated to the position of Home Secretary, Mr. Gathorne Hardy was made Secretary for War, and Mr. Ward Hunt First Lord of the Admiralty. The Duke of Richmond, a cautious and inoffensive nobleman, of moderate abilities but sadly deficient in firmness, became Lord President of the Council and leader of the Government in the House of Lords.

Mr. Disraeli had already filled three parts—those of a political Free Lance, a leader of an Opposition, and the leader of a Ministry supported by a minority in the House of Commons. He had now to fill the part of a Minister supported by a large and docile majority in both Houses of Parliament, enjoying at the same time the cordial good-will of the Crown and the Court. He had conducted the affairs of his party in Opposition with consummate ability and tact, and had shown himself a master of all the arts of political strategy and warfare; but with all these advantages at his command, and supported by able and experienced colleagues, the business of Parliament under his management fell into a state of great confusion. He occupied himself chiefly with foreign affairs, and with what he regarded as an Imperial policy. Domestic matters were for the most part left to the heads of departments, whose measures were not regarded with much favour by the public, or in some cases even by their own party, and had to be withdrawn. But these questions can scarcely as yet be said to belong to the domain of history, and to discuss them is like walking over the ashes of hidden fires.

CHAPTER XV.

Policy of the new Government—The Slave Circular—The Suez Canal—State of Turkey, Servia, and Montenegro—Insurrection in Herzegovina—The Berlin Memorandum—The Bulgarian Atrocities—Agitation in Britain—Russian Intrigues—Declaration of War by Servia—Pledge given by the Czar—Conference at Constantinople—Rejection of its Proposals by the Porte—War proclaimed by Russia—Progress of the War in Armenia and on the Danube—Turkish Disasters retrieved at the close of the Campaign—The Shipka Pass—Position at Plevna—Failure of Russian Attacks upon it—Change of Tactics—Surrender of Osman Pasha—Turkish Defeats in Armenia—Capture of Kars—Evacuation of Erzeroum—Action of the British Ministry—The Fleet sent to the Dardanelles—Submission of the Porte—Treaty of San Stefano—Proceedings of the British Ministry—Resignation of Lord Derby—The Berlin Congress—Its Results—Secret Agreement between Britain and Turkey—Cession of Cyprus to Britain—State of Feeling in the Country—Death and Character of Earl Russell.

It soon became evident that the new Prime Minister did not intend to devote much attention to questions of domestic legislation, but that he had resolved to carry out, on a great scale, measures for extending the influence of Britain on the Continent and in Asia. The first step taken by the Government, however, brought upon them no small odium. An elaborate circular on Fugitive Slaves was issued, which directed commanders of the Queen's ships not only to refuse an asylum to slaves in foreign waters, but to surrender, on their return to port, fugitives who might have come on board on the high seas. This unfortunate document, which apparently implied that an English man-of-war was subject to foreign jurisdiction, and flagrantly disregarded the national antipathy to slavery, was denounced by the whole community, and after a futile attempt to amend it, had to be withdrawn.

The purchase of the shares which the Khedive of Egypt held in the Suez Canal, for £4,000,000 sterling, was a much more successful stroke of policy, and took everyone by surprise. It was at once received with loud and general approbation, though the Liberal leaders objected both to the purchase and to the mode in which it was completed. But though the public enthusiasm on the subject speedily subsided, and at one time considerable dissatisfaction was expressed respecting the result of the transaction, it has come to be generally regarded as a well-timed and judicious stroke of policy for the protection of British interests in the management of a canal which now forms the highway to India. Mr. Disraeli and one or two of his colleagues, however, chose to represent the purchase as part of a grand scheme for the aggrandizement of British power and prestige in the East. The addition of Empress of India to the titles of the Queen was alleged to have a similar intention, but public feeling ran so strong against the assumption of this tinsel designation, that a provision had to be put into the Act against its use in the United Kingdom.

The Eastern question had for some time been apparently at rest, but it now became evident that it was about to be revived. The Crimean War had afforded a breathing time for Turkey for her much-needed political and social reforms, but she had not availed herself of the favourable opportunity. The large sums of money which she had borrowed from British capitalists had been squandered in extravagance and vicious indulgences. The populations in the various provinces misgoverned by the Porte had repeatedly risen in insurrection against their oppressors, and had been put down with the most shocking cruelty. The 'Sick Man's' condition seemed more hopeless than ever, and the vultures were once more preparing to devour the carcase. 'Russia,' as Lord Palmerston said, 'has always, from the time of Peter the Great,

systematically laboured without any deviation to realize the scheme of the conquest of Turkey. When checked in her advance she draws back, but only to take advantage of the first favourable opportunity.' She was now showing that she still cherished her old schemes for the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire, and was making rapid strides towards regaining the position which she had occupied before the Crimean War. Province after province was escaping from the Turkish yoke. Servia had become virtually independent, and the Danubian Principalities had been formed into the sovereign state of Roumelia under Prince Charles of Hohenzollern. Bosnia and Herzegovina seemed about to follow a similar course. An insurrection broke out in the latter, which was caused by the oppression of the officials who ruled the province and their underlings who collected the taxes, but there can be little doubt that it was fomented by foreign emissaries. The peasantry complained that though the harvest had been a failure the taxes had been greatly increased, and had been collected with gross unfairness; that Christians were made to undergo forced labour on the public roads; that their horses were used for the service of the army; that the Agas were tyrannical, the courts corrupt, and property, life, and honour insecure.

The Porte, quite unable to suppress the insurrection, appealed to the British Government and to Servia and Montenegro to use their influence to induce Austria to prevent assistance being given to the insurgents across the Austrian frontier, but nothing effectual was done. Meanwhile the insurrection continued to spread, and Count Andrassy, the Austrian Minister, drew up a Note (30th December, 1875), signed by Austria, Germany, and Russia, urging the Porte to carry into effect the promises of reform which he had repeatedly made, and to redress the grievances of which the Christians complained, and intimating that if this were not done the Governments of Servia and Montenegro would be compelled by their people to give assistance to the insurgents against the Turkish rule. The only means of preventing the threatened civil war was to compel the Porte to remedy the gross abuses which had made its subjects rise in arms. France and Italy expressed their readiness to join in this remonstrance, but the British Government were unwilling to entangle themselves in negotiations of this sort, and did not consent to take part in this remonstrance until requested by the Porte to join in the Note. The Ottoman Government expressed their satisfaction with the demands addressed to them, and their willingness to carry out the suggestions made by the combined Powers, but, as was no doubt foreseen, not a single step was taken to fulfil their promises.

The next step taken, on the suggestion of Russia, was to hold a meeting of the Ministers of Austria, Germany, and Russia at Berlin for the purpose of considering in what way Turkey should be compelled to carry their recommendations into effect. A memorandum was drawn up representing the necessity of carrying out these reforms, not only for the welfare of Turkey, but in order to avert the danger which threatened the peace of Europe. The British Government, however, declined to join in the Berlin Memorandum, and it had to be laid aside. At this juncture there was an outbreak on the part of the fanatical Mussulmans of Salonica, and the French and German Consuls were murdered. A revolution at the same time took place at Constantinople, and the Sultan Abdul Aziz was dethroned on the 30th of May; and on the 4th of June he committed suicide. His nephew Murad was made Sultan in his room, but after a reign of only three months he too was dethroned, having proved himself to be either insane or 'incapable of exercising any independent faculties,' and was succeeded by his brother Hamid.

The change of ruler produced no amelioration of the condition of the Christian

population under the misrule of the Porte. Bosnia and Bulgaria had for a considerable time been on the eve of a revolt. Their sufferings at the hands of the Turkish officials and the tax-gatherers had at length become intolerable, and the extortions of the Greek clergy had greatly aggravated the sufferings of the Christian peasantry. Foreign emissaries took advantage of their situation to induce them to take up arms against their oppressors; but it is doubtful whether, even if left to themselves, the Bosnians and Bulgarians could have much longer borne the galling yoke of their Mussulman tyrants and tax-gatherers. 'No considerations of honour, or religion, or humanity restrain these wretches,' says Mr. Evans. 'Having acquired the right to farm the taxes of a given district the Turkish officials and gendarmerie are bound to support them in wringing the utmost farthing out of the wretched taxpayers. . . . The insurrection in the Herzegovina has, on the whole, been directed more against the Mohammedan landowners than against the Sultan. It is mainly an agrarian war.' Dr. Brown says, 'It is an insurrection against the tithe-farmers; a civil war of classes, partaking of the character of a social war—a Jacquerie. The better the harvest is, the more industrious the peasant, the higher are the demands of the *multerim* (tax-farmers), and the less reaches the Treasury at Stamboul.'

Mr. Evans, an English gentleman who was travelling through the country at this juncture (August, 1875), making antiquarian researches, suddenly found himself in the very heart of a formidable insurrection. He says—

'It was on Sunday, August 15, that the peasants of that part of Bosnia who had been goaded to madness during the last few weeks by the exactions of the tax-gatherer (with whom this year the Government itself, unable to meet its creditors, had driven a harder bargain than usual) first took up arms. From the rapidity with which the revolt spread through Lower Bosnia there seems to have been a preconcerted movement. . . . The first movement took place near Banjaluka, where the rayah villagers rose on the extortioners and slew eight tax-gatherers. This was immediately followed by other risings, extending along the Possávina to the neighbourhood of Brood and Dervent. Several of the noted towns along this frontier were surprised, and their Turkish garrisons massacred. . . . The news of the outbreak quite bewildered the authorities at Serajevo. Bosnia was bereft of troops, for the Seraskier at Stamboul, disregarding the earnest warnings of the Vali, had persisted in withdrawing the regulars stationed in the province till hardly any were left, and of these every available man, except those absolutely necessary for garrison duty, had been despatched to the Herzegovina.

'Meanwhile the Mohammedan population of Lower Bosnia has taken the law into its own hands, and the authorities have been forced to look on and see the Mohammedan volunteers, the Bashi-Bazouks—not long ago suppressed for conduct too outrageous for even the worst of Governments to tolerate—spring once more into existence. Such were the ferocious warriors whose acquaintance we made at Travnik. They are, from what we hear, mere organized brigands, headed by irresponsible partisans, and at present are committing the wildest atrocities—cutting down women, children, and old men who come in their way, and burning the crops and homesteads of the rayah. That the defence of Bosnia should have fallen into the hands of such men is one of the most terrible features of the situation; and nothing can better show the abjectness of her present governors than that they have now consented to accept the services of these bandits.'

An insurrection took place in Bulgaria about the middle of April, which, however, was of no great extent. The insurgents were few in number, and were in no way formidable. The Bulgarian peasantry are an industrious quiet people, not at all given to violence, but they were induced by these foreign instigators to believe that they were about to be massacred by the Mussulmans; while, on the other hand, the ignorant and fanatical Mussulmans were persuaded that the Bulgarians were about to massacre them. Both parties were excited by terror, and a conflict ensued which reduced the country to a state of total anarchy. The Turkish Government, instead of sending regular troops to maintain order, let loose on the people the

Bashi-Bazouks, the very fiends of war. The most shocking crimes were committed by these savage barbarians. Christian villages were burned, a wholesale massacre of women and children was perpetrated with the most revolting circumstances, and atrocities were committed almost unparalleled in modern history. Mr. Disraeli, unfortunately for his own reputation, cynically made light of these atrocious deeds, affected to think that they were at the least greatly exaggerated, and were mere 'coffee-house babble.' This levity was most offensive to all right-thinking persons of both parties, and it was soon ascertained that the numbers who were said to have perished in the fray, though exaggerated, were still very large. A correspondent of the *Daily News*, who was on the spot, declared that the insurrection had been of trifling extent, while its suppression had been marked by enormities of the blackest dye, by massacres of unarmed populations, and by the most inhuman treatment of women and children. And Sir Henry Elliot, our Ambassador at Constantinople, admitted that the cruelties which had been perpetrated by the Bashi-Bazouks justified the indignation which they had called forth.

Mr. Baring, the British Consul who was sent to Adrianople to make inquiries and ascertain the truth, fully confirmed the worst statements of the *Daily News* correspondent. There could be no doubt, he said, that an insurrection had been planned, and that the schoolmasters and priests were the leading movers in it, especially the former, many of whom had been educated in Russia. The chronic discontent of the people had been naturally heightened by the failure of the promised reforms of Mahmoud Pasha, by the deaf ear turned by the Porte to petitions from Bulgaria, and by the heavy pressure of taxation.

'The foreign agitators, and those natives whom they had succeeded in seducing, seized upon this apparently favourable opportunity to strike a blow; the peasants were deluded into leaving their villages by being told that the Turks were going to massacre them, and the populations of the small towns were induced to take part in the insurrection by threats and by the most extravagant promises of foreign aid. The revolution was well planned, but miserably executed. . . . The insurgents put themselves in the wrong by killing defenceless Turks and committing other acts of insurrection, but the resistance they made when actually attacked was hardly worthy of the name. No sooner did the regular troops appear upon the scene than the insurrection was at an end. The Turks gained an easy victory, and abused it most shamefully, the innocent being made to suffer for the guilty in a manner too horrible to think of.'

In some places a wholesale massacre of the inhabitants took place without distinction of sex or age. Young women were carried off from different villages by the Bashi-Bazouks and kept in their harems. The prisoners were brutally ill-treated. They were marched to their destination heavily chained, and were pelted and insulted by the mob; five died on the road, and the remainder, several hundreds in number, were thrust into a loathsome den, where 'the stench became so fearful that the guards could not even sit in the anteroom, but had to stay in the street.'

The Turkish authorities tried to make it appear that the only deaths which had taken place were those of insurgents and Turkish soldiers who had fallen in open fight; but Mr. Baring and the *Daily News'* correspondent saw great heaps of the dead bodies of women and children piled up in places where there were no dead bodies of combatants, and they came to the conclusion that 'no fewer than 12,000 persons perished in the *sandjac* of Philippopoli.' The total number of Mussulmans killed was only 183. The case of Batak, Mr. Baring says, was 'the most fearful tragedy that happened during the whole insurrection:'—

'The Medjless of Tatar-Bazardjak, hearing that preparations for revolt were going on in this village, ordered Achmet Agha of Dospat to attack it. On arriving at the village he summoned the inhabitants to give up their arms, which, as they mistrusted him, they refused to do, and a desultory fight succeeded which lasted two days, hardly any loss being inflicted on either side. On 9th May the inhabitants, seeing that things were going

badly with them, and that no aid came from without, had a parley with Achmet, who solemnly swore that if they only gave up their arms not a hair of their heads should be touched. A certain number of the inhabitants, luckily for them, took advantage of this parley to make their escape. The villagers believed Achmet's oath, and surrendered their arms, but this demand was followed by one for all the money in the village, which of course had also to be acceded to. No sooner was the money given up than the Bashi-Bazouks set upon the people and slaughtered them like sheep. A large number of the people, probably about 1000 or 1200, took refuge in the church and churchyard, the latter being surrounded by a wall. The church itself is a solid building, and resisted all the attempts of the Bashi-Bazouks to burn it from the outside; they consequently fired in through the windows, and getting upon the roof tore off the tiles, and threw burning pieces of wood and rags dipped in petroleum among the mass of unhappy human beings inside. At last the door was forced in and the massacre completed, and the inside of the church burned. Hardly any escaped out of these fatal walls. The only survivor I could find was one old woman, who alone remained out of a family of seven.'

After giving a description of the shocking scene which he witnessed when he visited the place more than two months and a half after the massacre, the bodies all lying unburied, Mr. Baring says:—

'It is to be feared also that some of the richer villagers were subjected to cruel tortures before being put to death in hopes that they would reveal the existence of hidden treasure. Thus Petro Triandaphyllos and Popa Necio were roasted, and Stoyan Stoychoff had his ears, nose, hands, and feet cut off. Enough, I think, has been said to show that to Achmet Agha and his men belongs the distinction of having committed perhaps the most heinous crime that has stained the history of the present century, Nana Sahib alone, I should say, having rivalled their deeds. . . . For this exploit Achmet Agha has received the order of the Medjidie. . . . The Porte has given a powerful handle to its enemies and detractors by the way it has treated those who took an active part in the suppression of the insurrection. Those who have committed atrocities have been rewarded, while those who have endeavoured to protect the Christians from the fury of the Bashi-Bazouks and others have been passed over with contempt.'

The tidings of the Bulgarian outrages produced the most extraordinary excitement in Britain. As Mr. Bright remarked, it was an uprising of the whole nation against the Government which had employed the Bashi-Bazouks to massacre its subjects, and had condoned and rewarded their shocking deeds. The excitement was intensified by the information that Lord Derby had directed Sir Henry Elliot, our Ambassador at Constantinople, to lay the results of Mr. Baring's inquiry before the Sultan, and to demand the punishment of the offenders, but that no attention had been paid to the demand. Mr. Gladstone, who in the preceding year had formally abdicated the leadership of the Liberal party, emerged from his comparative retirement and his literary pursuits, and denounced in the House of Commons, at public meetings, and through the press the misrule and the crimes of the Turkish Government. He deprecated any attempt to prop up the Sultan's throne, and advocated the exclusion of the administration of the Porte from Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria. 'Let the Turks,' he said, 'now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner—viz. by carrying off themselves, their zaptiehs and their mudirs, their bimbashes and their yuzbashes, their kaimakims and their pashas; one and all, bag and baggage, shall I hope clear out from the province they have desolated and profaned.'

An agitation so impassioned could not long remain at fever-heat, and it speedily began to be moderated by the deep distrust of Russian policy which had long been entertained by the British people. They were reminded that in 1870 the Khedive of Egypt was urged by the emissaries of Russia to declare his independence and to make war upon the Porte, that in January, 1873, the Russian Ambassador declared in the most solemn official manner that it was so far from the intention of the Czar to take possession of Khiva, that positive orders had been sent to prevent it, or even a prolonged occupancy of it; and yet on August 24th of the same year a

treaty was signed between General Kaufmann and the Khan of Khiva by which the Khan acknowledged himself the humble servant of the Emperor of all the Russias, and renounced his commercial independence. The British people had not forgotten the manner in which the Russian Government had availed themselves of the crisis produced by the Franco-Germanic War to repudiate the obligations of the Treaty of Paris in a manner which struck at the root of all international obligations and good faith. It was pointed out that the very worst period of Turkish misrule was that during which the authority of General Ignatieff, the Russian Ambassador, was paramount at Constantinople; that he had never in any instance employed his influence to promote those reforms in favour of the Christian subjects of the Porte which Russia now declared to be absolutely necessary; that on the contrary he had aided, abetted, and encouraged the very worst acts of the Turkish Government for the purpose of rendering the Sultan's authority odious and intolerable, and inducing that wretched sovereign to throw himself upon Russian protection. It was generally believed that the insurrections in Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Herzegovina were instigated and fomented by Russian emissaries, and that General Ignatieff had dissuaded the Grand Vizier from sending regular troops to put down the insurrection at its commencement. The whole object, in short, of this insidious and immoral policy was, by dividing the councils of the European Powers, by encouraging internal insurrections in Turkey, and by lowering the credit and authority of the Porte both at home and abroad, to bring about the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire and the substitution of the power of Russia in its room.

The feeling thus excited, by no means without cause, contributed not a little to strengthen the Government, and to counterbalance the effect which had been produced by the atrocities perpetrated by Turkey. It speedily became evident that Mr. Disraeli (now elevated to the Upper House as Lord Beaconsfield) was resolved at all hazards to maintain Turkey as a barrier against Russia for the promotion of British interests. This policy was denounced by a large and most influential party in Parliament and in the country as selfish and immoral. Affairs had become more complicated by the declaration of war on the part of Servia and Montenegro against Turkey. It was well known that the sympathies of both principalities were in favour of the insurgents, but it was believed that without the permission of Austria and Russia they would not venture openly to aid them in the contest. Servia took the lead at the close of June, 1876. On leaving Belgrade to join his army on the frontier Prince Milan issued a proclamation to his people declaring that since the insurrection broke out in Bosnia and Herzegovina the situation of Servia had become intolerable. 'To remain longer in moderation would be intolerable.' A large number of Russian officers joined the Servians as volunteers, but they were completely outnumbered by the Turkish forces, and were defeated near Novi Bazar, in Bosnia, on the 6th of July, with considerable loss. They were again hopelessly beaten at Alexinotz, and by the beginning of September the contest was virtually at an end. They were saved from conquest, however, by the intervention of the Great Powers. 'Thanks to them, Servia lost no territory, had to pay no war indemnity, and their Prince did not give that personal token of submission which was so strenuously demanded by Turkish pride.' The Montenegrins, however, a race of hardy mountaineers, 'composing a band of heroes,' Mr. Gladstone said, 'such as the world has rarely seen,' stoutly maintained their ground against the Turks, but did not materially affect the issue of the war. An armistice was proposed by the British Government, but the Porte delayed, shuffled, and ultimately evaded the proposal till Russia intervened and insisted upon an imme-

diate armistice, which was then conceded for eight weeks.

The suspicion of Russia's underhand designs on Turkey, however, continued so strong that Lord Derby considered it necessary frankly to inform the Czar what was the prevailing feeling in England on the subject; and Alexander in reply (2nd of November) pledged his sacred word of honour that he had no intention of taking possession of Constantinople, and that if he were compelled by the pressure of events to occupy any part of Bulgaria it would only be provisionally, and until the safety of the Christian population should be secured. Lord Derby on this proposed a conference of the Great Powers, to be held at Constantinople, for the purpose of reconciling the conflicting claims of the various Turkish provinces with the preservation of the independence of the Ottoman Empire. The proposal was readily acceded to by the other European Powers, and it was arranged that Lord Salisbury and Sir Henry Elliot, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, were to attend as the British representatives.

Notwithstanding this agreement, on the 9th November, Lord Beaconsfield delivered a speech at the usual Ministerial banquet at the Guildhall, which was evidently intended as a menace to Russia. If the struggle should come, he said, England was better prepared for war than any other European country. 'In a righteous cause England is not the country that will have to inquire whether she can enter upon a second or a third campaign. In a righteous cause England will commence a fight that will not end until right is done.' There is reason to believe that a report of the British Premier's speech was at once transmitted by telegraph to Moscow, and next day the Czar delivered an address to the nobles at that ancient Russian capital, which was regarded as an answer to Lord Beaconsfield's challenge. If, he said, the other Powers would not unite with him in requiring from Turkey the guarantees which he thought necessary, he was resolved to act independently, and he was convinced that Russia would heartily support him in this course of action. War between Britain and Russia now seemed imminent, but happily the danger was averted.

The Conference met at Constantinople on the 23rd of December, and prepared a scheme of reforms and guarantees. The ministers of the Porte attempted to evade these demands by announcing that the Sultan had granted a constitution to Turkey, and that a Parliament was to be convened which would be composed of representatives of all the provinces of the Empire; and straightway salvoes of cannon were heard proclaiming the inauguration of this august assembly. The representatives of the European Powers, however, were not to be deceived by such a shallow device, and no more was heard of this Turkish Parliament. The proposals of the Conference were pressed upon the Sultan and his advisers, but were evaded or declined, and their counter proposals were declared to be inadmissible. The European delegates made modifications and concessions until their proposals were reduced to two—viz. an International Commission nominated by the six Powers without executive authority, and the appointment of Valis (governor-generals) by the Sultan for five years, with the approval of the guaranteeing Governments. These modified demands, however, were rejected by the Grand Council as 'contrary to the integrity, independence, and dignity of the Empire.' There can be little doubt that the Sultan and his ministers believed that the British Government would support them at the last extremity, and it was currently reported, and credited at the time, that the new British Ambassador, Sir H. C. Layard, encouraged the Turkish Government to refuse to comply with the demands of the Great Powers. The Conference in consequence broke up without having attained the objects for which it had met, and having failed to obtain any adequate

guarantees for the better government of the Christian population of Turkey.

After the failure of the Conference efforts were made, by means of circular notes, protocols, and confidential missions, to effect an arrangement of the question at issue, but without effect. A circular letter was issued by the Ottoman Government indicating the course they had pursued, and it was followed by a similar document from Russia addressed to her representatives at the several European courts, explaining her own policy, and commenting on the obstinate refusal of the Turkish Government to yield to the advice of the Great Powers. A protocol was signed by the ministers at London on the 31st March, 1877, declaring their resolution to watch carefully the manner in which the promises of the Porte were carried into effect, and intimating that 'if their hopes should once more be disappointed, and if the condition of the Christian subjects of the Sultan should not be improved in a manner to prevent the return of the complications which periodically disturbed the peace of the East, such a state of affairs would be incompatible with their interests and those of Europe in general.' Russia had long been making her preparations behind the scenes, and on April 24, 1877, without any ultimatum to Turkey or any concert with the other Powers, she formally declared war against the Porte. In taking this step the Czar said he was persuaded that he was fulfilling 'a duty imposed upon him by the interests of Russia,' and likewise that he was 'consulting at the same time the views and the interests of Europe.'

Lord Derby, in a plain and explicit despatch, dated May 1st, expressed to the Russian Government the deep regret of the British Ministry at the independent and unwarrantable course which Russia, leaving the European Concert, had suddenly adopted, and in conjunction with France the Ministry issued a proclamation enjoining strict neutrality in the impending war.

On 24th April, the very day on which the manifesto of the Czar appeared, the Russian forces crossed the frontier in Asia, and in Europe they crossed the Pruth, thus inaugurating simultaneously two distinct campaigns. On paper the invading army in Europe consisted of 350,000 men, but it is well known that the Russian Army Lists are greatly exaggerated, and about 100,000 must be struck off the list in order to obtain the correct number. The Roumanian auxiliary forces, however, amounted to at least 40,000 men. The army told off for the invasion of Armenia was alleged to be about 150,000, but was in all probability not more than 120,000. The Turkish forces are supposed to have been about the same in number. Considerable delay took place in the commencement of actual hostilities on the Danube, but the troops destined to invade Armenia were early in the field. Having been massed during the winter on the frontier of the Transcausian provinces, they invaded that country in three columns, all directed for Erzeroum. The supreme command was intrusted to the Grand-duke Michael, under whom was the real director, General Loris Melikoff, a native Armenian and an incompetent officer. At first everything seemed favourable to the operations of the invaders. The southern column captured the fortress of Bayazid with little difficulty. Sabri Pasha, the commander of Ardahan, with a carelessness or incompetence which is almost incredible, permitted the Russians to take possession of a hill which commanded the detached works. He then quitted the place, and the garrison threw down their arms and fled in confusion, leaving 112 cannons and other munitions of war, along with commissariat stores, to fall into the hands of the invaders. A Turkish army commanded by Mukhtar Pasha was attacked by the Russians led by General Melikoff, and after two days' fighting was driven under the guns of Kars. An attack on Batoum, the most important port on the eastern coast of the Black Sea, was, however, repulsed with

considerable loss, but on the whole a military critic described the position of the Turks in Asia Minor in the beginning of June as 'about as bad as it could be.'

At this juncture, however, the tide began to turn. The siege of Batoum was raised by Dervish Pasha. Mukhtar Pasha, with a veteran force, arrived in the vicinity of Erzeroum just in time to retrieve the disaster brought about by the incapable Mahmoud Pasha, who rashly attacked the Russian central column advancing on the Soghanli Dagh, and was defeated and killed in the battle. Kars was relieved and re-victualled. Towards the end of June the Russians were defeated with great slaughter at the decisive battle of Zewin, and by the middle of July were driven, in a series of disastrous conflicts, across the Soghanli Dagh. The southern column, under General Terjukassoff, met with the same fate. At the end of July Ardahan alone remained to the Russians of all their conquests. In the month of August Mukhtar Pasha inflicted a series of defeats on the invaders in which they suffered great loss, and assailed their intrenched camp at Kizil-tepek. In other quarters the Turks crossed the frontiers, driving the Russians before them, and even threatened Crivan and Gumri. Altogether the invasion of Asiatic Turkey this year proved a failure.

The campaign on the Danube began much later. The work of moving 250,000 men to the banks of that river tasked the Russian resources to the utmost. Jobbery and peculation had as usual been busy in the commissariat; the arrangements and accommodation of the Russian railways are so imperfect that it is sometimes more expeditious to march troops along the roads, though knee-deep in mud, than to trust them to the chance of being frozen or starved to death on the railways. The spring was late on the Lower Danube in 1877. The rain fell in torrents, and floods, greater than had been known in Roumania for years, inundated wide tracts of country on the northern bank of the river, and for a long time rendered the passage by an invading army impossible.

While the hostile armies were surveying each other from opposite sides of the river the Turks remained doggedly inactive in their fortresses, allowing the Russians to go on with their preparations, collecting boats, building pontoons, and constructing batteries, without molestation. Even the destruction of two of the Turkish monitors —the first by the blowing up of the powder magazine, the other by torpedos—failed to rouse them to activity. In the third week of June, while 120,000 Russian soldiers were passing quietly to the Bulgarian side of the Danube, Abd-el-Kerim, the Turkish Commander-in-chief, sat calmly in his tent maturing 'a plan' which, he informed the Sultan, 'would insure the total defeat of the enemy, not one of whom would ever return to his own country.'

The Russians were now pouring by thousands daily into Bulgaria, and the Turks continued so inactive that it was alleged that their leaders had been bribed by the enemy. On entering Bulgaria with his army the Czar addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants assuring them that he would secure 'the sacred rights of their nationality,' that all 'races and all denominations' would be equally treated, and order would be enforced. A pregnant commentary on these confident promises was afforded by the immediate appointment of a Russian governor of Bulgaria in the person of Prince Tcherkasky, one of the most execrable tyrants of Poland; and his first act was to begin the confiscation of the lands of the Mussulman proprietors. He was accompanied by a staff of officials with full power to suppress all the municipal and communal institutions of Bulgaria, and to substitute Russian laws, institutions, and officials in their place. Tirnova, the ancient capital of Bulgaria, was taken possession of without resistance. Early in July Generals Gourko and Skobeloff by a sudden dash crossed the Balkans into Roumelia, took in reverse the Turkish forces

which guarded the Shipka Pass, drove them away, and thus opened a communication across the Balkans with the headquarters of the army at Tirnova. Nicopolis, a strong town on the Danube, was carried by assault on the 16th of July, after a severe struggle; and 6000 prisoners, with guns and munitions of war, fell into the hands of the Russians. Such rapid successes gave rise to a general expectation that the invaders would in no long time force their way to Adrianople, where the Czar might dictate his own terms.

But these disastrous events proved the turning point of the campaign. 'The Turk,' it has been said by one who knew him well, 'only begins to fight when every other soldier would be thinking of yielding. He is apathetic and listless till the breach is practicable and he is summoned to surrender. Then he rushes to the ramparts, and either repulses the enemy, or dies the death of a hero on the walls.' New life was at this crisis infused into the counsels of the Porte. Redif Pasha, the Minister of War, was dismissed, and Abd-el-Kerim, the inert and incapable Commander-in-chief, was replaced by Mehemet Pasha, a Prussian by birth, and an educated and accomplished soldier, who had distinguished himself in the Servian campaign the previous year. Sulieman Pasha was recalled from Albania to take part in the struggle on the Danube. His veteran troops, 20,000 in number, were conveyed by the Turkish fleet, which had already been of great service in the war, from Albania to the Dardanelles, and thence by railway, in the very nick of time, to Eski Sagra, on the southern slope of the Balkans, where they joined the troops under the command of Rauof Pasha. The advance of the Russians in this quarter was completely arrested, and after one or two sanguinary encounters, in which both sides suffered severely, the forces commanded by Generals Gourko and Skobeloff were withdrawn, at the beginning of August, from Roumelia. The Shipka Pass, however, was retained by the help of strong fortifications erected along the road. In the various battles across the Balkans the losses of the Russians and of the Bulgarian Legion which they had raised and armed amounted to 12,000 men.

If Sulieman Pasha had united with the other Turkish generals north of the Balkans in threatening the headquarters of the Russians at Tirnova, and in endeavouring to cut off their communications with Roumania, they would have been compelled to evacuate the Shipka Pass in order to concentrate their forces in Bulgaria. But instead of following this course, the Turkish general made a series of furious assaults during the last twelve days of August on the Russian positions in the Pass. He was nearly successful at the outset, but powerful reinforcements were hurried to the spot by the Russians, and the attacks of the Turks were invariably repulsed with great loss to both sides, but especially to the assailants. Sulieman renewed his assaults in September with the same result, and it was calculated that in these fruitless attempts to carry the Russian fortifications, which military authorities affirm might have been turned without much difficulty, cost him more than 25,000 men in killed and wounded.

A series of blunders of the same kind, and equally fatal, were committed by the Russian generals. A body of Turks under Osman Pasha had been despatched to the relief of Nicopolis, but arriving too late they took up a strong position at Plevna, a place about 20 miles south-west of Nicopolis, between the Vid and the Osma, two of the tributaries of the Danube, with both flanks resting on the former behind the town. As they thus threatened both the Russian headquarters at Tirnova and the passage of the Danube at Sistova, the Grand-duke Nicholas, the Russian Commander-in-chief, ordered Baron Krüdener, at the head of a strong body of infantry, with three brigades of cavalry and 160 guns, to drive them out. After a desperate

struggle the assailants were repulsed with the loss of 8000 killed and as many wounded. Apparently elated by this success, Osman Pasha, with 25,000 men, resolved to assail the Russo-Roumanian army commanded by Prince Charles of Roumania. He made a determined and well-sustained attack against the Russian left centre, but was repulsed and driven back with the loss of 3000 men. This success was followed by a renewed and more desperate assault (July 30) by the Russian and Roumanian forces on the Turkish position at Plevna, in which 'a holocaust of mangled humanity was offered up to the inefficient helplessness of the General Staff Departments of the Russian army.' The conflict lasted from early dawn till after nightfall. The assailants, commanded by Generals Krüdener, Schalkoffshi, and Skobeloff, suffered terrible losses, added to which 'all the wounded, except those of the body under Skobeloff's command, were ruthlessly cut off on the field by the Bashi-Bazouks.' The Grand-duke seems to have regarded it as a point of honour to carry the Turkish position in the way in which he had commenced the enterprise. He accordingly persisted in his blundering tactics, and made vigorous preparations for a third attack on Plevna, which he was determined should be successful. Reinforcements were therefore summoned from Russia, and among the rest the Guards from St. Petersburg, a splendid body of men mustering some 40,000 strong. Roumania had been already admitted to the honour of combating side by side with Russia. On their entrance into Bulgaria the Russians had treated Prince Charles and his Roumanians like beasts of burden, and hewers of wood, and drawers of water. Now, however, in their great straits they earnestly entreated them to come to their rescue on any terms they chose to prescribe. Prince Charles chivalrously responded to this appeal, and his troops were assigned the post of honour and of heaviest loss in the second murderous assault upon Plevna.

The Emperor himself repaired to the spot that he might be eye-witness of the valour and victory of his troops, and at the end of the first week of September all was ready for the third assault on Plevna. It was ordered to take place on the 11th to celebrate the Emperor's birthday, and a stage was erected from which he might witness the triumph of his arms. To make 'assurance doubly sure,' batteries mounting more than 300 heavy guns had been planted on the heights encircling the strong position of the Turks, and for some days an incessant hail of shot and shell was hurled against the earthworks. On the 11th General Skobeloff captured two small redoubts, but with heavy loss, and they were retaken the next day with still greater loss. On the following day the efforts of the assailants were concentrated against the great central redoubt of Gravitz, but the storming parties and their supports 'fell before the deadly precision of the Turkish fire like corn before the reaper.' At the close of the day the assailants abandoned the hopeless contest, and the Emperor, after witnessing the humiliating repulse of his troops, retired to his quarters. The Turks, secure in their victory, unfortunately quitted the redoubt, which was at once captured by a combined rush of a few Russian and Roumanian battalions. But they speedily discovered to their mortification that it was commanded by other redoubts skilfully constructed in its rear.

After the failure of this third attack, in which the Russians lost 30,000 men, even the Grand-duke saw the folly of hurling his men against impregnable positions tenaciously held by a body of troops fighting with the courage of combined fanaticism and despair. Prince Charles had pointed out at the first that Osman's earthworks could only be taken by a regular siege, and General Todleben, the defender of Sebastopol, who had been set aside as 'a German unfit to serve the Slav cause,' was sent for and confirmed this opinion. Recourse was therefore had to

the method of approaching the Turkish defences by sap and trench before again assaulting them. Plevna was now environed by a chain of redoubts with shelter trenches in front. One by one its posts of communication were taken and its supplies cut off, and it became evident that unless a powerful relieving force could break the iron coil that was thrown around it, the fall of Plevna and the surrender of Osman Pasha's force could only be a question of time. Before the place could be completely shut in Chefket Pasha contrived to throw in a reinforcement of 10,000 men and a convoy of provisions from Sophia. If Osman Pasha's skill as a general had been equal to his bravery as a soldier, he would have fallen back on Orchanie the instant that he perceived preparations being made for cutting off his communications. He could have done this without much difficulty as late as the end of September. Plevna had served its purpose in checking the advance of the Russians, and gaining time for the Porte to organize its means of defence. It was now the safety of the army, not the retention of the earthworks, that should have been Osman's main object. He clung to his position, however, until it was impossible for him to quit it, and equally impossible to obtain reinforcements or a supply of provisions. The attempts made by Mehemet Ali and Sulieman Pasha to relieve Plevna by a diversion failed. The stores being exhausted, nothing remained for the Turkish commander but to make a desperate effort to force his way through the Russian lines. On the 10th of December this effort was made at the head of 26,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry. After a gallant struggle, in which Osman Pasha himself was wounded, the Turks yielded to overwhelming numbers, and laid down their arms.

While these stubborn conflicts were going on at Plevna and the Shipka Pass, the army commanded by the Czarewitch had made its headquarters at Biela, and its base of operations on the Danube at the bridge or ferry of Pirgos, about two miles west of Rustchuk. At the commencement of the campaign it seemed about to meet with great success, and threatened to invest the strong fortress of Rustchuk. But when the unwieldy and incompetent Abd-el-Kerim was replaced by Mehemet Ali as Commander-in-chief of the Turks the aspect of affairs was changed. Reinforced by a powerful body of Egyptians under Prince Hassan, and of veterans brought from Asia, Mehemet gradually drove the Russian outposts across the various branches of the Lom, inflicting heavy loss on them on several occasions, especially in the battles of Kacelyevo and Kara Nassankoi.

At the close of the campaign both in Europe and Asia general surprise was felt at the reverses of the Russians and the brilliant resistance of the Turks. Passing from one extreme to another the public, who at first confidently expected a succession of easy triumphs for the Russian arms and the speedy prostration of the Porte at the feet of the Czar, now as confidently predicted the complete failure of the attempt to compel the Sultan to submit to the terms dictated by Russia. The fact, however, had been overlooked that the reverses of the Russian forces were due to the want of knowledge, skill, and energy on the part of their own officers, rather than to the superior activity and generalship of the Turks. As Russia was vastly superior in military strength and resources, it was certain that in the end the contest must terminate in her favour.

In October the tide suddenly turned in Armenia against the Turks, and they lost at one blow all the fruits of a long and brilliant series of victories. On the 15th of that month the army commanded by Mukhtar Pasha met with a signal defeat. The right wing, with seven pashas and thirty-six guns, was compelled to lay down its arms, and the Commander-in-chief, with the left wing, retreated to Kars. An immense spoil, including thousands of tents and standards and vast quantities of

ammunition, fell into the hands of the victors. The remnant of Mukhtar's army took up a strong position at Kupri Koi, before Erzeroum, from which it was driven 'in wild confusion' on the 4th of November, the Turkish commander retreating towards Trebizond. On the 18th of that month Kars was taken by assault, but not, it was suspected, without the aid of treachery. The Turks lost 5000 in killed and wounded, while 300 cannons, 10,000 prisoners, and a large amount of spoil, together with this important fortress, came into the possession of the victors. The siege of Erzeroum was shortly afterwards commenced, and the surrender of Osman Pasha's army at Plevna, on the 10th of December, completed the tale of Turkish disasters, and laid open the road to Constantinople to the victorious invaders.

Meanwhile the British Government were preparing to take action in the contest. Parliament was assembled a fortnight before the usual time. Her Majesty in her speech from the throne said, 'I cannot conceal from myself that should hostilities [between Russia and Turkey] be unfortunately prolonged, some unexpected occurrence may render it incumbent on me to adopt measures of precaution.' A numerous party in the country—nicknamed the Jingo party—were clamorous for immediate and active interference in behalf of Turkey, and the Government seemed no way reluctant to follow this course. They ordered the Mediterranean fleet to pass the Dardanelles and to go up to Constantinople for the protection of British residents there, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that he intended to ask for a supplementary vote of £6,000,000 for naval and military purposes. On this Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary, resigned. Lord Derby also tendered his resignation, but was induced to withdraw it. The British fleet, however, did not enter the Dardanelles. Vice-Admiral Hornby withdrew to Besika Bay on receiving notice from the governor of the Dardanelles that he was without instructions, and could only allow the fleet to pass under protest.

Meanwhile the Russians continued to pour over the Balkans. On the 20th of February they occupied Rustchuk, thus obtaining a complete control of the passage of the Danube, and appeared fully bent on continuing their triumphant march to Constantinople. The war was at an end in Armenia also, and the Turkish garrison completed their evacuation of Erzeroum on February 21. Insurrections, followed by atrocious massacres, broke out in Thessaly and Crete. The utmost consternation prevailed at Stamboul, and the Ottoman Empire seemed on the eve of dissolution. In this extremity the Porte was compelled to sign an armistice and the preliminaries of peace at Adrianople. As soon as the news of these events reached London the Government issued explicit orders that the fleet should pass the Dardanelles, and it accordingly anchored a few miles below Constantinople. Russia professed to be indignant at this step, and protested that if the British fleet passed the Straits Russian troops would occupy the city. But an amicable arrangement was come to that the British troops were not to disembark, and the Russians were not to advance nearer the capital.

The Treaty of Peace, which was signed at San Stefano on the 3rd of March, excited strong dissatisfaction in Britain as well as in Austria, and the British Government at once refused to recognize it. They justly contended that it set aside the most important articles of the Treaty of Paris, which could only be done with the approval of the Great Powers who were parties to that treaty. In flagrant violation of his solemn pledge given before the commencement of the war, and disregarding the interests and obligations of other States, the Russian Czar had availed himself of the opportunity to aggrandize his empire in every possible way at the expense of his enemy. The Porte was to recognize the independence of Montenegro, Servia, and Roumania; Bulgaria was to be consti-

tuted 'an autonomous' tributary principality, with a Christian Government and a national militia. The limits of the new State were to comprise the whole of what used to be called Turkey in Europe, with the exception of a small piece of land in Roumelia in the immediate neighbourhood of Constantinople, a small detached territory on the Ægean, and the province of Albania. The fortresses were to be demolished, and the territory was to be occupied by 50,000 Russian troops for two years at the expense of the province. A large accession of territory in Armenia was to be given to Russia, including the port of Batoum and the fortresses of Ardahan, Kars, and Bayazid. An indemnity amounting to 1,410,000,000 roubles, or £210,000,000 sterling—a sum exceeding the five milliards of francs exacted by Germany from France—was to be paid to Russia. But as it was admitted that Turkey was wholly unable to pay this enormous fine, the Czar generously consented to accept territory, to be selected by himself, for four-fifths of the amount. The treaty goes on to claim other two sums in addition, one of £1,300,000 to indemnify the losses sustained by Russian subjects and establishments in Turkey, and a further amount of about £40,000,000, which was to remain as 'a sort of caution money or perpetual mortgage due from the Sultan to the Czar, and to be enforced whenever the latter should prefer a quarrel about money to any other of the hundred pretexts ready to his hand.'

The ninth article of the Treaty of Paris declared that 'no Power shall collectively or separately interfere in *any case* with the relations of his Majesty the Sultan with his subjects, nor in the internal administration of his empire.' But the Treaty of San Stefano stipulated that 'the right of official protection is acceded to the Imperial Embassy and Russian consulates in Turkey, both as regards the persons of those above mentioned, and their possessions, religious houses, charitable institutions, &c., in the Holy Places and elsewhere.'

It was justly remarked at the time that 'no one can read the dispassionate record of these transactions without arriving at the conclusion that a more open defiance of truth, fair dealing, and public law has never been ventured upon by any European Power.'

Lord Beaconsfield publicly declared that 'the Treaty of San Stefano would put the whole south-east of Europe directly under Russian influence.' 'Every material stipulation,' said Lord Salisbury, 'which this treaty contains involves a departure from the Treaty of 1856;' and as the plenipotentiaries of the Great Powers, including Russia, recognized in 1871 that it is an essential principle of the law of nations that no Power can liberate itself from the engagements of a treaty, nor modify the stipulations thereof, unless with the consent of the contracting Powers by means of an amicable arrangement, Russia, one of the Powers which signed that declaration, is bound to submit its new treaty to Europe.

Russia was naturally very reluctant to submit to this demand. 'She leaves,' it was said, 'to the other Powers the liberty of raising such questions at the Congress as they may think fit to discuss, and reserves to herself the liberty of accepting or not accepting the discussion of these questions.' In other words, Russia insisted that the questions which in her opinion merely concerned Turkey and herself should be left to be settled between the Czar and the Sultan. It was impossible for the other Powers to accede to such a preposterous demand, to allow Russia to compel Turkey to submit to any terms she might think fit to dictate. The British Government came to the conclusion that the Czar imagined that they would confine their remonstrances to mere verbal protests; they resolved to show that they were in earnest, by calling out the Reserves, summoning a contingent of Indian troops to Malta, and making an armed landing on the coast of Syria. The determination to take these steps led to the resignation of Lord Derby, 28th

March, 1878. But though the Government was seriously weakened by the secession of two secretaries of state, its numerical strength was not lessened. Lord Salisbury was made Foreign Minister in Lord Derby's room. His first act in his new office was to issue a circular commenting in the strongest terms on the various provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano, denying the right of Russia to withhold from the consideration of Europe a single clause of that treaty, and declaring that it would be impossible for Britain to enter a Congress which was not free to consider the whole of its provisions. Naval and military preparations were commenced with great vigour. The announcement that Lord Napier of Magdala had been summoned from Gibraltar to take command of the expedition in preparation, and that Sir Garnet Wolseley was to be the chief of his staff, caused great excitement in St. Petersburg, and convinced the Russian Emperor and his advisers that the British Government were prepared to support their demands by arms. Count Schouvaloff, the Russian Minister in London, hastened to St. Petersburg, and with rare frankness and courage pointed out to the Czar the perils to which he was exposing his empire through the course he had been induced to adopt by the Panslavist party. His representations produced the desired effect, and Russia consented to enter, on the terms prescribed by Britain, a Congress at Berlin, to which Germany had invited the other European Powers. Greatly to the surprise of Britain, and indeed of Europe, it was announced that Lord Beaconsfield himself, accompanied by Lord Salisbury, would attend the Congress as the representative of Britain. This arrangement was quite unprecedented, and did not obtain universal approval even from the Conservative party.

The first meeting of the Congress of Berlin was held on June 13, and was presided over by Prince Bismarck. The result of their labours was the recognition of the complete independence of Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro. The dominions of Servia were extended as far as Nish; to Montenegro was given the town and harbour of Antivari, along with a considerable increase of territory on the north and north-east; the mountaineers were thus enabled to accomplish their great object of obtaining access to the sea. North of the Balkans a Bulgarian state was erected tributary to the Sultan and owning his suzerainty, but in other respects independent and possessing all the fortresses, including Varna and Sophia. No member of any reigning dynasty of the European Powers was to be eligible as a candidate for the office of ruler of this state. The region south of the Balkans was to form a different kind of state, to be called 'Eastern Roumelia,' to be governed by a Hospodar nominated by the Sultan and the Powers, and aided by a local elective Parliament. Bosnia and Herzegovina were to be occupied and administered by Austria, in order, Lord Beaconsfield said, to place another Power than Russia on the road to Constantinople if the Turks should be expelled from Europe. But Austria alleged that she accepted this responsible and burdensome position solely out of regard for the common peace of Europe. Russia insisted, as a point of honour, upon recovering the strip of Bessarabian territory taken from her by the peace of Paris at the termination of the Crimean War.* It was a question of filial

* This piece of land was taken virtually by force from Roumania, and in nothing was the utterly lawless and arrogant spirit of Russia more strikingly displayed than in her treatment of this State. After the disastrous repulse at Plevna the Grand-duke sent a telegram to Prince Charles, imploring him, in the most urgent terms, to come at once on his own conditions to the succour of the Russian army, which was being destroyed by the Turks. The Roumanians promptly responded to the appeal, and rescued the Russian troops from destruction. When the war was over Russia not only proposed to seize a portion of the territory of her ally, but arranged, without the smallest reference to Roumania herself, that she should retain for a period of two years the right to use Roumania as a road for military purposes. The Roumanian Government protested; the answer was that all remonstrance was in vain, that indeed it was a matter which the Russian Government did not even choose to submit to the Congress if one should be held, because it would be an offence to the empire.

piety, it was said, for the Emperor to destroy this badge of Russian humiliation. Roumania was to be compensated by a portion of the Dobrudscha and some islands forming the delta of the Danube. As regards Asia, Russia was to receive Ardahan, Kars, and Batoum, which was to be converted into a free port and fortified. With regard to Greece, the British plenipotentiaries practically abandoned her cause altogether. Lord Beaconsfield steadily resisted her claims, and M. Waddington and Count Corti, the French and Italian representatives, who gallantly supported them, were able to do no more than to induce the Congress to recommend the Porte to grant to the Hellenes the territory south of a line to be drawn from the Salambria on the Ægean to the mouth of the Kalamas or Thyamis on the west coast.

It is probable that in any case strong objections would have been made to various provisions in this treaty, especially as regards the claims of Greece and the spoliation of Roumania; but the hostile feeling was vastly strengthened by the discovery that the greater part, if not the whole of the details, had been secretly prearranged between Russia and Great Britain. A clerk who had been temporarily engaged to assist in copying despatches in the Foreign Office sent to the *Globe* the text of a secret Anglo-Russian agreement which had been signed on 30th May at the Foreign Office by Lord Salisbury and Count Schouvaloff. Its authenticity was denied, in the first instance, by the Government—very little to their credit, for it very soon appeared that the document was without doubt genuine, and it corresponded exactly with the arrangements made by the Congress as to the settlement of Bulgaria and its future government, the cession of Ardahan, Kars, and Batoum to Russia, and the surrender to that power of the coveted portion of Bessarabia. All the points, in short, which the people of Great Britain had been assured their plenipotentiaries would exert their utmost influence to obtain, had, it now appeared, been conceded by 'the Memorandum' which formed the 'mutual engagement in Congress for the plenipotentiaries of Russia and Great Britain.' *

It was shortly after discovered that this was not the only secret engagement which the British Government had entered into. A separate agreement had been made with Turkey as well as with Russia. On the 4th of June a secret treaty was signed with the Sultan, by which the Queen engaged in all time coming to defend the Asiatic possessions of the Porte 'by force of arms,' on condition that the Sultan should 'assign the island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by Great Britain,' and should 'introduce all necessary reforms, as agreed on with his ally.' This anomalous and indefinite agreement imposed on the nation 'the duties and responsibilities attendant on the protectorate of a large continent, the defence of a vast and difficult frontier, and the arduous instruction of mixed and semi-barbarous races of men.'

The acquisition of Cyprus was regarded throughout the Continent with general approval, though not on any lofty grounds. 'England,' said one continental journal, 'has taken her share of the cake. She has acted like the dog with his master's breakfast slung round his neck, defending it only as long as it saw no advantage in taking its share.' 'Every national crow,' said another, 'is carrying off a bit of Turkey. Austria is pecking on the right, England on the left, and Russia at the heart, without reckoning the smaller fry who content themselves with a claw.' Russia approved of the cession, no doubt,

Prince Gortschakoff declared to the Roumanian agent that notwithstanding their clamouring both at home and abroad, the Russian decision was irrevocable. His Majesty orders me to tell you, he said, 'if you have the intention of protesting or opposing the article in question, he will order the occupation of Roumania and the disarmament of the Roumanian army.' So much for Russian good faith and gratitude.

* Another and quite different document was sent to Mr. Layard, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, instructing him to resist to the utmost the concessions which had already been made in the secret agreement.

because it kept her own spoliation of Turkey in countenance. The transaction was regarded by all impartial observers as a dexterous piece of *legerdemain*—a '*magnifique coup de théâtre*,' as the Berlin courtiers termed it—rather than an act of judicious and high-minded statesmanship.

The proceedings of the Congress terminated on the 13th of July. The return home of the British plenipotentiaries was celebrated with great pomp and ceremony. On reaching London the Prime Minister was met at the railway station by a tumultuous crowd of enthusiastic admirers, whom he addressed in characteristic terms from the windows of the Foreign Office, proclaiming in words which became proverbial, that he had brought back 'Peace with Honour' to his Queen and country. The proceedings of the Congress, the terms of the treaty, and the conduct of the Ministry underwent some sharp criticism in Parliament and in the country, but the House of Commons, by a great majority, expressed its approbation of the Ministerial policy.

During the excitement caused by these proceedings, the long and illustrious career of John Earl Russell, came quietly to a close (28th May, 1878), when he had attained the good old age of eighty-six.

Lord Russell was the last of that illustrious band of statesmen who carried out peacefully the greatest revolution that has taken place in our country since the Reformation. He was a younger member of one of those 'great old houses' who have for centuries been the bulwarks of national rights and privileges. One head of the house of Russell risked his life for the Protestant faith, a second jeoparded his estates in successful resistance to a despot, a third died on the scaffold for the liberties of his countrymen, a fourth took part in the Revolution which laid the keystone of our constitution, a fifth devoted his life and fortune to resisting the attempt of the Hanoverian sovereign to restore the arbitrary power of the throne, and a sixth—the elder brother of Earl Russell—powerfully assisted his relative in carrying through a bloodless but complete transfer of power from his own order to the middle classes of his fellow-citizens. As became both his ancestry and his early training at the University of Edinburgh, Lord Russell entered public life as the strenuous supporter of Liberal principles in Church and State, and he contributed more than perhaps any man of his age to make the history of the British Constitution and Empire during the long period of sixty-five years over which his career extended. His name is indelibly associated with the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, Roman Catholic Emancipation, the reform of Parliament, the abolition of slavery in our colonies, the amendment of our marriage laws, the revision of the Criminal Code, the reform of the Poor-laws and of the municipal corporations, the registration of births, marriages, and deaths, the Tithe Commutation Act in England and Ireland, the Irish Poor-law, the admission of Jews into Parliament, the opening of the China trade, Free Trade, and a host of minor measures. As Mr. Gladstone on one occasion remarked, not less truly than generously, if orders were given for civil as for military services, Earl Russell's breast would be studded with stars and crosses and ribbons. Sterling integrity and truthfulness and moral fearlessness were his Lordship's most prominent characteristics. Great virtues, however, are often closely akin to weakness, and Earl Russell's indomitable courage was apt to degenerate into rashness. His high qualities, both moral and intellectual, were probably never so conspicuously displayed as during the time when he represented the Melbourne Ministry in the House of Commons. The difficulties which he had to encounter were very formidable, but he was strong in his well-earned reputation for uprightness and integrity, in the sincerity with which he had adhered to his principles through good report and bad report. He was no less strong in the possession of debating powers, which, though not

of the very highest order, were formidable from their combination of earnestness of purpose with adroitness of tactics, and thus was able to steer the vessel skilfully and safely through the difficult and dangerous course it had to pursue, and to display throughout, in very trying circumstances, a moderation, firmness, fairness, and a sense of political justice not often exhibited by the leaders of great parties. It must be admitted that as First Minister of the Crown he was less successful in securing the confidence and attachment of his supporters, and that the frigidity of his temperament and occasional fits of waywardness contributed not a little to quench their zeal and to loosen the ties of party attachment. Probably the least successful part of Lord Russell's career was during his term of office as Foreign Minister, but his policy—mistaken and irritating as it often was—'meddling and muddling,' as the late Earl of Derby said of it—had yet stamped upon it a noble sense of the greatness and a laudable jealousy of the honour of Britain. His greatest mistakes may be traced to the want of those genial and sympathetic qualities which secure the warm affection of personal friends and the devoted attachment of followers. With his characteristic fearless frankness Lord Russell, in his autobiographical introduction to his speeches and despatches, says:—'My capacity I always felt was inferior to that of the men who have obtained in past times the foremost place in our Parliament and in the councils of our sovereign. I have committed many errors, some of them very gross blunders, but the generous people of England are always forbearing and forgiving to those statesmen who have the good of their country at heart. Like my betters I have been misrepresented and slandered by those who knew nothing of me; but I have been more than compensated by the confidence and friendship of the best men of my own political connection, and by the regard and favourable interpretation of my motives which I have heard expressed by my generous opponents, from the days of Lord Castlereagh to those of Mr. Disraeli.' The candour and frank simplicity of this statement is very characteristic of its author, who, in speaking of his own career and achievements, never in the remotest degree indulged in self-laudation. It must be admitted that Earl Russell had no pretensions to eloquence strictly so-called, and as a Parliamentary speaker he cannot be placed in the same class with Brougham, or even with Peel and the late Lord Derby. He wanted both the physical vigour and voice and glowing temperament of an orator, but he was a remarkably ready and effective debater; his language was eminently clear, precise, and incisive, and he was noted for his power of keen and direct retort. His ordinary mode of speaking in Parliament, however, was marked by a coldness and want of spirit and energy which detracted not a little from its effect, and his thoughts were not unfrequently commonplace, and his language bare and bald; but, as Lord Lytton remarked in the 'New Timon,' when 'the strain was on' this 'Languid Johnny soared to Glorious John,' and showed himself to be 'of Dryden's kind,' 'whose little body lodged a mighty mind.' As a statesman Lord Russell undoubtedly deserves to be placed in the foremost rank. Very few of those who have guided the councils of our nation in modern times could look back upon a career so brilliant and successful. The legislative achievements which he could claim as his own have altered the whole course of our national life. To crown all the departed statesman was a man of sterling Christian principles, and though petty faults not a few were mingled with his great qualities and somewhat marred his usefulness, they were mere spots in the sun; and men of all political parties and the mass of the people will long cherish a grateful remembrance of his many virtues, and especially of his integrity, sagacity, and disinterestedness, and the benefits which his patriotic exertions have conferred upon his country.

CHAPTER XVI.

Quarrel of the British Government with the Afghans—Demand for a British Resident at Cabul—Opposition of the Indian Viceroy—Opinion of Sir John Lawrence—The Marquis of Salisbury's policy—Lord Northbrook's resignation—Appointment of Lord Lytton as his successor—Russian Mission to Cabul—Refusal of the Ameer to receive a British Mission—The Peshawur Conference—The 'Scientific Frontier'—Declaration of War—Invasion of Afghanistan—Flight and Death of Shere Ali—Recognition of Yakoob Khan as Ameer—Treaty of Gundamuk—Embassy at Cabul—Murder of the Envoy and his attendants—Vengeance taken by the British troops—Resignation of Yakoob Khan, and his deportation to India—Cruel treatment of the Afghans—Battle of Charasaib—Holy War against the invaders—Attacks upon the British Camp—State of the country—Abdurahman recognized as Ameer—Defeat of the Afghans at Ahmed Khel—Change of Government at home, and of policy—Invasion of Ayoob Khan—Defeat of the British at Maiwand—Siege of Candahar—Withdrawal of British troops from Cabul—March of General Roberts to Candahar—Defeat of Ayoob Khan—Candahar given up to the Afghans, and Afghanistan abandoned by our troops—Cost of the invasion.

SCARCELY had the Eastern Question been settled, for a time at least, by the Congress and the Treaty of Berlin, than the British Government became involved in a quarrel with the Afghans, which resulted in a war that proved most disastrous. A few months after the accession of the Conservative Ministry to office (January 22, 1875), they insisted on the residence of a British instead of a native officer in the principal cities of Afghanistan, if not in Cabul itself, as an indispensable condition for the maintenance of our friendly relations with the sovereign of that country. This resolution was strenuously opposed by Lord Northbrook, the Indian Governor-General, and the whole of his Council, who stated at great length the strong reasons which made them regard it as both unwarrantable and dangerous. From the close of the first Afghan War it had been the fixed policy of all the Governors of India to efface the bitter recollections which that unfortunate event had produced on the minds of the Afghan people, and to dispel the suspicions which it had naturally produced with respect to the objects of the British Government. The treaty made with Dost Mohammed Khan in 1855 distinctly pledged Britain 'to respect those territories of Afghanistan then in his Highness' possession, and never to interfere therein.' This pledge was faithfully kept by successive Viceroys, who each in turn expressed cordial approval of the policy of non-interference in Afghan affairs. 'Our relations with Afghanistan,' said Lord Canning, 'should always remain on this footing, and never be extended to any other aid than that of money, arms, and counsel. The appearance,' he added, 'of one or two European officers at Cabul in the Ameer's train was likely to raise in the minds of the people suspicion against himself as having sold them, and desire of vengeance against Englishmen.' 'Convince the Afghans,' said Sir John Lawrence in a hundred different ways, 'that we do not court and will not take a foot either of their few fertile valleys or of their thousand barren hills; that we will never attempt to force an English envoy or resident upon them, for we recognize that in their present state of civilization the instinct which makes them shrink from his presence is a sound instinct, an instinct of self-preservation.' In accordance with these views Lord Mayo, at his interview with the Ameer Shere Ali at Umballa in 1869, gave him a distinct assurance that 'no European officers should be placed as residents in his cities;' and Lord Northbrook renewed this pledge in still more explicit terms at Simla in 1873.

Lord Cranbourne (afterwards Marquis of Salisbury), when holding the office of Indian Minister in 1866–67, heartily concurred in the policy consistently carried out by his predecessors in office. But unfortunately his opinions underwent a great change when he returned to power in 1874.

There is reason to believe that this was brought about by a letter from Sir Bartle Frere, an old supporter of a 'forward policy,' who earnestly recommended the immediate occupation of Quetta, the construction of a railway across the desert to the Bolan Pass (by peaceable arrangement if possible, but if not, by force), the placing of British agents at Herat, Candahar, and Cabul, the establishment of a 'perfect Intelligence Department' in Afghanistan, and, if practicable, of our preponderating influence throughout the country. Lord Lawrence wrote a masterly reply to these recommendations, pointing out that 'the policy advocated by Sir Bartle Frere, so far from stopping the advance of Russia, would be likely to facilitate and accelerate it; that it would lead to difficulties and complications such as we had experienced in 1838, and that it would in this way prove ruinous to the finances of India. As for the occupation of Quetta, except as part of a policy of advance to Candahar and Herat, he affirmed that it would be costly; that it would be unsafe; that it would inevitably arouse the suspicions of the Ameer as the first step towards the invasion of his country; that the presence of British officers in Afghanistan must in the long-run turn the Afghans against us; that they would be got rid of by Afghan methods; that assassination would be followed by war, and that again by occupation or annexation.'

These warnings were unfortunately disregarded by Lord Salisbury, who now entered upon that course which destroyed in a moment the work of thirty years. It is important to notice that at this date there was no reason to suppose or believe that there were any Russian intrigues in Cabul. This allegation was not mooted until several years afterward. On the 22nd January, 1875, Lord Salisbury, without having previously consulted the Government of India, sent to Lord Northbrook the first of those disastrous despatches which directed him to enter upon the policy recommended by Sir Bartle Frere, and to compel Shere Ali to receive a British resident at Cabul. The Viceroy, supported by the whole weight of his Council, containing Lord Napier of Magdala, Sir William Muir, and other men of the highest authority, including the Governor of the Punjaub, expressed his disapproval of it. The Indian Secretary, however, was not to be turned from his purpose. He instructed Lord Northbrook to find an 'opportunity and a pretext for sending a mission to Cabul,' and to put forward some 'ostensible' plea, keeping the real object concealed. The Viceroy and the Council not only warned Lord Salisbury of the danger of this step, but objected to the dissimulation which he enjoined, and strongly recommended that the truth should be spoken, 'and that the real purpose of the mission should be frankly and fully stated to the Ameer.' For a whole year the Governor-General and his Council managed to fight off Lord Salisbury's proposals by argument and by pleas for delay, till at last, when the instructions became peremptory, Lord Northbrook resigned his office rather than carry out measures of which he strongly disapproved.

Lord Lytton was appointed to the vacant post, and his first practical step (January, 1877) was the occupation of Quetta, an advanced post 250 miles beyond its nearest supports. Considerable forces and supplies were collected at Rawul Pindee, as if in view of a campaign in Central Asia; a bridge was also projected over the Indus at Attock. These movements were naturally regarded with apprehension by Shere Ali, and he was impressed with the belief that an attack on his own dominions was contemplated by the Viceroy. Shortly before this time Lord Lytton reported that there were two Russian agents in Cabul, in violation of the understanding between the two courts. A remonstrance against this proceeding was made by the British ambassador at St. Petersburg, but Prince Gortschakoff affirmed that no communications had been made to the Ameer beyond

those of simple courtesy. Whatever may have been the truth in regard to this matter, it is certain that after our fleet had entered the Dardanelles, and troops had been brought from India to Malta, Russia resolved to make a diversion in Asia, and made preparations for an advance upon the Oxus, which, however, were immediately stopped when the Treaty of Berlin was signed.

Before the Treaty was concluded a Russian mission was sent to Cabul, which the Ameer affirmed he had been forced to receive. On this Lord Lytton made an immediate demand that the Ameer should receive a British mission, to be headed by Sir Neville Chamberlain. No reply being received to this demand the mission was nevertheless despatched. It was accompanied by an escort of 1000 men: 'too large for a mission,' said Lord Carnarvon, 'and too small for an army.' It was sufficiently large, however, to excite the apprehensions of the Afghans, not without good reason, that the mission was intended to be permanent. It started from Peshawur on September 21, 1878, but was stopped at Ali-Musjid, on the frontier, by the officer in command, who refused to allow it to pass until he had been authorized to do so by Shere Ali. This incident was represented as having been a gross affront offered to the British Government, which must be avenged by war, though it was admitted by the heads of the mission themselves that the utmost possible courtesy was shown on the part of the Ameer's officer.

Next came the 'Peshawur Conference' between Nur Mohammed, the representative of the Ameer, and Sir Lewis Pelly, the agent of Lord Lytton. But the negotiations came at once to a dead-lock, as Sir Lewis admits, because on the British side a preliminary discussion of the Ameer's complaints against us could not be agreed to, and on the Afghan side because Shere Ali's representative would not listen to our preliminary condition for future friendship—the presence of a British official at the Cabul court:—

'It is difficult even now, at this distance of time,' says Mr. Bosworth Smith, the biographer of Lord Lawrence, 'to read unmoved the earnest appeals of the Ameer to the faith of treaties and to the promises and untarnished honour of Lord Lawrence, Lord Mayo, and Lord Northbrook; finally the piteous cry for mercy when this appeal to justice was unavailing, in order to ward off that which Lord Lytton laid down as a *sine quâ non* of any further negotiations—the residence of British officers in Afghanistan. "Matters," said the Afghan envoy, "have now come to a crisis, and the situation is a grave one. This is the last opportunity for a settlement, and God only knows the future. . . . The British nation is great and powerful, and the Afghan people cannot resist its power; but the people are self-willed and independent, and prize their homes above their lives. . . . You must not impose upon us a burden which we cannot bear; if you overload us the responsibility rests with you." When asked what the burden to which he alluded was, he at once replied, "The residence of British officers on the frontiers of Afghanistan. . . . The people of Afghanistan have a dread of this proposal, and it is firmly fixed in their minds and deeply rooted in their hearts, that if Englishmen or other Europeans once set foot in their country, it will sooner or later pass out of their hands." On this point the representative of the Ameer was immovable, emphatically declaring that he could not be responsible for the safety of British residents at his court. Lord Lytton, finding that his threats to "wipe Afghanistan altogether out of the map" in concert with Russia, and his comparison of the country to "a pipkin between two iron pots," had produced no effect, abruptly broke off the conference.* He repudiated all liabilities of the British Government to the Ameer, and shortly after withdrew his native envoy altogether from Cabul.'

'If Russia sent a mission to Cabul why had we not called Russia to account?' asked Mr. Gladstone. 'If an offence has been committed, I want to know whose has been the greater share of that offence? The Ameer was under no covenant that he was not to receive a Russian mission; we were under a covenant with him not to force on him a British mission. He was under no covenant not to receive a Russian mission; Russia was under a covenant with us to exercise no influence in Afghanistan. If there was an offence whose was the offence? The offence, if any, was committed

* It was known to the Viceroy that the Ameer, after the sudden death of his minister, in his terror and despair, was sending a new envoy to concede all Lord Lytton's demands rather than quarrel with the British Government, and with that fact in view the conference was closed.

by the great and powerful Emperor of the North, with his eighty millions of people, with his million and a half of soldiers, and fresh from his recent victories, and not by the poor trembling, shuddering Ameer of Afghanistan, with his few troops, over which he exercises a precarious rule. But now, having received from the Czar of Russia the greater offence, we sing small to Russia and ask about her mission; and when she says it is only a mission of courtesy we seemingly rest content, but we march our thousands into Afghanistan.'

On the 15th of June, 1877, in answer to questions asked by the Duke of Argyll in the House of Lords, the Secretary for India affirmed that the conference at Peshawur had been arranged at the Ameer's own request; that there had been no attempt to force a British envoy on the Ameer at Cabul; that there had been no change in our policy towards Afghanistan; and that our relations with Shere Ali had undergone no material alteration since the preceding year. When the publication of the papers connected with this wretched affair showed that these statements were entirely at variance with the facts of the case, Lord Salisbury pleaded that to have told the truth in reply to the questions of the duke would have been premature, and might have proved injurious to the policy of the Government.

At this critical moment Lord Lawrence, the venerable ex-Viceroy of India, raised his voice to warn his countrymen against the wicked and dangerous course which the Government was pursuing:—

'What are we to gain,' he asked, 'by going to war with the Ameer? Can we dethrone him without turning the mass of his countrymen against us? Can we follow the policy of 1838–39 without in all probability incurring similar results? If we succeed in driving Shere Ali out of Cabul, whom can we put in his place? And how are we to insure the maintenance of our creature on the throne except by occupying the country? And when is such an occupation to terminate? I have no doubt that we can clear the defiles and valleys of Afghanistan from end to end of their defenders, and that no force of Afghans could stand against our troops when properly brought to bear against them. The country, however, consists of mountain ranges for the most part broken up into rugged and difficult plateaus, where brave men standing on the defensive have considerable advantages; and when we force such positions we cannot continue to hold them. The cost of invading such a country will prove very great, and the means for doing so must be drawn from elsewhere. The country held by the Ameer can afford neither the money nor the transport, nor even the subsistence in adequate quantity for the support of the invading army. It is impossible to foresee the end of such a war, and in the meantime its prosecution would utterly ruin the finances of India.

'Such are the political and military considerations which lead me to raise my voice against the present policy towards Ameer Shere Ali. Are not moral considerations also very strong against such a war? Have not the Afghans a right to resist our forcing a mission on them, bearing in mind to what such missions often lead, and what Burnes' mission in 1836 did actually bring upon them?'

This noble appeal to the conscience and to the judgment of the people of Great Britain was powerfully seconded by Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Grey, and other eminent men, who had always 'put principle above party, and morality above expediency.' But the Ministry were obstinately bent on pursuing their 'imperial policy,' and a decided majority of the English representatives in the House of Commons gave them cordial support. In consequence of the evasive replies given by Lord Salisbury to the questions put by the Duke of Argyll, Parliament was allowed to adjourn without any discussion on the subject. The Government were in consequence left at liberty, without check or hindrance, to follow their own devices, and they were encouraged by the approval of most of the metropolitan journals and the applause of their party to persevere in the unjust and impolitic course on which they had entered. On the 9th of November the Prime Minister startled his own colleagues and party, as well as the public, by the announcement that the war which was about to commence was undertaken, 'not to punish the Ameer for his reception of the Russian and his refusal to receive an English mission, but for a rectification of boundary—for the substitution of a scientific for a hap-hazard frontier.'

Lord Beaconsfield's conclusion, therefore, was that a new frontier being in his judgment required, he was entitled to take it by force at once, without the slightest regard to the rights of the Ameer or of the people of Afghanistan.

This coveted 'scientific frontier' was speedily shown to be impracticable. Lord Northbrook had pointed out that 'our present frontier is unassailable for purposes of defence, and to advance it further into Afghanistan would be most unwise.' Lord Lawrence had declared that by nature our present frontier is remarkably strong, and if necessary could be strengthened at a moderate cost when compared with what a new frontier in an advanced position would certainly require. But all was in vain.

The Government, however, persisted in the course which they had chosen, and they issued an Ultimatum which contained, according to the Duke of Argyll, four deliberately false statements. 'I confess,' he said, 'I cannot write these sentences without emotion. They seem to me to be the record of sayings and doings which cast an indelible disgrace upon our country.' The answer to this Ultimatum by the Ameer was considered unsatisfactory, and was at first most untruly affirmed to have been insulting. The poor chief, on the contrary, wrote in humble and piteous terms complaining of the 'harsh expressions and hard words, repugnant to courtesy and politeness,' which had been addressed to him. In his afflicted position (his favourite son Abdoolah having just died) 'patience and silence would have been specially becoming.' He contended that his officials had shown no enmity to the British Government, but if any Power, 'without cause or reason, shows enmity towards this Government, the matter is left in the hands of God and to His will.' A declaration of war immediately followed the receipt of this reply.

A vigorous effort was made at the last hour by the friends of justice and peace to avert a war which was as unjust in its origin as it proved to be disastrous in its results. A committee was formed, composed of men of all political parties, and especially of men 'who were strong in their Indian experience and reputation,' whose chief object was to bring pressure to bear on the Government to postpone the actual commencement of hostilities till the papers on the subject had been made public, and till the Ameer should have had one chance more of making an explanation of his views and objects. Lord Lawrence was chairman of the committee, and on the 16th of November he wrote Lord Beaconsfield asking him to receive a deputation on the earliest possible day. But the Premier curtly declined the interview. Parliament met early in December to consider the question, but it was too late: hostilities had already commenced, and the invasion of Afghanistan had been entered on.

No one acquainted with the state of matters imagined that the advance of the British army into Afghanistan would meet with any formidable military resistance. As it turned out the resistance of the Afghans was even less than had been anticipated. They made no resolute attempt to hold their ground. Difficulties of transport were of course very considerable; the camels died by tens of thousands in the mountain passes, to which they were ill-adapted; the troops suffered great privations, and the hillmen threatened their lines of communication both for troops and supplies, and cut off their convoys. The invading army, under General Sir Samuel Browne, advanced through the Khyber Pass. General Roberts, after a sharp contest at the 'Peiwar Crest' with the Afghans, who fought with great bravery, forced his way through the narrow gorge called the Shaturgardan, 13,000 feet high, the possession of which gave him the command of all the passes between Khurum and Cabul. The division under Generals Biddulph and Stewart marched through the Bolan Pass, and early in January, 1879, took possession of Candahar with little

more than a show of resistance on the part of the Afghans; but the forces under Sir Samuel Browne halted at Jellalabad, and the division commanded by General Roberts delayed in the meantime their advance beyond the Shaturgardan.

Meanwhile the poor Ameer, overwhelmed by the perplexities and perils of his position, relapsed into the state of gloomy inaction which at previous critical junctures had oppressed him. Some of the chiefs fell away from him in the day of his adversity, and those who remained with him gave it as their opinion that further resistance was hopeless. He therefore quitted Cabul in company with the members of the Russian mission, who had remained there until this time. His object was to go to Tashkend to see General Kauffmann, but he was not permitted to cross the frontier. From Mazar-a-Sherif, near Balkh, he sent an embassy to the Russian Governor-General, but he was informed that the Czar declined to interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan. Worn out with hardships and disappointments, Shere Ali died on the 21st of February. On leaving Cabul he had released his son, Yakoob Khan, from the confinement in which he had kept him for years, and appointed him to act as regent in his name. The day before his father's death Yakoob made overtures for peace, and after some preliminary negotiations, which were protracted for several weeks, Yakoob, on the 8th of May, came in person to the British camp, which had been advanced from Jellalabad to Gundamuk. He was received with great ceremonial as the ruler of Afghanistan, but though his succession was acknowledged by his father's ministers and the chiefs by whom he was for the moment surrounded, his position was anything but secure. Badakshan was in open revolt, Ayoob Khan, Yakoob's brother, was Governor of Herat, and his allegiance was doubtful. Wali Mahomed, half-brother of Shere Ali, was a claimant for the office of Ameer, and Abdurahman, the late Ameer's old rival, was a refugee in Turkestan, and was ready at any moment to cross the frontier and renew his claims. In these circumstances it was evidently of great importance to Yakoob to obtain the recognition of the British Government, which was certain to be followed by ample material assistance. On the other hand, the Indian authorities were anxious to find a chief with whom they could conclude a treaty which would secure them predominant authority in Afghanistan, and Yakoob lay readiest to their hand.

The new Ameer consented without hesitation to place his foreign relations and policy under British control. A definite treaty was signed at Gundamuk on the 26th of May, conceding all the demands made by Lord Lytton. The foreign affairs of the Ameer were to be conducted in accordance with British advice, and he was in turn to be supported by the British Government against foreign aggression. A British resident, accompanied by a proper escort, was to be stationed at Cabul, with authority to send British agents to the Afghan frontier on special occasions. The Khoorum, Pisheen, and Sibu valleys were assigned to the British Government, who were also to have complete control of the Khyber and Michni Passes, as well as of the relations with the independent frontier tribes in whose territories these passes are situated. In return for these concessions the Ameer was to receive an annual subsidy of £60,000, contingent on his strict fulfilment of the treaty. The 'scientific frontier,' on which so much stress had been laid, was to be settled in a supplementary paper, which was to define its precise line and extent. The objects of the war had thus been secured on paper, but the penalty of these ill-starred and wicked proceedings was speedily exacted.

The news of the triumphant result of the Ministerial policy was received with loud rejoicings by the supporters of the Government and the multitude with whom success overrides all moral principles. The result, it was exultingly proclaimed, had proved

that Lord Lawrence and the other eminent authorities who had disapproved of the aggression in Afghanistan were wrong both in their premises and their conclusions. The great statesman, however, was in no way shaken in his views by the temporary success of the attack on Shere Ali. 'I fear,' he said, 'it can end in nothing but evil to us.' And when he heard that by one of the articles of the Treaty of Gundamuk Sir Louis Cavagnari should remain with his escort at Cabul, 'they will be all murdered,' he exclaimed, 'every one of them.' Lord Lawrence and the other opponents urged that the real difficulties of the position the Government intended to assume in Afghanistan would begin precisely when the military difficulties were past. The prediction was speedily and thoroughly verified, and the tragic accounts of November, 1841, were enacted over again in Cabul in September, 1879. It seems almost incredible that the lesson which these events taught should have been forgotten or despised by our Government, and that the very same mistakes which proved fatal to the British envoys despatched to the Cabul court by Lord Auckland should have been repeated with the same result by Lord Lytton, and that what the Duke of Argyll called the lesson on foreign policy impressed on the Anglo-Indian mind by that solitary horseman who, on the 13th of January, 1842, staggered half unconscious into the gate of Jellalabad, should have been forgotten.

Sir Louis Cavagnari, who was selected to occupy the perilous position of British Envoy at Cabul, was an officer of extraordinary merit. It is said by one who knew him well that 'he had acquired a complete knowledge of the native character. His name and influence were known and felt on the whole north-west frontier. In spirit and gallantry he stood in the first rank. He had shown skill and prudence in negotiation,' and though well aware of the dangers to which he would be exposed from Mohammedan bigotry and Afghan jealousy of foreigners, he hoped that by his good-will and personal influence he might become 'as safe among Pathans at Cabul as among Pathans at Peshawur.' Associated with him as his secretary was Mr. Jenkins, a young Scotsman who had already given marks of the highest promise in the Indian service, Dr. Kelly as surgeon, and Lieutenant Hamilton of the Guides, who commanded the escort, consisting of twenty-six troopers and fifty infantry. Hamilton was one of the bravest officers of the army, and had just gained the Victoria Cross for the extraordinary valour displayed by him in the action in which Major Wigram Battye was killed.

The Envoy was honourably conducted through the Ameer's dominions from Ali Khal, and was received at Cabul with apparent respect by the people—with cordiality by the Ameer. It is impossible to speak with certainty of the events which followed during the summer and autumn, but there appears to have been some symptoms of estrangement on the part of the Ameer, and various indications of a hostile disposition on the part of the Afghan chiefs and people, though no apprehensions of danger seem to have been entertained by the Envoy and his three British associates.

It speedily appeared that the Ameer was not the master of his own troops, of his own capital, of his own palace. On the 3rd of September a military revolt broke out, on the ground of arrears of pay, which instantly assumed the character of an attack on the British Residency, situated in the Bala Hissar, or citadel of Cabul. The defences were unfortunately ruinous, and the handful of the Guides were unable to hold the place against the mutinous soldiery, aided by the mob of the city incited by hatred of the stranger and the infidel. Driven from point to point of the indefensible fortress, the gallant Guides, led by the Envoy and his brother officers, made charge after charge and drove back their assailants, who, however, only returned in increasing numbers. Their leaders fell first, but the native

officers and the men continued the desperate contest. The assailants at last succeeded in setting fire to the building, and then the defenders, rushing out, perished fighting to a man. A few troopers and servants of the Embassy, who happened to be absent at the time of the attack, alone escaped. Before they were pushed to extremities several messages were sent to the Ameer, who promised that he would send help, but none came. He alleged in his letter to the Viceroy that he had sent Mollahs with the Koran to the mutineers to restrain them, and had afterwards sent his son and commander-in-chief for the same purpose. It is impossible to say whether he was helpless from terror, or was himself surrounded by the mutinous soldiery, or was inactive from treachery; he unquestionably failed in the courage and resolution he ought to have shown in defence of the British Envoy, actually within the shelter of his own palace. One thing this tragical event demonstrated, that the reluctance of Shere Ali to receive British residents in the interior of his dominions, on the ground that he could not insure the safety of their lives and property, was not unreasonable or insincere.

As soon as the news of the outrage on the Residency and the murder of our Envoy reached Calcutta the Viceroy resolved to take summary vengeance for the crime, and troops were despatched to Afghanistan with all possible expedition. As usual, however, there was a great deficiency of transport and supplies. General Baker's brigade, advancing by the Shaturgardan, occupied Kushi on the 24th of September. The Ameer, who had written to the Viceroy bewailing his helplessness, presented himself almost as a fugitive in General Baker's camp on the 27th. With him came his father-in-law, his leading ministers, and Padishah Khan, the most influential of the Ghilzie chiefs. Next day General Roberts, who had been obliged to fight his way through hostile tribes, arrived, and received the Ameer at a durbar with royal honours. The British General acted on the convenient theory that he had come merely to maintain the authority of the Ameer against rebels and mutinous soldiers, and issued a proclamation warning all persons of the penalties of resistance to their lawful sovereign. Marching towards Cabul, the British forces encountered, on October 5, a large body of the Afghans in a strong position at a place called Charasiab, and after a stubborn conflict put them to flight, leaving many guns and arms and a large quantity of ammunition in the hands of the victors. The hosts of Ghilzies and other hillmen who had hung round the rear and flanks of our army were for the time dispersed, but as General Roberts said, 'the whole country was seething.' He made his formal entry into Cabul on the 12th of October, without any apparent cordiality on one side or ill-will on the other.

Before the entrance of our troops into the capital the puppet ruler whom our Government had set up tendered his resignation. He was weary, he said, of the task of ruling such subjects as the Afghans had proved. His resignation was readily accepted, and suspicions of his fidelity having arisen the Viceroy directed that he should be sent to India. His father-in-law and others of his influential advisers were also sent out of the country. Two commissions were appointed, one to inquire into the circumstances of the attack on the Residency, the other to try prisoners accused of taking part in it, or of opposing the advance of the British troops. As might have been expected great difficulty was found in obtaining trustworthy evidence respecting the massacre, and though several persons were convicted of direct participation in it and were publicly hanged, there is reason to believe that most of the real criminals had fled from the city before the arrival of our troops.

No blame could be attached to the British authorities in inflicting merited punishment on the murderers of our Envoy and his attendants, but the case was

very different when they proceeded to treat the Afghan people, not as enemies to be subdued and compelled to submit to our arms, but as traitors to be treated with the penalties of treason. It was stated in a telegram from Lord Lytton to the Indian Office, of date October 18, that as 'the inhabitants have pertinaciously opposed the advance of our troops after warning *they have become rebels;* that Cabul and the surrounding country within a radius of ten miles will be placed under martial law; that rewards are offered for any person concerned in the attack on the Embassy, or for information leading to captures; that similar rewards are offered for any person who has fought against the British troops since 3rd September; and that large rewards are offered for rebel officers of the Afghan army.' A proclamation was issued by General Roberts declaring that 'persons who were guilty of instigating the troops and people to oppose the British troops will be treated without mercy as rebels.' These were not mere empty threats. The most stringent restrictions were imposed upon the correspondents of our public journals. No letter was permitted to leave the British camp without being subjected to the examination of certain military officials, who had authority to strike out every statement which they thought it inexpedient to publish, and the correspondent of the *Standard* was expelled from the camp. The object of these unprecedented precautions was to keep the public at home as far as possible in ignorance of the blunders committed by the Indian Government in the management of the war, and of the system of terrorism which under their orders had been instituted in Afghanistan. But enough transpired even from the meagre and mutilated reports which alone were allowed to be issued respecting the operations of our troops, to show that the proclamations were carried out with merciless severity. The chief Mollah of Cabul was hanged, it was said, by order of the Indian Government 'for preaching a religious war, and giving the fanatics the standard.' The Kotwal (the chief police magistrate) of Cabul shared the fate of the ecclesiastical dignitary, on the ground 'that he had sent out a proclamation through the city calling on all Mohammedans to fight at Charasaib.' Along with him, besides the Mollah, two generals (one of royal blood) and a Chowdikas were put to death. It was not even alleged that these officials had taken any part in the murder of our Envoy. The sole offence laid to their charge was that they were 'prominent in inciting and organizing the resistance' to the British forces. Another telegram stated that 'no quarter is given to any one found firing upon us, and that *prisoners taken in fight are shot.*' In short, every Afghan who took up arms in defence of his country against a most unjustifiable and wicked invasion was treated as a rebel and a murderer, and even those who sheltered the disbanded soldiers in the day of their distress were treated as felons.

An expedition, under General Baker, was sent out in November, after the British forces were in possession of Cabul, to hunt out these fugitives from the villages in which they had found refuge. A village named Indikee was surrounded, and the headmen were ordered by the general, under pain of death and the burning of their dwellings, to deliver up the hidden soldiers, and only five minutes' grace was allowed them. But the Afghan warriors saved their hosts the dreadful alternative, and came forward at once and answered to their names on the roll-call of their regiment, which was in the hands of Baker. With an insensibility to the generous self-devotion of these men which is most shocking, they were ignominiously hanged as if they had been the vilest criminals, and a ruinous fine of 20,000 lbs. of grain and 600 loads of chopped straw for forage was extracted from the villagers under the threat of burning their dwellings to the ground. Other villages were treated in the same barbarous manner, and altogether

General Baker in the course of a hunt of three or four days captured eighty-nine wearied and wounded Afghans, of whom he executed forty-nine.* The only regret expressed by the perpetrators of these barbarous deeds was that the men thus mercilessly put to death were private soldiers, and that their generals, Karbel Khan, Nek Mahomed, and Mahomed Jan, for whose capture large rewards had been offered, had made their escape.

Another expedition, commanded by General Tytler, destroyed no less than twelve large villages stored with grain, leaving the helpless women and children in the depth of an Afghan winter to perish of hunger and cold. It need excite no surprise that such atrocities created a burning thirst for revenge among all the Afghan tribes, that the whole country rose in arms against its barbarous invaders, and that the immediate result was to place our troops in a position of imminent peril, in which they were compelled to fight for their lives and not for conquest. It may well be asked on what grounds did the Indian Viceroy and his Council order these Afghan soldiers to be put to death in cold blood? to what Government had they been traitors? against what sovereign had they rebelled? It could not be alleged that because they fought against the British troops who invaded their country they were therefore to be regarded and treated as rebels, for our Government had never claimed any right of sovereignty over Afghanistan. With almost as little reason could they be accused of treason against Yakoob Khan. It suited the purpose of Lord Beaconsfield and the Indian Viceroy to recognize him as Ameer; but he was not the nearest heir to the throne, and Shere Ali, his father, so strongly disapproved of his claim to the succession that he consigned him to a long and apparently hopeless imprisonment. A considerable number of the chiefs refused to recognize the validity of his pretensions, and denounced him as the puppet of the British Government, and as a coward and a traitor to his country. The great body of the Afghan tribes, in fact, from the first repudiated his claims to the ameership, and never in any form acknowledged the treaty which our Indian Viceroy, under the dictation of the Home Government, wrung from the pretender whom he had placed on the throne. Yet under a contemptible quibble the Government instructed their officers to hang as traitors the soldiers who never owed allegiance to Yakoob Khan, and who simply did their duty as freemen and patriots in defending their hearths and homes against invasion.

This conduct must be regarded as still more indefensible when we take into account the fact that there is good reason to believe that in resisting the British troops the Afghan chiefs and their clansmen were obeying the secret orders of the Ameer himself. After the advance of the British army into Afghanistan he abdicated the sovereignty, as we have seen, was treated as a prisoner, and sent out of the country with a view to his being brought to trial on the charge that he had instigated or at least connived at the attack on the Residency. In these circumstances Lord Lytton was no more entitled to say as he did, that 'the British Government could justly destroy Cabul,' than Bismarck would have been warranted to say that the Prussian Government could justly destroy Paris; and General Roberts had no more right to treat as rebels the Afghan soldiers who fought against our troops at Charasaib in defence of their capital than Von Moltke would have had to hang the French soldiers who, after Sedan, fought against the Prussians in defence of Paris, or to offer rewards for the capture of their officers, in order that they might be ignominiously put to death.

At this period, however, the Ministerial journals had the effrontery to declare that religion and morality have nothing to do

* An attempt was made to minimize these atrocities after the public indignation was aroused against them, but the proclamations and telegrams speak for themselves, to say nothing of the mutilated and cooked letters of the special correspondents.

with the policy of a Government—that the interest of our own country was the sole object to be kept in view in our dealings with the Afghans, whose welfare was not for an instant to be taken into account by our rulers and their agents; and that in order to provide for the security of our Indian dominions the Government was entitled to lay waste the Afghan territory, to expel or imprison its rulers, to put to death the inhabitants who resisted our authority, and to reduce the country to a state of complete anarchy. When such cynically selfish and immoral pleas were unblushingly promulgated by the supporters of the Ministry at home, it was not surprising that the Indian Government and the commanders of our troops carried on hostilities against the Afghan tribes in a manner which violated both the recognized laws of war and the common dictates of humanity. The cruelty with which the Afghan soldiers were treated, together with the oppressive requisitions for forage and the exactions of revenue, roused the indignation of the headmen, and persistent attacks were made upon our troops. Priests and patriots were busy everywhere preaching the duty of fighting to the death against the infidel and the foreigner. At Ghuznee, to which the Cabul soldiers had fled, an aged Mollah became the prophet of a holy war, and insurgent bands collected in great numbers in the turbulent province of Kohistan. In Maidan the people rose and murdered the Governor, a son of Dost Mohammed, for no other reason than that he was appointed by the British General.

On the 10th of December a serious conflict took place between our troops and a large body of Ghuznee insurgents, who fought with desperate courage, unchecked by the fire of our artillery, and twice repulsed a cavalry charge. The guns were upset in the water-cuts and abandoned, though ultimately recovered, and our soldiers were compelled to retreat in great disorder. Incessant attacks of the same kind by overwhelming numbers of hillmen were made upon our troops, and were repulsed with difficulty after heavy losses. In the end General Roberts found it necessary to withdraw all his men from Cabul to the fortified encampment of Sherpur, two miles north of the city, till the arrival of reinforcements. Towards the close of the year the attacks of the insurgents on his position were renewed with such determined resolution and perseverance that he found it necessary to dislodge them from the surrounding hills and villages. After a severe struggle he succeeded in driving them off with considerable loss; and Mahomed Jan and the other leaders fled to Ghuznee, taking with them the infant son of Yakoob Khan, whom he had declared Ameer. General Roberts then issued a proclamation, granting an amnesty to all who would return to their homes, with the exception of six leaders of the revolt against Yakoob Khan and the murderers of the Governor of Maidan.

Although the attack upon Sherpur had been repulsed, and our troops for the present relieved from imminent danger, vengeance was still sought upon the Afghan tribes. General Baker was sent towards Kohistan with a force of about 2000 men to 'punish' the tribes in that district who had taken an active part in the attack upon our intrenched camp. General Bright was meanwhile occupying himself in 'punishing' the tribesmen who had interrupted General Gough's march on Jugdulluck and Lataband and had harassed the British outposts. In this 'punitive expedition,' as it was termed, he 'completely surprised' their villages, and of course treated them after the example set by General Baker.

The unity of Afghanistan seemed now completely broken up by our wanton invasion. Province after province had broken away. The most important strongholds to the south and to the east were in the hands of the British forces, and various portions in other quarters were in the possession of chiefs striving for

independence. One section, headed by Mahomed Jan, declared for the infant son of Yakoob Khan, and was supported by the patriotic party and the fanatical Mohammedans. Abdurahman, the old rival of Shere Ali, was once more in the field, while the Governor of Herat, Ayoob Khan, Yakoob's brother, was preparing to assert his own claims. The British Government let it be understood that they were prepared to recognize as Ameer any fit and friendly Sirdar whom the representatives of the people might choose, but it was utterly impossible to obtain anything like unanimity in the choice of a person to fill the vacant throne. About the end of March Mr. Lepell Griffin, who had been Secretary to the Punjaub Government, arrived at Cabul, and assumed the control of political affairs. He took an early opportunity of informing the Sirdars that it was considered advisable to divide the country into its old constituent provinces; and Shere Ali, cousin of the Ameer of the same name, was informed by the Viceroy that he was to be recognized as the independent ruler or Wali of the kingdom of Candahar. A British resident was of course to be appointed to his court, and a British force was to be stationed at Candahar for his protection. As a further indication of the good-will of the British Government, he was told that a battery of smooth-bore guns was on its way to him as a present. Negotiations were now opened with Abdurahman, and on 22nd July he was recognized as Ameer of Northern Afghanistan. He was put in possession of the fortifications constructed at Cabul, Jellalabad, and other strongholds. A large sum of money was given him, and he also obtained all the captured Afghan guns and stores of ammunition.

The troops which garrisoned Candahar had been detained on service since they had been sent up to Afghanistan in 1878, and were now impatient to leave the country. It was therefore decided to send up Bombay troops to relieve these Bengal regiments, and it was thought desirable that they hould proceed to India by Ghuznee and Cabul, instead of returning by Quetta and the Bolan Pass. On the arrival of the troops who were to replace them at Candahar, the Bengal force, numbering about 6000 fighting men, started in three divisions for Ghuznee under General Stewart. At Khelat-i-Ghilzye the three columns united. Their road lay through a dreary and desert country, which seemed to have been abandoned by the inhabitants. At a place called Ahmed Khel, about 23 miles south of Ghuznee, they were attacked (19th April) by a body of Afghans consisting of 15,000 foot and 1000 horsemen. After a desperate struggle, in which 3000 of the assailants are believed to have fallen, the Afghans were defeated and driven off. The loss of the British forces was only 17 killed and 124 wounded, and next day their advanced cavalry entered Ghuznee without opposition. After a short halt General Stewart started for Cabul, which he reached in safety, though he had repeatedly to defend himself on his march against the attacks of the hillmen, who hung upon his flanks and availed themselves of every opportunity to harass and annoy him.

On his arrival at Cabul General Stewart, as senior officer, took over the command from General Roberts. At this juncture the elections at home having gone decidedly against the Government, they had at once resigned. Lord Hartington was appointed Indian Secretary, and Lord Lytton was replaced by the Marquis of Ripon. The scheme of the Conservative ministry was virtually to make Candahar a protected state, under the control of the British Viceroy, and to allow Cabul and Northern Afghanistan to be governed by any friendly Ameer whom the chiefs might select. Communications had accordingly been opened with Abdurahman before Lord Lytton resigned office, and was continued by his successor, who made it known that our main object was to effect our retreat peaceably from the country, but that it was desirable that a settled Government should

be created. The new ministry, however, were evidently indisposed to retain Candahar and the other places made over to us by the treaty of Gundamuk, or to take any steps which would involve the necessity of maintaining a permanent garrison in Afghanistan.

Negotiations were still continued with Abdurahman, though he was well known to be a Russian pensioner, and at last, on the 22nd of July, at a durbar held at Cabul, Mr. Griffin announced that the British Government recognized Abdurahman as Ameer of Northern Afghanistan. He frankly stated to Mr. Griffin that he did not desire our ostensible support, and that the presence of our troops would only alienate his followers and weaken his authority. No formal engagement was entered into with him, and he was not asked to receive a British resident, but he was assured that if he conformed to the advice of the British Government they would, if necessary, defend him against unprovoked aggression.

Meanwhile Ayoob Khan, one of the sons of the late Shere Ali, who had for some time been Governor of Herat, now began to press his claims to the ameership, and advanced towards Fara at the head of a numerous and well-equipped army. The new Viceroy, who appears to have been imperfectly informed as to the state of matters, was of opinion that Ayoob's passage of the river Helmund would endanger our position at Candahar, and gave orders that it should be prevented. General Burrows was sent at the head of a body of 2600 men, of whom only 497 were European infantry and 141 artillerymen, to arrest the progress of the invader. It was soon reported that the tribesmen were flocking in great numbers to Ayoob Khan's standard. The soldiers of the Wali of Candahar mutinied and hastened to join him, and some notables who had been long believed to be sincerely loyal disappeared secretly from Candahar to take part with the invader. In these circumstances General Burrows decided to retire to the village of Khushk-i-Nakhud, 44 miles from Candahar, thus putting a desert tract of 30 miles between him and the Helmund. The moral effect of this movement was decidedly bad, as indicating a sense of weakness to Ayoob and the inhabitants of the district. The general's scouts were negligent or treacherous, and he was not aware that Ayoob had actually crossed the Helmund until the appearance of his cavalry a few miles from the British camp. Councils were held, at which great difference of opinion prevailed, and nothing definite was determined. About 12 miles north of Khushk-i-Nakhud is a village called Maiwand, and a pass over the hills, by which a force, avoiding the British camp, could march on to Candahar. On the evening of the 26th July spies reported that a small body of the enemy were making for the pass, and next morning General Burrows resolved to march out, in order to 'turn out the few hundred Ghazees' who occupied it.

The general was an 'excellent office-man, who had spent the best years of his life on the staff;' and though brave as a lion, he was incapable of appreciating the course he ought to have followed. As Ayoob was obliged to assume the offensive, Burrows ought to have taken up a strong position on the enemy's line of advance, and to have awaited his attack. He seems, however, to have had no definite plan but that of fighting the Afghans whenever he got the opportunity. On the 26th he heard that Ayoob's advance-guard had arrived at Garunavand and Maiwand, with the main body following, and he resolved to assume the offensive. His small force, weakened by sickness and encumbered by the huge train of baggage which it had to guard, had to engage an Afghan force of at least 12,000 men (General Burrows estimated them at 25,000, but his estimate was probably incorrect), of whom 5000 were cavalry. Lieutenant Maclaine, with his guns, crossed a broad torrent-bed which lay between the Afghans and the British force. It is said

that an order was sent to him to return, but for some unknown reason he failed to do so, and other two guns and some cavalry were despatched to his support. The general had no opportunity of reconnoitring the ground, or ascertaining the extent of the deep torrent-bed in front and on our right which concealed and sheltered the enemy; but he admitted that Lieutenant Maclaine's impetuosity in commencing the action sooner than was intended compelled him to open fire at once with the remaining guns. The details of the conflict cannot be ascertained with anything approaching to certainty. If the most daring courage could have made up for unskilful strategy, General Burrows 'would have won a Victoria Cross twenty times.' But under the attacks of the overwhelming numbers of the enemy the native troops became unsteady, and their line at length 'curled up like a wave.' The 66th British Foot displayed the most desperate valour in resisting the attacks of the surging masses of swordsmen, cavalry, and musketeers who pressed upon them from all sides, and they suffered severely in the conflict; but at length the few wearied remnants were swept to the rear in a surging mob of Sepoys and Afghans. The general, in order to save his infantry from annihilation, was compelled to give the order for retreat, which speedily became a flight. During the rest of the day, and all through the night till the morning of the following day, the fugitives continued to stream towards Candahar. The Afghans hovered in the rear and made frequent attacks, but failed to disperse our men, who, though worn out with thirst and hunger and fatigue, made a gallant resistance whenever an onset was made. Their rear was protected by the artillery, which kept up its military formation even to the walls of Candahar, and the limbers served as ambulances for the wounded. Altogether in the battle and the retreat nearly half the force perished.

It is only an act of justice to General Burrows to quote the testimony borne by a distinguished officer to his conduct in this conflict. While admitting that he had committed serious mistakes in strategy, it was added, 'on the other hand, he never lost his head for a moment, and in the moment of the greatest danger and confusion exerted himself with the utmost gallantry and energy to restore order.' Indeed, that any of his force escaped at all is probably due to his calm courage. He showed that, if owing to a long career of desk work he was an unskilful general, he was, at all events, a fighting officer of whom the British army may be proud.

General Burrows undoubtedly committed a series of tactical errors of a grave nature, but the blame of this rash and unfortunate enterprise is not altogether due to him, but must be largely shared by General Primrose, who commanded in Candahar, and the Indian Government. The former was responsible for despatching General Burrows with only some 2600 men and twelve guns to hold in check an army of at least 12,000 men with thirty guns, and leaving him with no support nearer than 43 miles. He certainly ought to have sent to the assistance of Burrows at least the two regiments of native infantry which had arrived from the frontier in time for the battle of Maiwand. If he did not think fit to strengthen the brigade, he should have recalled it. Want of forethought and false economy on the part of the Indian Government had so denuded General Phayre, who was stationed at Quetta, of transport, that he could not push up any large force to Candahar.

Had ordinary foresight and prudence been displayed, General Phayre would have been able to have reached Candahar by August 15. But both the Government and General Primrose seemed to have failed to appreciate the position of affairs. Fortunately the enemy had suffered too much and were too weary with the efforts of the day to continue the pursuit very far; but bands of their cavalry hung for some miles on the rear of our forces, and when day

broke the villagers along the road poured out in great and ever-increasing numbers to harass and cut down the fugitives. But for the assistance given by General Brooke with a small party of soldiers who came out of Candahar to their assistance, probably few of the defeated troops would have forced their way through the crowds of assailants who sought to block the road to that city. Two of the Horse Artillery guns were captured, along with their brave leader, Lieutenant Maclaine, and five of the smooth-bores presented to the Wali were abandoned in the retreat. The behaviour of all the troops engaged in this unfortunate affair seems to have been good up to two o'clock, when the native infantry regiments were swept away by the rush of overwhelming numbers of Ghazees and horsemen. The native cavalry, however, behaved badly, and refused to charge the enemy at a critical moment of the battle. One proof of their demoralization is that not a single native officer was killed. Altogether the British loss, in killed and missing, amounted to about 1000 men out of the 2600 of whom the force consisted.

Such was the consternation caused by this defeat that General Primrose, who commanded at Candahar, precipitately abandoned the encampment and withdrew into the city—a step which was strongly condemned by Sir F. Haines, the Commander-in-chief. The victorious Afghans were said to have bought their victory so dearly that they hesitated to advance from Khushk-i-Nakhud. One portion of them wished to march on Candahar, another insisted on returning. Disputes ran so high, that from words they came to blows. In the end, however, they resolved to attack Candahar, and they set themselves at the same time to stir up the tribes along the route to Quetta. During the first week of August Ayoob's main body appeared before the city, and batteries were erected and villages and posts occupied on every side, save the north. On the 8th they began firing upon Candahar. Their artillery had been splendidly served at Maiwand, and the practice was equally good at Candahar. A sortie, which was very injudiciously made by General Primrose, terminated in the loss of more than one-fifth of the troops employed, including the able and gallant Brigadier-general Brooke. But in a short time the enemy, who never really pressed the siege, practically raised it on hearing that a relieving force under General Roberts was approaching.

When the news of the disaster at Maiwand reached Cabul it was resolved that General Roberts should march to the relief of Candahar at the head of a picked body of the troops stationed at the capital, and that the forces not required for this purpose should at once withdraw from the country before the tidings of our defeat should rouse the tribesmen against us. Accordingly, two days after General Roberts had started for Candahar, General Stewart commenced his march to India with the less efficient troops, the sick, the swarms of camp followers, the Hindoo traders, and all the Afghans who thought it unsafe to remain after the British force had quitted the country. Not a shot was fired against them as they withdrew, they suffered no molestation during their homeward march, and with scarcely any of the illness and suffering which had been anticipated they regained their long-wished-for cantonments in India. Mr. Griffin said, in his address at the last durbar, that he hoped the recollections which the Afghans would have of us would not be wholly unfriendly, and certainly the inhabitants of Cabul, to which our armies had gone on a mission of vengeance, had reason to remember us with some gratitude, for, to say nothing of the lavish expenditure by which they had been enriched, and of the medical skill and medicines by which the sick had been benefited, our troops left the city fortified as it had never been fortified before.

Meanwhile General Roberts was on his march to the relief of Candahar. 'The road from Candahar,' says a distinguished officer, 'passed through a hostile country, in which

not only opposition but also scarcity of supplies was to be anticipated. A single route was available, and an army marching from Cabul was in this position—that it would quit a base which was being simultaneously evacuated and move on a beleaguered fortress. It would therefore be completely in the air. Such an operation was in complete violation of all the principles of strategy, and nothing but—not merely success, but rapid success, without a single check, could justify it. A more audacious march was therefore never undertaken. That it was completely—nay, brilliantly—successful reflects great credit on General Roberts, but does not absolve the Government from the responsibility which it incurred by having rendered the step necessary.'

Considerable anxiety was felt respecting the position of General Roberts, as from the time he left the Logar Valley none of the messages sent by him, till he arrived at Khelat-i-Ghilzye, reached the British authorities elsewhere. The General had under his command 2562 European soldiers, 7157 Natives, and 273 British officers. He was weak in artillery, having with him only eighteen mountain guns. The baggage was reduced to the smallest possible compass, but the army was encumbered with 8000 camp followers. The march commenced on the 9th of August; the first 98 miles were traversed in seven days, and on the 15th the forces reached Ghuznee. The soldiers were put to great trouble and toil in consequence of the desertion of the drivers belonging to the transport service, but they were not attacked or harassed during their march by the hostile tribes. On the 23rd the column reached Khelat-i-Ghilzye, having marched from Ghuznee, a distance of 134 miles, in eight days. Taking the garrison with him, General Roberts pursued his onward march, and on the 26th he learned that Ayoob Khan had on the 23rd abandoned the investment of Candahar, and had taken up a position north-west of the city, in the Argandab Valley, where he evidently intended making a stand. On the 31st of August the relieving force reached Candahar, 318 miles from Cabul, which they had traversed in twenty-three days, including two halts of one day each. The discipline of the troops during this great march was no less remarkable than their spirit and endurance, and though straggling soldiers and some camp followers were in several instances murdered by the Afghans, who hung upon the rear of the column, no act of retaliation was committed. Supplies were paid for, and private property was everywhere respected.

General Roberts was instructed by the Government to seek out and defeat Ayoob Khan, and he lost no time in performing the duty intrusted to him. Reinforced by the garrison of Candahar, under General Primrose, consisting of 4500 soldiers, a battery of 40-pounders, a battery of field artillery, and four guns of horse artillery, he marched out to attack the enemy, who were strongly intrenched at the village of Pir Paimal, on a spur of a range of hills to the west of Candahar, and occupied in great force several villages in front of their position. They did not seem inclined to wait the attack of our men, but prepared to assume the offensive with great steadiness and resolution. The British troops, in forcing their way through lanes and inclosures surrounded by high walls, which had been loopholed, encountered a most stubborn resistance, and lost a large number both of officers and men. After severe fighting the village of Pir Paimal was carried soon after noon, and the Afghans retired to an intrenched camp to the south of the Babi Wali Pass, which leads to the Argandab Valley. They held this strong position for some time with great determination, but they were at length driven from it at the point of the bayonet, and fled in great disorder, pursued for 15 miles and cut up by the British cavalry. Ayoob's camp, which stood at Mazra, a mile beyond, was found completely deserted, and thirty-two pieces of artillery,

including the two guns captured at Maiwand, and other four afterwards brought in, fell into the hands of the victors. The lifeless body of Lieutenant Maclaine, Royal Horse Artillery, who was captured on 27th August, was lying outside a tent, close to Ayoob's own. He had been basely murdered by his guard just before they fled from the camp. This act of butchery may not have been ordered by Ayoob Khan, but he must be held directly responsible for it. The total loss of the British was 40 killed and 228 wounded. The loss of the enemy could not be ascertained, but it must have been very heavy, probably in killed alone upwards of 1200. Ayoob fled from the field early in the day, and attended by a compact body of horsemen he made the best of his way to Herat.

The policy of keeping a British force at Candahar was strongly advocated by an influential party both in England and in India, but the Home Government sent a despatch in November to the Viceroy, expressing 'in the strongest and plainest terms' their objection to any step that would involve the permanent retention of British troops at Candahar. In their opinion the apprehension of danger to India from the Russian advance was groundless. If we resolved to occupy Candahar we would inevitably be drawn on to make further advances, and we should be constrained to march to Herat by the same arguments as were employed to justify the retention of Candahar. Our occupation of that city, the ministers affirmed, would be followed by constant difficulties with the Afghans, would interfere with the establishment of a strong Afghanistan, and would involve the Indian Government in a great and unwarrantable expense. Lord Ripon was therefore instructed to withdraw our troops from Candahar at the earliest suitable time, which was accordingly done. The forts constructed in the Khyber Pass were handed over to the Afridis, the native tribe of the district, who, in return for a subsidy, agreed to patrol the Pass, keep it open, and provide escorts. The Khurum Valley was delivered to the Turis, a local tribe who had assisted us in the war.

Sir John Strachey, the Indian Finance Minister, estimated that the total expenditure of the war down to the end of 1880–1881, would be £5,750,000, and that the cost of the two railways—one from Sakkar, on the Indus, to the foot of the Bolan Pass, the other towards the Khyber—would be £3,000,000. It was ascertained by the month of October that the military expenditure proper down to the close of the year would be £13,148,000, and that the expenditure on frontier railways would amount to £4,917,000. Thus the net cost of the war was the enormous sum of £18,065,000.

Such was the close of this second attempt to compel the Afghans by force of arms to submit to our authority, and to become our dependants. 'When General Roberts' brilliant march and victory,' says Mr. Bosworth Smith, 'enabled us to flatter ourselves that we had wiped out the memory of our disgrace, it was necessary for us to find or to make another king, and we fished out a Russian pensioner, whom we straightway put upon the throne to oppose Russian aggression! And then the Government which had succeeded, by no fault of their own, to the heritage of wrong left them by their predecessors, did the best that they could under the circumstances by withdrawing from the scene of our sin and shame; and we now have the satisfaction of feeling that we have thrown away twenty millions of money and thousands of lives, and the plighted word of successive Viceroys, and the solemn pledges of treaties, in pursuit of a "scientific frontier," which has vanished clean away, and is never spoken of but with derision, that we have turned the whole Afghan nation into our deadly foes, and that we have not stopped the march of Russia towards India by one single day.'

CHAPTER XVII.

South African disturbances—History of Cape Colony—Position of the Boers—Their slaves and treatment of the Hottentots—Abolition of Slavery—Collisions between the Boers and the Kafirs—Decision of Lord Glenelg and the House of Commons respecting the case of the Kafirs—Exodus of the Boers to the Orange territory—Natal Colony—Another Kafir War—Annexation of Kafirland, Basutoland, and the Orange River Free State—A third Kafir War—The Orange River State declared independent—Atrocities committed by the Boers—Hostilities between the Basutos and the Orange River State—Appeal of that State to Britain for help—Renewed hostilities with the Basuto chief Moshesh—His entreaty for protection—His tribe made British subjects—Discovery of the Diamond Fields—Dispute about the sovereignty of the country—Its settlement—Supply of firearms to the natives—Its consequences—Constitutional Government granted to Cape Colony—Failure of the experiment—Another Kafir War—Lord Carnarvon's proposal of confederation—Quarrel between the Boers and the Zulus—Cetewayo—Defeat of the Boers by Sekokuni—Annexation of the Transvaal—Sir Bartle Frere's policy—His ultimatum to Cetewayo—Defeat of the British troops at Isandula—Rorke's Drift and Ekowe held against the Zulus—Death of the ex-Imperial Prince of France—Defeat and capture of Cetewayo—Terms granted to the Zulus by Sir Garnet Wolseley—Cetewayo's visit to England—His restoration—Opposition to it—Its result.

WHILE war was still raging in Afghanistan serious disturbances broke out in South Africa, which led to hostilities both with the native tribes and the Dutch Boers, and terminated in a most unsatisfactory result. The peninsula of Table Mountain was occupied by the Dutch East India Company in 1652, and they gradually extended their authority as far as the Great Fish River on the east of Grahamstown. The Dutch settlers proved bad neighbours to the native races, and at the close of last century, in addition to 26,000 slaves—descendants of Malays or of imported negroes—they had reduced the Hottentots to a state of serfdom. The conquest of Holland by Napoleon created a sudden danger that the Cape might be seized by the French, and at the request of the Stadtholder the British Government took temporary possession of it in his name in 1795. At the Peace of Amiens the colony was restored to Holland, but in 1806 the danger recurred, and Sir David Baird was despatched to recover possession. The Hollanders in Cape Town had become infected with the French revolutionary notions, and made a vigorous resistance to the British troops, but were defeated, and the colony became again provisionally a British possession. The occupation was intended to be only temporary, but at the Treaty of Paris in 1815 Holland agreed to accept other territories in exchange for her South African possessions, and the Dutch at the Cape became British subjects.

For the first quarter of a century after the transference of the colony to Britain matters proceeded pretty smoothly between the new Government and the Boers. They retained their laws, their religion, and their language, and they were permitted to govern their slaves and Hottentot serfs in their own way. In 1828, however, the law of settlement, which confined the Hottentots to special locations and obliged them to work for their livelihood, was repealed, and they were left free to go where they pleased. This step gave great dissatisfaction to the Boers, and in the long-run proved the reverse of advantageous to the Hottentots, who have now almost entirely disappeared. Then followed the abolition of slavery in the colony. The slavery of the Cape was mainly patriarchal, and differed widely from the system prevalent in the West Indies and the United States. It still was slavery, and its abolition was just and expedient, but this was carried out in a manner that excited a sense of indignant resentment among the Boers. They claimed £3,000,000 as the value of their slaves, but the indemnity was cut down to £1,200,000, and by a piece of perverse official mismanagement the money was made payable only at the Bank of

England. The Boers petitioned that they might receive what was due to them in Treasury drafts payable in the colonies, but their request was refused, and not knowing how to obtain payment they were induced to sell their certificates to some sharp English speculators at a loss of from 20 to 30 per cent. 'The consequence was that families whose estates were mortgaged were utterly ruined, while many wealthy Dutch settlers refused in silent pride to receive the miserable sum which was allotted to them, and dismissed their slaves without any indemnity at all.' The abolition of slavery at the Cape produced a great change in the domestic life of the Boer. His every-day relations to those around him were altered for the worse. His familiar modes of discipline were prohibited. His servants were at liberty to rebel against his authority. 'He was called on to treat them with a consideration to which neither he nor they were used—a disturbance of relations degrading to his self-respect and not without a certain demoralizing effect on them. If slavery was to be really abolished all this was unavoidable. But he saw no reason why slavery should be abolished, and it was plain that at least a generation must pass away before the new state of things could be recognized as endurable. Before that time fresh causes of quarrel had arisen in connection with the management of the natives.'

The Kafirs, a brave and enterprising race, had been driven back from the Fish River to the Kieskamma, forty miles beyond the old boundary, and they naturally resented their exclusion from the territory which they regarded as their own property. In retaliation they stole the cattle of the border farmers, and carried off their booty into the mountains. The Boers in turn collected in armed bands called 'commandos,' and made raids into the Kafir territory to recover the stolen cattle and to punish the thieves. Lives were lost on both sides, and a hostile feeling was engendered which was certain to break out some day into open warfare. The Kafirs were driven further and further back, and of course resisted and resented the loss of lives, cattle, and territory. Having obtained guns and powder through the merchants who traded at the mission stations, they prepared in the end of 1834 for a general rising. On the 22nd of December they poured across the frontier along a line of 400 miles, destroying all before them. A vast amount of property, valued at £300,000, and many lives were lost, and the whole country was laid waste almost to Port Elizabeth. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the Governor and Commander-in-Chief, hastened to the rescue, accompanied by Colonel (afterwards Sir Harry) Smith. The invading Kafirs were driven back, several thousands of them were killed, including Hintza, the Chief of Kaffraria and the contriver of the inroad, a part of the stolen property was recovered, and a large tract of land was appropriated. Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, praised the Governor's energy but condemned his severity, and having satisfied himself that the Kafirs had been 'amply justified' in endeavouring to 'extort by force the redress which they could not otherwise obtain,' he ordered their lands to be restored. The House of Commons, after inquiry, approved of what Lord Glenelg had done, and reaffirmed that the war had arisen from systematic forgetfulness of the principles of justice on the part of the colonists.

The Dutch were furious at this decided disapproval of their old 'rough and ready' methods of dealing with the native tribes to which they were immovably attached, and 'believing,' as one of their defenders said, 'that in their own way they could establish more wholesome relations with the native tribes than under the uncertain dominion of Great Britain, they determined to seek a new home on the plains of the interior.'

Having made treaties with the Bechuanas, the Basutos, and the Griquas, about a

thousand families broke up at once from their old homes in the eastern provinces of the colony, and were followed by numbers more, and took up their residence on the rich grazing land beyond the Orange River. Natal is separated from this territory only by the Drachenberg Mountains, through which there are easy passes. At the invitation of Dengaan, the Kafir chief, whose brother Chaka had depopulated the lower and richer portion of Natal, several hundreds of the Dutch immigrants crossed the mountains to this inviting territory, which was then quite unoccupied. Under circumstances of the grossest treachery a portion of them were massacred by the savage Kafirs, but a fierce and sanguinary engagement ensued, in which Dengaan was defeated and killed, and the Dutch became masters of Natal. They desired to be recognized as independent, but Sir George Napier, the new Governor, reclaimed them by force as British subjects, and Natal thus became a British colony. A few of the Dutch immigrants remained there, along with an influx of British settlers, but the great majority retired over the mountains into the Orange River territory.

The restoration of their lands had failed to conciliate the Kafirs, who continued, on a large scale, their depredations on the cattle of the Dutch settlers in the Transvaal, and in 1846 they again invaded the territory of their neighbours—this time without provocation. The war was suppressed by Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir Harry Smith at a serious cost of money and lives. As soon as this was done Sir Harry very injudiciously accepted the offer of the Kafir and Basuto chiefs to place themselves under British sovereignty, and the Kei River became once more the boundary. A section of the Orange River settlers made the same request, and on the 3rd of February, 1848, Sir Harry proclaimed her Majesty's sovereignty over the country inclosed between the Vaal River, the Orange River, and the Drachenberg Mountains.

The arrangements thus so unadvisedly made by the Governor were not of long duration. He had no sooner left the territory than the Orange River people were again in arms, dismissed the British Commissioner, and resumed their independence. Sir Harry hastened back with his troops, and defeated the Boers (27th August) at a place called Bounplatz. Part of them retired over the Vaal River, under their leader Pretorius, and founded the South African Republic. The others remained in the Orange River district, in which a considerable number of British immigrants had now settled. But fresh disturbances speedily arose, in consequence of the manner in which the new British Commissioner, Major Warden, who was connected with the Dutch by marriage, thought fit to treat the Basutos, 'in order to court favour with the Boers.' A third, and the most severe, of the Kafir wars now broke out, largely owing to the mismanagement of Sir H. Smith, who had added Moshesh, the most powerful chief of the Basutos, to the list of our enemies. He was recalled, and Sir George Cathcart was sent out in his place. After eight months of hard fighting the Kafirs were compelled to submit. Sir George then crossed the Orange River, and defeated Moshesh and the Basutos.

The question now arose whether the British Government should retain or abandon the Orange River territory. Earl Grey, who was at this time Colonial Secretary, was decidedly of opinion that 'beyond the very limited extent of territory required for the security of the Cape of Good Hope as a naval station the British crown and nation have no interest whatever in maintaining a territorial dominion in South Africa.' The British settlers, the Cape merchants who had lent their money and sold their goods to the immigrants, and the Cape farmers were desirous that the new acquisition should be retained, but Sir George Cathcart reported that the Dutch refugees, who formed seven-eighths of the

population, were decidedly averse to submit again to the yoke of British domination. Above all, the abandonment of British sovereignty over the territory would save expense and trouble to the Home Government, and accordingly the British authority was withdrawn from the country north of the Orange River; and by a convention signed between British Commissioners and the Transvaal refugees in January, 1852, the Boers of the territory were declared to be, to all intents and purposes, 'a free and independent people, and their Government a free and independent Government.' The Boers at the same time became bound to permit no slavery or trade in slaves within the territory.

Rumours had for some time been prevalent that the Boers were kidnapping children to be made slaves, and the convention was scarcely concluded when the truth of the statement was proved by conclusive evidence. The illustrious Dr. Livingstone, who was at that time stationed in this district, informed the Colonial Office that the Boers had attacked a chief named Secheli, simply because he had allowed some Englishmen to pass through his country. They had plundered Livingstone's own property, destroyed Secheli's town, killed sixty of his people, and carried off 200 women and children. Many of the women, Livingstone said, would probably escape, but the children 'are reduced to a state of hopeless slavery.' Two missionaries, who had about this time complained to the Transvaal authorities of the capture of some children, were expelled at once from the country. One of them at his trial having stated that the law of the commando had been 'to shoot down all Kafirs, armed or unarmed, old or young men,' Pretorius frankly declared that he had given that law, and that 'the Boers did not think it cruel thus to act; but it was goodness and mercy to bring the children out from their wretched heathen parents that they may live among Christians.' The Boers attempted to show that such practices were not a violation of their convention with Britain, because, as they alleged, these kidnapped children were not reduced to slavery, but apprenticed in solitary farms—'the girls till twenty years of age, the boys till twenty-four.' A knowing old Boer, however, remarked that 'this was done under circumstances which made it unlikely they would ever find out that they were free.'

Even in the Transvaal there were those who sought to put an end to these atrocities, and one of them, Mr. Steyn, 'one of the oldest residenters in the Republic, and formerly Landdrost of Potchefstroom,' wrote to Sir Philip Wodehouse, Governor of Cape Colony, declaring that the annual wars between the Boers and the native tribes were 'solely caused by several of our frontier Boers making unprovoked commandos on some Kafir kraals. They shoot the men, and in some instances the women, and capture the children, whom they soon turn over to the profitable account of slavery.' Mr. Steyn was, in consequence of his having made this communication, imprisoned and put in chains, to answer to a charge of high treason preferred against him by the Attorney-General on the special instruction of President Pretorius. The charge was officially offered to be withdrawn if Mr. Steyn would say that he had been misinformed, but he treated the offer with contempt, and refused to flinch, as he said, from what he 'conscientiously believed to be the undeniable truth.'

The Legislative Council of Natal in 1868 declared that the South African Republic had since 1848 'carried on a system of slavery under the guise of child apprenticeship, such children being the result of raids carried on against native tribes, whose men are slaughtered, but whose children and property are seized, the one being enslaved and sold as apprentices, the other being appropriated.' The messengers of an African chief called Langa informed Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who gave implicit credit to their statements, that 'it is a common practice of the Boers to make

raids during the planting season and carry off all the children they find with their parents in the fields, shooting all those who are too old to forget their homes.'

In sending these statements home Lieutenant-Governor Keats says—

'Captives taken in war, children or adults, are valuable property. The slave-ships take the adults, because when carried beyond the seas they cannot by absconding return to their homes. This slavery in the Transvaal territory on the native soil of the slave gives rise to the most atrocious crimes. It requires and leads to the extermination of the parents and friends, whenever possible, of the captured children, who otherwise might be sought for and inveigled away. It makes desirable, too, for its purposes the annihilation of the very common instincts of human nature.'

The Lieutenant-Governor proceeds to give an example of this which we cannot venture to quote.

While these atrocities were being perpetrated by the South African Republic disputes had arisen between the Orange River Free State and Moshesh, the Basuto chief, respecting boundaries. The Basutos proved the stronger, and in the spring of 1858 President Bishof, reduced to great extremities, made an earnest appeal to Sir George Grey, the Governor of Cape Colony, to 'put a stop to all the bloodshed and spoliation which has already taken place.' Sir George at once interposed in behalf of the settlers, and induced Moshesh to suspend hostilities and to accept of British arbitration. Negotiations terminated in the chief's consenting to a boundary line highly advantageous to the Free State.

Troubles, however, speedily arose again, and Moshesh appealed to Sir George Grey to allow him to obtain ammunition and to be taken under British protection, pleading the readiness with which, through the Governor's mediation, he had consented to enlarge the boundary line, even after it had been defined in the treaty of peace. The request of the Basuto chief was not attended to, and difficulties continued to increase. A joint commission was appointed to investigate the complaints on both sides respecting thefts. In one district it was reported that 'the thefts of stock *from* the Basutos had very far exceeded those which they had committed on the subjects of the Free State.' This unwelcome result of investigation prevented the inquiry from being extended to the other districts. Mutual recriminations continued to be made, and at last war recommenced, and once more the Basutos gained the superiority. Again British intervention was 'earnestly implored' in 1864 by the President of the Free State. Sir P. Wodehouse, the new Governor, promptly acceded to this entreaty and gave an award, to which as before the Basuto chief agreed.

The position of the two parties rendered it very difficult for them to live at peace, and war broke out again with merciless severity. The crops were destroyed to create a famine, and the natives were robbed of their cattle and slaughtered, even their women and children being put to death. The Boers were at length victorious, and compelled Moshesh to sign a treaty which surrendered to them all his really useful land, and confined his tribe to a district which was totally insufficient for their support. But the Basutos speedily found it impossible for them to observe a treaty which had been extorted from them by starvation, and war was renewed. Moshesh repeated his entreaty for help from the British Government, which had been previously refused, but was now at last granted, and the Basuto chief was taken under British protection. A small extension of frontier was granted to the Free State, which was guaranteed against further aggressions from the natives, who were now made British subjects. One party complained that the Governor had been too lenient to the Boers, while the other denounced his intervention as depriving the Free State of the rewards of victory; but impartial observers approved of the course which he followed as in every way the best for both parties, allowing both the settlers and the natives alike to enjoy the fruit of their

labours. 'Looking to the claims of the native chief—a man who had been our friend as steadily as his nature permitted, who had spared his enemies at our request, who had been denied the means of defending himself, who had constantly asked the privilege of becoming our subject, and whose tribe was about to perish by immediate or protracted starvation; looking to our own interests, which forbade us to allow the establishment on our borders of a focus of those infectious diseases—robbery and disaffection; looking to the position of the Free State, which had revolted from us because they were wedded to the "rough and ready" methods which we, from motives of interest and humanity, had struggled to put down, whom we had once or twice saved from the consequences of their "wholesome" methods, and who notwithstanding were pursuing them unremittingly to our embarrassment; looking, lastly, to the result, which has as yet been more than all that could be expected in the way of general peace and prosperity—we do not think that any man, who has either sense to see what is wise, or humanity to feel what is righteous, will find fault with what was done.'

In 1871 diamonds were discovered in great abundance in what is now called West Griqualand, and as soon as the diggings were opened there was a rush of rough and unscrupulous adventurers to the diamond fields, who soon numbered 8,000 or 10,000, and eventually reached 50,000. Hordes of the natives also were attracted to the spot by the enormous wages that could be earned there. It was computed that from the date at which the mines were opened down to 1878 the value of the diamonds found in them reached £10,000,000 sterling, and that the wages paid to the natives at the diggings in four years amounted to £1,800,000. So vast was the consequent increase of wealth in the colony that the revenue was trebled, and the prices of oxen, horses, and sheep were quadrupled. There was a dispute, however, pending at the time of the discovery of the diamonds between the Free State and a Griqua chief called Waterboer respecting the sovereignty of the land. It was evident that neither possessed the power to compel the obedience of a mixed multitude composed mainly of the waifs and strays of humanity, to punish criminals, and to suppress insurgent natives. The dispute was referred, after much wrangling, to Sir Philip Wodehouse, but he left the colony without disposing of it. The Free State moved forward a burgher force to support their claims; the diggers, who wished to be under British protection, prepared to resist them. The Governor of the Cape was authorized by the Home Government to receive Waterboer as a British subject, leaving, however, the claim to the diamond fields (which only concerned a part of his territory) open to arbitration. Negotiations with this view were resumed, but without any satisfactory result, till at last President Brandt, who had come to London on this and other business, and Lord Carnarvon, the new Colonial Secretary, settled the matter in a personal meeting, and it was agreed that the sum of £90,000 should be paid to the Free State as compensation for its claims. The propriety of this arrangement was long 'a vexed question,' and a good deal has been plausibly said with great ability on both sides. The territory was constituted a Crown colony, under the designation of West Griqualand.

One great evil speedily arose out of the discovery of the diamond fields and the action of the authorities in the new Crown colony. The South African States had been obliged, from a regard to self-preservation, to restrict the supply of fire-arms to the native tribes, and especially to the Kafirs, who are a numerous, enterprising, and warlike race. But the Griqualand Government broke through this salutary and universal rule. In order to induce the natives to labour at the mines a free trade in fire-arms was openly allowed there. The Zulus, Kafirs, Basutos, and other tribes

eagerly flocked in thousands to the diamond fields, in order that they might be able to obtain rifles, fresh relays of them succeeding one upon another, and after a fortnight's labour returning home with their rifles on their shoulders and their powder-bags by their sides. The consequences of this insane proceeding speedily began to show themselves. The young men of a chief called Langabalele, who resided in Natal, obtained guns and powder at the mines, and brought them back on their return. In Natal the possession of guns was illegal. They did not understand that what was lawful in one Crown colony might be unlawful in another, and when required to send on their guns to Maritzburg the chief did not immediately obey. His 'young men,' he said, had worked for them, and had bought them openly under the sanction of the British Government in another province. Langabalele was summoned to appear before the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Benjamin Pine, but was afraid to come, and disobeyed the summons. His tribe, consisting of about 1500 souls, began to fly from Natal to the territory of the Basutos. The Natal Government, imagining that they would return in arms with their allies, declared war against them, carried fire and sword through their territory, and in a fit of rage perpetrated the most shocking atrocities. The chief was taken prisoner, and brought to trial on a charge of treason, sedition, and rebellion. The trial was a complete mockery, and was carried out in a manner equally illegal and discreditable. The proceedings were brought under the notice of the Home Government, and after a careful investigation Lord Carnarvon reversed the decision of the colonial authorities, and ordered reparation to be made, as far as possible, to the injured tribe. Sir Benjamin Pine was at the same time informed that he must resign the administration of the colony.

In 1853 constitutional government was established at the Cape of Good Hope, which had previously been a Crown colony. In 1872 Lord Granville, Colonial Secretary, proposed to carry out at the Cape the principle which had already been adopted in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, and to give that colony the constitutional management of its own affairs. This was all the more desirable since the people of the United Kingdom derived no direct advantage from the colony except that of having an important naval and commercial station at Cape Town and in Simon's Bay. The colonists, however, were very unwilling to accept the boon, knowing that it would throw upon them, to a large extent, the obligation to pay for their own defence. The Responsible Government Bill, as it was termed, was passed by a majority of only one in the Cape Parliament. The Home Government and Legislature thus resigned completely the control over the conduct of the internal affairs of the colony, stipulating, however, that there were to be no political disqualifications of colour—that white men and black men were to vote on equal terms. It is admitted on all hands that the experiment has not been a success. None of our self-governing colonies have shown such unwillingness to meet the wishes of the mother country, or such jealousy of imperial advice. The ministers of the Cape Colony thwarted and opposed, for their personal and local interests, all the efforts of the Imperial Government to deal in a becoming spirit with the interests of South Africa. They utterly neglected the defence of the provinces, and made no provision for the improvement of the colonial military establishment, and yet the Colonial Parliament could not be induced to enlarge their police force for the proper control of the frontier. Their finances fell into disorder, and year after year the expenditure exceeded the revenue. The Home Government could not get from the Cape the pecuniary contribution to which they were entitled, and were at length compelled to declare that unless the payment was made the troops would be withdrawn, except such as might be required for Imperial purposes

at Simon's Bay. It became painfully evident that South Africa was as yet totally unfitted for self-government, and the only practical effect of forcing on it a constitution which the colonists did not want was to 'tie our own hands, while our obligations were just where they were.'

The selfish and short-sighted conduct of the Cape Government brought on another —the sixth—Kafir war, the burden of which had, as usual, to be borne by the home country. One of the satirists of the day represents a Kafir in war-paint and feathers, equipped with a rifle and an assegai, saying to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 'You don't happen to have a couple of millions about you for which you have no use?' As long as the Cape was under British rule the supply of fire-arms to the natives was strictly prohibited, but as soon as it became self-governing the restriction, though not formally repealed, was allowed to fall into abeyance. An impost of £1 was charged upon every gun imported into the colony, and so large was the demand that in the course of four years no less a sum than three quarters of a million was paid into the colonial exchequer on gun-barrels and powder. The Cape merchants made enormous profits, and the colonial ministers rejoiced over their overflowing treasury, apparently without a thought of the inevitable result. They left the border defenceless, as if to tempt the natives to rise. The Kafirs availed themselves of the favourable opportunity thus afforded them, and had to be resisted and driven back by British regiments, with the result of causing a heavy drain on the imperial treasury, as the colonial ministers knew would be the case.

When Lord Carnarvon came into office he proposed to form a South African confederation for the union of all the European states in that country into a single dominion like that of Canada. The scheme failed mainly through the exorbitant pretensions and intrigues of the Cape politicians, but it would in any case have been exceedingly difficult if not impossible to have induced such discordant populations as the Dutch farmers, the Anglo-African traders and adventurers, and the half-civilized natives to act together peacefully and harmoniously. Lord Carnarvon, however, succeeded, as we have seen, in making an amicable and satisfactory arrangement with the Orange Free State, but the Boers of the Transvaal proved utterly impracticable, and displayed the most bitter hostility to the British Government. Their president, Mr. Burgess, came to Europe, and not only repelled the friendly advances of Lord Carnarvon, but entered into relations with Holland and Portugal. He projected a railroad to Delagoa Bay in order that the Transvaal might establish a foreign trade of its own and form its own foreign alliances. He even went so far as to talk of adopting measures to deliver the whole country from a foreign yoke. Lord Carnarvon warned Mr. Burgess of the danger he was incurring by this rash and foolish talk, but without effect, and he was speedily made to feel his utter inability to defend the Transvaal even against the native tribes by which it was surrounded.

The relations between the Boers and these tribes had long been of an unsatisfactory nature, and had caused great annoyance and even danger to the European settlers. In October, 1875, Sir Henry Bulwer, the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, drew the attention of the Home Government to the prospect of a serious collision between the powerful tribe of the Zulus and the Transvaal in consequence of the aggressions of the Boers. They had made an alliance with the Amaswazi, who were at feud with the Zulus, and proposed to use their services in a contest which they seemed bent on provoking. They addressed a message to Cetewayo, the Zulu chief, demanding the surrender of certain fugitives, acquiescence in their protectorate over the Amaswazi, and—the main item—the acknowledgment of their right to a new boundary which they had proclaimed. They at the same time forbade the Zulus resident in the

disputed territory to cultivate their ground, and drove them away from their kraals. Cetewayo was not at all disposed to submit to this claim. He at once called out his regiments, despatched messengers to Natal complaining of the aggression of the Boers, asking 'what he had done to be turned out of his own house,' and declaring that he would fight to the death against the attempt to appropriate his territory.

This was by no means the first time that the Zulus had been obliged to appeal to the Natal Government against the encroachments of the Boers, and the commissioners who reported on the boundary question after our annexation of the Transvaal bore emphatic testimony to the self-restraint and moderation which the Zulus had displayed in reference to this matter. Sir Henry Bulwer, the Governor, urged pacific counsels on both parties, and the Boers were informed that Her Majesty's Government would not recognize an extension of their territory at the expense of the natives. They were also warned of the danger which encroachments on these tribes would bring, not only on themselves, but on the whole European population in South Africa.

The Boers, however, did not long remain quiet, and in the course of a few months they quarrelled with a powerful chief called Sekokuni respecting their claim to a district lying to the north of the Leydenburg gold-fields. The British authorities at Cape Town and Natal were of opinion that the claim was unjust, and viewed with alarm the ferment which the aggressive action of the Boers was causing among the native chiefs. But, despising all warnings, President Burgess undertook an expedition against Sekokuni, and met with a serious reverse. The aspect of affairs became very threatening. A combination was said to be forming among the natives to the north of the Transvaal, and Cetewayo was about to avail himself of the opportunity to avenge his own wrongs on the Boers. The Natal Government, however, with some difficulty persuaded him to remain quiet. Indeed the invasion of the Transvaal at that time by the Zulu chief would have set the whole colony in a flame.

Mr. Burgess, with the assistance of a body of volunteers from the diamond fields, gained some advantages, and a peace was made with Sekokuni on tolerable terms. The Republic, however, was exhausted and the State bankrupt, and it was evident that if the Boers were left to fight out their quarrel with the native races the result would be their extermination. Sir Theophilus Shepstone was sent as a Special Commissioner into the Transvaal. He saw that the white population was surrounded on all sides by overwhelming masses of natives, most of them in a state of barbarism, who might combine for their destruction, and he came to the conclusion that it was 'absolutely necessary that the different colonies and states should be united under one general bond for the protection and promotion of every civil, social, and religious interest.' Acting on this opinion, he proclaimed the annexation of the Transvaal (April 12, 1877), and the Republic became a Crown colony.

The step thus taken seemed at the moment to meet with almost universal approbation. The Cape Government, the Chambers of Commerce at Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, the British traders, the speculators in land, and the friends of the native races all expressed their anxious desire that the annexation should take place. Mr. Trollope, who shortly afterwards visited the district, says that every man he met in South Africa, except Mr. Burgess, the late President, approved the annexation. But it proved in the end to have been a great mistake.

No sooner was the Transvaal annexed than we were brought face to face with the Zulus. Their chief, Cetewayo, was a worthy successor to Chaka and Dengaan, the fiercest and ablest of African chiefs. He was ambitious and crafty, as well as energetic and brave, had concluded alliances with the Amatengoes and Swazies, and had

organized a large and powerful army, which he was eager to employ against the Transvaal Boers. Sir Theophilus Shepstone very unwisely added to the danger to the province of Natal arising from the vicinity of such a potentate and warrior by assisting at his coronation, with ridiculous honours, as King of the Zulus, and thus lending him the support of British influence. It was evident that this bloodthirsty barbarian, having crushed all the Kafirs and Bechuanas in his vicinity, would not remain at peace longer than he could help it, and when exhorted by the Natal Government to live on terms of amity with his neighbours, and remonstrated with because he had put some young women to death on account of their refusal to marry his soldiers, he returned a fierce and defiant answer, declaring—'I do kill, but do not consider I have done anything yet in the way of killing. I have not yet begun. I have yet to kill; it is the custom of our nation, and I will not depart from it. Why does the Governor of Natal speak to me about my laws? Do I go to Natal and dictate to him about his laws? I shall not agree to any laws or rules from Natal, and by so doing throw the large kraal which I govern into the water.'

Apprehensions were entertained that the Zulu king intended to let loose his army upon Natal, but Mr. Finney, who was sent on a visit to Cetewayo in June, 1877, to ascertain as far as possible his real sentiments and intentions, found that these fears were 'greatly exaggerated, if not entirely groundless.' Though the Zulu king had been greatly perplexed about the annexation of the Transvaal, he professed his friendship for the Natal Government and his belief in British justice. But he made no secret of his bitter detestation of the Boers, and his desire that they should be all 'packed out of the country.' He longed to attack them, and to 'wash the spears' of his warriors in blood. He begged as a special favour to be allowed to 'make one little raid—only one small swoop,' just to keep Zulu customs, and to please the young warriors of his nation. This request of course could not be granted, but the Zulu chief was assured that justice would be done to him in regard to the disputed territory. Considerable delay, however, took place before the matter was settled. A Commission was nominated by Sir Henry Bulwer to hear the rival claims of the Zulus and Boers, and to take evidence on the spot, and it was agreed, with the full consent of Cetewayo, that the decision of the Commission should be referred for confirmation to Sir Bartle Frere, who at this juncture had been appointed High Commissioner in South Africa.

Unfortunately Sir Bartle had formed lofty ideas respecting Imperial policy, and as it afterwards appeared had adopted the notions of the Cape politicians, who talked of carrying the British flag to the Zambesi. He came out professedly as a missionary of peace, but wherever his foot trod war immediately sprang up. In his estimation the boundary question was a matter of comparatively little consequence. He had adopted strongly the colonial feeling that the military organization of the Zulus was a standing menace to the South African colonies, and especially to Natal, and he was determined that it should be broken up. Sir Henry Bulwer urged that the settlement of the boundary question would go far to produce pacific relations with the Zulus, and that it was a matter to which our good faith had been pledged. The Commissioners decided unanimously against the claims of the Boers, and held that 'no cession of territory was ever made by the Zulu people,' but still, on the ground of the unchallenged occupation for several years, they awarded to the Boers a portion of the disputed lands. Sir Bartle Frere, after a good deal of correspondence with the Governor of Natal, agreed to confirm the award of the Commissioners, but in spite of the earnest remonstrances of Sir Henry Bulwer he determined to accompany the announcement of the award to

the Zulus with certain demands respecting their military organization. There can be very little doubt indeed that he had resolved at an early period on war, though he had not obtained the sanction of the Home Government, and had evidently made up his mind to act without it. He moved troops from Cape Colony into Natal, and sent detachments forward to the Zulu frontier, though these movements were deprecated by Sir Henry Bulwer as fitted to cause mischief. He sent a request to the Home Government for reinforcements, but was informed (17th October, 1878) that the Ministry were not prepared to comply with it, and 'that all the information which had reached them with respect to the position of affairs in Zululand appeared to them to warrant a confident hope that by the exercise of prudence, and by meeting the Zulus in a spirit of forbearance and a reasonable compromise, it would be possible to avert the very serious evil of a war with Cetewayo.' Sir Bartle renewed his request, and reinforcements were sent in the end, accompanied by a distinct intimation that they were to be used for the *defence* of Her Majesty's territories, and to prevent any irruption into them, but not for the purpose of invasion and aggressive operations. The High Commissioner, however, persisted in carrying out the policy which he had adopted, and on the 11th of December, 1878, his decision on the boundary question was announced to a body of Zulu delegates sent for the purpose, accompanied by an ultimatum specifying the guarantees which he required from their chief. He was to abstain from the indiscriminate shedding of the blood of his people, he was to abolish his present military system—in particular the law prohibiting the Zulu young men from marrying till they had reached the age of forty. He was also required to disband his army, as he had no need of troops now that the Transvaal was annexed, to accept the presence and advice of a British resident, to permit the return to Zululand of the missionaries and their converts who had fled from the country, and to engage for their future protection; and he was required to surrender certain criminals, and to pay certain fines. Sir Bartle intended to allow only a period of fifteen days for compliance with these demands, but at the request of Sir Henry Bulwer the time of grace was extended to thirty days.

Sir Bartle entirely failed to show that any sudden emergency had arisen which compelled him to disobey the instructions which he had received from the Colonial Secretary, and if he really believed the Zulu army to be so extremely formidable, and their determination to invade Natal to be fixed, his conduct in entering upon a war with the small force of three or four battalions at his command was entirely inexcusable; on the other hand, if he imagined that Cetewayo's army could be so easily defeated, he could not have really apprehended so much danger from its attacks. The 11th of January was the limit of the period fixed for Cetewayo's submission, and as he showed no signs of yielding to the imperious demands of the High Commissioner, Lord Chelmsford, the Commander-in-Chief of the forces in South Africa, crossed the frontier on the next day.

The British forces advanced in three columns: one under Colonel Pearson, by the Lower Tugela; another under Colonel Glyn, by Rorke's Drift; while a third, under Colonel Wood, was to move from Utrecht on the Transvaal. On the 11th Colonel Glyn's column, consisting of 2100 British troops and 2000 natives, under the direct command of Lord Chelmsford, crossed the Buffalo River at Rorke's Drift, and on the 21st encamped at Isandula. Colonel Durnford's column, consisting of 3300 natives and 200 Europeans, had meanwhile crossed the Tugela and marched up the left bank of the river by Rorke's Drift. Cetewayo was quite prepared for the operations of the invading force, and his object was to draw them in separate columns into his country, that they might be the more easily

destroyed. Six thousand of his men were to attack Pearson's column. Of these 4000 marched to meet that force, and 2000 threatened the Natal frontier to detain troops there, though the Zulus did not intend to cross it. Fifteen thousand were told off to attack the headquarters column, and 4000 to encounter the reserve at Rorke's Drift. The skilful plan of the savage chief showed a much better knowledge of strategy than was displayed by the British Commander-in-Chief, who had divided his weak forces into three columns, 'so far separated that they could not support each other, leaving to the enemy the advantage of throwing large masses of men from the centre to the circumference.' There appears to have been no scouts sent out by Chelmsford, and no signalling or telegraphic communication between the different columns; even the ordinary precaution of fortifying the camps to resist attack was omitted.

The camp at Isandula was pitched on a site singularly exposed and indefensible; it was not protected even by a shallow trench, nor were the waggons *laagered* or formed in a ring all round in the Dutch fashion; no orders had been given to strike the tents on the approach of the enemy, and so carelessly were the arrangements for scouting made that a large Zulu force was assembled unperceived within a few miles of the camp.

Major Darnell had been sent from the camp to Matyana's stronghold, about ten miles from Isandula, to reconnoitre. A despatch was received from him early on the morning of the 22nd to say that the enemy in front was in great force. Lord Chelmsford and Colonel Glyn marched out with all their available force to his assistance, leaving Colonel Pulleine in command of the camp. Orders were sent to Colonel Durnford to bring up his natives from Rorke's Drift to reinforce the camp.

It was afterwards ascertained that on the morning of the 22nd the main Zulu army, 25,000 strong, had come unperceived within five miles of the camp, but did not intend to fight that day, as the 'moon was dead.' Colonel Durnford, however, on reaching the camp, sent out some of his men to reconnoitre, who, coming unexpectedly upon the Zulus, fired upon them. A report that the enemy were retiring induced the Colonel to move out in pursuit. No consistent account of what followed could be obtained. 'The head camp was no camp,' wrote a person who resided in the district; 'all waggons, tents, &c., scattered about anywhere, and the Zulus came on like the waves on the ocean-shore—never stopped, never shouted or said a word till our fellows, black and white, were surrounded; then they gave a shout and dashed at the camp, and in five minutes there was not a man left.' Taken at a disadvantage every way our men, forming themselves into squares and little groups, fought with desperate courage till their ammunition failed or they were overwhelmed by repeated charges of the Zulus and showers of assegais. One square of only sixty men maintained their ground for a considerable time against the attacks of several thousands of the enemy, and crowds of Zulus were kept at bay by a wounded officer who had taken up a position on a waggon. A few mounted officers succeeded in making their escape across the Buffalo River, and reached Natal in safety. Lieutenants Melville and Coghill made their way to the river with the colours of the regiment, but were overtaken there and killed. The 24th Regiment of the Line was annihilated.

While these gallant soldiers were thus falling victims, through the folly of their own leaders, to the fury of a horde of savages, Lord Chelmsford had reached Major Darnell's corps, and had attacked and driven back its assailants, whom he regarded as the main body. The Commander-in-Chief was leisurely returning to the camp when Commandant Lonsdale, who had ridden for his life, came up with the news that the camp was in the hands of the enemy. The troops were immediately drawn together

and advanced in fighting order. On reaching the camp after dark they found that it had been abandoned by the enemy, who had fled when they saw Lord Chelmsford unexpectedly approaching. The ground was covered with the dead bodies of men, horses, and cattle, and the débris of the plundered tents and waggons. Worn out with a march of at least thirty miles that day, with no spare ammunition, and a few biscuits for food, all the ammunition and stores having been carried off, they were compelled to pass the night on the spot without shelter and in momentary expectation of being attacked by the enemy. At early dawn next day the force started for Rorke's Drift.

That post was held after the departure of Colonel Durnford by Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead, with eighty men of the 24th Regiment. Tidings of the disaster at Isandula were brought by some fugitives who had escaped the slaughter, and these gallant officers resolved to hold the Drift if possible till help should come, in order to prevent the victorious Zulus from crossing into Natal. They had scarcely had time to prepare a barricade of bags and biscuit tins when the Zulus, numbering about 4000, were upon them and began to pour in their fire. The struggle lasted during the greater part of the night. The assailants succeeded no less than six times in penetrating within the barricade, but were driven out at the point of the bayonet. They succeeded, however, in setting fire to the hospital; but completely baffled by the handful of British troops who held the post, they withdrew at dawn. When Lord Chelmsford's jaded troops approached the Drift they found to their great relief that it was still in possession of our men. Around the hastily improvised intrenchment lay the dead bodies of 315 Zulus.

Cetewayo had thus far shown great military sagacity and courage in his operations, and was for some weeks master of the situation, but fortunately for the colony of Natal, and indeed for our position in South Africa, he appears not to have known how to turn his success to advantage. If he had let loose his victorious 'young men' upon the British territory immediately after the destruction of our troops at Isandula, he might have inflicted incalculable injury upon the European settlers and their property in the Cape Colony.

The 6000 Zulus who had been detached to attack Colonel Pearson's column came up with him ten miles south of Ekowe on the day on which the camp at Isandula was surprised. Though they fought with their usual valour, their position was carried by the Naval Brigade, and they were compelled to withdraw northwards. Colonel Pearson, however, was quite aware that the attack would be renewed by them in greater force. He therefore sent back to his base, Fort Tenedos on the Tugela, a convoy of waggons and the troops on which he could least rely. With the rest, 1200 in number, he prepared to hold the position which he had intrenched round the mission buildings at Ekowe. After the disaster at Isandula the native levies, which had been found not only useless but dangerous, were disbanded; but volunteers came forward readily from Natal. The 88th Foot were sent with all speed from Cape Colony, and troops arrived from Ceylon and marines from St. Helena. The Zulus, to the surprise of every one, remained inactive. The panic which the Isandula affair had produced began to abate. Colonel Wood, who had defeated a body of from 3000 to 4000 Zulus near Intamba Mountain, made a successful attack on the Bagulisini kraal, and continued to harass the enemy in his neighbourhood. On the other hand, reverses were suffered both by Colonel Wood, who fell into a trap and lost seventy men and seven officers, and by a detachment of the 80th Regiment, who were unexpectedly assaulted by a body of 4000 Zulus, and only fifteen out of sixty soldiers escaped.

Lord Chelmsford was in the meantime making preparations for the relief of Colonel

Pearson, whose supplies would not last longer than the end of March. The Zulus were swarming around Ekowe, though they did not venture to attack it; but they broke up the road to the Tugela, and prepared ambuscades and intrenchments along the route, evidently with the expectation that supplies could be prevented from reaching the beleaguered garrison, and that they would be starved into surrender. Towards the end of March Colonel Pearson made known by telegraphic signals that his supplies would soon be exhausted. Though all the expected reinforcements had not arrived from England, Lord Chelmsford set out from the Tugela on the 29th with a force consisting of 4000 British troops and 2000 natives. Taught by dear-bought experience, every precaution was taken to prevent any surprise on the part of the enemy—the encampments were intrenched, and the men slept in hollow squares round the waggons. The force encamped at a place called Gingehlovo on the night of April 1, which was dark and wet. At early dawn next day the Zulus, 10,000 strong, were seen approaching in their usual horse-shoe formation, evidently bent on a close encounter, but a shower of bullets from rifles and Gatling guns, accompanied by a storm of rockets, compelled them to pause. They repeatedly made a rush towards the camp, but got no nearer than twenty yards. After a struggle of an hour and a half they broke and fled, pursued by the cavalry and the native contingent. About 1500 of them fell in the battle and the flight. The loss of the British was trifling. The Ekowe garrison were brought out in the course of the night and escorted to the Tugela. An attack was made on Colonel Wood's intrenched camp at Kambula by a body of 20,000 Zulus, who fought for four hours with the most desperate courage, and at times penetrated into the camp, but were at last completely routed.

The news of the serious disaster at Isandula produced a great sensation in England, and clamorous demands were made for the recall both of Lord Chelmsford and Sir Bartle Frere. When the despatches were laid before Parliament it appeared that the Government had not been responsible for the policy of the High Commissioner, and that, on the contrary, they had stated distinctly to him that they 'had been unable to find in the documents he had placed before them that evidence of urgent necessity for immediate action which alone could justify him in taking, without their full knowledge and sanction, a course almost certain to result in a war which, as they had previously impressed upon him, every effort should have been used to avoid.' But notwithstanding this severe censure on Sir Bartle the Government declined to recall him, and though their refusal to take this step was strongly condemned by leading members in both Houses of Parliament, it was approved by large majorities.

Lord Chelmsford's delay in adopting vigorous measures to bring the war to a close was loudly condemned in the colony, and the special correspondents of the Home journals were almost unanimous in blaming his feebleness and vacillation. Even in the camp there was a considerable feeling of impatience and dissatisfaction. He was painfully sensible of the responsibilities of his position, and spoke of himself as worn out by the strain of prolonged warfare. But he had very great difficulties to contend with owing to the scarcity of supplies, the want of roads and of proper means of transport. At length all the reinforcements from England were landed by the middle of April, and the Commander-in-Chief was at last in a position to recommence his invasion of Zululand. Taking with him two months' supplies, he broke up his camp on the 1st of June, 1879, and commenced his march into the interior. On the following day the ex-Imperial Prince of France, who, though he had been allowed to proceed to Africa only as a spectator of the campaign, had been attached to the staff, was sent with a small escort of troopers to examine the proposed line of

march and fix the site of the next encampment. They were surprised by some Zulus who crept through the tall grass and came upon them unawares, and the Prince and two of the troopers were killed. Great sympathy was felt for the ex-Empress Eugenie, the mother of the poor youth, and there was a general outburst of indignation at Lord Chelmsford's carelessness in allowing him to be employed on such a dangerous errand. As the troops proceeded on their march repeated messages came from Cetewayo declaring that he did not want war, and that he wished to have an opportunity of talking over matters. It was alleged that the messengers were not of sufficient rank, and were not properly accredited, and that they did not offer on the King's part to submit to the terms of our ultimatum. But Bishop Colenso insisted, with great appearance of truth, that the refusal to receive them was a wanton repulse of peaceful overtures. The British forces, consisting of about 4000 Europeans and 1100 natives, with twelve guns and two Gatlings, continued their onward march towards Ulundi, Cetewayo's kraal. They were attacked by a force computed at 20,000 men, whom they defeated after a sharp contest with the loss of ten men, while about 1000 of the Zulus were killed. Ulundi and several other military kraals were then taken and burned.

Before the battle was fought Lord Chelmsford had been superseded by Sir Garnet Wolseley, but before that officer reached the spot victory had been gained. A difference of opinion had taken place between the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor of Natal respecting the proper mode of conducting the war. Sir Henry objected to raids and to martial law, and the General complained that his plans were thus thwarted. The Home Government therefore decided to intrust all authority, civil and military, to one person, and sent out Sir Garnet Wolseley with full powers in all matters relating not only to Zululand, but also to Natal and the Transvaal. He was allowed a wide discretion as to the terms of any settlement of the war with the Zulus, but annexation of their territory was forbidden. Nearly all the leading chiefs sent in their submission, but the King himself, though a fugitive with only a few followers, was still at liberty. A band of mounted men, under Lord Gifford, was despatched to hunt him down, and on the 28th of August they surrounded the kraal in which he had taken refuge, and he was compelled to yield himself a prisoner. On the 1st of September, the anniversary of his coronation in 1873, Cetewayo left Ulundi a prisoner. He was taken by sea to Cape Town, and was confined in comfortable quarters in the Castle. With his capture the Zulu War terminated.

On the day Cetewayo left Ulundi 300 chiefs assembled there to learn from Sir Garnet Wolseley the arrangements which he was authorized to make respecting their country. It was to be divided into thirteen districts, in each of which a separate chief was to rule. The revival of the military system and all restrictions on marriage were positively prohibited. All the cattle of the King and all the arms in the country were to be at once surrendered to the British authorities, and henceforth no importation of arms was to be allowed without the special sanction of the Resident. No practice of witchcraft was to be permitted, and no one was to be put to death except upon a fair trial by the chief men. The chiefs were to be independent, but they were not to be allowed to make war on any of their neighbours. No land was to be alienated or sold. The chiefs might, if they thought fit, allow missionaries to settle on their territory, but they were not to be compelled to receive them. This settlement effectually extinguished the power of the Zulus as a united and military nation, but it invested no one with sufficient authority to control a fierce and warlike race; and the Colenso party argued that for this purpose Cetewayo ought to have been restored to his former

position, but with a duly restricted power; and as all the conditions which had led to former wars with the natives were left to operate it was predicted that as soon as the British troops were withdrawn the Zulus would resort again to their military system. Strong objections were made to the creating of an Irish adventurer named John Dunn, a kind of African Mormon, a chief over a part of Zululand, and altogether it was foreseen that the settlement made could not be permanent.

After the overthrow of Lord Beaconsfield's Government Cetewayo was allowed to visit England, and was kindly treated, though no public reception or acknowledgment was given him. The opinion had by this time become widely prevalent that the Zulu king had not received justice at the hands of Sir Bartle Frere, and it was resolved by Mr. Gladstone's Administration to restore the deposed chief to a part of his former territory and power. The Legislative Council of Natal and the white population protested in the strongest terms against this step, 'as fraught with imminent peril and disastrous consequences to the colony.' The Home Government, however, persisted in carrying out their resolution. The ex-king landed at Cape Town on September 25, 1882. In consequence of the indignant opposition of the people of Natal it was resolved that he should not proceed to Zululand by the direct route from Durban across the Tugela, but should be transported by sea to Port Durnford and landed there. On December 11 Cetewayo signed the conditions for the resettlement of Zululand. He complained bitterly of the conditions of restoration, which were as follows:—The deposition of all the chiefs but Usibepu, who was to retain his position but to exchange a part of his territory with Umgojama; all Zululand south of the Umhlatusi to become reserved native territory under a Commissioner, to whom the headmen were to have the right to appeal; Dunn and Hlubi to receive tracts of land large enough to provide for their immediate followers, over whom they were to rule as headmen; all the remainder of Zululand was to be governed by Cetewayo. These terms were as unpalatable to Dunn's men and many of the other Zulus as, for a different reason, they were to Cetewayo himself. His restoration was generally regarded in South Africa as a great and dangerous mistake, and so it appears likely to prove. He was escorted to his own country by a body of British troops early in 1883. But almost immediately on his return disturbances broke out. Some of Cetewayo's subjects, indignant at the favours bestowed upon a person whom they regarded as a rebel and a traitor, attacked Usibepu, it is alleged, without orders from Cetewayo. The new chief retaliated by a sudden raid upon Ulundi, killed a number of his rival's men, and destroyed his kraal. Cetewayo narrowly escaped with his life, but contrived to reach the reserve, where he continued to live under British protection until his death, which took place from natural causes. These events left Zululand a prey to anarchy, of which a number of Boer adventurers took advantage to effect a settlement in the country, seizing tracts of lands, and finally proclaiming a Boer republic, with the results explained in a subsequent chapter. It soon became clear that the Wolseley settlement was one which could not stand the test of time.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Result of annexation of the Transvaal—Dissatisfaction of the Boers—The British Party—Insurrection of the Boers—Unprepared state of the Government—Treacherous surprise of British Troops—The invasion of Natal by the insurgents—Defeat and death of Sir George Colley at Majuba Hill—Armistice—Terms of peace—Condemned by the Opposition in Parliament—Defence of the Government—Settlement made by the Royal Commission—Conduct of the Boers—Their attacks on the natives—Their defeats—Present state of the Transvaal—Troubles with the Basutos—The Disarmament Act—Insurrection of the Basutos and of other native tribes—Recall of Sir Bartle Frere—'Chinese Gordon'—Present state of Basutoland—Its administration resumed by the Home Government.

THE Home Government had sanctioned the annexation of the Transvaal in the belief that this step was desired by the great body of the people, but it speedily appeared that this was a mistake. In various ways the Boers made it evident that they had only acquiesced under the pressure of their difficulties and dangers in the supremacy of the Queen, trusting that it would be only temporary. They had made a formal protest in 1877 against the annexation, but the British party in the state affirmed that it was merely formal; that the great body of the Boers were very glad to be rescued from imminent ruin, even at the cost of their independence; and that only now, when the British Government had at their own cost, without any help from the Dutch settlers, conquered Cetewayo and Sekokune, and paid the debts of the Boers, they were anxious to reclaim their independence in order to escape the restraints of orderly and firm rule.

In December, 1879, a great mass meeting was held at Wenderfontein, at which the protest against annexation was renewed, and a committee was appointed to give effect to the 'determination' of the meeting. The British party in the Transvaal was estimated at 5000, comprising the majority of the townspeople, traders, and miners. A great number of the Boers themselves, including some of the largest proprietors, were open advocates of British rule. But there still remained about five-sixths of the people whom the mass meeting claimed to represent. It was alleged, however, that a large portion of these were at heart unfriendly to the claim of independence, and were coerced by an active and turbulent minority to take part in the protest against British rule; and Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Garnet Wolseley, and Sir Owen Lanyon all declared that in private many of the persons who took part in the public demonstrations said that personally they would greatly regret the severance of the connection with Britain, but that they dared not resist the pressure of the active agitators for independence. On the other hand, the leaders of the Dutch settlers asserted that they had great difficulty in restraining the people from open revolt. The local foremen, however, were the persons who really fomented the agitation. Not a few of them had been notorious for their disregard of the authority of their own Government and its courts, and they were eager to get rid of the more stringent rule of the British Governor.

They remained quiet, however, in the meantime, in the expectation that Mr. Gladstone, who had expressed his disapproval of the annexation, and had just come into office, would support their views; but their sanguine hopes were doomed to disappointment. The Queen's speech expressed the intention of the new Government 'both to make provision for the security of the indigenous races, and to extend to the European settlers institutions based on large and liberal principles of self-government,' but at the same time clearly intimated that Her Majesty's

supremacy over the Transvaal was to be maintained. This 'bitter disappointment' led to a resolution on the part of not a few of the Boers to pay no taxes except to their own duly constituted Volksraad, while others paid under protest. The attempt to seize and sell the property of the defaulters led to open resistance, and it became evident that a rupture was at hand. Another great mass meeting was held on the 16th December, 1880, at which the restoration of the Republic was formally proclaimed, and soon after Messrs. Pretorius, Joubert, and Kruger were appointed a triumvirate to carry on the Provisional Government.

The aspect of affairs became so threatening that the British officials intrenched and fortified the camp outside the town of Potchefstroom, and also prepared the court-house for defence. They were taken at unawares, and were ill prepared to suppress an insurrection, for a considerable portion of the army of occupation had been withdrawn, and only a small body of troops remained in the Transvaal. The Boers were quite well aware of the state of affairs, and on them must rest the responsibility of having fired the first shot. By a treacherous surprise they attacked and nearly destroyed a detachment of 250 men of the 94th Regiment of the Line proceeding under orders from Leydenburg to Pretoria. One hundred and twelve of that number were either killed on the spot or afterwards died of their wounds, while the Boers had only one killed and four wounded. In January, 1881, the insurgents crossed the border of Natal, and occupied the important position of Laing's Nek. They even patrolled as far as the Ingogo River, within sixteen miles of Newcastle. In the meantime Sir George Colley, Governor of Natal, prepared to march to the relief of Pretoria, where a British garrison was blockaded by the Boers. On January 24, having provisioned Newcastle for thirteen days and put it into a state of defence, he advanced into the Transvaal with a column consisting of 1000 men. After crossing the Ingogo River he encamped within four miles of Laing's Nek, which was held by the Boers, between 2000 and 3000 strong, and on the 28th he marched out to attack them. He was repulsed, with the loss of eighty men killed, including Colonel Deane of the 58th and six other officers, and 100 men wounded.

After this defeat General Colley retired to his camp, and remained there for a week unmolested, keeping up his communications with Newcastle, to which he had sent his wounded. On the 7th of February, however, the post was stopped by a strong patrol of the enemy, and next day the General marched out to restore communications. But shortly after crossing the Ingogo River he was attacked by the Boers, whom, after a severe struggle, he repulsed, but with the loss of six officers and sixty-two men killed and sixty-four wounded. After obtaining some reinforcements Sir George, on the night of February 26, quitted his camp at the head of 627 men to occupy Majuba Hill, which overlooked the enemy's position at Laing's Nek. They reached the summit after eight hours' hard climbing, but were too much fatigued to intrench their encampment. Early on the morning of the 27th they opened fire upon the Boers. At the outset everything seemed to favour the attack, but in the end the enemy, by a sudden and unexpected rush, gained possession of the hill. General Colley was killed, and his men were driven back to the camp with heavy loss.

On receiving news of this disaster Sir Evelyn Wood, on whom the chief command and the Governorship of Natal now devolved, hurried up from Maritzburg. On the 6th of March he held a conference with Joubert, the commander of the Boers, and an armistice for eight days was agreed upon, to enable the Boer President Kruger to reply to the communications which had been previously made to him by Sir George Colley. The armistice was extended to give time for the arrival of Kruger; and on March 21 a conference was held between

Sir Evelyn Wood and Colonel Buller on the part of the British authorities, and Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert as the representatives of the Boers, the following terms of peace being agreed to and subsequently sanctioned by the Home Government:—The suzerainty of the Queen over the Transvaal was to be acknowledged, complete self-government was to be given to the Boers, but control over their foreign relations was reserved. A British officer was to reside at the Transvaal capital. A Royal Commission, consisting of Sir E. Wood, Sir H. de Villiers, and Sir Hercules Robinson, was to consider the provisions for the protection of native interests and questions of frontier, and whether any portion of territory eastward should be severed from the Transvaal. The Boers were to withdraw from Laing's Nek, British garrisons were to remain in the Transvaal till a final settlement was made, but Sir E. Wood was not to advance or to send military stores into the Transvaal.

An incident occurred at this juncture which caused a good deal of ill-feeling. The garrison of Potchefstroom surrendered on the 21st of March, owing to the failure of provisions, and Crouje, the Boer in command of the besieging force, was justly accused of bad faith in having kept back the news of the armistice from the garrison. Sir Evelyn gave notice that he would claim the return of the guns and other Government property at Potchefstroom in virtue of the terms agreed to on the 21st. Eventually the guns were returned, but the rifles which were surrendered had been carried off by the Boers and could not be recovered.

Throughout Natal the action of the Government was loudly condemned, but the House of Assembly at the Cape unanimously passed a resolution expressing their satisfaction with the peace. An elaborate attack was made in both Houses of Parliament by the Opposition on the policy of the Government in the Transvaal, and it was asserted by Lord Carnarvon that in making peace we had 'abandoned our allies—the Dutch loyalists, the English residents, and the friendly natives.' 'By the course it had pursued,' said Sir M. Hicks Beach, 'the Government had betrayed its friends, yielded to its enemies, and destroyed all its chances of exercising influence in South Africa.' By its 'half-hearted action the blood of British soldiers had been shed in vain, and the defeat upon British arms had never been redressed. If matters had been properly managed the Government might have brought the war to a successful termination, and then have yielded to a beaten foe terms which had now been extracted by a victorious enemy.'

On the other hand it was pleaded by Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues that the overtures for peace came in the first instance from President Brand of the Free State, and secondly from Mr. Kruger, President of the Boer insurgents. The latter wrote to Sir George Colley that he was willing to submit his case to a Royal Commission. On this basis Sir George was ordered by the Government to arrange for a settlement. In the midst of the negotiations the British troops on three occasions met with a repulse, but in each case they were the aggressors, and therefore their defeat did not seem to the Government to constitute a reason for withdrawing the terms previously proposed. To have withdrawn the terms which were offered before the disasters, on a military point of honour, and to insist on a certain number of victims being slaughtered to expiate our defeats, would have been wicked, cruel, and mean. Mr. Gladstone contended therefore that the Government had done everything that could have been done to vindicate the authority of the Queen except by shedding more blood. He justified in detail the settlement effected with the Boers, especially dwelling on the protection secured to the native races, which he affirmed was more efficient than if we had set up parliamentary government in the Transvaal. This was far wiser and more honourable than to carry

on a contest with the whole Dutch population of Africa, and at the end of which we should have done exactly what was being done now.

The House of Commons, by a majority of 315 against 204, expressed its approval of the South African policy of the Government, and there can be little doubt that the decision was in accordance with the feeling of the country.

The Royal Commission, of which Sir Hercules Robinson was President, held their first sitting at Pretoria, on 14th June, and their sittings continued until August. They settled the troublesome question of the boundaries in such a way that several influential chiefs were left independent outside the Transvaal. On the question of 'compensation for losses through war,' they decided, in opposition to the opinions of the Boer leaders, that taking property without paying for it is not an act 'justified by the necessities of war,' and a subconvention was appointed to adjudicate on the claims for compensation on the part of the individuals whom the Boers had deprived of their property. It was agreed that the British Resident should be invested with the control of the foreign relations of the state, the control of the frontier affairs, and the protection of the interests of the natives. As under the South African Republic natives were not allowed to acquire land by individual title, it was arranged that the Secretary for Native Affairs should act as their trustee in this matter. Liberty of movement, subject to the pass laws, was granted to the natives, and the provisions of the Sand River Convention, prohibiting slavery, were reaffirmed—much to the displeasure of the Boers, who alleged that this was unnecessary, seeing, as they asserted, quite untruly, that they had never violated this enactment. It was also provided that a power of veto on all measures affecting the natives should be reserved to the Suzerain. The liabilities of the new state, exclusive of compensation for war losses, amounted to £428,893, and it was agreed that a sum not exceeding £500,000 should be advanced by Her Majesty's Government to the Transvaal, at 3½ per cent., and a payment of £2 10*s.* 9*d.* per £100 was to be made to form a sinking fund to extinguish the debt in twenty-five years.

It was settled that the 'ratification of the convention' should take place within three months, that the civil government should be handed over to the Boers as soon as this was concluded, but that the troops should not be withdrawn until the vote of approval by the Volksraad had been given. If this were not done Her Majesty would resume her sovereignty over the Transvaal. It was not, however, till the termination of the fixed period was close at hand that the Volksraad could be induced to ratify the convention, and after the British Government had peremptorily refused to make any alteration in its terms.

No one acquainted with the past history of the Boers, their obstinate adherence to their 'rough and ready' method of dealing with the natives, their unwillingness to pay taxes and to obey the laws of their own government when they were independent, could have expected that they would long continue to live quietly and peaceably when they became once more their own masters. It was foreseen that in all probability the independence of the Transvaal Boers would involve incessant friction with the native populations which lie adjacent to our borders as well as to theirs. They began by petitioning in favour of the abolition of the recently imposed taxes and of the High Court. On January 22, 1882, a force of 300 Boers and 600 of their native allies, with three guns, crossed the Convention boundary of the Transvaal and attacked an independent native chief named Montsioa, but were defeated. They were again beaten by him on February 21 and 25, one day losing all their cattle and another falling into an ambuscade. In March a body of Boers, Korannas, and Batlapins attacked on three several occasions Taouns, the headquarters of a chief

called Mankoran, but were repulsed, and the Boer commander and the Batlapin chief were killed in the fight.

The Boers next trumped up charges against the British Government amounting to £176,757, and requested that this sum should be deducted from the amount which the Convention decided to be due from the Transvaal. Secocoeni, whom Sir Garnet Wolseley had defeated and compelled to submit, but whom the Boers had restored, was killed, with his son and fourteen followers, on the 13th of August, by Mampoer, the chief whom the British Government had put in his place. Then the Boers sent a force of 2000 men against another native chief called Mapoch, who had openly defied the Transvaal Government, but they were defeated by him in November in two engagements with very heavy losses, and compelled to retreat into their own territory. They had then recourse to the use of dynamite to blow up the caves of the native tribes, and in this way killed great numbers of them.

In 1884 a deputation from the Transvaal, including President Krüger, visited Europe, and during their stay in England induced the Government to consent to several important modifications of the Pretoria Convention. The debt due to the British Government was reduced from £380,000 to £250,000, and an extension of frontier was permitted to the Boers, at the expense of the neighbouring tribes against whom they had been waging war. At the same time, to prevent if possible a continuation of such native wars, the British Government decided to establish a protectorate over Bechuanaland, a large and somewhat undefined extent of country lying to the west of the Transvaal, the native chiefs having expressed a desire to be taken under the direct protection of the Imperial Government. It was also provided that the trade route from Cape Colony into the interior did not necessarily pass through Transvaal territory, as there were well-grounded fears that in such a case the Boers might place restrictions on trade. The Queen's suzerainty as regards the relations of the Transvaal Republic with foreign nations was at the same time abandoned.

It was hoped that this liberal treatment of our late enemies would result in soothing the feelings of race-hatred which had been aroused by the war, and which had been considered dangerous even within the Cape Colony, which has a large population of Dutch descent. The people of the Transvaal may have a right to govern themselves, but they cannot be permitted to adopt towards the African races a policy of aggression which keeps South Africa in a state of perpetual turmoil.

Meanwhile serious troubles had arisen with the Basutos, who complained bitterly of the treatment which they had received from the Government of the Cape Colony. In 1868 Moshesh, the great Basuto chief, reduced to the last extremity by the Free State Boers, gladly accepted the protection of Great Britain, and transferred his sovereign rights to the Queen. In accordance with the wishes of the chief, Basutoland was annexed to Cape Colony, and not to Natal. The Basutos prospered under their new governors, were peaceful, were loyal in their behaviour, and had made a progress in civilization quite unparalleled among the African races. But in 1879 the Cape Government resolved to apply to the Basutos the power which the Parliament had intrusted to them in the previous year of disarming such native tribes under colonial jurisdiction as they might think necessary, and the Act was accordingly proclaimed in Basutoland on April 8, 1880. It thus became illegal for the natives to possess or to carry arms, including assegais as well as guns, after a date specified by the proclamation, which was originally declared to be May 21, but was afterwards extended to July 12. The greater part of the natives refused to obey this order. They pleaded that their guns, of which it was now proposed to deprive them, had been earned by labour at the diamond fields,

and the Colonial Government had sanctioned their obtaining these weapons. They fought on the British side in the Zulu War, and their loyal and peaceful behaviour showed that they would make no use of their guns against the whites. To deprive them of weapons which they valued so highly would be not only a dishonour, but an evidence of undeserved distrust. The Colonial Government, however, refused to be turned from their purpose. The loyal Fingoes on one side of the Orange River, they said, had given up their guns, and the not more loyal Basutos could not be exempted.

The dispute was embittered by the proposal of the Cape Government to throw open the confiscated lands of the rebel chief Moirosi to settlement for whites and the natives of other tribes, while the Basutos insisted that these lands should be reserved for their own tribe alone. The Home Government condemned the confiscation of Moirosi's lands, and enjoined moderation and caution in carrying out the decree of disarmament; but it appears to have been conducted with little tact or discretion, and in August, 1880, the Basutos took up arms in defence of what they regarded as their rights. The accounts of the first collision between them and the Cape Mounted Rifles are very confused, so that it is difficult to decide by whom the first shot was fired. Simultaneous attacks were made by the Basutos on three stations held by the colonial troops, and they proved very formidable antagonists, and held their own in their conflicts with the regular forces. They were not, however, left alone in their conflict with the Colonial Government.

It had often been predicted by those who disapproved of the disarmament that the natives throughout the South African district would make common cause with the Basutos, and so it proved. Hardly had the Rifles crossed into Basutoland when the natives began to rise in arms, and in a short space of time a general insurrection took place throughout the extensive region formerly known as Independent Kafirland, and not fewer than 200,000 natives were in arms. The Fingoes alone remained loyal to the Government. Traders' stores, mission stations, and the seats of the magistrates were attacked and sacked. The insurgents were meanwhile kept in check by the volunteers and the yeomanry, along with the regular troops, 1000 strong, under Colonel Carrington. But it was not until near the end of the year that the neck of the rebellion was broken by the defeat of the Pondimisi chief.

While South Africa was in this critical position, Sir Bartle Frere was recalled by the Home Government. Although his policy had not received the approval of Lord Beaconsfield's Administration, and had been strongly condemned by the Liberal party when in Opposition, he was not recalled when they assumed office. They alleged that it was a matter of vital importance that the confederation of the South African colonies should be carried into effect, and that Sir Bartle Frere, owing to his personal influence in Cape Colony, was more likely than a new Governor to promote the success of the project. Resolutions were proposed by the Colonial Ministry to the effect that it was expedient that a conference of representatives should ascertain the practicability or otherwise of a legislative and administrative confederation of the various British South African colonies, but the opposition was so strong that they were withdrawn. As soon as the despatches containing an account of the failure of the scheme reached England Sir Bartle Frere was recalled. He was informed that he had been kept in office only to promote the scheme of confederation, and as there was no longer any hope that this would be carried into effect, and he was on other matters not in accord with the views of the Ministry, it would be unfair both to him and to the Government to maintain him longer in his position. Sir Bartle's recall was regarded in the colony with varied feelings, as party views

and interests were promoted or hindered by his proceedings. While one section declared that his recall was the necessary condition for a safer and juster policy in South Africa, 'crowded and enthusiastic meetings in most of the towns condemned the step taken by the Home Government, applauded the policy which led to the Zulu War, and spoke of the departing Governor as the saviour of South Africa. Even his political opponents joined in the testimony to his personal courtesy and the purity of his aims.'

The war with the Basutos still continued, and several engagements were fought with varied success. Sir Hercules Robinson had been instructed to mediate between the natives and the Colonial Government if both parties were willing. Lerothodi, one of the most powerful and turbulent of the chiefs, having sued for peace, an armistice for six days was agreed to on February 18, 1881. Sir Hercules informed the Basutos that if they would place themselves 'unreservedly in his hands' he would insure them 'just and generous terms,' but he insisted on their laying down their arms at once as a preliminary condition. This, however, they refused to do, and hostilities were resumed, and carried on in a desultory manner until April 9, when Lerothodi again asked for peace. The Governor then consented to act as mediator, and made an award which appeared to be fair to both parties. A general amnesty was to be granted; the Basutos were to be disarmed, but licenses to carry arms were to be issued on a liberal scale; there was to be no confiscation of territory, but the natives were to pay a fine of 5000 head of cattle. These terms were assented to by the chiefs, who began to collect the cattle required for payment of the fine, and the Colonial troops were withdrawn from Basutoland. The disarmament, however, proceeded very slowly, and the loyal Basutos were still afraid to return to their villages. The country, though comparatively quiet, continued in an unsatisfactory state, and little regard was paid to law and order. In February, 1883, the Home Government and the Cape Ministry agreed to inform the Basutos that unless Governor Robinson's award were carried out it would be cancelled, the Geethong district would be disposed of to loyal Basutos and Europeans, the position at Masau would be strongly garrisoned, and the rest of the territory would be abandoned. The effect of this announcement was to reunite the Basutos as one tribe in making preparations for war. The colony was not in a condition to carry on hostilities, and as there was practically no government in Basutoland, the Resident was powerless to enforce order. The Cape Parliament met at this critical stage (March 17), and a strong feeling was manifested in favour of the repeal of the Annexation Act and the abandonment of the country. But the Government insisted on steady persistence in a policy which aimed at the restoration of law and order, and were supported by large majorities. The Legislative Council, however, by fourteen votes to six, adopted a resolution recommending the abandonment of Basutoland by the Cape Government, and calling upon the Imperial Government to resume the responsibility of the administration of that country. But Lord Kimberley, the Colonial Secretary, replied that under no circumstances would this request be granted, and the Cape Ministry were left to carry out their policy on their own responsibility.

General C. G. Gordon, so well known subsequently, who assumed the command of the colonial forces on 1st July, gave it as his opinion on the Basuto question, that the limits of the native locations should be at once permanently fixed by legal deeds, and that legal proceedings should be taken against all who encroached upon the territory of the tribes—a course which he believed would make the natives quiet and contented. The Secretary for Native Affairs and General Gordon visited Basutoland in September, in the hope of arranging matters

between the natives and the white squatters. They were cordially welcomed by all the Basuto chiefs except Masupha, and disgust at his conduct and an ardent desire for peace were professed by all the others. While negotiations were going on with Masupha, and General Gordon was urging him to pay the hut tax and submit to the Government, news arrived that an expedition under Lerothodi, with the sanction of the Cape Ministry, was on its way to attack the refractory chief. Masupha was so enraged at the tidings that he immediately broke off negotiations, and General Gordon, in great displeasure at such a step having been taken at a moment when he thought his efforts might prove successful, tendered his resignation to the Cape Government, which was accepted with unseemly haste, and he forthwith started for England. The loss to the colony of a man like Gordon, it was justly said, at such a critical time was most serious, and indicated a want of justice and wisdom on the part of the authorities that betrayed either weakness or division. The departure of Gordon did not tend to lessen the disturbances in Basutoland or to make Masupha more peaceful or conciliatory. The mission of the Premier and the Secretary for Native Affairs proved a failure. The authorities of Cape Colony, after expending three millions of money and sacrificing many valuable lives, found the administration of Basutoland a task too heavy for them, and entreated to be relieved from it. In these circumstances the Imperial Government very reluctantly consented to resume, under certain conditions, the responsibility and the authority which they formerly transferred to the colonists, having some reason to hope that the Basutos would be more peaceable and contented under the direct government of the Crown than under the management of the Cape Ministry. It appears certain that the natives have much greater confidence in the justice of the Imperial Government than of the colonists, a majority of whom it must be remembered are of Dutch descent and more or less inclined to the peculiar ideas of the Boers on the treatment of natives. This fact has also materially increased the difficulty of dealing with the constant aggressions of Boers from the Transvaal and elsewhere, as it is always desirable to avoid if possible any cause of collision between the Imperial and the Colonial Governments.

CHAPTER XIX.

Financial Condition of Egypt—Arrangements made by Mr. Goschen and M. Jouzert—Misconduct of Ismael Sadyk Pasha—Committee of Inquiry—Their Arrangements—Deposition of the Khedive and the appointment of Tewfik Pasha in his place—The Commission of Liquidation—The Military Mutiny—Caballing of the Officers—Inefficiency of the Government—Military Revolt—Concessions of the Khedive—The National Party—Conduct of Arabi, its leader—Demands of the Chamber of Notables—Alleged plot to murder Arabi—Intervention of France and Britain—Conference at Constantinople—Arabi's proceedings at Alexandria—The British Government forbid the strengthening of the defences—Bombardment of the Forts—Resignation of Mr. Bright—Evasive and tortuous policy of the Porte—British force despatched to Egypt—Strategy of Sir Garnet Wolseley—His seizure of the Suez Canal—Troops landed at El-Kantara and Ismailia—Encounters with Arabi's forces—Battle of Tel-el-Kebir—Complete defeat of the Egyptians—Surrender of Arabi—Termination of the War—Trial of Arabi—His sentence and exile to Ceylon—The Suez Canal—Its origin, construction, and present state.

EGYPTIAN financial affairs, which had long been in an unsatisfactory state, now forced themselves on the attention of the British and French Governments. Mr. Cave, who was sent out by the bondholders of the Egyptian loans, reported that in 1875 Egypt owed £75,000,000 sterling, most of which had been spent on the Suez Canal, railways, and other public works. He did full justice to the improvements which had been made under Ismail Pasha's administration, but he declared that Egypt was suffering 'from the ignorance, dishonesty, waste, and extravagance of the East, such as have brought her Suzerain to the verge of ruin, and at the same time from the vast expense caused by hasty and inconsiderate endeavours to adopt the civilization of the West.' The Khedive had attempted, with a limited revenue, in the course of a few years, works which ought to have been spread over a far longer period, and would have taxed the resources of much richer exchequers. The precarious tenure of office caused dishonesty to go wholly or partially unpunished; the peculation and neglect which pervaded every department gave rise to intrigues that sooner or later brought about the downfall of honest officials. 'As therefore,' he concluded, 'every security of real value is pledged, and as without the means for meeting the floating debt a very serious crisis in the financial affairs of Egypt must take place, which would be fatal to the bondholders of the various loans, it would seem that the most feasible mode of averting the danger would be to buy up, for the purpose of consolidation, the loans of 1860 and 1873, and the bonds of the floating debt.'

Mr. Cave's report revealing the perilous condition of Egyptian finances made it evident that prompt and vigorous measures had become necessary to save the property of the bondholders from destruction. Mr. Goschen and M. Joubert were sent out, the former as the representative of the British, the latter of the French creditors, armed with unfettered authority, to make arrangements with the Khedive and his ministers. The knowledge that Mr. Goschen was backed by the almost unanimous support of the various creditors of Egypt in this country gave him an influence in negotiating with the Egyptian Government which he could not have had in other circumstances.

The person who was mainly responsible for the gross mismanagement of Egyptian finance and the accumulation of debt was Ismael Sadyk Pasha, who entered the service of Ibrahim Pasha, the father of the Khedive, in 1836, an uneducated fellah, and had now become Minister of Finance, with paramount influence over the policy and actions of the Khedive. Being well aware of his real character and of the necessity of getting rid of him, Mr. Goschen on his arrival refused to call upon Sadyk Pasha. The slight was keenly felt by the Finance Minister, and with an audacity and viru-

lence hitherto unknown in Egypt, he set himself to excite an agitation among the village *fellaheen*, and pushed to the verge of rebellion his opposition to the schemes of the foreign deputies. He then sent in his resignation in a long letter bringing the most serious accusations against the Khedive himself. Five days later the Khedive, in true Oriental fashion, took him a quiet drive which ended at the Palace, where he was delivered over a prisoner to a strong guard in waiting for him, and was despatched to a penal settlement on the Upper Nile.

The main obstruction having thus been got out of the way, Mr. Goschen and his colleague, M. Joubert, proceeded to make the necessary arrangements to save the money of the shareholders and to retrieve the position of the Khedive. After making a considerable reduction on the interest of the loans and on the bonus that was proposed to be given to the holders of Treasury bonds, and assigning a fixed allowance of about £4,000,000 sterling to the Khedive, they put the whole system of Egyptian finance under European control. Europeans were to manage the railways, to superintend the collection of all the revenues of the state, to regulate all disbursements, and to watch over the funds to be applied to the payment of the Khedive's creditors. These arrangements were sanctioned by the Khedive, became law in 1876, and if honestly carried out they would no doubt in time have produced a most beneficial effect upon the stability of the Egyptian Government and the welfare of the people. The financial system, however, introduced by Mr. Goschen and M. Joubert in 'this most distressful country' was not successful, and a new Committee of Inquiry was ordered, in which Mr. Rivers Wilson, formerly of the British Treasury, took the leading part. Prince Mohammed Tewfik, the hereditary Prince, made an offer to cede to the Committee all his estates, the annual rental of which amounted to £30,000. His example was followed by the daughter and second son of the Khedive, and ultimately by his mother, whose estates were worth £20,000 a year. The Khedive himself soon after intimated his intention to follow the same course, and to give up all his private estates to the Financial Commission, to accept the European system of constitutional government, and to make Nubar Pasha the head of his administration, while Mr. Rivers Wilson was to be the Minister of Finance, with a French Minister of Public Works as his colleague. 'My country,' he said, 'is no longer African; we now form part of Europe. It is proper, therefore, to abandon our old ways and to adopt a new system more in accordance with our social progress. Above all we must not be satisfied with mere words, and for my own part I am determined to prove my intentions by my deeds.'

The report of the Egyptian Commission of Inquiry revealed a state of matters which urgently demanded reform. 'No tax in Egypt,' it said, 'is regulated by law. The superior authority asks, the inferior authority demands, and the lowest authority takes just what the Treasury has ordered, and there is no appeal. New taxes are imposed at discretion, and are occasionally quite absurd. All who do not own land pay the tax on professions, because not being land-owners they might take to professions if they liked. The conscription is forced on everybody who cannot bribe the Sheik, the regulation price for exemption being £80, which an Egyptian peasant can no more raise than an English labourer could.' These taxes are all levied by 'moral pressure,' says the Inspector-General, and that means, in fact, the threat of torture.

If Ismail ever intended to act in accordance with his professions and his promises his intention was very short-lived. Matters went from bad to worse, and at last it became indispensably necessary to depose him from his office. He was induced to abdicate, under pressure from the British and French Governments, August 8,

1879, and his son, Mohammed Tewfik, was appointed by the Sultan of Turkey (also acting under pressure) to succeed him. The European Controllers, appointed by a decree of the new Khedive, dated November 10, 1879, and nominated respectively by the British and French Governments, steadily carried out their projected reforms, satisfying honest claims, but firmly rejecting those which were either unjust in themselves or had been scandalously exaggerated above their real amount. A Committee of Liquidation was appointed with extensive powers. Its proposals, which were ratified by the new Khedive and his Ministers, gave general satisfaction to the Egyptian creditors, and a hopeful future seemed at length to have dawned upon the unhappy country. The native cultivators, though still subjected to conscription, were no longer drawn in crowds to swell a useless army, or employed upon useless works; the land tax, though heavy, was collected with comparative fairness, and even the labourers were able to lay aside some savings. The use of the whip in the collection of taxes was abolished, and yet the taxes were paid quite readily. 'It leads one to hope,' said Mr. Malet, the British Agent and Consul-General, 'that the condition of the fellah is at last permanently changed for the better, and that the misrule and oppression to which he has been subject for centuries has passed away.'

A great deal, however, had still to be done before it could be said that Egypt was well governed, but an important step was taken towards this desirable result when the Law of Liquidation was drawn up, on the recommendation of the Commissioners of Great Britain, France, Italy, Austria, and Germany. This law 'drew an absolute line of demarcation between the past and the future, settled the conditions on which all public debts prior to December 31, 1880, were to be regulated, fixed the amount and interest of the consolidated debt, appropriated to it certain revenues, and laid down the rules by which the other sources of income were to be distributed between the service of different branches of the administration and the paying off of the consolidated debt.' But at this juncture a military revolt unfortunately broke out, which appears to have arisen from dissatisfaction caused by the pay of the troops having fallen into arrears, a reduction in the regiments from motives of economy, and the promotion to the higher grades of Turks and Circassians by the Minister of War, to the exclusion of native officers. The movement speedily spread over the country; no portion of the troops could be relied on to suppress the mutiny, and even the black regiment at Tourah prepared to join the mutineers. In these circumstances there was nothing for it but to yield to their demands. The Minister of War was replaced by Mahmoud Pasha Samy, the Minister of Religious Institutions, whose nomination was favourably received by the soldiers, and they retired to their barracks with shouts of 'Long live the Khedive!'

But though the mutiny was at an end for the present the soldiers had learned the secret of their strength, and they soon made it evident that they knew that they were completely masters of the situation. The officers who had taken the lead in this outbreak were under an apprehension that sooner or later they would be made to feel the vengeance of the Khedive and his Ministers, whose authority they had successfully defied, and in order to protect themselves they opened secret communications with all who on any ground were dissatisfied with the political position of Egypt. The Ministry were soon made aware of this caballing, but they took no active measures to suppress it. They made an effort to conciliate the army by inquiring into and remedying any grievances of which the soldiers had reason to complain, and they at once raised the pay of all ranks from 20 to 30 per cent. The military party, however, of which Ahmed Arabi Bey was now the recognized head, persisted

in holding meetings in Cairo, at which speeches were made denouncing the Riaz Ministry and the foreign element in the administration of the country. The Khedive wanted the courage and decision necessary to support his Ministry against their enemies or to vindicate his own authority, and the agitation, which had originated with the army, was fomented and extended throughout the whole country.

In this state of matters a crisis was evidently impending, and it was brought on partly by accidental circumstances, partly by a want of forethought and firmness on the part of the Khedive and his ministers. It was not unknown to them that the military leaders held meetings on September 7 and 8, at which it was resolved to make a demonstration to intimidate the Khedive and compel the resignation of the ministers, whom they suspected of designs on their liberty, if not on their lives; but no steps were taken to counteract these intrigues. Quite unexpectedly the Minister of War was informed, at one o'clock in the afternoon of September 9, by a letter from Arabi Bey, that at three o'clock on the same afternoon the army would present itself on the square before the palace of Abden, to demand the execution of the political programme agreed upon by their leaders. This consisted of three points—the instant dismissal of the Ministry, the summoning of the Chamber of Notables, and the carrying out of the recommendation of the military commission, which, among other matters, included the augmentation of the army to 18,000 men. Even at that late hour, if the Khedive had put himself at the head of the 1st Regiment of Guards, who had received him with every mark of respect, and had marched at once to Abden, as Mr. Colvin recommended him to do, before the arrival of Arabi Bey from Abassieh, all might have gone well. But the well-meaning though weak ruler still clung to the notion that he might persuade the leaders of the army to come to an amicable arrangement. On reaching Abassieh, however, in company with Mr. Colvin, he found that Arabi had already marched with the troops, taking with him eighteen pieces of artillery to blockade the palace of Abden. When the Khedive returned thither at full speed he found the square in front of his palace occupied by 4000 soldiers, and loaded cannon pointed at the windows. Arabi Bey reiterated the three demands of the army—dismissal of the Ministry, convention of the Chambers, and the carrying out of the recommendation of the military commission. But through the intervention of Mr. Cookson, the British acting agent, it was agreed that the Ministry should resign, and that Cherif Pasha should be asked to form a cabinet, on condition that the troops should be at once withdrawn.

The crisis had thus far passed over without bloodshed, but matters were still in an unsatisfactory and critical state. Cherif Pasha at first refused to accept office at the bidding of the mutineers, and was at last induced to undertake the task only by the persuasion of the British and French agents, and on condition that the officers should quit Cairo, leave him the untrammelled choice of his Ministers, and forbear to insist on the immediate augmentation of the army. The conditions were faithfully carried out on both sides. On the 22nd September the Khedive issued decrees regulating the pay, the promotion, and the retirement of the officers on the lines laid down by the military commission, and on the 4th of October appeared a decree for the opening of the Chamber of Delegates.

The success of the revolt, however, rendered a compromise impracticable. The national party, which had been composed mainly of uninfluential mercenary theorists, now became numerous and powerful, and absorbed into itself all the various elements of opposition to the system under which the control of the political and administrative affairs of the country had been intrusted to foreigners. The native aspirants for public employment, the military agitators, the Sheiks, and the Notables—

all, in short, who were interested in the maintenance of time-honoured abuses, and had been accustomed to jobbery and peculation under the former mode of government, united in bitter opposition to the foreigners, while the fanaticism of the Mussulman population was roused by the inflammatory articles issued by the native press. The success of the financial measures under the administration of the British and French officials was very marked. The revenue had exceeded the estimated amount by nearly £600,000, while the expenditure had fallen short of the estimate by £731,000. But this result afforded no satisfaction to those who had been in the habit of enriching themselves at the public expense.

The first session of the Egyptian Parliament was opened on the 2nd of December, 1881, by the Khedive in person. He expressed his confidence that it would respect the Law of Liquidation and all other international engagements; but it speedily appeared that a majority of the members were resolved to follow a different course. The Parliament and the people of Great Britain had no desire to extend their interference with Egyptian affairs, but on the contrary were prepared to welcome every attempt to diminish it. But as Sir Charles Dilke remarked—'Britain and France occupy a position towards Egypt which entitles them to give advice, and to expect that it should be followed. If it is galling to the Egyptians to see certain administrations in their midst in foreign hands—such as the railways, the Port of Alexandria, the Domains, and the Daira-Sanieh—it must be remembered that these revenues were assigned in mortgage for moneys spent on Egypt, and that the redemption of that debt, which is progressing rapidly under the Law of Liquidation, will render those mortgage liquidations needless. But for the present the co-operation of England and France in their administration is as necessary as the control of which they form a component part; and being there it forms the rampart against confusion, and a co-operation with France deliberately created by our predecessors must be loyally maintained.'

Arabi, however, and the party of which he was the recognized leader, regarded affairs in a very different light. He had retired to Ouady with his regiment according to the agreement made with Cherif Pasha, but returning suddenly to Cairo at the beginning of the year 1882 he was appointed Under-secretary of War by the Minister whose policy he had done all in his power to defeat. This sudden and unexpected arrangement indicated the apprehension which Cherif Pasha entertained of his rival's power, and a manifesto, which was generally ascribed to Arabi, was immediately issued on his advent to office, proclaiming his views on the condition of the country. In this startling document it was insisted that for the time the army represented the people, and that it was trusted by the people; that Egypt was sick of the European Control, and of its highly-paid and often incompetent officials; and that Europeans should be replaced by Egyptians, even were it deemed expedient to carry out the financial policy inaugurated by the Control, which it was evident he had no intention to do. In a word, the cry was raised of 'Egypt for the Egyptians,' and it was clearly the design of Arabi and his party to repudiate the scheme, and to put an end to the Anglo-French Control. It was strongly suspected that the Sultan, and probably the Khedive also, were favourable to this policy. In these circumstances the British and French Governments deemed it necessary to make known their resolution to maintain the existing Joint Control, which had been established, with the sanction of the other European Powers, alike for the good of Egypt, the peace of Europe, and the benefit of the bondholders. And they at once addressed to the Khedive an Identical Note, in which they expressed their determination 'to ward off by their united efforts all causes of external or internal complications which might menace the regime established in Egypt.'

The Chamber of Notables, however, were not prevented by this firm expression of opinion on the part of the representatives of the two governments from claiming the right to regulate the National Budget. Cherif Pasha tried in vain to divert them from their purpose by offering to increase the numbers and pay of the army. The Notables would be content with nothing short of the actual abrogation of the Joint Control. Cherif Pasha, in consequence, resigned, and a new Ministry was formed —not by the Khedive, who shrunk from the performance of his duty—but by the Chamber, to which he left it to make its own selection. Mahmoud Pasha Samy was made the nominal President of the new Cabinet, but Arabi was advanced to the post of War Minister, and was in reality the head of the Government. Gambetta, the French Premier, was ready to take summary measures to check the proceedings of the military party; but at this juncture he went out of office, and the policy of M. de Freycinet, who was placed at the head of affairs, was wholly opposed to that of his predecessor. The Egyptian Notables at once came to the conclusion that a divergence of views between Britain and France would leave them at liberty to carry out their own plans, and therefore, under the advice of Arabi, they continued to insist that they should have the right to settle the budget, which had hitherto been framed in accordance with the views of the British and French representatives. These officials strongly protested both to the Khedive and to their own Governments against this attempt to usurp their powers, as calculated seriously to prejudice the interests of Britain and France. Their recommendations were adopted by their respective Governments, and were embodied in a Joint Note to the Khedive, who, however, was powerless to arrest the action of the military party. So completely, indeed, was he in their hands that he was obliged to create Arabi a Pasha, to promote seventeen of the principal officers who had supported him to colonelcies, and to confirm the Bedouins, on whom Arabi depended for support, in all their privileges.

The system of allowing the War Minister to govern through a Cabinet nominally in power lasted only a few weeks. On April 11 a plot was said to have been discovered for the murder of Arabi by certain Circassian officers, who had been passed over in the wholesale promotions of the preceding month. Thirty-one of the alleged conspirators were arrested, thrown into prison, and tried by a secret court-martial. Arabi wished to make an example of the ringleaders, but the Khedive, who was smarting under the domination of the military leader, decided to commute the sentences of the inculpated officers, and to place them on half-pay. The President of the Council, who was a creature of Arabi, was so angry at the refusal of the Khedive to condemn the Circassians to degradation and exile for life, that on May 10 he convoked the Chamber of Notables without even consulting the Khedive, and intimated that until its assembling no further communication would be held with the nominal ruler of the country.

An unsatisfactory correspondence had been carried on for some time between the British and French Governments as to the steps which should be taken to bring about a restoration of peace and security in Egypt, and various proposals for that purpose had been made and rejected by one party or other. At length the French Government proposed to despatch at once half a dozen ships of war to Alexandria, and that Britain should send thither a similar force. To this plan Lord Granville gave his consent, and instructions were simultaneously sent by the two Governments to recommend the Khedive to proclaim a general amnesty, to call for the resignation of the Arabi Ministry, and to demand that the President of the Council, the Minister of War, and other three military Pashas, should leave Egypt for a year. Arabi, like the great body of his countrymen, was under the impression

that the two Western Powers would not despatch any troops to Egypt, and at first refused either to resign office or to leave the country; but after a few days' reflection the Ministers resigned in a body. The Khedive was informed that the army absolutely rejected the Joint Note, and awaited the decision of the Sultan, to whom they had appealed. The proposed deposition of the Khedive was discussed by the military junto, but was negatived, and it was resolved that he should be called on to reinstate Arabi as Minister of War.

Invitations to a conference at Constantinople were issued to the European ministers, but owing to its limited action nothing came of it. The presence of the allied fleet at Alexandria produced a feeling of anxiety, and the Egyptian troops at once began to throw up batteries and earthworks. The feelings of the citizens were decidedly and increasingly hostile to Europeans. The danger became very great. 'During twenty-four hours,' wrote Mr. Cookson to Lord Granville, 'the town was in continual danger of being stormed by the soldiery, who actually had cartridges served out, in response to their demand, to be used against Europeans. The crisis is only suspended, but all elements of danger which existed yesterday remain to-day. The small squadron in port could only silence the fire of the Egyptian forts, and when these forts are disabled, then would commence a period of great danger for Europeans, who would be at the mercy of soldiers exasperated by defeat. Every day's delay increases the dangerous temper of the soldiers and their growing defiance of discipline.'

Arabi, though only nominally War Minister, was practically sole dictator, and by his orders the Alexandrian forts were put into a condition of defence, and long lines and earthworks were erected to cover the entrance of the harbour. Although the Khedive and the British Admiral sent him repeated orders to desist from the erection of these works, he persisted in the construction of batteries round the harbour. He gradually drew around him the select soldiers of the Egyptian army, including those regiments on whose support he imagined he could rely, but he soon found that he was quite unable to rule and restrain the forces he had collected. On the 11th of June a serious riot broke out at Alexandria, in which Mr. Cookson, the British Consul and Judge, the Greek Consul-General, and a French Consular dragoman were attacked and seriously injured, and a considerable number of British and French subjects were killed, variously estimated at from fifty to 200.

'The record of events in Egypt during the last few months,' wrote Lord Granville to Lord Dufferin on the 11th of July, 'shows that the whole administrative power has fallen into the hands of certain military chiefs devoid of experience and knowledge, who, with the support of the soldiers, have set at nought the constituted authorities, and insisted on compliance with their demands. Such a condition of affairs cannot fail to be disastrous to the welfare of any civilized country. There seemed to be a moment when a firm assertion of authority by the Khedive, with the countenance of the sovereign Power, backed by evidence of the support of England and France, and with no uncertain prospect of material intervention if the necessity arose, might suffice to produce submission on the part of the officers, and to bring the movement within bounds. The attempt was made, and unhappily has failed.

'Her Majesty's Government now see no alternative but a recourse to force to put an end to a state of affairs which has become intolerable. In their opinion it would be most convenient, and most in accordance with the general principles of international law and usage, that the force to be so employed should be that of the sovereign Power. If this method of procedure should prove impracticable, in consequence of unwillingness on the part of the Sultan, it will become necessary to devise other measures. Her Majesty's Government continue to hold the view expressed in their circular of February 11, that any intervention in Egypt should represent the united action and authority of Europe. They have, in fact, no interests or objects in regard to Egypt which are inconsistent with those of Europe in general, nor any interests which are inconsistent with those of the Egyptian people. Their desire is that the navigation of the Suez Canal should be maintained open and unrestricted, that Egypt should be well and quietly governed, free from predominating influence on the part of

any single Power; that international engagements should be observed, and that those British commercial and industrial interests which have been so largely developed in Egypt should receive due protection, and should not be exposed to outrage—a principle which is not applicable only to Egypt, but is essential for national progress in all parts of the world. The policy pursued by them has been consistent; they have loyally acted up to their engagements with France; they have been anxious also that the other Powers should be informed and consulted in all matters affecting the position of the country. The action to which their admiral has been compelled to resort has not altered their views in this respect.'

The course of events at Alexandria obliged the Government to adopt decisive measures to carry out the policy which they had resolved to pursue. It had become evident that nothing short of force would avail to suppress the military party, which had now usurped the complete control of the Government and the country. As soon as Arabi became master of the situation he set about putting the forts round Alexandria in a condition of defence, and though for a time, on the remonstrance of Admiral Seymour, he had desisted from the erection of the earthworks to cover the entrance of the harbour, he now resumed the undertaking. The British Government had instructed their Admiral 'to prevent any attempt to bar the channel into Alexandria harbour, and to acquaint the Military Governor that such an attempt would be considered a hostile act and treated accordingly; if work were resumed on the earthworks or fresh guns mounted, to inform the military commandant that he had orders to prevent it, and if not immediately discontinued to destroy the earthworks and silence the batteries if they opened fire, having given sufficient notice to the population, shipping, and foreign men-of-war.'

Arabi persisted in his denial that works were going on in the forts, but the British Admiral was satisfied that the statement was at variance with fact, and the orders of the Khedive, of the Sultan, and of Dervish Pasha, his representative, that the works should be discontinued met only with evasive replies. A threat on 6th July from the Admiral that he would open fire on the works in progress was followed by a repeated assurance on the part of the military commandant that none were in progress at that time. At length, on the 10th July, Lord Granville telegraphed his approval of a notice being given that in twenty-four hours from that time the British fleet would commence action unless the forts of the isthmus and those commanding the entrance of the harbour were temporarily surrendered for the purpose of being demolished. By this time almost the whole of the European inhabitants of Alexandria had embarked on board the ships provided for their reception, and no satisfactory reply having been received from Arabi the British vessels at nightfall withdrew from the inner harbour and took up the respective positions assigned them. Though the French Government professed to concur with the British in the end to be attained, they differed in regard to the mode in which it was to be brought about. Their ironclads, therefore, returned to Port Said, leaving the British Admiral to vindicate alone the policy of which the other European Powers had expressed their approval.

The fleet appointed for this service consisted of thirteen vessels, of which eight were ironclads and five gunboats. They carried 3539 men and 112 guns. The first shot was fired at 7 a.m., July 11, and it was not until 5.30 p.m. that the order to cease firing was given from the flagship. The Egyptian guns were vigorously served, and with creditable skill, but they were speedily overpowered by the weightier metal of the British fleet, and the forts were completely destroyed.

Next day, under cover of a flag of truce, Arabi withdrew the whole of his troops. Before they evacuated the city the prison doors were thrown open (it is not known by whose orders), and the convicts rushed out to plunder and destroy the European quarter. Bedouins and soldiers then aided them in the work of devastation, which was

carried on for two days, and it is calculated that upwards of 2000 Europeans, chiefly Greeks and Levantines, lost their lives. A large portion of the city was burned, and a vast amount of valuable property destroyed.

The report of the British Admiralty respecting the cost of the bombardment shows how expensive modern warfare has become. Every shot from the 81-ton guns cost £25 10*s.*; of the 25-ton guns, £7; of the 18-ton guns, £4 4*s.*; of the 12-ton guns, £3 12*s.* 6*d.* The cost of a single shot from the 9-ton guns was £2 15*s.*; from the 6½-ton guns, £1 15*s.* The 64-pounders and 40-pounders cost respectively 18*s.* and 12*s.* to fire.

The steps taken by the Government to compel the submission of the military party in Egypt met with general support at home, but they were regarded with strong disapprobation by an influential though not numerous party in the country and in the House of Commons, and on the 15th it was announced that Mr. Bright had withdrawn from the Cabinet.

'The House knows,' he said, in stating his reasons for his retirement, 'that for forty years, at least, I have endeavoured to teach my countrymen an opinion and doctrine which I hold, namely, that the moral law is intended not only for individual life, but for the life and practice of states in their dealings with one another. I think that in the present case there has been a manifest violation both of international law and of the moral law, and therefore it is impossible for me to give my support to it. I cannot repudiate what I have preached and taught during the period of a rather long political life. I cannot turn my back upon myself and deny all that I have taught to many thousands during the forty years that I have been permitted, at public meetings and in this House, to address my countrymen. Only one word more. I asked my calm judgment and my conscience what was the part I ought to take. They pointed out to me, as I think, with an unerring finger, and I am endeavouring to follow it.'

The British Government had from the first been anxious to obtain at least the moral support of the other European Powers in their Egyptian policy, and they proposed that the Sultan should be a party to any steps that might be taken to restore order in Egypt. Prince Bismarck declared himself personally favourable to the intervention of the Sultan as sovereign in Egypt, should intervention become necessary; the Italian Government were of the same opinion, as likely to lead to fewer complications; but the new French Ministry expressed their reluctance to admit of the Turkish interference in any form, lest it should lead sooner or later to the armed intervention of the Porte, and to the introduction of Turkish troops into Egypt. But the policy of the Sultan and his advisers was, as usual, underhand, tortuous, and insincere, and in the end they were caught in their own net.

Immediately after the bombardment of the Alexandrian forts the representatives of the six European Powers at Constantinople presented to the Porte an Identical Note urging the immediate despatch of Ottoman troops to Egypt, limiting, however, their stay in that country to three months, unless invited by the Khedive to remain. Instead of complying with this request the Turkish Cabinet made a tardy promise that they would send a representative to the Conference, who would there state the conditions under which an army of occupation would be despatched to Egypt. Negotiations were carried on for some time respecting this matter; but the British Government would not consent to the landing of Turkish troops on Egyptian soil unless the Sultan would give positive assurance that he intended to restore the authority of the Khedive, and in proof of his sincerity would declare Arabi a rebel. Unless this were done the Turkish and Egyptian troops might not improbably unite and make common cause against the Europeans in Egypt. It was also proposed that the Turkish forces should be placed under British command. These stipulations were, of course, resisted by the Sultan and his counsellors; but the British Ambassador stood firm, and as time passed Turkish co-operation became a matter of comparatively little importance. The

Porte at length became anxious to come to an agreement, lest Turkey should be left out in the cold at the settlement of Egyptian affairs. A proclamation against Arabi was therefore at last issued, and the terms of a convention for sending a Turkish army to Egypt were drawn out. But by this time intelligence had been received from the seat of war which showed that the intervention of the Sultan was now unnecessary, and the Turkish Ministry discovered when too late that they had outwitted themselves by the intrigues which they had so long and so persistently carried on. Earl Dufferin, the British Ambassador, intimated that as matters now stood a convention would be of no use, and that the landing of Turkish troops in Egypt was no longer desirable. The troops destined for this service, numbering 4100 men, had by this time assembled at Suda Bay, in Crete. Dervish Pasha was nominated Commander-in-Chief, with two British officers to assist him, and Baker Pasha was appointed chief of the staff; but there was evidently no expectation that they were to be immediately despatched to the seat of war, as both officers and men were constantly on leave at Constantinople.

It was at first expected that there would be a joint intervention of the two Western Powers for the purpose of restoring order in Egypt; and there can be no doubt that this would have taken place if Gambetta had remained in power, but his successor adopted a different line of policy, and expressed himself disinclined to any armed intervention in Egypt; and as the National Assembly refused a grant for the purpose, the French Government were unable, even if they had been willing, to take part in any active measures. Britain was therefore left the sole representative of the 'united action and authority of Europe' in dealing with the Egyptian question.

Mr. Gladstone declared that the policy of the Government had been to work in harmony with all the European Powers, to maintain all established rights, and to provide guarantees for these rights. They earnestly desired to retain the co-operation of France and to respect the feelings of the Sultan; but now that they were left alone to carry out the policy of which all the European Powers had expressed their approval, they were determined to carry it through firmly and consistently; and as no alternative remained but an armed intervention to put an end to the anarchy which now prevailed in Egypt, they appealed to Parliament for the necessary funds (July 27), and then hurried up the troops with which they intended to suppress the rebellion and reinstate the Khedive in the government of Egypt.

The force despatched from England at the beginning of the war numbered 22,216 men, including officers; a division sent from India, under General Macpherson, amounted to 7376, in all 29,580 men; but reinforcements sent out during the war brought the whole strength up to 45,500 men. Sir Garnet Wolseley was appointed Commander-in-Chief. The career of this distinguished officer had been remarkably rapid and brilliant, and he had been throughout noted for his courage and skill. He was wounded at Sebastopol and also in the Indian Mutiny, and was knighted for the ability and success with which he commanded the Red River expedition in 1870. The manner in which he brought the Ashantee War to a triumphant close had placed him in the foremost rank of British generals, and his subsequent services in South Africa had shown that his prudence and skill were equal to his daring. The appointment of this gallant and experienced officer to the chief command of the expeditionary force gave universal satisfaction. His chief of the staff, Lieutenant-General Sir John Adye, was deservedly regarded as an officer of great ability and high attainments. The Brigadier-Generals were the Duke of Connaught, Sir Evelyn Wood, Sir Edward Hamley, Major-General Graham, and Sir Archibald Alison. The cavalry brigade was under the command of Major-General

Drury Lowe, the artillery was commanded by Major-General Goodenough, and the Royal Engineers were under the command of Major-General Nugent. The corps was completed by the necessary field hospital, ambulance, field-post, commissariat, and transport corps.

Sir Archibald Alison was the first general officer to reach the seat of war, and his first act was to make a reconnaisance in person, on the 5th of August, to discover the position and strength of the insurgent forces. It led to an engagement, in which an ironclad train, manned by sailors, was of important service. The object of the reconnaisance was attained with trifling loss to the British, but between two and three hundred of the enemy were killed. Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had suffered from fever before leaving England, and had been advised to proceed to Egypt by sea, arrived at Alexandria on the 15th of August. On the following day he issued a proclamation to the natives, informing them that the British troops had come solely to re-establish the authority of the Khedive, and would therefore fight only against those who were in arms against His Highness. All peaceable inhabitants were assured that they would be treated with kindness, and that no violence would be offered to them, their religion, their mosques, or their families—that their property would be respected—and that any supplies that might be required would be paid for.

Arabi, on retreating from Alexandria, had taken up a strong position at a place called Kafr-Dowar, about a mile and three-quarters from the commencement of the isthmus, between Lakes Aboukir and Mariût, under the expectation that the British attack would be made on that side; but Sir Garnet Wolseley had formed a totally different plan of operations, and before he left England had pointed out Tel-el-Kebir as the exact spot where the final struggle would take place. The long line of fortifications stretching from Fort Aboukir to Fort Rosetta, which were of remarkable strength, and armed with heavy guns, along with the new earthworks which Arabi had been occupied for months in adding to the inner lines, therefore never came into operation.

Of the three courses open to the British general—a landing at Aboukir combined with a flank attack on Kafr-Dowar, or a march through the Libyan desert to Cairo (the route chosen by Napoleon), or an advance by the ancient Pelusium, now the Bay of Tini (the road by which the ancient conquerors of Egypt entered the country)—Sir Garnet Wolseley decided in favour of the last, and even the carping German military critics have been obliged to admit that he made a judicious choice. By seizing the canal not only would he open communication between his troops at Suez and those at Alexandria, but his base of operations would be placed much nearer Cairo The fact that the railway by Ismailia and Zagazig to Cairo is twenty-four miles, or two days' good march, shorter than that from Alexandria to the capital, was also a consideration not to be overlooked.

It was of great importance to the success of his plan that the British General should keep it secret, and this was no easy task. Alexandria, as he knew, was full of spies, and the correspondents of the newspapers, both British and Continental, eagerly vied with each other in discovering and making known his intended mode of attack. Sir Garnet, in his 'Soldier's Pocket-Book,' gives it as his opinion that correspondents are the curse of modern warfare, but on this occasion he made them of service in disseminating false intelligence. He had purposely allowed the notion to be spread abroad that he intended to effect a landing at Aboukir, and to make an attack on the position at Kafr-Dowar in front and flank; and on the afternoon of August 18th a fleet of eight men-of-war, with 6000 troops—the whole of the First Division—on board, accompanied by Sir Garnet himself, with the chief of his staff, steamed out from Alexandria in an eastward direction and

halted at Aboukir, where it anchored till the evening; then leaving a few men-of-war there it proceeded further to the east, and by daylight next morning was off Port Said. So well had the secret of the real destination of the expedition been kept that it was not known even to the Brigadier-Generals on board. General Hamley, left at Alexandria in command of the Second Division, had received orders to proceed to Aboukir on the 20th and to seize the town. It was not until he had reached Aboukir Bay and opened his sealed orders that he was made aware of Sir Garnet's real plans. The Khedive had some time before this given authority to the British General to occupy the ends and other important points on the Suez Canal. M. Lesseps had hastened to Egypt for the purpose of preventing this step, against which he made a vigorous but useless protest. He even appealed to Arabi, and obtained from him a document guaranteeing the neutrality of the canal on the part of the Egyptian forces. It was absurd to expect that any weight should be attached to such a guarantee. Even an unfriendly German critic admits that from a military point of view the British were perfectly right in occupying the canal, as it was indispensable to them to be able to unite without disturbance the two forces that were to act together in Egypt, and that from a commercial point of view also it was necessary to preserve this important sea-passage from destruction. Accordingly on the 19th of August a British gunboat, in spite of a renewed protest from M. Lesseps, was stationed at the Suez entrance of the canal to block in the meantime the passage of all foreign merchant vessels, and on the 20th a body of 600 seamen and marines landed and took possession of Port Said, at the entrance from the Mediterranean. The British fleet then proceeded down the canal and disembarked the troops at El-Kantara and Ismailia. At the same time a detachment from Suez marched northwards and took possession of Shalouf, a station on the railway from Ismailia to Suez, and arrived just in time to prevent the destruction of the Fresh-water Canal by the Egyptian troops. Thus, through these swift and skilful operations, the whole course of the canal was occupied without difficulty on the 20th by the British.

The troops on landing discovered that the Egyptians had erected dams across the Sweetwater Canal, and as Ismailia was entirely dependent for its drinking water on this canal, it became necessary to destroy these obstructions. Accordingly on the 24th of August Sir Garnet Wolseley himself moved out of the camp at the head of a body of cavalry and 1000 infantry, and with a loss of six killed and twelve wounded cleared off a dam made of fascines which Arabi's troops had formed between Magfar and Mahuta. On the following day our troops came into collision with a strong body of the enemy, supposed to amount to 10,000 men, with twelve guns in position. The Egyptians fought with great courage, but in the end an attack of the Household Cavalry on their flank and rear decided the day. Arabi's troops fled in great confusion, and their strongly-intrenched position at Tel-el-Mahuta, along with five Krupp guns, a large quantity of ammunition, a considerable number of rifles, and seventy-five railway trucks with provisions, fell into the hands of the British. The demoralization of the Egyptian forces at this moment was so manifest and so great that General Wolseley at once decided to push forward next day and take possession of the important position of the Lock at Kassassin.

At this juncture (17th August) a detachment of Turkish troops, in the steamship *Calypso*, arrived at Port Said, but were not allowed to land on any part of the territory occupied by the British troops. The *Calypso* in consequence continued her voyage through the canal, accompanied by a steam sloop, to the Red Sea.

On the 28th of August a determined

assault was made at Kassassin upon the British advanced guard under General Graham. The attack, supported by twelve guns well served and well directed, was carried on for several hours with marked courage and persistence, and the position of the British force was at one time somewhat critical, as its two wings were separated by the canal, and might in case of disaster have been unable to present a firm and united front. But the arrival of the heavy cavalry, under General Drury Lowe, decided the fate of the day. At sunset the Household Cavalry, 7th Dragoon Guards, and Horse Artillery, under the command of Sir Baker Russell, concealed by a ridge until they were within a few hundred yards of the enemy's position, suddenly burst at full speed upon the Egyptian batteries, sweeping through the infantry and cavalry by which they were supported, and throwing the whole corps into confusion. The enemy immediately broke and fled, and for two or three hours were pursued through the darkness by our troops.

By this time the Indian division had arrived, and was stationed in and around Ismailia. The Third Brigade, consisting of the Highland regiments under General Hamley, was conveyed by sea from Alexandria to Ismailia on the 28th. Sir Garnet, however, resolved to wait the arrival of his expected reinforcements from England before making his final attack on Arabi's intrenched position at Tel-el-Kebir. At Ismailia the soldiers suffered severely from the heat of the sun and the toilsome labours which they had to perform in the burning sand of the desert. Besides marching and fighting they had to erect temporary fieldworks, to repair railways and canals, and to undertake other work of a similar kind, to which they were quite unaccustomed. A number of the officers as well as of the men suffered from sunstroke, and Sir Garnet himself lay ill of dysentery for some days at Ismailia.

Meanwhile Arabi, not content with adding daily to the strength of his fortifications at Tel-el-Kebir, and occupying a strong position at Salahyeh, on the British flank, resolved to assume the offensive, and on the 9th of September, at the head of 20,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, 62 guns, and 3000 Bedouins, he made in person a vigorous attack on the British front. A well-planned flank attack was ordered to be made from Salahyeh at the same time. The force stationed at Kassassin was comparatively small, and the attack was quite unexpected by General Willis, who commanded there. The troops were in consequence for some time in serious danger, but once more a brilliant charge of the cavalry, under General Drury Lowe, repulsed the enemy, who, however, retreated in good order. They lost 250 men in this sharp encounter, and four guns were left in the hands of the victors, who estimated their loss at 100 men killed and wounded.

The position of the Egyptians at Tel-el-Kebir had been skilfully chosen and very carefully fortified. The front, which was about four miles in length, extending into the desert as far as El Koran, was composed of friable earthworks, with hurdle revetments. At intervals along the line redoubts had been erected, connected by trenches, and mounted with guns so placed as to deliver both a front and a flanking fire. In support of the front there were strong redoubts crowning natural elevations, which had been greatly strengthened by artificial defences. The flanks were protected by similar works, an intrenched front line, and redoubts. This strong position was defended by 20,000 regular troops, of which 2500 were cavalry, with seventy guns, and 6000 Bedouins and irregulars.*

The preparations of the British general were now completed, and orders were issued by him for the concentration of the troops

* This is Sir Garnet Wolseley's statement of the enemy's force given in his telegram reporting his victory. Lieutenant-Colonel Hermann Voght, in his 'Egyptian War of 1882,' states it at 19,000 regulars, 900 cavalry, forty-four Krupp guns, twelve mountain guns, six rocket tubes, and 8000 Bedouins.

to the front. On the 12th of September he communicated to the other generals on the spot his dispositions for the attack, and gave orders that it should be made at an early hour next morning. He had under his command 11,000 bayonets, 2000 sabres, and sixty guns. The camp at Kassassin Lock was struck at nightfall, and the troops moved silently forward to the high ridge above the camp. Here they bivouacked on the sand, no light or fire being allowed. They remained in this position until half-past one in the morning, when the order to advance was given, and the troops proceeded to traverse the distance of six miles that lay between them and the enemy.

'Never did a body of 14,000 men,' wrote Mr. Cameron, the correspondent of the *Standard*, 'get under arms more quietly. The very orders appeared to be given in lowered tones, and almost noiselessly the dark columns moved off, their footfalls being deadened by the sand. The silence, broken only by the occasional clash of steel, the certainty that the great struggle would commence with the dawn, and the expectation that at any moment we might be challenged by the Bedouin horsemen far out in the plain in front of the enemy, all combined to make it an impressive march, and one which none who shared in it will ever forget. "There were frequent halts to enable the regiments to maintain touch, and to allow the transport waggons, whose wheels crunched over the sandy plains with a noise which to our ears seemed strangely loud, to keep up with us."

'On our right was Graham's Brigade, which has already done good service by twice repelling the assaults of the enemy upon this camp. Next to them came the Guards Brigade, which was, "when the action began," to act in support of that of Graham. Between these and the canal moved the forty-two guns of the Royal Artillery, under General Goodenough. On the railway itself the Naval Brigade advanced with the 40-pounders on a truck. South of the canal the Highland Brigade led the advance, followed by the Indian troops in support. The Cavalry and Horse Artillery had started due north to make a long detour, and to come down upon the enemy's line of retreat. By early dawn the troops had arrived within 1000 yards of the enemy's lines, and halted there for a short time to enable the fighting line to be formed and other preparations to be made. A perfect silence still reigned over the plain, and it was difficult to credit the fact that some 14,000 men lay in a semicircle round the enemy's lines, ready to dash forward at a signal at the low sandheaps in front, behind which twice as many men slumbered, unsuspicious of their presence. As is usual in a movement carried out in the darkness, many detached parties altogether lost their way. I was with the mounted police, and for a while we completely lost the rest of the force, and moved hither and thither all night, until just at daybreak we nearly stumbled into the enemy's lines.

'The attack began on our left, and nothing could be imagined finer than the advance of the Highland Brigade. The 74th were next to the canal; next to them were the Cameronians; the Gordon Highlanders continued the line, the Black Watch upon their flank.

'Swiftly and silently the Highlanders moved forward to the attack. No word was spoken, no shot fired until within 300 yards of the enemy's earthworks, nor up to that time did a sound in the Egyptian lines betoken that they were aware of the presence of their assailants. Then suddenly a terrific fire flashed along the line of sandheaps, and a storm of bullets whizzed over the heads of the advancing troops. A wild cheer broke from the Highlanders in response, the pipes struck shrilly up, bayonets were fixed, and at the double this splendid body of men dashed forward.

'The first line of intrenchments was carried, the enemy offering scarce any resistance; but from another line of intrenchments behind, which in the still dim light could be scarcely seen, a burst of musketry broke out.

'For a few minutes the Highlanders poured in a heavy fire in exchange, but it was probably as innocuous as that of the unseen enemy, whose bullets whistled harmlessly overhead. The delay in the advance was but a short one. Soon the order was given, and the brigade again went rapidly forward. Soon a portion of the force had passed between the enemy's redoubts and opened a flanking fire. This was too much for the Egyptians, who at once took to their heels and fairly ran, suffering, as the crowded masses rushed across the open, very heavily from our fire, being literally mown down by hundreds. Meanwhile the fighting had begun upon the other flank. The Horse Artillery shelled the enemy's extreme length. Here the Egyptians seemed more prepared than they had been on their right, and for a time kept up a steady fire. The 18th Royal Irish were sent to turn the enemy's left, under the guidance of Major Hart, who accompanied them as staff officer, and at the word dashed at the trenches and carried them at the bayonet's point, so turning the flank of the defenders' position.

'Next to the 18th came the 87th, and next to them the 84th, the Guards being close up behind in support. These regiments advanced by regular

rushes. For a short time the enemy clung to his line of intrenchments ; but his fire was singularly ineffective, and our troops got fairly into the trenches in front of them. Then the enemy fought stoutly for a few moments, and the combat was hand-to-hand. Major Hart shot one man as he was trying to wrest his revolver from his hand, and this even after the trench had been turned by our advance on their flank. Then as our troops poured in the Egyptians fled as rapidly as those upon the other side of the canal had done before the Highlanders.

'The fight was now practically over, the only further danger arising from the bullets of our own troops, who were firing in all directions upon the flying enemy, as with loud cheers our whole line advanced in pursuit. The Egyptians did not preserve the slightest semblance of order, but fled in a confused rabble at the top of their speed.'

The battle thus gained, General Wolseley acted promptly upon the maxim, 'When once the Oriental has been put to flight he must not be allowed to rest.' The Indian contingent, under General Macpherson, pressing rapidly over the battlefield, entered Zagazig, 15 miles beyond Tel-el-Kebir, on the evening of the 13th, and took possession of five railway trains with their locomotives. The cavalry and mounted infantry, under General Drury Lowe, striking south-west by a desert road, seized upon Belbus the same evening. After a few hours' rest they were again astir long before dawn, and by a forced march of 39 miles, most of it under a blazing sun, they reached Cairo on the evening of September 14.

Arabi, who had fled from the battlefield on horseback, had arrived at the capital before them. He seems not to have entirely lost hope even after his defeat at Tel-el-Kebir. He directed his troops to move from Salahyeh to Damietta, to which it is probable most of the fugitives had fled. He gave orders that the dams should be cut, in order to lay the Delta under water, and evidently intended to defend the capital. But when he reached the city alone and a fugitive instead of a victor, as he had led the citizens to believe, they at once turned against him. Fortunately his orders to cut the dams had not been obeyed. He saw that further resistance was useless, and at once surrendered himself a prisoner to General Drury Lowe. Toulba Pasha, the commander at Kafr-Dowar, who had also come to Cairo, gave up his sword at the same time. Meanwhile Sir Garnet Wolseley had led the Indian troops in person as far as Benha, 20 miles beyond Zagazig, which he reached early on the 15th. In the course of the same day he pushed on to Cairo, with a portion of his infantry, by the railway. He was welcomed with loud acclamations by the populace, and immediately telegraphed to London, 'The war is over; send no more troops to Egypt.'

The total loss of the British in the battle of Tel-el-Kebir did not exceed fifty-four men killed, of whom eleven were officers, and 342, including twenty-four officers, wounded. The losses of the Egyptians could not be accurately ascertained, but not less than 1000 are believed to have fallen in the conflict, 3000 surrendered, while the remainder, numbering 15,000, threw away their arms and for the most part returned to their homes. Sixty guns, with an immense quantity of arms, ammunition, and provisions, fell into the hands of the victors. Deep regret was felt at the murder of Professor Palmer, of Cambridge, Lieutenant Carrington, R.N., and Captain Gill, R.E., by the Bedouins, instigated by the Governor of Nakl, for the sake of the large sum in gold Professor Palmer had with him for the purchase of camels for the Indian troops. The Governor, with some half dozen of the principal murderers, was caught and executed.

As soon as peace was restored, and the Khedive and his Ministers were re-established in Cairo, steps were taken to bring Arabi to trial. The British Foreign Office demanded that the proceedings should be conducted in a fair and open manner, but the Khedive's advisers insisted that the arch-rebel should be tried by Egyptian laws. Lord Granville, however, stood firm, and the Khedive compelled his ministers to comply with the prescribed conditions.

The prisoner was allowed the assistance of British counsel to meet the charges against him. As soon as the trial commenced Arabi handed over to his counsel a number of documents, which were found to implicate the Sultan and Ismail Pasha, the ex-Khedive, and a number of Egyptian officers of high rank, in his attempts to overthrow the Government. In order to avoid the public exposure which these documents would have made of the intrigues of the Porte and the Pasha, the Khedive was urged to stop the trial and to exile Arabi by decree. But this summary mode of procedure was prevented by the British Government, and the trial dragged on for six weeks without any appearance of being brought to a close. On the 7th of November, however, Lord Dufferin arrived at Cairo, and by his influence the trial was brought to a speedy conclusion, without any public disclosure of the complicity of Turkish and Egyptian officials in the insurrection. Arabi pleaded guilty (December 3) to the charge of rebellion, and was sentenced to death by a court-martial on the following day, but the sentence was immediately commuted by the Khedive into one of perpetual banishment. Some of the other ringleaders in the military revolt were tried by a court-martial and condemned to minor punishments; the officer who directed the burning of Alexandria was sentenced to death and executed. Ceylon was selected as the place of exile for Arabi and a few of his fellow-rebels.

The Egyptian Government addressed a request in November to the British and French Cabinets that their joint control over the country should terminate. After some objection on the part of the latter the joint arrangement was annulled, and in the end Lord Dufferin was able to prepare a plan for the reconstruction of Egypt and its finances which, if vigorously and honestly carried out, seems likely to promote the peace and prosperity of the country. A scheme for the reorganization of the army was also drawn out and intrusted to Baker Pasha, providing for an army of 10,900 men, based upon the principle of conscription and eight years' service with the colours. One-half of the officers are to be British, while the non-commissioned officers are to be selected from the disbanded Egyptian forces, supplemented by Bosnians, Albanians, and Bulgarians.

Sir Garnet Wolseley and Sir Frederick Beauchamp Seymour were raised to the peerage, and received at the same time the grant of a considerable sum of money, as a reward for their services.

The necessity of providing for the security of the Suez Canal, in order to protect the passage to India, makes it difficult for the British troops to withdraw at once from Egypt. Britain has an incomparably greater interest in keeping this great waterway free than all the rest of Europe put together. To say nothing of the greater safety to navigation, it shortens the road to India by no less than 1710 geographical miles, and yet, strange to say, the construction of this magnificent work received no countenance from the British Government. Lord Palmerston, indeed, was strongly opposed to the scheme, mainly, it is believed, from an apprehension that it would tend to diminish the security of our Indian Empire. The canal owes its origin to M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, Consul-General for France in Alexandria, and through his persevering exertions the 'Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez' was founded under his presidency. Said Pasha, the Viceroy, gave the scheme from the outset his cordial approval and support, and in addition to the requisite concessions for carrying it into effect, he conferred upon the company the exclusive right to the use of the canal during a period of ninety-nine years from the date of its opening. He also promised the company the services of 20,000 fellaheen in monthly relays to execute the work, who, however, contrary to the practice in Egypt, were to be paid for their labour. But after a time the Egyptian Government were constrained by the

remonstrances of the British Ministry to discontinue the supply of forced labour.

The original capital of the company was fixed at eight millions sterling, in £20 shares. More than one-half of these shares were taken up in France; the Khedive himself subscribed for a fourth; the remainder were taken up in about equal proportions in Austria and Russia. Strange to say, Germany, as well as Britain, held aloof from the undertaking, and few or no applications for the original shares came from these countries. Additional capital, to a large amount, had afterwards to be raised, and the outlay to the end of the year 1878 reached upwards of £19,167,000. The cost of plant and buildings alone in 1874 was estimated at £871,821 16*s*. In 1875 Lord Beaconsfield, as a measure of national policy rather than a commercial speculation, purchased the Khedive's shares for the sum of £4,000,000. The Khedive on his part engaged to pay the sum of £200,000 as annual interest on the purchase-money he had received, as the shares did not participate in the dividend. The transaction was blamed at the time by the leaders of the Opposition, but it has proved very advantageous to our country.

The construction of the canal was begun in 1859. It was completed and declared navigable in 1869, and on 16th November of that year it was opened, with great ceremony, in the presence of an immense concourse of people from all the countries in Europe. Its financial success seemed at first to be somewhat doubtful; down to 1876 its available assets scarcely balanced its liabilities. In 1880, though the gross receipts were £1,671,000, the net profits did not reach half-a-million sterling, but they have since largely and rapidly increased. The number of vessels that passed through the canal in 1880 was 2017, of which 1579, with a tonnage of 360,977, belonged to Great Britain. The total tonnage was 438,064. The great extension of the traffic which has already taken place, with the certainty that it will continue to grow in magnitude, made it evident that some measure must be taken at an early date for the improvement of the waterway across the Isthmus of Suez. The British Government accordingly entered into negotiations with M. de Lesseps for the construction of another canal under his auspices. They offered to procure him the loan of eight millions sterling for that purpose, at 3½ per cent., receiving in return a larger share in the management of the canal, and a reduction of the tolls when the profits should reach a certain specified amount.

The terms of the agreement, however, were received with almost universal disapproval, especially by the mercantile classes in Great Britain, and the scheme was in consequence abandoned; but negotiations were opened between M. de Lesseps and a representative committee of British shipowners. These finally led to the Canal Company undertaking to provide additional accommodation by enlarging the canal as early as practicable, and meantime by increasing the number of stations where vessels could pass each other; to increase the number of British directors to ten, three representing the British Government and seven the English users of the canal, in a council of thirty-two directors in all; to open an office in London; and finally, to make certain concessions to customers as regards the rates charged in proportion to the increase of traffic. An international commission of engineers was appointed to ascertain the best means of widening the canal throughout at the earliest possible date, so that vessels might pass each other in any part. More stations for this purpose were at once provided, and the use of the canal at night was allowed to all vessels provided with the electric light.

CHAPTER XX.

Opening of Session of Parliament, 1880—Dissolution—Lord Beaconsfield's Manifesto—Mr. Gladstone's Address—Midlothian Campaign—Sir Stafford Northcote's Address—Liberal Successes—Defeat of Conservatives—Formation of Liberal Cabinet—The Bradlaugh Question—Irish Compensation for Disturbance Bill—Abolition of the Malt Tax—Ground Game Act—Employers' Liability Bill—Burials Bill—Customs and Inland Revenue Act—Grain Cargoes Act—Seamen's Wages Act—Illness of Mr. Gladstone—Tactics of the Fourth Party and Home Rulers—Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood—The Land League—Boycotting—Prosecution of Mr. Parnell—Protection of Life and Property Bill—Suspension of the Irish Members—Peace Preservation Bill—Irish Land Bill—Death of Lord Beaconsfield—Proposal to erect a National Monument to him—Mr. Bradlaugh's Trial—Prorogation of Parliament, 1881.

WHILE the attention of the country was directed almost exclusively to foreign affairs, domestic legislation had been to a great extent neglected. At the opening of the session of 1880 some attempts were made to deal with the most pressing questions connected with home affairs; but they were speedily arrested by the unexpected announcement that Parliament was about to be dissolved. The triumph of the Conservative candidates at the bye-elections in Liverpool and Southwark was regarded by the Ministry and their supporters as satisfactory evidence that the country approved of their policy; and the Metropolitan Water Works Purchase Bill, introduced by the Home Secretary, met with such general and strong opposition that it seemed highly probable that the Ministry would be wrecked upon it. In these circumstances the Government resolved that the Parliament, which was now in its sixth session, should be dissolved. The announcement, which was made on the 8th of March, took everybody by surprise; but as it had been foreseen that this step could not be much longer delayed, neither party was placed at a disadvantage by the suddenness with which it was intimated.

A manifesto was immediately issued by the Prime Minister in the form of a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. It began by referring to the measures taken for the relief of the impending distress, the care which the administration had shown for the improvement of Ireland, and their success in solving its difficult educational problems. It then referred to a danger in its ultimate results scarcely less disastrous than pestilence and famine—the attempt of a portion of the population to sever the constitutional tie which unites Ireland to Great Britain; insinuated that the Opposition sympathized with this movement, and accused them of 'having attempted and failed to enfeeble our colonies by their policy of decomposition.' Her Majesty's present ministers, it affirmed, had hitherto been enabled to secure the peace of Europe, but that ineffable blessing could not be obtained by the passive principle of non-interference. Peace, it was said, rests on the presence, not to say the ascendency, of England in the councils of Europe. As might have been expected, these statements excited a good deal of comment and hostile criticism, and even the leading Conservative journal asserted that 'there was rather too much sonorousness for the fastidious ear in the manifesto of the Premier.'

The leaders of the Opposition lost no time in issuing their counter-manifestoes. Lord Hartington challenged the accuracy

of the Prime Minister's assertions, and affirmed that it was owing to the measures advocated by the Liberal party that the 'colonies are at this moment more loyal to the throne, more attached to the connection with the mother country, more willing to undertake the common responsibility and burdens which must be borne by all the members of a great empire, than at any former time.'

Mr. Gladstone's address to the electors of Midlothian had none of the diffuseness with which his oratory has often been charged; but, viewed as a composition, was a masterpiece of terseness and condensation. He retorted on the Ministry that it was they who had endangered the union with Ireland by maintaining there an alien church, an unjust land law, and franchises inferior to our own. 'As to the colonies, Liberal administrations set free their trade with all the world, gave them popular and responsible government, undertook to defend Canada with the whole strength of the empire, and organized the great scheme for uniting the several settlements of British North America into one dominion.' Mr. Gladstone proceeded to say that the true purpose of the Premier's 'terrifying insinuations was to hide from view the acts of the Ministry and their effect upon the character and condition of the country;' and to these he drew pointed attention.

'At home,' he said, 'the ministers had neglected legislation; aggravated the public distress by continual shocks to confidence, which is the life of enterprise; augmented the public expenditure and taxation for purposes not merely unnecessary, but mischievous; and plunged the finances, which were handed over to them in a state of singular prosperity, into a series of deficits unexampled in modern times.' 'Abroad they have strained, if they have not endangered the prerogative by gross misuse; have weakened the empire by needless wars, unprofitable extensions, and unwise engagements, and have dishonoured it in the eyes of Europe by filching the island of Cyprus from the Porte under a treaty clandestinely concluded in violation of the Treaty of Paris, which formed part of the international law of Christendom.

'If we turn from considerations of principle,' he added, 'to material results, they have aggrandized Russia; lured Turkey on to her dismemberment, if not her ruin; replaced the Christian population of Macedonia under a debasing yoke; and loaded India with the costs and dangers of a prolonged and unjustifiable war, while they have at the same time augmented her taxation and curtailed her liberties. At this moment we are told of other secret negotiations with Persia, entailing further liabilities without further strength; and from day to day, under a Ministry called, as if in mockery, Conservative, the nation is perplexed with fear of change.'

Sir Stafford Northcote, Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, issued an address to his constituents containing an elaborate defence of the Ministry, declaring that 'its foreign, its colonial, and its domestic policy have all been animated by the same spirit and the same determination to uphold at once the greatness, the integrity, and the constitution of the empire, and to knit together the various races who own the sovereignty of the Queen, and the various classes of society which constitute the strength of her people.' But the deficit of £8,100,000 in the national accounts told heavily against his argument, as well as his diversion of his Sinking Fund to the partial payment of the extraordinary floating debt.

Addresses were, of course, issued and speeches delivered by all the leading members both of the Ministry and of the Opposition. Sir William Harcourt's trenchant review of the foreign and domestic policy of the Government was one of the most powerful contributions to the force of the Liberal attack. Mr. Bright's masterly description of the obligations of the working classes to the Liberal party produced a powerful impression. Mr. Cross, the Home

Secretary, and one of the candidates for the south-western division of Lancashire, was the most active member of the Government in the contest, and a kind of political duel which took place between him and Lord Hartington, who contested the north-eastern division, excited a good deal of attention. But Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian campaign was by far the most interesting feature of the contest. He set out for Scotland on 16th March, addressing enthusiastic audiences wherever the train stopped—at Grantham, York, Newcastle, and Berwick; and it was afterwards noted that at every halting place where Mr. Gladstone made a speech the Liberal party gained a seat. His first speech to the electors of Midlothian was delivered in Edinburgh on the 17th. And he went on day by day addressing audiences in other parts of the country, directing prominent attention to the foreign policy of the Government, but dealing also with the land laws, local government, home rule, the national debt, and various other important subjects, imperial and local. 'If the Midlothian campaign continues as it has begun,' said the *Times*, 'the newspapers will have no opportunity of allowing anyone else to be heard.' So little, indeed, did the metropolitan journals understand the state of feeling throughout the country, that they confidently asserted that Mr. Gladstone was only injuring his own cause by his long-winded orations, which they alleged were wearying out the public mind. The *Times* declared that the language of the ex-Prime Minister was as fervid and solemn 'as if the issue of the battle of Armageddon depended upon the verdict of the country;' and in common with the other professed leaders of public opinion, it refused to believe that there was any feeling in the country at all in harmony with the strength of Mr. Gladstone's language. 'The popular interest in the coming elections is very keen,' it said, 'but there is no animating movement of public opinion like that which brought Sir Robert Peel into power in 1841, or Lord Palmerston in 1857, or Mr. Gladstone in 1868. The apologetic tone of responsible statesmen on both sides is conclusive proof that there is no such change in the balance of political power impending as has sometimes followed an appeal to the constituencies.'

Before the formal dissolution of Parliament took place the issues between the two parties had been placed fully before the country by their respective leaders. Probably on no former occasion were the conflicting questions so fully discussed. It was stated at the time that Mr. Gladstone had made no less than fifteen great speeches, Lord Hartington twenty-four, Colonel Stanley nine, Mr. Bright, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. W. H. Smith six each, besides countless speeches on lesser occasions. The constituencies were roused to unusual activity, for while in 1859 101 constituencies were contested; in 1865, 204; in 1868, 277; in 1874, 199; no fewer than 352, or nearly double the average number, were contested in 1880.

When at length the contest came to a definite decision the city of London as usual took precedence, and returned three Conservatives and only one Liberal, who was at the bottom of the poll with little more than half the number of votes obtained by his opponents. In Westminster also, which used to be a stronghold of Radicalism, the Conservative candidates triumphed by a great majority. So far the confident expectations of the Ministry and their supporters seemed fully justified, but in the course of a few hours the news from the provinces presented a startling contrast. The result of the first day's polling (Wednesday, 31st March), in sixty-nine constituencies showed a net gain of fifteen seats to the Liberal party. The metropolitan boroughs Hackney, Finsbury, Lambeth, Marylebone, Southwark, and Tower Hamlets returned eleven Liberals, and only one Conservative, who owed his seat to a split in the Radical party, which caused them to start three candidates. On the two following days the Liberal successes continued in

the same proportion, and by Saturday they had gained no fewer than fifty seats, and had completely annihilated the ministerial majority. The counties which had been regarded as the stronghold of the Conservative party followed in the same groove as the boroughs. The West Riding of Yorkshire returned six Liberals, Lancashire sent four in the room of four Conservatives, Derbyshire five out of its six representatives, while Northumberland, Durham, Lincoln, Northampton, Hants, Bucks, Beds, Gloucester, and other counties helped to swell the Liberal triumph. At the end of the following week the Liberal gains were reckoned at ninety-nine, while only thirty seats remained unfilled. A large majority of the Welsh representatives belonged to the Liberal party, and in Scotland, where the Conservatives held nineteen seats, having gained ten in 1874, their number was reduced to seven, mainly in consequence of the neglect and mismanagement of the affairs of that country by the Home Secretary and the President of the Council. The Parliament of 1874 contained 351 Conservatives, 250 Liberals, and 51 Home Rulers, while it was computed that in the new House of Commons there would be 349 Liberals, 243 Conservatives, and 60 Home Rulers.

There was, of course, a great deal of profitless discussion respecting the causes of this startling change in the representation of the country, but this was soon forgotten in speculations as to the result of the Liberal victory. Lord Beaconsfield, following the precedent which he had set in 1868, and which had been set by Mr. Gladstone in 1874, sent in his resignation instead of deferring that step until the meeting of the new Parliament, as some members of his Cabinet advised. But the absence of the Queen on the Continent for ten days, during which the question of the premiership was keenly discussed, deferred for some time any decision on that important matter. The feeling was all but unanimous throughout the community that Mr. Gladstone's claims to be the head of the new Ministry were paramount, and his late colleagues were evidently of that opinion. Lord Hartington and Lord Granville, who had acted as leaders of the Opposition while the Conservatives were in office, had an interview with the Queen on the 23rd of April, and it was understood had recommended Her Majesty to send for Mr. Gladstone. That same evening it was announced that he had undertaken to form a Ministry, and would himself discharge the duties of Chancellor of the Exchequer along with those of First Lord of the Treasury. The greater part of the members of the new administration had been Mr. Gladstone's colleagues in his previous Ministry: Earl Granville became again Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Lord Hartington, Secretary for India; Lord Kimberley, Secretary for the Colonies; Sir William Harcourt, Home Secretary; Lord Selborne, Lord Chancellor; the Duke of Argyll, Lord Privy Seal; Mr. Bright had a seat in the Cabinet as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Lord Northbrook was made First Lord of the Admiralty; Mr. Childers, Secretary for War, and Mr. Forster, Irish Secretary. The Radical party in the Commons claimed the admission of one of their members to the Cabinet, and after some negotiation Mr. Chamberlain was appointed President of the Board of Trade; Sir Charles Dilke was made Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Mr. Fawcett, Postmaster-General; Mr. Mundella, Vice-President of the Council; and Mr. W. P. Adam, who had rendered eminent services to the Liberal party in Scotland, was appointed First Commissioner of Works. Mr. Goschen, who declined to join the Government on the ground of his opposition to the extension of the franchise in counties, was shortly after sent as Special Ambassador to Constantinople. Lord Lytton resigned the Governor-generalship of India, and was replaced by the Marquis of Ripon, whose appointment to such an important post excited a good deal of dissatisfaction on account of

his having recently become a Roman Catholic.

The new Parliament was opened by commission on 29th April. Mr. Brand, one of the members for Cambridgeshire, and second son of the twenty-first Lord Dacre, who was first chosen Speaker in 1872, and again in 1874, was unanimously re-elected to preside in the House of Commons.

It speedily became apparent that the Government, though supported by an overwhelming majority, might lay their account with being obstructed and thwarted in every possible way. At the very outset a question arose beset with difficulties on every side. Mr. Bradlaugh, one of the members for the borough of Northampton, who had described himself as 'a propagandist of atheism' during the swearing in of the members, presented a written claim to be allowed to make an affirmation or declaration of allegiance instead of taking the oath. At a later period the opinion was generally entertained that the Speaker ought to have allowed Bradlaugh to make an affirmation at his own risk, leaving him to be sued in a court of law by any person who questioned the legality of his procedure, for the statutory penalties for sitting and voting in the House without the statutory qualification. Unfortunately the Speaker adopted a different course and referred the matter to the judgment of the House. A keen and protracted struggle in consequence ensued between the two parties. After a great deal of discussion a select committee was appointed to consider and report their opinion on the construction of the statutes upon which Mr. Bradlaugh founded his claim. They decided by a majority of one that he had no right to make an affirmation. Then on the 21st of May Mr. Bradlaugh presented himself at the table of the House for the purpose of taking the oath. An objection was immediately made to his being allowed to do so. It was alleged, on the other side, that it was doubtful whether the House of Commons was empowered by the law to prevent an atheist from taking the oath, and Mr. Gladstone proposed the appointment of a select committee to consider and report upon this difficult and delicate question. The Opposition, however, maintained that the House was in a position to decide at once against Mr. Bradlaugh's claim. 'The question,' said Sir Stafford Northcote, their leader, 'is, are we, who recognize an oath as a solemn and religious act, prepared to admit that a member who has declared that he will take the oath, knowing it to be an idle and meaningless form, should be allowed to do so with consent and approbation?' An eloquent and powerful appeal was made by Mr. Bright to the House to discuss the question simply as a question of right and a question of law, and not with reference to religious views; but a large portion of the members were determined to discuss it solely on the latter ground. Speaker after speaker denounced Mr. Bradlaugh's opinions, repudiated the proposal to settle the question on legal grounds, and clamorously insisted that it ought to be determined on the broad constitutional ground that a declared atheist could not take an oath. The motion for the appointment of a committee, however, was carried by 289 to 214 votes, but the dispute was prolonged on successive amendments as to the terms of the reference and the names of the committee. These matters were at length settled, and the committee proceeded to consider the question remitted to them. After several sittings they decided, by a large majority, that Mr. Bradlaugh could not be allowed to take the oath, but recommended that he should be permitted to make an affirmation at his own risk—that he might be sued for the penalties recoverable for taking his seat without the statutory qualification. A proposal, made on 21st June, that Mr. Bradlaugh should be admitted to make an affirmation or declaration, was met by an amendment that he should not be permitted either to make an affirmation or to take the oath. After a very

exciting debate the amendment was carried by a majority of 275 to 230. On the following day Mr. Bradlaugh presented himself at the table of the House and claimed again the right to take the oath. The resolution of the previous day was read to him, and he was ordered to withdraw. He asked permission to be heard before the resolution was put in force, and the House consented to hear him at the bar. After a brief speech, in which he insisted upon his right to take the oath, and earnestly deprecated a conflict between the House and his constituents, he was called in to hear the decision of the House on his claim to take the oath. He refused to obey the Speaker's order to withdraw, and was in consequence removed by the sergeant-at-arms. He immediately returned, however, saying that he admitted the right of the House to imprison him, but he admitted no right on the part of the House to exclude him. On the motion of Sir Stafford Northcote Mr. Bradlaugh was taken into the custody of the sergeant-at-arms. But next day, a good deal to the surprise both of the House and the public, a motion for his release was made by Sir Stafford Northcote and was adopted without opposition.

Ireland, however, as had been anticipated, mainly occupied the time of Parliament. Under the Land Act of 1870 the court had no power to award compensation to an evicted tenant who owed a year's rent, unless the court was of opinion that the rent was 'exorbitant.' A bill was now introduced by Mr. O'Connor Power, one of Mr. Parnell's followers, for the purpose of repealing that limitation and securing that compensation should be awarded in all cases. The Irish Compensation for Disturbance Bill, as it was termed, excited the keenest opposition from the Conservative party. The Government, who at first appeared to be unfriendly, ultimately agreed to support it, but a considerable number of their followers regarded the measure with great aversion. It was denounced as 'the commencement of a campaign against the landlords; the first step in a social war; an attempt to raise the masses against the propertied classes.' It was alleged that it would destroy 'the cardinal and leading feature of the Land Act—the inviolability of the rent which the landlord demanded and the tenant agreed to pay; it would deprive the landlord of his only means of enforcing the payment of rent, obliging him to choose between foregoing what was due to him, or paying seven years' rent in order to get one.' On the other hand, it was asserted that the measure was exceptional and demanded by strong necessity. In some parts of Ireland the impoverished circumstances of the tenant had placed in the hands of the landlord a weapon which the Government never contemplated, and which had enabled him, at a sacrifice of half a quarter's rent, to clear his estate of hundreds of tenants, whom in ordinary circumstances he would not have been able to remove, except upon payment of a heavy pecuniary fine. In answer to the argument that the passing of the bill would deprive the landlords of all means of enforcing payment, it was asserted that the landlord was left in possession of every power of eviction which was given him by the Acts of 1851 and 1860. The bill only provided that if the landlord used his power of eviction the tenant might bring him into court. Under the bill the tenant had to make good his claim, and if the landlord could show that he had been actuated by one particle of moderation or forbearance towards the tenant, such as every good landlord exercises, then the case of the tenant would fail.

It was affirmed, in support of the measure, that evictions had increased and were increasing. For the five years ending in 1877 the average for each year was 503; in 1878 the number of evictions was 743; in 1879 it was 1098; and up to the 20th of June, in 1880, it had been 1073. It was alleged, however, on the other side, that the processes of ejectment had, in these calculations, been confounded with actual evictions, and the number of the

former was much greater than the number of the latter.

After three sittings had been spent in discussing the measure, the second reading was carried by 295 to 217. About fifty Liberals abstained from voting, and twenty voted against the bill. It was contested at every step. Eight sittings were devoted to its discussion in committee. Another sitting was given to its consideration when the report was brought up, and it was keenly debated once more on the third reading, which was carried on 26th July, by a majority of 303 to 237. But all these protracted discussions, and the enormous labour which the House of Commons had bestowed upon the bill, went for nothing. The House of Lords rejected it on the 3rd of August after two nights' debate, by the overwhelming majority of 282 to 51. Lord Beaconsfield summed up the general feeling of the House in his three objections to the measure. 'The bill,' he said, 'contained three proposals, and he objected to all three of them. His first objection was that it imposed a burden upon a specific class; his second, that it brought insecurity into all kinds of transactions; his third, that it delegated to a public officer the extraordinary power of fixing the rents of the country.' The debates on the Compensation for Disturbance Bill occupied a very large portion of the session, and it seemed very doubtful whether the Government would be able to carry the other measures announced at the beginning of the session, but they made extraordinary efforts to do so and also to complete their business at the usual time.

The most important measure brought forward at this stage was the abolition of the malt tax, which from time immemorial had been regarded as a grievance of the agricultural classes. The history of this tax is curious and interesting, and previous attempts to abolish it had oftener than once brought the existence of the Government of the day into imminent peril. It originated in the reign of Charles I., and was one of the unpopular expedients devised by his counsellors to replenish the exhausted treasury of that ill-starred sovereign. It appears to have been either abolished or to have dropped out of sight during the troublous times of the great Civil War and the Commonwealth, but it was re-enacted after the Revolution of 1688 at the rate of 6¾*d.* per bushel to enable William III. to carry on war with France. The impost was from the first exceedingly unpopular in England, and its introduction into Scotland was regarded not only as an aggressive burden, but as a violation of one of the provisions of the Union Treaty, and nearly led to a general insurrection.

The subject was lost sight of amid the excitement caused by the Jacobite rebellion, the war with our American Colonies, and the French Revolution; but in 1803, when the ministry of the weak and incapable Addington were engaged in imposing taxes on every article that the people eat or drank or used from their cradle to their grave, the tax on malt was raised to 2*s.* 5*d.* a bushel. In the following year an additional 2*s.* was imposed, which was commonly known as the "war malt tax." At the conclusion of the continental war on the downfall of Napoleon, the Ministry were compelled very reluctantly to surrender this addition, which involved a loss of £2,700,000 a year. In 1819 Vansittart, their finance minister, in the worst of his many bad budgets imposed an additional duty on malt which yielded rather more than £1,000,000 a year. But the country gentleman, Tories and Whigs alike, proved restive under this burden, and in 1821 Mr. Western, one of the members for Essex, succeeded in carrying against the Government a motion for the repeal of this additional impost; and though this decision was reversed a few weeks later, the Ministry were compelled to give way in 1822, and the duty was thenceforth fixed at 2*s.* 7*d.* a bushel or £1 0*s.* 8*d.* a quarter. The agriculturists, however, had never submitted with patience to the continuance of the tax, and in the

first reformed Parliament (26th April, 1833), partly with a view to retain their hold upon the farmers, partly in order to embarrass the Whig Government, the Opposition proposed the reduction of the duty on malt from £1 8*s.* to 10*s.* a quarter. It was strongly advocated by Cobbett and the Radical members, and a large number of the supporters of the Government had dropped away owing to the negligence of the Treasury Whips. Some even of the Cabinet ministers were absent under the impression that the motion would not come on. Thus the division was taken unexpectedly, and to the general surprise the motion was carried by a majority of ten.

This result nearly led to the dissolution of the Government, and might have been followed by the most disastrous consequences. Earl Grey thought the defeat so 'infinitely serious' that he hastily called a meeting of the Cabinet, and intimated his intention of resigning. On this the supporters of the Ministry 'back recoiled' in affright at what they had done, and expressed their deep regret and penitence. A few days later Lord Althorp availed himself of the opportunity afforded him by a motion for the repeal of the assessed taxes to propose an amendment to the effect that the deficiency in the revenue occasioned by the reduction of the tax on malt to 10*s.*, and by the repeal of the tax on houses and windows, could only be supplied by the substitution of a general tax on property and income, and an extensive change in our whole financial system, which at present would be inexpedient. This amendment was carried by a majority of more than two to one, and the storm in the meantime blew over. But not for long. The agriculturists had learned their strength, and having been on the point of securing a victory they renewed the attack next year again under the leadership of Sir W. Ingleby, one of the representatives of the great agricultural county of Lincoln, which enjoys exceptional advantages for the cultivation of barley. The bucolic baronet argued that the deficit which the repeal of the malt tax would make in the revenue could be made up by an increased tax on spirits and wine, and a duty on beer and on leather, aided by a poll tax on the peers, baronets, and knights, and on gambling houses. These suggestions, as might have been expected, proved fatal to his proposal, which was rejected by a large majority.

When the Tories, the farmers' friends, as they then chose to designate themselves, came into office the hopes of the agriculturists were raised to the highest pitch, especially as the Marquis of Chandos, their leader, Sir Edward Knatchbull, and one or two other agricultural grievance-mongers, were members of the Government. But the Marquis resigned at once on learning that the demands which had been useful when his party were in opposition were to be quietly shelved now that they had come into power, and as might have been expected he heaped unmeasured abuse on his associates who refused to follow his example. H. B., the famous caricaturist, wittily expressed the general feeling on the subject by representing Sir Edward Knatchbull and his friends as impaled between two huge horns on the head of a fierce bull (the Marquis of Chandos), on one of which was inscribed 'Resignation of office,' on the other 'Violation of pledges.' Sir Robert Peel, the premier, was believed to have rather enjoyed the dilemma in which his agricultural colleagues were placed; he certainly did nothing to relieve them from their painful and perplexing position.

From that period down to the present day the repeal of the malt tax was never mooted when the Tories were in office, nor its removal attempted even when they were all powerful. Its abolition was, however, warranted by a wise policy as well as by the principles of sound political economy. The pecuniary relief to the farmers has not been so great as they expected, but the transference of the tax from the raw material to the manufactured article has

relieved them from various annoying restrictions, and from a troublesome and expensive surveillance, has set free the springs of industry and production so far as this branch of manufacture is concerned, and has placed the fiscal burden exclusively on those who voluntarily take it up.

Another important measure which, after protracted and keen discussion, became law, was the Ground Game Act for the protection of farmers against injury to their crops by hares and rabbits. It authorized the occupier of land to kill and take ground game concurrently with the landlord or any other persons authorized by the landlord. All agreements to the contrary were declared to be null and void. The occupier was not permitted to contract himself out of this right. As might have been expected, the bill was vehemently opposed by the country gentlemen, who predicted the most direful results from the measure if it should become law. Hares and rabbits, they affirmed, would be exterminated. The people would thereby lose an enormous amount of valuable food, and the working man would be deprived of his favourite Sunday dinner.

On the other hand, it was contended that the tenant's inalienable right would be no protection to him, for he would be kept from exercising it by fear of eviction. But the farmers, as a whole, were well satisfied with the measure, and it ultimately passed both Houses with little alteration.

The Employers' Liability Bill, which was also brought in by the Government, and carried through both Houses, encountered a great deal of opposition on the ground that it interfered with the freedom of contract and the rights of property. The courts of law had decided that though an employer was bound to compensate persons who had been injured by the negligence of his servants, no damages could be claimed when the injured person was in the same employment with the individual whose negligence caused the injury. The great body of workmen complained that this treatment was unjust, and demanded that no distinction should be made as regards injuries between them and persons who were not in the same employment with them. The Government refused to accede to this demand, but brought in a bill which made the employer liable for injuries sustained by his workmen when the injury was caused by defect in the machinery, by the negligence of an authorized superintendent or manager, or by any act or omission done or made in obedience to the employer's rules or by-laws.

The Burials Bill, which put an end to a grievance long and deeply felt by Dissenters in England, was introduced into the House of Lords early in the session, and as it was a compromise, it was, of course, assailed on both sides. It enacted that a burial might take place in a churchyard or cemetery 'either without any religious service, or with such Christian and orderly service at the grave' as the person having charge of the funeral shall think fit, and that the service might be conducted by any person invited or authorized by him. At the same time the bill proposed to relieve the clergy from the obligation to read the burial service at the interment of any sectary in whose behalf it might be demanded. The measure was vigorously opposed in the House of Lords by a powerful party led by the Bishop of Lincoln and Lord Cranbrook. The spiritual peer affirmed that Dissenters would not be satisfied with admission to the churchyards; they would next demand admission to the churches, and his assertion was confidently re-echoed by the temporal peer. Their apprehensions, however, were not shared by the majority of the House, and the second reading was carried by 126 votes to 101, though an attempt was made to restrict the measure to parishes in which there was no unconsecrated burial-ground. This limitation, however, was struck out by the Commons, and the restriction to Christian services, after a warm discussion, was carried only by a majority of three.

In addition to the Customs and Inland Revenue Act, the Ground Game Act, the

Employers' Liability Act, and the Burials Act, two useful additions were made to the statute book—a Grain Cargoes Act, to prevent improper and dangerous loading of ships with corn, and a Seaman's Wages Act, to put an end to the system of advance notes for the payment of a seaman's wages conditionally on his going to sea. A Savings Banks Bill and a Post-office Money Order Bill, valuable measures both, were carried without opposition.

In the midst of the most active business of the session, Mr. Gladstone was attacked by a very serious illness, the result of overexertion and cold. A bulletin was issued by his physician on the 2nd of August, announcing that the Premier was suffering from fever, with slight congestion of the base of the left lung. The excitement which it produced was intense, and with the single exception of the case of the Prince of Wales, which was entirely a matter of sympathy, the interest taken in Mr. Gladstone's recovery has had no parallel in the history of our country. During the first three critical days of his illness, Downing Street was crowded from morning till night with persons of all classes and conditions, from the royal duke to the coatless costermonger, vieing with each other in their eagerness to learn how it fared with the patriotic statesman who had devoted his long life and his great abilities to the service of the people. The interest was not confined to the inhabitants of the United Kingdom. As the electric wire flashed hour after hour from country to country, and from continent to continent, intelligence of every change in Mr. Gladstone's condition, and of the opinion of his physicians, the striking spectacle was witnessed of men who speak the English language or acknowledge the sway of the British sovereign scattered over the whole world (to say nothing of foreign monarchs and statesmen) expressing the greatest anxiety respecting the critical condition of the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

There can be little doubt that it was owing to a high appreciation of the services which had been rendered to the country by the great statesman—a 'pillar of state,' even yet at threescore and ten 'fit to bear the weight' of the heaviest toils and cares—and especially from a high sense of the value of his life to the Liberal cause, rather than mere personal affection and esteem, that such widespread anxiety was felt respecting Mr. Gladstone's illness; and there can be no doubt that his removal at this period would have been 'a heavy blow and great discouragement' to the Liberal cause. But the interest taken in his recovery was by no means confined to the party of which he was the head. The leaders of the Opposition were among the first to make visits of kindly inquiry at the door of his house in Downing Street, and the Conservative journals vied with their Liberal rivals in their expressions of respect and solicitude. 'A statesman,' wrote the *Standard*, the most influential Conservative paper, 'so enthusiastically attached to his own opinions as the Premier, and so persistent in advocating them, must necessarily excite no small amount of political antagonism which will sometimes seem to degenerate into personal animosity. But it only needs an occasion like the present to convince us that the language of politics is invariably tinged with exaggeration, and that the most resolute opponents of the Prime Minister in Parliament entertain for him feelings of perfect kindness and of genuine admiration.' In a few days Mr. Gladstone's illness took a favourable turn, and he made rapid progress in recovery. On the 28th of August he was able to re-appear in his place in Parliament with every appearance of restored health and renewed strength.

During Mr. Gladstone's illness the leadership of the House of Commons devolved upon Lord Hartington, who discharged its duties, in very trying circumstances, with admirable temper and discretion. A systematic attempt to obstruct all legislation had been made throughout the session, not

only by the Parnellites, but by a Fourth Party, consisting of only four members, three of whom were noted for their loquacity, violent language, and pertinacity in obstructive devices. Lord Hartington's firmness and dexterity in putting down opponents of this class by sharp, pungent, and telling retorts took them by surprise, and established his reputation as a first-rate parliamentary leader. A week before Mr. Gladstone resumed his post an oft-repeated accusation was made that the Government were hurrying through measures at a period of the session when reasonable time could not be afforded for their discussion. Lord Hartington quietly remarked in reply that the introduction of measures was subject not only to 'reasonable time,' but to discussion at 'a reasonable length.' He then proceeded to supply the House with some statistics which exposed in a most effectual way the tactics of the Parnellites and of the Fourth Party. Lord Randolph Churchhill, the leader of that party, had made seventy-four speeches and had asked twenty-one questions; Sir Henry D. Wolff, another of its members, had made sixty-eight speeches and had asked thirty-four questions; while their coadjutor, Mr. Gorst, had made 105 speeches and asked eighty-five questions. And with respect to the Parnellites, Mr. Biggar had made fifty-eight speeches and had asked fourteen questions; Mr. Finigan, an ex-journalist, had made forty-seven speeches and had asked ten questions; and Mr. A. O'Connor had made fifty-five speeches, but asked only two questions. Six members, continued the marquis, amid continual bursts of laughter, intermingled with some irate cheers, had thus made 407 speeches; and allowing ten minutes to each speech [three times ten might have been allowed], they had occupied about a fortnight of the working time of the House. If all of the 652 members occupied a similar time, the session would last about four years, which, said Lord Hartington, winding up the calculation, as Euclid remarked in similar circumstances, was absurd. The offending members had frequently stated that they had no desire to obstruct; but his lordship went on to ask, amid the excited cheers of the Ministerialists, what would be the time occupied if a similar number of members *had* desired to obstruct? This might be freedom of discussion for these members, but it was complete exclusion from discussion for the vast majority of the members of the House. This state of things would soon become intolerable; it was not, the noble lord added, amid loud and prolonged cheers, very far from that position now.

Irish affairs had occupied a very large portion of the time of the session, and the rejection of the Disturbance Bill by the Lords was followed by several violent motions and still more violent speeches in the Commons, 'the wickedness' of one of which, by Mr. John Dillon, Mr. Forster said, 'could only be equalled by its cowardice.' After Parliament was prorogued on the 7th of September, agitation was transferred to the country, and was carried on in the most unscrupulous and violent manner. An 'Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood' was organized in the United States of America, the avowed objects of which went far beyond those of the Land League. The nominal programme of that league was the 'three Fs'—'fixity of tenure, fair rent, and free sale;' free sale, that is, of the tenant's interest. But the language of its leaders greatly exceeded such demands as these, and fell nothing short of the abolition of landlordism and the transference of the land to the occupying tenant. 'Your right,' said Mr. Parnell, 'is that the man who tills the soil may own it.'

A land commission had been appointed by the Government to make a full and searching inquiry into the land system in Ireland; but the Land League set its face against this commission, and warned the farmers not to give evidence before it. The tenant who should bid for a farm from which another tenant had been evicted was

to be shunned in the street, Mr. Parnell said, in the shop, in the market-place, even in the place of worship, 'as if he were the leper of old.' More violent measures and shocking murders followed this threat. On 25th September Lord Mountmorris was found near his residence in county Galway shot dead, with six revolver bullets in his body. A cottager near the spot where his body was discovered would not allow it to be brought into his house that a surgeon might ascertain whether life was completely extinct. His lordship's body had to be escorted by armed policemen, the car-drivers refused to assist in carrying the coffin from the hearse, and the surviving members of the poor peer's family were persecuted with threatening letters and denied the smallest service and the common necessaries of life. The most violent outrages were perpetrated on process-servers, care-takers, and bailiffs, who were everywhere in imminent danger of their lives; cattle were maimed; land-agents threatened and shot at, and landlords murdered in the most barbarous manner.

The most efficient instrument, however, in the hands of the Land Leaguers for carrying out their sinister designs, was the system recommended by Mr. Parnell, to treat a hostile or even neutral person 'as if he were the leper of old,' and neither buy, nor sell, nor work with him. One of the advices which the League most persistently pressed on the farmers was that they should go in a body to the agent and offer what they considered a fair rent. If their offer was refused they should pay nothing. This course was adopted in the case of Captain Boycott, who rented a large farm near Lough Mask, in Mayo, and was also the agent of Lord Erne in that neighbourhood. The tenantry acted on the advice of the Land League, and in consequence Captain Boycott took out ejectment processes against them. A band of men came immediately to his farm and warned all his servants to leave him, which they did. He was left without a single farm labourer, while his corn lay uncut and all his crops ungathered in the fields. The local shopkeepers were warned not to deal with him; his blacksmith and his laundress were forbidden to work for him; and even the post-boy who carried his letters was threatened.

This treatment of Captain Boycott for simply doing his duty as an agent excited great sympathy throughout the country, and a body of Ulster men went to his relief, and, under the protection of a detachment of troops, they succeeded in saving Captain Boycott's crops and in returning in safety to their homes in Cavan and Monaghan, bringing with them the agent and his family.

This incident, which has added a word to the English language, taught the League the most efficacious way of carrying out their newly discovered system of 'Boycotting' obnoxious individuals. Confidently trusting to its protection, the farmers acted on the advice to offer only what they considered a fair rent, and to pay nothing when this offer was refused. A tenant who paid his full rent was at once boycotted. The priest who did so was deprived of his stipend and the doctor of his practice, by orders of the executive of the local branch of the League. And not only was this treatment given to evicting landlords, agents, and tenants guilty of the unpardonable offence of paying their rent, but tradesmen who ventured to hold dealings with boycotted persons were placed under the same ban. The system was soon carried a step further, and employed as an instrument for increasing the membership and the funds of the League. Shopkeepers who refused to join and to subscribe were deprived of their custom, and farmers who held aloof could find no one to purchase their crops and cattle. The case of Mr. Bence Jones, a large farmer and proprietor in the county of Cork, affords a striking proof of the extent and influence of this reign of terror. After his servants had been compelled to leave him, a herd of his cattle were taken to market at Cork, but could not find a purchaser. Mr. Jones then proposed to send them by ship to Liver-

pool; but after they were taken on board they had to be put on shore again, in consequence of the cattle-dealers' threat that they would boycott the shipping company if Mr. Jones' stock were not withdrawn. They were next consigned to Dublin, but even there their owner had the utmost difficulty in obtaining shipment for his cattle, and succeeded at last only by inducing two of the principal shipping companies, after much hesitation, to convey each a lot of the outcast herd, and to share the risk of drawing down upon themselves the anathema of the Land League.

These outrageous proceedings made the Government at length resolve to prosecute certain leaders of the Land League; and on the 2nd of November a criminal information was filed against Mr. Parnell and other thirteen persons, who were charged with conspiring to prevent payment of rents, to defeat the legal process for the enforcement of rent, to prevent the letting of evicted farms, and to create ill-feeling between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects. The policy of the prosecution was questioned by a section of the Liberal party; but it was justly urged that after the law officers of the crown had come to the conclusion that the action of the Land League agitators was contrary to law, no other course was open to the Government than to prosecute Mr. Parnell and his associates. It was confidently predicted, however, by the Opposition that no Irish jury would be found to return a verdict of guilty, and the members of the Land League endeavoured to secure this result by threatening the class in Dublin from whom the jury must be selected with commercial ruin if they should dare to decide against the Irish patriots. The Government were quite well aware of the risk involved in the course which they had adopted; but they felt that they could not appeal to Parliament for additional powers until they had made it evident that exceptional legislation was necessary for the preservation of the public peace.

The prosecution of the Land Leaguers was fixed for 28th December. It was doubtful, however, whether a jury could be found to serve on the trial. A panic prevailed among the class in Dublin who were liable to be called on to act as jurymen, and it was confidently affirmed that they were ready to submit either to fine or imprisonment rather than undertake the perilous duty. The panel was reduced from forty-eight to twenty-four by striking off names on each side in the Crown Office; but only eighteen were in attendance at the opening of the trial. Of these three were excused on the ground of age and infirmity, one was exempted on the plea that he was a servant of the Crown, and two were challenged by the counsel for the defence. Thus the exact number required was left. It was confidently predicted that the jury would never convict the accused Land Leaguers; indeed it was believed to be impossible for the Government, in the existing condition of the country, to find twelve men who would be willing to return a verdict of guilty against Mr. Parnell, and surprise was felt at the time that two men on the jury had the courage to hold out against his complete acquittal. As might have been expected, the failure of the state trials greatly emboldened the Irish party; their language became more violent and their conduct more outrageous now that they believed they could carry out their revolutionary projects with impunity. On the other hand, moderate men of all parties were now convinced that it had become absolutely necessary that the Government should be intrusted with additional powers for the protection of life and property in Ireland.

Accordingly when Parliament assembled on the 7th of January, 1881, the Queen's speech declared that, though there had been 'a great diminution of the distress in Ireland owing to an abundant harvest, the social condition of the country has assumed an alarming character. Agrarian crimes in general have multiplied far beyond the ex-

perience of recent years; the administration of justice has been frustrated with respect to these offences through the impossibility of procuring evidence; and an extended system of terror has been established in various parts of the country, which has paralyzed almost alike the exercise of private rights and the performance of civil duties.' It was then intimated that a demonstration of the insufficiency of the ordinary powers of the law having been amply supplied by the present circumstances of the country, proposals would be submitted to Parliament for intrusting the Crown with additional powers, necessary not only for the vindication of order and public law, but likewise to secure, on behalf of Her Majesty's subjects, protection for life and property and personal liberty of action.

Intimation was also given that measures would be introduced for the further development of the principles of the Irish Land Act of 1870, and for the establishment of county government in Ireland founded upon representative principles. Immediately on the assembling of the House Mr. Forster, the Irish secretary, gave notice that on the following day he should move for leave to bring in a bill for the better protection of persons and property in Ireland, and another to amend the law relating to the carrying and possession of arms, and for the preservation of public peace in that country.

The announcement that coercive measures were to be submitted to Parliament led to a most violent and protracted resistance to the Address on the part of Mr. Parnell and his followers. He moved an amendment to the Address, declaring that the peace and tranquillity of Ireland could not be promoted by suspending any of the constitutional rights of the Irish people. The debate on this amendment lasted seven nights, and was then negatived by 435 votes to 57. The minority consisted of forty-eight Home Rulers and eight English Liberals of the most extreme type. Not a single Scottish member voted in its favour.

On the following day another amendment was proposed by Mr. Justin M'Carthy, to the effect that the Crown should be asked to refrain in the meantime from using naval, military, or constabulary forces in enforcing ejectments for non-payment of rent. But after a lengthened and tedious discussion it found only thirty-seven supporters, all of them Irish, against 201 opponents. A third amendment was moved praying Her Majesty to assimilate the Irish borough franchise to that of England, which was negatived by 274 to 36. Then another prayer to Her Majesty was proposed that she should guarantee the right of public meetings to the Irish people, which was rejected by 173 votes to 34, and the Address in answer to the Queen's speech was, after eleven nights of keen discussion, formally agreed to.

The Ministry had so carefully kept their own counsel that it was not until Mr. Forster asked leave to introduce the first of their two coercive bills that anything was known of the real nature of the measure. The Irish Secretary gave a striking sketch of the condition of Ireland and its progress in lawlessness through the preceding autumn and winter. The total number of outrages returned for the year 1880 was 2590, which exceeded by 600 the total of any year since 1844, although in the interval the population had fallen from 8,000,000 to 5,000,000. The Land League meetings had everywhere been followed by the most shameful outrages on property and torturing of cattle, which seemed the means by which that body enforced its unwritten laws. Personal insecurity had increased so rapidly that no less than 153 persons were attended night and day by two constables each, and 1149 others were watched over by the police. Tenants who paid their rent were the objects of outrage as well as their landlords. The serving of processes was as impossible as the collection of rent, and the shopkeepers were as unable to obtain justice as the landlords. There was a reign of terror over the whole country. No man

durst take a farm from which another had been ejected, nor work for a tenant who paid his rent or refused to join the Land League. People did not dare to claim compensation for outrages committed upon them, to prosecute the persons who committed such outrages, or to convict such offenders if they were members of the jury by whom they were tried. The fact was that those who defied the existing law were safe, while the honest men who kept it were in danger. These criminals, Mr. Forster went on to say, might be divided into three classes. There were, first, the survivors of the old Ribbon and secret societies of former days; in the second place, there were a large number of Fenians, who had taken advantage of the present state of affairs to promote their own peculiar views in regard to the political situation in Ireland; and in the third place, there were a large number of contemptible, dissolute ruffians and blackguards, who were the terror of their whole neighbourhood, and were the most active instruments in enforcing the orders of the Land League. In order to remedy this state of matters the Government proposed to entrust the Lord-Lieutenant with power to issue a warrant for the arrest of any person whom he might reasonably suspect of treasonable or agrarian offences, and to detain him without trial till 30th September, 1882.

The proposal to introduce such a measure was, of course, vehemently resisted by the Home Rulers, who moved that the introduction of the Coercion Bill should be postponed until the remedial measures of the Government should be brought forward. After the first day's debate Mr. Gladstone found it necessary to obtain the consent of the House to the postponement of all other business in favour of the bill. The proposal was, of course, violently opposed by the Irish party, who were repeatedly called to order by the Speaker, and Mr. Biggar, one of their number, was suspended during the remainder of the sitting. His colleagues now set themselves to wear out the patience of the members by alternately moving the adjournment of the debate and of the House, and speaking against time. The leaders of the Opposition expressed their resolution to support the Government against this deliberate attempt to arrest the progress of legislation, and the chiefs of both parties agreed to relieve each other by turns in watching the movements of the Home Rulers. Mr. Gladstone quitted the House about two o'clock, leaving the leadership to Mr. Forster, and the Parnellites were allowed to pursue their course, and to follow one another in speeches, both irrelevant and indecorous. At four o'clock in the morning Mr. Childers returned and relieved Mr. Forster and Sir William Harcourt, who had remained throughout the night, and soon afterwards the Speaker, who had occupied the chair for fourteen hours, was replaced by Mr. Playfair, the Deputy Speaker and Chairman of Committees. Sir Stafford Northcote and Colonel Stanley entered the House shortly after nine o'clock, and a little later Mr. Gladstone made his reappearance. The Irish party continued their stream of monotonous reiteration of the same threadbare assertions and threatenings, broken only by a division at intervals on the motion for an adjournment. They were at length compelled to yield, and about two o'clock on Wednesday the House divided on Mr. Gladstone's proposal, that precedence should be granted to the Government Bills, which was adopted by 251 votes to 33. The adjournment of the House, which had been sitting for twenty-two hours, was then agreed to.

The Parnellites were still determined, however, to persist in their obstructive tactics, and another 'all-night sitting' took place on Monday, 31st January, the text of Mr. Forster's Bill having, by some mistake on the part of the permanent officials, been prematurely circulated affording a theme on which they could make speeches. They travelled over the same well-worn ground, reiterating the same irrelevant assertions,

and were constantly on the verge of drawing down upon themselves the rebuke of the Speaker. The motions for an adjournment and the general question were discussed in this manner by turns until nine o'clock on Wednesday morning, when the Speaker at length interposed. The present sitting, he said, had lasted for forty-one hours. An important measure, recommended in Her Majesty's speech and declared to be urgent in the interest of the State by a decisive majority, had been impeded by the action of an inconsiderable minority of members who had resorted to those modes of obstruction which had been recognized by the House as a parliamentary offence. 'The credit and authority of this House are seriously threatened, and it is necessary they should be vindicated. Under the operation of the accustomed rules and method of procedure the legislative powers of the House are paralyzed. A new and exceptional course is imperatively demanded; and I am satisfied I shall but carry out the wish of the House if I decline to call upon any more members to speak, and at once proceed to put the question to the House. I feel assured the House will be prepared to exercise all its powers in giving effect to these proceedings.' The Speaker then put the question, when there appeared—For the amendment, 19; against it, 161. The Speaker then put the main question, that leave be given to bring in the bill. One of the Parnellites rose to address the House, but the Speaker declined to hear him, while there were loud cries of 'Order' on the Ministerial side of the House. The Home Rulers rose from their seats, and for some time, with uplifted hands, shouted 'Privilege,' and then left the House.

Leave was then given to bring in the bill, and it was immediately brought up from the bar by Mr. Forster. The second reading was proposed to be taken that day at twelve o'clock. Before the House adjourned, Mr. Gladstone gave notice of the following resolution for the better regulation of its procedure:—'If, upon notice given, a motion be made that the state of public business is urgent, and if, on the call of the Speaker, forty members shall support it by rising in their places, the Speaker shall forthwith put the question, no debate or amendment or adjournment being allowed, and if on the voices being given he shall, without doubt, perceive that the "Noes" have it, his decision shall not be challenged, but if otherwise, a division shall forthwith be taken; and if the question be resolved in the affirmative, by a majority of not less than three to one, the powers of the House for the regulation of business on the several stages of the bill and upon motions and all other matters, shall be and remain with the Speaker, until the Speaker shall declare that the state of public business is no longer urgent.'

After an adjournment of less than three hours the House met again on Wednesday, 2nd February, but the whole of the sitting was wasted in a wordy discussion by Mr. Parnell and his followers, on an attempt to raise the question that by his order the Speaker had been guilty of a breach of the privileges of the House. The Speaker, however, ruled that there was no question of privilege in the case—only one of order—that the matter must be brought before the House by motion. This behaviour on the part of the obstructionists strengthened the public conviction that stringent measures were necessary to prevent the recurrence of the deadlock, and caused Mr. Gladstone's resolution, which embodied three important principles—the initiative of the Government, the authority of the House, and the power to stop discussion—to be regarded with general approbation. An incident which occurred at this time rendered the feelings of the Home Rulers against the Government and the House more bitterly hostile, and brought them once more into collision with the authority of the Speaker.

Mr. Michael Davitt had been the practical organizer and founder of the Land League.

Unlike not a few of his coadjutors in agitation, his personal sincerity and freedom from selfish views were undoubted. He had been convicted of participation in the Fenian plot of 1867, and sentenced to a long imprisonment. He was liberated, however, in 1879, on a ticket-of-leave. On regaining his freedom he at once threw himself headlong into the new agitation and became a leader in the Land League. He spent some time in America in promoting this association, and on his return to Ireland, in the beginning of 1881, he once more devoted all his energies to excite the people against the landlords, spoke of the murders caused by their evictions, and declared that the loss to Irish population of 3,000,000 since 1845 was due to landlord tyranny. A few days later, at a meeting of the Land League held in Dublin on 2nd February, he made a fierce attack on the 'renegade members,' as he termed them, who had abandoned Mr. Parnell in the face of the enemy. The forbearance of the Government was at length exhausted by this outrageous conduct, and on the following day Mr. Davitt was arrested and at once conveyed to England.

When the House met on the afternoon of 3rd February, the Home Secretary was immediately asked whether the report that Michael Davitt had been arrested that day was true. Sir William Harcourt, amid general cheers, answered in the affirmative, adding that the law officers of the crown had come to the conclusion that his conduct as one of the most energetic apostles of the Land League was not compatible with the ticket-of-leave of which he was the holder. Mr. Gladstone was then called upon to move his resolution, but Mr. Dillon, one of the most violent of the Parnellites, attempted to address the House, and though informed by the Speaker that Mr. Gladstone was in possession of the House and entitled to proceed without interruption, he refused to give way, and cried, 'I demand my privilege of speech.' A scene of the greatest confusion and excitement followed, and the Speaker was at last compelled to address him in the terms of the standing order, 'I name you, Mr. Dillon, as wilfully disregarding the authority of the chair.' The refractory member was immediately suspended for the remainder of the sitting, on the motion of Mr. Gladstone, by a majority of 395 to 33. The Speaker then intimated to him that it was his duty to withdraw, but he doggedly kept his seat, and amid frenzied cheers from his associates declined to comply with the Speaker's order. Though the sergeant-at-arms was then directed to remove him he still refused to move, but when five messengers came in and prepared to eject him by force he at length walked out of the House.

This lamentable exhibition did not deter the other members of the Irish party from following the same course. Their leader, Mr. Parnell, was the first to draw down upon himself the censure of the Speaker. He too moved, in a most excited tone, that Mr. Gladstone be not heard, and though warned of the risk he was incurring, he, after consulting his friends, called out a second time, 'I insist on my right to move that Mr. Gladstone be no longer heard.' He was then 'named,' suspended by 405 to 7—his followers having refused to leave their seats—and removed in the same way as Mr. Dillon. Mr. Finigan came next, and his suspension was carried by 405 to 2, and his removal took place after the fashion of those who had preceded him. In this division also the Irish members refused to go into the division lobbies, though warned by the Speaker. They were 'named' one by one as disregarding the authority of the Chair. Twenty-eight in all were suspended *en masse* and ejected *seriatim* by the sergeant-at-arms by direction of the Chair. Of the remainder two were named, suspended, and removed on successively repeating the motion that Mr. Gladstone be not heard, and three for declining to take part in the division. By 8.30 all the thirty-six Parnellites had been sus-

pended, and the decorum of the House was restored.

Mr. Gladstone was at length allowed to move the resolution of which he had given notice. In a speech, even more than usually eloquent and impressive, he pointed out the fatal consequences of obstruction to public business in an assembly like the House of Commons, and denounced with withering scorn the conduct of the men who had forced the House to pass through the successive stages of embarrassment and discredit, and were ready to bring it into ridicule, contempt, and disgrace. He concluded by imploring the members as they valued the duties that had been committed to them and the traditions they had received—as they estimated highly the interests of this vast empire, to rally to the performance of a great public duty, and to determine that they will continue to be as they had been, the mainstay and power and glory of their country, and that they will not degenerate into the laughing-stock of the world.

On the suggestion of Sir Stafford Northcote, it was agreed that the Ministers should declare the reason of urgency, and by a majority of 234 to 156 that the majority should consist not of 300, as the leader of the Opposition insisted, but of three to one in a House of at least 300.

The second reading of the Protection of Life and Property Bill was moved on 4th February by Mr. Forster in a speech of studied conciliation, and the debate was continued for two more nights and throughout a morning sitting, but without producing any angry recrimination or excitement. On the fourth day the second reading was carried by 359 votes against 56—seven English Radicals having voted with the minority.

Shortly before the close of the debate the Speaker laid on the table of the House the new rules of procedure which he had framed, in pursuance of the resolution passed on 3rd February. These rules, which were only to be applicable when business was urgent, dealt with motions for adjournment, irrelevant speaking, putting the question, motions to report progress, and other forms of the House. The Speaker proposed in them that the initiative of suggesting the closure should always rest with the Chair, and the only protection which the House retained against its own Speaker was, that the motion must be carried by a majority of three to one.

When the Coercion Bill went into committee endless amendments were moved on nearly every line of every clause; and so slow was its progress that after four days' debate, although the new rules had been twice called into use, the committee had only disposed of the first subsection of the first clause. It was thus obvious that the new rules required to be supplemented, in order to render them sufficient for the purpose of shortening discussions. Accordingly the Speaker, on the fifth day of the committee (18th February), laid on the table additional rules for expediting business. Their chief feature was the establishment of the closure in its most stringent form. They enabled the chairman of a committee on a bill declared urgent, either to report it to the House on or before a certain day or hour, or to bring to a conclusion the consideration of any such bill as amended by a certain time. In either case a majority of three to one was to be required, but when once this vote was taken new clauses and amendments might be summarily disposed of by causing them to be forthwith put by the member who moved them, when only he and one other member could be heard. If the proceedings were not concluded at the appointed hour, the chairman was to leave the chair and report the bill, whether the additional clauses had or had not been put to the committee.

The debate on the Coercion Bill was resumed on 18th February, and a great number of amendments were proposed, none of which were adopted, but their

discussion served to waste the time of the House. On the following Monday (21st February), when Parliament reassembled, Mr. Gladstone moved his resolution, that if the committee were not closed before midnight, the remaining clauses and any amendments and new clauses should be put forthwith. This was agreed to without a debate by 415 to 63, the minority including, along with the Home Rulers, thirteen Conservatives and eight Radicals. Under the impulse thus given to the proceedings of the House, the committee made considerable progress in its work, and when midnight came the chairman stopped one of the Home Rulers in the midst of a rambling and tedious speech on a proposed new clause, and put the question. A division took place at once, and the clause was negatived by 392 to 43. The remaining new clauses were declared out of order. The motion that the bill as amended be reported to the House was then put, and carried by 377 to 47, and the final question, that the chairman do leave the chair was carried, amid prolonged cheering on both sides of the House, by 324 to 32. The whole of the next evening's sitting was spent on the discussion of the bill as amended and of certain new clauses, proposed by the Home Rulers, all of which were negatived. But as the debate had not terminated during the sitting, the strongest powers available under the new rules were brought into operation on the following day. Of the nineteen amendments which were still undisposed of when the House met, two were negatived, six were declared to be inadmissible, two were not pressed, and the remaining nine were rejected by very large majorities. Mr. Forster then moved the third reading of the bill, which had now been for three-and-twenty days under discussion. Its rejection was moved by one of the Home Rulers, and supported by the other members of the party. The debate was prolonged until another evening, and the bill was finally carried by 281 to 36.

In the House of Lords the Coercion Bill was carried through its various stages in three consecutive days, was read a third time and passed on 2nd March, and obtained the royal assent and became law on the same day.

On the 1st of March the Home Secretary moved for leave to introduce the Peace Preservation Bill, the chief objects of which were to render illegal the possession of arms and ammunition within proclaimed districts; to give power to search by day suspected persons and houses; and to prohibit or regulate the sale of arms. The introduction of the measure was opposed in the usual manner; but after two divisions leave was given to introduce the bill, which was read a first time by 188 to 26. The debate on the second reading commenced on the following day, and the motion was carried by 145 to 34. The discussion ran much the same course as on the Coercion Bill. There was a similar shoal of amendments moved in committee, similar lengthened and irrelevant speeches, violent language, and disorderly conduct, followed by the suspension of Home Rulers. The third reading was agreed to by 250 to 28, and the motion that the bill do pass was carried by 236 to 26. It passed through the House of Lords without alteration or amendment, and received the royal assent on the 21st of March.

The Government, having now obtained those means of protecting property and preserving life in Ireland for which they had so long struggled, proceeded to lay before the House and the country the great measure which they had prepared for the purpose of relieving the distress and ameliorating the condition of the Irish people. On the very day that the Arms Bill received the royal assent Mr. Gladstone announced that the Irish Land Bill would be introduced before the Easter recess, and on the 7th of April he explained minutely the various provisions of the measure in a plain and business-like speech. The cardinal feature of the bill was the institution

of a court invested with authority to deal with the differences between landlord and tenant, and to protect the tenant against arbitrary increase of rent. Every tenant then existing in Ireland would have a right to go into the court to have fixed for his holding 'a judicial rent,' which, when fixed, would last for fifteen years, during which time there could be no eviction of the tenant, with or without the leave of the court, except for specific breach of certain specific covenants or non-payment of rent. There would be no power of resumption on the part of the landlord during that period, even with the leave of the court, and the landlord's remedy would take the form of a compulsory sale of the tenant-right. At the conclusion of the statutory term of fifteen years application might be made to the court for a renewal of tenancy *toties quoties*. If it were renewed the conditions as to eviction would remain, but the landlord would have a pre-emption of the tenant's right if the latter wished to sell. When a tenant assented to an increase of rent there would be no reason to invoke the action of the court; for under the Act the tenant, by accepting the increased rent, would acquire fixity of tenure for fifteen years. If he should not assent to the increase he might sell his interest and obtain from the landlord ten times the difference between the increased rent and that settled by the court, or he might claim compensation for disturbance, in accordance with the terms settled by the Act of 1870.

With regard to the court which was to be intrusted with these powers, and was also to act as a land commission, it was to consist of three members, one of whom must always be a judge or an ex-judge of the Supreme Court. It would have power to appoint assistant commissioners and sub-commissioners to sit in the provinces. It would also have authority to advance to tenants intending to purchase, on approved security, three-fourths of the purchase-money. Advances might be made by the commission for agricultural improvements and for the reclamation of waste lands by companies or by individuals, whether tenants or owners, provided that the aid from the Treasury was met by a corresponding outlay of private capital. Advances, to be determined by Parliament, would also be made for the purpose of assisting emigration. Summing up the bill Mr. Gladstone said its general outcome would be that increase of rent would be restrained by certain rules; compensation for disturbance would be regulated according to different rates; the right to sell the tenant's interest would be universally established; evictions would only be permissible for default; and resumption by the landlord would be impossible except for cause both reasonable and grave, which cause might be brought in question before the court.

Impartial and candid persons regarded the bill as on the whole calculated to satisfy every legitimate claim that could be urged on behalf of the Irish people, while it would not give the owners of landed property any serious cause for complaint. Some even of the more moderate of the Home Rulers expressed their conviction that the Land Court and its functions would be looked upon by the people of Ireland as satisfactory, and described the measure as a great act of justice, which, without assailing any right of property, would confer on the Irish tenant free sale, from which would naturally flow fair rents and permanence of tenure. The more extreme men of the party were of course dissatisfied with the bill, which they could not, they said, regard as an honest effort to settle the relation between landlord and tenant. They protested against the proposed arbitration by county court judges, and declared their preference for migration to emigration. The Conservatives, while approving of such proposals in the bill as peasant proprietorship, the reclamation of waste lands, and state-aided emigration, complained that the bill would insure universal and perpetual litigation; that the landlords were badly treated; that millions

would be taken from them without compensation, not for the benefit of the community at large, but for a single class—the present tenants. They alleged also that the most absentee landlord was placed on the same footing as the best landlord, and that the principle of the three Fs—fair rent, fixed tenure, and free sale—in an unavowed but practical form, was virtually conceded.

Old Whigs, like Earl Grey and the Marquis of Lansdowne, were not friendly to the measure, and the Duke of Argyll was so strongly dissatisfied with it that he resigned his office and withdrew from the Cabinet. His place as Lord Privy Seal was filled by Lord Carlingford, who, while a commoner, had for a considerable time held the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland.

When the House of Commons reassembled on 26th April all these conflicting views were expressed at great length on the motion for the second reading of the bill. The leading members of the various parties in the House took part in the debate, which was protracted over three weeks. The amendments proposed by the Conservatives were rejected by large majorities. The more extreme of the Home Rulers stood aloof, in obedience to the advice of Mr. Parnell, who characterized the measure as a miserable dole, and a half remedy. The second reading was carried by 352 votes to 176. Sir Baldwin Leighton was the only English Conservative who supported it, though many of the party withdrew before the division was taken.

Before the bill could be got into committee (26th May), there was a long array of 'instructions' to the committee which had to be disposed of; but all except one were swept away at once by a decision of the Speaker that no proposal which could be discussed in committee could be debated before that stage was reached. The order-book, however, swarmed with notices of amendments to almost every line of each clause, and in some cases there were as many amendments to a line as words. So tedious and protracted were the debates on these amendments that when the House adjourned on 3rd June for the Whitsuntide holidays, only six lines of the Land Bill had been agreed to.

During the recess the contest respecting this novel measure was carried on with great vehemence by prominent members both of the Government and the Opposition; and when the Parliament met again on 13th June the debates on the bill were resumed as keenly as ever. On the 27th of that month only four clauses had been agreed to, and Mr. Gladstone found it necessary to ask the House to give up all its time to the discussion of this one important measure, and to this proposal no serious objection was raised. The emigration clauses were assailed with exaggerated bitterness and violence by the Parnellites, and their conduct in obstructing a bill against which they did not dare to vote was indignantly denounced by Mr. Bright, and by Mr. Gladstone, who expressed the pain with which he had witnessed the degradation inflicted on the House by a small section of the Irish members, who, having miserably failed in their attempts to denounce the bill in Ireland, now sought to retrieve their damaged reputations by obstructive opposition.

The fiftieth and last clause of the bill was voted on the morning of 20th July. Two days later the new clauses proposed by private members were disposed of, and the bill as amended was reported to the House, amid loud and continued cheering on the Ministerial side. On the bringing up of the report an attempt was made to exclude holdings above £100 per annum from its operation, which was defeated by the narrow majority of 242 against 205. The third reading of the Land Bill was at length taken on 30th July, and by a majority of 220 against 14 the measure, which for nearly four months had occupied the almost undivided attention of the members, was carried through its final stage in the House of Commons.

The Irish Land Bill had, however, still

to pass the more difficult and dangerous ordeal of the House of Lords, to which it was carried and read a first time within a few minutes of its passage through the House of Commons. The second reading of the bill was moved on Monday, 1st August, and gave rise to a debate, which was marked by great ability, not unmingled with asperity, and the measure was criticised very severely, not only by the Conservative Peers, but by the Duke of Argyll and the Marquis of Lansdowne. It had been resolved, however, at a private meeting of the Opposition party, that they would not reject the bill on its second reading, but would endeavour to introduce in committee various important amendments which would render it less obnoxious to them. The bill was accordingly read a second time without a division, but when it went into committee a number of very sweeping changes were made in its provisions. One of them enacted that the landlord should have a right of veto on the sale when the improvements on a farm had been made by him or his predecessor. Another deprived the tenant of the power of free sale when the landlord had purchased the tenant-right. A number of minor amendments followed, all of which had for their object to free the landlord from the ascendency of his tenants, or to place the tenants under the control of the landlords. The proposal of Mr. Heneage, to exempt English-managed estates from the operation of the bill, which had been rejected by the Commons, though by a diminished majority, was now adopted, as was a motion by Lord Salisbury, though opposed by a considerable number of Conservatives, that no tenant's rent should be reduced on account of any money he might have paid for any tenant-right on coming into possession. Their lordships also withdrew from the Land Court the power given to it in the bill to revise the rent at the end of existing leases, and they struck out the clause empowering the court to quash any lease made since 1870 under undue influence. They also expunged without a division the amendment inserted at the instigation of Mr. Parnell, which authorized the court to stay proceedings against a tenant in arrear, pending the decision of his application for a judicial rent.

When the bill, which was read a third time on 8th August, was returned to the House of Commons, it became evident that the Government were firmly resolved not to acquiesce in amendments which had fundamentally changed the character of the measure. They showed, however, their willingness to accept most of the minor changes and corrections which the Lords had introduced, but upon all questions of principle they maintained their own views, and expunged most of the more important amendments which had been adopted by the Upper House. They agreed to allow the landlord the power to prohibit free sale when he and his predecessors had not only made, but maintained permanent improvements. They accepted the proposal to restrain the tenant's right to erect additional dwelling-houses on his holding without the landlord's permission, but limited to such houses as the tenants themselves proposed to occupy. They also agreed, in spite of the Parnellites and some Radicals, to acquiesce in the provision under which a landlord's claim was recognized as the first charge on the purchase money of any holding; and Mr. Gladstone expressed his willingness to allow the landlord, as well as the tenant, to go into court after they had failed to come to an agreement.

On the morning of the 12th of August the amendments of the Peers were disposed of after three protracted sittings. A committee was appointed to confer with the Lords, and the bill was at once carried to the Upper House. When the Lords assembled on the evening of that day, it became at once evident that the Opposition had resolved to deal with the measure in the spirit of 'no surrender,' and they insisted on the restoration of those of their