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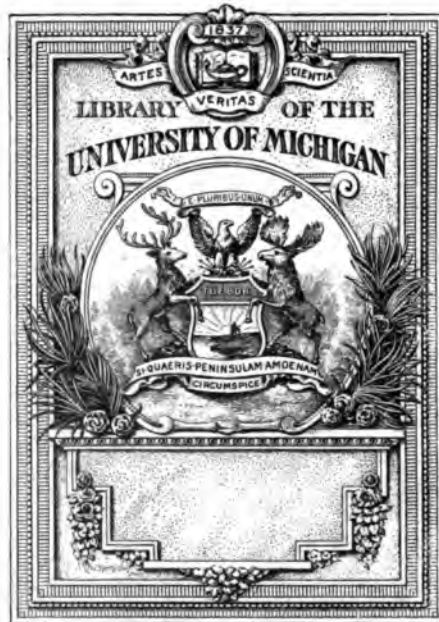
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THE
ANNUAL REGISTER

1891

ALL THE VOLUMES OF THE NEW SERIES OF THE

ANNUAL REGISTER

1863 to 1890

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THE
ANNUAL REGISTER

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REVIEW OF PUBLIC EVENTS AT HOME
AND ABROAD

FOR THE YEAR

1891

NEW SERIES

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LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

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ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1891.

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THE disorganisation of the English Liberals, consequent upon the refusal of Mr. Parnell to temporarily withdraw from political life, made them shrink as much from platform speeches as from Parliamentary opposition. Pending the result of the negotiations between Mr. Parnell and Messrs. O'Brien and Dillon, who had come to Boulogne to discuss the question of the Irish leadership, the Liberal leaders were unwilling to take action. These had clearly defined the attitude they were prepared to adopt towards Irish Home Rule, which they would press forward only on the understanding that Mr. Parnell should stand aside. This had not, it is true, been the attitude they had originally taken up. They had at first wished to leave the Irish to settle for themselves the choice of their leader; but the "Nonconformist conscience," after a short hesitation, had been aroused, and forced

Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues to break openly and completely with the member for Cork. At the same time, the Unionists were loudly calling upon their opponents to say how much of Mr. Parnell's revelations as to the Home Rule scheme were true, and how it was proposed to satisfy high aspirations for a paramount Parliament in Dublin with the oft-repeated promise of Imperial control at Westminster. Under such circumstances a prudent reserve was obviously the best as well as the most convenient policy; and events had had time to ripen before Mr. John Morley, as the spokesman of his party, was called upon to give a lead to his colleagues and followers. By this time, too, public opinion and the Nonconformist conscience were alike in a calmer state; and Mr. Gladstone had had the opportunity of explaining his former attitude towards Mr. Parnell, which had given rise to some misconception. In his letter to Mr. John Morley (Nov. 24, 1890) on the subject of Mr. Parnell's leadership after the proceedings in the Divorce Court, Mr. Gladstone had written:—

“Having arrived at a certain conclusion with regard to the *continuance at the present moment* of Mr. Parnell's leadership of the Irish party, I have seen Mr. McCarthy,” &c.

Again, lower down, speaking of “the conclusion at which, after using all the means of observation and reflection in my power, I had myself arrived,” Mr. Gladstone wrote:—

“It was that, notwithstanding the splendid services rendered by Mr. Parnell to his country, his *continuance at the present moment* in the leadership would be productive of consequences disastrous in the highest degree to the cause of Ireland.”

The conclusion drawn from these words by Captain Price, M.P. (*Devonport*), and others was that Mr. Gladstone had only suggested that Mr. Parnell should retire “for the present,” presumably until the next general election. This inference Mr. Gladstone hastened to correct, and declared that the “retirement of which I spoke to Mr. Morley was not retirement for the present, but retirement now.” This distinction, though perhaps somewhat subtle, gave no little comfort to Mr. Gladstone's admirers, who saw by the light of his explanation fresh evidence of the malignity with which their leader's plainest statements were misrepresented by his unscrupulous opponents. These, on the other hand, were tempted to suggest that the later reading of Mr. Gladstone's text coincided with the alienation of the bulk of the Liberal party from Mr. Parnell, who had bitterly attacked Mr. Gladstone, and by that means had made himself for the future an impossible ally.

The “Boulogne conference,” moreover, led to no satisfactory results. Beyond the fact that it had for object an accommodation between the two sections into which the Nationalist party was split, nothing was known. Mr. O'Brien, having come from New York to act as peacemaker, naturally did not from the outset show himself a partisan. After a couple of interviews with

Mr. Parnell, he saw Mr. Justin McCarthy and Mr. Sexton ; and being unable to compose matters—presumably in connection with New Tipperary—Mr. Dillon was called into council. The protracted negotiations which ensued were most unfairly commented upon by the English press, Gladstonian as well as Unionist. It was forgotten that more than anyone else Mr. W. O'Brien was responsible for the creation of "New Tipperary," and that he had pledged himself that no harm should come to those who had left the old town. The Paris bankers of the National League, with whom were deposited the funds needed for the support of the evicted tenants, refused to pay the money in their hands to either faction. Mr. Parnell's position was consequently a strong one, and there was good reason for Mr. O'Brien's temporising. His efforts were, however, of no avail. Mr. Parnell remained obdurate. He refused to resign the nominal leadership of a party which no longer followed him, and he as distinctly declined to allow the Paris funds to be expended by others than himself.

Public attention, moreover, was for a moment called away from the Irish imbroglio by the attitude assumed by the United States on the Behring Sea fisheries, and of France on the Newfoundland fisheries. In the former case Lord Salisbury had offered to refer the matter in dispute to arbitration ; but the desire to make political capital out of the process known as "twisting the lion's tail" induced Mr. Blaine to haggle over the terms of reference, although forced by public opinion to assent to arbitration "in principle." He insisted upon memoranda in the secret archives of the State Department, which showed that between Mr. Secretary Adams and the Russian minister who had arranged the cession of Alaska to the United States there existed a note defining the construction which Russia placed upon the *mare clausum* in the treaty. On the part of the British Government it was contended that whatever rights Mr. Blaine might think had been sold by Russia, nations could not convey more than they possessed, and that a defect in the seller's title was a defect also in the buyer's. The part, therefore, for primary arbitration was not what had been ceded to the United States, but what Russia had a right to cede. As the object of both nations ostensibly was to provide some effective protection for the seal fisheries in the Behring Sea, it seemed strange to impartial observers in both countries that the difficulties at arriving at an understanding should be so many and so great ; but underlying the general idea of protecting the seals was that of protecting a trade in which Canada and Great Britain desired to share, whilst the United States Government was as desirous to establish a monopoly for its own citizens. By an appeal to the Washington Law Courts, Sir Julian Paunceforte hoped to place the chief points at issue on a legal basis which even the most prejudiced politicians would be obliged to accept. The

Supreme Court of the United States was, therefore, asked to annul the decision given in 1887 by the district Court of Alaska in the case of the Canadian schooner *W. P. Sayward*, and to issue a general writ of prohibition to the Alaska Court forbidding it to condemn vessels taken in the "open sea." In accordance with instructions from Lord Salisbury, the counsel in defence of the British case was to argue: (1) That the three-mile limit applied to the Behring Sea; (2) that Russia exercised the power of excluding from the Behring Sea, not by right, but by general consent; (3) that this qualified right was not conveyed to the United States, whose rights as defined by the treaty of cession referred only to continental Alaska, its islands and adjacent waters.

Almost simultaneously the long-standing dispute with regard to the French fishing rights off the coasts of Newfoundland was pushed to the front on the rumour that the *modus vivendi* agreed upon by France and England was to be renewed for another year. Threats of throwing off the "British yoke" were uttered by Colonial politicians of all shades, anti-British leagues were formed in every township, and American agents hinted that, in joining the Union, Newfoundlanders would find that moral and material assistance to realise their aims which was refused by the British Government. Diplomatic reasons availed to hinder the premature publication of the correspondence which took place between the English and French Governments, and during the consequent delay the French fishermen continued to exercise their undoubted rights. Rumours were at one time spread that M. Ribot would be willing to waive the French rights, or at least so much of them as involved a temporary location of French fishermen on the Newfoundland coast, in exchange for a cession of territory on the west coast of Africa—our colony of the Gambia, for instance—together with a modification of the Colonial Bait Act. It was, however, thought more probable that the only terms likely to content the French Minister involved the withdrawal of British troops from Egypt; and in the actual state of European politics Lord Salisbury judged it more prudent to run the risk of offending the Newfoundlanders than to raise once more in an aggravated form the Egyptian question.

Although either of these questions might at any moment have led to serious complications, public opinion showed but little nervousness. There was a general conviction that Lord Salisbury would, whilst making all reasonable concessions on minor points, firmly maintain British rights, and that he would quietly but firmly make it understood that there was a limit to the traditional policy of peace at any price which had in the eyes of foreign statesmen inspired the English Foreign Office for so many years.

Home politics, however, were again brought to the front by the meeting at Newcastle-on-Tyne, when Mr. John Morley

was to break the silence which had fallen upon the Liberal party since the disruption of the Irish party. Mr. Gladstone, indeed, had written a letter to the Liberal candidate for Hartlepool, in which he said that "the Irish party has vindicated itself by putting an end to the leadership of Mr. Parnell, and has left me to pursue, as heretofore, the duty of denouncing the principle of unequal laws, and the odious system of coercion, not for crime, but for combination apart from crime." Beyond this vague threat his letter gave no clue to the intentions of the party, and one of his most distinguished followers, Mr. Asquith, Q.C., addressing the Manchester Reform Club (Jan. 8), had strongly urged the necessity of giving some outline of the Irish programme before a general appeal was made to the constituencies. Speaking for himself, he distinctly declared that to give Ireland Home Rule without putting the police entirely under the local Irish control, and without giving the Irish Legislature full power to deal with the land question as it pleased, would be absurd. Only by giving the "largest, amplest, and most generous powers to the Irish Legislature, consistent with the maintenance of Imperial unity," could they put a final end to the question which had so long agitated and disturbed the country." In earlier days Mr. John Morley also had expressed himself very strongly in favour of the settlement of the land question by the Imperial Parliament, and it was therefore important to see how far his opinions had been modified by recent events. In addressing his constituents (Jan. 13) Mr. Morley boldly faced the situation. Nothing, he said, was to be gained by denying that the movement so rapidly advancing to success two months before had since met with a check. Still, those of their opponents who thought Home Rule was dead were a little too precipitate. If he said nothing about what had been going on the last two or three weeks at Boulogne it was because he could not incur the tremendous responsibility of letting a word fall to aggravate the present situation. It was not because he had no opinion on those transactions. As to the urgency of the crisis, every man had made up his mind whether it would have been possible to continue the prosecution of the Home Rule cause if the late leader of the Irish party had remained where he was. After taking full time for deliberation, after giving full time for spontaneous action, the English leader and champion of the Home Rule cause had had no choice save to communicate to Mr. Parnell at the earliest moment at which there was access to him, and so that there should be the utmost care of avoiding every dictatorial, every censorious word—to communicate to him the plain and the palpable truth that a prosecution of the Home Rule cause in Great Britain, unless there was a change of leadership, was a hopeless task.

Turning to certain statements made by Mr. Parnell in a speech at Limerick, in which he had challenged Mr. Gladstone

to produce the memorandum of the Hawarden conversation, Mr. Morley said: "I have direct authority to say that after reading that speech Mr. Gladstone maintains that not a single proposal was made at Hawarden—that is to say, that no proposition was mentioned—to which assent was asked. Mr. Parnell had acted as a warm friend of the Bill of 1886, and he had in 1889, when this interview took place, the confidence of eighty-five Irish members. So Mr. Gladstone properly and naturally named to him various suggestions, and why? In order to improve his own knowledge of the field within which the ex-Ministers might confer with one another upon those suggestions with the assent of the Irish members. I have Mr. Gladstone's direct authority to state that neither the constabulary nor the magistracy were mentioned; and it was not proposed to hand over the judiciary to the British Government either for ten years or for any other period. Mr. Parnell's own account of the Hawarden interview down to January, 1890—I would say down to June, 1890—in public and, as I take it, in private, is a sufficient vindication for Mr. Gladstone, if Mr. Gladstone needs any vindication. Now I am charged with concerting a plot with Mr. Gladstone to undermine the independence of the Irish party—to get Mr. Parnell to assent to a sham Home Rule Bill by bribing him with the office of Chief Secretary."

After discussing at some length the fitness of the Irish for self-government, which he recognised to the fullest extent, Mr. Morley turned first to the police question. In 1886 he said "what we proposed, and what we provided for, was the creation of a civil force under the control of local authorities; and Mr. Gladstone expressly said that we had no desire to exempt the police of Ireland from the control of the Irish legislative body. If a community is not fit to have control of its own police it is certainly not fit to have Home Rule at all. But until the Irish Parliament had organised a civil police, the Lord Lieutenant was to retain control of the present armed and semi-military police as a temporary and transitory measure—first, to make sure of the observance of certain engagements made by the Imperial Government with the Royal Irish Constabulary; and, secondly, to bridge over the interregnum before the Irish Government had settled the question of its own police in towns and counties. The whole story of the arrangement for the police told by Mr. Parnell at Limerick was remarkably inaccurate. The views of 1886 were sound, subject to reasonable amendments in committee; and, so far as I know, no unreasonable amendments were at that time proposed."

On the land question Mr. Morley was even more outspoken. "I think it would be safest and best, in the interests of the Irish legislative body itself, that the land question should be solved at Westminster concurrently with the establishment of a Legislature in Ireland. Of course, if the British constituencies determine

that the land question is not to be dealt with at Westminster, it will then have to be dealt with by an Irish legislative body; but I for one shall deplore that decision. I think it will be not a creditable decision to England. I do not think it will be a prosperous decision for Ireland. But Mr. Chamberlain's question is put at rather a curious time. Where are we on the land question at this moment? The Government have brought in a Land Bill, and in many of its methods and details I think the Bill is about the very worst Bill that was ever introduced into the British House of Commons. But at any rate it will provide a fund that ought to carry us a long way towards dealing with that portion of the land question in which I have always thought that the chief danger for the Irish legislative body lay."

After once more declaring that Home Rule was not a mere pious opinion, but was a practicable and opportune proposal, and was certainly not to be dropped, Mr. Morley concluded: "All depends upon Ireland. It is for Irishmen to choose. If they are true to themselves we will never betray them. The hour may be dark, and the signs perplexing; but it is the dark hour that tests the mettle of which men are made. Let us watch; let us hope. Questions arise to every nation (and this is one) which are not to be settled by counting at the moment a minority or a majority. We will not draw it back. For myself, win or lose, I will fight it out. When the obscuring smoke of the present strife in Ireland has rolled away, let Irishmen know that they will see the beacon of friendship and sympathy still burning clear on the English shore."

The outcome of this speech—or rather manifesto—was to show that Mr. Chamberlain and those who thought with him that "Home Rule is as dead as Queen Anne" were mistaken, and that the Gladstonian leaders still considered it the best rallying cry for their partisans in the three kingdoms. The election in Kilkenny, moreover, had already shown that Mr. Parnell's power was on the wane in his own country; and if the English Dissenters and Scotch Presbyterians did not take fright at the idea of an alliance with the Roman Catholic priesthood in Ireland, Home Rule offered the best hope of carrying the party back to power. On one point Mr. Morley had preserved an ominous silence. He made no allusion to the retention of Irish members at Westminster in reduced numbers, and although Mr. Gladstone had eagerly contradicted the first statement by Mr. Parnell that they were to be reduced to thirty-two, both he and Mr. Morley were silent with regard to the amended number, thirty-four. Yet on this point would necessarily turn the whole principle of the continued representation of Ireland at Westminster.

With Mr. Morley's speech at Newcastle the floodgates of platform oratory were opened. Sir George Trevelyan (Jan. 14), after vigorously denouncing his former associates the Liberal

Unionists, declared that, although he and his present colleagues might not see clearly the immediate future in Ireland, they saw quite clearly the direction and path they ought to follow. On this account he claimed the implicit confidence, as well as the enthusiasm and energy, of the rank and file of the party. Sir Charles Russell at Poplar (Jan. 14) had not been able to discover any dissensions in his party, although one man had caused a passing cloud. He would not say anything about the moral obliquity of Mr. Parnell and his friends on the present occasion, and he was equally silent as to their striking virtues, which he had so vigorously championed a few months previously. Mr. Chamberlain at Birmingham (Jan. 15), replying to Mr. Morley, declared Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule policy to be "smashed, pulverised, and destroyed." The Parnellites had proved to be neither Nationalists nor patriots, but "mercenaries paid by foreign money," and they were "not fit associates for English statesmen now that their characters were known and their methods exposed." Mr. Morley, in his most recent speeches, had yielded all the points on which Mr. Parnell had pressed him—"giving up the appointment of the judges and magistrates, the control of the police, and the settlement of the land question into the hands of an Irish Parliament. But where was this complacency going to stop? Rather than make these interminable concessions it would be better to have separation at once."

It was, however, left to the Earl of Derby at Manchester, and Sir Henry James at Bury, to put more seriously before their hearers the political situation and its altered aspect. The former (Jan. 16) confessed that when he first joined the Unionists in opposition to Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule policy he thought that Unionist resistance was more a matter of honourable obligation than a course likely to be attended by success. But the country sided with the Unionists, and, though their majority had shown a little wear and tear in the course of five years, it had never been reduced below eighty, or double the majority necessary to make a party safe. It was comic that the union should have been thought in danger because an Irish gentleman was accused of an offence which he did not commit, and should now be thought safe because that same gentleman had been too attentive to his neighbour's wife. Lord Derby warned the Unionists not to be misled into the belief that Home Rule was dead. He did not blame or criticise the action of the English Liberals in interfering on the question of Mr. Parnell's leadership, and he had no doubt there were plenty of people who, if Nelson were living now, would memorialise the Government against giving him the command of a fleet. But the net result of the dispute which had been going on was to show, as had all along been suspected, that there was no plan of a Home Rule constitution in existence at all. "The secret had been admirably kept, because there was no secret to keep." He doubted whether the fight in the Irish party

would last, for the combatants would probably act in the spirit of the advice given by Erskine to the prisoners he was defending on a charge of treason, and who seemed inclined to fall out with each other: "Gentlemen, you had better hang together, for if you do not you will certainly hang separately." No Unionist, Lord Derby added, needed to take sides in the present quarrel. There were many who would think that though Mr. Parnell was not a hero or a saint, he was "quite good enough for the lot he had to do with." Under all the circumstances he looked to the future with confidence.

Sir Henry James devoted himself to exposing the ridiculous charge brought against the Unionists of being friends of Mr. Parnell, and at the same time vindicated for the Liberal section the Unionists' special claim to popular support and sympathy. The recess speeches were brought to a close by speeches from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir M. Hicks-Beach, and the Prime Minister, the Marquess of Hartington reserving his address to his constituents until after Parliament had reassembled.

Mr. Goschen at Maidstone (Jan. 20) claimed credit for the Government having achieved some solid work, and expressed the belief that before the Session closed they would have other claims to public confidence, notwithstanding Mr. Gladstone's oft-repeated assertion that there could be no steady march of legislation until the Irish question was settled. They intended to deal with Friendly Societies and especially those of working-men, and to give them better security for their savings; they hoped to take off some of the strain which working-men felt in providing education for their children, and they were anxiously pushing forward measures for the more effectual repression of the Slave Trade in Africa. Turning to the Irish question, Mr. Goschen said the Unionists' contention was still exactly the same as it had been, that the dangers of Home Rule to the country, to its power, to its cohesion, to its civil peace, infinitely outweighed any arguments which might be urged in favour of Home Rule. He would not argue that, merely because the Irish party had lost its leader, therefore Home Rule had received a blow. It was that for years Mr. Parnell had been held up as a thorough specimen of a statesman—the wise leader who would control the people with moderation. When clamouring for the "union of hearts" Mr. Gladstone had said, "I consider Mr. Parnell with his friends to be in the best sense a conservative and restorative force." In what sense would Mr. Gladstone now consider Mr. Parnell to be a restorative force? Mr. Parnell's promises of finality had turned out to be an imposture. Thus, the heavy blow that Home Rule had received was not only the loss of a leader, but the exposure of a sham. As to the Hawarden interview, Mr. Goschen could not understand Mr. Gladstone's account of it. Mr. Gladstone said that he made no propositions, no proposals, but wanted to widen the field within which ex-Ministers might confer; but, so

far as had transpired, the veteran leader of the Liberal party and the leader of the Irish party had only met in order to deceive each other.

Sir M. Hicks-Beach at Bristol (Jan. 20) spoke almost in the same sense. The suggestions of Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Parnell at the Hawarden meeting amounted, in truth, to a modification of the Bill of 1886, in the sense of giving to the Imperial Parliament greater control over Irish affairs than was given by that Bill. The precise number of Irish members to be retained at Westminster was not known, but if there were any truth whatever in the suggestion that it was to be thirty-two or thirty-four, in place of 103 as at present, such a proposition seemed to be about as bad as could be conceived. In fact it gave an Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament large enough to do mischief to England, but not large enough to do good to Ireland. Sir M. Hicks-Beach went on to express his opinion that whenever this written memorandum was disclosed, something would surely be found in it embodying Mr. John Morley's desire to keep back the settlement of the Irish land question from the Irish legislative body.

Mr. Gladstone, he continued, "is bound by his own statements not to bring in a Home Rule scheme which will not satisfy the aspirations of the Irish Parliamentary party. Mr. Parnell and his friends have said that they will not be content with any Home Rule scheme that does not settle the land question in the way they propose, and that does not give to the Irish Parliament and Executive full control over the judiciary and constabulary. Mr. McCarthy and his followers dare not, for their own sake, ask for less terms than these. It is possible that Mr. John Morley and Sir George Trevelyan may climb down. They are rather invertebrate animals. But there are forces in favour of maintaining that control over an Irish Legislature and an Executive which the Irish Parliamentary party must repudiate, and which Mr. Gladstone cannot safely disregard. With the enormous difficulty staring him in the face, is it a wonder that Mr. Gladstone is not eager to produce that written memorandum, and is it wonderful that, the other day, he rather passed from the subject of Irish Home Rule, which hitherto he has put forward as the one object of the remainder of his political career, and suggested to his party that they should take up a Registration Bill and the question of one man one vote?"

Lord Salisbury at Cambridge (Jan. 21), and Lord Hartington at Rawtenstall (Jan. 24), alike dealt with the more recent developments of the Irish question. The former, admitting that it was an exaggeration that recent events had destroyed Home Rule, strenuously denied that Home Rule had ever been on the point of victory, as Mr. Morley had asserted on the eve of the Eccles election. Home Rule owed its existence to two very clever men—Mr. Parnell and Mr. Gladstone. As long as the support

of these two men was given to Home Rule it would be unsafe to conclude that the battle was over, and that they might safely lay their arms aside. Lord Salisbury thought it was tolerably evident that Mr. Parnell's recollection of the Hawarden interview was more accurate than Mr. Gladstone's, for if any document had been in existence that would prove Mr. Parnell to be wrong, that document would by this time have been produced. But it was not a question of first-rate importance what Mr. Gladstone had thought, or said he thought, eighteen months ago, as the probability was that it bore no measurable relation to what he would think, or would say he would think, eighteen months hence. It was not easy to believe that it was a pure enthusiasm for the Seventh Commandment which induced Mr. Parnell's followers first to assemble in a hall in Dublin and to defend him against Saxon assailants, then to assemble in a committee-room of the House of Commons, and elect him unanimously to be their leader, and then, on the ground of outraged morality, to denounce him as a man unfit to lead them. In the same way the Liberal leaders had not entirely justified their claim to be considered champions of morality in this matter. No denunciation of Mr. Parnell came from the leader of the Liberal party for fully ten days after the grave truths on which it was based were revealed; and as for the heads of the Roman Catholic Church, they carefully waited until the majority of the Parliamentary party had pronounced against Mr. Parnell, and it was not until a fortnight had elapsed that they "gently descended on the right side of the fence." What had taken place furnished what might be called a rehearsal of Home Rule, and had shown how Home Rule worked indoors in Committee Room No. 15. They had seen how it worked out of doors in various places in the way the candidature of Sir J. Pope Hennessy was discussed in Ireland. They had often been told that a future Irish Parliament would never think it its duty to quarrel with England; but there were points on which fatal divergences of opinion must arise. There was the question of Free Trade, and the question of custom-house duties on both sides, which must furnish endless cause for friction. There was the question of communication with foreign Powers, which must raise endless differences. They had seen the two sections of the Irish party flying at each other's throats, and losing no opportunity of ruining each other in the popular view. Each had tried to prove the other less anti-English than itself, that the monopoly of hatred of England was with itself, and that in all matters on which England insisted it was prepared to offer a more bitter resistance than its rival. But there was another phenomenon more formidable still. One of the great dangers of the people of the North of Ireland was that they would be subject to priestly rule. Priestly rule was the vice of religious organisation. It was an attempt to use the influences, gained by teachers of religion by virtue of their high mission, in the furtherance of secular ends.

In Ireland the heads of the Roman Catholic Church, for their own reasons, deserting their high functions, leaving aside altogether the supernatural doctrine with which they were charged, resolved that it was their interest that Home Rule should be obtained, and, therefore, that Mr. Gladstone should be gratified in the matter of Mr. Parnell's ostracism ; and, when they had resolved upon that point, they applied the whole force of their matchless organisation to carry it into effect. They were fighting against the man who up to that time had commanded the Nationalist forces in Ireland as a despot, and yet, almost at a moment's notice, they were able to bring nearly the whole of their clerical powers to bear, and, in the only battle that was fought, to sweep him from the field. That was the organisation which, if they granted Home Rule, would govern Ireland in future.

Lord Salisbury then went on to insist upon the peculiarities of the Irish character, and the condition of the country, with a population tending always to increase out of all proportion with its resources. Although peasant proprietary did not attract capital, it encouraged thrift and industry, and in this way it would lead to voluntary emigration, and perhaps to the development of fresh channels of labour. He held, therefore, that the duty of Government was to encourage the formation of a peasant proprietary by identifying the ownership and occupancy of the soil ; by the multiplication of means of cheap conveyance ; and by the maintenance of law and order, resisting those nostrums and panaceas which were only political experiments. If the Unionist party by its efforts not only succeeded in dissipating idle dreams and driving to a distance fallacious projects, but also in passing measures which should lay a deep foundation for Irish future prosperity, the future generations would bless those who were so deeply cursed now, and the present upholders of the Unionist struggle would be looked upon as the future founders of the Irish nation.

Lord Hartington in addressing his constituents drew a practical lesson from the progress made with public business in the short Autumn Session, the Irish being too much occupied with their own domestic affairs to obstruct the work of Parliament. Echoing the views of his lieutenant, Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Hartington declared that as a practical policy Home Rule was dead. At the same time Home Rule would remain a portion of the policy of the Opposition. It would have to be retained for a time, at all events, to do duty at contested elections, and to give an excuse for the opposition which they desired still to carry on against the Government in restoring, establishing, and preserving order and good government in Ireland. The Opposition were bound in honour by the course which they had taken towards their Irish allies to maintain Home Rule, for a period at all events, as a portion of their policy. But the policy of Home Rule which they were still compelled to drag about with them, they were

dragging about as "a lifeless corpse," which they might endeavour to dress up in the most attractive form, and which would be a drag upon their energies and upon their success until they had found some decent opportunity to give it burial.

After some observations on the immediate result of Home Rule, should the Opposition obtain a majority at the General Election, Lord Hartington insisted upon the slight guarantee for peace and contentment in Ireland which its past and present condition offered. From the beginning Mr. Parnell had shown himself to be utterly indifferent to the methods by which he sought to attain his ends. They had no guarantee that if, as the constitutional ruler of Ireland, his policy had been thwarted or his position menaced, he would have scrupled to have had recourse, in order to attain his ends and overthrow his opponents, to the forces of disorder, violence, and anarchy to which he appealed in order to maintain his hold on the leadership of his party. It was said that if Ireland had possessed constitutional self-government as was claimed for her, and if Mr. Parnell had subsequently proved himself to be unfit for that position, he would have been deposed by the good sense of the Irish people. But what proof, Lord Hartington asked, was there of any such thing? The movement to depose Mr. Parnell from the leadership did not originate in Ireland, and even now it was not proved conclusively that he had been deposed from the leadership of the Irish party. If he was finally deposed, that deposition would be due not to Irish influence, but to the pressure of English public opinion beneficially exerted upon the judgment of the Irish nation and of their leaders. But though English public opinion had a powerful effect on Irish leaders now, because there was something to be gained by listening to the dictates of English public men, what effect would the English Nonconformists or English political parties have upon political parties in Ireland, after they had become masters in their own house, after they had obtained full control over their own affairs? It was now known that whatever declarations were made in 1886 by the Irish leaders, whatever might have been the form in which they expressed them, they were not made in good faith. After Mr. Parnell's revelations, which had not been contradicted by any of those who were now opposed to him, were they again going to believe that a measure, falling short of all that Irishmen had ever worked for, was going to be accepted as a final settlement by the Irish people? But the course of the Unionists was clear. The privileges of administration of local affairs might be conferred on the people of Ireland in the same degree as they had recently been conferred upon the people of England and Scotland. They might pass a measure which offered some solution of the land question, which had produced all the difficulties hitherto existing in Ireland.

The difference in the tone of these two speeches bore witness to the unwillingness of Lord Hartington to dissociate himself wholly

from his former leader, and with rare tact and taste he forbore from criticising his action. Perhaps the most interesting part of Lord Hartington's speech was that on which he referred to his own attitude in 1886. "I shall never forget the appeal which he (Mr. Gladstone) addressed to us, and especially to me, as to the increased responsibility which we were taking in rejecting, or seeking to reject, the measure. He told us, and told us truly, that in Ireland it was not merely a question of disturbance or breaking up of social order, but that social order was sapped and undermined; that they had a remedy which they believed would go to the root of the disease and prove effective; and because we had no such remedy to propose, and no specific panacea which we could say was absolutely certain to remedy the disease, we were told we were taking an enormous responsibility on ourselves in rejecting the remedy which they believed to be an effective remedy." Lord Hartington, while admitting the responsibility, maintained that recent events fully justified the judgment on which he had acted, and on this issue he was prepared to appeal to the country to support him and his colleagues.

In the interval between these two speeches the election at the Hartlepoons had taken place, and had resulted in a large majority for the Gladstonian candidate, and the gain of a seat for his party. The constituency numbered upwards of 10,000 electors, of whom 8,900 went to the poll, 4,603 voting for Mr. Furness, and 4,305 for his opponent, Sir William Gray. The candidates were fairly matched, both being large employers of labour in the district, and both being deservedly popular. On labour questions, which were made prominent during the canvassing, there was little divergence of view, except that Mr. Furness made more concessions to the Trades Unions, and practically pledged himself to the employment in his yards of only Union workmen. There was no speech on the one side to put forward, or on the other to throw back, the Home Rule question, though it may be fairly assumed that it had its weight in determining numerous voters. If this were so, it showed that, so far as a typical working-class constituency was concerned, Mr. Parnell's personalty had no effect upon their decision. Attempts were, of course, made by the organs of both parties to account for the change of opinion among the electors; but in a constituency so notoriously shifting and migratory all comparisons between the poll of 1886 and the present one were obviously fallacious. In the shipping ports of the North-East of England the "new Trade Unionism, with its tendency towards Socialism, had by general consent made rapid progress, and it was certain to throw the whole of its strength on the side from which it hoped to obtain the greatest concessions. The election, however, came at a lucky moment to revive the spirits of the Gladstonian Liberals, who had been paralysed by the sudden break-up of their Irish allies. Mr. Gladstone himself saw in the result cause for supreme satisfaction, declaring by

a telegram to the successful candidate that "the simple figures of the poll reduce to dust and ashes the declarations of Lord Salisbury, Sir Henry James, Mr. Goschen and the Duke of Westminster on what they call 'recent events.'"

The only other event of the recess which gave rise to much controversy was the first strike on the part of the clerks in the Civil Service, and it was chiefly interesting as showing one of the unforeseen results of the so-called "Playfair" scheme, by which the whole service was to be divided into three distinct classes, and the old distinctions of separate offices, each with its own particular system of grading, done away. The "writers," who constituted the third division under the Playfair scheme, were the first to recognise the benefits of Trade Unionism, and by common action had been able to improve their position most materially. The "second" division soon adopted similar tactics. Its members were all qualified by general examination, and were assigned to offices with little or no regard to the special wishes or aptitudes of the several men. As a rule the work required of them was more or less identical, and as they might be at any moment shifted from one office of the State to another, their feelings of loyalty to their heads of departments were lukewarm. On the other hand, a strong feeling of solidarity arose among them, and their numbers increasing every year, made them important political factors, especially in metropolitan constituencies. On several occasions they had been able to bring such pressure to bear upon the Government of the day that by degrees all their reasonable grievances had been redressed. It remained, however, to be seen how far their organisation would allow them to take the extreme step of "striking" against their chiefs in spite of the practically inexhaustible supply of clerical labour. In the Savings Bank Department of the Post Office a large amount of extra work of annual recurrence at this period required the attendance of the clerks beyond the stipulated seven hours. No volunteers being forthcoming, an order was issued that a certain number of the men should remain after time. This order was distinctly contrary to the words of Mr. Raikes' denial in the House of Commons that extra hours were ever compulsory; but when the clerks urged this as their excuse, Mr. Raikes declared that he meant by "compulsory," "exactd without extra pay." The strike lasted for about a week, when the men, finding that they received no support from the other branches or from the service at large, made their submission, and were allowed to resume work. The matter in itself was not important, except as being the first overt defiance of the heads of a public department by their subordinates.

When Parliament reassembled (Jan. 22) the prospects of public business were never brighter. Solid progress had been made with the principal Government measures; and by the exercise of ordinary firmness they might have been carried

through their final stages with little delay. So assured were the Government that no obstacles would materially retard the work in the House of Commons that on the opening night Lord Salisbury promised the Lords that they would promptly have the Tithes Bill, and that amending the Scotch Private Bill procedure submitted to them, the latter having on the same evening passed its second reading in the House of Commons by 150 to 86, and referred to a Select Committee. The event showed the danger of such forecasts. Fully three weeks elapsed before the Tithes Bill, or, to give its full title, the Tithe Rent Charge Recovery Bill, reached the Lords, and it was not until the eve of the Easter vacation that it was finally disposed of, whilst a worse fate befell the Private Bill Procedure (Scotland).

This bill, which was founded upon the report of a Committee proposed to refer private bills exclusively Scotch to a Commission, which would hold its inquiry in the locality affected, and sit daily out of, as well as during, the Parliamentary Session. The objections urged against the Government proposal were twofold, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) holding that the subjects dealt with by the bill ought not to be committed for inquiry to a Commission until it was shown it was impracticable to remedy the evils complained of by extending the power of local authorities, whilst Mr. H. Fowler (*Wolverhampton*) objected to the House abandoning its control over private bill legislation. Various other points were raised by the Scotch members, but Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's amendment, the only one pressed to a division, was defeated by 150 to 86 (Jan. 22), and the bill was read a second time.

Two months were allowed to elapse before the Government attempted to constitute the Select Committee, and then, after much wrangling as to the constitution of the Committee, the bill was referred back from the Committee, only to be finally withdrawn. Thereon the Government was soundly rated on all sides because they were unable to make the Scotch members agree among themselves.

The Tithes Bill, as already stated, was in reality a very small measure. It aimed at nothing more than altering the machinery for the recovery of tithes and settling the price to be paid. The first and most important section, providing the immediate and compulsory transfer of the liability for tithe rent-charges from occupiers to owners of land, had been accepted in principle by both sides of the House. The price to be paid was determined in a manner least favourable to titheowners of any of the numerous bills proposed by the Conservative Government. On the other hand, the immediate transfer of the liability from the owners of land, was a distinct advantage to titheowners. Consequently the only points of the bill open to much discussion in Committee were the changes proposed in the machinery for the recovery of tithe, and on this part of the bill the Opposition

displayed the most remarkable and inventive ingenuity. The motive of the bill had been the desire to put an end to the disgraceful scenes so constantly recurring in Wales in connection with the collection of tithes; and it was, therefore, not wholly surprising that the opposition to the transfer of liability from the tenants, who in a large majority were Nonconformists, to the landlords, who were more frequently Churchmen, should be strenuously opposed by those Welsh members who desired to urge forward as rapidly as possible the cause of disestablishment in Wales. The repeated evictions and sales of farmers' stock and implements to satisfy the demands of the titheowners were useful for keeping in evidence the tyranny of the English Church. Mr. S. Evans (*Glamorgan, M.*) took the lead in opposing the first three clauses, his object being to make the bill a mere transfer of obligation, and, while transferring the process of recovery of tithes to the County Court, to withhold from that Court the power of imprisonment in the case of non-payment. To this latter modification Sir M. Hicks-Beach consented, and subsequently introduced a clause to that effect. There was also a prolonged struggle (Jan. 26) over the scale of expenses of litigation to be charged, the Opposition insisting that the County Court scale only should be allowed; but, in the end, Mr. Evans's amendment to limit the costs was rejected by 170 to 102 votes, the Government undertaking to frame a schedule of costs which should be appended to the bill. Mr. C. W. Gray (*Essex, Maldon Division*) was the spokesman of the East Anglian farmers, many of whom had suffered severely from the depreciation of wheat, and now found farming unprofitable. On their behalf he urged the Government to fix the limit of tithe at one half the annual value of the land, instead of two-thirds, as proposed by the bill; but, although the amendment was supported by several Conservatives, it was ultimately (Feb. 2) rejected by 178 to 124 votes. The Committee stage was got through at the next sitting of the House (Feb. 3), but on the report of the bill the discussion broke out again and was continued through three more sittings, during which numerous amendments and new clauses were proposed, but in nearly every case rejected by majorities varying from 50 to 70. At length on the third reading (Feb. 12), Sir William Harcourt, who throughout the debates in Committee had, in common with the other Opposition leaders, remained silent, opposed the bill, believing it would cause more evils than it was likely to cure. An almost strictly party division followed, and the bill was agreed to by 250 to 161 votes, and was at once sent up to the House of Lords, where the Marquess of Salisbury moved the second reading (Feb. 19), and the five-and-twenty minutes he occupied were mainly taken up by a brief and clear exposition of the provisions of the bill. The abandonment of all attempt at tithe-redemption he explained away by showing that that branch of the subject had been sent to a Commission for inquiry, whose report was necessary before Parliament

could be asked to deal with it. All that was left in the bill was practically the substitution of County Court process for the process of distress in recovering tithe, and the substitution of the owner for the occupier as the person who was to pay the tithe. He defended the provision remitting all excess of tithes over two-thirds of the assessed value of the land, basing his defence upon the ground that nothing should be done which would tend to throw land out of cultivation. Where the tithe exceeded the assessed value of the land it was obvious that the land must go out of cultivation. Finally, he reminded Lord Brabourne that those who relied upon the distressed state of agriculture and the right of owners and occupiers to be relieved—who relied upon the strength of the interest of the land and the weakness of the interest of the Church—were “throwing their sword into the scale” and departing from the principle of justice, and Lord Salisbury added, in a passage which was considerably cheered: “The practice of throwing the sword into the scale, when once it begins, is very contagious, and certainly the owners of property would not be prudent by their example to encourage it.” Lord Brabourne spent half-an-hour in earnest protest against the bill, and moved its rejection on the ground that no important measure had ever been introduced after so little inquiry and with so small a demand for it. He denounced the policy of disturbing and upsetting existing arrangements all over England because there was difficulty about tithe-collection in Wales. The agitation in the Principality, however, was directed not against the manner in which tithe was collected, but against its application, and therefore the objection would remain and the agitation continue under the bill, which was “really an attempt to humbug the tenant-farmer into the belief that some advantage was to be given to him.” The Archbishop of Canterbury warmly supported the bill, whilst indicating two omissions, one being that of the right to take possession of land which the farmer had let, or was about to let, go out of cultivation because he could not produce from it a sum equivalent to the tithe; the other omission was that of some provision that the value, not actually paid in rent, but given to the land in the way of buildings, irrigation, or otherwise, should not be withdrawn from the titheowner. Lord Brabourne found no one to support him in his opposition, and the bill was read a second time with one contrary voice. In Committee (Feb. 26) the Lords made various changes which aimed at protecting the interests of the titheowners where lands were occupied at a nominal rent, and at preventing the running up of vexatious costs; and the bill was read a third time and passed (March 17), Lord Brabourne still protesting. For upwards of a week it was bandied about between the two Houses, and amendments to amendments passed and repassed, the House of Commons steadily refusing to accept that relating to costs which had been introduced into the bill on the motion of the Earl of Sel-

borne. The difficulties between Lords and Commons were, however, at length adjusted, and the bill having passed both Houses received Royal Assent (March 26) just before Parliament rose for the Easter recess. In other words, the best part of the session before Easter had been given up to passing a bill consisting of eight clauses, which commended itself strongly to no section of the House.

Before addressing itself, however, to legislative work, the House of Commons spent some time in less practical but not less useful debate. Mr. Channing's (*Northamptonshire, E.*) resolution declaring the excessive hours of work imposed upon railway servants constituted a grave social injustice and were a constant source of danger, placed the Government in an awkward predicament, the Board of Trade being as unwilling as it was unable to limit the hours of work or to compel railway companies to employ more men. The difficulty, however, was one which could not be altogether evaded, as Mr. Channing made considerable capital out of the recent railway strike in Scotland, contending that excessive hours of service on railways were not "an abnormal incident," but were part of a system; that the railways were mostly undermanned. He fortified his case by abundant statistical information, and especially denounced some of the Scotch railway employers for their failure to increase the number of their servants with the increase of their work. At the same time he expressed his willingness to accept from the Government, in lieu of the passing of his resolution, the promise of the establishment of a really impartial Board of Conciliation to settle disputes between railway companies and their servants. The motion was seconded by Mr. John Wilson (*Mid-Durham*), who expressed regret that railway servants were not as well represented in the House as railway directors, and the debate was carried on until a late hour largely by Scottish representatives, whose interest in the question had, no doubt, been rendered more acute by the strike going on in their own country. Mr. Howorth (*Salford, E.*), from the Conservative side of the House, suggested that the Government should appoint a commission or a committee to inquire into the subject, and in the course of the debate several railway directors defended the companies, the First Commissioner of Works, Mr. R. Plunket (*Dublin Times*), standing out prominent among these in defence of the London and North-Western Company. There was a general agreement that something should be done, though members were by no means unanimous as to what that something should be; and as the debate neared its close the President of the Board of Trade, Sir M. Hicks-Beach (*Bristol, W.*), offered on behalf of the Government to appoint a Select Committee to inquire whether fresh legislation was desirable, and, if so, what form it should take—an offer, however, which Mr. Channing, acting on the advice of Sir William Harcourt, declined to accept. In the

end Mr. Channing's motion was rejected by 141 votes to 124—the smallness of the Ministerial majority (17) being loudly cheered by the Opposition.

A few days later the House of Commons performed an act of justice with its usual dignity and grace, after just sufficient hesitation to show that its decisions could not be set aside thoughtlessly. Mr. W. A. Hunter (*Aberdeen, N.*) moved (Jan. 27) to expunge from the Journal of the House of Commons the resolution of June 22, 1880, refusing to Mr. Bradlaugh the right to offer himself to take the Parliamentary oath, adding that such a resolution was “subversive of the rights of the whole body of electors of this kingdom.” The Solicitor-General, Sir Edward Clarke (*Plymouth*), briefly urged for consideration that the House had a perfect right to do what it did in 1880; that that right was recognised and affirmed on appeal to the courts of law; that the resolution against Wilkes was expunged because it declared Wilkes “incapable” of sitting in Parliament—a course not adopted in the resolution against Mr. Bradlaugh; and that, as no object was now to be served by any fresh action, seeing that the law had been altered in favour of Mr. Bradlaugh and all like him in 1888, there was no need for any action to be taken, and Parliament had a right to protect its own dignity by refusing to erase the record of a very remarkable and important incident in its history. Mr. Gladstone, however, argued that Mr. Bradlaugh had been unjustly treated, and that the erasure of the record ought to be made, but suggested that it would be well to omit from the motion the declaration that the resolution of 1880 was “subversive of the rights of the electors.” Sir Stafford Northcote (*Exeter*) and Sir Walter Barttelot (*Sussex, N.W.*) urged that the compromise suggested by Mr. Gladstone should be accepted, and this seemed to be the general feeling of the House, though Mr. Norris (*Limehouse*) and Mr. De Lisle (*Leicester, N.*) entered protests against the course proposed. Eventually the compromise was agreed to, and Mr. Hunter's motion, as amended by Mr. Gladstone's suggestion, was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. Bradlaugh was on his death-bed when this resolution was passed, and it is doubtful if he were ever conscious of this formal vindication of his conduct. He had, however, in other ways reaped the reward of his consistency and fearlessness. Few men in so short a Parliamentary career had built up so deserved a reputation for candour, self-command, sound judgment, and absolute honesty as the member for Northampton, and on both sides of the House his death was regarded as a distinct loss in view of the increased prominence given to labour questions and Socialist theories.

Mr. Chamberlain's vigorous attack at Birmingham (Jan. 27) upon Mr. Gladstone, and his probable action in the new phase of the Irish Home Rule question, was chiefly noteworthy for being delivered standing on the same platform with the Conservative

and Catholic Home Secretary, Mr. Matthews, and for the willing support and countenance he gave to the Unionist policy when addressing his colleague's constituents.

It was also outside Parliament, before the Leeds Chamber of Commerce, that the most important speech of the month was delivered (Jan. 28) by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The financial crisis so narrowly averted in the previous autumn had awakened attention to the smallness of the reserve of gold kept in the Bank of England—only 24 millions sterling as compared with 40 millions in the Bank of Germany, 90 millions in the Bank of France, and 142 millions in the State Bank of the United States. In the case of the two first, however, it should be remembered that those banks alone possess the right of issuing bank-notes, and the amount of these in circulation would, if presented for payment, more than reduce their bullion reserve to a level with our own. But, as Mr. Goschen pointed out, the Bank of England is placed at a very considerable disadvantage by the very precautions which other banks are bound to take. These latter hold upwards of 600,000,000*l.* of deposits on private accounts, yet they keep such a small reserve of bullion that, if pressed simultaneously, it would be impossible for the Bank of England to provide the gold necessary to meet their engagements—although the securities offered might be perfectly valid and undoubted. Mr. Goschen, to remedy this state of affairs, suggested that the pressure of private banks upon the Bank of England should be reduced by their keeping a larger proportion of their deposits in their own vaults, instead of “lending them up to the hilt,” and in moments of difficulty trusting to the Bank of England for assistance. In 1889 Mr. Goschen said eleven large banks, with liabilities amounting to 170,000,000*l.*, had cash balances amounting to a little over 17,500,000*l.* To put some restraint upon this reckless confidence, Mr. Goschen held that the monthly publication of accounts would warn depositors of the risks they ran, and, if that did not suffice, Parliament might be asked to fix the proportion of loans to liabilities. At the same time he was of opinion that Parliament might help the banks, and especially the Bank of England, to provide a “second reserve” by the issue of one-pound or even ten-shilling notes, to be represented by actual gold bullion in the Bank of England, and to be retained in its own vaults or those of the private banks. By this means he hoped to withdraw some of the gold in circulation, and variously estimated at 60 to 110 millions, which remained “in people's waistcoat pockets,” where it was unavailable at the centre of affairs when most needed. Mr. Goschen did not go on to explain how he proposed to retain in the country or in the banks the coin which the new notes would replace. The first result in the increase in the Bank reserve would be the lowering of the rate of discount, and the consequent increase

of speculation and export of gold to foreign countries. Doubtless Mr. Goschen had in his mind some machinery by which these results were to be avoided, but they were not revealed at Leeds; and, although the warning which he addressed to the commercial community as to the danger of the situation was not without fruit, it was evident that his scheme as a whole did not meet with public approval. The Leeds speech was, in truth, a *ballon d'essai*, and it showed that for the present, at least, the wind did not set in the direction of further paper issues. Consequently nothing more was heard of the matter in Parliament or elsewhere.

In the House of Commons Mr. E. Robertson (*Dundee*) attempted (Jan. 28) in vain to amend the conspiracy law by providing that no combination, except in certain special cases, should be treated as criminal unless it contemplated a criminal object, and that no intimidation should be treated as illegal except such intimidation as would justify a magistrate in binding over the intimidating person to keep the peace. Under the bill no agreement or combination of two or more persons to do or procure any act could be treated as a conspiracy if such act, when committed by one person, was not punishable as a crime. Mr. Robertson argued his case with moderation and ability, and he rested that part of it which dealt with intimidation upon the recent "startling" judgments given by Mr. Bompas, Q.C., at Plymouth and by Mr. Digby Seymour, Q.C., at Newcastle, which decided that where officials of a trade union ordered their men to leave work unless their employer consented to dismiss non-union men, those officials were guilty of intimidation. He admitted that, if the bill passed, it would interfere considerably with the operation of the Crimes Act in Ireland; but he maintained that that was no valid ground for rejecting it. In the course of the debate Mr. Gainsford Bruce (*Finsbury*) moved the rejection of the measure, on the ground that it would "strike down the law with regard to combination without proposing any substitute," and was on wrong lines altogether. He dissented, moreover, from the principle that what one man might lawfully do could also be lawfully done by fifty, for while it was a small matter for one man to walk over one's lawn, it was a very different thing if 50 or 500 men did so. After some further debating, in the course of which Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*) foretold the reversal of Mr. Bompas' decision—the closure was applied, and the second reading of the bill rejected by 179 to 148.

Scarcely more interest in the proceedings of Parliament was shown, a few nights later, when Mr. Shaw-Lefevre (*Bradford, C.*) moved, to very sparsely filled benches, a resolution (Jan. 30) urging the Government to bring about the settlement of Plan of Campaign disputes in Ireland by the appointment of a board of arbitration to decide what abatements of rent should be made. But this proposal was cruelly shattered by Mr. T. W.

Russell (*Tyrone, S.*), who, in a forcible and eloquent speech, denied that arbitration was "a kind of lymph" which would destroy Irish land disputes; showed that the advocates of the Plan of Campaign were growing tired of their scheme, as it was costing them, with an impoverished treasury, between 5,000*l.* and 6,000*l.* a month for the maintenance of evicted tenants; and pointed out, moreover, that the Plan had never been worked for the benefit of the tenants, but only as a political machine, and that arbitration was of no use, for in those cases where it had been accepted the award of the arbitrators had not been carried out by the tenants. One of the neatest points in Mr. Russell's speech was that in which he charged Sir Thomas Esmonde, a Nationalist member and a supporter of the Plan of Campaign, with being himself an evicted landlord, and Sir Thomas Esmonde (*Dublin Co.*), in a brief speech, practically admitted the charge. After a humorous speech by Col. Saunderson (*Armagh, N.*), who infused some life and reality into the debate—qualities it had hitherto lacked—Mr. Healy (*Longford, N.*) made a long and spirited speech, in which he urged the Government to take advantage of the "split" in the Irish party by making themselves the friends of the Irish tenantry, and accepting Mr. Lefevre's motion; but while he admitted that the Irish party might have differences among themselves, he declared that they would "always be solid against the common enemy." In discussing details of landlordism in Ireland, he charged Lord Clanricarde with being "a man-eating tiger," and his lordship's agent with being "a discredited bankrupt." Mr. Henniker Heaton (*Canterbury*) explained the uselessness of arbitration by pointing out that, though an arbitration took place on the Vandeleur estate, and the principal arbitrator was Sir Charles Russell, only 27 out of 213 tenants had abided by the award.

In reply to the various points raised in the course of the debate, the Irish Secretary, Mr. A. J. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*), at the outset, declared that the motion went to show that its advocates could not trust the Land Courts, and proved that the method of arbitration established in 1881 was a failure. He pointed out that arbitration as proposed by Mr. Shaw-Lefevre involved the recognition of the Plan of Campaign, which had only been kept up by bribery and intimidation, and was clearly not the spontaneous action of the tenants, but a political move on the part of political revolutionists. Moreover, where arbitration had been tried, as in the case of the Vandeleur estate, it had failed, and although no one was more interested than himself in getting all disputes in Ireland settled, he would certainly refuse to advise the landlords to accept any scheme which would bolster up the tottering Plan.

Sir G. Trevelyan (*Glasgow, Bridgeton*), summing up on behalf of the Home Rulers, on the other hand, contended that the

scheme proposed afforded a practical solution of a great difficulty, which could not be solved by existing machinery; but the House refused to adopt a resolution which would have given a recognition to the Plan of Campaign, and negatived the motion by 213 to 152—the smallness of the attendance on both sides testifying to the little interest the discussion evoked.

Meanwhile the question of the leadership of the Irish party in Parliament had remained unsettled. On the opening night, Mr. Parnell had anticipated the action of his rivals in giving notice of a resolution in reference to the administration of the Crimes Act. On the following day, Mr. Webb (*Waterford Co. W.*), for his chief, Mr. Justin McCarthy (*Londonderry*), gave notice of a similar motion. The old leader had lost none of his coolness or audacity, although the recent defeat of his candidate in Kilkenny might well have filled him with anxious forebodings as to the future. He realised, however, that if he could not himself make terms with the Liberal leaders, he could practically force the hand of Mr. McCarthy and his colleagues, and prevent their accepting any terms which their English allies would concede. At one time it was currently reported that the strength of Mr. Parnell's position was so clearly admitted, that the two factions had agreed to submit to Mr. Gladstone a joint statement of their terms; but at the last moment this agreement fell through in consequence of some fresh pretensions put forward by Mr. Parnell, with regard to the conditions of his immediate and temporary withdrawal from public life. Mr. McCarthy gave some colour to this belief by the confident tone of a speech he delivered at Liverpool (Feb. 2), stating that he expected a great measure of Home Rule from Mr. Gladstone, "who would never bring forward any measure which could not be cordially accepted by the Irish people." And he went on to explain that, on both the land question and the control of the police, he and his party had advanced their views—and probably also their demands. He declared that, if the British Parliament did not settle the land question before Home Rule was granted, it must be left for settlement to the Dublin Parliament, with "a free hand" in the matter. What that "free hand" implied Mr. Parnell had on the previous day explained. The Irish Parliament was to be "supreme in Ireland," and the right reserved to the Imperial body was to be a nominal one, inasmuch as he insisted that "the veto shall be exercised as in England," which could only mean that it was not to be exercised at all. On the police question Mr. McCarthy wished the semi-military constabulary to be transformed as quickly as possible into a civil force, of which the control should be wholly in the hands of the Irish Legislature. This, he said, was in principle Mr. Gladstone's original idea, and he did not think the Irish people ought to accept less. If these terms were conceded (and Mr. McCarthy's tone made many of his hearers and readers imagine that they had been), he was pre-

pared on other points to meet the English Liberals in the most friendly spirit.

These negotiations between the rival factions ultimately broke down, Mr. Parnell announcing the fact by publishing (Feb. 11) a letter to Mr. William O'Brien, in which he regretted that, not considering the national interests sufficiently safeguarded, he found it impossible to resign the lead "which I have accepted at the hands of our nation and our race." He promised that the seal of confidence should not be broken, but asserted that he had done everything consistent with the national interests to promote the cause of peace. In conclusion, he alluded in somewhat dark terms to the existence "in some quarters, and those quarters from which such a spirit might be least expected, a spirit breathing the deadliest hostility to that of peace"—meaning thereby the Catholic prelates. Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Dillon also published letters, both agreeing that peace would have been perfectly possible but for "powerful influences on both sides." So entirely did these two gentlemen believe peace hopeless that they forthwith (Feb. 12) surrendered themselves to the English police to undergo the sentence from which they had fled in the autumn. To many it seemed that they looked forward to the period of forced seclusion with relief, hoping that before their release events might have so matured as to leave no doubt as to the section with which they should act.

The secret of the Boulogne negotiations was well preserved for some months, and it was not until the chief actor had passed away that Mr. W. O'Brien, in answer to a challenge from his opponents, gave a succinct account of the proceedings. According to this version, Mr. Parnell expressed the wish to see Mr. O'Brien on his return from America, and before he made any public declaration. At the first interview at Boulogne Mr. O'Brien laid down that the only subject open for discussion was Mr. Parnell's retirement, but he at once discovered that "it was perfectly plain that Mr. Parnell did not mean business." After some further fencing Mr. Parnell suddenly stated that there was one condition only on which he would retire, and that was that Mr. O'Brien should accept the chairmanship of the party. To this proposal Mr. O'Brien replied by suggesting Mr. Dillon in place of himself. With this the two leaders separated. A few days later Mr. O'Brien put his suggestions into writing. He proposed that a meeting of the entire parliamentary party should be called, with Mr. R. Power, as senior whip, in the chair. The whole of the proceedings in Committee Room No. 15 were to be wiped out; an expression of gratitude to Mr. Parnell for his great services was to be voted, and thereupon Mr. Parnell was to announce his withdrawal from the leadership, and Mr. McCarthy elected in his place. An expression of regret was, if possible, to be obtained from Mr. Gladstone for the hasty publication of his letter without consulting the Irish party, and from the Irish

Bishops was to be sought priestly recognition of Mr. Parnell's political services. Mr. Parnell was, however, to remain President of the National League, and Mr. O'Brien offered, if these terms were agreed to, to resign the chairmanship of the National Press Association, which was about to start a rival paper to the *Freeman's Journal*. On these proposals being made known to Mr. Parnell, the first meeting at Boulogne came to an end; but on the following day Mr. Parnell wrote that Mr. Justin McCarthy, being now recognised as the leader, should obtain from Mr. Gladstone confidential assurances as to the Land question and Police question, and that these assurances should be submitted to himself and Mr. O'Brien, and, if agreed upon by them as satisfactory, they were to be kept private until "either the Liberal party should have violated their promises, or until a satisfactory Home Rule Bill on their basis should have been passed." On these terms Mr. Parnell was prepared to retire from the chairmanship. The full acceptance by Mr. Parnell of these proposals was withheld on the ground that he was opposed to Mr. McCarthy's remaining chairman, and he was equally opposed, a week later, to the substitution of Mr. Dillon's name, and, failing to come to an arrangement, the negotiations were again broken off.

Mr. O'Brien, however, was nothing daunted by his failures, and continued to urge the adoption of Mr. Dillon as the new chairman, and, after some time, the terms of agreement come to between Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Parnell were as follow:—

(1) That Mr. O'Brien ask Mr. McCarthy to obtain an interview with Mr. Gladstone, and ask for a letter or memorandum—(a) stating whether he and his colleagues intend to deal with the Irish Land question themselves by legislation in the Imperial Parliament, or to regard this as one of the questions the power of dealing with which would be conferred upon the Irish Parliament; and, if the former course is to be adopted, whether this question would be dealt with by purchase, or upon the lines of the measure annually introduced by the Irish party during this Parliament and supported by the Liberal party. (b) Stating whether Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues will agree to insert a provision in the next Home Rule Bill that the control of the Imperial authority over the Irish Constabulary shall cease within a definite number of years (say five years), and that this force, with such modifications in its character as deemed necessary, should then be transferred to the control of the Irish Executive responsible to the Irish Parliament. (c) Stating whether Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues will consent that the solution of the question dealt with in (a) and (b) upon the lines agreed upon shall be regarded as vital.

(2) That Mr. McCarthy should transfer this memorandum to the custody of Mr. William O'Brien, and that if Mr. Parnell and Mr. O'Brien should find from its terms that the inten-

tions of Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues are in accordance with the views expressed in sections (a), (b), and (c), that thereupon—

(3) A meeting of the whole party should be called and a resolution proposed, acknowledging the informality of Mr. McCarthy's election, and that after the passing of this resolution Mr. Parnell will retire from the position of chairman, and Mr. McCarthy from that of vice-chairman, and Mr. Dillon should be elected chairman.

(4) That the terms of Mr. Gladstone's memorandum should not be disclosed to any persons, save the persons named in these heads of agreement, until after the introduction of the Home Rule Bill, and not then unless such bill should fail to carry out these terms; but if the bill should be found satisfactory, Mr. Parnell should be permitted to publish the memorandum after the passage of the former into law.

These, according to Mr. O'Brien, were the sole conditions proposed by Mr. Parnell for his retirement, which was regarded by his colleagues as real, but without any binding arrangement as to the future. Mr. Dillon, on learning them, expressed the strongest repugnance to being made chairman of the party; and meanwhile Mr. McCarthy agreed to seek the assurances named from Mr. Gladstone, and, a few days later, arrived at Boulogne to discuss the altered state of affairs. Mr. Parnell had, however, been much annoyed by certain newspapers which had stated that Mr. O'Brien and Mr. McCarthy had settled the whole matter behind his back, and insisted upon making certain alterations in the original conditions. First, with regard to the Police clause, he suggested the substitution of the word "will" for "ought," and the addition of these words: "And by which the statutory power now possessed by the Lord Lieutenant for the raising or maintenance of such Police force in Ireland shall thereupon cease." As to the Land clause, he made a suggestion, which, however, he did not insist upon, that the powers of dealing with the ownership and occupation of land in Ireland should be included in the powers to be conferred upon the Irish Parliament, and that it should be deferred for three or five years, during which the Irish members should be retained in their full strength. Mr. O'Brien replied that, if those assurances were honestly meant, they completely covered their demands, and that if he regarded them as dishonestly meant, there could be no use in having assurances at all. Mr. O'Brien read a letter from Mr. Parnell to Mr. Gill, alluding to the "new proposals and demands of the Liberal leaders." He (Mr. O'Brien) wrote to Mr. Parnell, telling him there was not a shadow of foundation for the story, for he had in the meantime communicated with Mr. McCarthy, and had learned that no further amendment would be made in the assurances. Upon hearing that his amendments would not be accepted, Mr. Parnell abruptly closed

the negotiations and communicated the same night his version to the papers.

The general correctness of this version was admitted by Mr. Parnell's followers, although they refused to recognise its completeness. They particularly complained of the omission from the list of assurances which it was proposed to obtain from the Liberal leaders of the condition that Mr. Parnell was to have the right of veto over any Home Rule Bill. They stated that, to their personal knowledge, Mr. Dillon, Mr. O'Brien, or both, had received written communications from Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Morley, and other Liberal leaders, as well as from Archbishops Croke and Walsh, and of these documents they demanded the publication. Furthermore, they denied having accepted the assurances of the Liberal leaders as satisfactory, and declared that Mr. O'Brien wrote to Mr. Morley, begging him to amend them to satisfy Mr. Parnell's objections.

Mr. Dillon, in answer to the charge that they had sent a telegram from America in favour of Mr. Parnell's leadership, and afterwards refused to support him, said that both he and Mr. O'Brien were begged to take the leadership, and were promised true and loyal support by the men who now protested undeviating support of Mr. Parnell. As to the question of control of the Constabulary, he maintained that, whereas Mr. Parnell agreed to reconcile the Irish people to a postponement of that point for ten or twelve years, in deference to the views of the English people, he and Mr. O'Brien had expressed their determination never to accept a measure in which that was not included.

The organs of the Gladstonian Liberals, in referring to the dealings which the Irish Nationalists asserted to have taken place during the Boulogne negotiations, maintained that the only foundation for such an assertion was the speech publicly made by Mr. John Morley at Newcastle (Jan. 13), which probably was endorsed by Mr. Gladstone in some such way as stated by Mr. W. O'Brien.

Following immediately upon this interesting rather than important pronouncement of the hopes and aims of the Irish Nationalists, the meeting of the Liberal Unionist Club (Feb. 3), at which Professor A. Dicey presided, and Lord Hartington was the guest of the evening, attracted considerable notice. The chairman, who had been once termed "the keeper of the Liberal Unionist conscience," naturally took occasion to show in what it differed from the "Nonconformist conscience," to which so much prominence had been recently given in a very heated newspaper correspondence. Professor Dicey, in proposing the health of Lord Hartington, said that he was warned off almost all the ground it was natural for him to take, by being told that if he dealt with the past, he was dealing with ancient history; that if he dealt with the future, he was a mere professorial prophet; and that if he dealt with the present, he was reprehensible for

enlarging on "what are called recent events." He would therefore devote himself to the subject of his toast. And accordingly he contrasted the political character of Lord Hartington with that of Mr. Gladstone in a very able and sardonic fashion, the main point of his speech being that Lord Hartington was straightforward, plain, and consistent, no dealer in enigmas, no sphinx, no subtle discriminator between the force of closely related adverbs, such as "now," "at present," "presently," and "at the present moment." Lord Hartington, too, had nothing to conceal; and his courage and determination had saved Ireland and this country from such an Irish Parliament as had been pre-figured in Committee-room No. 15. Professor Dicey maintained that the argument for Irish Home Rule was dead; but, as Home Rule had never depended upon argument, the destruction of the plausible case for it was not the destruction of the irrational fascination it exercised; and he thought that that fascination, far from being extinguished, was approaching a most critical and dangerous phase when that "policy of sentimental injustice which calls itself generosity" was but too likely to exert its greatest influence. "When I hear that impressive phrase—the Grand Old Man—I always think—it is an infirmity of my mind—of the immortal one-legged candidate for the Presidency:—

Then you call me Timbertoes, that's wut the people likes;
 Suthin' combinin' morril truth with phrases sech as strikes.
 'Old Timbertoes,' you see's a creed it's safe to be quite bold on;
 There's nothing in't the other side can any ways get hold on.

We will have no 'old Timbertoes;' we will have a just and generous man, who will be to all the representative of a just and generous cause, and as such I call on you to drink the health of Lord Hartington."

In acknowledging the toast, Lord Hartington spoke of the debt due from Unionists to Professor Dicey for the clear way in which he had urged their cause. Admitting that he had sometimes felt disappointed at the practical results of Unionist arguments, Lord Hartington congratulated his supporters that at any rate they had been able to place their case before their fellow-countrymen without reserve. While their success in 1886 had produced a feeling of triumph that it had been worth working for, nothing could for a moment be compared to the enjoyment recently afforded to them, not by any action of their own, but by the action of their opponents. "We have seen a statesman, who has spent many years of his life in propounding what were recommended to us as final solutions of the Irish difficulty, all at once renouncing the task in despair, and declaring his conviction that neither Parliament nor the public of Great Britain possesses the knowledge, if it did possess the will, to legislate fairly and justly for Ireland. We have seen the leader of the Home Rule party reverting from this position and declaring

that, after all, it is not Irish but British public opinion which in moments of crisis or emergency must prevail even in Irish affairs. . . . We have also had in the debates in Committee-room No. 15 a sort of rehearsal for our benefit and edification of Home Rule as it will be in Ireland. The ability of these debates I fully and completely admit. But it is not surprising if we, as impartial and disinterested spectators, should have found some things in the frank expressions of opinion that were uttered there as regards each other, as regards their English allies, as regards the character of their past and future policy towards English parties, which have not been altogether painful to us, but which have afforded us, I think, some legitimate source of amusement." Continuing, Lord Hartington said that the Irish members had shown by their statements that they had acted and intended to act on the principles of the advice given to a Scotch member on entering Parliament—"Be always asking for all you can think of, be always taking all you can get, and when you have got it, be always asking for more." Lord Hartington could not believe it true that Mr. Parnell had, after all, gained his point—that he had gained as the price of his resignation of the leadership certain concessions and additional declarations from the leaders of the Home Rule party in England. As to the new leaders of the Irish party, it was now asked that there should be reposed in them the blind confidence that once was asked for in Mr. Parnell. When it was suggested that perhaps there was not much to choose between either of these two contending parties, when some may have suggested that perhaps the cause of order and good government in Ireland would be most promoted by the success of the party which had taken off the mask rather than of that which, for English purposes, at all events, still kept it on, the absurd and false charge was brought that they were taking sides in this question and deliberately siding with the most violent and most advanced party of Irish Nationalism. "I know nothing which can more accurately express what, in my opinion, is the attitude which we Liberal Unionists have taken throughout these quarrels and disputes than is conveyed in the old English phrase, 'When thieves fall out, honest men come by their own.'"

The concluding sentence of the speech, as might have been expected, led to angry expostulations from the Opposition, and in another way it was perhaps liable to the retort that if the honest men of the Liberal party had not fallen out, others who were less scrupulous would not cherish hopes of coming by what was not their own.

It has so rarely happened that an ex-Premier and the actual leader of the Opposition has appeared as the promoter of a private bill, that Mr. Gladstone's attitude with regard to the Religious Disqualifications Removal Bill was viewed with much ungenerous suspicion. It was asserted that the object of the bill, which was more properly one for a responsible minister to

propose, was purely personal, and that it had been framed in view of Mr. Gladstone's return to office, in order that he might be able to entrust to the Marquess of Ripon, as Viceroy of Ireland, the task of establishing the Parliament in Dublin. In the interesting speech, lasting more than an hour, in which Mr. Gladstone explained and advocated (Feb. 4) the second reading of the bill, he gave the House a brilliant specimen of his unfaded rhetorical power, adorned with all the arts of humour, persuasiveness, flashes of eloquence, vigour in attack, and subtle skill in defence. That Mr. Gladstone was seriously hampered by two awkward facts—his own publication of the famous pamphlet on the Vatican Decrees, and his emphatic refusal when in office to move in the direction he now wished to take—did not distress him in the least. He laughed at the "murmurings and mutterings" which had been heard against his proposal, and at the hostile petitions which had been presented; and, while he admitted that it was doubtful to some eminent legal authorities whether the old disability of Roman Catholics to be Lord High Chancellor or Viceroy of Ireland still existed—a favourite theory being that the Relief Act of 1863 had abolished the last disabling test—he maintained that legislation was necessary, if only to put an end to all doubt, as no Roman Catholic could possibly be appointed to either office while his right to fill it was open to question. Grappling with his own work on the Vatican Decrees, he pointed out that though in the first edition he questioned the loyalty of Roman Catholics, he subsequently had evidence submitted to him which induced him to modify that opinion, and to state, in a later edition of the pamphlet, that "so far as the mass of Roman Catholics were concerned," their loyalty was "untainted and secure." In an eloquent passage he reminded the House of the immense extent of the Roman Catholic body, and he denied the justice of retaining disabilities against them alone in a country and under a constitution which professed to allow of no civil disabilities on account of religious opinion. Laughing at charges brought against him by "a courteous correspondent," that he was engaged in "relighting the fires of Smithfield," and trying to alter the succession to the Crown, he urged that the question of the succession could not possibly arise, as the Crown was "not open to competition." He contrasted the disability in the case of the Irish Viceroy with the complete absence of it in the case of the Viceroy of India, who carried on his work over many more millions of people many thousands of miles away, and therefore not nearly so closely in touch with Parliament and the Imperial Government, and he denied all force and vitality in these days to the ancient and now obsolete doctrine, real enough no doubt at one time, that the Lord Chancellor was "keeper of the Queen's conscience." There was much laughter when he asked whether the House was "prepared to place Lord Halsbury in the position of private confessor to her Majesty?" He reminded hon. mem-

bers that the present Home Secretary was a Roman Catholic, and yet exercised ecclesiastical patronage on behalf of the State in the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands, but the Home Secretary (Mr. Matthews) at once explained that since he had been in office he had never submitted any name whatever to the Queen for any ecclesiastical appointment—he had handed over all that part of his duties to the First Lord of the Treasury. Mr. Gladstone expressed his full belief in Mr. Matthews's "perfect honour and impartiality," but, though he recognised that the Home Secretary, "like Cæsar's wife," must be above suspicion, he questioned the legality of the course the right hon. gentleman had pursued, for the Roman Catholic Relief Act expressly provided that where a right of presentation to an ecclesiastical benefice belonged to any office of State, and the holder of that office was a Roman Catholic, the right of presentation must be exercised by the Archbishop of Canterbury. But Mr. Matthews at once disposed of this point by showing that such ecclesiastical patronage as attached to the office of Home Secretary was not a "right of presentation," which belonged to the Queen herself, but only the suggestion of candidates for the Royal approval, whereupon Mr. Gladstone quitted the topic with the remark that the making of such recommendations was no part of the duty of the First Lord of the Treasury. At all events, the Home Secretary was as near to the Sovereign as the Lord Chancellor and nearer than the Irish Viceroy, and was himself a member of the Church of Rome, yet no body had petitioned for his removal on that ground. Mr. Gladstone next urged the injustice of the existing law in preventing the "successors of Pascal, of Thomas à Kempis, and of Pope Gregory the Great," from holding offices which might be held by Jews, Mohammedans, Buddhists, Hindoos, Secularists, Materialists, Agnostics, or Atheists, any of whom might become Lord Chancellor and exercise the right of presentation to benefices in the English Church, even though some of them professed no religion at all, and "threw away everything that constituted our consolation and hope, and that guided our conduct in life and death."

Mr. W. H. Smith (*Strand*) replied on behalf of the Government, moving the rejection of the bill on the ground of expediency. He expressed surprise that Mr. Gladstone should have chosen this particular time for his proposal; for, although he had expressed the same views in 1867, he had since then had two periods of six years each during which he had been in office, and had never opened the subject; and when, in 1881, he was asked if he would do so, he replied that he certainly would not. If there was no need for such legislation when Mr. Gladstone was in power, there was no need for it now; and while it only sought to apply to two offices in the whole kingdom, it would alarm and distress many thousands. Mr. Smith went on to suggest that the only possible reason for such a bill now was that it might

form part of some future Home Rule scheme, whereby there should be established in Ireland an independent Parliament, mainly Roman Catholic, with an executive Government, also Roman Catholic, and the only connecting link between this country and Ireland—the Viceroy—Roman Catholic too. Yet Mr. Gladstone had himself declared in his work on the Vatican Decrees that a Roman Catholic convert was one who, “in case of any conflict between the Queen and the Pope, would follow the Pope and let the Queen shift for herself.” Finally, Mr. Smith urged that the bill would create new disabilities, and would disqualify a Roman Catholic Lord Chancellor from ecclesiastical patronage, but leave him free to help in moulding the policy and interpreting the law which affected the Church.

One distinguished lawyer, Sir Henry James (*Bury*), supported the bill because he was satisfied it would in no way add to the political power of the Roman Catholics; whilst the Attorney-General, Sir R. Webster (*Isle of Wight*), opposed it because, while nobody distrusted the loyalty of Roman Catholics, there might be, and indeed ought to be, in the views of some men who would be qualified under the bill, a feeling “stronger than loyalty—that of adherence to their religious faith.” Colonel Saunderson (*Armagh, N.*), on behalf of the Ulster Protestants, bitterly denounced the bill; but Mr. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*), speaking as a Scotch member, supported it. The division which ensued, in which the second reading was defeated by 256 to 223, showed some curious cross-voting. Lord Salisbury’s son, Lord Cranborne (*Lancashire, Darwen*), and his son-in-law, Lord Wolmer (*Hants, Petersfield*), voted with Mr. Gladstone, as did three other Conservatives—one of whom was Mr. De Lisle, a Roman Catholic. The Liberal Unionists were divided, but sixty Irish Nationalists voted against the Government, and in support of the bill, and the Home Secretary, Mr. Matthews (*Birmingham*), did not vote.

The debate on the bill to legalise Marriage with a Deceased Wife’s Sister brought out no fresh arguments on either side, both supporters and opponents looking upon the proceedings as an inevitable incident of each recurring Session. The bill offered this year to the House differed, as it had done in 1890, in some respects from the original measure, which only validated marriages under it if performed in a registrar’s office; the parties, if married in a church, not becoming man and wife in the eye of the law. In the bill of 1890, the distinction between municipal and Church law disappeared, its framers assuming that a statutory permission to contract a marriage *ipso facto* rescinded the ecclesiastical prohibition of such unions. A clergyman might, if he chose, decline to celebrate such a marriage; but, if he was willing, he could not be held liable to any prosecution for so doing—nor, if the incumbent of a parish church, could he refuse the use of the building, should any other

clergyman be found willing to celebrate the marriage. The second reading of the bill was briefly moved by a Conservative, Mr. T. R. Kelly (*Camberwell, N.*), and its only other supporter in speech was Mr. Heneage, a Liberal Unionist (*Great Grimsby*); but on the division being taken, the second reading was carried by 202 to 155—twenty-seven Conservatives, including the Solicitor-General, Sir E. Clarke, and twenty-three Liberal Unionists voting in the majority.

But the only debate which attracted any real interest was that on the administration of the Crimes Act, which practically resolved itself into a vote of censure, Mr. Parnell and Mr. McCarthy both waiving their rights in order that Mr. Morley's resolution might be taken. At one time great expectations had been formed of this debate, in which the daily doings of the Government in Ireland were to be unveiled, and Mr. Balfour was to be confounded by the evidences of incapacity and neglect which Mr. Morley had declined to unfold in the newspaper controversy of the previous autumn. Some surprise had been expressed, even among Liberals, that Mr. Morley had been so slow in redeeming the pledge given as far back as October 1890, for it would have been impossible for the leader of the House to have refused to give a night or more to a debate on a resolution moved by an ex-Cabinet Minister. Throughout the autumn session, however, for very obvious reasons, the Irish question could not be raised, and even after the final breakdown of the negotiations between the Parnellites and the McCarthyites the front Opposition bench were unwilling to give the rival factions an occasion for the display of their respective demands. In proportion, however, as the eagerness of the Opposition for a "full dress debate" declined, the willingness of the Ministry to find a fitting occasion increased, and everything was done to hasten the proceedings on the Tithes Bill, which the Opposition seemed willing to protract, notwithstanding their contempt for the measure. At last, however, the Gladstonians were forced to accept a day (Feb. 16) for the debate—and were even generously offered more, if they required them. Mr. Morley had framed his resolution censuring the Irish Executive in wide and vague terms—"the prosecutions at Tipperary, and other proceedings," which were "calculated to bring the administration of the law into contempt and violate the civil and constitutional rights of Irish citizens." In a speech which bristled with strong language, but was illustrated by very mild examples of police "brutality," Mr. Morley moved his vote of censure, declaring at the outset that it had not been at all spoiled by the course of events, and that it could never have been more in season than when, a few nights before, two members had passed within a hundred yards of the House on their way to an Irish prison in connection with these same Tipperary prosecutions. He had always, he said, been anxious to make the utmost allowance for the

police in Ireland, but he had been moved to take action in this matter by witnessing "the demoralised incompetence, the brutality, and the lawlessness" indulged in by subordinates of the Executive in consequence of Mr. Balfour's habit of standing up for the police, right or wrong. He proceeded then to canvass in minute detail the occurrences at the Tipperary Police-court on the occasion of what he called the "great State trial" of Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien, characterising in strong language the conduct of Colonel Caddell and the police, the composition of the Court, and the proceedings of the magistrates. On the choice of Mr. Shannon to sit on the Bench he was especially severe, denouncing it as a "prostitution of the tribunal," and he dilated with much earnestness on the impropriety and injustice of trying these charges of conspiracy before any other tribunal but a jury. On the personal controversy between himself and Mr. Balfour he touched briefly, denying emphatically that he had been guilty of garbling, misrepresentation, or calumny. Anticipating the objections which would be urged against his motion, he replied to them *seriatim*, and concluded by predicting the condemnation which would speedily be passed at the General Election on the Coercion Act, which, he said, had been obtained by a fraud on the constituencies, and had been administered in a spirit which was a fraud on the intentions of Parliament.

It was, perhaps, somewhat unfortunate for the Ministry that, instead of meeting the motion by a direct negative, Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*), an Ulster representative, should have been allowed to intervene with an amendment declaring that the Tipperary prosecutions and other proceedings had been "rendered imperative by the existence and activity of an illegal conspiracy against the rights of people who had been cruelly persecuted, and that the House rejoiced in the successful vindication of the law." In supporting this proposal, Mr. Russell reminded the House that the proceedings at Tipperary did not begin with Mr. Morley's visit, and he drew a sharp contrast between Tipperary as it used to be—flourishing and prosperous—and Tipperary as it had become under Mr. W. O'Brien and the Plan of Campaign, when, as Mr. O'Brien had boasted, it had sunk to "a Sahara desert, like a wilderness sown with salt." Mr. Russell briefly detailed the history of the persecution of Mr. Smith-Barry, who had never had any quarrel with his tenants, and the consequent boycotting and enforcement of the Plan of Campaign which had ruined the town, and he commented bitterly on the fact that when Mr. Morley visited the place he made no attempt whatever to ascertain the real facts of the case, but stood outside the door of the boycotted people. "This Privy Councillor of the Queen, this man who has been Chief Secretary himself, this great officer of State, never once crossed the threshold of any of these places to know what the facts of this foul conspiracy were." Mr. Russell went on to quote the judgments of two of the Irish Judges in

reference to the case, and there was more cheering when he declared that he preferred their testimony to that of the right hon. gentleman who spent three hours in Tipperary and then "bolted by the first train." Adopting a lighter vein Mr. Russell next turned to some important omissions from Mr. Morley's speech. The right hon. gentleman had said not a word in the debate about Mr. Harrison, the "stripling" who had figured so effectively in his speech at Swindon as the member who had been so ill-treated by the police, and whose head was broken by a blow from one of them. But Mr. Russell proceeded to show that the "stripling" had been thirsting for a fight before Mr. Morley's arrival at Tipperary, had indeed publicly mourned over the fact that he had been unable to "get into a tussle" with them, and, when finally he did get into one at Tipperary, he injured at least one policeman and was subsequently commended by Mr. Parnell at Kilkenny as "the only man who fought the police single-handed, and choked three of them!" After all this, Mr. Russell confessed that he "began to understand why Mr. Morley had to-night left Hamlet out of the play." He next defended Mr. Shannon, vindicated the course pursued by the Government in restoring law and order, showed how greatly that restoration had progressed, and insisted that the House should not be content with merely negating Mr. Morley's resolution, but should make an affirmation in favour of the Irish Executive. Mr. Gladstone next supported the original motion in a quiet and tame argumentative speech, which had little or no trace of fire, and which indeed bore evident traces of physical exhaustion. He complained of the amendment as an evasion of the issue, and complained of the Government for countenancing or accepting it, instead of meeting the motion in a straightforward fashion. He accounted for Mr. Morley's omission to refer to the case of Mr. Harrison, on the ground that the case was *sub judice*, and did not seem best pleased when Mr. Russell reminded him that the whole case was *sub judice*. Recapitulating Mr. Morley's charges, he complained that Mr. Balfour was too ready to place reliance on the accounts of his subordinate officials; but this, he asserted, would not be a satisfactory mode of meeting accusations made in the House. He complained, too, of the settled policy of the Government to interfere with the right of public meeting, and of their growing habit of sending all cases before the lowest class of judicial officers, instead of bringing them before a jury. As to the success claimed for the Ministerial policy, he saw no signs of it, but, on the contrary, he maintained that it had increased the jealousy and distrust prevalent in Ireland, and had fostered both in Ireland and in Great Britain a sympathy with infractions of the law. In conclusion, he warned the Unionists that the country was tired of them and of their ways, and at the General Election, which could not be long delayed, they would "meet their doom." When Mr. Gladstone sat down, Mr. W. H. Smith spoke for a few

minutes, simply to challenge Mr. Gladstone to "substantiate his charges," and then for an hour or so the debate fell into the hands of less important members.

The interest in the debate, which had waned from a very early hour, especially when it was seen that Mr. Gladstone was speaking under evident difficulties, was aroused by the appearance of the "stripling," Mr. Harrison (*Tipperary, M.*), who wished to explain away Mr. Russell's reference to himself. Both he and Mr. Parnell had unfortunately been misrepresented. Mr. Harrison himself had never expressed a desire to be in a tussle with the police; he had only said that if he got in one he would not shirk his duty, that he "hoped the Executive would single him out for attack as a representative of the people," and that "if there was any inconvenience forthcoming, he hoped he might be one of those who would suffer." Similarly, Mr. Parnell had never commended him for choking three policemen, but only for being credited by the Government with having done so. In the same spirit of misrepresentation Mr. Harrison had been accused of assaulting the police, when all that he had done had been to try to stop their blows; but he admitted, in a moment of utter frankness and candour, that he did hit out once, with the result that he "induced a policeman to abstain from any further assaults." Mr. Balfour next spoke for an hour, and congratulated Mr. Harrison on speaking with "the natural fire of youth, which seemed to distinguish all his actions," but suggested that the hon. member "seemed to regard the Irish question as a sort of town-and-gown row." Mr. Balfour then went on to say that he was utterly puzzled to know why this motion had been put down, except that the habit of moving votes of censure had become inveterate. But never had there been so trivial a cause for a vote of censure. Men had been whipped up from all parts to vote her Majesty's Government out of office, because three or four heads had been broken in the presence of a Privy Councillor and an ex-Cabinet Minister. Animadverting on the indecorum of which Mr. Morley had been guilty in making a subject of debate of matters still *sub judice*, he declared that no Privy Councillor had ever before gone the lengths of Mr. Morley in endeavouring to make political capital out of a political trial and an attack on the police. Replying to Mr. Morley's speech, he explained and justified his charge of garbling, and vindicated the composition of the Tipperary Bench and the strict justice of its proceedings. This led to more than one violent altercation between the two gentlemen. Much responsibility, he pointed out, rested on the leaders of the Opposition, who, for party purposes, had never scrupled to make unfounded attacks on the police; and as to the General Election, about which so many predictions had been made, if it turned out according to their expectations, what, he asked, would be the feelings of those same gentlemen if the Plan of Campaign became universal and boycotting became rampant?

Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*) recapitulated the charges against the Irish Government, and insisted that no answer had been given to these charges. The Government had been convicted of illegal and unconstitutional conduct, and he agreed with Mr. Morley that much of the blame rested on the demoralisation of the police, due to Mr. Balfour's habitual encouragement of the magistrates and police to violate the law.

Mr. Justin McCarthy (*Londonderry*) supported the original motion, and Mr. Cuninghame Graham (*Lanarkshire, N.-W.*), spent a few minutes in lively banter of Mr. Morley for his zeal on behalf of maltreated Irishmen and his absence of it in the case of equally maltreated Englishmen. He quoted what he held to be a parallel case to the Tipperary disturbances—the acts of the police in repelling a London mob in Trafalgar Square when Mr. Graham was himself assaulted and subsequently imprisoned. But on that occasion Mr. Morley, instead of making any motion in the House, remained “glued to his seat,” deaf to all persuasions, taunts, and sneers. There was a good deal of cheering when Mr. Graham added, *apropos* of his own conduct at the time, “But the House will remember that I did not whine—I knew what I had to expect—and I got it.” The division was then taken, without application of the closure and without any desire in any quarter to prolong the discussion. Mr. Morley's motion was rejected on strictly party lines by 320 to 245, and the amendment was then put as a substantive motion. Mr. Healy at once moved the adjournment of the debate, and a long wrangle lasting nearly an hour ensued, the two front benches differing as to what had been the precise arrangement come to for the completion of the whole debate in one night. Sir William Harcourt endorsed Mr. Healy's view that the amendment opened up fresh ground and required further discussion. Finally the House accepted, though with some reluctance on the part of the majority, Mr. Balfour's suggestion that the Government with its majority of 75 had got all it really wanted, and the debate was formally adjourned, never to be resumed again during the session.

The division list showed that on this occasion both sections of the Irish party had voted against the Government: 26 Parnellites and 45 Anti-Parnellites. Of the hundred members who were absent from the division more than one-half (51) were Unionists—including 5 Liberal Unionists, 32 Gladstonian Liberals did not vote, whilst the number of absent Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites was about equal.

The next occasion upon which the Radical party decided to make a reconnaissance in force of their opponents' position was on the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales, and they counted this time upon drawing from Mr. Gladstone a clearer declaration of his intentions than he had up to this time made in the House of Commons. The resolution this year was intrusted to

Mr. Pritchard Morgan (*Merthyr*), who since his return to this country after a protracted stay in Australia, had turned his chief attention to developing the gold-mines of the Principality. In starting the debate (Feb. 20) he spent upwards of an hour in declaiming against the "injustice of the continued existence of the Established Church in Wales." He attacked Mr. Balfour very sharply for a speech delivered a long time previously, and accused him of "showing as little consideration for the feelings of the Welsh people as for the heads of Irishmen," and of arousing as much indignation in Wales by his "contemptuous and contemptible" utterances as his "employment of battering-rams" had aroused across the water. The "Church of England in Wales" never had been, and never would be, the Church of the people, and if the people's Church was the State Church, Nonconformity should be the Established Church in Wales, though no Welsh Nonconformist asked for such a thing. The English Church was "established by force" in Wales, and had always been "out of harmony with the Welsh spirit." Wales had been the "birthplace of more saints than the whole of England," but the English Church had never produced one saint there. He gave statistics to show that the number of Nonconformists was greatly in excess of the number of Churchmen in the Principality, and he maintained that the objection to Disestablishment, and the new life and spirit which had been put into Church work in Wales, arose from the fear of the ecclesiastics that they would "lose the loaves and fishes." He denied that the Church would at all suffer from Disestablishment, though Churchmen might have to "pay a little more for their religion." He concluded by moving a resolution declaring that as the Church in Wales had failed to fulfil its professed object as a means of promoting the religious interests of the Welsh people, and ministered only to a small minority of the population, its continuance as an Established Church in the Principality was "an anomaly and an injustice" which ought no longer to exist. Mr. Dillwyn (*Swansea*), one of the patriarchs of the House, and a staunch Dissenter, briefly supported the motion, and then Mr. Gladstone, who was loudly cheered, spent forty minutes in advocating Disestablishment. He began by declining to accept all the statements to which Mr. Pritchard Morgan had committed himself. He objected, for instance, to the phrase "the Church of England in Wales," for it would be just as correct to speak of "the Church of Wales in England," especially as, towards the close of the sixth century, while England was still barbarous and almost wholly de-Christianised, Christianity was flourishing in Scotland and in Wales, and the missionaries sent by Gregory the Great were met by bodies of Welsh Christians. Mr. Gladstone then passed on to speak of the admirable way in which the Welsh Nonconformists had provided for their own religion, when driven out of the Church by the fact that it abandoned the use of their mother

tongue, and was given over to English ecclesiastics. He, however, "ungrudgingly recognised" the fact that the Church had of late years made great and increasing efforts to retain its hold on the people; and he admitted that there was not the slightest tendency or disposition on the part of the Welsh Established clergy to neglect their duty, or to fail in inspiring and self-denying efforts to extend the administration of the Church. But the whole question, after all, was whether the Nonconformists, who formed the vast majority of the people, were contented with the existing state of things; and the reply was that they were not contented, and were making, in perfectly constitutional form, a demand for change; and he maintained that the demand was one which Parliament ought to grant. Mr. Gladstone, with an amusing ingenuity, attributed all the credit of his own conversion on the subject to the Marquess of Hartington, who, when acting as leader of the Liberal party, declared that the question of disestablishment in Scotland must be dependent on the wishes of the Scotch people. Mr. Gladstone admitted that "the parallelism between Scotland and Wales" in the case "had yet to be confirmed," and he further admitted that one-and-twenty years before (though, as he pointed out amid much laughter, since then he had "had time to be born again and to come of age") he had declared it "impossible to separate the Church of Wales from the Church of England." But that was "an exaggeration" based upon the fact that the demand for separation then was small. What he now found was that the Church of Wales, like the Church of Ireland, was the Church of the few, and not of the many, and the Church of the rich and not of the comparatively poor; and as the bulk of the Welsh people were in favour of Disestablishment, and twenty-seven out of thirty of their Parliamentary representatives supported it, he contended that it ought to be given. The Postmaster-General, Mr. Raikes (*Cambridge University*), excited some resentment and some scornful laughter among the Welsh members by denying that there could possibly be any Welsh "national feeling" in support of the motion, because there was "no such thing as a Welsh nation"—a statement which Mr. W. Abraham (*Rhondda Valley*) met with the defiant Welsh cheer of "Clwyd! clwyd!" to the great amusement of the House. Mr. Raikes went on to declare that, originally, there were three principalities in Wales, and they only became one when Wales passed under the English sceptre, and he reminded the House that the first Prince of Wales was an English prince. Wales, in fact, was part of England, and the Church of Wales was the Church of England, and every Englishman was entitled as much as every Welshman to have a voice in regard to it. He declined to be "beguiled by the voice of any Welsh siren" to surrender an outwork the abandonment of which would be followed by an "attack on the citadel," and he refused to "fritter away all the oneness of the realm." Mr.

Raikes proceeded to flood the House with statistics to show the real position of the Church in Wales and its great and increasing growth of late years.

Sir G. Trevelyan (*Glasgow, Bridgeton*), in supporting the contention that Nonconformity had largely increased in Wales in recent years, pointed out that two generations back there had been only 300 or 400 chapels in Wales, where there were now between 3,000 and 4,000; and he maintained that the only substantial argument in favour of maintaining an Established Church was when it was the Church of the poor, but there was no pretence whatever for saying that it was so in the case of the Church in Wales.

The Solicitor-General (*Plymouth*) contended that no speaker on the Liberal benches had attempted to grapple with the assertions in the resolution; but, on the contrary, Mr. Gladstone had borne eloquent testimony to the useful influence exercised by the Church in Wales, which he maintained was now stronger, better, and purer than it was twenty years before, when Mr. Gladstone asserted that its separation from the English Church would be "a national misfortune."

Mr. Byron Reed (*Bradford, E.*), rising at five minutes to twelve o'clock, moved the adjournment of the debate, upon which Mr. Dillwyn moved that "the question be now put," and, this being agreed to, a division was taken on Mr. Pritchard-Morgan's resolution, when it was negatived by 235 to 203.

The narrowness of the majority excited very considerable surprise among Conservatives and Churchmen—especially as, with the addition of fifty-three pairs, only 106 members were left unaccounted for. Mr. Chamberlain and six other Liberal-Unionists voted in the minority, as did thirty-two Irish Nationalists and sixteen Parnellites; whilst in the majority only seventeen Liberal-Unionists joined with the Conservatives in protesting against the thin end of the Disestablishment wedge.

By this time the Estimates for the year had been laid before Parliament, and, as customary in recent years, those for the Army and Navy had been accompanied by explanatory papers, which took the place of introductory speeches by the Ministers in charge. The Secretary for War (Hon. E. Stanhope) stated that the estimated expenditure for 1891-2 for Army Services, including the Ordnance Factories Vote, would be 17,545,400*l.* (with grants in aid of 2,844,207*l.*, making a gross total of 20,389,507*l.*), of which 3,092,000*l.* was for non-effective services, showing a net decrease of 292,000*l.* on the Estimates of the preceding year. The number of men on the Army establishment, exclusive of those serving in India, but including the general and departmental staff and men on miscellaneous establishments, was 153,696, being an increase of 213 on the year 1890-1, a few men of special skill having been added in view of the more complicated armaments in use, and a small addition

being made to the Ordnance Store Corps. The grand total, however, of men of all classes on the regimental establishments of the Army and Auxiliary Forces was 707,242 men, classified thus:—Regular forces, 143,849; Army Reserve, first class, 71,800; second class, 910; Militia, home, 135,827; Channel Islands, 3,996; Malta, St. Helena, and Bermuda, 1,665; Yeomanry, 14,086; Volunteers, 262,613, making a total of home and colonial establishments 634,746, and with 72,496 Regular forces on the Indian establishment, the total mentioned above—707,242, although the number of effectives of all ranks amounted to only 616,642. The number of men on home and colonial establishments, exclusive of India, was originally set down at 153,696. The approximate cost per head of the *personnel* of the forces was:—Regular forces, 8*l.*; Militia of United Kingdom, 12*l.* 4*s.*; Militia of Channel Islands, 5*l.* 10*s.*; Yeomanry, 9*l.* 9*s.*; Volunteers, 4*l.* 12*s.* 5*d.*; Army Reserve, 8*l.* 15*s.*; the remainder of the total estimate being made up by stores and supplies other than personal equipment and provision, and by charges for administration. The number of horses and mules (exclusive of officers' horses) on the establishment of the Regular Army was estimated at 14,531, as against 14,432 in the previous year, and in India 11,803, against 11,312.

At the close of the preceding year the enrolled Militiamen showed a decrease of 1,865, owing in a great measure to the revival of trade and to the facilities given to militiamen to purchase release from their engagements. The Yeomanry remained almost stationary in point of numbers, whilst the Volunteers showed a reduction of nearly 3,000 enrolled members, brought about mainly by the more stringent conditions of efficiency; but also to the efforts of the War Office to increase the artillery branch in some districts, and to discourage in them the further increase of the infantry. The Secretary of State expressed his conviction that the Volunteers were far more efficient than formerly, but regretted the continued dearth of officers, "mainly due to the disinclination of gentlemen of means and leisure to make the necessary sacrifices," whilst the falling-off of local subscriptions had thrown heavier expenses on Volunteer officers. Eighteen brigade camps had been held during the preceding year, at which 79 batteries with 316 guns attended, and gave proof of excellent organisation not only in their transport and supply, but also in their medical and sanitary services. With regard to the cost, Vote 1, for Army Pay, &c., showed an increase of about 42,000*l.*, due to large payments of reserved pay to men passing into the Reserve; Vote 9, Warlike Stores, a reduction of 202,500*l.*, due to the approaching completion of the programme undertaken in 1888 under the Imperial Defence Act; and Vote 10, Works, an increase of 51,500*l.*, due to improvements in barracks and sanitary services and for increased rifle-range accommodation.

A preliminary attack upon War Office administration was

made by Mr. Marjoribanks (*Berwickshire*), who moved (Feb. 3) the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the merits of the magazine rifle, of which he described the mechanism as complicated and delicate, the work flimsy, and the cost out of all proportion to the magazine rifles of other countries. The military members of the House were pretty equally divided as to the merits and drawbacks of the weapon, but the Secretary of State for War had no misgivings on the point. He assured the House that there was no desire on the part of the War Office to keep anything back, and he had every reason to take the House into his confidence, because he was satisfied that the more he did so the more would the House approve of what had been done. The War Office believed they had got a good rifle, and he failed to see that any good would come from the appointment of a Royal Commission. With regard to the question of responsibility, he explained that it was the duty of the Director of Artillery to recommend a new weapon, though the ultimate responsibility rested with the Secretary of State, and in the case of the rifle in question he was prepared to endorse the opinions of his experts and to take upon himself all responsibility. The rifle, which had been chosen with great care and after full deliberation, was the best at the time it was chosen, and he believed it was the best now. Tracing the circumstances under which it came to be selected, he explained that every rifle submitted to the Small Arms Committee was carefully examined, and the one chosen was subjected to the most severe tests. The report of the Committee was made in 1888, when 350 rifles were issued for trial, and, after the reports of those who had tried them had been considered by his advisers, they unanimously adhered to their opinion as to the superiority of the weapon over any other. Improvements had, no doubt, been made on Mark I. as a result of the trials, but he was still satisfied that Mark I. was an effective rifle. Replying to Mr. Marjoribanks' criticisms on the details of its mechanism, he admitted that certain minor defects had arisen, which, however, he was convinced would be overcome, and, with regard to the magazine, he emphatically denied that it was constructed with a weak spring. He next dealt with the question of cost, pointing out that the increase in the cost over foreign-manufactured rifles was due in a large measure to the higher wages paid in this country; and, in conclusion, while not claiming that the new rifle was perfect in all particulars, he was confident that he was putting into the hands of the troops a weapon carefully selected, exhaustively tried, and thoroughly suited to the requirements of the service.

The House, by 108 to 74, upheld the view that a Royal Commission would relieve the War Office from its proper responsibility; and when, a fortnight later (Feb. 19), Mr. Marjoribanks again attempted to revive the discussion, the feeling of the House was that the pretensions of rival inventors could not with advantage be judged except by experts.

Before the first vote on the Army Estimates was taken, Mr. Hanbury (*Preston*) raised a discussion on questions of recruiting. The subject, although difficult and complicated, was one of immense importance, and the *Times* in a series of articles had endeavoured to arouse public opinion inside and outside the House on the subject. Mr. Hanbury made out a very serious indictment, indeed, against the existing administration of the Army, and, allowing for a certain exaggeration of tone rather than of matter, there remained a picture of the actual condition of the Army which was very far from satisfactory to a nation paying upon a liberal and even lavish scale. The Secretary for War, Mr. Stanhope (*Lincolnshire, Horncastle*), spoke in the tone of official optimism which his predecessor in office under the Liberals, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*), frankly defended as the counterpoise to critical pessimism; but he was obliged to admit defects which others regarded more seriously than himself. For some reason, recruiting for the Army was in a very unsatisfactory condition. Men of sufficiently good quality could not be obtained in sufficient numbers. The standard had been lowered from time to time until it had fallen below the physical average of the inhabitants of these islands. The moral standard left very much to be desired, even by the most easy-going critics. Recruits were accepted under eighteen years of age, under five feet four inches high, and weighing barely over eight stone, and yet they could not be obtained in adequate numbers. The Army was in 1890 short to the number of nearly 5,000 men; yet recruiting in that year, thanks to special efforts, had been somewhat better than in the years immediately preceding. The Militia was 22,000 below its proper strength, and the Yeomanry were 3,500 short. Bearing in mind the indifferent quality of a large proportion of the recruits accepted, these figures were alarming. It seemed, as Sir Edward Hamley (*Birkenhead*) observed, that we had "touched bottom" in the way of reduction of standard. Mr. Hanbury concluded his long and exhaustive speech by declaring that the only way to popularise the Army would be to return to the old plan of long service, and to improve the pay and position of the non-commissioned officers. Mr. Stanhope in reply said that during the last twenty-five years the pay of the soldier had been increased from 3½*d.* to 7½*d.* a day, and, while he saw no objection to some of the stoppages that had been complained of, he thought there might be a grievance in regard to free kits, and this he promised to do his best to remedy. As to the question of rations, he reminded the House that the subject had been carefully dealt with by a strong committee, whose recommendations had been carried out with results that had been pre-eminently satisfactory. Turning to other points relating to the comfort of the soldier, he said that many improvements were being effected in barrack accommodation, such as the supply of lock-up boxes for the soldiers, im-

proved floors to prevent the accumulation of dirt, and greater elasticity in regard to the consumption of fuel, and these improvements, he was assured, had met with the general approbation of the men. He next dwelt upon the changes recently made in regard to clothing, and dealing with the question of recruiting, he said the evidence of the Inspector-General went to show that the popularity of the service was not on the wane, but, on the contrary, there was nothing in the condition of the soldier at the present time to necessitate any greater inducement to attract recruits. With regard to the question of length of service, he had determined to appoint a committee to deal with it, and also with the question of deferred pay.

With this promise the House seemed satisfied, and Mr. Hanbury's motion was withdrawn. Mr. Stanhope then having induced the House to go into Committee on the vote for men, made an exhaustive statement with regard to the condition of the Army and the scheme of defence which had been carried out by the War Office during the previous three years. The first work was that of improving the defences of our ports and coaling stations, which, under the Imperial Defence Act of 1888, were to be completed in three years, and this anticipation, he said, will be almost exactly realised. The armament of the coaling stations was also on the point of completion, as well as the addition of modern guns to the armament of our great fortresses at home and abroad. The work of barrack improvement, which was the second great work which had to be undertaken, had been delayed by the long and severe winter, but active work was going on at Shorncliffe, the improvements at Dover were nearly complete, and in London, where various works were being rapidly carried out, the alterations were already begun.

Mr. Stanhope's remarks on the mobilisation of our Army and its organisation for the defence of the country against invasion were listened to with great attention, and showed that during the previous years very different notions had by turns prevailed at the War Office. Speaking first of what had been already achieved, Mr. Stanhope said:—"We have during the past year pushed on in all directions measures for the speedy mobilisation of our defensive forces in time of war. These measures are based, not upon preparations for sending a large force abroad—and for this reason alone they cannot properly be compared with those of Continental armies—but upon the idea that, while we ought always to be able at short notice to send a comparatively small force abroad, and while we must make provision for strengthening certain colonial garrisons, our duty also is to organise all our defensive forces, Regular and Auxiliary, into the most effective engine for the defence of the country against invasion. It is not necessary for me to recapitulate the general features of the scheme, which have already been explained to the House, and upon which we are working. We have taken stock

of all our available resources, and after making full provision for the necessities of the garrisons of ports and coaling stations at home and abroad, we are organising all our remaining home forces into an army of defence. The general officers of districts have received detailed information as to the composition of its various sections, and as to the points of mobilisation, concentration, and storage; and at the War Office itself every effort has been made for as complete decentralisation as is possible, which will put it in the power of district authorities to carry out the steps necessary for mobilisation without reference to headquarters. That decentralisation of stores in particular has, to a large extent, been effected. The stores, for instance, required for the troops at Aldershot, which, under the old system, might have taken six weeks to get out of Woolwich, are now actually stored between Aldershot and Southampton, at which latter place some of the heavier equipment is placed, so as to be ready for immediate shipment in case of the Aldershot troops having to be sent abroad. There are other centres, also, where the scheme of decentralisation is practically complete. I hope that the House fully understands what is intended, and what is, to a large extent, actually carried out. On the occurrence of an emergency the troops (mainly drawn from the Regular Army) forming the first line of defence will concentrate at the appointed stations, which are all situated at important railway junctions, enabling them to be transported, with the least possible delay, to the threatened district. Every detail necessary for this purpose is being laid down, and when our store arrangements are quite complete the stores necessary for them to take the field will be either at their peace stations or in magazines situated at or near to the points of concentration. Behind them is the Volunteer Army, consisting of nineteen brigades of infantry with eighty batteries of artillery, who will assemble at the points where danger is principally apprehended, and who will find there all that they require for encampment. In this country, with the immense variety in the conditions of service, the details of such a scheme are specially difficult to arrange. But they are all being worked out so as to leave nothing uncertain when the emergency arises. . . . In the course of framing a scheme for the general defence of the country we have been led very carefully to consider the question whether we are satisfied that the number of regular troops asked for is really necessary, and whether the increased strength of the Navy and the advancing efficiency of the Volunteers do not justify some reduction. Having regard, therefore, to the purposes for which our Regular Army is required, I would venture to make the following remarks upon the different arms of the service. We have sufficient cavalry for all expected requirements. In an enclosed country like England cavalry could not easily operate in large bodies, and after providing for the modest requirements of any

force we should send abroad, we should still have enough left for the work they would have to do. We have barely enough Royal Engineers for the requirements of colonial garrisons and of home defence; and the demands upon this corps for all sorts of practical purposes in every part of the world tend rather to increase; but here we have a considerable body of Volunteer engineers upon which we could rely for assistance in the work of home defence. We have just sufficient horse and field artillery for our requirements. It is assumed that it is not necessary to associate batteries of regular artillery with our Volunteer army. Indeed, the steadily increasing efficiency of the new batteries of position makes this an assumption which can be made with safety. With regard to the garrison artillery, it is more difficult to speak, because its whole position has been materially altered by the introduction of the new and complicated armaments now in use. Everything points to the necessity for coast defence of a small picked body of men with special acquirements and practical knowledge of the armaments of each place to be defended, who must be supplemented by a larger body of less skilled, and to a large extent of auxiliary, troops. It is upon the strength of the infantry that difference of opinion is most likely to arise. I state the case, therefore, as it is presented to me from a military point of view. According to the principle accepted by Parliament at the time of the introduction of the territorial system, it was always intended that for one battalion maintained abroad one should be kept at home to supply the necessary drafts. This is not, and has never been, the case, though the disproportion between the number of battalions abroad and at home is beyond the normal, in consequence of the occupation of Egypt. It may be added to this that it has been found necessary first of all in 1885 to add 10,000 men (of whom 8,000 are infantry) to our Indian establishment; and, secondly, since that time, to increase somewhat the strength of certain colonial garrisons, and to make also provision for further reinforcement at short notice. At this moment we have sixty-five battalions at home, besides the Guards, and seventy-six abroad, the drafts for the extra battalions being provided by larger depots maintained at home. It is pretty clear, therefore, that no reduction in the number of battalions can be thought of. Then it may be asked whether they are maintained at an excessive strength. The establishment of the battalions first for service is fixed at a much higher figure, but the regular home establishment now is 720 rank and file. Looking to the fact that we have annually to provide as drafts for the battalions abroad no less than 170 men who must all be over twenty and have had six months' training, and that we must at least be able to maintain our home battalions, after providing for these drafts, in a reasonable state of efficiency for home defence and for the other purposes of our Army, it is, I think, very difficult to avoid

the conclusion that the establishment we maintain is no more than adequate."

No decision was taken on the vote then before the House, but when it next came on (Feb. 23) it was evident that Mr. Stanhope's vindication of the policy of his department met with general acceptance. Before, however, the vote for men was agreed to, Lord Hartington (*Ianc., Rossendale*) asked what steps had been taken to carry out the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Organisation of the Naval and Military Departments, and with what result. The Commission had recommended the appointment of a naval and military council, which recommendation the Government had since stated would be carried out by the constitution of a committee of the Cabinet to deal with the matter. Lord Hartington wished to know whether this committee had been appointed, whether it had met, and, if so, what progress had been made towards a solution of the questions considered by the Commission, more especially with regard to the reorganisation of the War Office.

Mr. E. Stanhope (*Lincolnshire, Horncastle*) thought Lord Hartington placed too much importance on the appointment of a naval and military council, but as a matter of fact a committee of the Cabinet had been constituted to deal with general principles, and a committee composed of the highest naval and military officers to deal with matters of detail. With regard to the office of Commander-in-Chief, he thought it was agreed that it was undesirable to call upon the present holder of the office to resign, but what course should be pursued on a vacancy occurring the Government were not at present in a position to say. They were not prepared to appoint a chief of the staff, but arrangements had been made to modify the duties of the Adjutant-General, so as to place upon him a greater responsibility in respect to general military administration than formerly devolved upon him, and he was now primarily responsible for carrying out the important scheme of mobilisation upon which the War Office had been engaged for the last two years. It was also intended to constitute a Promotion Board, to be entirely independent of the War Office and of the Commander-in-Chief, which would consist of five general officers, three of them to be the senior officers in command in the United Kingdom, and two to be taken from the particular arm of the service to which appointments were to be made. With regard to the mobilisation scheme, he did not think it desirable to publish details, but he was satisfied that the War Office could now mobilise troops in a shorter time than had ever been known before.

Mr. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) dwelt upon the responsibility of the military officers constituting the headquarters staff of the War Office and their relations to each other and to the Secretary of State, and he expressed regret that Mr. Stanhope had not seen his way to carry into effect more of the recommendations of the Royal Commission.

Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) intervened with a motion to reduce the vote by 8,820 men, the number of British soldiers employed in Egypt; and Mr. J. Morley (*Newcastle*) supported it on the ground that our continued occupation of that country was a distinct departure from the former ministerial policy; but Sir J. Fergusson (*Manchester*), the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, declared that the occupation of Tokar and Handoub was necessary to protect Suakim, that our force in Egypt had been steadily reduced from 10,000 to a little over 3,000 men, and that our presence in the country was satisfactory to the Egyptian Government. The reduction was then negatived by 124 to 52; and when on a subsequent occasion (March 5) Mr. Labouchere provoked a long discussion on our continued stay in Egypt by moving the reduction of the Army Pay Vote by 100,000*l.*, the motion was again negatived by 140 to 65, and a similar attempt by Sir Wilfrid Lawson was also defeated by a still larger majority. The remainder of Votes in Committee gave rise to no opposition or discussion, beyond an appeal by General Sir C. Fraser (*Lambeth, N.*) for a commission of inquiry into the alleged grievances of retired purchase officers (June 25), which was met by a promise from the Secretary of State to investigate personally each case of alleged hardship as it was brought to his notice.

The Navy Estimates for the year 1891-92 showed an apparent increase of 428,500*l.* over those of the preceding year, being 14,215,100*l.* as compared with 13,786,600*l.* A portion of the increase, however—78,000*l.*—was only a transfer of expenditure for the custody of Naval Ordnance hitherto charged on the Army Votes. In his explanatory memorandum the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) carefully separated the different groups of ships in process of construction. There were (1) contract ships, according to the usual programme, of which the cost was met out of the annual votes; (2) contract ships paid for under the provisions of the Naval Defence Act of 1889, and repayable by an annuity charged on the Consolidated Fund; (3) Australian flotilla, of which the cost, defrayed out of Consolidated Fund, was repayable by an annuity chargeable on Navy Votes; (4) dockyard-built ships, charged against the Annual Votes.

Of the contract-built ships under the old programme, only one, the *Blenheim*, remained unfinished at the close of the financial year 1890-91, and before the close of the year 1891 she was ready for delivery to the Admiralty authorities. Of the work done by contract under the Naval Defence Act a still better record was forthcoming. Of the seventeen second-class cruisers building, eight had been launched, and one, the *Laona*, was practically complete, and it was anticipated that before the close of the financial year 1891-92 all would be delivered over by the contractors. Three out of the four first-class battle-ships were considerably advanced, and by March 1892 five first-class cruisers would be also launched. The whole of the contract programme

of the Naval Defence Act was in hand, with the exception of six torpedo gun-vessels, which at any time might be constructed and completed in eighteen months. Some modifications of the original designs had been found advisable in the second-class battle-ships, and in the first-class and second-class cruisers, the naval manœuvres of the preceding summer having suggested the need for the maintenance of a high rate of speed in a seaway. The work done in the Government dockyards was not less satisfactory. The number of ships of all classes to be built in the dockyards under the Naval Defence Act by March 31, 1894, was thirty-eight, made up of four first-class battle-ships, two second-class do., four first-class cruisers, and twelve second-class do., of the *Apollo* and *Astræa* classes, four of the *Pandora* class, and twelve torpedo gun-boats. Of these, Lord George Hamilton was able to announce, twenty-eight were already in hand and approaching completion, and of the remaining ten, five cruisers of the *Apollo* class would be commenced during the year 1891-92, and five torpedo gun-boats during 1892-93. The total number of ships to be constructed under the Naval Defence Act by contract and in dockyards was seventy, of an estimated displacement of 316,000 tons, and costing 21,500,000*l.*, inclusive of armament and equipment. The substitution of larger and heavier boilers than originally estimated, and the rise in the price of materials, had disturbed the original estimate, but the First Lord thought that an anticipated saving of 317,000*l.* on the armament of the ships would reduce by a third the increased expenditure on hulls, boilers and machinery, estimated at 920,000*l.*

The completion of the Australian flotilla, consisting of five cruisers and two torpedo gun-boats, had been delayed by various causes, especially by the difficulties arising from their boilers. Nevertheless the whole fleet was ready for delivery in the course of the spring.

On April 1, 1891, the Admiralty assumed entire control of the custody of all naval ordnance stores at Portsmouth, Devonport, Chatham, and Woolwich; and it was intended to make similar arrangements with regard to the other ordnance depôts at home and abroad. No less than 240 guns of various sizes from 4-inch of 26 cwt. to 16·25-inch of 110 tons had been delivered to the navy, the 4·7-inch quick-firing being the most numerous, whilst of the larger ordnance 10-inch guns were reported as most serviceable and most easily worked.

Amongst the new works projected were naval victualling stores at Sydney, N.S.W., new barracks at Portsmouth, Whale Island, and Keyham Harbour, and the completion of the docks at Malta and Bombay.

At the beginning of the year the number of ships in commission was 277, having complements amounting to 43,296 men, and in view of the prospective requirements of the fleet when the new programme was fully in action, Lord George Hamilton

proposed to raise the number of men and boys of all classes, including the Royal Naval Reserve, from 68,800, which had been fixed for the year 1890-91, to 71,000 for the current year, to be gradually increased up to 75,000.

After referring to the changes carried out in the constitution of the Mediterranean and Channel Squadrons, Lord George Hamilton stated that a careful inquiry into the limits and areas of our foreign stations had suggested two further alterations on strategical, commercial, and political grounds. The limits of the Cape Station on the East Coast of Africa ended at Delagoa Bay; but on the West ran up to 20° North latitude—in other words, 55° North of the headquarters of the Station. A separate command on the North-West Coast, with headquarters at Ascension, was to be created, and on the East Coast the Cape Station would be extended to the equator. No increase of ships in commission was required by this arrangement, which took effect from April 1. The other change was a subdivision of the existing Pacific Station, by which the whole of the West Coast of South America, together with the East Coast, was placed under a new command at the Falkland Islands.

The transfer of the custody of naval ordnance from the Army to the Navy, it was urged by some, should be pushed much further; and measures should at once be taken by which the Navy should immediately undertake the defence of the great naval ports, and be, in time of war, responsible for the safety of the base of their own operations. To these suggestions Lord George Hamilton replied in a memorandum:—

“I admit that if such a change could be carried out it would tend to secure unity of action and responsibility, and would, in an emergency, secure at the great naval ports the rapid utilisation of all available resources for whatever movement the exigency of the moment might require.

“But it is a proposal that involves so immense a change that it is not under any conditions practicable in the immediate future. The transfers of men and money, material and buildings which it entails would revolutionise the proportions the Army and Navy now bear to one another, and many experienced naval officers are averse to the change. Moreover, its increased cost in one direction is certain, whilst the counterbalancing savings are problematical. Still, looking to the fact that nearly every foreign Power has adopted the principle of placing their naval authorities in charge of maritime defences, care should be taken that the various alterations which from time to time must occur in the organisation both of the Army and Navy do not increase the obstacles to such a transfer of duties. Further investigation and experience can alone determine whether the change is desirable in the common interests of both services, and nothing in the meantime should be done to prejudice that future decision.”

The discussion of the Naval Estimates was appropriately pre-

ceded by the launch (Feb. 26) of the line-of-battle-ship *Royal Sovereign*, and the *Royal Arthur*, originally named the *Centaur*, a first-class cruiser, two of the finest vessels of their respective types in the Navy. For the first time for thirty years the Queen was present at such a ceremony. The Estimates themselves gave rise to very little debate in the House of Commons (March 2). Although several speeches offered points of criticism, there was no serious opposition to the Government proposals. Sir William Harcourt, it is true, threw out a new view of the functions of a fleet, which he would limit to the defence of our own coasts and those of our Colonies; and he contended that it would be impossible to maintain a fleet able to protect our mercantile marine. Our supplies of all kinds, he said, would not be interfered with by war, except that they would be conveyed in neutral ships which would come under the protection granted by the Declaration of Paris. But he found little support on his own side of the House, and Lord George Hamilton ridiculed the idea that our carrying trade could be transferred to neutral bottoms at a moment's notice; and he strongly demurred to the idea that our imports would not be seriously affected by a maritime war. A somewhat stronger point was taken by the Opposition on a subsequent occasion (March 9), when the First Lord of the Admiralty, in moving a Supplementary Estimate of 350,000*l.* for the year 1890-91, explained that, whilst this sum was required for the service of the closing year, there was an estimated unexpended balance of 548,246*l.* for the present year, which, in consequence of an omission in the Naval Defence Act, would be carried forward and placed to the credit of the Act, the Treasury having decided that no part of the unexpended balances could be appropriated in any one year in which less than 2,650,000*l.* was voted for shipbuilding and dockyard purposes, or in which a less sum than 650,000*l.* was voted for armaments. In the present year the Admiralty had not taken the 2,650,000*l.* for shipbuilding and dockyard purposes; and, as the unexpended balances could not be touched, it was necessary to vote the present excess of 350,000*l.* as a supplementary estimate.

Mr. Shaw-Lefevre (*Bradford, C.*) thereupon argued that the Naval Defence Act did not authorise the Admiralty to dispose of the unexpended balances or to pay for work of the current year out of the estimates of future years, and he complained that this system had confused the estimates and prevented the possibility of yearly comparisons being made.

Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*), forgetting that the very same point had been raised by the Opposition on the Naval Defences Bill two or three years previously, followed up the same line of attack. The Government had then made it perfectly plain that their policy was to withdraw certain items of naval expenditure in reference to the construction of ships from the annual review of Parliament, so as to ensure something like continuity and un-

changeableness of naval policy, and the House had endorsed this view. Sir William Harcourt, however, was indignant over what he seemed to regard as a wholly new and terrible attempt to deprive Parliament of its control over naval expenditure. He charged the Chancellor of the Exchequer with throwing into confusion the whole financial system of the country, and with abandoning principles for which he had formerly been one of the greatest sticklers. He protested against the future resources of the country being mortgaged, and submitted that it would have been more straightforward if the Government had proceeded by way of loan.

Mr. Goschen replied that undoubtedly there would have been an easier course to pursue, but it would not have been sound finance. What the Government had done was to spread the charge for the Naval Defence Act over a period of years, as was done in the case of the Mobilisation of Forces Act in 1872, and this was done in order to insure that the naval policy adopted in 1889 should be carried out. He further protested with some vehemence against Sir W. Harcourt's "gigantic exaggeration;" but, for some reason, the Opposition leaders seemed to fancy they had discovered a serious flaw in the Ministerial procedure, for Mr. John Morley (*Newcastle*) hastened to support his colleague by denouncing the defence as "an audacious avowal of a most unconstitutional doctrine."

Mr. Goschen (*St. George's, Hanover Square*) replied again, and having been taunted with the fact that he himself protested in 1879 against a similar procedure when adopted by Sir Stafford Northcote, he admitted the fact, but declared that he had modified his views since, because he had become convinced of the necessity of having a continuous naval policy, and therefore had not been unwilling to "weaken the control of Parliament" over the construction of the fleet. "What!" asked Sir William Harcourt, "to weaken the control of Parliament over the defences of the country?" "Yes," replied Mr. Goschen, "because we shall have a stronger navy, and I am sure the country will forgive any little complication that may be caused." Sir William Harcourt immediately proceeded to denounce Mr. Goschen as "a once Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was arguing in favour of 'ship-money;'" adding that he had made "the very speech Charles I. would himself have made had he been a Liberal Unionist Chancellor of the Exchequer." Then, turning to Mr. Balfour, he denounced the Chief Secretary as "a youthful Stratford," who, as the author of coercion, could not be expected to "respect constitutional principles in finance or in anything else." Mr. Balfour, in reply, pointed out how the right hon. gentleman seemed to have completely forgotten the debates of three years before, adding that if our shipbuilding programme could have been carried out within a year it would have been wrong to spread the expense over more than one year, but it took a longer

time to build a ship now than formerly, and the present arrangement had been made in consequence of that exigency.

The discussion was continued for some time, but at length the vote was agreed to without a division, so that the vehement opposition of the Liberal leaders was wholly unintelligible to those outside the House. No further difficulties were raised as to the remaining votes, which were granted without alteration, but in the discussion of the vote for naval ordnance, the whole weight of argument was on the side of those who protested against the continued production of costly and unwieldy guns. Lord George Hamilton, whilst abstaining from any definite promise, indicated the willingness of the Admiralty to suspend the further arming of ships with 110-ton guns, or even 87-ton guns, although such might be still regarded as necessary for battery defence.

The Civil Service Estimates in the House of Commons attract so much more detailed notice than either those for the Army or Navy, and their discussion each year is hailed with delight by critics and economists of every class, desirous of airing their grievances or of displaying their aptitudes for public affairs. Intelligent or effectual criticism is never expected, the Ministry of the day having always in readiness a sufficient number of supporters to prevent the reduction of any contemplated or incurred expenditure; whilst constitutional rules prevent the increase by private members of any grants which may seem inadequate. The total sum required for the service of the year 1891-92, spread over seven classes of expenditure, was 16,516,029*l.*, or more than half a million (614,516*l.*) in excess of the requirements of the preceding year, and this, without any reference to the future charges entailed by the "Free Education" policy subsequently accepted by the House of Commons. The chief causes of increased expenditure were:—Class I., Public Works and Buildings, an increase of 445,500*l.* to be incurred for light railways in Ireland, under the Act of 1889; Class II., Public Departments, an increase of 193,589*l.* required to meet the cost of the decennial census. Class IV., Education, increased provisions for elementary education, 188,650*l.* The requirements of the Revenue Department, of which the expenditure is voted separately, had also risen from 11,307,358*l.* in 1890-91 to 11,736,897*l.* for 1891-92, almost entirely due to the increased rates of pay and allowance to the Post-office sorting clerks and the Telegraph staff.

Some of the votes of Supply led to interesting discussion, and much light was thrown upon the proceedings of the Government in various places and countries. On the vote for the relief of distress in Ireland (55,831*l.*), for which a nominal sum of 5,000*l.* had been taken on account before Christmas, Mr. Balfour was able to place before the House (March 12) the plan he had set on foot for dealing with distress in Ireland. He described what had been done in connection with the construction of light railways—a work not undertaken for the relief of distress,

but hastened in its progress and made ancillary to that relief—and explained that 8,000 men had been employed upon these railways and over 40,000*l.* spent in wages. Two new lines had been commenced since the beginning of the year; the maximum amount of employment for unskilled labour had been provided, and no person in a state of acute distress who resided near the lines had been refused the opportunity of employment. The House was much amused when he went on to show, as a “conclusive proof” that the works fully supplied the demands for labour, that in many of the districts the men employed had “struck” for shorter hours or higher pay, though the wages ranged from 11*s.* to 14*s.* per week. The scheme for the reclamation of land had to be abandoned, notwithstanding the quantity of land which seemed to need reclaiming, because either the landlord could not show a sufficiently good title to it, or there were in existence too many subsidiary rights of grazing, turbary, passage, and the like. An experiment in forestry had, however, been started on one hillside of 1,000 acres, where the only tenant, a priest, gave up all his rights for nothing, and the landlord sold the land for 10*s.* an acre, and information was being obtained from the Continent, where forestry was largely and profitably carried out, as to the proper steps to be taken. Assistance had been offered by the Government in many places for the supply of turf for fuel, but as yet it had not been taken advantage of. He described the means taken for provisioning the scattered islands on the west coast, which were sometimes inaccessible from the mainland for days and weeks together, and he explained the way in which seed potatoes had been provided, though not without some frauds on the part of the contractors and also on the part of the tenantry who received the supplies. The other relief works, mainly road construction, were also described, together with the great difficulty of ascertaining where they were really needed through the existence of acute distress. In some cases he had offered free lodging, free bedding, free cooking, and 12*s.* a week to men who would not come to be employed. In one instance nine men appeared, of whom five were so drunk that they could not work, and the other four accepted work, but soon abandoned it. The wages given in ordinary cases were 7*s.* a week, and only those who were in need were employed. The total number of men employed on these works was 7,392, and they had received in wages 21,159*l.*, the expenditure now going on at the rate of about 3,000*l.* a week. When Mr. Balfour had finished his statement considerable discussion followed, mainly of a friendly character, Mr. J. Morley expressing a general approval of the policy pursued, and the vote was agreed to. Then there was another discussion on the vote for light railways, but this at last was closed, and the vote carried by 150 to 40, after two or three divisions had taken place, the chief objection taken being that the transactions in which the Treasury had

engaged with contractors and others were extravagant and unbusinesslike.

The only other debates of importance which engaged the attention of the House of Commons before Easter were those raised on Mr. Stansfeld's (*Halifax*) miniature Reform Bill and Mr. Jesse Collings's Small Holdings Bill. Mr. Stansfeld's motion (March 3) took the form of a resolution which declared "That, in the opinion of this House, it is needful to amend and simplify the laws relating to the qualification and registration of Parliamentary electors; and especially to provide (a) that no person shall be permitted to vote in more than one electoral area during the continuance of one and the same register; (b) that the term of qualification shall be reduced to not more than three months; (c) that registration superintendents shall be appointed who shall be officially responsible for superintending the preparation of accurate lists of voters." He spent considerable time in explaining to an almost empty House that the laws relating to the qualification and registration of voters were complicated and costly in every way.

Mr. Howorth (*Salford, S.*) moved an amendment, which, while admitting the desirableness of amending the present registration system, declared that no alteration of the present law should be considered which did not provide that the different parts of the United Kingdom should be represented proportionately to their population. Mr. Howorth was very severe upon Mr. Stansfeld for his "parochial arguments" and "commonplace rhetoric," and urged Mr. Gladstone to give that justification for the motion which had been wholly wanting in Mr. Stansfeld's speech. He made much of the fact that the last Reform Bill was the result of a "diplomatic arrangement" between the two great parties in the State, which was understood to aim at comparative finality in the process of tinkering with the Constitution. In reply to this challenge Mr. Gladstone spent half an hour or so in supporting the original motion with a skill and animation which had as yet been wanting from his own side, and once more showed his easy mastery of all the arts of debate. He ridiculed the notion that one admitted grievance was not to be got rid of because its removal would leave another one unredressed, and reminded the Conservatives that their proper course was at all events to pass so much of Mr. Stansfeld's motion as they agreed with, even if they rejected the rest. He denied that the last Reform Bill was passed as the result of a "diplomatic arrangement," and excused its not containing the provisions now sought to be introduced on the ground that it had to be confined "within the very narrowest limits," because, if its authors had attempted to cover every possible point, they would have been "lost in the wilderness of detail," the opportunities for opposition would have been multiplied a hundredfold, and that the then Government would have themselves become, through defective arrangement,

the assassins of their own progeny. He attacked the plural vote, and said of it that it was a mere lottery, for it was not the best, the wisest, or even the wealthiest of the upper classes who enjoyed it, but only those who happened to keep their names upon their University books, or who had property in more than one county. It had nothing whatever to do with wealth, rank, excellence of character, or distinguished public service, and its only virtue, if it were a virtue, was that the working man was absolutely excluded from it. He laughed at the amendment as practically saying "We admit you have a grievance in not being upon the register, but we will not remove that grievance by placing you upon the register, because you are already suffering, as Englishmen, from the under-representation of your country." He dwelt on the want of generosity of those who opposed the motion, for, though it might be found "by the aid of a microscope and an arithmetic table" that England was slightly under-represented in comparison with the other three countries which made up the United Kingdom, no complaint was ever made by Englishmen when they had 500 seats in Parliament, while Scotland had only forty, and Ireland, which at that time had nearly a third of the population of the entire kingdom, had only 100 members. As it was, England possessed more than two-thirds of the whole voting power of the House of Commons, and she had always used her "vast preponderance" to take care that her own affairs were first attended to, while those of the other countries were "borne down, overruled, and cast out of the House." England also enjoyed another great advantage in the fact that she kept the Imperial Parliament "at her own fireside," and he thought she had no title to complain, seeing "the vast power she possessed, and the use she made of it."

Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) followed with a clever speech, which threw the other occupants of the front Opposition bench and the Opposition generally into a state of great resentment and indignant warmth. He frankly admitted the existence of registration grievances; but he pointed out that, though Mr. Gladstone pledged himself six years ago to take up the question, he failed to do it when he came into power. Mr. Gladstone might say that more urgent business intervened, but the present Government might say exactly the same thing. Mr. Chamberlain proceeded to argue against the adoption of abstract resolutions, and provoked much laughter when he quoted Mr. Gladstone's arguments against them on many previous occasions. There was more laughter when he quoted from a speech made by Sir George Trevelyan in 1885, declaring that when the then Reform Bill had passed "no living man would be troubled with the franchise again," that it would be "settled on a permanent and solid basis," and that it "admitted all who should be admitted and excluded all who should be excluded;" and Mr. Chamberlain next showed how incomplete Mr. Stansfeld's proposal was, as it did not touch a

variety of questions which Mr. Chamberlain himself, in due season, was prepared to support, including manhood suffrage, the payment of members, and equal electoral districts. The motion before the House only touched, in fact, "a little corner" of a great question, which, it was hoped, would serve the party to which Mr. Stansfeld belonged, and left out of view half-a-dozen other matters of greater importance, some of which would undoubtedly tell against that party. It was not the time for a new Reform Bill, within only six years of the passing of the last one, and the raising of a new reform agitation would only paralyse everything else and indefinitely delay social reforms which the country wished to see made. Now that they had got an improved Parliamentary machine they should "turn to and use it, and not begin tinkering it again." This was no time for Parliamentary reform, still less for "such a paltry reform" as Mr. Stansfeld proposed.

Sir G. Trevelyan (*Glasgow, Bridgeton*), replying to Mr. Chamberlain's strictures on his speeches in reference to the last Reform Act, maintained that the support he intended to give to the resolution was in no way incompatible with the attitude he took up in 1884. The resolution did not propose to alter the balance between one constituency and another, and he denied that if it were carried into effect it would necessitate a redistribution of seats.

The President of the Local Government Board, Mr. Ritchie (*Tower Hamlets*), admitted that some reform in the machinery of registration was needed, though he contended that the resolution went much further and aimed at a fundamental alteration of the franchise. The Government would be glad to deal with the question of registration if they thought a measure could be got through without obstruction, but they did not think it expedient or to the interest of the people that they should embark upon a general scheme of electoral reform.

Mr. Courtney (*Cornwall, Bodmin*) remarked that he was not satisfied with our system of registration, and would prefer to see the Scotch system applied to England. He would also like to see the qualification term reduced; but with regard to the question of plural voting, he thought it of small importance, except in the case of a bye-election.

On a division, Mr. Stansfeld's motion was negatived by 291 to 189, showing a very much larger majority than had been anticipated, as the Unionist Liberals had mustered in great force to support the resolution, but the Irish Home Rulers for the most part were absent. It was a curious commentary, moreover, on this motion that a bill brought forward by a number of Liberal members was withdrawn (March 18) without debate, whilst a similar bill for Scotland had been similarly treated (Feb. 28).

Mr. Jesse Collings's (*Birmingham, Bordesley*) Small Holdings bill met with no more practical result, although on its second reading (March 11) it obtained a *succès d'estime*. The bill, which provided facilities for the acquisition of land by rural labourers, was framed

on the lines laid down by the Select Committee of 1888. The bill gave to local authorities power to hire as well as to purchase land, and also provided that a portion of the money should be paid down, the interest on the remainder being left as a perpetual quit rent. By this system the owner would be relieved from the competition of the capitalists and the men who wanted to buy land in order to relet it, and he would only have to compete with people who wanted the land for cultivating purposes.

The Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Chaplin (*Lincolnshire, Sleaford*), while defending the attitude he took in regard to small holdings in 1882, admitted that he had altered some of his views, and, though he was still opposed to the compulsory acquisition of land for the purpose of creating small holdings, he heartily concurred in the principle of the bill, and contended that the main object of Parliament in dealing with the subject should be to create a race of owners who should be dependent upon no one. Touching upon the details of the bill, he questioned the wisdom of leaving the local authority to carry out the scheme; but, assuming this to be agreed to, he thought the powers of purchase should be limited to the district of the local authority or a neighbouring district, and the power of sale limited to residents within the same locality. The whole project, which was one requiring to be dealt with with great care, was only an experiment; but he thought it was a reasonable experiment and one that might be safely tried. To insure success, however, the land acquired must be good, the price not excessive, and care must be taken that the holders were provided with the necessary buildings.

Sir W. Harcourt (*Derby*), who congratulated Mr. Chaplin upon his conversion to his present opinions, challenged the Government to bring forward their own measure. He should accept the second reading of the bill merely as a declaration that the creation of small holdings was a good thing, that it must be carried out by the local authority, and that means and facilities for carrying it out must be provided; but he maintained that no satisfactory solution of the question would be arrived at until a local authority was created which would have power to acquire land compulsorily, as well as the power, not only of buying it, but of transferring it; and the vendor must be able to part with it. But the main question was, Where was the promised bill of the Government? He admitted that the bill did not give all that might be desired, but it was merely an experiment, in regard to which it was necessary to proceed tentatively and with care, and he had no doubt that, if in the course of time it became necessary to give the local authority compulsory powers to acquire land, Parliament would not hesitate to do so.

With this chorus of approval, it was natural that the bill should have been read a second time without a division, but its promoter profited little by this expression of approval. No subsequent opportunity for pushing it through Committee occurred,

and the leader of the House, judging from representations made to him, did not see his way to giving Mr. Collings special facilities for passing a measure for which the Ministry ought more properly to have been responsible. The result was that no further progress was made in a matter which all sides of the House judged to be of pressing importance—to the agricultural labourer.

The Temperance question—in which not a few Liberals were anxious that their leaders should take a decisive step before the General Election—was brought before the House on various occasions, and several bills for limiting the issue of licences or otherwise locally controlling the liquor traffic were brought in. On only one bill—that relating to Wales—was any direct issue challenged. The second reading of the Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Wales) Bill was moved (March 18) by Mr. W. B. Rowlands (*Cardiganshire*), who appealed to the House to pass it on the ground that it was earnestly desired by an overwhelming majority of the Welsh people. The Government had allowed it to be understood that they left their supporters to act independently on the subject, but practically the majority of its opponents came from the Ministerial side of the House. The rejection of the bill was moved by the Marquess of Carmarthen (*Lambeth, Brixton*), and seconded by Mr. T. Maclean (*Oldham*), who contended that it was an unjust, intolerable, and impracticable measure, which would give rise to illicit drinking and increased demoralisation. The Home Secretary, Mr. Matthews (*Birmingham, E.*), remarking that the Government did not intend to influence their supporters to vote either for or against the Bill, admitted that an enormous amount of mischief resulted from excessive drinking, and, after tracing the history of licensing legislation, pointed out the great difficulty of dealing with the question, and expressed his belief that there were many directions which opened up a prospect more hopeful than the rough and coarse method of total prohibition. The bill was unjust and arbitrary, with nothing to alleviate its harshness, and it would absolutely put a stop to the trade of a vast number of persons who had just as much right to the consideration of the House as other law-abiding citizens, and whose trade had been fostered and protected by the Legislature.

Mr. J. Morley (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*), pointing out that the House had already accepted the principle of local control, contended that if it were conferred on elective bodies it would be practically giving to localities a power of veto, and therefore the taunt that a measure of this kind would enable a majority to tyrannise over the minority was beside the question. The transfer of licensing control to the county or municipal councils or to any other elected body would fail to give effect to the principle of direct local veto, which was the natural and indispensable complement of popular control, and he ridiculed the notion that

a large landowner should be allowed to suppress publichouses on his property whether the people of the locality liked it or not, and that the people themselves should not have the same power. He would not, however, pledge himself to support all the details of the bill.

After a few more speeches on both sides the House divided, and the second reading was carried by a majority of six, 185 to 179, amidst great cheering from the Temperance party. The bill on the next day was finally got into Committee, but no further progress was made with it, and its supporters had to be content with the "moral victory" which they had gained. A decision given by the House of Lords (sitting as a Court of Appeal) was, however, of far greater practical value. The case known as *Sharp v. Wakefield* raised the question of the right of the licensing justices to refuse to renew publichouse licenses. The Law Lords decided that they possessed an absolute, though not an arbitrary, discretion in the annual renewal as well as in the first issue of licenses. By this decision the claim to legal compensation was at once barred, and the licensed victuallers and their supporters found themselves suddenly thrown back upon the moral claim which a hitherto protected class of traders might be able to sustain. In this particular case the legal judgment left no room for doubt; the House of Lords, consisting of the Lord Chancellor, Lords Bramwell, Herschell, Macnaghten, and Hannen, were unanimous in affirming the decision of the Master of the Rolls and Lords Justices Fry and Lopes, who, in their turn, had affirmed the judgment of three judges of the Queen's Bench Division. The case arose out of the refusal of the justices of the Kendal Division of Westmoreland to renew the license for the Lowbridge Inn at Hawkmere, on the ground that there was no longer necessity for a licensed house at that spot. The owner of the inn appealed against this decision on the ground that on an application for the renewal of existing licenses the justices were not entitled to inquire into the wants of the neighbourhood, but the justices at Quarter Sessions upheld the view of the licensing justices, holding also that the remoteness of the premises from police supervision was a further reason for withholding the license.

The conflict between labour and capital, of which the strikes on the Caledonian Railway, at the Cardiff Docks, and in other places gave evidence of the current prevailing in almost every trade, whilst the arguments and pleas put forward by the promoters of these movements, bore witness to a wide extension of Socialistic tendencies among the working classes. In Parliament, on the platform, and in private endeavour the willingness to recognise the new state of things was abundantly shown. Mr. Channing's motion for the reduction of the hours of railway servants had indeed been negatived in the House of Commons, but a few days after the President of the Board of Trade con-

sent to the appointment of a Commission to investigate the alleged grievances. The Cheap Trains (London) Bill, which proposed to fix the maximum fare by workmen's trains within twelve miles of the metropolis at a halfpenny a mile for the double journey; Mr. Cuninghame Graham's Eight Hours Bill; the Labourers' Cottage Gardens Bill, and various Crofters' Holdings bills were instances of the general drift of public opinion, although in no case did any of these private bills become law. The Bill to amend the Factory and Workshops Act, 1878, brought in by Sir Henry James (*Bury*), was more practical in its aims and more specific in its application. It had for its object the better sanitation of factories, and provided for better ventilation, better means of escape from fire, greater protection from injury by machinery, and the means of testing the rate of payment by piece-work. After some discussion the bill was read a second time (Feb. 18), and was subsequently referred to a Select Committee, the Home Secretary having in the meanwhile (Feb. 10) brought in a Government Bill dealing with the same subject. In moving the second reading of this bill (Feb. 26) Mr. Matthews (*Birmingham, E.*) explained that the object of the bill was to bring all workshops and factories up to the same sanitary level, and to require the same conditions as to ventilation, overcrowding, lime-washing, and cleanliness in all workshops, whether men alone, or women and children, were employed; but with regard to domestic workshops it was thought they might be left to the general law relating to public health. Factories would continue to be under the authority of the factory inspectors, but in other cases the enforcement of the sanitary provisions of the bill would be left to the local authorities. The bill also made better provision for carrying out the law relating to the employment of women and children, and alterations respecting their employment were made which, he believed, would prove of immense advantage to poor women who had household as well as business duties to attend to.

Mr. Buxton (*Poplar*) submitted that while the bill went a long way in the direction of improvement, it contained many sins of commission as well as of omission, and, in particular, he took objection to the provisions dealing with home work, domestic workshops, sanitary arrangements, and the publicity of notices in shops.

A long discussion followed, in the course of which a general approval was expressed of the bill, with the exception of the clause abolishing factory surgeons, to whose utility nearly every speaker testified.

Mr. Mundella (*Sheffield, Brightside*), who congratulated the Government on the tone and temper of the discussion, supported the bill; but, while gratified at the action of the Government in joining in the Berlin Conference, he regretted that they had not carried out its recommendation with regard to the age question

in the case of child labour, to which their representative had assented. He also strongly urged the retention of the certifying surgeons.

The Under-Secretary for the Home Department, Mr. Stuart-Wortley (*Sheffield, Hallam*), denied that the Government had neglected the recommendations of the Berlin Conference; but with regard to the question of minimum age in the case of child labour, the Government would be quite willing to reconsider the question when the bill was in Committee.

The bill was then read a second time, and referred to the Committee on Trade, to which Sir H. James's bill had been also sent.

The action of the House of Commons in this matter followed immediately on the announcement by Mr. Smith that it was the intention of the Government to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the relations between employers and employed, and thus to discover, if possible, some solid basis on which prospective legislation should be founded. Mr. Broadhurst (*Nottingham, W.*), as the spokesman of the Trade Unionists, asked the Government for an assurance that the proceedings of the Commissioners should in no way be permitted "to interfere with the present legal rights and liberty of combination which the organised trades of the country possess." It was, perhaps, hardly necessary for Mr. Smith to point out that the Royal Commission would have no power whatsoever to interfere with the existing legal rights of any person whatever, employers or employed. The object of the inquiry was rather to discover how those rights, as well as all other ascertainable conditions, had contributed to the recent labour conflicts. Lord Hartington, at the special request of the Government, consented to take the Chairmanship of the Commission, on which employers and working-men, as well as lawyers, politicians, and economists, also found seats.

In connection with this subject should also be mentioned the motion (Jan. 26) made by the Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. Jackson (*Leeds, N.*), for a Select Committee to inquire into various schemes which had been proposed to facilitate emigration from the congested districts of the United Kingdom to British colonies or elsewhere; to examine into the results of any schemes which have received practical trials in recent years, and to report generally whether, in their opinion, it is desirable to promote emigration; and, if so, upon the means and the conditions under which such emigration can best be carried out, and the quarters to which it can be most advantageously directed.

The scope of the work of this Committee was subsequently (Feb. 3) enlarged, and the reports of the Select Committees on Colonisation, 1889-1890; on the condition of the Highlands in 1851; on the Game Laws in 1873; and of the various Royal Commissions on the Cottars and Crofters of Scotland, 1883-1890, were also referred to it for consideration.

The report of the Committee was made before Easter, and the chief conclusions arrived at were to the effect that they had no grounds for thinking that the present condition of the United Kingdom generally called for any general scheme of State-organised emigration: That the powers in possession of local authorities should be sufficient to enable them at no onerous risk to assist in the colonisation or emigration of persons or families from their own localities: That the congested districts of Ireland and of the highlands and islands of Scotland formed an exceptional case, and required relief by assistance to industries, to colonisation, or emigration; and, where suitable, to migration: That the provisions proposed in the Land and Congested Districts (Ireland) Bill were ample for these purposes, and that provisions similar to some of the foregoing should be made for the crofter districts of Scotland: That the Colonisation Board be continued and reconstructed for purposes of colonisation and emigration from such districts: That the power of enlarging crofters' holdings in that Act should be kept alive: That crofts vacated by emigration or migration should be added to existing holdings without power of subdivision: That the experiment of colonising the crofter population in Canada should be further tried: That the proposals of the Government of British Columbia should be favourably entertained, as well as similar proposals from any other Colonial Government: That the agency of companies for colonisation and emigration should be taken advantage of, both as regards the aforesaid colonisation in Canada and elsewhere: That the Government grant to the Emigrants' Information Office should be increased. With regard to Scotland, the report said:—

“This and the still more recent inquiry of 1890 indicate measures which may relieve destitution in the Lewis and other spots severely, though less terribly, congested—the formation of local roads, tramways, fishing harbours, and more direct lines of railway from ports on the coast; the subsidising of lines of steamers to expedite the conveyance of fish to market; and for the families in which there is no able-bodied member, or on which the able-bodied are only females, grants in aid to the parochial boards to be disbursed separately from the rates with such labour tests of domestic industry as are possible. It cannot, however, be doubted that there are districts in which no remedial measures can be adequate or permanently beneficial which do not include some for the reduction of the redundant population within manageable limits. In so saying, your Committee can lay claim to no new discovery. From 1886 down to the present time competent authorities have from time to time declared that the population of these districts cannot be extricated from their difficulties without the aid of emigration, and each successive report has demonstrated that the evil and that the necessity have continuously increased.”

Of the difficulties in the way of some of the more ardent Socialists, Mr. L. Courtney, at University College, London (Feb. 11), had spoken with great effect and strong common sense, based upon a consummate knowledge of the inexorable demands of political economy. First of all, he said it would be necessary to secure a majority among the possessors of political power for the principle of renouncing individual advantages, and surrendering individual powers, faculties, and abilities to the service of the community, a task not in itself very easy to accomplish. Next would come the pinch of the question how, after this had been effected, the individual, working under a socialistic *régime*, was to proceed when conscious of the hope that he was on the eve of discovering some great invention that would transform certain aspects of man's life. "How is he to begin with his invention, to practise it, to perfect it? He will not have resources of his own, nor can he go to friends or speculators to help his fortunes." A series of bureaux of invention for all the different fields of art would become necessary. Now, "the socialised community would be a slowly moving if not stagnant organism." At present we have variety ensured by competing individuals or competing companies; but a "socialised community" would have to determine on *à priori* principles for what varieties of improvement there was a demand, and for what varieties there was no demand. Then, again, industries change their habitats, and the "socialised community" would have to discover the law of these changes, and to obey it; but the "socialised community" could hardly bring about all these modifications without directing that a different amount of labour should be given in one productive process to that required in another productive process, and consequently a difference in the award of remuneration would become necessary; whence, again, an immense amount of jealousy and heart-burning, and also a strain put upon the intellectual powers of the directors of the "socialised community" which it surpassed the imaginative power of ordinary men to conceive. After dealing with the bearing of Socialism on art and literature, and holding that the judgment of taste of a community would be almost of necessity commonplace, Mr. Courtney concluded: "If we were to judge aright the programme of Socialist promise we must compare it not merely with the society that existed, but with society as it too might become, though remaining based on the principles that now underlay it, as its units grew in morality and wisdom. No economist, however strong an upholder of the freedom of individual action and of individual development, had ever forgotten that man was a social animal. From his birth onwards he carried his powers and his responsibility at his own peril till the time came when, in Pascal's phrase, he must die alone; yet his career was only possible through a participation in labour, an interchange in services, a co-operation in toil. What might not the race become

through the education of the individual man thus endowed with complete personal freedom, and using that freedom as his reason directed, now to work apart and then in unison with his fellow or his fellows?"

The relations of Great Britain and her Colonies were touched upon both in Parliament and in public meetings, and in each case the question of Imperial Federation was mixed up with that of Free Trade, the policy of the mother-country and her dependencies being in almost all cases opposed upon this point. The Imperial Federation League, which owed much of its popularity and strength to the support given to it by Lord Rosebery and other prominent Liberal politicians, was this year addressed by Sir Gordon Sprigg (Jan. 14), an ex-Prime Minister at the Cape of Good Hope, who discussed very openly the interest of South Africa in any scheme of Imperial Federation. The pictures which he painted of colonial feeling towards England was the reverse of flattering to those who put faith in the filial devotion of colonies towards the mother-country. Sentiment, Sir Gordon Sprigg admitted, was the only tie now binding them together, and sentiment was growing weaker year by year. Patriotism was coming more and more to mean attachment to the land of birth, and every year the numbers born in each colony was increasing. To replace the sentimental tie by something stronger and more durable, Sir Gordon Sprigg wished to see a commercial union among the various dependencies of the British Empire. They wanted to show the different colonies that they got an advantage by being portions of the Empire—a practical advantage in trade and other matters—something altogether outside of sentiment. He, therefore, urged upon the Association to press for an invitation being addressed to the Governments of the various Colonies to discuss the formation of a commercial union between the different Colonies.

Mr. L. Courtney, who represented the stricter views of the Cobden school of political economists, urged against this plan of a Zollverein embracing the whole British Empire, that it would mean fewer customers for English goods, for it would be only possible to give special trade advantages to the Colonies by imposing corresponding disadvantages on foreign countries.

Mr. Howard Vincent (*Sheffield, C.*), when raising the question in the House of Commons (Feb. 17), recommended that steps should be taken for inviting a conference between the Imperial Government and the self-governing Colonies upon the best means of developing the trade of the Empire. In the course of his speech he let fall many ambiguous suggestions as to the limits of Free Trade, such as the establishment of preferential custom duties as between the mother-country and the Colonies; but Sir Lyon Playfair (*Leeds, S.*) showed conclusively the fallacy of any such attempt to bolster up British commerce. He maintained

that the proposer of the motion had produced no argument as well as no basis for the proposed conference. He showed from the statistics of the trade of this country that under our Free-Trade system this country was not declining in prosperity; on the contrary, it had prospered and was prospering enormously by reason of our commerce being perfectly free. The trade of this country for 1890 amounted to no less than 684 millions, or an increase of 122 millions as compared with the figures for 1886; while the Board of Trade returns proved that employment was general throughout the country among the wage-earning classes. What was it that the fair traders wanted to be at? Was it a general Zollverein? If so, that was not the intention of the Colonies. The Colonies desired that England should put a tax on all foreign imports whatever, and that colonial products, with a few limitations for revenue purposes, should be admitted free; but the Colonies refused to be bound in any way to lower their taxation on British commodities.

Mr. J. Lowther denied that Sir L. Playfair had at all accurately stated the programme of the Fair Traders as to the lines on which a preferential fiscal system should be conducted. He pointed out that Free Trade was losing ground all the world over, and that Protection was everywhere rampant, and stated that even among the electorate of this country the "claptrap" cries of Free Trade had largely lost their potency, and that a strong Imperial feeling was growing up in favour of closer fiscal relations with the Colonies.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer deprecated any notion that the debate or the fate of the motion was meant to influence, however indirectly, the Canadian election then in progress. Personally he was in cordial sympathy with the idea of the closest intercourse between the mother-country and the Colonies, and on that account he was desirous that the movement should not be prejudiced by any suspicion that its champions had any sneaking liking for protection at home. There was no doubt the idea of closer relationship, at all events in connection with naval defence, had laid hold of the imagination of the Colonies, and this country might well make some effort for the sake of the closer union of the Empire; but he hoped the colonists would thoroughly understand that it was impossible to put, for example, a duty on corn without raising the price of the article. There were two great systems possible—the one a customs union, and the other the system of preferential duties. He saw no objection in principle to a customs union of the Empire, but we were a long way from such a consummation; while, with regard to differential duties: that would mean the imposition of duties on food-stuffs, bread-stuffs, and raw material, which public opinion in this country would not tolerate. As Chancellor of the Exchequer he was bound to say that the amounts contributed by the Colonies towards naval defence was extremely insignificant. Nothing,

however, would give him greater pleasure than to meet representative men from the Colonies to confer together as to what changes might be made on both sides, but to invite such a conference without some proper basis would only lead to disappointment and to no practical result.

Mr. Howard Vincent, after some further discussion, wished to withdraw his resolution; but to this the House would not consent, and perhaps, to save some of his supporters from recording their votes in favour of Protection, however disguised, Mr. W. H. Smith moved the previous question, which was carried without dissent.

On the following day (Feb. 18) Sir M. Hicks-Beach spoke at the London Chamber of Commerce very much in the tone of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He protested against the notion that he was in any sense indifferent to the principles of Free Trade, but he seemed to hint that, without abandoning Free Trade, something might be done, fiscally and financially, towards establishing closer relations with our Colonies. A week or two later (March 4), at the dinner of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, Mr. Bryce, in proposing the health of the Government, congratulated them on this, addressing fiery protests to foreign Powers engaged in constructing Protectionist tariffs. Lord Salisbury, in reply, taunted Mr. Bryce for the support he and the Opposition had given to their policy of abstaining from useless remonstrances, and pointed out that all they could say by way of remonstrance would merely confirm the foreign Government in its attitude. They would reply: "You expect our policy to injure your commerce. We are very glad to hear it; that is just what we are trying to do, in the belief that it will benefit our own." Complete neutrality was the only course which offered any kind of advantage in crises of that kind, where foreign Powers were possessed with the mistaken belief that our loss would be their gain.

Lord Salisbury, next speaking of the relations between capital and labour, doubted the value of legislative interference, by the Royal Commission or otherwise, except for the protection of women and children. The corollary, he said, of the liberty of uniting (which he cordially approved) was the liberty of refusing to unite, which ought to be sedulously guarded. And as for legislative interference with adult labour, he did not think it would be fruitful, since the result of such interference was always a resultant of two forces, the enacting force of Parliament and the evading force of individuals. Supposing Parliament enacted an eight-hour day for miners, and a crisis then occurred in the mining industry which rendered it obviously desirable in the miners' interest (as it easily might) to work overtime, was it not absurd to suppose that the means of evading the law could not without difficulty be found? These kinds of laws only involved the expense of a great army of inspectors, who would, after all, be quite

unable to enforce them when it was for the interest of the class that they should not be enforced.

In the House of Lords the proceedings before Easter were more than usually devoid of public interest. The increasing jealousy of the House of Commons with regard to bills originated in the Upper House was more than ever marked, the Archbishop of Canterbury's Clergy Discipline Bill—giving the bishop power to remove from their benefices clergymen convicted of immorality and crime—after careful discussion in the House of Lords (March 12 *et seq.*) was not even read a second time in the Commons. Lord Brabourne's bill for making better provision for the elementary education of blind and deaf children in England and Wales shared a similar fate. Lord Herschell's bill to render it penal to send betting circulars to boys at school and college, and money-lenders' circulars to "infants," was treated with more respect, and, after very careful debate in the House of Lords, was cordially received by the Commons and carried into committee. There, however, it suffered shipwreck on the obstacle placed in its way by Dr. W. A. Hunter (*Aberdeen, N.*) and Mr. Robertson (*Dundee*), who seemed to think that the borrowers, rather than the lenders of money at exorbitant rates of interest, should be punishable. How far their opinions were shared by others was not seen, for the progress of the bill was blocked by the two members, who refused to make any concessions notwithstanding the appeals made to them from their own side of the House. The Lord Chancellor's bill for amending the law relating to the custody of infants was carried to a successful issue and received Royal Assent. Its immediate object was to give to the children of the poor the same protection as that given to the wards of the Court of Chancery.

But the most important business which came before the House arose out of the Newfoundland Fisheries dispute, and the avowed determination of the colonists not to be bound by the decisions of the arbitration to which Lord Salisbury and the French Government had agreed to refer the questions in dispute. Every attempt had been made to persuade the Newfoundland Legislature to take a more constitutional view of the position, and it was not until every prospect of co-operation between the Imperial and Colonial Governments had disappeared that the former felt it necessary to take Parliamentary powers required to enforce compliance with its demands. With this view the Government decided to introduce the Newfoundland Fisheries Bill, the object of which was to revive certain sections of an Act passed in the reign of George IV. for the purpose of carrying into effect engagements with France respecting the Newfoundland fisheries.

The Colonial Secretary (Lord Knutsford), in introducing the bill (March 19), recapitulated the history of the disputes which had arisen between Newfoundland and France in reference to these fisheries, and with much care and circumspection explained the

circumstances which had made the bill necessary. Lord Knutsford acknowledged that considerable irritation existed in the colony of Newfoundland against her Majesty's Government, and explained that the object of his bill was to revive certain powers which the Crown at one time possessed for giving instructions to the naval officers of this country to ensure the performance of treaties with foreign Powers. By an Act of George III., re-enacted in the reign of George IV., but allowed to lapse in 1834, the Crown had the powers now asked for to ensure the carrying out of the treaties of Utrecht, Versailles, and Paris, made with France, whereby certain fishing rights were reserved to France along the Newfoundland coasts. The object of the present bill, therefore, was not new, and its only novelty arose from the fact that legislation of this kind was not usual in the case of a self-governing colony; indeed, a self-governing colony was never interfered with by the Imperial Parliament in any matter of local interest of internal organisation or administration, but only in matters which had an imperial bearing and character. A strong case must be made out for imperial interference; but he thought a strong case existed in this instance, and that her Majesty's Government had no option but to pursue the course they had taken. When a country had made a treaty or arrangement with a foreign nation it was bound to see that treaty carried out by its own subjects, and if the treaty affected a colony which was subsequently made self-governing, that colony was equally bound to ensure the carrying out of the treaty. In this case Newfoundland had "failed in its duty," and the Imperial Parliament was, therefore, bound to act. Tracing the steps under which such a necessity had arisen, Lord Knutsford showed that the French fishing rights on the Newfoundland coasts had constantly given rise to difficulties and complications, and from time to time there had been imminent danger of collisions between the French and colonial fishermen—a danger only averted by the friendly action and excellent judgment of the naval officers of both countries, who had never displayed those qualities more conspicuously than of late, when the relations had become more strained. The feeling of antagonism had been greatly strained by a legislative enactment passed by Newfoundland to prevent the French from purchasing bait, in consequence of the closing of European markets to colonial-caught fish by the high French bounties; and the antagonism had been further increased by the increasing burdensomeness of the treaties upon the colonists, whose fishing industry was crippled, and whose opportunities of developing the mineral resources of their country were stopped. While it was impossible not to sympathise with the colonists in their impatience against burdens which seriously interfered with the prosperous development of their country, our colonists had themselves resisted various attempts made to bring about a solution of the question. They had declined to be longer bound by the *modus vivendi* arranged

for the fishing season of 1890, and they had refused to consent to arbitration except on condition of the withdrawal of the French from their coasts, so that the state of things had now become so serious that something must be done, as, if it were allowed to continue, it might lead to collisions and, possibly, to war. Under these circumstances her Majesty's Government had no alternative, in the interests of peace and order and in the performance of our obligations, but to revive the power, which formerly belonged to the Crown, to order the naval officers on the station to see the French treaties duly fulfilled. The Earl of Kimberley gave a thorough support to the action of her Majesty's Government. He acknowledged, amid cheers from both sides of the House, and especially from the occupants of the Treasury bench, a deep sympathy with the colonists; but admitted that a state of things had arisen which was almost intolerable, and which could not be allowed to continue. While he regretted the necessity of having to use the undoubted powers of the Imperial Parliament to enforce the law in the colony, he pointed out that the treaty rights were in existence before the colony became self-governing, and, therefore, the colony had all along been bound by them. However, he yet hoped that the colonists would see the wisdom of submitting to the treaty obligations, but in the meanwhile he could not see how it was possible to avoid imperial action. The Marquess of Salisbury, in closing the debate, regretted that past opportunities had not been used to wipe out this "embarrassing chapter of our international law." He sympathised with the colonists who had been "the sport of historic misfortune," and were still "paying the penalty of the intrigues of Lord Bolingbroke," and he praised the admirable tone and temper displayed by France. But the situation was very serious, for at any time "an ugly blow might be dealt, an ugly shot fired; something might be done by which the honour of a nation might be affected, and it was impossible to look without the gravest apprehension at what the consequences might be." Some of the colonists seemed to imagine that the embarrassments with which they were struggling were partly the result of their loyalty to the Queen and attachment to the Empire; but it was a great mistake to suppose that their position with France would in the least degree be modified if they were not attached to any State or Sovereign in the world. In any event the rights of France would be enforced by France. Lord Knutsford's bill was then read a first time.

It was subsequently arranged that the second reading of the bill should be postponed until after the Easter recess, in order that a deputation of the Newfoundland Legislature should have the opportunity of conferring with the Government before the bill was finally passed.

During the earlier portion of the session platform speeches were, as usual, comparatively rare and unimportant. Neverthe-

less the leaders of the various parties found opportunities of placing before their respective followers the issues upon which the appeal to the constituencies would sooner or later have to be made. The urgent cry for an immediate dissolution which at one time had been sounded on every Gladstonian platform had died away—the Radicals recognising that until Irish politics shaped themselves in some definite way, it would be useless and possibly dangerous to push forward the cause of Irish Home Rule. Moreover a dissolution forced on in ignorance of the intentions of more than half of the Irish electorate might irretrievably compromise the English Liberals and render their return to office impossible. From the three bye-elections which, in addition to that for Hartlepool, took place during this interval little was to be learnt of use for future guidance, although political augurs on all sides were ready to prophesy. In Kilkenny, certainly, the Nationalist candidate, Sir J. Pope Hennessy, whose cause had been warmly supported by the priests, was returned by an overwhelming majority over his Parnellite opponent, Mr. Scully; but the electoral period had been of too short duration to discover the true extent of the gulf between English and Irish Liberals, which Mr. Parnell was desirous to make impassable and unspanable. His taunt to his opponents was that by their submission to Mr. Gladstone's demand they had proved their readiness to sacrifice the independence of Ireland to the exigencies of English political parties. The election at Northampton, on the other hand, showed that the Radicalism of that constituency had grown stronger, or that it had not put forth its full power when Mr. Bradlaugh's seat had been threatened. A more important lesson of the election was the evidence that it afforded that the Northampton Radicals, chiefly working men, distinctly refused to return a London delegate of the Trades' Union—and also that they preferred to be represented by an employer of labour, rather than by one of their own class.

The election for the Aston division of Birmingham only showed that Mr. Chamberlain's influence was unshaken, or that Liberal Unionism was an active political principle. The crushing defeat of the Gladstonian candidate, Mr. W. P. Beale, Q.C., should have been foreseen by the party managers, and the damage done to their cause by forcing a contest, might have been avoided by the exercise of a little of that foresight of which Mr. Schnadhorst and his friends claimed a monopoly when forecasting the results of the general election.

To return, however, to the platform speeches of the party leaders, prominence must be given to that of Lord Randolph Churchill to the Conservatives of South Paddington (Feb. 21) on the eve of his departure for South Africa. Lord R. Churchill had openly declared his objections to the general policy of the Irish Land Bill of the Government on the second reading of the bill, but he would not do his party the disservice of remaining to

criticise and oppose its details in Committee, and he therefore decided to absent himself from England for a time. He began his speech by reminding them of the definition of an independent member, as a member who could not be depended upon; and in that sense he admitted that whenever called upon to support an antiquated or reactionary policy he was independent. Yet he claimed credit for never having shown a disposition to make things "unpleasant" for the Government, even when he had opposed it in relation to the Irish Land Bill. On the other hand, he heartily supported them in having made Free Education one of the planks of the Tory platform, believing it would be one of the greatest boons which the Government could confer upon the masses of the people. There was one thing in connection with the registration laws which was a crying scandal and a disgrace to the country. The maintenance of the rule of Parliamentary electors was almost of as much importance as the maintenance of Parliament itself: but it was left entirely at the present time to amateur rival political partisans, each of whom was striving to keep off the register people who ought to be on it, and striving to keep on the register people who ought not to be there. He hoped the registration laws would be placed upon a sounder basis, but he was wholly opposed to reducing the time of qualifying a householder for a vote below twelve months. He expressed the hope that the Government would endeavour to find some mode of establishing a better understanding between capital and labour; and, although he did not believe in any attempt to limit associated labour to eight hours, he thought the limit should be enforced in the case of miners. He assured the English artisans, however, that no demand had been put forward and steadily adhered to on their behalf which had not been proved to have a good foundation or a good reason behind it.

On the same evening Mr. Chamberlain, on the first anniversary of the foundation of the Liberal Union Club at Birmingham, made a far more combative speech, declaring that the time had arrived when the character and objects of the Irish Nationalist leaders might be fairly estimated. Recent disclosures had profoundly modified the existing situation, and had brought their opponents much nearer to their conclusions. As a politician he had only to do with Mr. Parnell's character as a public man, and as a public man recent events had shown Mr. Parnell to be "absolutely unscrupulous, thoroughly untruthful, treacherous, and perfectly untrustworthy." Up to the present time their opponents had endeavoured to transfer their allegiance from Mr. Parnell to Mr. Parnell's late followers. But they had no more reason for their confidence in these men than they had for their confidence in Mr. Parnell. They were "all engaged in the attempt to mislead the British nation." It was admitted that one and all, though they pretended in public to accept Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill as a final settlement of the Irish question, at the same

time in private agreed to accept it *pro tanto* as merely an instalment which would enable them to obtain further concessions. No future Home Rule Bill could be proposed which at the outset even would receive the support of the majority of the Irish people. Mr. Parnell and his followers had expressed themselves dissatisfied with the concessions which Mr. Gladstone made to them. Mr. Parnell demanded from Mr. Gladstone that he should concede to an Irish Parliament control of the Land Question, control of the judges, and control of the constabulary, and Mr. Gladstone had conceded every one of these points. But Mr. Parnell now said he must have control of the tariff, he must have power over the customs, and be able to protect Irish industry against British manufacturers; and, above all, he must have an understanding that there should be no veto and no attempt to set up any supremacy of the British, the Imperial, Parliament. Mr. Gladstone refused these concessions, and it was to be hoped that he would stand firm. The result was, that if to-morrow Mr. Gladstone were to bring in a Home Rule Bill, he would be in the curious position of proposing to force Home Rule upon the Irish people against the wish of the majority of the Irish people, and, of course, against the wish of the majority of the people of Great Britain. How would it be possible, under the circumstances, to carry a Home Rule Bill in Parliament? Mr. Gladstone had tardily consented to put Welsh Disestablishment as second on his programme. But what was the use of that if the first item on the programme was certain to bring about the defeat of the Government? And what about the labour question and the social questions? Bye-elections were not a conclusive test of the real drift of public opinion, but they indicated to wise men what was passing in the minds of the electors. And recent bye-elections showed conclusively that Home Rule no longer interested the masses of the people. When the Land Purchase Bill had been carried, and when a fair Local Government Bill for Ireland, which would give to Ireland the same local liberties as had been found sufficient for England and Scotland, had been passed, the great majority of the people would think that enough had been done for Ireland apart from the general interests of the United Kingdom. Their thoughts were nearer home; they were dwelling upon their own position and upon the question of the relations between labour and capital and on the unequal distribution of wealth. They were endeavouring to find in legislation some means of making their lives happier and better and broader and healthier. The resources of civilisation were not yet exhausted, and it was the duty of statesmen to find out the ways and the means by which these hopes could be realised.

To these arguments and assertions Earl Spencer at Rochdale (March 11), and Mr. Gladstone at Hastings (March 19), replied. The former dwelt upon some of the achievements of the Liberal

party in the past, and declared that the great questions arising in connection with labour and society would have to be dealt with by the same party. The majority of the Liberals were strongly in favour of free education, and must keep a careful watch on the Tory party, who, if they introduced a measure, would increase the Government aid to all schools in the country. Turning to Irish affairs, he declared that Mr. Gladstone had no wish to dictate to the Irish party as to who should be their leader ; but he knew that if Mr. Parnell continued as leader the cause of Home Rule would be lost for a long time, and he felt it his duty to inform the Irish party of that fact. The English people had a right to demand that the Irish people should be led by men in whom they could have confidence, men of honour and probity, and he felt sure they would obtain that security. He did not believe that in the wildest moment of excitement any responsible Irish statesman desired separation from England ; but it would be the duty of Parliament to see that securities were taken to prevent such separation. He thought the Irish should have the control of the police, but he was significantly silent on the point whether under this term he included the existing force of constabulary. He objected to the State becoming the landlord of the bulk of the Irish tenants, and said the question ought to be left to the Irish Parliament, at all events after a certain period.

Mr. Gladstone's visit to Sussex was a prominent incident in the campaign in Southern England which had long been meditated by the Liberal party organisers, and everything was done to give to the journey the appearance of a triumphal progress, with speeches at the railway stations *en route* to encourage the local Liberals. At Hastings Mr. Gladstone found as enthusiastic an audience as in any of the northern counties, and in numbers they more than sufficed to overflow the largest available building. In the course of his speech Mr. Gladstone said there had been little in the proceedings of Lord Salisbury at the Foreign Office to which Liberals ought to object. But, as regards the department of finance, the principles of the system were gradually being sapped by tacit and insidious methods. The power of the House of Commons depended upon its right to fix the expenditure of the country from year to year. If it were in the power of the Government, through the agency of its majority, to cast the burden of the present upon the future, the consequences would be the gaining of a partial and superficial credit which were not deserved. Secondly, there would be the storing up of future financial embarrassment ; and, thirdly, a real invasion of those liberties which were essentially associated with the privilege of the House of Commons. Next to this power of annual control, it was essential that there should be a unity of the public funds. Further, there should be no concealment, so that anything which had been spent should be brought before the

country from time to time, for the waste of five millions was a much smaller evil than the concealment of one, forasmuch as the latter might easily be redressed by the nation. An instance of the complex financial arrangements of the Government was that they had provided that for seven years to come 1,400,000*l.* should in each year be applicable to shipbuilding under Act of Parliament. That Act of Parliament could, of course, be altered, but only by consent of the House of Lords. At first it was arranged that this enormous expenditure of 38 millions in the Army and Navy should be concealed from the public. Of this 33½ millions only were to be provided for by taxation, and 4½ millions were the concealed contraction of public debt. The Chancellor of the Exchequer showed a surplus of 3½ millions; but if he had shown that 4½ millions of expenditure he would have had no surplus at all, but a deficiency of 1 million. It had been proposed to invest a large proportion of that fictitious and pretended surplus of revenue over expenditure in a Publichouse Endowment Bill; but, fortunately, the House of Commons had stopped that. Turning to Ireland, Mr. Gladstone said that the familiarising of that country with the doctrine that Parliament was to be the organ through which redress was to be obtained of Irish grievances was due almost entirely to that undoubted patriot Daniel O'Connell. It had been "ascribed" to Mr. Parnell in the newspapers that he had said in a speech on Sunday in Ireland that he (Mr. Gladstone) had opposed the claims of labour candidates because, acting with the Liberal leaders, he was bound to do so when they asked it of him. Now there was not a syllable of truth in this, for the Liberal leaders had desired from the bottom of their hearts to promote an increase in the number of labour representatives in Parliament. With regard to his action of denouncing Mr. Parnell in 1881, Mr. Gladstone said he had done so because Mr. Parnell had at that time expressed himself in language which appeared most dangerous to the Empire, with respect to the total separation of Ireland from this country, and because he was a determined opponent of the Irish Land Act. After Mr. Parnell emerged from his Kilmainham imprisonment he did not repeat the dangerous language, and he became a co-operator in giving effect to the Land Act. When in 1886 the policy of Home Rule was announced by the Government, the plan was frankly and magnanimously and patriotically received by the Irish National party.

"Our plan was based upon the twin ideas, first of all, of handing over to Ireland the full and efficacious control of her own local affairs. Secondly, of maintaining in a form not less full and efficacious the control of the Imperial Parliament over all those charges and all those interests which were imperial. If it happens in my lifetime that every fresh plan for Home Rule, as I trust may be the case, may be founded with a rigid fidelity upon those two bases—neither of which, in my opinion, can be

justifiably separated from the other—any infringement of the one would, if I am right in my view, inflict mortal damage on the other. Upon that basis we worked from the summer of 1886 to the winter of 1890, and with the result that upon certain chances which bye-elections afforded we obtained last year sixteen seats. With that before me I think I may venture to call it a matter of certainty that, if under those circumstances Parliament were dissolved to-morrow, a large and commanding majority would be returned for the purpose of converting Ireland into a blessing and source of strength to this country, instead of being a difficulty, an embarrassment, and an obstacle to the practical conduct of our affairs, to the application and pursuance of our vital interests. Well, gentlemen, then came that sad and painful time of the disclosures in the Divorce Court; and I must now speak with respect to the effect of those disclosures, because there you, in point of fact, are more deeply concerned than I am. It was not my business, gentlemen, to place myself upon the chair of the judge to pronounce judgment upon my fellow-creature with regard to any amount of delinquency, real or imaginary, great or small, of which he had been guilty; but it was your part, gentlemen, as the Liberal party of this country, to consider on what principles and on what rules you would be guided in the disposal of your votes. The Liberal party of this country knew very well that the according of Irish Home Rule depended upon them. I have never made any secret of it; if it were possible that the Tories would give Ireland a measure of Home Rule corresponding to the measure I have alluded to I should be delighted. I should give them the same support as if it were a measure proceeding from the Liberal party. But there is an impediment in the way of such a measure, not in the Tory conscience, which does not care much about it. I do not know whether it is in the Tory intellect; I do not think it is in that either. It is in the existence of that unhappy, unfortunate, ill-starred abortion of a party which is called the party of Liberal Unionists. The Tories might give Home Rule just as they gave Roman Catholic emancipation. The Tory party lives by its defeat. It always comes up again like the figures in 'Punch,' when you think it has been fairly and finally disposed of by a great clout on the head. But the Liberal Unionists are in a different position, because the reason and ground of their existence is opposition to Home Rule, and if Home Rule were granted they vanish into thin air."

Coming next to the relations of the Liberals and Irish Nationalists, Mr. Gladstone said that after the disclosures in the Divorce Court they would not place the Constitutional leadership of Ireland in the hands of Mr. Parnell, who, however, had the support of the Tory press and most of the Tories in England.

"An idea has gone abroad that the action of the Liberal party must undergo some immediate change in consequence of what

has happened in Ireland. It seems to be supposed that the Liberal party within the walls of the House of Commons has been busy all this time since 1886 in endeavouring to persuade the House of Commons to adopt Home Rule. It is nothing of the kind. We have not preached the doctrine of Home Rule directly or perseveringly in the House of Commons, and why, gentlemen? You might just as well go and preach to the waves which wash upon your cliffs as preach to the majority in the present House of Commons. We have kept our breath for other purposes; we have steadily resisted in the House of Commons any attempt to coerce Ireland in all its forms."

After referring to the action of his party relating to the one-man-one-vote, to taxation as between realty and personalty, to the taxation of ground-rents, to the Religious Disabilities Bill, to disestablishment of the Church in Wales, and to altering the law of conspiracy, Mr. Gladstone said it was not a contemptible record of six or seven weeks' proceedings, and it showed, he argued, that they had plenty to do.

This speech satisfied very few even among Mr. Gladstone's supporters. It gave no clue to them of the line they were to follow in recommending Home Rule to their constituents; it afforded no fresh starting-point of defence, and, as the result showed, its most aggressive criticism of his opponents' work had to be abandoned after a brief newspaper controversy.

It was not likely that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would allow the charge of having foisted a "pretended" surplus upon the House of Commons to pass unchallenged, and still less the assertion that one-third of it, 1,200,000*l.*, was to be invested "in the fancy scheme of buying up the licenses of publichouses." Mr. Goschen pointed out that the sum to be so set apart was 450,000*l.*, which had been provided out of a special tax on the liquor trade, a point on which Mr. Gladstone was carefully silent. On the other charge, that the Government had intentionally and criminally concealed the amount of naval and military expenditure which it was proposed to incur in the current year, Mr. Goschen had simply regarded this as a "mare's nest of Mr. Shaw-Lefevre's;" but when it was endorsed by the authority of Mr. Gladstone, he searched in vain the Treasury records to find the base of such a charge. To this, Mr. Gladstone, in a very wary letter, replied that, if the plan adopted by himself in 1868 with regard to barrack expenditure was to be regarded as a precedent for the course pursued with the shipbuilding programme of the present Government, he denied the analogy: for barracks were built on permanent principles, whilst in shipbuilding the fashion was always shifting. With regard to the concealment of expenditure, Mr. Gladstone admitted that, if all the amounts of Mr. Lefevre's return were included in the annual sheet, his charge would fall to the ground; but he went on to argue as if that were not the case, and continued to do so through a second

letter without apparently having taken the precaution to look at the finance accounts of the years 1889-90, and the statutory balance sheet, in which all the amounts advanced under the Imperial Defence Act were shown, and included in the Exchequer issues of the year. Notwithstanding this clear vindication of the proceedings of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone made no effort to withdraw the statements made in his Hastings speech.

CHAPTER II.

Mr. Gladstone and Sir F. Milner—Death of Lord Granville—Recess Speeches—Sir Henry James in Ulster—Mr. Chamberlain at Portsmouth—The Labour Commission—The Indian Opium Traffic—The Clitheroe Case—Parish Councils—Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland) Bill—Mr. Davitt and the Labour Commission—Portugal and the Pungwé River—The Newfoundland Fisheries Bill—Delegates at the House of Lords—The Budget—Free Education—Public Opinion on the Subject—Mr. Chamberlain's Views on it—Sir W. Harcourt on Home Rule—Annual Meeting of Primrose League—Important Speech by Lord Salisbury—A Cluster of Bye-Elections—Manifesto from Mr. Gladstone—The Irish Land Purchase Bill in Committee—Manipur—A Copyright Bill—A Local Option Debate—Leasehold Enfranchisement—The Resignation of Members—Captain Verney—Mr. Goschen on £1 Notes—Sir W. Harcourt in Devonshire—Mr. Chamberlain on National Pensions for Old Age—Mr. W. H. Smith re-elected.

THE echoes of Mr. Gladstone's speech at Hastings were heard in the short Easter recess. Mr. Goschen had challenged the accuracy of that speech in a matter of figures, but Sir Frederick Milner deemed it necessary to challenge Mr. Gladstone's statements in another direction. Speaking of Mr. Parnell's recently published manifesto to the Irish-Americans, Mr. Gladstone had said: "He apparently forgot to inform the Irish in America, whom he was addressing, that he had now the support of the Tory press and most of the Tories in England. Undoubtedly he ought to have set forth that among his resources when he was taking an inventory." Sir Frederick Milner complained that this was a very serious charge and a libel against the Tory party. He asked Mr. Gladstone to—"Condescend to particulars, so that we may have the same opportunity as Mr. Goschen had of proving your inaccuracy; and I think it would not be unreasonable if I were to ask you to couple the name of some individual member of the party with so grave an accusation, in order that he may have the same opportunity as the law provided for Colonel Dopping, of either compelling you to substantiate or unreservedly to withdraw your charge." To this Mr. Gladstone replied—"I was ready and glad to answer the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the accuracy of a figure, but I at once decline to enter into a correspondence with you upon my statement that, so far as I have seen, the majority of the Tory party have supported Mr. Parnell in his Irish quarrel.

I do not speak of the majority of the party absolutely, but of the declarations which have come before me, including statements from individuals in high position, and this statement I shall be prepared to support upon every proper opportunity." Sir Frederick Milner responded with an emphatic repudiation, and declared that the leaders of the Tory party had refused to have any lot or fellowship with Mr. Parnell in the face of the election of 1885, and they refused it as firmly now. "They look on"—wrote Sir Frederick—"with feelings of curiosity, of amusement, and of relief at the war of recrimination and venomous abuse which is being waged between the once fond friends, and at the two rows of empty benches from which no patriot ever rises now to make the progress of legislation in the Parliament of Great Britain impossible."

The death of Lord Granville, on the Tuesday in Easter week (March 31) cast a gloom over the recess. Referring to the deceased statesman in a leading article, the *Times* said of him:—"He was not a great orator; he never broke out in the brilliant perorations which sway the feelings and confuse the judgment. But he showed a power of lucid arrangement, with a command of hard-headed argument. His imperturbable good humour never failed him, even when his temper must have been sorely tried; and, though his weapons were neither sarcasm nor invective, yet he taught his opponents that on occasion he could be a dangerous enemy. A quick thrust, and the sparkling rapier wound pierced to the very marrow, if it left nothing behind it to rankle in the wound. Often he showed that strong practical sense which was a conspicuous feature of his intellect."

The recess speeches were numerous and important, especially in view of the few days over which they extended. Sir Henry James paid a long promised visit to Ulster, where he addressed two large meetings. Mr. Chamberlain in the West of England, and the Home Secretary at Birmingham, made effective attacks upon the policy of Home Rule, while Mr. Henry Fowler, in a speech at Wolverhampton, criticised the Government finance in anticipation of the Budget. Speaking at Belfast (April 1), Sir Henry James said that the occurrences of the last five months had removed Home Rule further away, but had not disposed of it, and whether it was further from them or nearer to them, if ever under present circumstances and under a new development Home Rule should come into existence, it would do so in a form far more aggravated than was anticipated, and be a greater disaster than it probably would have been if carried some years ago. In the first place, it was now known very distinctly, on the statement of Sir William Harcourt, confirmed by Mr. Gladstone, that no measure of Home Rule would ever be proposed by the present Liberal party unless it should be acceptable to the Irish people. But whose was the duty of

determining to what extent the wishes of what were called the Irish people were to be complied with? Upon whom was this bill to be drawn? There were in Ireland three sets of people. First, the Loyalists, the inhabitants of Northern Ireland, and the scattered Loyalists throughout the country. If the bill were to be drawn on this class, what would be the result? It would be drawn upon them for acceptance; it would be protested by them for non-acceptance. They did not wish to gain any benefit from it, and they were not at all likely to honour such a bill whenever it was presented to them. But there was another great party in Ireland who had to be considered—the earnest, vigorous “hill-side men” who were now supporting Mr. Parnell. Did Sir W. Harcourt suggest that this bill should be drawn upon Mr. Parnell, and be presented to him for acceptance on behalf of the Irish people? The Liberal party once before had promised, and drew a bill upon Mr. Parnell’s statement of his faith and his principles, and there was no likelihood of their repeating the experiment. But one very prominent idea still existed in the minds of the great majority of the people of these islands: that while they would afford every freedom and equality to their fellow-men in the judgment which sprang from their hearts and souls, yet to every country, and above all to their own country, it had been and would be injurious to have a political party formed out of a clerical element possessing great influence. The fact of the Irish Bishops supporting or opposing Mr. Parnell would probably dispose of Mr. Parnell’s fate.

“We stand face to face with this fact,” Sir Henry James went on to say, “that the Roman Catholic Clergy have entered into this political contest, not for the sake of morals, and not for the sake of purity of conduct. They stood by too long and acted too late to be able to say now that it was morality which prompted them. When the patriots, as they are called, who met on Nov. 20, three days after the conclusion of the proceedings in the Divorce Court, uproariously cheered their leader, Mr. Parnell, these Bishops and leaders of the Clergy were mute in their respective dioceses. When these patriots met again on Nov. 25, and elected Mr. Parnell as their Parliamentary leader, not one voice was heard from these Bishops and leaders of the Clergy to complain of the choice. But when Mr. Gladstone spoke—moved, as we are told, by the necessity of his party—then at length there came forth the edict and the declaration that stated, as the concluding reason for its being issued, that, if the Bishops did not take Mr. Gladstone’s course, there would be a certain defeat at the next General Election.” After combating the possible objection that he was taking a narrow-minded view, Sir Henry proceeded:—“Whatever might be said of so dealing with, and so speaking of, any members of any Church, I say, as one who has no hostility to the Roman Catholic Church, that the time

has come, not only for the Protestants of Ireland, but for the people of England and Scotland to look to this matter. If such an occurrence were to take place in England—I can speak of that country—it would not be tolerated for one moment. Do you think we should tolerate the members of the Church of England establishing a clerical party, acting as a power of their own? Would the Nonconformists of England wish to see a clerical party formed out of their own ranks? I only know this, that if such a thing occurred, at any rate there is one party in England—I mean the Liberal party—who would tell the electors of that country that every foreign land that had endured the existence and influence of a clerical party had suffered in its freedom and suffered in its progress. They would tell of liberties that had been lost and progress that had been delayed, and they would protest against such an influence being used, however harmless it might be.” Sir Henry went on to refer to Mr. Gladstone’s statement at Hastings, that there was one thing the Liberal party would never do—they would never give the government of Ireland into the hands of Mr. Parnell. Mr. Gladstone, however, also thought it right to say that the English Liberal party had nothing to do with the choosing of the leader of the Irish people. But if Home Rule were to be granted, how would the English Liberal party be able to prevent the government of Ireland from passing into the hands of Mr. Parnell? The influence of Mr. Gladstone would be gone; the influence of the Liberal party would be gone. Now was the time, perhaps the only time, that they would be able to avert the consequences that Home Rule would bring upon them. When the statesman, on whom the responsibility of enacting Home Rule should be cast, sat down to count the benefits that might attend or the disasters that might follow Home Rule, he would be worse than blind if he did not look on either hand, and did not take heed that, if Home Rule were imposed, and the consequences to the minority followed which had been traced out, the time might come when loyal men, finding no means of protection within the Constitution, would be driven in desperation to take their path outside it to endeavour to avert those consequences.

Two days later (April 3) Sir Henry James addressed a great meeting at Londonderry, and dealt especially with the bearing of the Home Rule question on Ulster. He declared that the union between Great Britain and Ireland ought to be fully maintained, but, if it were upset, the people of Ulster ought, at all events, to be allowed to act for themselves, and to fashion their own course. It was bad enough to desert loyal and true allies, but it was worse—it was cowardly—to first weaken them by disestablishing their Church and giving a preponderance of political power to their opponents, and then to desert them. Worst of all was it to drive such allies at the point of the bayonet into the camp of their enemies—such conduct could only be termed “infamous.” In

another part of his speech Sir Henry ridiculed the idea that, under a scheme of Home Rule, with a separate Parliament in Dublin, any effective veto could be given to the Imperial Parliament which would keep the Dublin Parliament in check. No Nationalist member would for a moment accept the suggestion that the Imperial Parliament at Westminster should have power to repeal the Bills of the Dublin Parliament, and recently Mr. Michael Davitt had thrown off all disguise, and had declared that the safeguards for Ulster which were contained in the Bill of 1886 were not to exist in any future measure, and that the demand for separation was for the future to be wider and larger than it had been in the past.

Addressing a Liberal Unionist conference at Portsmouth (April 2), Mr. Chamberlain remarked that there was no possible chance of Home Rule becoming a question of practicable politics in the present generation. It would have to yield to constructive legislation, and the Gladstonians were not in a condition to carry out a constructive policy. The Unionist party were in a much more favourable position. They were not pledged to satisfy the Irish agitators, and were not committed to a policy of Constitutional reform which was to take precedence of all other questions. The labouring population was in almost every respect better off than it was fifty years ago. This result had been largely brought about by beneficial legislation. It should therefore encourage them to proceed further in the same direction, because, although they had done much, there was much that still remained to be done. In spite of the flood of wealth which had flowed into this country, there were still one in forty of the men, women, and children in the country who were in receipt of parish relief. The agricultural labourers still toiled in many places for 10s. a week, and had nothing to look forward to in their old age but a pauper's dole and a pauper's grave, and in almost all our large towns there were vast districts infested with disease—districts which seemed to be permanently handed over to squalor, misery, and crime. It was the duty of statesmen and of politicians to do what they could, to try experiment after experiment, to see if they could not, in some measure, proceeding upon the safe lines which the experience and precedents of the past afforded, diminish this mass of misery, which was a scandal to civilisation. There was one influence which, within their own time, had done much to improve the condition of the labouring population—the spread of popular education. In Scotland free education had been obtained by the assistance of the present Government, and the same Government was pledged to extend its benefits to England and Wales. The great object of the working classes, in their own interest, ought to be to make the condition of the labourer better and more hopeful, and to make his life on the soil more attractive to himself. That was the object of that portion of the “unauthorised programme” of 1885, which was ridiculed then

under the name of "three acres and a cow." Scores of seats in that election were won by the votes of the agricultural labourer, who believed in the promises that were made to him, and who hoped for the allotments and small holdings which were held out to him in connection with the land; and that policy, like everything else, was put aside in 1886 in order to conciliate Mr. Parnell and to obtain 86 Irish votes. After referring to what the Government had done and were pledged to do in the matter of allotments, small holdings, factory legislation, and free education, Mr. Chamberlain concluded by advocating a system of Government provident assurance, and a closer supervision of industrial societies.

Few members put in an appearance when the House of Commons reassembled (April 6). The sitting was occupied in Committee of Supply on the Civil Service Estimates, with which a fair amount of progress was made. But some familiar crotchets and objections were aired. Sir George Campbell (*Kirkcaldy*) protested—on the vote for the Royal parks and palaces—against the levying of a shilling fee on entrance to Holyrood, because it made Americans "swear," and gave them the impression that Scotchmen were "stingy;" and Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) was indignant because some of the deer shot in Richmond Park were presented to the Lord Mayor. He thought they should be "given to the poor, who wanted a dinner, rather than to a Lord Mayor, who would be far better without one." On the following day (April 7) a Treasury Bill for amending the law relating to Savings Banks was read a third time and passed, subsequently passing the House of Lords. At the same sitting Mr. Ritchie (*St. George's, E.*) explained two amending and consolidating bills relating to the public health of London, and the two measures were read a second time. The more important of the two bills was afterwards carried through its later stages, and passed in both Houses. The Rating of Machinery Bill (No. 2) was read a second time at this sitting, with some show of enthusiasm; but, though the bill subsequently went into Committee, it was not further proceeded with.

A discussion of some importance occurred on the motion for the second reading of the Hares Bill (April 8), a measure enacting that the county councils should be empowered to establish a close time for hares during the breeding season. The bill was strongly opposed by Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*), who, as the author of the Ground Game Act, objected to the practical repeal of that measure, while it was as vigorously supported by Sir Henry James (*Bury*). The Government took no part in the debate, which continued for several hours, and resulted in the second reading of the bill, after a motion for its rejection had been defeated by 124 votes to 68. The bill, however, was afterwards dropped. At the same sitting a Religious Equality Bill, intended "to remove certain grievances of the Nonconformists under the Marriage and

Burial Acts"—the second reading of which was moved by Mr. Conybeare (*Camborne*)—was talked out.

At a morning sitting (April 10), when the House was expecting no such announcement, Mr. W. H. Smith (*Strand*) read the names of the gentlemen appointed to form the Royal Commission on Labour, and the terms of the reference to them. Those terms were as follows:—

"To inquire into the questions affecting the relations between employer and employed, the combinations of employers and of employed, and the conditions of labour, which have been raised during the recent trade disputes in the United Kingdom. And to report whether legislation can with advantage be directed to the remedy of any evils that may be disclosed, and, if so, in what manner." The following were the Commissioners appointed by Her Majesty:—The Marquis of Hartington, M.P., the Earl of Derby, K.G., Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, M.P., Sir John Gorst, M.P., Mr. Mundella, M.P., Mr. L. Courtney, M.P., Mr. H. Fowler, M.P., Sir E. Harland, M.P. (shipbuilder and engineer), Mr. J. C. Bolton, M.P. (Chairman Caledonian Railway), Mr. Gerald Balfour, M.P., Mr. Jesse Collings, M.P., Mr. T. Burt, M.P. (Secretary Northumberland Miners' Association), Mr. W. Abraham, M.P. (South Wales Miners' Committee), Sir Frederick Pollock (Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence, Oxford), Professor Marshall (Professor of Political Economy, Cambridge), Sir W. Lewis (Manager of Bute Docks, Cardiff), Mr. T. H. Ismay (Managing Director of White Star Steamship Company), Mr. David Dale (ironmaster), Mr. G. Livesey (Chairman of South Metropolitan Gas Company), Mr. W. Tunstall (cotton manufacturer), Mr. J. Mawdsley (Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners), Mr. Tom Mann (President of Dock Labourers' Union), Mr. Edward Trow (Secretary of Board of Conciliation of the Iron and Steel Trades), Mr. Henry Tait (Chairman of the United Trades Council, Glasgow), Mr. S. Plimsoll, Mr. Hewlett (Managing Director of the Wigan Coal and Iron Company), and Mr. M. Austin (Secretary Irish Democratic Labour Federation). Mr. Justin McCarthy (*Londonderry*) asked leave to move the adjournment of the House, in order to call attention to the refusal of the Government to nominate Mr. Michael Davitt as a Commissioner, but as he was supported by only 29 members, he was precluded from proceeding with the motion.

At the evening sitting on the same day Sir Joseph Pease (*Barnard Castle*) moved a resolution declaring the system by which the Indian opium revenue was raised to be indefensible, and urging the Indian Government to cease granting licences for the cultivation of the poppy and the sale of the drug in India, except for medical purposes, and to stop the transit of Malwa opium through British territory. A debate, in which strong opinions were expressed on each side, ensued. Speaking

for the Government, Mr. W. H. Smith (*Strand*) declined to assent to a resolution which deprived India of a large part of its revenue, without at the same time providing a means whereby the deficiency could be made up. The motion, however, was carried by 160 votes to 130. Sir Robert Fowler (*London*) then moved to add the following words to the resolution:—"And this House, feeling the pressure of taxation on the people of India, will take steps to reimburse the deficiency so caused to the Indian Government." But this proposed addendum was talked out by Mr. T. Healy (*Longford, N.*).

The House of Lords did not reassemble till April 14, when the leaders of the House on each side bore witness to the estimable qualities of the late Lord Granville, and to the loss which the country had sustained by his death. A question was raised (April 16) upon the case known as the Clitheroe case, in which the Court of Appeal had held that a husband was not entitled to restrain his wife's liberty and compel her to live with him. The Lord Chancellor, who had presided in the Appeal Court, declared with some warmth that the Government "would not bring in a bill to enable a man to imprison his wife," and, even if they did, the facts in the Clitheroe case were "not likely to assist them in passing it." Lord Esher, who, as Master of the Rolls, had also adjudicated on the Clitheroe case in the Appeal Court, said that persons who disapproved of the judgment must be prepared to affirm that a husband "might lawfully beat his wife or imprison her in a cellar or a cupboard," or lock her up in the house and block up the windows.

The House of Commons devoted the whole of an evening sitting (April 14) to the discussion of a motion by Mr. A. Acland (*Rotherham*) in favour of parish councils and the reform of vestries. The motion was seconded, without a speech, by Mr. John Morley (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*). Mr. Hobhouse (*Somerset, E.*) moved an amendment for the grouping of rural parishes under district councils. After numerous members had spoken, Mr. Ritchie (*St. George's, E.*) pointed out what the Government had already done in the way of local government reform, and expressed the view that district councils were far more urgently required than parish councils. He admitted, however, that no system of local government reform would be complete which did not eventually deal with parochial administration. He thought it would be difficult to undertake any reform of this kind without at the same time dealing with the question of parish areas, but he hoped there would ultimately be a link between county councils and district councils, and between the latter and parish councils. The amendment was carried by 175 to 142; whereupon Mr. Ritchie proposed to amend the amendment by including within its purview the reform of parish government. Mr. John Ellis (*Rushcliffe*) intervened with a motion for the adjournment of the debate, and this was agreed

to, though the subject was not again taken up during the Session.

On the following day (April 15) the House, as the *Times* remarked, "spent an unusually lively afternoon" in discussing the second reading of the Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland) Bill. The object of the Bill was to continue the Irish Sunday Closing Act of 1878; to extend its provisions to Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Limerick, and Waterford; and to require the closing of public-houses at 9 o'clock p.m. on Saturdays. The bill was warmly supported by both front benches, but the Irish members were not all agreed about it, though their differences did not correspond to their party divisions. Mr. Flynn (*Cork, N.*), who moved the rejection of the Bill, declared that "no Irishman could walk more than five or six miles without a glass of whisky." Col. Saunderson (*Armagh, N.*) gravely suggested in reply to this—amid roars of laughter—that a publichouse might be set up at every five miles' end on an Irish road, and an Irishman started at one end, and then they could ascertain how far he could walk—a matter which he was afraid there was no determining beforehand. Mr. Parnell (*Cork City*) opposed the bill, and attacked the front Opposition bench for presuming to dictate in such a matter to the Irish towns concerned; but he was followed by his colleague in the representation of Cork, Mr. M. Healy, who declared that "neither on this nor on any other public question does the honourable gentleman who has just sat down represent the city of Cork." Mr. Healy added:—"If the honourable gentleman wishes to test the truth of my words, let him keep the promise which he made to his constituents." The second reading was carried by 248 to 94, but though there was afterwards a long debate—occupying more or less of three sittings—on a motion to refer the bill to the Standing Committee on Law, it never got into Committee, and was not further proceeded with.

The Tithes Bill having been disposed of before Easter, the Irish Land Purchase Bill was the only measure of capital importance before the House of Commons between Easter and Whitsuntide. This bill, to the progress of which more detailed reference has yet to be made, went into Committee on April 9, and did not emerge from that stage until May 22. Meanwhile, however, and prior to the introduction of the Budget, the House was occasionally occupied with business of less importance. Some of the matters to which its attention was given have already been mentioned. Others may now be enumerated. Mr. Conybeare (*Camborne*) obtained leave to move the adjournment of the House (April 16), in order to discuss the conduct of the Government of India in imprisoning for nine months, without trial, a Cashmere sheikh named Abdul Rasoul, and deporting him to London, for supposed treasonable communications with the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh; but Sir John Gorst (*Chatham*) showed that the man had been worse served by those who had

taken up his case than by the Indian Government, and the motion was negatived. The whole of an evening sitting was consumed (April 17) in the discussion of a number of small Post-Office grievances and imperfections, brought forward by Earl Compton (*Barnsley*), who asked for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into Post-Office administration; but Mr. Raikes (*Cambridge University*) vindicated his department from the charges urged against it, and the motion was rejected by 163 to 93. Another attempt was made (April 20), and this time with some success, to ascertain the reason of Mr. Michael Davitt's non-appointment upon the Labour Commission. Mr. W. H. Smith (*Strand*), replying to a question from Mr. Cobb (*Rugby*), pointed out that the Government had before them the evidence given by Mr. Davitt before the Parnell Commission, and the judgment of the Commissioners, and stated that, after carefully considering the subject, they felt that they could not recommend Mr. Davitt as qualified for a seat upon the Commission. At the same sitting the London Trial of Causes Bill—a measure “to provide for the trial of civil causes in the city of London”—was read a second time, and the bill became law during the Session. A bill of some importance, providing for the enfranchisement of leasehold places of worship, was read a second time (April 22) by the large majority of 108, in spite of opposition from the Home Secretary. But it shared the fate of many other measures for the completion of which no time could be found, and was not proceeded with.

The most brilliant and most crowded sitting of the House of Lords during the Session was that at which the Newfoundland Fisheries Bill was introduced for second reading (April 23). Delegates had been sent by the Legislature of Newfoundland to this country to present the case of the Colony to the Imperial Parliament, and it was expected that the House of Lords would consent to hear the delegates at the bar. Before this business was taken, however, Lord Salisbury made an important statement—in reply to a question by Lord Kimberley—as to an attack by the Portuguese upon a British expedition in the Pungwé river. He said there was no doubt that a most unjustifiable attack had been made. He had remonstrated with the Portuguese Government on the subject, and he had on the previous day received from the Portuguese Minister an assurance that his Government had given orders for the removal of every obstacle to the free passage of peaceful British subjects up and down the river. “But,” Lord Salisbury went on to say, “the demeanour of the Portuguese officials on the East Coast of Africa has on more than one occasion corresponded so little with the assurances we have received from Lisbon, that we have thought it desirable to request three of Her Majesty's vessels to proceed to the Pungwé as speedily as possible.” This statement was received with loud cheers.

The House then proceeded with the order for the second reading of the Newfoundland Fisheries Bill. Lord Dunraven presented a petition from the Legislature of the Colony, praying that one of their delegates might be heard at the bar of the House against the bill. This request was acceded to, and Sir William Whiteway, Premier of Newfoundland, advanced to the bar, accompanied by his brother delegates. After rapidly tracing the history of the treaties relating to the Newfoundland fisheries and the legislation connected with them, Sir William Whiteway enumerated the various objections taken by the Colony to the passing of the measure before the House. It had, he urged, been introduced before the Government and Legislature of Newfoundland had had an opportunity of either accepting or opposing it, or of suggesting its amendment—a proceeding contrary to the principles of responsible government conceded to the Colony, and at variance with the distinct declaration made in 1857, in the despatch of the then Secretary of State, that the consent of the Newfoundland community was an essential preliminary to any modification of their territorial or maritime rights. He next complained that the bill was modelled on an Act passed at a time when the Colony had no Legislature of its own, and when there was but a small population on the coast directly affected; whereas the treaty shore was now settled from end to end, and therefore the revival of provisions giving arbitrary powers to naval officers would work grievous injustice to British subjects, arrest the development of the natural resources of one-half of the island, and render British sovereignty over it an empty name. Maintaining, further, that the right of fishing and drying fish on the coast was conceded to the French merely as an easement, he insisted that the Newfoundland Courts should be left to adjudicate on all questions arising between British and French fishermen, with a right of final appeal to the Privy Council. After next asserting the strong objection of the colonists to the proposed arbitration agreement on the ground of its piecemeal character, Sir William Whiteway stated that what they desired was an unconditional arbitration on all points that either party could raise under the treaties, and he offered that if this suggestion were adopted by England and France, and Newfoundland were to be represented on such an arbitration, the Colony would then pass an Act to carry out the award. Sir William Whiteway was loudly cheered by the House on the conclusion of his address, and he and the other delegates then withdrew. Lord Knutsford thereupon moved that the debate be adjourned until the following Monday, in order that their lordships might have time to consider the “very able speech” they had just heard, and this was agreed to.

Another full House assembled on the occasion of the adjourned debate (April 27), when Lord Knutsford briefly explained the reasons which had necessitated the introduction of

the measure. It was, he said, only when the Newfoundland Legislature had declined altogether to give effect by legislation to the *modus vivendi* agreed upon with France that the Government reluctantly took the matter into their own hands. Adverting next to the speech of Sir William Whiteway at the bar of the House, he denied that the authorities of the Colony had been taken by surprise, because they had been duly warned that, if they did not act themselves, the Imperial Government would be obliged to do so in fulfilment of its international engagements. As regarded the alternative proposals of Sir W. Whiteway, the Government were prepared to consider them with an earnest desire to find a solution of a difficult problem; but, looking at the early approach of the fishing-season and the engagements which had been made with France, he thought that the Bill should be passed through their Lordships' House, and then it might come before the other House after Whitsuntide. That would allow time for the Colonial Legislature to pass an Act for carrying out the *modus vivendi*. If, however, the general arbitration suggested by the delegates was made by them a *sine qua non* to the acceptance of their proposals, the Government would have no other alternative than to press forward their Bill. Lords Kimberley and Herschell deprecated any further action on the part of the Imperial Legislature, but the Duke of Argyll pointed out that by reading the bill a second time the House would only be committed to its principle, and Lord Salisbury both vindicated the course adopted by the Government and urged the prudence of letting the bill pass. The second reading was then agreed to, and the bill was afterwards (May 12) read a third time and sent to the Lower House.

No great expectations had been formed in regard to the Budget. Though it was certain that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have a good surplus, the amount at which it was generally estimated was not big enough to excite strong hopes in any quarter. There was a reference in the Queen's speech, at the opening of the Session, to "the expediency of alleviating the burden which the law of compulsory education has in recent years imposed upon the poorer portion of the people," but language so vague left the Government free to choose their own time for moving in the matter. The Prime Minister, in an allusion to the subject of free or assisted education, had said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was master of the position, and that nothing could be done until he was able to spare the necessary funds. It was not believed that Mr. Goschen would this year have them to spare. His surplus, it was conjectured, would not be enough to cover the reduction of a penny in the income-tax, but it was generally hoped that if there was any remission of taxation it would take this form. Though no pleasant surprises were anticipated, Budget night (April 23) did not lack its usual importance. The House of

Commons was crowded, except in the Peers' Gallery, for the House of Lords had its own counter-attraction in the address of the Premier of Newfoundland from the bar. Mr. Goschen spoke for two hours and forty minutes, and evolved an extremely interesting statement from the dry statistics of the year's income and expenditure.

Acknowledging that the Exchequer had enjoyed a highly prosperous year, he explained that he was unable when he made his last year's estimate to rely on such prosperity, because of the constrained condition of the labour market, and the suspicion that all was not right in the regions of high finance. The result, however, was that the excess of revenue over expenditure had amounted to 1,756,000*l.* But he had been heavily handicapped by unforeseen supplementary charges, and among these he mentioned 200,000*l.* for the relief of Irish distress; 200,000*l.* for the Post Office and telegraphs—150,000*l.* of the sum being spent on increased wages alone; 80,000*l.* to complete the "boon to the Volunteers;" 350,000*l.* for the navy; 150,000*l.* to relieve the Irish Constabulary Fund from a state of insolvency; and 100,000*l.* to readjust the balance of the Chancery Book Debt—the last two items being unexpected "bequests of liability" left him by his predecessors. On the other hand, he had had the benefit of certain savings which had been expected, and among them 75,000*l.* voted, but not spent, for barrack construction, and 25,000*l.* allowed, but not required, for the drawback on silver plate, the original estimates of expenditure in both cases not having been realised. Dealing with the increase in the revenue, he showed that the receipts from alcohol had exceeded the estimate by no less a sum than 900,000*l.*, or half the total increase in the whole revenue, the increased consumption of alcohol having been proportionately larger in England than in either Scotland or Ireland. Although such an increased consumption was in some respects to be regretted, it yet showed that the working classes, through increase of wages, were more comfortably off. In non-alcoholic beverages increased power of consumption was also shown, and the loss of revenue from the reduction of the tea duty, which was estimated at 1,282,000*l.*, had really only amounted to 1,073,000*l.* There had been an increase also in the consumption of tobacco, and, assuming that an ounce of tobacco would fill twelve pipes, the increased consumption amounted to 36,000,000 pipes. Mr. Goschen next dealt with the death-duties and note-stamps, showing that the returns from them had closely approached the estimate made last year; and the same thing happened in the case of the income-tax, which, estimated to yield 13,200,000*l.*, had actually realised 13,250,000*l.* Summing up his figures the right hon. gentleman pointed out once more that the revenue had produced 1,750,000*l.* more than the expenditure, and this, when compared with the estimated margin of 233,000*l.* for which he allowed in

his last year's Budget, was not, in a year of uncertainty and doubt, an unsatisfactory result. He next reviewed the expenditure which had been carried out by loans under the Barracks Act, the Naval Defence Act, and the Imperial Defence Act, and he was loudly cheered when he incidentally explained that the revenue from our Suez Canal shares would, after the year 1894, amount to from 500,000*l.* to 600,000*l.* a year. The amount borrowed under all three Acts during the last three years made a total of 2,580,000*l.*, of which 52,000*l.* had already been repaid; now 696,000*l.* more was in process of expenditure, making a total of 3,276,000*l.* for the year 1890-1. For the coming year 3,229,000*l.* would have to be spent under these heads. The right hon. gentleman then approached the subject of the reduction of debt, and showed that debt had been reduced during the past year by the sum of 7,616,000*l.*, after allowing for the debt incurred under the Defence Acts; and during the last four years the amount of debt which had been wiped out had been 30,939,000*l.*, while the annual interest on debt had been reduced by very nearly two millions. During the last five years 37,200,000*l.* of debt had been discharged out of taxation, while during the previous five years the amount had only been 24,600,000*l.* After touching on the size of the unfunded or floating debt, now amounting to 21,000,000*l.*, and on the price of Consols, the right hon. gentleman dealt briefly with the relief given to local taxation, which he fixed at 3,873,600*l.* He declined to remit the extra duty placed last year on spirits and beer and handed over to the county councils, first, because that extra duty was shown by the state of the trade to be not unreasonably high or more than the trade could well bear, and secondly, because the money had been so excellently applied by the county councils, especially in the promotion of technical education, that it would be unwise to disturb the arrangement arrived at last year.

From a review of the actual revenue and expenditure of the year expired, the transition was natural to the estimated revenue and expenditure of the coming year. The real totals of these, as compared with the previous year's receipts and exchequer issues, may be tabulated as appears on page 93.

The total estimated expenditure thus stood at 88,919,000*l.*, or 576,000*l.* more than the actual expenditure of the previous year. The main individual items of increase were 500,000*l.* for the relief of Ireland, 140,000*l.* for education, 70,000*l.* for public buildings, 400,000*l.* for Post Office and telegraphs, and 150,000*l.* for the census. Turning to the anticipated revenue, Mr. Goschen showed that the financial year had an advantage in the fact that it possessed three extra tax-earning days, for it was Leap-year, and it contained no Easter, and therefore no Good Friday or Easter Monday. He examined the prospects of trade and general prosperity, and declared them to be very

Revenue.			Expenditure.		
	Estimate 1891-92.	Exchequer Receipts, 1890-91.		Estimate 1891-92.	Exchequer Issues in 1890-91.
	£	£		£	£
Customs . . .	19,700,000	19,480,000	Consolidated		
Excise . . .	25,300,000	24,788,000	Fund Charges	28,294,000	28,703,000
Stamps . . .	18,450,000	18,460,000	Army . . .	17,546,000	17,560,000
Land Tax . . .	1,080,000	1,080,000	Navy . . .	14,215,000	14,135,000
House Duty . .	1,450,000	1,570,000	Civil Services .	16,516,000	16,040,000
Property and In-			Customs and In-		
come Tax . . .	18,750,000	18,250,000	land Revenue .	2,691,000	2,644,000
Post Office . .	10,120,000	9,880,000	Post Office . .	5,924,000	5,683,000
Telegraph Ser-			Telegraph Ser-		
vice . . .	2,480,000	2,380,000	vice . . .	2,422,000	2,272,000
Crown Lands . .	450,000	430,000	Packet Service .	708,000	706,000
Interest on Pur-					
chase Money					
of Suez Canal					
Shares, Sar-					
dinian Loan,					
&c. . .	220,000	242,000			
Miscellaneous .	2,500,000	2,979,000			
Total . . .	90,430,000	89,489,000	Total . . .	88,319,000	87,733,000

good; for banks, railways, collieries, and most industries showed an enormous increase in the business done and profits made, and this meant more work, more wages, and more happiness for the people generally. Under these circumstances he estimated that the income-tax would yield half a million more than last year. The total estimated revenue from all sources was 90,430,000*l.* Deducting from this sum the amount of the estimated expenditure, including the supplementary estimate of 125,000*l.*, Mr. Goschen found himself left in possession of a surplus of 1,986,000*l.*, or, in round figures, 2,000,000*l.* Reviewing the possible ways in which this surplus might be dealt with, the right honourable gentleman dismissed all idea of touching the death-duties or the income-tax, on the ground that interference with either would require a whole session. After arguing this point and certain other difficulties at some length, Mr. Goschen proceeded:—"I have two millions at my disposal, in one sense; but there sits on the Treasury bench another despoiler of the public purse—my right hon. friend the Vice-President of the Council. In the gracious speech from the Throne at the opening of the Session this passage occurred:—'Your attention will be invited to the expediency of alleviating the burden which compulsory education has, in recent years, imposed upon the poorer portions of my people.' The Government do not intend to depart from the pledge which was given in that speech—a pledge which we intend to carry out at the

earliest date and in the amplest manner. The cost of that operation is large—the cost of following up compulsory education with a corresponding amount of free education.” (Mr. Goschen was here interrupted by a voice from the Treasury bench suggesting the word “Assisted,” while cries of “Free, free” proceeded from the Opposition benches.) “I do not object to stand by the word ‘free.’ We intend to deal with the subject in no niggard spirit, as the Committee will see when I tell them that the cost of that operation will absorb the two millions at my disposal. The Committee will judge from that of the degree and completeness with which we are prepared to carry out the pledge given in the Speech from the Throne. I have said that it will cost us 2,000,000*l.*; that is the aggregate cost, including what will be given to Ireland and Scotland; but of course we shall not have an entire year. We do intend, if the House of Commons, as we expect and hope, second us by a resolute determination to get through its business, that if possible no administrative delay of a single day shall occur; and, if our views are carried out, the parents will be relieved under the bill from fees for the children, whose education will be free under our proposals from September 1 next.” For the present financial year, Mr. Goschen went on to say, only about half of the 2,000,000*l.* would be required. Premising that he must retain a margin, he assumed that the balance at his disposal would be 900,000*l.* This he proposed to deal with by spending 500,000*l.* on the construction of barracks, and the remaining 400,000*l.* in covering the loss to ensue on the withdrawal of light gold from circulation.

As finally completed the balance-sheet of the year 1891–92 stood as follows:—

Revenue.		Expenditure.		
	£		Fund	£
Customs	19,700,000	Consolidated		
Excise	25,300,000	Charges		29,695,000
Stamps	13,450,000	Irish Fisheries		125,000
Land Tax	1,030,000	Army		17,543,000
House Duty	1,450,000	Navy		14,215,000
Property and Income Tax	13,750,000	Civil Services		16,516,000
Post Office	10,120,000	Customs and Inland		
Telegraph Service	2,480,000	Revenue		2,691,000
Crown Lands	450,000	Post Office		5,924,000
Interest, &c. of Purchase		Telegraph Service		2,422,000
Money of Suez Canal		Packet Service		708,000
Shares, Sardinian		Mint		400,000
Loan, &c.	220,000			
Miscellaneous	2,500,000			
Total	90,430,000	Total		90,244,000
		Balance for Contingencies		£196,000.

In the brief discussion which followed Mr. Goschen's statement he was generally congratulated upon his appropriation of the surplus; though Mr. Bartley (*Islington, N.*) observed that any system of free education which would interfere with voluntary schools would be met with determined opposition, and Mr. Illingworth (*Bradford, W.*) indicated another source of danger to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's educational proposals, by the warning that when public money was spent on education there must be popular representative control. At the adjourned discussion of the Budget (April 27) Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*) criticised Mr. Goschen's finance in a lively speech. He described it as being of the "post-obit" kind, and complained that Mr. Goschen was guilty of the financial heresy of spreading his expenditure over several years, instead of meeting it when it arose. By this and other irregular means he had manufactured a surplus when there was none. Referring to Mr. Goschen's own flight of humour in his Budget speech—(he had said that he had been year by year "despoiled" of his surpluses by his colleagues)—Sir William reminded the House, amid much laughter, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was himself a member of the same "long firm," and practically an accomplice of the burglars, for, like the accommodating maid-servant, he "left the door open," and it was he himself who "carried the bag."

Speaking of his critic as "an authority in these matters," who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer, "though not for very many months," Mr. Goschen observed, in the same ironical vein, that Sir William Harcourt "still wished to suspend a two millions sinking-fund to meet a deficit of half a million." Passing on to remark that he had had notice for some time that "a far superior authority to the member for Derby" intended to arraign his finance, Mr. Goschen expressed the hope that, if the challenge was to be fought out at all, it would be fought out on that occasion. But Mr. Gladstone did not respond to this suggestion, and took no part in the debate at all, except in the way of occasional interruption and correction. Replying to Sir William Harcourt's strictures, Mr. Goschen showed that his own conduct in spreading expenditure over a series of years had Liberal sanction, and quoted cases in which Mr. Gladstone and other Liberal Chancellors of the Exchequer had done the very same thing. Mr. H. Fowler (*Wolverhampton, E.*) afterwards criticised the Budget, which he declared to be a concession to Mr. Chamberlain's views on free education, and "one of the most marvellous party triumphs of the time." A general discussion followed, and the whole of the Budget resolutions were ultimately agreed to.

The criticism which the Budget received in the press did not reflect the objections urged to it in the House of Commons. The proposal to establish free education was the chief matter which

the newspapers took up. To both the press and the public it appeared to come as a surprise. The *Times* deprecated "the addition of a new measure to the Parliamentary work of a session which was begun five months ago on the express understanding that it was to be brought to an end, at the latest, in July." The *Standard* took exception to the principle of the intended measure, and complained that the effect of it would be to injure voluntary schools. The *Daily News* welcomed the principle, but insisted that if the State paid the fees in voluntary schools the public must have the control of them. With the exception of the *Standard*, most of the leading Conservative papers supported the proposal of the Government. They argued that it would be popular with the country, and that it was better for the voluntary schools that free education should be accomplished by the present Government, who would protect their interests, than that it should be introduced by a Radical Government, who would subject them to popular control. Liberal Unionist journals were divided in opinion. Some of them gave an unqualified assent to the proposal, while others expressed the fear that a Free Education Bill might wreck the session, as the Local Taxation Bill wrecked the last session.

There was very little public discussion of the question pending the introduction of the bill by which the plan of the Government was to be accomplished. A small section of Conservative members, however, organised an opposition, which they kept up, though with waning numbers and strength, until the success of the measure was assured. Of this section Mr. H. H. Howorth (*Salford, S.*) was perhaps the most prominent spokesman. Writing from the House of Commons to the *Times* on the night on which the Budget was introduced, Mr. Howorth denounced with some bitterness what he described as the "dramatic surprise" of the night. "That the Chancellor of the Exchequer," he said, "should devote the whole of his surplus to furthering a scheme which is strongly disapproved of by a large proportion of his supporters and by the greatest educational authorities in the country is in itself extraordinary. That he should have done so in the way he did is, to say the least, embarrassing. We are, it seems, to be committed to devoting two millions of money to free education, for the disguise by which the pill was originally gilded is no longer maintained, and the term 'assisted education' has dropped out altogether. . . . There are some of us here who do not believe that any safeguards that can be devised will resist the tide of a Radical flood, and that they will be swept away at the first general victory of the other side. Meanwhile, we shall have lost the vantage we now hold when we come to fight the Socialistic battle of the future, because we, the Conservative party, shall have put on the statute-book the astounding enactment that a man may transfer the burdens which duty and honour enforce upon him, and which he is able to bear, to the

shoulders of his neighbours—a proposition which might have been taken from the catechism of Socialism.”

On the other hand, Mr. Chamberlain promptly gave his aid outside Parliament to the scheme of the Government. Speaking at a Board School prize distribution in Birmingham (April 24) he declared that one of the greatest obstacles to extended education had been doomed to extinction by the proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. After alluding to the reactionary opposition of a section of the Conservative party, and the support given to them by the *Standard*, he remarked that at the opposite pole was the *Daily News*, which would deny the benefit of free education to the working classes, unless the change could be made instrumental for destroying denominational schools. But to destroy denominational schools was now an impossibility, and nothing was more astonishing than the progress they had made since the Education Act of 1870. He had thought, he said, they would die out with the establishment of Board schools, but he had been mistaken, for in the last twenty-three years they had doubled their accommodation, and more than doubled their subscription list. At the present time they supplied accommodation for two-thirds of the children of England and Wales. That being the case, to destroy voluntary schools—to supply their places with Board schools, as the *Daily News* cheerfully suggested—would be to involve a capital expenditure of 50,000,000*l.*, and 5,000,000*l.* extra yearly in rates. But whether voluntary or denominational schools were good or bad, their continued existence had nothing to do with the question of free education, and ought to be kept quite distinct from it. To make schools free was not to give one penny extra to any denominational endowment. At the present time the fee was a tax, and if the parents did not pay fees they were brought before the magistrates, and if they still did not pay they might be sent to gaol. The only thing the Government proposed to do was not to alter the tax but to alter the incidence. The same amount would be collected; it would be paid by the same people, but it would be collected from the whole nation out of the general taxation, instead of being, as now, a burden on parents just at a time when many were most strained to meet the demands of the family, and found a difficulty in providing clothing and food for those not at work.

Of extra-Parliamentary speeches prior to the introduction of the Budget there was not a large number, though one or two speeches of some importance were delivered. Sir William Harcourt, at Cirencester (April 17), rallied Mr. Chamberlain on his dictum that Home Rule was dead, inconsistent as it was with his subsequent statement that, “if the Gladstonians were returned to power, all other questions would disappear in a moment, and once more in their places you would have a Home Rule Bill.” Passing on to speak of the Gladstonian conception of Home Rule, Sir William Harcourt denied that the principle for which

Mr. Parnell, for reasons of his own, was now contending was one which the Liberal party had ever countenanced or supported. What the Liberal party had contended for was the right of the Irish people to manage their own affairs, always subject to the control of the Imperial Parliament, but Mr. Parnell had now allied himself with the "hillside men," who had treated the question of Home Rule as if it were one of hatred and hostility between England and Ireland. Happily the majority of the Irish people and their representatives had refused to follow Mr. Parnell in his violent and suicidal policy. The Liberal party would "certainly never support or promote a Fenian Home Rule in Ireland." Sir William charged the Unionists with having backed Mr. Parnell of late, but he admitted that such a course was quite natural, and he only wondered that they should deny taking it, seeing that Mr. Parnell had now become a "most desirable instrument for defeating Home Rule." He went on to attack Sir Henry James for the tone and matter of his recent speeches in Ulster, which he described as having been given in "the style of spread-eagle oratory," and as being likely to stir up bitter recollections and bad blood in Ireland. Sir Henry James was a most excellent man, but a sad example of the old maxim about "evil communications." Sir William finally denounced the purchase scheme of the Government, and denied that it could in any way assist in settling the Irish question.

Lord Salisbury presided, as Grand Master, at the annual meeting of the Primrose League in Covent Garden Theatre (April 21), and in the opening sentences of his speech remarked that the numbers of the League had reached a million. This was a circumstance full of encouragement when it was remembered with how gloomy a view, a few years back, men looked on their political prospects. This great result, however, was merely an incentive to further exertion—an assurance that if they were equal to their mission they would issue "from this great conflict victorious over those by whom our institutions are assailed." Lord Salisbury continued:—"I am not speaking merely of electoral contests. They happen from time to time. We have a small general election going on now, and we shall have a larger one somewhat later; but the Primrose League, though, of course, like all lovers of their country, they feel deep interest in these electoral contests, do not admit that the success at any particular election is the aim or limit of their efforts. They are an institution for operating upon the convictions and affections of the people of this country, and when they have carried home to them the full sense of the interests that are in issue, and of the dangers that are impending, they may be quite certain that electoral success will follow in their train. I say this because I think there is somewhat, in our party, of an undue tendency to lay stress upon the results of electoral conflicts whether they turn one way or the other. We should not limit our sight by so

narrow a horizon. We have to deal with causes more permanent and far-reaching; and electoral success is not the great object of our efforts. It is an indication that our object has been gained. What we desire is, not by the cunning adjustment of electoral cries to carry this election or that, but it is to awaken the affection and to enlighten those intellectual convictions on the part of the people of this country which shall make all the attacks through electoral machinery vain and despicable. We have many elections before us now, and we shall have more in the future. Whether they will turn on the real issues of the day no man can foresee. It is the drawback and danger of our peculiar electoral system that decisions vitally affecting large questions may really be given on very small issues. But, also, it is impossible to ignore the fact that certain questions that no one could describe as small are exercising considerable influence over the feelings of the electors at the present moment, though that influence is not likely to be permanent—I refer to what are called social questions. I am very glad that a Commission has been appointed which will examine all these questions thoroughly, and will bring them to the test of public and complete discussion; but, on the other hand, I look forward to no party victory as the result, because I have a strong conviction that these social questions are not of the character that you can call party questions. I am sure that, so far as the improvement of the condition and of all the circumstances of life, and of all the opportunities of self-culture, and all the securities against future want which can be afforded, either by the legitimate action of Parliament or by the surer, wider, and more truthful action of public opinion—all such results are desired and will be promoted with at least as much heartiness in every part of the Constitutional party as they will be among the members of any other party in the State. It is the problem which we all have to solve, and we shall give to it our most earnest attention. I believe that this Commission will largely contribute to its solution; but I am not going to say or contend for a moment that there are not men in the party that is opposed to us who are quite as anxious for a salutary and beneficial solution of this question as we are. But for the moment it may be a herring across the path, and may lead the hounds aside, and it may therefore have an effect upon elections. I do not think it will.”

Turning to the higher level of the Irish question as being a question of the integrity of the Empire, Lord Salisbury said that he did not believe its decision depended upon the coming General Election. If, as he thought would happen, the Conservatives had the victory, their opponents would not accept the verdict of the nation a bit more implicitly than they had done in the past. “On the other hand,” the Prime Minister went on to say, “if, owing to any of those herrings of which I have spoken, the election should go the other way, I can



promise you that the other party will have no rest on the Irish question on that account. We shall appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober, from the mistaken decision of to-day to the wiser decision of to-morrow, and therefore I do say that—give your imagination what play it pleases, and conceive what results you like of the election which is to come upon us in no great length of time—still the Irish question will be with us, and will remain with us for the present generation, ultimately, but gradually and patiently, to be solved.” Lord Salisbury then referred to three matters in respect of which the past five years had made a very great change. His statement that Ireland could be governed in such a manner as to enforce the observance of private rights had been treated as ridiculous. He had hazarded the phrase that twenty years of resolute government would be invaluable for Ireland. Thanks to Mr. Balfour they had had five years of that government, and no one would now venture to say that it was impossible. He asked his audience to recall the impression they had of the Irish party headed by Mr. Parnell in 1886, and to compare with it their impression of the Irish party not headed by Mr. Parnell in 1891. For himself he would not express any opinion as to the lamentable and somewhat obscure schemes by which that party was divided. But for Mr. Gladstone to accuse him of a preference for Mr. Parnell implied a little want of memory on Mr. Gladstone’s part. He had been one of the old-fashioned people who thought that the *Times* did enormous service in introducing to, and pressing upon, the public a number of facts with respect to Mr. Parnell and his then allies which it was of the greatest importance that the public should know.

Continuing, Lord Salisbury said:—“I never accepted the popular inferences from all the affair connected with the letter which then it was thought to be the height of unfairness to refuse; in my judgment—it was the judgment which I intimated then, and which I maintain still—all those transactions show one thing, and one important thing: that Mr. Parnell was closely allied with the most violent section of the Irish agitators. And I maintain that all that has happened since shows that, apart from all that was disclosed before the Special Commission, it is now perfectly evident that this is the real bent of his sympathies, and that our judgment at that time, and not Mr. Gladstone’s judgment, was the true one with reference to Mr. Parnell. The judgment I formed then I am not disposed to alter now. I should regard his success as one of the greatest blows that could befall the integrity of this Empire; but I should regard the success of those who call themselves his opponents as not one bit less injurious, because it would only lead to his own. With respect to their means of warfare I have nothing to say. They are not the means of political warfare we adopt in this country. I have no sympathy with

the man who plasters lime in Mr. Parnell's eyes, but neither have I any sympathy with the man who drives spectacle-glasses into Mr. Tim Healy's eyes. I can but look on at a respectable distance at these very unusual methods of propagating political opinions, and express the hope that the union of Ireland and England may never mean the extension of Irish methods to English political life. In the same way, in describing the characters of those heroes who fight on the other side, if I wish to describe the character of Mr. Parnell, I should use the language of Mr. Timothy Healy. If I wished to describe the character of Mr. Timothy Healy, I should use the language of Mr. Parnell. But I prefer to make both allegations in an indirect manner, because the language which both these masters of invective are in the habit of using is hardly suited to our peaceable climate. But the point which I draw your attention to is that these conflicts and these modes of warfare and these mutual exposures have rather taken the gloss off the Irish Parliamentary party. The language that we were accustomed to hear five years ago with respect to their merits and their sufferings, the magnificence of their cause, and the splendour of their enthusiasm was language which would have been almost exaggerated in the case of Cavour, or Washington, or William Tell. I do not think that nowadays they are likely to receive any such popular homage. The five years have been invaluable. It is like the advantage of trying a horse before you buy it. We have seen what his paces really are, and I do not believe that the jargon of nationality, that misplaced application of the experience of other countries, that attempt to give the Irish Nationalists the benefit of the enthusiasm which has been created in other countries by real self-devotion and real oppression—will now succeed in the minds and consciences of the English people. The revelation of the experience of five years is that we know the Irish cause to be what it is. The English people know the seamy character of Irish heroism, and they know that the character of the men to whom they are asked to hand over their friends and brothers in Ulster is such as to cover with disgrace any nation who for any cause made such tremendous sacrifices and exertions."

It is necessary to make yet a further quotation from this important speech. Observing that the last five years had produced one other revelation, and one of which he wished to speak with great caution and reserve, because it touched, however indirectly, on the sacred question of religion, Lord Salisbury went on to say:—"In this Primrose League we gladly accept the co-operation of all who wish with us to maintain the acknowledgment of religion in this land. But by religion we mean that which points at and teaches the lesson of holy things and brings a voice from the world beyond. We do not mean contrivances by which the preachers of religion

may have the larger share of secular success. I had hoped, I confess, that matters were not so in Ireland. It was always a puzzle and perplexity to know where were the limits of political force—the limits of political endurance to which those were looking who thought to invest the Irish people, or, more properly speaking, the people of the three southern provinces of Ireland, with the command of its destiny. And now we know that Mr. Parnell represents the sympathies, the money, the conspiracies of America. We know that Mr. Justin McCarthy represents the secular efforts of some who, unhappily, hold high spiritual rank in the Roman Catholic Church. Do not let me for a moment be supposed to speak indignantly of their action because they are Roman Catholics. That is far from my intention. My intention is to warn you of the danger, and earnestly ask you to be alive to it, if the ministers of any religion shall make the influence that religion confers upon them a means of figuring in the light of political leaders. I have great reverence for the lawn sleeves and crozier of an archbishop, but when I see behind the crozier the familiar features of Mr. Schnadorst, my reverence disappears. Do not suppose that I would not feel the same thing with respect to other religions. We have cause to complain of it at this moment amongst the Congregationalists of Wales, where religion is made the screen for secular agitation. We have some cause to complain of it, I think, among the Free Churchmen of the north of Scotland. But if it happened in the Church to which I myself belong I should be equally keen to denounce it. Can you imagine the Archbishop of Canterbury summoning his suffragans, and resolving that there should be a change in the leadership of the Conservative party? I might naturally demur to such an exercise of influence, but my impression is that I should not be alone in my demurrer, and that the Church of England, and all who belong to the Church of England, would reject with the utmost indignation any such intrusion of the sacred ecclesiastical element. Can you imagine a clergyman of St. George's, Hanover-square, denouncing from the altar all who maintain Liberal opinions in his parish? Can you imagine all the estimable London clergy going up to the poll on polling day, well armed with blackthorns, and leading to the poll their submissive flocks to a duty the neglect of which would involve immediate corporal as well as ulterior spiritual punishment? We know that in our civilisation such a thing is impossible, but we must not blind ourselves to the danger that has been real. It is a tribute rather than a dishonour to the Roman Catholic Church as a whole that we look upon these efforts with so much apprehension, because it is precisely the spiritual force which she has been able to exert which confers upon some of her office-bearers the power of prostituting that influence to secular ends, which, even if noble, would be inappropriate, and which

are associated with some of the worst passages in the history of Ireland."

Speaking at the annual meeting of the Council of the Birmingham Liberal Unionist Association (April 21), Mr. Chamberlain discussed the attitude of the Gladstonian party—their hopelessness in regard to Home Rule and their tactics with respect to Liberal measures contemplated by the Government. He then went on to advocate a national provision for old age. He said that, after closely examining the returns, he had come to the conclusion that of the working classes one in two, if he reached the age of sixty, was almost certain to become chargeable to the parish. It was almost impossible that one out of two of the industrial population of the kingdom had done anything to deserve the fate which, under existing circumstances, was inevitably in store for them. That was a question which deserved the attention of politicians and statesmen better than some of those theoretical matters of constitutional reform—it was better, a great deal, to keep together the home than to break up a kingdom.

The "small general election" to which Lord Salisbury referred in his speech at Covent Garden consisted of five bye-elections, which were pending at the time. The constituencies affected were the Woodstock Division of Oxfordshire, Whitehaven, the Stowmarket Division of Suffolk, the Harborough Division of Leicestershire, and South Dorset. A few days before Lord Salisbury spoke, indeed, the seat of the late Mr. T. C. Baring, for the City of London, was also vacant, but Mr. Henry Hucks-Gibbs had been returned unopposed (April 18) as a Conservative member for this constituency. At the 1886 election all the five vacant seats were filled by supporters of the Government, though, with one exception, that of Whitehaven, the five constituencies returned Liberal members in 1885. A determined attack was now made on each seat by the Gladstonian party, and as Woodstock was the first division to be polled, Mr. Gladstone issued a manifesto in the form of a letter to Mr. Benson, the Gladstonian candidate for that division, intended to promote the success of the candidates of his party. The letter-manifesto ran as follows:—

"Dear Mr. Benson,—Not only in virtue of our common relation to a great University, but on other and wider grounds, I write to offer you my best wishes in the contest in which you are engaged.

"I am the more desirous to write because I would gladly convey, or at least make public, the expression of similar sentiments to those who are fighting a battle similar to yours in defence of the highest national interests; I refer, of course, to our friend Mr. Shee at Whitehaven, Mr. Logan in the Harborough Division of Leicestershire, Baron Sydney de Stern in the Stowmarket division of Suffolk, and Mr. Pearce Edgumbe in South Dorset.

“Your own and the other constituencies will not have failed to follow that remarkable progress in public opinion in and since 1887 which has given over to the Liberal party, on the bye-elections occurring from time to time, a balance of no less than sixteen seats, and has thereby afforded a prophetic indication of what is likely to happen when the whole of the constituencies are invited at the coming dissolution to pass judgment on their present representatives.

“The Liberal party has during the present year made efforts to improve the law with regard to registration and the principle known as that of one-man-one-vote, to the law of conspiracy affecting combinations among workmen, to self-government in rural parishes, and several other questions of importance, and has shown that the urgency of Irish questions has not rendered them inattentive to the interests of Great Britain.

“But the course of events has continued to bring home to our minds, and to the mind of the country, that practically and in the main Ireland stops the way. The large majority of the Irish members, notwithstanding untoward events, have, with the decided support of public opinion in Ireland, shown their determination steadily to pursue the course by which they have so largely won the confidence of this country. We are now dealing with a Land Purchase Bill for Ireland which, in defiance of the sense of the country expressed in 1886, and not, so far as we know, since altered, creates an Imperial liability to facilitate the purchase of Irish estates to an extent commencing with thirty and terminating probably with 100 millions sterling; which makes the Exchequer the direct creditor of the Irish occupiers individually, in numbers which it is likely may be counted by hundreds of thousands, which leaves us to meet default by evictions, which would prove intolerable, and which provides us, by way of security, with an ultimate charge on funds properly and strictly Irish without any consent or control of any local authority in Ireland, or of her representatives in Parliament.

“At the election of 1886 the majority against Home Rule was in a great degree obtained by promises to supply Ireland with a large system of local self-government. Instead of this she was at once saddled with coercion, which there was no outbreak of crime to warrant, and which had for its real object the virtual proscription of that civil right of peaceful combination which has been found so invaluable by the working classes of Great Britain. But five years have passed without any effort to redeem the pledge of Local Government for Ireland. It is still dangling in the distance, and those who will read the speech delivered last night by the Secretary for Ireland will find that it condemns entirely every such measure by denouncing Irish county councils as bodies that are sure to be swayed by political passions, and that cannot be trusted for the fulfilment of pecuniary obligations.

“In the other departments of administration there prevails a similar disposition to prolong or revive that sentiment of hostility between the nations which we, the Liberals, believe that the people of Great Britain have utterly forsworn. The Irish people have seen their peaceful public meetings put down by methods of violence which would not be tolerated for an instant in this country, and which have more clearly than ever shown that under a professed legislative union the civil rights of Ireland are unwarrantably denied or abridged by an action on the part of the present majorities in Parliament against which argument is vain, and which only the decisive action of the constituencies can correct. All we have to desire is that each man in each of those constituencies may justly remember that with him rests the ultimate power in these great matters, and that where the power lies there lies also the responsibility.”

This manifesto did not benefit Mr. Benson, for the Conservative candidate for Woodstock was elected (April 21) by a majority of 688, the Liberal majority in 1885 having been only 189. There was no contest in 1886, when Mr. Maclean was returned as a Liberal Unionist. The Conservative poll, as compared with that of 1885, was increased by 310 votes, while the Gladstonian poll was diminished by 567 votes. The poll at Whitehaven came next (April 24), and here again the Conservative position was strengthened. Mr. Cavendish-Bentinck's majority in 1886 was 106, and Sir James Bain now obtained a majority of 233. At Stowmarket (May 6) the Gladstonian candidate carried the seat, with a majority of 214; while the seat for South Dorset was retained for the Conservatives (May 7) by the narrow majority of 40. In the Harborough division the Gladstonian candidate, who was a local railway-contractor and a large employer of labour, made a bold fight and headed the poll (May 8) with a majority of 487.

It has already been stated that the Irish Land Purchase Bill occupied a long time in passing through Committee in the House of Commons. The measure, however, underwent very little change in the process. The first amendment of importance was one moved by Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) to Clause 1 (April 10). Its object was to prevent the State from guaranteeing the loans advanced for the purchase of land. Mr. Gladstone (*Midlothian*) supported the amendment on the ground that the country had in 1886—rightly or wrongly—objected to pledge the credit of the State. Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) replied that what the country objected to was not the pledging but the imperilling of the credit of the State, and under the present Bill the State would incur no risk. The amendment was rejected by 232 to 138. A long discussion occurred (April 14) on an amendment, moved by Mr. H. Fowler (*Wolverhampton, E.*), for putting the new land stock on the same footing in regard to dividend as Consols. Mr. Gladstone (*Midlothian*) and Sir W. Harcourt

(*Derby*) supported the amendment, but it was opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (*St. George's, Hanover Square*) on the ground that the new stock, being of a comparatively small and limited amount, would not command the same position as Consols. The amendment was negatived by 299 to 144. Amendments moved by Mr. Keay (*Elgin and Nairn*) and Mr. Sexton (*Belfast, W.*), directed against the principle of guarantees, were rejected by considerable majorities (April 14 and 16). Mr. J. Morley (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*) moved an amendment (April 16) providing that no guaranteed stock should be issued by way of advance in any county, unless the advance had been previously approved by a resolution of a county council constituted under an Act of the existing or next Session of Parliament. He protested against local resources being pledged without the consent of the locality, and insisted that, unless the proposed plebiscite dealt with each separate advance, it would be an utterly inadequate form of local control. He argued also that the Government were going the wrong way to work in placing land purchase before local government, and said that by so dangerous an experiment they were preparing trouble for the future. Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) replied that Mr. Morley's scheme, under the existing state of things, was impracticable. His main objection to it was based on the fact that the local authorities were, in a large number of cases, animated by a desire to further a particular political cause rather than the interests of the country, and it was apparent from their action in the past that if the administration of the bill was subject to the control of popularly elected bodies it would be mainly used to "bear" the interest of the landowner. Mr. Parnell (*Cork City*) objected to the indefinite postponement of land purchase until the Liberal party were in a position to give it. But he was disappointed at the absence of an assurance from Mr. Balfour that his "imperfect species of local control" would be carried out. Mr. Parnell moved an amendment to Mr. Morley's amendment, providing that, in the event of any measure being passed establishing county councils in Ireland, grants for land purchase should not be made without the consent of such bodies.

The debate extended to another sitting (April 17), when Mr. Chamberlain (*West Birmingham*)—after Mr. Sexton had supported the amendment—commented on the attitude taken up by a section of the Nationalist party towards the bill, seeing that they seemed "willing to wound and yet afraid to strike." He confessed to having much sympathy with Mr. Morley's amendment, but he could not support it, as it lent itself to the suspicion that it was "a destructive and dilatory amendment," and he preferred to have the bill as it was, rather than no bill at all. He suggested that the Government should do something to give the local authorities a right not merely of assenting to or vetoing the application of their credit, but to stand in the position of landlord after the agreement for purchase had been made, and until the

tenant became the absolute freeholder ; the local authority collecting the rent, paying over to the central authority the share due to it for principal and interest, and retaining for local purposes the very considerable balance which would be left. Mr. Balfour was well-disposed towards Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion, but did not see where the means were to come from for carrying it out, and he acknowledged that he had not been much encouraged to give effect to his own idea of a local plebiscite. Later in the evening Mr. T. Healy (*Longford, N.*) made some comments on the "new enthusiasm" of Mr. Parnell and "his interesting followers" for the principle of purchase. The speech was otherwise personal and offensive, one of the speaker's allusions to Mr. Parnell representing him as "the fox that lost its tail." Mr. Parnell retaliated in a speech of much bitterness, in which he declared—in reference to Mr. Healy's taunts—that he had voted for the second reading because he believed the Irish tenant farmers wanted the bill to be passed. "I did not sneak out of the House," he said, "to avoid expressing an opinion." Both Mr. Parnell's amendment and Mr. Morley's were negatived.

An amendment, moved by Mr. John Ellis (*Rushcliffe*), requiring half-yearly returns to be made, giving particulars respecting cases of default in the payment of any purchase annuity, was agreed to (April 20), and the first clause was afterwards passed. Mr. Keay (*Elgin and Nairn*) proposed the omission from Clause 2 of the provision that one-half only of the deficiency of any purchase annuity should be paid out of the guarantee fund (April 20). The debate on the amendment extended to another sitting (April 21), when Mr. Morley urged that the landlord's fifth should be liable for the whole, instead of only half, of the deficit. Mr. Balfour replied that, as the landlord would have no control over the purchasing tenant, it would be unjust to call upon him to make good the whole of the deficiency. Mr. Gladstone supported the amendment, but it was negatived by 205 to 158, and other amendments dealing with the question of the landlord's liability were also negatived, Clause 2 being ultimately agreed to (April 24). Amendments to Clause 3, directed against the contingent portion of the guaranteed fund, were negatived at the same sitting. An amendment was agreed to (April 28) providing for the application of the residue of exchequer contributions to the erection of labourers' dwellings, but a proposal to extend the amendment to artisans' dwellings was rejected, and on the next resumption of the debate Clause 3 was passed.

Another debate on local control resulted (May 1) from an amendment moved by Mr. Mahoney (*Meath, N.*) to Clause 4, the object being to prevent any levy on the county without the consent of the ratepayers. The amendment was negatived, as were others at the same sitting, and the clause was passed. Mr. J. Morley (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*) sharply criticised Clause 5,

which provided for aid being given in cases of exceptional agricultural distress from the purchasers' insurance and reserve funds, and moved the omission of Sub-section 1. The debate was continued at another sitting (May 4), when the amendment was negatived. Numerous other amendments were also discussed and rejected at the same sitting. The Committee agreed to an amendment moved by Mr. Sexton (*Belfast, W.*), providing that the purchase annuity should be reduced after eighteen years to such sum as, in accordance with the prescribed tables, and after allowing for the purchasers' insurance money, would replace at the end of the term the advance with interest at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum (May 5). A long debate arose on a motion by Mr. Knox (*Cavan, W.*), at the same sitting, to omit a sub-section giving the Lord-Lieutenant power to determine that the annuities should continue for more than five years to be 80 per cent. of the annual value, and the amendment was negatived by the narrow majority of 12. After a further discussion on the powers of the Lord-Lieutenant under the sub-section it was decided that he should only act on the report of the Land Commission. Several other amendments to the same sub-section were moved and rejected at the next two sittings (May 6 and 7), and Clause 5 was passed.

Mr. T. Healy (*Longford, N.*) moved an amendment to Clause 6—which related to the limitation of advances—omitting the first sub-section by which advances for pasture land or non-residential holdings were prohibited (May 7). A long discussion ensued, extending over parts of two sittings, and the Government ultimately assented to Mr. Healy's proposal. Mr. Balfour, however, stipulated for a new sub-section, providing that the money to be advanced should be mainly spent upon holdings below the annual value of 30*l.* Amendments for limiting the advances to be made, first to 5,000,000*l.* and afterwards to 30,000,000*l.*, as well as other amendments, were negatived (May 8). The next sitting of the Committee (May 11) was almost entirely occupied with amendments that were rejected. Clause 6, indeed, was an object of persistent, though of futile, attack, for four other amendments to it were moved at a later sitting and rejected (May 12), and the clause was then passed. Clause 7, which did not receive much opposition, was passed at the same sitting. Clauses 8 and 9 were agreed to after a short discussion, some unimportant amendments being made in the former (May 13). Clause 10, which had reference to the tenure of office of the Land Commissioners, was warmly contested (May 13 and 14), but the various amendments proposed were rejected, and the clause was passed. The succeeding clauses, down to and including Clause 17, were all agreed to (May 14).

Between six and seven o'clock on the following evening all the original clauses of the bill—nineteen in number—had been disposed of, and nothing remained save the consideration of some

new clauses and the schedules. The Government had tried to come to some arrangement previously, to the effect that all the new clauses should be postponed to the report stage, except a new one proposed by Mr. Balfour as to the treatment of holdings of less annual value than 80*l.*, which it was suggested should be dealt with after the holidays. But Mr. Sexton (*Belfast, W.*) and Mr. Arthur O'Connor (*Donegal, E.*) insisted that new clauses of theirs should also receive exceptional treatment. Mr. Shaw Lefevre (*Bradford*) entreated them to give way, and let the House have a full week of holiday; but the two members flatly refused to do so. In the result the adjournment for Whitsuntide, instead of being taken, as was intended, for a full week, was limited to little more than half that period.

The other business at this time before Parliament was meagre and unimportant. Questions were asked in both Houses (April 24) in reference to the reported massacre at Manipur of Mr. Quinton, Chief Commissioner of Assam, and other British officials; and again (May 1) in regard to the report that the action of the Manipuris had been caused by a treacherous attempt to arrest the Senapatti. On the first occasion papers were promised; on the second the Government had received no information substantiating the report. Lord Monkswell, in the House of Lords, moved the second reading of the Copyright Bill (May 11), by which it was proposed to abolish the necessity for an alien to reside in this country in order to obtain copyright; to fix the duration of literary copyright at the term of the author's life, plus thirty years; to give novelists the exclusive right of dramatising their own works; and to continue the copyright in works of art to the artists and not to the buyers. In the short debate which followed the Lord Chancellor stated that the matter was engaging the attention of the Government, and, if possible, they would propose legislation upon it at some future time. Though, therefore, the bill was read a second time it was not proceeded with. On the following day (May 12) the Marriage Acts Amendment Bill—a measure introduced by the Bishop of London, requiring persons married by a clergyman to furnish him with the same particulars that are supplied to a registrar—was read a third time and passed. The bill was sent to the House of Commons, but was not proceeded with in that House.

A resolution against the multiplication of deer forests in the Highlands of Scotland was moved in the House of Commons (April 24) by Mr. A. Sutherland (*Sutherland*), who suggested that no land at a lower altitude than 1,000 feet above the sea-level should be allowed to be converted into forest. The Lord Advocate ridiculed the notion that the reconversion of the recently afforested land into large sheep farms would in any way benefit the Crofters, and Mr. Chaplin (*Sleaford*) complained of the exaggerated statements made in regard to deer forests. The

motion was negatived by 120 to 73. Mr. John Ellis (*Rushcliffe*) moved a resolution in favour of the reduction of the number of publichouses, and for intrusting to local authorities further powers of control over the issue of licences (April 28). The resolution was an attempt to emphasise, by a declaration from Parliament, a recent decision of the House of Lords in the case of Sharp *versus* Wakefield. The eagerness of the Temperance party, however, to hasten the full attainment of their hopes defeated its own ends. Mr. Fulton (*West Ham, N.*), in the course of an exhaustive analysis of the Licensing Acts, maintained that a large proportion of the owners of licensed houses had a vested interest in their licenses, and urged that it would be most unfair to confiscate their property without compensation. He formulated this view in an amendment. Mr. J. Morley (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*) contended that the case of Sharp *versus* Wakefield, and the reception of the Government compensation proposals last year, had given notice to the trade that the reduction of licences was imminent. It being admitted that the existing number of licences was excessive and that local control by popularly-elected bodies was desirable, if the principle of local veto was accepted it was necessary to consider to what kind of popularly-elected body the power of control should be intrusted. The county councils ought for their own sake to be spared the performance of this duty, and he should prefer the institution of an authority constituted *ad hoc*. The question was one which no Government could afford to ignore, but he emphatically repudiated the notion that the principle of compensation would be assented to by the nation. Mr. Ritchie (*St. George's, E.*), while admitting that the number of publichouses was grossly excessive, attributed the excess in a large measure to the action of the Temperance party, and claimed that, if the proposals of the Government in 1888 had been accepted, the object aimed at by Temperance reformers would to a great extent have been accomplished. He next commented on the divergence of opinion among the advocates of temperance as to the manner in which the local authority should be constituted, pointing out that Mr. Gladstone and others had distinctly declared against an authority *ad hoc*. Under these circumstances he held that it behoved any Government dealing with the question to approach it with great caution. He acknowledged, however, the desirability of carrying into effect the principle of a local veto, while he insisted that it could not be carried out unless the right to equitable compensation was admitted. The discussion was continued by Sir Wilfrid Lawson (*Cockermouth*) and other members, and the amendment was ultimately carried by 190 to 129.

The second-reading debate of the Leaseholders' Enfranchisement Bill, introduced by Mr. J. Rowlands (*Finsbury, E.*), resulted in the rejection of the measure by 181 to 168 (April 29). The object of the Bill was to enable all leases and sub-leases having

twenty years to run, and leases for lives, to be enfranchised by the lessees, the purchase price in case of dispute between the lessor and lessee to be settled by the county court. Mr. Matthews (*Birmingham, E.*) pointed out that the measure proposed to remedy isolated cases of injustice by doing signal injustice to all lessors. At its next sitting (April 30) the whole time of the House of Commons—with the reservation of a single Wednesday for the Women's Franchise Bill—was claimed by the Government for the Irish Land Purchase Bill. Ultimately it was agreed that the whole time of the House should be given to this measure until it had passed through Committee.

Leave was given to Sir Henry James (*Bury*) to bring in a bill to facilitate the resignation of members (May 5). The measure originated in the difficulty presented by the existing plan of vacating seats by applying for the Chiltern Hundreds. The stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds being an office under the Crown, though a nominal one only, it could not be conferred upon a member against whom any charge had been preferred. The case of Captain Verney (*Bucks, N.*), who was at the time awaiting trial on a charge of misdemeanour, was an illustration of the difficulty. A member resting under suspicion might very properly wish to retire from Parliament, but the existing system gave him no chance of doing so. The bill was brought in but was not proceeded with. Capt. Verney was convicted, on his own confession, of the misdemeanour alleged against him, and he was expelled from the House (May 12) on the motion of Mr. W. H. Smith (*Strand*), seconded by Mr. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling*). The motion was seconded and carried in silence, but in the speeches of the mover and seconder on a previous motion, for taking the matter into consideration, the warmest sympathy was expressed for the family of the offending member, his father—himself a former member of the House—being described by Mr. Campbell-Bannerman as “a model, a type, and an example of what a high-minded and public-spirited gentleman should be.”

Parliamentary work was too exacting to admit of much extra-Parliamentary oratory on the eve of Whitsuntide, and, with one or two exceptions, the few speeches of Parliamentary leaders were not political. Mr. Goschen was a guest at a Mansion House banquet to the Governor and Directors of the Bank of England (May 6), and made some observations on a suggestion for the introduction of 1*l.* notes. Although, he said, many people maintained that the 1*l.* note would be a most popular form of currency, there were a great many persons who preferred the sovereign. Most London men preferred the sovereign to the 1*l.* note. At one time men came to him to say that there was nothing that would be so pleasant as to be able to send 1*l.* notes from one end of the country to the other; at another time they called them “dirty,” and they even believed they would carry infection. But he had not learned from any statistical sources

that the 1*l.* note in Scotland had rendered the Scotch people less healthy than their brethren in the south. He himself preferred a sovereign to a 1*l.* note, unless through the issue of the 1*l.* note a great national object could be achieved, and that was the point upon which he would argue it, when the time came, with the bankers and the public. He was much opposed to anything that would weaken the currency. He wanted to see it stronger, and not weaker, than it was at the present moment. He was not content that our stock of gold at the centre—the smallest of any in the great centres of banking or of commerce in any part of the civilised world—should be at the mercy of a sudden desire of seizing gold on the part of our neighbours abroad as it was now. Speaking on the same day at a banquet given by the National Union in honour of the Army and Navy, Lord George Hamilton said that the present administration had maintained the Navy at a cost diminished by 20 per cent., and had saved 50 per cent. in time in the construction of their ships.

Sir William Harcourt delivered two speeches in Devonshire, at Newton Abbot (May 11) and Crediton (May 12). At the former place he declared that the gain made by the Liberal party in elections since 1886 came to at least 20 per cent., and said that if at the General Election there was anything like the result which had occurred upon the eighty or ninety seats vacated since 1886, the Liberal party would have a majority in the next Parliament as great as that which the Unionists had in 1886. This indicated the determination of the people to condemn the present Government and restore to power the great statesman who was displaced in 1886. When a week or two ago whispers of dissolution were heard in the House of Commons the cry of free education was raised to carry the agricultural labourers with a rush. Sir William thought free education a very good thing, and he fought for it in 1883. It was amusing to him, recollecting those times, that the man who now proposed free education was Mr. Goschen, who then declared it was the wickedest, most socialistic, and most subversive proposal it was possible to make. The Government calculated that by free education they were going to win thousands of votes. According to the Unionist papers it had caused the clergy and farmers to damp off; but that was no reason why they should not be kept to it. The Tories were not the fathers of free education; they were stepfathers, and the Liberals must look after the bringing up of the child. If the State was to pay for education, the public must have control. They must not let one or two persons—the squire or the parson—who frequently found very little of the money, have the sole control and the sole determination of what was to be the character of the teaching, the choice of master, and all those things upon which the future of the child depended, and in which the parent ought to have a voice. That was what they understood by free education, and if they did not.

get it in the present Parliament they would have it in the next. The real difficulty they had in getting Liberal measures in the present Parliament lay in the fact of men calling themselves Liberal Unionists. As a matter of fact, they were not Liberals at all. They were as rank Tories as any in the House of Commons, and he advised the electors to get rid of them. In the constituencies the Liberal Unionists had no hold. They talked of a third party, but the country had no fancy for new flags and false colours. With regard to the Irish question, upon fair and safe conditions in this empire they were prepared to give to the Irish people the management of their own affairs; but if any man came forward and demanded Home Rule, as Mr. Parnell had recently done, in a spirit of hatred and hostility to the English Empire and the English people, that was not the Home Rule which the Liberal party had advocated, or would ever support. The labour question had been referred to a Royal Commission; but the Commission would not settle the question. It would have to be settled by the Parliament of England, elected by the free voice of those interested. The question of the equality of taxation as between real and personal property was a difficult one, but was one which concerned them all; and the enfranchisement of leaseholds was a most important question to those who desired and had a right to become, upon fair terms, possessors of the houses in which they lived. What they wanted was a real, and not sham, Small Holdings Act; not such a Bill as Mr. Jesse Collings had introduced, of which the motive principle was gone when they took away compulsion. There was a time when the Tory party thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer was their "great card," but the gilt had gone off the gingerbread, for the people had come to think that a surplus was not such a great thing if they had to borrow money to make it.

Mr. Chamberlain, presiding at a conference of members of Parliament and others on the subject of a proposed national scheme of pensions for old age (May 13), explained his views on the subject. It would be a mistake, he said, to complicate the question of age pensions with any proposal for providing sick pay. Any national Government scheme must be a very simple one, as it was almost impossible for Government officials to watch the malingering, which was the evil they had to dread in connection with a sick-pay scheme. The idea to which they should confine themselves was that after a certain age a man should have some kind of provision—rather more than he could now get from the Poor-law, and one which would not be tainted by Poor-law associations. It would not do to allow the proposed Government pension to begin before the age of sixty-five. Up to that age there was always a possibility that a man would be able to earn something for himself. Statistics showed that of men and women living at the age of twenty-five, one in two reached

sixty-five ; therefore, the scheme would practically affect half the population. If it were extended to the age of sixty, either the subscription would have to be much larger, or the pension would have to be much smaller. Another very important question was whether the provision should be compulsory. The feeling in favour of compulsion was growing ; but it was neither desirable nor necessary to begin with a compulsory scheme. If a voluntary scheme were started and made progress, it could be made compulsory at some future time. If any scheme of the kind were arranged it would involve Government aid, and private subscriptions would be lost in the case of a man who died before he reached the age of sixty-five. Was it to be a tontine, in which the longest-lived got the advantages, or were the members subscribing to be allowed to withdraw or allot their subscriptions in the event of death ? A man ought not to be allowed to withdraw his subscription from the purpose for which it was originally given. The money must be considered as pledged and "ear-marked" for the purpose of providing an old-age pension, and, once put in, it ought not to be withdrawn except in the case of death. But the chances of popularising the scheme would be enormously increased if those representing the persons subscribing were allowed to draw out the amount they had actually paid, or some portion of it, or to allocate it in the case of death before the age of sixty-five ; though the money so withdrawn should be without interest or bonus.

An interesting bye-election occurred before Whitsuntide which was not made the occasion of a party contest. The appointment of Mr. W. H. Smith as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports—an appointment which gave much satisfaction to the House of Commons and the country—caused a vacancy in the Strand Division, but Mr. Smith was re-elected without opposition (May 12). The ceremony of nomination almost recalled the old system of the hustings, for Mr. Smith was present and made a speech, though his observations had no reference to the election.

CHAPTER III.

Whitsuntide Recess Speeches—Lord Salisbury at Glasgow—The Influenza—The Irish Land Bill in Committee—The Newfoundland Fisheries Bill in the Commons—Bye-Elections—Speeches by Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen—The Irish Land Bill passed by the Commons—Useful Bills in the House of Lords—Mr. Balfour at Women's Liberal Unionist Association—Proposed partial abandonment of the Crimes Act—Free Education—Great Britain and Portugal—The Duke of Argyll on the Crofter Districts—Home Rule omitted from a Liberal Programme—Letters by Mr. Chamberlain and Sir W. Harcourt—The Baccarat Case—Manipur—Strong Speech by Sir J. Gorst—Deputations to Lord Salisbury—Imperial Federation and Trade with the Colonies—Mr. Parnell at Bermondsey—Factories and Workshops Bill—Elementary Education Bill—The Irish Land Bill in the House of Lords—Lord Hartington and Sir Henry James at St. James's Hall—Sir W. Harcourt at West Islington—Visit of the German Emperor—Elementary Education Bill in the Lords—Mr. De Cobain—The Speaker and Mr. Atkinson—Civil Service Estimates—Statement on Irish Distress—The Dynamite Convicts—The Indian Budget—Lord Salisbury at the United Club—Mr. Parnell at Newcastle—Mr. Chamberlain on Africa—Sir G. Trevelyan at Downend—Mansion House Banquet to Ministers—Sir W. Harcourt and the Wisbech Election—Mr. Morley on Rural Questions.

THOUGH the Whitsuntide recess was one of the shortest on record, time was found in it for speeches in the country. Mr. Parnell addressed several meetings in Ireland, Mr. Healy spoke at Dublin, and the Secretary for War at Spalding. The chief event of the week, however, was the visit of Lord Salisbury to Glasgow, where the freedom of the city was presented to him (May 20). In his speech on the occasion Lord Salisbury referred at some length to the relations of this country to the Mahomedan communities of Europe and Asia, and reviewed at still greater length the various African questions of the moment. He observed that one of the great provocations and dangers of war had arisen from the position of the great Mahomedan communities. The civilisation peculiar to them would not assimilate the modern ideas which were essential to progress and even to preservation, and therefore for many years past the solicitude of statesmen had been how they were to keep these Mahomedan communities from crumbling into dust and producing the disturbance which such disappearance must cause, for when a nation died there was no testamentary distribution of its goods, no statute of distribution of what it left behind. The disappearance of a nation meant a desperate quarrel for what it possessed. That danger was passing away, though perhaps very slowly, in some parts not at all. Morocco was still the home of the worst abuses and the greatest cruelty, and would some day be as great a trouble to Europe as other Mahomedan communities further East were twenty or thirty years ago. Turkey, Persia, and Egypt, however, were improving year by year. What was weak in them was thrown off; what was strong in them was developed.

"Our own Mahomedan population in India," Lord Salisbury went on to say, "is the most loyal and most robust and sturdy

portion of the community, and we have every ground for hoping a little development among them. But, with respect to all those Islamic populations, we must always remember that they are Mahomedans. We must not attempt to impose on them the development or the exact growth of the West. They will develop in their manner, and after their nature. If you have got a good larch tree you cannot, by any contrivance, make it grow like an oak; and you will only spoil your larch, and cover yourself with ridicule if you attempt it. The same thing is true of nations, and we must, whether in foreign countries or in our own dominion, be patient with the fact that they are developing. Their growth is different from ours, and it is only by suffering them to follow the law of their nature in all legitimate lines that we can hope for the greatest perfection of which that nation is capable."

Proceeding to speak of the partition of Africa, the Prime Minister said that this was a subject of activity which had grown with startling rapidity. When he left the Foreign Office in 1880 nobody thought of Africa. When he returned to it in 1885 the nations of Europe were almost quarrelling with each other about the various portions of Africa they could obtain. Almost all British enterprise in Africa had been conducted through the agency of three great companies—The Niger Company, and the South Africa and East Africa Companies. The South Africa Company, probably better known in the concrete form of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, a man of remarkable powers, resolution, and will, had taken over a vast tract of Central Africa, which certainly could not be brought under the dominion of the Crown without enormous sacrifice on the part of England, but which, if they had fair good fortune, and were not disturbed by any untoward accidents, they had every prospect of developing highly. They had great mineral wealth in prospect, and that mineral wealth would give them the material with which to pursue their administrative task. This was of interest at the present moment, because this territory covered the country with regard to which England had been negotiating now for a year and a half with Portugal. In these matters the claims of justice and of international law had to be considered. Portugal had for centuries claimed and for many years been recognised by this country as possessing the whole shore from Cape Delgado to the north of Delagoa Bay. She had undoubtedly governed, though in a fitful and temporary, and far from effective, manner, land on both sides of the river Zambesi up as far as Zumbo. The Government had had to determine how far her historical claims and her present power of acting up to them justified them in pushing that shore claim into the interior; how far it justified them in recognising her government of the shores of the Zambesi. In both cases Portugal had an historical right which the Government had done their best exactly to ascertain and measure, with the result that they had come to a conclusion with respect to the occupation of territory which

would be beneficial to both parties if their present proposals were accepted. The territory they would recognise as belonging to South Africa was high land on which white men could work and settle, and the peculiarity of English rule was that England was not satisfied with ruling over the natives, but desired that she should fill the land with her own people and her own blood. The melancholy peculiarity of the rule of Portugal was that she did not pour her own blood into the country and people it with her own people, but was satisfied with ruling the natives whom she found there. It was, therefore, fitting that the territory which could only be cultivated by the natives should fall under her rule, and that that on which white men could work should fall to the more active and robust Anglo-Saxon race. The East Africa Company was that of Sir William Mackinnon, whose enterprise and philanthropic determination ought to be mentioned with honour. This company possessed the territory leading from opposite the island of Pemba, which was north of Zanzibar, to the Victoria Nyanza, and also possessed the valley of the Nile from that region until it reached the Egyptian frontier. Of course it would take a long time to carry out colonisation. The East Africa Company was far more purely philanthropic than any of the other undertakings. Its object had been to deal a deadly blow at the slave-trade, the destruction of which had been the animating impulse of English policy in those regions for nearly a century; and they were now within measurable distance of the utter destruction of that hateful traffic. The slave-trade on the sea now only existed on the eastern coast of Africa and on the shores of the Red Sea. The Sultan of Zanzibar had taken strong measures in Zanzibar and Pemba, which must insure its disappearance within the present generation. But the place where the caravans still went, and where it was of great importance that they should be stayed, was the tract that lay between this great Victoria Nyanza—a lake whose area equalled that of Scotland—and the eastern coast of Africa. The slave caravans across that territory could be destroyed by one method, if that method could be applied. Sir William Mackinnon was doing his best to lay a railway from the coast to the Victoria Nyanza. The peculiarity of a railway was that where it was once laid it killed every other mode of locomotion that formerly held the same ground. If a railway could exist from this lake to the coast caravans could no more be employed, as they are employed now, to carry ivory, the produce of the interior, to the coast or back again, and it was by these caravans that the slaves were brought along. It cost two or three hundred times as much to bring goods by caravans as it would to bring them by railway. Of course, when once a railway existed, caravans would become a matter of antiquity, and if no caravans existed there would be no means of carrying slaves from the interior to the coast, because no slave dealer who presented himself with a body of slaves to be carried on trucks to the coast

would be very civilly received. But Sir William Mackinnon was of opinion that he could not construct this railway without Government help. Whether the Treasury would be able consistently with the sound principle of finance which was always upheld to give Sir William Mackinnon the assistance he required, or whether it would have to be deferred to a distant date, was uncertain : but whenever that railway could be made, the end of the African exportation of the slave would have been attained at the same time, because it would not only prevent the passage of caravans, but it would place the company in command of the valley of the Nile so that slaves would not be able to cross thence to the Red Sea.

Passing on to the general subject of foreign affairs, Lord Salisbury observed that this branch of public work had been conducted without the interference of any party feeling to hinder the objects that her Majesty's Government had had in view ; but this ought not to be a mere passing and temporary phenomenon, but the banishment of party feeling from external affairs. Our party system had been defined as the business of one-half of the cleverest men in the country to prevent the other half from doing their work. But that definition did not exhaust the case. There was a great deal to be said for party feeling as applied to domestic affairs. It excited a very general interest in politics ; it necessarily brought the cleverest men to the top, and by it every cause was, as it were, tried before a great tribunal, the public of this country, one section acting as plaintiff and the other as defendant, and therefore justice was generally done. But a new age of the world had come on. Party divisions were not less acrimonious or bitter than they were forty years ago. On the contrary, they were much more bitter. Combination of the party system and the electric telegraph would shake the empire to its base. Everything was said freely with respect to the affairs of the Foreign Office. It was conveyed at once to the persons whom it concerned, and naturally excited feelings and sentiments the very reverse of, or at least very different from, those which they were intended to excite here. He had had to negotiate several treaties with respect to Africa and other matters during his term of office. The effect of the double consumption of all that was said, the effect of speaking, as it were, in a public place, where every one could overhear, was most embarrassing. When it was his good fortune to conclude a treaty, of course he desired that his fellow-subjects should approve it, but he desired no less ardently that they should abstain from saying so, because if they did not it necessarily followed that the people on the other side thought there was something very bad for them in it, and immediately resisted it. Everybody must do his utmost that his expression of public opinion on these foreign affairs should be as little as possible tainted with party prepossession, because words that were uttered with but a slight action at home had an

intense effect abroad. Therefore, though the diminution of party action in domestic affairs was a counsel of perfection to which he did not for a moment aspire, he did venture to advocate the paramount duty of discouraging, as far as possible, the operation of the party system upon the vast interests England had abroad, whether in countries under her own dominion or in those under other potentates.

Lord Salisbury was afterwards entertained at a luncheon by the Corporation of Glasgow, when he made a semi-humorous non-political speech, in which he compared the functions of Parliament and those of the municipal councils of the country. They both, he said, had to provide laws for the government and comfort of the people. But the laws which the municipalities had to pass were carefully considered and quickly despatched, while those with which Parliament had to do were only passed after infinite and heart-rending delay. Every salient point was rubbed down in order to enable them to get through the narrow channel that was open to them, and the result at the end was that they had been so well arranged and so well conceived that an amending Act was necessary the year after. Some years ago he spoke in favour of decentralisation, and of avoiding, as much as possible, the extreme interference and officialism which arose from centralisation, and pointing to the powers of municipalities as the great remedy for such an evil. When he reached home the late Duke of Buccleuch, with whom he had been staying, said to him, "What a Home Rule speech you have been making!" And it was perfectly true. "So, before I say anything further in praise of Home Rule," the Prime Minister added, "allow me to make this observation—that if there is any country where divisions are historically so deep and feelings are so bitter that they cannot be trusted to do each other justice, that country can only receive any portion of municipal self-government with considerable precaution. I can only say that hypothetically, so that you may not assume that I am not raising the giving of Home Rule to such a country if it exists; but with this reservation I am a great believer in Home Rule. I should like to give to the municipalities, the municipal authorities, the oldest representatives of popular government in this country, the very utmost powers in dealing with all legislation that is of a businesslike character."

It was commonly said, Lord Salisbury continued, that Parliament would do very well if it were properly led, but when it was observed that the same complaint arose in Ministry after Ministry, and got worse rather than better, and when it was seen that the cleverest men had led the House of Commons without effecting any marked improvement in the evil complained of—the delay of legislation—the natural conclusion was that the evil did not lie in the men, but in the system, and in the task which had to be done. The House of Commons had two totally dif-

ferent and unconnected duties to perform. It was a legislative body and a Cabinet-making body. That double object pursued, and necessarily must pursue, all party men, to whatever side they belonged, and it had a most disastrous effect upon legislation. At the same time everybody knew that a double-minded man was unstable in all his ways, and that was very much the condition of the House of Commons.

Admitting that he knew no satisfactory cure for this state of things, Lord Salisbury proceeded:—"But there is often an amount of legislation—I see it every year—which could perfectly well be performed by local bodies, locally elected, which should not have their eyes turned aside from the one consideration—whether the measure is good or bad I saw the other day that a distinguished and eloquent Irishman, Mr. Sexton, had given 300 speeches on the present Irish Purchase Bill. Now, do you believe that Mr. Sexton, who is Lord Mayor of his own city, ever gave 300 speeches on a measure that came before the Corporation of Dublin? It is only by separating so far as possible measures which are business measures from measures which involve political considerations, which it is impossible to assign to local bodies, that this evil can be corrected." In the concluding sentences of his speech the Prime Minister said: "Social questions are pressing upon us with unpleasant proximity. They are very difficult to solve, and most difficult of all to solve because many of them depend for their solution on the circumstances of the particular locality in which they are raised. A different solution is good for one part of the country from that which is good for another part. Again, there are questions which it is difficult to solve in a mechanical manner by putting a formula upon the statute-book, but which would be possible to solve by citizens legislating for citizens whom they personally know. Personal interest, personal proximity, personal investigation into the conditions of those social problems by those who have influence and power in the locality where they arise might often furnish a way out of a perplexity and avoid the raising of the passions by which the fabric of our society is threatened, if only we would give greater trusts to local bodies and not insist on piling upon the central Legislature work for which it is unfitted."

The influenza epidemic raged with peculiar force among members of the House of Commons. Before the adjournment for Whitsuntide no fewer than fifty members were suffering at one time from the malady. During the recess the House was thoroughly fumigated and cleansed, and at the first sitting afterwards (May 21) the First Commissioner of Works was cross-examined as to the steps which had been taken for ridding the House of the dangerous microbe. That some reassurance on the subject was necessary was shown by the fact that two members—Mr Barbour (*Paisley*) and Lord Edward Cavendish (*Derbyshire, W.*)—had already died from attacks of influenza, and

a third victim—Sir Robert Fowler (*London*)—at that moment lay dying. The prevalence of the epidemic affected the attendance of members in Parliament both before and after Whitsuntide, and it was in very thin Houses that the Committee stage of the Irish Land Purchase Bill was completed (May 21-22). The clause proposed by Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*), for insuring the buying up of many more small holdings below 30*l.* of annual value than large ones above that figure, was discussed at considerable length (May 21). Mr. Healy (*Longford, N.*), for opposing the clause, was charged by Mr. Parnell (*Cork City*) with deserting the small tenants and going over to the landlords, and for a while the discussion became lively. But the interest soon dwindled away, and eventually the clause was agreed to by 111 to 26; but before it was added to the Bill it was amended, on the motion of Mr. Lea (*Londonderry, S.*), by making the limit 50*l.* instead of 30*l.* The only other new clause discussed with any interest was one proposed by Mr. Sexton (*Belfast, W.*), to provide that the landlords of Plan of Campaign estates should not be allowed to sell their holdings when they had refused to settle their disputes with the evicted tenants by arbitration. This was opposed by Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*), on the ground that the Plan of Campaign was a political weapon, and that the evicted tenants, instead of being the victims of misfortune, had really allowed themselves to be the dupes of political adventurers—a statement which led to an angry demonstration on the part of Irish members. In the end, the clause was rejected by 62 to 29, and the Bill passed through Committee amid loud cheers (May 22).

Though members did not muster in large numbers, or take kindly to work, a vote of four millions and a quarter on account was discussed at great length (May 25), the vote being finally agreed to. Some progress was also made with the Civil Service Estimates in supply. The morning sitting on the following day was well attended, for Lord Elcho (*Ipswich*) was to move an adjournment for Derby Day, and some amusement was no doubt expected. Lord Elcho's speech was humorously suited to the occasion, and provoked much laughter. Sir Wilfrid Lawson (*Cockermouth*)—who had been challenged by Lord Elcho to entertain the members of the House to "a ginger-beer luncheon" on the Derby race-course, in order that they might see the evils of the place for themselves—made a characteristic speech in opposing the motion. Other members were less successful in their efforts to be funny, and all the humour of the debate was exhausted some time before the division, the numbers of which were: for the adjournment 137, and against it 109. The House then turned to the prosaic business of discussing the Budget Bill, the second reading of which was moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (*St. George's, Hanover Square*). Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*) criticised Mr. Goschen's financial policy. He complained that there had been no remission of taxation, and that no definite

information had been given as to the disposal of the surplus. He repeated his objections to the course adopted by the Government of not meeting the needs of the year out of the revenue of the year, and contended that the estimates, especially as regarded the Navy vote, were confused and misleading. After discussing the action of the Government in connection with the Baring guarantee, he concluded by charging them with exceptional profusion in their expenditure. Mr. Shaw-Lefevre (*Bradford*) took similar objections, and Lord Lympington (*South Molton*) called attention to the unequal incidence of the inhabited house duty in large towns. Mr. Goschen expressed his readiness to meet the objection in regard to the inhabited house duty, but in all other respects justified the financial policy of the Government. The debate was resumed at a further sitting (May 28), when the Bill was read a second time. It went through its subsequent stages without any material alteration. An evening sitting (May 26) was expended in the discussion of a motion by Mr. Stuart (*Hoxton*), for enabling women to serve on County Councils. The motion was strongly opposed by a rapid succession of speakers, and was rejected by 78 votes to 52.

Questions to Ministers from time to time, in reference to the Newfoundland Fisheries Bill, had elicited only discouraging answers. The second reading stood for May 28, and two days previously Mr. Goschen (*St. George's, Hanover Square*) announced that the Government were not satisfied with the legislation proposed by the colony. Mr. Staveley Hill (*Kingswinford*) on that occasion gave notice that upon the second reading being moved he would move that the delegates from the colony be heard at the bar of the House, and Mr. Goschen said that the Government would consent to that course. A full House, therefore, assembled (May 28) in anticipation of an exciting sitting, but the looked-for event did not come off. The House did, indeed, resolve to hear the delegates, but shortly afterwards Mr. W. H. Smith (*Strand*) made the astonishing announcement that at the last moment an arrangement had been made with the representatives of the colony that would greatly modify the programme of proceedings for the night. It had been agreed, he said, that the Bill should be read a second time by the House that night on the understanding that it should then be hung up for three weeks, and at the expiration of that time should be withdrawn altogether if the Colonial Legislature had meanwhile passed a Bill extending the *modus vivendi*, the arbitration award, and the due observance of the treaties with France, for three fishing seasons—to the close of 1898—so as to allow of a complete settlement being arrived at. A little later Mr. Smith briefly moved the second reading, whereupon Mr. Staveley Hill protested against the hard measure which was being dealt out to the colony, and Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*), as temporary leader of the Opposition, added his own more emphatic protest. He

held that the Bill was "most offensive in its character," and that to read it a second time was "in the circumstances absolutely unnecessary." But though Sir William maintained the same tone to the end of a stormy and angry speech, he concluded with the sentence: "I regret that the House should be obliged to place such a measure—a most wanton and unnecessary measure—upon its journals, but under the circumstances I shall certainly not oppose the second reading of this Bill." Other members on Sir William Harcourt's side, however, were not willing that the Bill should be read a second time. Mr. Picton (*Leicester*) moved the adjournment of the debate—a motion which was rejected by a large majority—and eventually Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*) moved an amendment postponing the second reading, but declaring the readiness of the House to support the Government in carrying out the treaty obligations of the country, and the arrangements for arbitration made with France. Mr. Smith accepted the amendment, and Parliament was not again asked to take any action in the matter. But in referring to it on the following day (May 29) in the House of Lords, Lord Salisbury remarked that while there was no reason to regret the resolution adopted by the House of Commons, there was cause to regret "much of the language used by authoritative persons" in the debate which led to that resolution.

Scarcely had the cluster of bye-elections which Lord Salisbury described as a small general election been disposed of, than another series of vacancies arose, necessitating four other bye-elections. The expulsion of Captain Verney was followed by a contest in North Bucks, and there was also a contest at Paisley, consequent on the death of Mr. Barbour. In West Derbyshire Mr. Victor Cavendish was allowed to succeed his father, the late Lord Edward Cavendish, unopposed, and Sir Reginald Hanson was returned unopposed for the City of London, in place of the late Sir Robert Fowler. The political complexion of North Bucks was believed to be uncertain, but though the constituency had alternated between the two sides in previous elections, it now remained Gladstonian. Mr. H. S. Leon carried the seat (May 28) with 5,103 votes, against 4,632 given to Mr. Evelyn Hubbard. At Paisley, though Mr. M'Kerrell made a good fight for the seat, the result was never really in doubt, and Mr. Dunn, the Gladstonian candidate, was returned with a majority of 1,398 (June 1).

Lord Hartington addressed a meeting of West Derbyshire electors, at Bakewell, in aid of Mr. Victor Cavendish's candidature (May 29). After dwelling on the advantages of the strict alliance which had been maintained between the Conservatives and the Liberal Unionists, he pointed to the fact that the more the two sections of the old Parnellite party quarrelled, the quieter Ireland became, till at that moment it seemed almost certain that the Plan of Campaign had collapsed altogether. Mr. Goschen on the same day spoke at a Primrose League meeting at St. James's

Hall, and took occasion to vindicate himself from some of the charges brought against him by his political opponents. He denied that he was easily converted to new doctrines. When he differed from the party to which he belonged on the question of the extension of the suffrage, he for twelve years practically stood outside either party at a time when the passion of ambition was as strong as at any period of one's life. It was scarcely consistent with his political history to say that he was of peculiar and eccentric pliability. But if a man acted with others, if he joined a Cabinet, he must to a certain extent subordinate his opinions on some matters to those of his colleagues. There must be give and take, or harmonious action would be impossible. The Government were introducing a Bill with regard to the payment of fees in public elementary schools; and it was known that the Unionist party were pledged with regard to the abolition of school fees: and he would not deny that he had, in 1885, asked how it was possible that he should be a party to a system of free education. He thought it was wrong to say, "Free education must come; let us undertake it and carry it ourselves, otherwise our opponents will have the credit of it." There was a very different motive which, as far as he was personally concerned, influenced him in connection with the question. His opponents carried free education they would not carry free education as the Government would be inclined to do because they would use free education for the purpose of detaching voluntary schools. They would not introduce it in such a manner as to give the slightest chance of survival to the existing schools, and it was for that reason that he considered it wisdom, and in the interests of the permanence of these schools, that the Government should take the work in hand in such a way that those schools might have the power and the means of surviving the attack that would be made upon them in the future. As regarded finance—Mr. Goschen went on to say he was accused of originality, and of not following on the ancient ways. But his critics had only thought of recent ways and not of the old ones. Some time had elapsed before the advent of the present Government since any serious remission of taxation had taken place. It was some time since there had been any measure worth talking of, and therefore they thought it was necessary now to be able to remit taxation, and to be able to do so plus every year. He, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was favoured by fortune and by the Foreign Office. The Foreign Office was almost as important as the Treasury in the maintenance of a surplus. The Treasury had been upset by untoward events since 1887 had the surplus been diminished by

been able to make considerable reductions, too, in indirect taxation, as well as in direct taxation, quite irrespective of any touching of the Sinking Fund. He had remitted four millions to the taxpayers and another four millions to the ratepayers, and had been able besides to reduce the tobacco duty, the tea duty, and the house duty. Proceeding next to criticise the state of political feeling and opinion in the country, the right hon. gentleman attached but little importance to the results of recent bye-elections, but pointed out as a remarkable fact that though during the present year the Unionists had lost some seats, they had polled more electors in the aggregate than had been polled by the Gladstonians, and this in spite of the fact that the Radicals and Socialists had made the largest promises and had undertaken to turn the whole country into an Arcadia, if not into a Eutopia, in case they were returned to power. Elections had been won by offering to the voters sheer impossibilities which could never be realised, and when that was understood the disenchantment and disillusion would be great. It was better that the Unionists should be in a minority in the next Parliament with clear consciences, than that they should be there as a majority trembling as to what the agricultural and working classes would say after they had failed to ratify promises that ought never to have been given. Temporary defeat was better than the permanent demoralisation of a political party.

A Bill enabling her Majesty in Council to prohibit the catching of seals in Behring Sea by British subjects, pending the arbitration which had been practically agreed upon with the United States, was rapidly passed through both Houses of Parliament. Introduced first in the House of Commons on May 29, it received the Royal assent on June 11. Far less speedy were the proceedings on the report stage of the Irish Land Bill. More or less of eight sittings, between June 1 and 15, were occupied with it before the third reading took place. The time was mainly taken up by the discussion of new clauses. The first of these to excite much interest was a clause moved by Mr. Sexton (*Belfast, W.*), giving tenants evicted since 1881 a right to purchase the holdings from which they had been evicted, in priority to the occupiers for the time being. The Government were urged to accept the clause by Sir George Trevelyan (*Bridgeton, Glasgow*) and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre (*Bradford*), while Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*) and Mr. Smith-Barry (*Huntingdon*) were among the members who spoke against the clause. Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) objected to it as being of far too sweeping a character, though he expressed his willingness to approach the general question of the evicted tenants in a conciliatory spirit. After five hours' discussion the clause was rejected by 112 to 74 (June 2). The question of the evicted tenants arose again upon a new clause, moved by Mr. T. W. Russell (June 4), giving tenants evicted within five years before the passing of the Act a

qualified right to purchase their former holdings within six months after the passing. This clause was agreed to, but an amendment to it was afterwards moved by Mr. Sexton with the object of removing the five years' limit. Eventually it was agreed that the clause should apply to evictions which had taken place since May 1, 1879. The powers of the Land Commissioners were the subject of a clause adopted on the motion of Mr. Lea (*Derry, S.*), to which several amendments were moved (June 9), and discussed at great length, all of them being negatived. The clause was ultimately modified, on the motion of Mr. Balfour, by the proviso that the Land Commissioners should not act as Purchase Commissioners until all the fair rent appeals lodged before June 1 had been disposed of. In other respects, saving for some non-contentious additions or omissions, the Bill remained substantially unaltered.

On the motion for the third reading (June 15) Mr. J. Morley (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*) congratulated the Government on having reached the final stage of the Bill, but expressed his regret that they had rejected amendments which he regarded as essential to the safe working of the measure. Detailing these at some length, he especially spoke of the absence of local control; while from the number and complexity of the accounts that would have to be kept, he argued that great administrative confusion would result. Finally, he denied that the Bill would do more to accelerate land purchase than the Ashbourne Acts. Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) moved the rejection of the Bill, and a protracted discussion followed, in which Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) was the last speaker. Replying categorically to the arguments advanced against the Bill, he admitted that it was a complex measure, but he reminded the House that the whole system of land tenure in Ireland was attended with difficulty. It was impossible, he said, to deal with it by a simple measure, though he questioned whether the administrative difficulties suggested by Mr. Morley would result. He contended that the opposition of the Radical party to the Bill was prompted by a feeling of hatred to the landlords rather than by a desire to benefit the tenants. As to the question of finality, he declined to prophesy, but it was possible that if the present experiment proved a success a future Parliament might make a further advance. He did not conceive it possible, however, that the English people would ever advance a single sixpence to an Irish Parliament. In conclusion, after commending the businesslike way in which the Bill had been discussed in Committee, he paid a tribute to the fairness, the knowledge, and the ability which the Irish members had displayed. The Bill was then read a third time by 225 to 96.

The House of Lords had little to do before the middle of June, and most of the little that it did was rendered nugatory by the inability of the House of Commons to proceed with

measures sent to it by the Upper House. One of the measures which thus suffered was a Bill for amending the law of evidence in criminal cases. Its object was to enable persons accused of crimes, or the husbands or wives of persons so accused, to give evidence. Introduced by the Lord Chancellor, the Bill had the unanimous support of the law lords, and passed the House of Lords (June 8) with no other opposition than that of Lord Denman. But it was not proceeded with in the House of Commons. Of work possibly tending to future legislation the Upper House always does its share, and of that nature was a debate on habitual drunkards, introduced by Lord Herschell (June 5). The noble Lord proposed that an inquiry—probably a departmental one—should be instituted to ascertain whether some better method of dealing with confirmed drunkards could not be substituted for the one now in force. He stated that of 33,000 women 11,000 had ten imprisonments or upwards recorded against them, while the proportion in the case of men was 16,250 out of 112,000. Women were, therefore, more frequently recommitted than men. In one case a prisoner was committed fifty-two times in the year, or on an average once a week, and it was not at all infrequent for a person to be taken again into custody on the very day of release from prison. In another case a woman had been imprisoned upwards of 400 times, and as her husband had paid more than 200*l.* for fines on her behalf, she must have been in the hands of the police more than 600 times. Lord Herschell confessed that he had no scheme of his own to suggest, and admitted that one proposal which had been made in favour of longer commitments for confirmed inebriates might run counter to popular opinion, but it was possible that there would be no great objection to such a measure of reform for the offender if it were frankly recognised that such people were to be detained really for their own good, and in the hope of curing them of an evil which was disastrous to themselves as well as injurious to society. Lord De Ramsey, on behalf of the Government, assented to the motion, which was agreed to.

An important political speech of Mr. Balfour's, delivered at the annual meeting of the Women's Liberal Unionist Association (June 3), was the precursor of an official announcement in the House of Commons in reference to the Crimes Act. Referring in his speech to the condition of Ireland, he said that this was so satisfactory that there was no reason why the whole of Ireland, with the exception perhaps of one county and of a few baronies here and there, where the ashes of the Plan of Campaign still smouldered, should not be relieved from those portions of the Crimes Act to which special exception had been taken. Certain portions of that Act had been loudly proclaimed by Mr. Gladstone as being not only not coercive, but beneficial, and as being of such a character that they might properly be embodied in

general legislation. Those provisions might properly be extended to the whole of Ireland, but those parts of the Crimes Act which specially dealt with criminal conspiracy, and which had been absolutely necessary to deal with the social disorders of the last five years, had now so effectively done their work that they might be removed from the whole of Ireland, except possibly in one county and a few districts where perfect order had not been restored. While there were at present in Ireland 3,019 persons in prison under the ordinary law, there were only twenty-one in prison under the Crimes Act. Several questions were put to Mr. Balfour, in the House of Commons, in reference to the policy indicated by this speech (June 5), and he replied that effect would shortly be given to the views he had expressed.

The free education proposals of the Government were explained by Sir William Hart Dyke (*Dartford*) in Committee of the House of Commons (June 8). Sir William's speech was clear and reasonably short, and the scheme it set forth was, on the whole, exceedingly well received. After tracing the history of the present system of elementary education in the country, Sir William expressed his desire not to interfere with existing arrangements more than might be absolutely necessary, though he fully recognised the importance of the proposed reform being real and thorough. Enlarging next on the great benefits resulting from the voluntary schools, he pointed out that up to 1882 upwards of 14,000,000*l.* had been expended through voluntary effort in buildings alone. Coming more directly to the question of free education, he briefly referred to his former declarations on the subject, which he dismissed with the remark, amid cheers and laughter from the Opposition benches, that "we have changed our minds." Describing in detail the provisions of his Bill, he explained that he proposed to give a grant of 10*s.* per head to each scholar in average attendance between five and fourteen years of age, and as regarded such children schools would either become wholly free, or would continue to charge a fee reduced by the amount of the grant, according as the fee at present charged did or did not exceed 10*s.* When a school had become free it would remain free, or when a fee was charged, the fee would remain unaltered unless a change was required for the educational benefit of the locality; and under this arrangement he believed that two-thirds of the elementary schools in England and Wales would become free. There would be no standard limitations, but the grant would be restricted to schools where the compulsory power came in, and as to the younger children, it was proposed that in no case should the fee charged exceed 2*d.* He claimed for the scheme that it would result in all classes of schools being retained in the same position in which they then were, while as to the expenditure involved it would be rather under than over the sum estimated. In conclusion he moved the necessary resolution declaring it to be expedient to

authorise the payment of the money required to give effect to the scheme.

In the discussion which followed Mr. A. Acland (*Rotherham*) complained of the absence of popular control, and that no provision had been made for improved efficiency, while Mr. Mundella (*Brightside, Sheffield*) argued that the scheme would work unfairly in different localities, though he hailed it as a first step in the right direction. Such opposition as made itself heard came from supporters of the Government. Mr. Howorth (*Salford, S.*) contended that no necessity had been shown for the measure, and that free education was not desired by those most competent to express an opinion on the subject. Mr. Bartley (*Islington, N.*), who took a very gloomy view of the change proposed to be made, warned the Government that it would end in the destruction of voluntary schools and the downfall of the Constitutional party. Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*) gallantly came to the relief of the Government against these dispiriting manifestations from their own supporters. He encouraged them to go on, and promised them the help of the Opposition, though he added that what the Opposition wanted was a really free, unrestricted, and undiluted free education. Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) warmly supported the scheme. He regretted the imposition of the fourteen years' limit, but insisted that the Bill would give all that was necessary to secure the complete freeing of education for all who desired it. As to the question of management, he doubted whether he had ever spoken in favour of popular control; but whether he had or had not, he was now decidedly of opinion that it was neither desirable nor practicable. Free education was an entirely distinct question from that of local control, and as to the voluntary schools, he was satisfied that their destruction would be an extremely dangerous and costly experiment. The discussion was continued through a long sitting, and ended in the resolution being agreed to.

The House of Commons gave a Wednesday afternoon (June 10) to its annual debate on the claims made in behalf of the deceased wife's sister. The Bill was read a second time in February, and it was now considered in Committee. The familiar arguments in favour of the Bill, and the equally familiar objections to it, were recapitulated in the discussion of the clauses, and there was nothing to distinguish the occasion from many previous similar ones, except a spirited defence of the Bill by Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) and a somewhat warm reply from the Home Secretary (*Birmingham, E.*). The Bill was talked out, and was afterwards withdrawn.

In laying on the table of the House of Lords (June 11) the treaty concluded with Portugal, in reference to the respective territories and spheres of influence of Great Britain and Portugal in East Africa, Lord Salisbury explained in what respects the instrument differed from the rejected treaty of the previous

August. He pointed out that the general effect of the arrangement was that the territory which passed to Great Britain would be such as could be occupied and worked by white men, whereas that which would fall to Portugal would for the most part be such as could be occupied and worked by native auxiliaries. Additional facilities were also secured for the free navigation of the rivers and the construction of roads, railways, and telegraphs. Her Majesty's Government had done their best throughout the negotiations to recognise such Portuguese rights as were justified by former treaties or by plain and effective occupation; and the Prime Minister expressed his hope that the agreement now arrived at would tend to renew and continue the friendship which had so long distinguished the relations between the two countries.

At the next sitting of the House of Lords (June 12) there was a large muster of Peers, who were attracted by the promise of a speech from the Duke of Argyll, on the best way of dealing with the congested state of the crofter districts in the highlands and islands of Scotland. The Duke rapidly traced the history of past changes in the economic and industrial position of Scotland generally, and then dealt more particularly with the wretched condition of the crofters of Lewis. He showed from statistics that the population of the island had been steadily increasing at an accelerated ratio since the middle of the last century, and was now enormously out of all proportion to the means available for its subsistence on a barren and ungenial soil. Coming to the question of the remedy for this deplorable state of things, he discarded the proposal of migration as impracticable, there being no land left in Scotland which was not already put to the best economic use. To emigration, therefore, he looked as the only practicable resource, and he hoped that the Government would turn its attention to some systematic effort for inducing those distressed people—who, as experience proved, were of the right stuff to be converted into good colonists—to settle in the British North American possessions, where they could support themselves by their own exertions, and at the same time add to the strength of the Empire. Lord Lothian, speaking for the Government, concurred in thinking that colonisation was the only possible solution of the question; and he regarded Manitoba and British Columbia as suitable fields for such an enterprise. The Government had already sent out a number of crofter families to those districts, and the experiment had so far been a complete success. They were now in negotiation with the Government of British Columbia in reference to a system of colonisation such as had been recommended by the committee of the House of Commons, and he hoped that a satisfactory scheme would be carried out.

Political speeches out of Parliament were rare at this busy period of the Session, but Mr. Chamberlain found leisure to

criticise in the *Times* (June 15) a document issued by the Liberal Publication Department of the National Liberal Federation, headed "What the Liberals propose to do." After remarking that the circular contained "no less than sixteen main heads of reforms, besides sub-heads and collateral proposals," Mr. Chamberlain went on to observe:—

"In this wonderful composition—bearing the official stamp, and proceeding directly from the very centre and sanctuary of Gladstonian policy—*there is absolutely no allusion, direct or indirect, open or concealed, to the sacred cause of Home Rule, to which we have been told that the leader of the Gladstonian party has exclusively devoted the remaining years of his political life.* Here is a compendium of Gladstonian policy so comprehensive that every article of every past Liberal programme, whether authorised or unauthorised, finds a place in it, with the one single and remarkable exception of the proposal which, six years ago, shattered the Liberal party to pieces, and which, we were assured, has ever since blocked the way to every other necessary and desirable reform. There can be only two explanations of this startling omission of Home Rule from the official programme of the Gladstonian party. Either they have determined silently to withdraw from what they find to be an untenable position, and to recognise the fact that Home Rule is really as dead as Queen Anne, or this statement of their programme is a deliberate fraud on the constituencies, who are to be induced to vote for sixteen reforms, only to discover, when it is too late, that all of them are to be indefinitely postponed, to make way for a seventeenth, which is not even mentioned in the present catalogue. If the former of these hypotheses be correct, we may well ask what is to become of Mr. Gladstone. He has made it clear that his political *raison d'être* is the hope of freeing Ireland from the hated rule of the Saxon and of undoing the black-guard work of the younger Pitt. If this glorious object is to be postponed to such purposes as the improvement of artisans' dwellings and the revival of village life—which Mr. Gladstone has always treated as secondary and comparatively unimportant—it can hardly be expected that he should interest himself in work which others have initiated, and which others are able to carry out. Neither would it be consistent with his honour to desert the patriots in their extremity, who, at his dictation, have broken with their old leader, and who would find themselves powerless in the face of Mr. Parnell, if they had to confess that the first fruits of their submission had been the abandonment by the English statesman of the cause of Irish nationality. It is clear, therefore, that, if this is the meaning of the new programme, Mr. Gladstone's colleagues must be contemplating his immediate retirement and the substitution of some other leader less deeply pledged than himself to the policy of disintegration. In this case it will be most interesting to watch the attitude of

the clerical section of the Parnellite party. Will the union of hearts, already severely tried by the disclosures in Committee-room No. 15, bear this new strain? Will Mr. M'Carthy and his friends continue to act in the play after the chief part has been struck out? And, if not, what hope is there that Sir William Harcourt and the Gladstonian Liberals, deserted by their Irish allies in the House of Commons and the country, will be able to gain a majority, or to do anything to forward the sixteen reforms which they have so much at heart? On the other hand, if the omission of Home Rule from the published programme of the Gladstonian party is only intended to blind the electors to the true issue, it is difficult to believe that honourable men can have lent themselves to such a subterfuge. It would be a confession that the chief aim of the party—the cause of its separate existence—is unavowable and indefensible, and that it can only be secured under cover of other, and totally different, objects. The tactics of 1885 would be repeated with aggravated disingenuousness, and a majority would be obtained for one purpose, with the deliberate intention of using it for another. On which horn of the dilemma will the Gladstonians elect to stand? Is Home Rule still the chief plank in their platform? If so, let them withdraw and repudiate the programme issued officially on their behalf, and from which it has been studiously excluded. If not, let them have the courage to make their recantation complete, and to avow openly their return to their old principles and convictions."

Sir William Harcourt replied to Mr. Chamberlain in the *Times* of the following day (June 16). He said that as he did not happen to have ever seen or heard of the circular criticised by Mr. Chamberlain he could not offer any opinion upon it, and continued as follows: "In the comfortable conclusion which Mr. Chamberlain has derived from it that the Liberal party have discarded Home Rule, I may be permitted (as he pays me the compliment of suggesting that I may know something on the subject) to take the liberty of assuring him that he is wholly mistaken. It is true that the Liberal party have repudiated the Fenian Home Rule now proclaimed by Mr. Parnell, but they adhere, as they always have adhered, to the reasonable and constitutional Home Rule which, under the leadership of Mr. Gladstone, they have espoused, and in which Mr. Parnell a short time ago cordially concurred. If Mr. Chamberlain takes the trouble to ask any of the successful Liberal candidates at recent elections, he will learn that Home Rule for Ireland has been a prominent, though not the exclusive, topic in the contest. The Tories and their allies have bawled as loud as ever for the 'Union,' and have cried down the 'Separatists' as before, but they have shouted in vain; that worn-out bogey has ceased to charm or to alarm." After rallying Mr. Chamberlain on the views he contended for in 1885, Sir William Harcourt went on to say: "No

doubt he would be very glad to confine the struggle to a limited issue. But he will be disappointed. The Liberal line of battle will cover, as it has always covered, the whole range of reform. The reason that Mr. Chamberlain resents and endeavours to evade our comprehensive challenge is because it demonstrates before the world that it is not on Ireland alone but on every other head of the Liberal faith that he and his friends are the foes of the Liberal cause. It is natural enough that he should dislike this ; but it affords no reason why we should play his game. Our course is clear. We propounded our policy as a whole—a policy of multifarious reform commensurate with multiplied abuses. The party which has championed the rights of the oppressed tenants in Ireland is not likely to be indifferent to the needs of the occupiers in England ; the reform of the land laws is not geographical in its limitations ; the party which put an end to the Church Establishment in Ireland cannot be deaf to the demands of the great majority of the Welsh people. Those who advocate self-government in Ireland will be foremost to complete the still imperfect system of self-government in Great Britain. The spirit of the Liberal policy is one and the same spirit, but its developments grow with each generation and vary with each branch of the community which has claims upon its aid. How strange it is that Mr. Chamberlain should appear so ignorant now of the broad and generous spirit which inspires and has always animated the policy of the party of which he was once an ornament and a force ! Mr. Chamberlain says : ‘ We may well ask what is to become of Mr. Gladstone,’ and he adds the interesting speculation—one upon which I observe the Liberal Unionists are never tired of calculating as their last and single hope—‘ Mr. Gladstone’s colleagues must be contemplating his immediate retirement.’ I can tell him what is ‘ going to become of Mr. Gladstone.’ Mr. Gladstone, with the loyal support of his colleagues and at the head of a triumphant party, is about to lead them to fresh victories and to give to Great Britain, as to Ireland, the Liberal reforms which the several portions of the Empire may rightly require. I think I can answer in a single sentence Mr. Chamberlain’s question, ‘ How and why the Gladstonians win elections.’ Because the Liberal party, which constitutes the permanent majority of the nation, are sick of a Tory Government and its sham measures, and still more sick of Birmingham and its sham Liberalism ; because they recognise that Mr. Gladstone is a Liberal and that Mr. Chamberlain is not. That is the whole matter in a nutshell.”

There was also a reply to Mr. Chamberlain from the Secretary of “ the Liberal Publication Department,” who stated that “ the attention of the Department having been called to the possibility of uneducated voters falling into the same mistake as Mr. Chamberlain, the leaflet in question was withdrawn a fortnight ago, and has since been reissued with the additional clause

at the beginning: '1. To give Home Rule to Ireland by establishing an Irish Legislative body for the management of exclusively Irish affairs.'

Mr. Chamberlain made the following rejoinder in the *Times* of June 17:—

"I am glad to know that, in future at all events, the electors will understand that the sixteen reforms which the Gladstonians propose to accomplish are all to be postponed by them to the grant of an Irish Parliament in Dublin. It is possible that the 'uneducated voters' may be shrewd enough to see that a bird in hand is better than two in the bush, and that they have more to expect in the way of reform from the Unionist Government, which will have given them local government in the counties, allotments, and free education, and which is at liberty to deal with all the other questions in which they are interested, than from a party which stands committed to its Irish allies to give the first place to a great project of constitutional change, against which the majority of the British people have already emphatically pronounced."

A libel case of considerable notoriety, which arose out of certain games at baccarat played at a country house in Yorkshire, found its way into Parliament as the subject of a question to the Secretary for War (June 15). The persons who took part in the playing included the Prince of Wales and Sir W. Gordon-Cumming, the latter of whom was accused of cheating. The verdict of the jury in the libel action inferentially supported the charge of cheating, and Mr. Stanhope was asked whether he had taken any action in the matter, having regard to the breach which had been committed of the army regulation which provided that "every commissioned officer of Her Majesty's service, whose character or conduct as an officer and a gentleman has been publicly impugned, must submit the case within a reasonable time to his commanding officer, or other competent military authority, for investigation." The question was understood to point at the Prince of Wales, who had joined in an arrangement for hushing up the scandal, notwithstanding that, as one of the heads of the army, his duty was to see that this regulation was complied with. Mr. Stanhope (*Horncastle*) gave a specific reply to the question, and said, with regard to the Prince of Wales, that the particular regulation had never been expressly brought to his Royal Highness's knowledge. Now, however, that the Prince's attention had been called to it, he had authorised him to say that he saw that an error of judgment had been committed in not requiring Sir W. Gordon-Cumming at once to submit his case to his commanding officer.

The disasters at Manipur were a subject of debate in both Houses of Parliament. In the House of Commons (June 16) Sir W. Harcourt (*Derby*) moved for further correspondence on the subject. He disclaimed any idea of an attack on the Indian

Government, but held that it was our duty to the people of India to show that the House was not indifferent to matters which concerned them, while he thought it was the interest of all, especially of the Indian Administration, that the views of Her Majesty's Government should be stated. Referring to the despatches already published, he contended that they clearly proved that the policy of deposing the Maharajah had been determined upon by the Indian Government without communication with the Secretary of State, and he complained of their dilatoriness in not informing Mr. Grimwood of their change of policy. Whether or not it was a proper thing at a durbar to arrest one of the persons invited to it he did not know, but it was a matter upon which the Government were bound to express an opinion.

Sir John Gorst (*Chatham*), who did not object to the motion, explained that it had been the universal practice, except in important matters, for the Government of India to deal with the native States without seeking the sanction of the Secretary of State, and if his approval was not asked with regard to their policy at Manipur, it was because they regarded it as a matter of very little importance. If there had been no military disaster the proceedings would never have been heard of, and it was only that disaster which had thrown strong light on previous events. As to the resolution of the Indian Government to depose the Senapatty, he pointed out that it had always been usual for the British Government to get rid of a troublesome opponent, and he instanced in particular the cases of the Maori King in New Zealand, Arabi Pasha, and Cetywayo. With regard to the durbar, there had been much misconception. It was not a meeting of political equals, but a Court to which local subordinate officials were summoned, and it was not at all unusual to arrest recalcitrant chiefs upon such occasions. He emphatically denied that Mr. Quinton had been guilty of treachery. It was known some time before the durbar that the Senapatty was to be arrested, and the Government of India undoubtedly sanctioned that step. The Manipur occurrences, he added, would remain a dark page in the history of India, though it was relieved by two heroic incidents, but no proceedings here could mend or mar what had been done.

This remarkable speech was characterised by Mr. Curzon (*Southport*), who at a later period of the year became Sir John Gorst's successor in office, as "cynical," while Mr. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling*) said of it that it was "nothing more than a direct satire on the Indian Government." Sir R. Temple (*Evesham*) acquitted Mr. Quinton of the intention to do anything dishonourable, but he thought that the attempt to arrest the Senapatty at the durbar could not be justified. After some further discussion, Sir W. Harcourt made a general reply, in the course of which he sharply criticised Sir John Gorst's view

that the Senapatty had been removed because he was able and troublesome. Sir John Gorst, however, repudiated this construction of his language, and said that the reasons he had given for the Senapatty's expulsion were his disloyalty and rebellion.

The debate in the House of Lords, which occurred some days later (June 22), was introduced by Lord Ripon, who commented on the delay of the Indian Government in dealing with the crisis at Manipur, and expressed regret that they had not decided speedily either to restore the fugitive Maharajah or to recognise the Regent and acquiesce in the revolution. Referring to the attempt to arrest the Senapatty at a durbar, he thought that, except under very special circumstances, such a proceeding should have been very carefully avoided. Proceeding to deal with the recent speech of Sir J. Gorst in the other House, Lord Ripon appealed to the Secretary of State authoritatively to repudiate, as a libel on the Government of India, the unfounded assertion that they discouraged native ability and only encouraged mediocrity. He hoped that the sentence of death passed on the Regent of Manipur for treason would not be carried out, seeing that the accused had been acquitted of complicity in murder. Finally, Lord Ripon expressed the earnest hope that the Government would be able to say that they had no idea of annexing Manipur. Lord Cross replied that the Government, both at home and in India, had no desire to add to their territories, and could only be induced to do so where circumstances rendered it absolutely necessary. He could, however, make no definite statement in regard to the future settlement of Manipur until he had received more information as to the views of the Government of India. With respect to the sentence passed upon the Regent, he recognised the difference between a conviction for waging war and one for murder; but the Senapatty had appealed against his condemnation to the Viceroy, and the Regent might also be expected to do the same. Lord Cross then went on to show that it was not only the right but the duty of the British Government to settle the succession in the protected States of India, pointing out that Manipur was practically a State of our creation, that from the first we had interfered from time to time with its internal affairs, and that its rulers had always acknowledged our supremacy. The rising in September last was an unlawful revolt against the reigning Prince whom we had recognised, and if the Maharajah had not taken to flight troops would have been sent to support him, and the Senapatty would have been deported as the real disturber of the country. The delay which had been spoken of was in great part inevitable in the circumstances, and he denied that there had been any compromise on the part of the Viceroy, who was at first naturally disposed to restore, if possible, the old Maharajah. That was found to be impracticable, and it was wisely decided to re-

cognise the Jubraj, who had taken no part in the rising, but to remove the Senapatty, the leader of the revolt, whose continued presence in Manipur was incompatible with the peace of the State. The Indian Government, so far from discouraging able and independent men, very gladly welcomed them, and wished they could find work for them all. The idea that we should remove the Senapatty because of his ability was so utterly opposed to common sense that he could not imagine how such a statement could have been made. But the Senapatty was a dangerous man, whose misconduct could not be regarded with indifference. As to the intended arrest at a durbar, although the act was never contemplated by the Viceroy, there certainly was not the least tinge of treachery about the proceeding; indeed, throughout the whole of his Indian administration Lord Lansdowne had fully entitled himself to the respect and confidence of his Sovereign and his country. After some observations from several other peers the debate closed.

Two important deputations, both of them seeking to promote closer relations between Great Britain and her colonies, were received by Lord Salisbury at the Foreign Office (June 17 and 19). The first deputation, which represented the Imperial Federation League, suggested that the Government should convene a conference of the self-governing countries of the Empire, with the view of "securing to them a real and effective share in the privileges and responsibilities of a united Empire." In his reply Lord Salisbury observed that the subject meant neither more nor less than the future of the British Empire. Owing to the operation of external causes and some external impulses, there was a feeling of unrest in Canada and even in Australia—a feeling which might not improperly be described as an unwillingness to continually acquiesce precisely in the present state of things. A large portion of our foreign negotiations, foreign difficulties, and the danger of foreign complications, arose entirely from our colonial connections; and the effect was that from time to time great vigilance had to be exercised lest danger should be incurred which did not arise from any interest of our own, but entirely from the interests of the important and interesting communities with which we were linked. No grave decision in reference to the relations between the colonies of this country ought to be taken, or could be taken, without personal communication with the statesmen who guided the colonies in those matters. And they should not be called from their momentous avocations, and be put to all the difficulty and labour and cost of coming to this end of the world, unless there were some definite scheme to lay before them for discussion. The time had almost arrived when schemes should be proposed, and without them not much would be done. To make out of the scattered elements of the Queen's Empire a united Empire like that of Germany, or of the United States, two questions had to be solved—it would be necessary to

found a Zollverein and a Kriegsverein—a union for war, and a union with respect to a Customs policy. Every English politician knew that in the fact that the free trade convictions of this country were not equally shared by our colonies lay one very serious difficulty. The Kriegsverein was the more pressing, because the tendency of enterprise and science was every year more to annihilate space. But a Kriegsverein meant some common control of foreign policy, and that meant a balance and appraisement of the voting value of the various elements of which the Empire was composed, and here our Asiatic dependencies could not be left out of sight.

Replying to the second deputation—which came from the United Empire Trade League, whose aim Mr. Howard Vincent defined to be “the development on mutually advantageous terms of the trading relations between all parts of the Empire of the Queen”—Lord Salisbury admitted that two unlucky treaties were made by Lord Palmerston’s Government which had prejudicially affected British trade with the Colonies. No Government, he said, would ever be disposed to enter into such engagements again. But when it came to denouncing the treaties in which they were concerned, it must be remembered that those particular and unlucky provisions did not constitute the whole of those treaties, and that one article of a treaty could not be denounced by itself. Those treaties contained provisions which in other respects were very valuable to the trade of this country, especially at a time when the current of protection was running very high in every country except this. Therefore they must not ask for any pledges on the matter. To give preferential treatment to the Colonies meant, as Sir John Macdonald had said, to tax the similar goods of the rest of the world. It meant giving a better price than, with unrestricted competition, was obtained now; and a better price to the producer meant a more disagreeable price to the consumer. What they must know before they could invite the Colonies to any kind of federation, was how far the people of this country would be disposed to support a policy of which the most prominent features were preferential taxes on corn, on meat, and on wool.

Mr. Parnell found himself forced by his political exigencies to keep up an active oratorical campaign. Most of his speeches were delivered in Ireland, but he occasionally addressed English audiences. Speaking at Bermondsey (June 17) he entered into an elaborate defence of his own policy and acts. He contended that if Mr. Gladstone came into power at the next election he would not give Ireland her legitimate freedom, nor would he have done so if the dispute among the Irish members had never arisen. The encroachments that had been made on the independence of the Irish members by the Radical section of the Liberal party were not of yesterday’s date. They began when he was asked—nay, more, threatened, by a Radical deputation if

he did not oppose Mr. Balfour's Light Railway Bill. He declined to oppose that Bill, and his conscience was justified when he went into County Mayo the other day and saw hundreds of young men at work on the railway lines who otherwise would have been compelled to emigrate to America. The next claim made upon the Irish party was that they should oppose the principle of the Land Purchase Bill. The principle of land purchase had been in his heart as the ultimate solution of the land question ever since he had thought about the land question at all. It was a terrible thing, therefore, to ask the Irish party, as the price of maintaining the alliance with the English Liberal party, that they should oppose the principle of a Bill which, however defective in many details, proposed to apply 80,000,000*l.* for the purpose of enabling Irish tenant farmers to become the owners of their holdings. He had declined to oppose the principle of that Bill. In the spring of 1890, on the second reading of the Bill, he argued in favour of the principle of land purchase, and pointed out what alterations he required in order that he should be enabled to support it. He argued that there should be local control given to the taxpayers, and that the measure should be as far as possible confined to real *bonâ fide* agricultural tenants. There was great indignation in Radical circles on account of his action, and later on, in the same Session, he pointed out more clearly what alterations he wanted in order to make the measure acceptable to the Irish party. He had been denounced by Mr. Labouchere, and a friend of Mr. T. Healy's took the trouble to cable to America to explain to the American people that he had made this speech because his mind had given way. The result, however, had been that a clause was introduced in the Bill this Session which would enable one out of every two tenants, instead of one out of every five, to become owners, and instead of 140,000,000*l.* being required, only 70,000,000*l.* would be needed to enable 92 per cent. of the Irish tenants to buy their holdings. He, who had studied the land question for sixteen years, had been denounced by the English Radicals, but notwithstanding their denunciations they all voted in favour of the clause the other day. He had also been secretly denounced for this action by many of the Irish seceders, but having refused to vote on the second reading of the Bill early in the Session, they had been so educated in the interval that they came up to time and voted for the third reading the other night. It had been left to him, therefore, to shape the only clause added to the Bill in favour of the evicted tenants. He trusted to do something more for the evicted tenants by legislative action before the Session closed. At present, however, the Land Purchase Bill had been passed, and he ventured to predict that that Bill, if properly worked by the Land Commission and by the Irish Government, would do more good to Ireland and its people than any measure that had ever proceeded from the Imperial Parlia-

ment. He understood why the Liberals had opposed it, but he thought it was very false policy. The land question was there, and the Liberals knew perfectly well that they did not intend to give to the Irish Parliament of the future—at all events, not for many years—the power of dealing with the land question. Why, then, not allow the Tories to settle part of the question and get it out of the way? When Mr. Gladstone came back to power it was probable that Ireland would be in the midst of another period of agricultural depression, and that right hon. gentleman would have to evict Irish tenants as he had done before. Mr. Gladstone had evicted far more than Mr. Balfour had ever done; but he should have thought the policy of making a large number of the tenants owners would have commended itself to the Liberal party.

The Factories and Workshops Bill, which was read a second time by the House of Commons in February, was the subject of further discussion after it left the Standing Committee on Trade (June 18). Mr. Buxton (*Poplar*) moved a new clause, raising the age of half-timers after January 1, 1893, from 10 years to 11. The clause was warmly supported by several members, all of whom, with Mr. Buxton, urged that the Government were bound by the resolutions of the Berlin Conference, and that the House ought to act in conformity with those resolutions. This view was contested by Mr. J. Maclean (*Oldham*) and Lord Cranborne (*Darwen*), and there was an implied appeal from both sides to Sir John Gorst (*Chatham*), who was one of the delegates representing the Government at the Conference. That right honourable gentleman explained that England was proud to be in advance of other nations in all matters included within the scope of the Conference, except in relation to the age at which children should be allowed to be employed, and the English representatives came unanimously to the conclusion, in order "to be in line" with other nations, that the limit of age should be fixed at 12, and they were instructed by Lord Salisbury to assent to this. But it was almost the universal opinion of the members of the Conference that the period of elementary education ought to be closed before the period of employment began. In spite, however, of moral obligations incurred at Berlin, Parliament was free to arrive at any conclusion which might be best for the country. Mr. J. Morley (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*) remarked on the unparalleled position in which the Government had been placed by the speech of Sir John Gorst, and challenged them to state what course they intended to take. Mr. Matthews (*Birmingham, E.*) replied that operatives from all parts of the country with whom he had been in communication were opposed to the clause, partly because of the question of wages, and partly because they believed that a child who went into the mills at 10 became a better workman than if he went in at 11. The clause, moreover, affected a very large number of children—over 175,000

—and no argument had been advanced to justify so serious an interference with large and vital interests as would result if the clause passed. As to the Berlin Conference, its recommendations had not been carried out by any nation, and he denied that the Government were under any obligation to adopt them. Mr. Mundella (*Brightside, Sheffield*), who followed the Home Secretary, contrasted his speech with that of the Under-Secretary for India, and the House shortly afterwards divided upon the clause, with the result that it was carried by a small but decisive majority—the numbers being, for the clause 202, against 186.

On the debate being resumed on the following day (June 19), Mr. Matthews intimated that the Government would accept the new clause proposed by Mr. Buxton, an announcement which Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*) welcomed, though he warned the Government that the limit of age contained in the clause would not be accepted as a final settlement of the question. Other new clauses were then moved, and among them one to include laundries within the scope of the Bill. This gave rise to a prolonged discussion, and on a division the clause was rejected by the narrow majority of 99 to 90. The Bill was afterwards read a third time and passed. When it was before the House of Lords for second reading (June 29), Lord Salisbury—referring to the age of child labour—stated that he was not able to quote the precise words used at the Berlin Conference, where they had to take a very rapid decision, but he believed they did not pledge the Government to raise the age of half-timers by immediate legislation to 12 years. He added that there was, no doubt, much to be said in favour of that particular age, but it was of essential importance that they should, if possible, carry with them the feeling of both employers and operatives, who were not now prepared for so great and sudden a change in their industries. On the Bill being considered in Committee (July 18) a new clause was moved by Lord Dunraven to bring laundries under its operation, but the clause was negatived by 49 to 19. The Bill was eventually read a third time and passed (July 24).

The debate on the second reading of the Elementary Education Bill in the House of Commons was opened (June 22) by Mr. Picton (*Leicester*), who elected not to move an amendment of which he had given notice for the entire abolition of fees, on the ground that he did not wish to appear as an opponent of the Bill. The first amendment moved was therefore that of Mr. Bartley (*Islington, N.*), declaring that the measure would impose additional taxation without securing increased efficiency, while it would be a source of danger to voluntary and denominational schools. Mr. Bartley attacked the Government for introducing the Bill, which he attributed in a great measure to Mr. Chamberlain. Like the first parents of mankind, they were eating of forbidden fruit, and the member for West Birmingham had tempted them. The result of the transgression in the case of Adam and Eve was

that they were "turned out," and he feared that the same punishment might await the Government. For the rest, the Bill was warmly supported on both sides of the House, though Sir G. Trevelyan (*Bridgeton, Glasgow*) stated that while the Opposition would "do nothing to imperil the principle of the Bill," they would take subsequent steps to bring about the establishing of local control. The debate was continued on the two following evenings (June 23 and 24), on the second of which the Bill was read a second time, after a division in which 10 members only voted for Mr. Bartley's amendment, while 918 supported the second reading. No prominent member either of the Government or of the Opposition took part in the debate, almost the whole tenor of which was favourable to the measure.

The Bill was in Committee for four days, before which one sitting was occupied with the discussion of "instructions," but though the debates on the clauses were animated, they were, for the most part, free from party spirit. Mr. H. Fowler (*Wolverhampton, E.*) moved an instruction empowering the Committee "to make provision, in the case of districts where there exists no school under public control, for the introduction of the principle of local representation in the supervision of schools receiving the fee-grant" (June 29). Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) contended that it was impossible to have free education and control over denominational schools both at once, and Mr. Fowler and his friends must make up their minds which they would have. Though he admitted the arguments in favour of popular control, the voluntary schools were too strong for any Government to force it at the present time, and if the Opposition came into power they also would not be able to force it. The Wesleyans and the Roman Catholics would be against it, and the latter would probably number, at least, seventy. The instruction, moreover, was unfair, because it would result in five-sixths of the Church schools being subject to control, and not one in a thousand of the Wesleyan and Roman Catholic schools. The reason of this was to be found in the desire to keep the Irish vote, and in proof of this he referred to the debate on the Address in 1890, when Mr. J. Morley offered, and Mr. Sexton accepted, the offer that schools which were intended for a particular sect should be entirely free from popular control. After many other members had spoken, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (*St. George's, Hanover Square*) pointed out that the desire for popular control did not turn on the question of efficiency, but on that of the conscience clause and on religious grievances which did not exist. If any such grievances did exist, he held that they would not be remedied by the introduction of a popular electoral system. Mr. Mundella (*Brightside, Sheffield*), however, after dilating at some length on the grievances of Nonconformists, contended that Mr. Fowler's speech remained unanswered and unanswerable. On a division the instruction was negatived by 267 to 166. An

instruction moved by Mr. Summers (*Huddersfield*), empowering the Committee to raise the standards for partial and total exemption in schools receiving fee-grants, was negatived (June 30) by 186 to 133. An amendment to Clause 1, for the omission of the limit of fourteen years, was moved by Mr. Mundella (June 30), and a long discussion ensued, which ended in a compromise. The Government agreed to raise the limit to fifteen years, and this course was assented to. An amendment to include evening schools within the scope of the Bill was negatived by 99 to 61 (July 1). An amendment to prevent the teaching of any religious catechism or formulary in any school receiving the fee-grant was negatived by 195 to 90. At the same sitting an amendment was moved by Mr. Lloyd-George (*Carnarvon*), excluding from the benefit of the grant schools in Wales and Monmouthshire whose managers require any teacher to be a member of any particular religious denomination. This amendment was supported by Sir W. Harcourt (*Derby*), and was discussed at some length, the debate being brought to an end by the closure. On a division the amendment was rejected by 215 to 130. Numerous other amendments, chiefly on matters of detail, were proposed, but, with very few exceptions, were not adopted. On the Bill being reconsidered, after it had passed the Committee, Lord Cranborne (*Darwen*) proposed a new clause enabling the fee-grant to be paid to groups of schools, which was agreed to (July 7).

The debate on the third reading of the Bill (July 8) had somewhat the effect of a dress rehearsal after the play. Mr. Bartley (*Islington, N.*) uttered a last lamentation over the measure. Mr. Jesse Collings (*Bordesley*) vigorously sounded its praises. Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*) laughed at the wail of Mr. Bartley, and described the Bill as one for "assisted education" passed by an "assisted Government." He regretted that popular control had not been established, and that no security had been given for an advancement in education, while he predicted the ultimate downfall of the denominational system. Sir W. Hart Dyke (*Dartford*) summed up the discussion, after which the third reading was agreed to amid cheers from both sides of the House.

The Irish Land Bill had a much shorter and easier career in the House of Lords than in the House of Commons. The second reading was moved by Lord Cadogan (June 25) in a lucid speech, in which he sketched the Parliamentary history of the measure, described its objects and scope, and generally vindicated the aims of the Government in regard to it. Lord Waterford criticised the Bill as being a complicated one, the effect of which it was absolutely impossible to foretell, and while he poured unstinted praises on Mr. Balfour for his rule in Ireland, he confessed that he was by no means completely satisfied with Mr. Balfour's present legislation. The Duke of Argyll said he should vote for the Bill because the effect of the Land Act of 1881 was to destroy

ownership, and he held that the present Bill would tend to re-establish it, though in an inferior form, and also to check the most corrupt and pernicious kinds of agitation. Lord Londonderry remarked for himself and other Irish peers that while they cordially supported the second reading of the Bill, they reserved the right to propose modifications in it in Committee. It was not until the second day of the debate that any member of the Opposition rose to speak, and then Lord Kimberley subjected the Bill to a mild and not unfriendly criticism. He thought the financial proposals involved some danger, and he believed that any measure of the kind would have a more healing effect if it were connected with a political settlement, which would place the purchasing tenant in immediate contact with an Irish authority. Lord Herschell spoke to similar effect, and the debate was brought to a conclusion by Lord Salisbury, who reminded the House that the real object of the Bill was to multiply proprietors of land in a country which, from many causes, had fallen into a deplorably unhealthy condition. In other countries peasant proprietors had proved the sheet-anchor of social stability, and he anticipated like results in Ireland. He did not look forward to any sudden or gigantic revolution in the social or in the agrarian condition of the Irish people, but he hoped they should create a class who would conduce to the prosperity of the country, who would bring back that confidence which had been wanting, and restore that life, commerce, and industry which recent experience of Ireland had shown to be almost taken away. The Bill was then read a second time.

In Committee (July 2 and 10) several amendments were made in the Bill, and several new clauses were added to it. The Bill was read a third time on July 14. Of the amendments adopted in the Upper House, the most important was one moved by Lord Londonderry, to provide that at the end of each year a calculation should be made in each county of the sum allocated to the county, and taken up by occupiers both over 50*l.* and under 50*l.*, and that the balance accruing each year should be converted into a common fund, available to both classes of tenants, and administered on the principles of the Ashbourne Act. Among the new clauses were one moved by Lord Waterford, imposing certain further liabilities on the tenant after sale; another, moved by Lord De Vesci, empowering the Land Commission to let or manage holdings when the purchase annuity was in arrear; and another moved by Lord Arran, requiring the purchaser not to commit waste or to diminish the value of his holding, pending the payment of the purchase annuity. With these clauses, and with certain of the Lords' amendments, the House of Commons disagreed (July 23), the remaining amendments and new clauses being accepted. Subsequently the House of Lords assented to the Bill as it finally left the House of Commons.

Though public political meetings were few, an active cam-

paing was kept up by the rival parties, not the least aggressive of whom were the Liberal Unionists. A demonstration by this section of the Unionist party was held at St. James's Hall (June '24), at which Lord Hartington and Sir Henry James delivered vigorous speeches. The latter said that the Unionists had accomplished the object for which they were brought into existence—the maintenance of the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland. They could safely ask any Gladstonian: "Do you wish that you had succeeded in carrying Home Rule in 1886 or not?" If the Gladstonians admitted that they were glad of not succeeding, that was a perfect vindication of the Unionist policy. If, on the other hand, they were sorry, it meant that for party purposes, and to maintain themselves in office, they would have been willing to hand over the government of Ireland to the autocratic power of Charles Stewart Parnell. The present position of the Liberal Unionists was most satisfactory. When a man was sought for to guide the tribunal which was to enter upon the examination of such a question as that of labour, every one turned with universal consent to the leader of the Unionist party. In such trouble as existed among the crofters in Scotland men turned almost naturally to Mr. Joseph Chamberlain for assistance. The agricultural labourer, seeking for his allotment, looked to Mr. Jesse Collings alone to help him. If evicted tenants, men often deserving little aid, sought to obtain the advantage of the Irish Land Bill, the man who came to their help was Mr. T. W. Russell. They had not been an idle party, or a party thinking of office and place. They were looking forward to the General Election to solve the question of Home Rule. What was the programme of the Liberal party? They need take no heed of programmes in which Home Rule was left out one moment and inserted the next. But did those who implicitly followed Mr. Gladstone's lead in 1886 desert him now, or did they agree with what he said last October: "There is one question in the front, and until we get that question out of the way there is nothing else to talk about—you may talk about them, but make them progress you cannot." In 1886 the Gladstonians fished with a single fly. Were they going to do so now, or were they going to enlarge their cast, and put many flies upon it in order to catch a number of electors? The Home Rule vans going through the country, and the speakers from them, promised high wages and few hours of work, but did not mention Home Rule. The Liberals were intentionally silent, that this question might be put on one side, and they did not dare to unfurl the flag under which they might say they had or had not been fighting, according to their will.

Lord Hartington also referred to the General Election, and spoke of it as the time when the work of those whose duty it had been to organise the Unionist party, and more especially the Liberal Unionist party, would be judged. The constituencies

would then have to decide upon the question whether all the labour and the sacrifices of the past five years were to be thrown away ; whether another period of doubt and uncertainty, such as existed in 1886, was to be entered upon ; or whether for another period the country was to be permitted to continue in that course of peaceful but substantial progress which, on the whole, and in spite of many difficulties, it had followed during the existence of the present Parliament. Everybody knew what would be the consequences of the success or the defeat of the Unionist party. In the present state of English and Irish parties it was extremely doubtful, even if a nominal Home Rule majority were returned at the next election, whether any English Government could propose a measure of Home Rule which any existing Irish party could accept. But a defeat of the Unionist party would mean the raising again of the Irish question. It would mean the re-opening again of bitter controversies now nearly at rest, between the North and South of Ireland, between Protestant and Catholic, and between landlord and tenant. It would mean the repeal of that law through the operation of which order and peace had been re-established in Ireland, and by means of the mere existence of which order was now maintained. It would mean the raising of doubt in the mind of every Irish judge and magistrate, of every Irish official, of every member of the Irish constabulary, as to whether in time to come he would be supported by the Government or disowned. It would mean the raising of doubt in the mind of every Irish tenant whether it would be to his advantage to fulfil the engagements into which he had voluntarily entered, or which had been made for him by the law, and thereby incur the hostility of the League ; or whether he should repudiate these obligations, and render himself liable to the action of the law. It was said in 1886 that the Irish people, through their leaders, had accepted a settlement and a compromise that would be final. But now Sir William Harcourt himself said there were at least two kinds of Home Rule advocated by two sets of Irish leaders, and admitted that the Home Rule which he had repudiated, and which the late leader of the Irish party was advocating, was a Fenian Home Rule. But had the dissentient Parnellites repudiated that Fenian Home Rule ? It was said that nothing but an Irish Parliament could improve the economical and social condition of Ireland, but it had been proved conclusively that with returning order confidence was returning, and with confidence prosperity. It was said that, even if it had the will, the British Parliament had not the knowledge to legislate justly and wisely for Ireland ; but it had been proved by a series of enactments, the value of which not even Irish representatives denied, that the Imperial Parliament had not only had the will but the power to pass measures for the development of Irish industrial resources, and for the settlement of Irish agrarian difficulties, which it would not have

been in the power, even if it had been within the will, of an Irish Parliament to pass. It was safe to prophesy that, as far as the Irish question took any part at all in the political campaign of the Gladstonians, it would assume the form of the vaguest and the widest generalities, and the time was close at hand when the British electorate would be bound to do all in their power to prevent for a second time this great fraud. Scotch and Welsh Disestablishment was proposed, tithes were to be dealt with as national property, they were to introduce a new Reform Bill, to reform registration, to give effect to the principle of "one man, one vote," to shorten Parliaments, and to introduce a system of State payment of members of Parliament. These proposals would take up a great deal of time. When the question of Disestablishment was brought so close to the English Church as it would be by raising the question of Disestablishment in Wales, such a measure could not be carried without a strenuous opposition from millions of voters, who cared more for the maintenance of the Church Establishment than for any political party. There were many Liberal Unionists who were in favour of "one man, one vote," though he was not, for it was not unjust that property should have a small share of influence on the Legislature. There were also several improvements proposed with regard to social legislation; but with one exception the Unionist Government had dealt with, or attempted to deal with, every one of the matters in question. As for the incompleteness which was urged against the legislation of the Unionists, that was one of its greatest recommendations.. They had been wise in making great political changes easy and gradual. They were more to be trusted than those who, however much they had talked about such things, had not one item of administrative work to their credit. Over the whole field of social and domestic reform which the Gladstonians were, without warrant, claiming for their own, the Unionist party was on the ground first, and on every question the Unionists had something of accomplished work to show.

Sir William Harcourt had an opportunity of replying to these stirring addresses in his speech at West Islington (June 26), but if his reply was characteristically funny it was unusually meagre. He declared that it was difficult in these days to make a speech upon public affairs, "because if you did not speak about everything, you were treated as if you were a leaflet, and it was assumed that everything you had not spoken about at length you had abandoned for ever." He must say something about Home Rule, otherwise he should be told that the Liberal party had discarded Ireland and Home Rule. Six years ago Mr. Chamberlain, for the first time with the authority of a Minister, proclaimed the doctrine of Home Rule for Ireland. But Mr. Chamberlain had deserted the principles he then proclaimed. Why should Home Rule now be considered dead? All the same arguments in its favour existed to-day as they existed then. If it was o

paramount importance that the Parliament of 1885 should deal with it in a statesmanlike manner, it was of still greater importance that it should be dealt with by the present Parliament, or that which was to come. If Home Rule were dead, why did their opponents make such a fuss about it, and why did they not let the dead bury the dead? Now these opponents complained that the Liberals did not fight fairly, but had too many items in their programme when they ought to be content with one. But the Liberals were going to fight the battle in their own way. They were asked to give the details, but they would give nothing of the kind. It was not usual or necessary. They were sometimes asked what was the position of Home Rule. It stood just where Land Purchase did in 1886, and where Free Education did last year. It was difficult to say whether the Tory party pledged itself more against Land Purchase or Free Education or Home Rule. With regard to the Free Education Bill, he was opposed to giving large sums of money to denominational schools without popular control. The Unionists objected to the multifarious Liberal programme; but the Liberal programme always had been and always would be multifarious. The Unionist party claimed the authorship of a great many social changes; but he had seen such measures defeated by them night after night. He could honestly concede Lord Hartington's claim that the great merit of the Tory measures had been their incompleteness. Their reforms had been like a watch without a mainspring, or a horse with three legs. There were two programmes before the country. Liberals proposed to go again before the constituencies as they had done in the old days, with the big loaf, but the Unionists would go with the little loaf. The Unionists knew very well what was in store for them. Every Unionist speech betrayed this consciousness of impending doom. The Unionists had had their trial and had been found wanting. But the time of the Liberals was coming.

The ten days' visit to this country of the German Emperor (July 4-14) gave an increased activity to the last days of the Parliamentary Session. His Imperial Majesty was himself most actively employed throughout the period of his stay, but of the numerous functions in which he was the centre of interest it is only necessary here to record that of his reception in the City (July 10). The Emperor was on this occasion entertained at a *déjeuner* at the Guildhall, and in reply to the toast of his health spoke as follows:—

“MY LORD,—Receive my most heartfelt thanks for the warm welcome from the citizens of this ancient and noble metropolis. I beg that your lordship will kindly transmit the expression of my feelings to those in whose name you have spoken. I have always felt at home in this lovely country, being the grandson of a Queen whose name will ever be remembered as the most noble character, and a lady great in the wisdom of her counsels, and

whose reign has conferred lasting blessings on England. Moreover, the same blood runs in English and German veins. Following the examples of my grandfather and of my ever-lamented father, I shall always, as far as it is in my power, maintain the historical friendship between these two our nations, which, as your lordship mentioned, have so often been seen side by side in defence of liberty and justice. I feel encouraged in my task when I see that wise and capable men, such as are gathered here, do justice to the earnestness and honesty of my intentions. My aim is above all the maintenance of peace, for peace alone can give the confidence which is necessary to the healthy development of science, art, and trade. Only as long as peace reigns are we at liberty to bestow earnest thoughts upon the great problems the solution of which in fairness and equity I consider the most prominent duty of our times. You may rest assured, therefore, that I shall continue to do my best to maintain and constantly to increase the good relations between Germany and the other nations, and that I shall always be found ready to unite with you and them in a common labour for peaceful progress, friendly intercourse, and the advancement of civilisation."

The Elementary Education Act was read a second time in the House of Lords (July 16), after a debate in which the Archbishop of Canterbury gave a hearty welcome to the Bill, and said that religious education would not be injured by making the schools free. In Committee (July 20) an amendment, moved by the Bishop of London, providing that where two or more schools were under the same managers, the schools, if the managers so desired, should be deemed one school for the purposes of the Act, was agreed to. Some other amendments were also made in the Bill, some proposed amendments were rejected, and the Bill was subsequently (July 24) read a third time. On the consideration by the House of Commons of the Lords' amendments Mr. H. Fowler (*Wolverhampton, E.*) moved to disagree with the Bishop of London's amendment, which, he contended, would increase the 17s. 6d. limit. The Government supported the amendment, and it was adopted on a division by 105 to 58. Mr. Fowler then asked whether it was competent for the House of Lords so to amend the Bill as to increase the grant beyond the amount authorised by the financial resolution under which the Bill was introduced. The Speaker replied that if the effect of the Lords' amendment would be to increase the grant it would be a breach of privilege. The amendment in question was afterwards struck out of the Bill. On the Bill again going to the House of Lords another amendment was substituted for the one thus struck out, which Lord Cranbrook said would accomplish the object of the latter amendment without doing violence to the doctrine laid down by the Speaker. Both Lord Cranbrook and Lord Salisbury, however, held that it was necessary in such a matter to guard the privileges of the House of Lords. In other respects the Bill was

not materially altered by the amendments adopted in either House.

Of effective business in Parliament, other than that of Supply, very little remains to be noticed. Among the non-contentious measures introduced and passed late in the Session were a Bill for amending the Post-office Acts, a Bill for amending the law relating to penal servitude, and several measures for giving effect to the new schedules of railway rates settled by the Board of Trade for adoption by various railway companies. The Session had its share of personal incidents of a regrettable character. Of these the expulsion of Captain Verney, to which reference has been made in a previous chapter, was the most painful. Rumours of a criminal charge against another member, Mr. De Cobain (*Belfast, E.*), reached the House, and a copy of the warrant for Mr. De Cobain's arrest was directed to be obtained. Mr. De Cobain was continuously absent from his place in Parliament, and on July 13 Mr. Goschen moved, and the House agreed, that he be required to attend in his place on the 23rd of July. Subsequently (July 20), the Speaker reported that he had received a letter from Mr. De Cobain's solicitor, stating that the honourable gentleman was ill, and that it would be extremely dangerous for him to comply with the requirement of the House. The Government in these circumstances decided not to press for Mr. De Cobain's attendance, and the order made in the matter was discharged (July 23). The only other personal incident to which it is necessary to refer was that which resulted in the suspension for a week of the attendance in Parliament of Mr. Atkinson (*Boston*) (July 27). The honourable member incurred the rebuke of the Speaker (July 24) by his persistence in moving frivolous amendments to the Railway Rates Bills, and the Speaker afterwards reported to the House that two letters charging him with unfairness, one of them being of an insulting character, had been addressed to him by Mr. Atkinson. The House thereupon made the order of suspension.

The Army and Navy Estimates were mainly disposed of at an early period of the Session, but the votes for the Civil Service were, as usual, spread over nearly the whole Session, the bulk of them being taken after Whitsuntide. On the vote for the House of Commons offices (July 9), Mr. Morton (*Peterborough*) moved a reduction as a protest against the sale of liquors at the bar in the lobby, but the reduction was negatived by 127 to 55. At the same sitting, on the Foreign Office vote, Sir George Campbell (*Kirkcaldy*) raised a question as to the relations of England and the Triple Alliance, and Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) protested against the attitude taken by Lord Salisbury, especially as implied by an alleged secret arrangement with Italy, as being calculated to irritate France. Sir James Fergusson (*Manchester, N.E.*) stated that the so-called secret understanding with Italy only amounted to an exchange of views, with the object of maintaining

peace in Europe and the *status quo* in the Mediterranean. No further discussion of any importance occurred in Supply until the vote for the office of the Chief Secretary for Ireland was taken (July 20). Mr. Webb (*Waterford, W.*) then moved a reduction as a protest against the action of the Executive in relation to the Tipperary prosecution. After some discussion, in which several Irish members claimed that the present improved state of the country was not due to the firm administration of the law, Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) defended his policy, and attributed the tranquillity prevailing in Ireland to the fact that the country had been governed by the Imperial Parliament. From this, he contended, advantages were derived which could never be obtained from a Parliament on College Green.

On the vote for the relief of distress in Ireland (July 22), Mr. Balfour explained what had been done in connection with the subject since it was last discussed. As regarded the distress of the last winter, the Government relied, in the first place, on railway construction. This had been left in the hands of contractors, who had been required to employ local labour as far as possible, and special expenditure had been sanctioned in order that a larger number of persons might be employed than would have been necessary if a more economical method of construction had been adopted. The total number of labourers engaged, including men, women, and children, was, on the 28th of February, 6,812. This was increased by the 23rd of May to 14,000; but on the 11th of July the number had fallen to 11,000, and it was still rapidly diminishing. He next referred to the potato loans, the total of which amounted to 276,500*l.*, as against 600,000*l.* in 1881. Having detailed at some length in the manner in which the seed and the loans had been distributed, Mr. Balfour returned to the subject of the relief works, and explained that the greatest care had been taken to insure that they should be useful not only for the temporary purpose of relieving distress, but also as a permanent addition to the comfort and welfare of the population. Mr. Balfour's statement was criticised by several Irish members, and he made a brief reply, after which the vote was agreed to.

The usual statement on the educational work of the year was made by Sir W. Hart Dyke (*Dartford*) in connection with the Education Vote (July 30). He pointed out, in the first place, that this was the first year of the new Code, which, he remarked, was likely to prove a great success, though he admitted that the average attendance under it had fallen short of the estimate by 30,000. The grant for the financial year 1890-91 was 3,782,224*l.*, the sum actually expended being 3,782,057*l.*, leaving a surplus of 167*l.*, while the grant per day scholar under the old Code to September 1 was 17*s.* 10½*d.*, and under the new Code 18*s.* 3½*d.* Coming to the Estimates for the year 1891-92, the first framed to meet the new Code, Sir William pointed out that the sum asked for was

136,908*l.* more than last year's vote, which was due to an increase of 120,817*l.* for evening scholars, a large addition to meet grants for day training colleges, increments of salaries, and additional pensions. The number of children in average attendance during the coming year he estimated at 3,794,156, an increase of only 11,600 as compared with the estimate of the previous year, but of 40,000 as compared with the actual results of that year. The rate of grant per day scholar was estimated at 18*s.* 6*d.*, an increase of 6½*d.* over the estimate for 1890-91, and of 7½*d.* over the rate per scholar during the last year of the old Code, but in this connection he remarked that as the estimate for 1890-91 was based only on the Code of 1889, the comparison should be with the rate actually earned under the new Code in the seven months of 1890-91 during which it was in force, and thus compared the increase was only 2½*d.* He next dealt in much detail with the progress made during the inspection year ending August 31, 1890, which showed, as compared with 1889, an increase in the number of schools inspected of 109. Accommodation had also been provided for 99,000 additional scholars, and 49,000 more scholars were on the register. The average attendance showed an increase of 35,000; 6,000 more scholars were examined in Standard IV. and upwards, and the number of girls who earned grants for cookery was 9,300 more. Mr. Mundella (*Brightside, Sheffield*) complimented Sir W. Hart Dyke on his statement, and after some discussion the vote was agreed to. The Scotch and Irish Education votes were agreed to (July 31). On the taking of the latter Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) intimated that the Training Colleges Bill—a measure read a second time (July 7)—would not be proceeded with, but he intended to obtain a valuation of the denominational colleges, and when the capital sum required was ascertained he would pay the interest out of the vote. The sitting was prolonged until after four o'clock on the morning of August 1, and before the House rose all the votes in Supply had been agreed to.

On the second reading of the Appropriation Bill (August 3) Mr. J. Redmond (*Wexford, N.*) called attention to the case of the dynamite convicts, Daly and Egan, and moved a resolution urging that, in view of the peaceable state of Ireland, the cases of these and other convicts undergoing penal servitude for treason-felony should be reconsidered, with a view to the clemency of the Crown being extended to them. Complaining that the men were convicted for one offence and sentenced for another, he contended that Daly's conviction had been obtained by a conspiracy on the part of the Irish police, who had "planted" on him the explosives with which he was found dealing, and he appealed to the Home Secretary, especially having regard to the opinion formed of the action of the Irish police by Mr. Farndale, the Chief Constable of Birmingham, to reconsider the case. Mr. Matthews (*Birmingham, E.*) replied that he had

carefully inquired into the statement of Mr. Farndale, and had been unable to find a tittle of evidence to justify the conclusion at which that gentleman had arrived, and he ridiculed the suggestion that the bombs and nitro-glycerine buried by Daly in Egan's garden had been supplied by the police. All the circumstances connected with the case went to rebut the contention that Daly was an innocent man. Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*) concurred in this view, while Mr. Parnell (*Cork City*) and other Irish members, as well as several English members, urged that a case had been made out for further inquiry. The resolution was negatived by 96 to 39.

The last business of the Session was the Indian Budget, which Sir John Gorst (*Chatham*) introduced in an almost empty House (August 4). He stated that the surplus estimated for the year 1889-90 had been practically fully realised, the surplus predicted being Rx. 2,677,000, and that actually realised Rx. 2,612,000. The Budget surplus of the year 1890-91 was estimated at Rx. 270,400, but it amounted at the present time to Rx. 3,665,000, the direct cause of the increase being an improvement in the rate of exchange—which accounted for no less than Rx. 2,544,100—and a general increase of the revenue. For the coming year he estimated the surplus at Rx. 396,000. With regard to the receipts of the past year, there had been a falling off in the opium revenue and a cessation of provincial contributions, but the land revenue had increased by Rx. 307,200. The expenditure, however, had also increased all round, and he was afraid it would continue to do so. He next compared the accounts of 1888-89 with the Budget for 1891-92, pointing out that the increase of net revenue shown in the Budget for the coming year over the accounts of 1888-89 was Rx. 2,408,000, and the increase of expenditure in the same period Rx. 2,329,000, the result being an improvement of Rx. 79,000. After alluding to the dangers to Indian finance—war, fall in the rupee, loss of opium revenue, and increase of military expenditure, works, ordnance stores, &c.—Sir John concluded by expressing the view that, notwithstanding the general increase of expenditure, the finances of India were hopeful and prosperous. Some discussion followed, in the course of which Mr. S. Smith (*Flintshire*) urged that the people of India ought to be represented on the Legislative Councils of the Empire, and ultimately the usual resolution was agreed to. On the following day (August 5) Parliament was prorogued.

There was an unusual amount of extra-Parliamentary oratory in the last days of the Session. At a dinner at the United Club (July 15) Lord Salisbury reviewed the political situation and dealt with the question of Parliamentary reform. At the outset of his speech he remarked that in these days power was with those who could speak, whether on the platform or in Parliament. This was not by any means an ideal of political existence. There had been very distinguished orators who were

perfectly incompetent men, and very competent men who could not put together a grammatical sentence. But in spite of this the desire for oratory was intense—and was growing in intensity—and the power to shape the destinies of this country in the future would be with those who were able to set political truth in an attractive form before their fellow-citizens. With regard to the approaching General Election, he could only say that, according to the Septennial Act, the present Parliament would terminate on Aug. 6, 1893. He was not a prophet, like Mr. Labouchere, who could tell with the utmost confidence that the Conservatives would not have a majority at the next election. But Mr. Labouchere was a man of wonderful discernment, who was able to give assurances, in the most confident terms, as to diplomatic secrets which were absolutely concealed from anybody else. But a much more important question than the probable date of the election was, what was the position of the convictions held by the Conservative party, and the prospects of the cause which they sustained? They should not underrate the importance of immediate political victory, but they had something higher to care for than that: they had to impress the beliefs they held upon the minds of their fellow-citizens, and to communicate to them and strengthen in them the affection which they felt for the institutions of their country. The whole power of a political party did not depend on its holding the executive Government. With sufficient numbers, and a spirit equal to the task, a party might almost do as much, if not in possession of executive power, in protecting the institutions they valued, as they could in the happier alternative. Five years ago he had, he admitted, considered that the question of Established Churches was one of the prominent features of the conflict then impending. This was still the case in Wales and in Scotland, but in England during the last five years the Established Church had gained considerably in power, and removed to a longer distance the epoch when her existence would be the object of a sustained attack. Another question always to the front was that of the rights of property. That question would remain while there were two political parties in the country. There would always be an attempt to snatch votes by insincere statements, from the ignorance of the poor, but it would always be the duty of those who saw through that sophistry to struggle against it to the utmost of their power. In the security of property lay the interests of the poor as well as of the rich, the only justification of confidence, the only motive by which industry could be animated, and by which capital could be induced to extend its salutary and fertilising influence. If belief in the security of property was once destroyed, the first effect would be that capital would cease to be advanced, industry would lose its food, and the poor would lose their chance of sustenance. But the attack on property was not one of the organised movements of the Radicalism of

the time. It was the resource of a dishonest Radical trying to obtain votes, knowing that he was promising what he could never perform, but caring very little about the issue of his promises so that the votes for which they were offered were obtained.

Proceeding to speak of proposed changes in the Parliamentary franchise, Lord Salisbury continued: "There is another subject which has occupied the energies of political men for more than half a century. I mean the subject of the constitution of the electorate which sends members to the House of Commons. I do not, however, attach a first-rate importance to this cry. I believe it is the echo of a tradition, of a legend that is worn out. It is the recollection of battles that have taken place in the past and have been decided; it appeals to feelings which no longer require satisfaction; and it is based upon no grievance that can be solidly established. But if this question of the electorate is to be raised, it is well that you should bear in mind that it is not the Conservative party who have any reason to dread that discussion. The first thing that we shall have to discuss when the question is raised is the distribution of political power. And when we examine by the light of the population returns the distribution of political power we shall find that Ireland, Wales, and the northern parts of Scotland are enormously over-represented, and that England, and especially this metropolis in which we live, is correspondingly under-represented. Well, I think that is a result which we have no anxiety to provoke or any reason to apprehend. But as to the cry of "One man, one vote," I confess that I agree with Lord Hartington in thinking that it is an unreasonable cry. The freehold franchise in this country is the very oldest franchise we possess. It is as old as Parliament itself, and it represents a claim of property to be represented in the councils of the nation which no wise nation will disregard. But it is not a matter in itself of first-rate importance, and I think it is to be considered rather on account of the principle it involves than of the consequences which it can actually lead to. When I am told, however, that an important part of the reform of our representation depends on the diminution of the amount of residence required for a vote, it appears to me to open a very different prospect of the question. Residence is required as a security. The great danger of the present day with our numerous constituents, especially where there are many Irish among them, is personation. The great danger—and it is a danger of which we practically feel the stress—is that men will pretend to vote in the name of persons who are on the register, but who are not really present to claim their votes. Your only security against that is to require that a man shall have been a sufficient time in his constituency that his neighbours may know him, and may be able to testify to his identity; for if you once arrive at a state of things by which a man who

has come into the constituency only a fortnight or a week before an election may be able to vote, you will have personation in gigantic proportions, and will be unable to maintain the purity of your elections. Therefore, for the sake of purity of election I should adhere to, and strongly maintain the necessity of, the very moderate requirement of residence which is imposed on every elector. There are one or two reforms which I should like myself to examine if we ever come to discuss the question of the suffrage in a fundamental manner. I will not dwell on one of them, because even in this club it may cause some difference of opinion; but I am bound, for the sake of record, and not to seem to have altered my opinion, to say that, in my judgment, whenever the question of the franchise is brought up, the question of relaxing the restraints which are now imposed on the voting of women will have to be reconsidered. There is another reform in relation to this matter from which I may anticipate more unanimity of sentiment, and that is the abolition of what is called the illiterate vote. 'The illiterate vote, as it at present exists, is merely a contrivance to enable the Roman Catholic priest to terrorise his flock, and as that is an influence in Ireland which I do not desire to see extended, I am anxious to abolish the illiterate vote. I have ventured to point out to you that this question of the suffrage, though it branches into many details, is not one which really appeals to the sentiment or enthusiasm of the people, and though we may deal with it when it comes before Parliament according to its merits, as a party we have nothing to fear but everything to hope from a thorough and fundamental treatment of the question. Still it is not a question which I can venture to describe as a burning question of the day.'

Concluding his speech by a short reference to the Irish question, Lord Salisbury observed that it would be impossible for England to maintain her rule over her vast dependencies in every part of the world if she was unable to retain her power over Ireland, which lay at her own doors; and if ever the time should come when Great Britain should be false to her duty in that respect, Ireland would not be the only possession which would be wrenched from the power of the Queen. But every indication showed that the doctrine of Home Rule for Ireland had effected no lodgment whatever in the minds of the British electorate, and the course of recent events had made its success more distant and more impossible still. It seemed utterly impossible that the people of Great Britain should hand over the Protestants of the North of Ireland and those scattered throughout Ireland to a clerical conspiracy whose machinery, mode of action, designs, and omnipotence had been so conspicuously betrayed by the events that had recently been enacted in Ireland.

In a speech at Newcastle (July 18), Mr. Parnell emphasised the distrust of Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party which he

had expressed a short time before at Bermondsey. He denied, however, that he wished to deprive Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party of their chance of settling the Irish question. But he reasserted his belief that independent Irishmen everywhere would decline to surrender their independence, or to hand over Ireland to England, until they saw what kind of performances came from Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party. He knew what sort of a Home Rule Bill Ireland would get from the Liberals. He had asked Mr. Gladstone what he was going to give them, but Mr. Gladstone refused to say. The Liberal leaders would never agree whether they would give the Irish land question over to the Irish Parliament for solution or not. There was to be the same thing in regard to other important questions, such as the power of enforcing their laws when they had made them, and the control of the constabulary. If Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party wished to give legitimate freedom to Ireland, they would have an opportunity of doing it, and he would not stand in their way. Beyond question, the Liberal party would come into power at the General Election, and their Home Rule Bill would then be exhibited. If that Bill gave legitimate liberty and freedom to Ireland, it would be a good Bill, and Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party would have been justified by the results. But if it did not, he himself would be justified, and Ireland would acknowledge that he was right in asking for guarantees, and, failing those guarantees, in refusing to surrender his independence. He was convinced that of the Liberal party not one in three believed in Home Rule for Ireland. The remainder would be satisfied with some sort of ambiguous scheme of local government. If there ever came a time when the Liberals could get into power without the aid of the Irish, he would give nothing for their consistency.

An interesting non-party speech was delivered by Mr. Chamberlain at the works of the Birmingham Small Arms Company, on the occasion of a visit to the works of the two envoys of King Gungunhana (July 22). He remarked that the Government were possessed with the feeling that they had already so much on their hands, such tremendous interests to guard and protect, that it was undesirable to increase them. And yet, during the last six years, the British Empire, or, at least the sphere of British influence, had been increased by something like two millions of square miles. The greater part of that increase had taken place in Africa. There had been a race for Africa, and in the course of that race somehow it happened that, through no intention of the British Government, even their blunders had profited them. They had got influence over or actual possession of every part of Africa which was of the slightest importance or value. They had the gold, the silver, and the diamonds; in Egypt they had the finest cotton-growing country in the world. They had the palm-oil, the india-rubber, and the ivory. Their competitors had,

however, a very large extent of territory. In regard to Portugal, the claim was made on the ground of early discovery, but it was perfectly well known that beyond the discovery—itsself somewhat problematical—there was no claim of occupation or utilisation. The feeling against the expansion of the Empire was due in part to the fact that many previous expansions had taken place under circumstances of great oppression, injustice, and corruption. These, however, were not necessary to the expansion of European influence and civilisation. No native ought to be disturbed in any rights of possession he might have had in the land of his father, or injured by the accession of white population within that territory. They desired only to enjoy the blessings of the country which the people could not use themselves, and they hoped to bring into it the improved appliances of civilisation, and to avoid bringing evils which in the past had sometimes attended European colonisation. Recent knowledge and experience had shown that the whole of the South African territory was capable of European colonisation, and wherever that went on independently of the existing African population very large trade might be anticipated. If the development of the gold country should assume anything like the same proportions it had done in the past, in a few years the exports and imports to and from South Africa would be doubled and trebled. If only for the purpose of feeding our enormous population such an expansion of the Empire, carried out in such a spirit, would be not only justifiable, but almost a necessity of existence.

Three days later (July 25) Sir George Trevelyan made a strong party speech at Downend, in which he claimed that the Liberals were fighting the same battle on both sides of the Channel—a battle against privilege and injustice, and for freedom and equality. They were supporting in Ireland an Irish party of “good sterling stuff.” Home Rule meant the removal of two great Irish grievances. The small minority in Ireland governed the country, and they would do so until the end of time unless the Liberal party came to the assistance of the great body of the people. That was their first grievance; and the second was that Irish laws were made without any reference whatever to Irish wishes, aspirations, and opinions. The Liberals wanted to get the Government of England into the hands of the people, and that could not be done when all forms of privilege continued to exist in the Lower House of Parliament, which ought to be the national assembly of the great body of the people. The Lower House only represented the people in a partial manner. In the first place, there were nine University members elected entirely by plural voters. There were two seats for the city of London, which constituency consisted of 30,000 people, only 5,000 of whom were real residents; and those two seats always went to the Tories. Liberal electors knew, too, that in nearly all the constituencies of the country

they were swamped with plural voters. As long as there was a household vote it should be given to genuine residents, and no man, even if he had 100,000*l.* a year and a number of establishments in different parts of the country, should vote for any place except the one in which he passed most of his time. After suggesting various reforms concerning registration, Sir George Trevelyan advocated the payment of members. The public, he maintained, ought to pay all the legal expenses of returning a member to Parliament and a moderate stipend, not enough to tempt men into Parliament for the sake of the income, but such an amount—say 300*l.*—as would induce a public-spirited man to enter public life without feeling that he was starving those who were nearest and dearest to him. In spite of Mr. Chamberlain's recent assertions to the contrary, there was no better expenditure of public time than in passing a good Reform Bill, as that was the only way to quicken legislation.

The last week of the Session was literary crowded with political speeches out of Parliament, several of them, however, being those of Ministers at the Mansion House banquet. Lord Salisbury, speaking at that function (July 29), said that the Session had been full of anxiety and fatigue, as well as of hard and valuable work. During a portion of the Session, at least, obstruction had to a great extent disappeared. The Government had made two great experiments. They had passed a Free Education Bill, intending it to be powerful to support that system of religious education which the English people loved. The other great experiment was that they had done their best to apply not only a temporary palliative but a permanent cure to the evils by which Ireland had through so many generations been afflicted. Five years ago he had expressed a firm belief that the Government of Ireland which should resolutely uphold the law would furnish a cure for the disorders of that country, which would never be found in yielding to the demands of lawlessness and sedition, and that a Government resolved to enforce the law would not be less beneficent, not less earnest for the material, moral, and intellectual progress of the Irish people than a Government which allowed the lawless to prey upon the law-abiding. The success which the Chief Secretary had achieved—the relief of Irish distress and the support of the population of Ireland in some of their worst trials—was largely due to the fact that all who served under him knew that they would be supported to the utmost, and would not be handed over to their enemies. The Unionist party had always said that it was essential to the interests of this country that the close bond between the two islands should be maintained, and in justification of this view he instanced the well-organised and effective system of relief which had been carried out, the multiplication of peasant proprietors, and the restoration of law and order. Passing on to speak of European affairs, Lord Salisbury said that he had

never known European politics so tranquil as at present. For disorder and anxiety it was necessary to look to the new hemisphere. England had been earnestly pressed to undertake the part of compulsory arbitrator in the Chilian quarrels. She had been earnestly pressed, also, to undertake the regeneration of Argentine finance. On neither of those subjects were Her Majesty's Government at all disposed to encroach on the functions of Providence. In Europe the prospect was much more satisfactory. The Eastern question was not solved, but there were two nations growing up whose high promise and rapid development furnished a hope that from the centres of civilisation which they constituted would issue an influence and a spirit by which that Eastern question would be solved in the only effective and permanent manner. These countries were Egypt and Bulgaria. In referring to the reception of the German Emperor and the Prince of Naples, and the approaching visit of the French fleet, Lord Salisbury remarked that the effect of the bonds constituted by signatures upon a piece of paper should not be rated too highly. If nations in a great crisis acted rightly they would act so because they were in unison and in cordiality with each other, and not because they had bound themselves to each other by protocols. England's allies were all those who wished to maintain territorial distribution as it was without risking the fearful dangers or the terrible arbitrament of war, and all those who desired peace and goodwill.

The Unionist cause was upheld at a "demonstration" at Andover by speeches from Lord Northbrook and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach (July 29). The latter declared that the Gladstonians in the House of Commons were "a flabby, inefficient, and inert party," whose leaders were afraid of their own recent successes in elections. He held that ignorance was the great enemy of constitutional principles, while education was essential to their success. "If," he said, "you took out of the Gladstonian party fanatics, faddists, and those who lived by social agitation, you would find little left except uneducated people." The view of things as seen from the other side was given in a speech by Sir William Harcourt at a dinner to Mr. Brand (July 30). That gentleman had been returned by a majority of 260 for the seat in the Wisbech Division, vacated by Captain Selwyn, and the National Liberal Club entertained him at a dinner over which Sir W. Harcourt presided. Sir William criticised, in a vein of irony, the speech of Lord Salisbury at the Mansion House banquet on the previous evening, and passing on to a recent speech of the Attorney-General's, described Sir Richard Webster as a "legal Orpheus," and complimented him upon the quality of his voice. He then diverged into statistics of the bye-elections, the net results of which presented, he said, "a pretty transformation." With regard to Irish affairs, he observed that the Unionists had declared in November that Home Rule was dead,

and—"what they care for more"—that Mr. Gladstone was "done for." "Even some of the most faithful," Sir William went on to say, "were disquieted in spirit; but I took the opportunity of saying to them then, 'Oh, ye of little faith, do not be in a hurry. Let us see what the Irish people say to it. Let us see what the people of England say to it.' Well, we have seen. Ireland has spoken at Kilkenny, at Sligo, and at Carlow, and we know what the people of Ireland think. England has spoken since that time at Hartlepool, at Stowmarket, at South Dorset, at Market Harborough, at North Buckinghamshire, and at Wisbech. We know what the people of England think; and I undertake to say that the Liberal party is stronger to-day than it was last November. I speak of that which I know when I say that, as a strenuous supporter of the policy which was then decided upon, Mr. Gladstone was fully aware of the political risks which his decision involved; but he felt that the judgment which he pronounced was necessary and just. It was due to himself, to the great party which follows his lead. He was prepared, come what might, to adopt the course which he knew to be right; for it is his standard of high rectitude, of moral courage which is the secret of his unequalled power. 'Do what you ought, and let what will come of it,' has ever been the text of his political creed. But in this case, as in others, wisdom has been justified of her children; and the result has proved that Mr. Gladstone's conduct was as politically prudent as it was morally right. Both the Irish and the English peoples trust him and respect him the more. Instead of increasing the Irish difficulty, it has bound both peoples together by stronger bonds of sympathy and confidence, and a still more earnest desire on the part of both to act for the mutual advantage of either nation."

Sir William concluded with "glad tidings of great joy" concerning the health of Mr. Gladstone, who, he said, had never been so able and so ready as then to undertake "the great task which the country was yearning to impose upon him."

CHAPTER IV.

Mr. Morley at Stoneleigh Park—Mr. Balfour at Plymouth—The French Fleet at Cronstadt and Portsmouth—The Lewisham Election—The Unauthorised Home Rule Bill—Mr. Gladstone on the Bye Elections—The Trades Union Congress—The 'Sigri' Scare—Sir M. Hicks-Beach on Rural Reform—Mr. Morley's Recess Programme—The Evacuation of Egypt—Sir William Harcourt at Ashton-under-Lyme—Sir Edward Clarke on the Achievements of the Government—National Liberal Federation at Newcastle—Mr. Gladstone's Speech—Deaths of Mr. W. H. Smith and Mr. Parnell—The Leadership of the House of Commons—Bye-Elections—Mr. Chamberlain's Campaign—Mr. Morley in Lancashire—The Church Congress—Mr. Goschen's Finance and its Critics—The Allotment Question and Agricultural Voters—Lord Salisbury at the Guildhall—The Home Rule Bill by the Duke of Argyll—Lord Hartington on the rôle of the Liberal Unionists—The Conservative Association at Birmingham—Lord Salisbury's Address—The Struggle for the Rural Votes—Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Morley—The Local Government Bill for Ireland—Mr. Balfour's Speech at Huddersfield—Mr. Goschen's Currency Proposals—The Rural Labourers' Conference—Mr. Gladstone's Speech—The State of the Army—Mr. Chamberlain at Edinburgh—Death of the Duke of Devonshire—State of Parties.

THE recess opened for the Opposition with the most cheering prospects. The practical achievements of the session, with one exception, were such as would appeal but faintly to the popular body of electors, and for that one exception—the boon of free education—the Opposition were prepared to claim all the credit. At the same time the Unionists and Conservatives had on several occasions suffered serious defeat at the bye-elections, and it was the policy as well as the right of the Opposition to argue from these isolated successes their coming triumph at the General Election. It was, however, important that the Liberals should profess on public platforms during the recess more cohesion and unanimity than they displayed in Parliament, and with this object Mr. John Morley was deputed to act as the fugleman of the party and to give the note to his colleagues and supporters. No better occasion could have been found than the Bank holiday (Aug. 3) for an appeal to the working classes, and the place selected—Stoneleigh Park—was sufficiently close to the headquarters of Liberal Unionism to make the meaning of the Gladstonians plain to friends and foes. Mr. Morley began by congratulating his audience on the flowing tide which was evidently bringing success to their side, and had already forced the Tories to pass the Free Education Act, for which the electors would give them no credit, for previously they had done their best to discredit it. The Dissident Liberals, as he preferred to call the Liberal Unionists, after having done their utmost to destroy the Liberal party, and had failed, had succeeded in destroying the Tory party. Mr. Goschen had once stated that "he would not swim with the stream." "Who," asked Mr. Morley, "was swimming with it now?" and "What a muddy stream it is!" As to reforms in the franchise, the question to be decided within the next twelve months was not merely

whether a change of Government should take place, but what were to be really dividing questions of principle, of policy, and of legislation. The qualifying period of residence for a voter ought to be reduced to something like three or four months; and a special public officer should see that every qualified voter found his name on the register. Lord Salisbury had declared that he would adhere to and strongly maintain the necessity of the present very moderate requirements of residence. As to the question of "one man one vote" it was intolerably unfair that the political judgment and wishes of a constituency should be falsified by troops of outsiders. Lord Salisbury said the claims of property to be represented in the councils of the nation were claims which no wise people would disregard. The claims of property were pretty adequately satisfied by the existence of the House of Lords, "which represented property and nothing else." There was one reform, and one only, which Lord Salisbury promised in this matter. He would like to abolish the illiterate vote in order to punish those electors in Ireland who voted for Constitutional candidates against the candidates of violence and separation. Passing on to the condition of the rural population, Mr. Morley deplored the great and steady drain of the rural districts on the one hand, and the flow of village population into the great towns, and more especially into London, on the other. The Irish question, Education, Welsh Disestablishment, were all questions which must be dealt with: but so was the question whether something could not be done to make village life less unsatisfying for men of pluck and energy. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach approved a scheme for enabling owners to become occupiers and for multiplying small owners. But what was the use of doing this when the two greatest obstacles against small agricultural tenancies were supported, or their removal refused, by the speaker's own political friends? It was not enough to give the agricultural labourer a vote for a member of Parliament once in five or six years. He must have a participation in affairs at his own door. It was necessary to create a public opinion in the English villages. If there were an effective public opinion those odious and excessive sentences which rural magistrates so constantly passed would not be heard of. If there were open public meetings in each parish held when everyone could attend, the first step would have been taken towards the quickening of a new life in the English villages. This did not mean setting up a small School Board in every parish, but it would lead to the school houses being made available in the evening for the political meetings of both parties. The parish council ought to manage the parish school, perhaps in conjunction with a larger body, the district School Board; but it should have the control of parish charities. The present wide and deep interest in social questions could not go much further without leading to a searching and

serious revision of the Poor-law system, which went so deeply into the whole moral, social, and economic life of the community. The workhouse system in rural England could not stand on its present footing for ever. A good deal had been said about insurance for old age, but a solution of this question, Mr. Morley maintained, could not be arrived at without making a contribution compulsory, and making the State the guarantor of friendly societies. But a reform which would probably be worth all other social reforms together would be an improvement of the habits of the people in respect to temperance, and there was good evidence that temperance reforms had little to hope for from the present Government. Turning at length to the question of Ireland, Mr. Morley reminded his audience that a few days previously Lord Salisbury had said that Home Rule had made no lodgment in the minds of the British electorate. Home Rule had, at any rate, effected such a lodgment that any slackness or indefinite delay in carrying out the doctrine of Home Rule would be instantly followed by a wider and more formidable and more abiding split in the Liberal party than that of 1886. There was now every reason to be satisfied that Ireland, after reeling and staggering under the shock of the previous November, had steadied herself, and English Liberals had steadied themselves, and there was every ground for confidence that the result of the next General Election in Ireland would be such a substantial unity among the Irish National representatives that Mr. Gladstone would be justified in renewing his attempt to frame a scheme of Home Rule which Englishmen might safely and honourably propose and Irishmen accept. The present Government, they had been told, were going to extend local government in Ireland, presumably by creating County Councils in Ireland. They had first fastened upon Ireland a perpetual Coercion Act to put down the National League, and now they proposed to set up what they had themselves again and again said would be branches of the National League in every county in Ireland. Mr. Balfour had shown how much he trusted these new bodies he was going to create. In his Relief Act he shut out local elective bodies from all concern in relief works on the ground of their incompetency and their liability to corruption. In his Land Act he had laid the train for an explosion, because by it he had impounded large funds to which local bodies in Ireland were just as much entitled as local bodies in England, and these Irish County Councils would have a joint grievance to start with.

The rank and file of the party, however, did not very largely avail themselves of the "friendly lead" thus given by the ex-Chief Secretary after one of the longest sessions on record. Speakers on all sides agreed to a truce of tongues, and for nearly two months, except in a few isolated cases, political meetings were suspended. The most noteworthy, and probably un-

avoidable, exception to this rule was Mr. Balfour's reply to his predecessor's challenge to explain the grounds on which the Government had promised to introduce an Irish Local Government Bill before appealing to the constituencies for their verdict upon its policy and acts during its tenure of office. Addressing a large meeting at Plymouth (Aug. 10) which at one time had been a Liberal stronghold, although recently represented by Conservatives, Mr. Balfour began by reminding his hearers of the speech delivered six years before in the same place by Sir William Harcourt, who was then not only Unionist, but "almost Orange" in his Unionism, who had just quitted office, and who, in criticising his successors, declared them to be incapable of constructive legislation, which he regarded as "the monopoly of the Liberal party." Since that time six years had passed, and the present Government had shown that it was second to none in constructive legislation, though legislation, after all, was but the secondary and administration the primary duty of any Government. The Liberals seemed to think that in dealing with such questions as local government and free education the present Government had been poaching on their preserves, but Mr. Balfour failed to see why such measures were more of a Liberal than a Conservative possession. Free education was first suggested by a responsible and distinguished statesman in 1885. It had only a chilling and frozen reception from Mr. Gladstone, so that this question no more belonged naturally to one party than to the other. It was a question really outside the controversies which divided the two great parties in the State. Real education, or the most important part of it, did not take place at school, and the parent's responsibility for seeing to it could not be divorced from him; but scholastic education was of quite recent growth so far as the mass of the population were concerned, and when the State had once taken it up and paid three-quarters of the cost there seemed little reason why it should not go on to pay the whole. But the question of the voluntary schools and of religious education was one on which the Conservative party had always been solid. They had always held the view that the voluntary schools must be maintained and religious education encouraged, and it would have been folly, or worse, on their part to have permitted the free education problem to be finally solved by those who would have solved it if they could in a direction hostile both to voluntary schools and to religious education. Considering that free education was an enormous boon to the poorest, had been conferred without interfering with any man's rights or property, and had saved the whole system of voluntary and religious education, a policy more consistent with the general attitude of the Unionist party never could have been adopted by a Unionist Government. Mr. Balfour then proceeded to refer to the Local Government Bill for Ireland promised for next session; and

with reference to Mr. John Morley's charge that such a measure would be "a small measure of Home Rule," he pointed out that Mr. Gladstone's "Coercion Government" of 1880, when it had no leanings towards Home Rule at all, promised a similar measure. Mr. Balfour admitted that so great an administrative change could not be carried out except with the utmost caution; that in a country seamed, chasmed, and rended into fragments by ancient party feuds, by feelings of mutual distrust, smouldering, indeed, but always ready to burst into flame; anything in the nature of large elective councils were institutions which no statesman should recklessly set himself to work to build up. He did not suppose that such councils in Ireland would start by being absolutely perfect and faultless; but there were two reasons why they should be established—first, because they had already been established in England and Scotland, and had been promised to Ireland. He did not believe they would be guilty of gross extravagance, as it would be their own money which they would be called upon to administer, and it would be impossible for them to mulct the minority in order to please the majority. Representation and the incidence of the rates would go absolutely together. He declared emphatically that he would never think of giving the control of the police to the Irish County Councils. His second reason for desiring to set up County Councils was in order to get rid of the present grand jury or quarter sessions system, which did not work well in Ireland, and thereby to improve the social condition of the rural districts and bring together classes hitherto too much separated. Mr. Balfour readily admitted the success of the Gladstonians in the bye-elections, but he maintained that they had been won by ignoring Home Rule, and not in consequence of an earnest advocacy of it. The Gladstonian trust in the people, he said, reminded him of the trust in the people professed by the quack who trusted them to swallow the universal medicine which he pressed upon them, the world being always willing to gulp down a pill which it is assured, as Mr. Bright once said, was "very good against an earthquake." In conclusion, Mr. Balfour taunted the Opposition on the methods of their warfare, their electioneering promises which were never intended to be fulfilled, and their systematic attempts to set class against class, the poor against the rich.

Mr. Balfour's reasons for introducing a Local Government Bill for Ireland were held by many of even the most sincere supporters of the Government to be inadequate, and by some to be half-hearted. He seemed in their eyes only bent upon redeeming a hasty pledge rashly given in the heat of debate, without having duly considered the dangers which such a measure, if carried, would produce, or of the disasters, if defeated, it might entail upon its proposers. Ireland, it was urged, had received more than her fair share of the time of Parliament during five

sessions, and not only would it be impolitic to force through a measure of such importance in the last session, whilst the wants of England and Scotland had such strong claims upon its time and attention. Mr. Balfour himself did not shut his eyes to the dangers which such a measure might reproduce in the country it was intended to benefit by rekindling the smouldering embers of ill-will and sedition which were scattered over the land. He was therefore urged by the organs of his own party to consider again whether any positive obligation bound the Government to proceed prematurely with measures which would most probably endanger the economical advantages which his administration had secured for Ireland. In a second speech at Plymouth on the following day (Aug. 11), in paying tribute to the fidelity with which the Liberal Unionists had observed their alliance with the Conservatives, Mr. Balfour unconsciously seemed to explain his eagerness for a Local Government Bill for Ireland. He declared that the Tories had been willing to Liberalise their policy in order to satisfy the Liberal Unionists, and that to maintain a united party it was necessary for the Conservatives to propose a measure upon which the Liberal Unionists had staked their word and reputation. In other words, Mr. Balfour was to carry out Mr. Chamberlain's policy, whilst the latter was to avoid all responsibility beyond that attached to an independent support. It was therefore no wonder that the organs of the Conservative party denounced the unknown measure, intended to 'dish the Gladstonians,' as more likely to betray the Unionists into their hands.

The election for Walsall (Aug. 12) furnished no clue as to the effect of the Government policy on public opinion. Sir Charles Forster, who had represented the seat for half a century, possessed a personal popularity which his successor could not hope to command; and, therefore, the reduction of the Radical majority indicated little more than a lessened interest in the Radical candidate, Mr. Holden, who, nevertheless, carried the seat by 4,895 against 4,360 given to his Unionist opponent, Mr. James. The latter, it is true, had increased the number of his supporters by nearly a thousand since his previous contest in 1885, whilst Mr. Holden polled 500 less than Sir Charles Forster on the same occasion; but, beyond the shifting of a comparatively small percentage of the electorate, the contest conveyed no practical lesson.

For a moment attention was called away to the events passing in Cronstadt Harbour, where the French fleet was being welcomed with an enthusiasm so remarkable as to leave at first some doubt as to its reality. It seemed most unlikely that any common sentiment could animate alike the French republicans and the subjects of the Czar, or that cordial relations could be established between two countries, in one of which an influential politician, a Prime Minister, and actually President of the Chamber, had on one occasion expressed his sentiments in the

words, "*Vive la Pologne, Monsieur!*" when the Russian autocrat was visiting the French courts of law. On the other hand, there was good cause to think that the Czar himself might, for political reasons, be desirous to express openly his annoyance at the cordial reception given in London to the German Emperor, accidentally coinciding with the renewal of the Triple Alliance. This feeling the French Government and people were honestly able to share, and, at the same time, they were glad to be able to show publicly that their alliance was now of so much importance that the most reserved of European Governments was willing to make overtures to secure its friendship and goodwill. The idea that the alliance of Russia and France was even in a secondary degree hostile to England was rejected in this country; and, although subsequent events showed that at least the susceptibilities of England were not regarded by either of the two Powers, the real object "of the understanding" between the great Powers of Eastern and Western Europe was perceived to be intended to act as a counterbalance to the alliance between the three Powers of Central Europe.

The constraint of Russia towards the Western Powers was of long standing, dating at least from the Berlin Congress, which had been presided over by the German Chancellor. She had then been forced to abandon everything she thought she had gained by her war with Turkey, and by the treaty signed at St. Stefano in 1878. At that Congress every Power had obtained some tangible advantage or some moral recognition, with the exception of Russia. France was treated with deferential respect; her *protégée*, Greece, was allowed to round off her frontiers by the annexation of Turkish territory, and for herself obtained the assurance that Tunis might be occupied by her without opposition; Austria obtained supremacy over Bosnia and Herzegovina; England was gratified with the protectorate of Cyprus; and Italy was admitted on equal terms among the great Powers. The prize which Russia coveted, the control of Bulgaria, was plucked from her grasp, and her irritation against both Germany and Austria was scarcely concealed. This feeling was at once detected by Prince Bismarck, and in his hands became the mainspring of the Triple Alliance, to which Austria was first drawn and afterwards held by the fear of Russia, and Italy by fear of France. The renewal of this alliance, of which it seemed the German Emperor desired to gauge the effect by his visit to England, determined Russia to abandon the policy of isolation she had observed during the last years of William I.'s reign, and to show to Europe what a powerful factor she was in the solution of European and Asian questions. That overtures had from time to time been made to Lord Salisbury to bring England to join the Triple Alliance was well known; and in Parliament efforts had been made to show that England had to some extent engaged herself to Italy to protect her coasts against French attacks. These insinuations

had been officially repelled, and their accuracy denied; but, nevertheless, the feeling lingered, especially in Continental chancelleries, that Lord Salisbury's leanings were rather towards Germany than towards France; and the cordiality with which the German Emperor had been received in this country warranted the belief that this policy had received the endorsement of public approval. This moment was chosen by Lord Salisbury to invite the French fleet to visit Portsmouth on its return from Cronstadt to France, and in this way to disengage himself and England from any suspicion of being bound up with the Triple Alliance. The reception given to the French officers and men during their stay at Portsmouth was sufficient to show that, so far as the English people were concerned, they were as anxious to be on friendly terms with the French as with the Germans, and that politically she desired to maintain her independence of the Triple as well as of the Dual Alliance. Lord Salisbury, moreover, retained a free hand, knowing that in any future Continental war each side would be willing to come to terms with England rather than provoke her hostility, and, perhaps, might even hesitate to engage in a conflict without knowing beforehand to which side England would incline.

The bye-election at Lewisham, which resulted in the return of the Unionist candidate, Mr. John Penn, a local employer of labour on a very large scale, was from the first a foregone conclusion, the Radical papers admitting that the Conservative majority would have been even larger had not a large proportion of the "villa" voters been away for the holiday season. The contest, however, gave Mr. Gladstone an opportunity of expressing a very strange constitutional opinion in a letter addressed to Mr. Warrington, the Liberal candidate: "The elections," he wrote, "in nearly one hundred places have shown, since the year 1886, that the party now in power do not, and that your opinions do, represent the general sense of the country, especially with reference to Ireland. Lord Salisbury delivered recently a speech which appears to mean that if, at the General Election, the nation through the House of Commons pronounces in favour of Home Rule for Ireland, that boon, equally a boon to each of the three kingdoms, is to be frustrated by what he terms 'the play of the other parts of the Constitution,' that is to say, it is to be refused by the vote of the House of Lords. It is for the constituencies to decide how they will receive this threat, thus to overbear the judgment which has during the last four years been so unequivocally declared." The only speech of any importance made during the contest was that by Mr. Stansfeld at Sydenham (Aug. 24), which, taken in connection with Mr. Gladstone's letter, was held in some quarters to convey an authoritative exposition of Home Rule, as held by the leaders of the party, although not endorsed by their Irish allies. Following the text of his leader's letter, Mr. Stansfeld went on to express great indig-

nation at the very notion that the House of Lords could have any possible excuse for supposing the return of Mr. Gladstone to power at the General Election would not be final evidence as to the wishes of the country with regard to Home Rule. "The principles of our measure," he said, "are indubitable, a statutory Parliament on College Green, defined and limited by Act of Parliament, passed by the Imperial Parliament; a Government arising out of that Parliament and dependent upon it; and both that Government and Parliament existing only for civil questions, not touching the army or navy, not touching general foreign policy; a civil Government on an enlarged scale and basis, but only for purposes enacted, described, and settled in the great Imperial Act constituting that subordinate legislature." Mr. Stansfeld made no attempt to explain the mode of reconciling the retention of the Irish representatives at Westminster with the concession of Legislative and administrative independence to Ireland; and he was also strangely silent on the fiscal freedom which would be given to the Irish Legislature, not even suggesting that tariff questions would of necessity be retained by the Imperial Parliament. So far as the electors of Lewisham were affected, it was not hinted even by the extreme party organ that the reduced Conservative majority was in any way ascribable to the Gladstonian scheme of Home Rule as explained by Mr. Stansfeld.

By a curious coincidence, however, this speech coincided with the issue of the report of the Home Rule Union, a society founded in 1886, and numbering amongst its members, as vice-presidents or subscribers, the principal members of Mr. Gladstone's administration, and their leading supporters. Appended to this report was the draft of a Home Rule Bill which, although it had been submitted to the Executive Committee (of which Mr. Herbert Gladstone was a member), neither the union nor any of its members were to be deemed committed to any of its provisions, some members, indeed, having recorded their dissent from several of its suggestions. The draft Bill, however, was the work of thirty members of the union, and its publication at this particular moment might naturally suggest the idea that it was put forward to attract notice and to serve as a gauge of public feeling. In its general scope the draft Bill followed the lines of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill of 1886. It proposed to retain the Irish members at Westminster in undiminished numbers until "Home Rule all round" should afford what was possibly the only solution of our legislative difficulties. Theoretically the Imperial Parliament was to remain supreme in Ireland, but it would have no means, by police or otherwise, to support its decisions in purely Irish affairs, except the army, "the proper force to carry out imperial executive measures." Guarantees were at the same time to be given to Ulstermen and Protestants, but they were inserted "simply for the purpose of giving confidence,

and enabling the new constitution to work smoothly." The Irish Parliament was to have the power to endow denominational schools and colleges; was to have a perfectly free hand in dealing with the land question and landed proprietors. It was to be empowered to organise at once a police of its own, and to clear the constabulary out of Ireland, the bulk of that force having forfeited the confidence of their countrymen; and, further, it proposed that the whole of the resident magistrates should be dismissed without pensions on the first advent to office of the Liberals. The two "orders," which formed a feature of Mr. Gladstone's Bill, were to give place to a single Chamber, elected on the principle of "one man one vote." The Dublin University members were to be swept away, and the Irish contribution to the Imperial Exchequer was to be regulated by a quinquennial readjustment by a "Fair Taxation Commission," subject to an appeal to the Irish Exchequer Division.

To judge from the slight notice given to this draft Bill in the press, the object of its promoters could have been scarcely attained, and but for the fact that none of the vice-presidents or other members of the union disclaimed its authenticity, it would have been regarded as a clumsy forgery by the Unionists. It was, indeed, only interesting as indicative of the difficulties which even a select committee of Home Rulers found in facing a scheme which would satisfy the wishes of all its members, and consequently how enormously such difficulties would be multiplied when three or four hundred representatives had to be satisfied and their constituencies conciliated.

The dulness of the season, however, was now relieved by the publication of a further study in political meteorology—the third—by Mr. Gladstone, according to which the very smallest majority which his party might expect at the General Election would be forty-six, whilst under certain specified conditions it might be swollen to fifty-three, or even to ninety-seven, on the basis of the total Liberal votes polled. According to his first calculation, of which in deference to criticism he subsequently reduced the actual majority to thirty-seven, Mr. Gladstone showed that since 1886 in eighty-nine contested English, Scotch, and Welsh elections, two-sevenths of the Conservative or Liberal Unionist seats had been lost, and that consequently by simple arithmetic their losses on 372 seats would be 107. These gains, added to the 195 Gladstonian members returned in 1886, would, he argued, give 309 to his party, irrespective of the Irish members. These latter were roughly estimated at eighty-five Nationalists, of all shades, against eighteen Unionists; and Mr. Gladstone, admitting that although by internal dissensions the former might be reduced to fifty or sixty, argued that at the lowest computation the Opposition would be able to muster a majority of 100 votes in a division, and might possibly count as many as 160. Mr. Gladstone's "Electoral Facts" naturally called forth many

criticisms and counter-calculations; but he could at all events appeal to his first article on the same subject, written in 1878, in which he anticipated for the Liberals a majority of from fifty-six to seventy-six in the General Election of 1880, when the actual majority was at least 116. On the present occasion, however, Mr. Gladstone's forecasts were not wholly accepted by his own party, who looked forward to having their gains in the counties diminished by probable losses in the larger towns, and by the steady adherence of Lancashire, London, and Birmingham to the Unionist programme. Mr. Gladstone, however, was obviously within his rights in giving his followers such hopeful assurances of the coming victory, and in endeavouring to dishearten his opponents by insisting upon the hopelessness of their cause.

Among the many congress meetings which occupied attention during the autumn none was of more interest than that of the Trades Union, opened at Newcastle (Sept. 7), under the presidency of Mr. T. Burt, M.P., than whom it would have been difficult to find a more suitable chairman. For many years he had represented the interests of working men—especially the colliers—in Parliament, and had won universal respect from every party in the House; and he was equally trusted by his colleagues and fellow-workmen, who owed much to his tact and judgment as secretary of one of the largest unions in Northumberland. As at the previous meeting of the congress, the struggle between the old and new unionism was keen and prolonged. The first business was to settle the system of voting, which, in accordance with a resolution passed at Liverpool in the previous year, allowed a vote to be recorded for every thousand members represented by a delegate, and paid for at so much a thousand, by a contribution to the funds of the congress. After a somewhat disorderly discussion this plan was abandoned, and the new unionists, many of whom represented bodies of unskilled labourers, carried the method of voting by show of hands. Mr. Burt's speech dealt inferentially, rather than directly, with the burning question of a "Statutory Eight Hours Working Day," to which, as an old unionist, he was opposed. He preferred, as he told the delegates, self-help and associated effort to State compulsion—at all events, in all that regarded adult male labour. He protested earnestly against the habit of paying women's labour at a reduced rate, where it was identical in quality and quantity with a man's; and he urged the trades unions to support her, not only on the ground of justice and humanity, but in self-defence. "Labour ought to be recognised as a whole, they did not want caste and classes." Turning to the recent International Congress of Working Men and the wild ideas put forward by some foreign delegates, Mr. Burt strongly opposed the idea of a universal strike. "It would hurt the innocent more than the guilty, and before they reached the point of wounding the capitalist, either in his pocket or his stomach, his two

most vulnerable points, thousands of bread winners and women and children would have suffered, and probably have been carried to a premature grave." After listening to this practical address the congress betook itself to work, and for three days passed, delayed, and vetoed a variety of more or less contradictory votes on the Eight Hours question. On the first occasion, after a long day's discussion, the new unionists carried a vague resolution in favour of an International Eight Hours Day by 302 to 136, the opposition being led by the Newcastle boiler makers and supported by the delegates of various textile industries. Mr. Keir Hardie, who had taken a prominent part in Scotch labour disputes, then proposed and carried, with the help of the advanced and more noisy section, a resolution stating that the workmen of the United Kingdom would not be content to wait until "the autocratic Powers of the Continent" had granted their workmen a legal eight hours day. On the following day the whole question was reopened by a motion to strike out "eight" and leave the number of hours in the proposed universal labour day undecided. This was, however, negatived by a slightly increased majority, 373 to 129; but the old unionists won on the next trial of strength by adopting, by 242 to 156, an amendment declaring that any legislation on the hours of labour should be permissive. Mr. Keir Hardie, perceiving that the feeling of the congress was in favour of some relaxation of the first resolution, and being possibly desirous of preventing a rupture between the old and new unionists, then proposed a final resolution, which was carried by 341 to 73, declaring that "legislation regulating hours of labour to eight per day shall be in force in all trades and occupations, save where a majority of the organised members of any trade or occupation protest by a ballot voting against the same." The two parties confessed themselves equally satisfied with the result; the principle of a legal eight hours working day had been assented to and placed on record; whilst the majority of the workmen of any trade retained the right to prevent its operation in their particular trade.

In connection with the deliberations of the working men the results of the McKinley Act, by which the United States markets were to be closed against foreign products, was of particular interest. Valuable statistics and information collected by the "New York Associated Press" showed that, so far as could be gathered from the Custom House returns on one side and the experience of manufacturers on the other, the outcome of the protective tariff had been only to raise the quality of the imported goods. The demand for common goods—whether from Leeds, Bradford, Glasgow or Dundee—showed a decided falling off; but expensive goods were as freely ordered as before the application of the new tariff—in certain cases the falling off was as much as 60 per cent.—and, curiously, the increase and decrease of duties on some goods operated in the same way. Tinplate

and unmanufactured wools with an increased duty showed almost as large an increase as hemp, flax, and drugs with a decreased duty. "These articles," the American Consul-General reported, "reduced the average of decrease in the whole volume of exports from Great Britain very materially, and, taking them in connection with those articles which have lately been added to the free list under the Tariff Act, the exportation of which has largely increased, it would appear that there is no great paralysis of trade between that country and this." This view was borne out by the official statement of foreign commerce, published by the United States Treasury Department. According to this, whilst the value of the dutiable imports for the first nine months of the McKinley Tariff, to June 30, 1891, showed a falling off to the extent of about eleven millions sterling, the value of the imports free of duty during the same period showed an increase of over seventeen millions sterling, thus falsifying, to a great extent, the predictions of those who saw the approach of a critical period in the finances of the United States.

In contrast with the easy-going prosperity of that Government, the nervousness of Europe was the more noteworthy. The autumn, as usual, had given occasion or excuse for the meetings of sovereigns and statesmen for military and naval manœuvres and for a revival of Jewish persecution in Russia, where the failure of the grain crops was threatening the most serious trouble for the winter months. At a moment when the tension was greatest the Stock Exchanges of Europe were startled by telegrams stating that the British fleet had occupied Sigri, a small islet off the coast of Mitylene, and commanding the exit from the Dardanelles. The news, it was said, had been received simultaneously by the French, Russian, and Greek Consuls at Mitylene, and it was represented as the rejoinder made by Great Britain to the recent success of the Russian Ambassador, supported by his French colleague, in obtaining from the Porte the recognised right for ships of the "Russian volunteer fleet" to pass through the Dardanelles. Even after it had been explained that all that had taken place on this occasion happened every year when the British fleet was cruising in the Archipelago, foreign politicians and political writers gravely maintained that the "routine practice with torpedoes," for which the landing of a few men for an hour or two was necessary, really conveyed a hint of how England would be prepared to act in the event of a complication arising which might threaten her interests. A few weeks later a few words spoken by the Emperor of Austria to a knot of Galician nobles as to the necessity of maintaining State control over the frontier railroads produced an even wilder panic; but in this case it was only the speculators on the Vienna Bourse who suffered appreciably; and, notwithstanding the reiterated assurances of the rulers of every country that nothing on the political horizon threatened the peace of Europe, the

state of public feeling during the autumn, especially on the Continent, bore witness to the dread not less than to the expectation of an imminent war.

The first Minister to break the silence of the recess was the President of the Board of Trade, who, at a Primrose meeting at Keevil, near Bristol (Sept. 16), after defending Lord Salisbury from the charge of having followed the lead of Mr. Gladstone in his foreign policy, devoted himself chiefly to discussing the condition of the agricultural labourers. The State, he thought, might wisely help the owners of agricultural cottages to improve them, as was done in Ireland, by the advance of public money at a low rate of interest. The agricultural labourer, Sir M. Hicks-Beach maintained, was better fed, clothed, and lodged in England than he ever had been before, and better than his like in any European country; and he declared that a man in the country was better off with 10s. a week than a man in a town with 18s. He ridiculed the idea that parish councils could or would do anything to improve the condition of the labourer, for there had been in existence in every parish in England a hundred years back a parish council—the vestry—upon which devolved the administration of the Poor Law, the police, and the repairing of the highways. Many of these had been taken away, one by one, from the vestries by the Radicals, because it was found that such things were better done by bodies administering large areas; and now the Radicals were, for the sake of a party cry, or in the hopes of catching the agricultural vote, ready to go back upon their former principles. Sir M. Hicks-Beach's speech on the whole was not encouraging to the aspirations of the agricultural labourers, and, in this sense, could hardly be regarded as an effective appeal for their votes; but it showed, at all events, that the Ministry before separating for the recess had recognised the necessity of bringing forward the agriculturists, and of submitting their grievances to discussion, if not to remedy.

Mr. John Morley, who at once opened the campaign on behalf of the Opposition, took a wider survey of the situation, and in his speech at Cambridge (Sept. 21) endeavoured to persuade his hearers that in the hands of his party district councils could be made to remedy labourers' grievances, to improve their cottages, and, with the help of an Allotment Bill, to cover fields now abandoned to thistles with "golden grain." Before reaching the catalogue of benefits resulting from a return of the Liberals to power, Mr. Morley discussed with some force and more acidity the conduct of the Conservative Government at home, abroad, and in Ireland, and the "future extinction" of the Liberal Unionists. He expressed contempt of Lord Salisbury's cheaply earned distinction as a Foreign Minister, and asserted that his attitude towards the Triple Alliance was one of those elements in provoking counter-alliances which foreshadowed danger to the peace not only of Europe but of Great Britain, and this country

was rendered vulnerable and in constant risk of being drawn into the vortex of a Continental war by the persistent and indefinite occupation of Egypt. Mr. Morley then passed on to ridicule the claim of constructive statesmanship set up for the Government. He asked whether the skeleton Bill establishing local government in England; the "so-called" Free Education Bill, which scarcely touched the fringe of the subject; the Irish Land Purchase Act, which made the Imperial State the creditor of a vast number of individual debtors, were not monuments rather of destructive than of constructive statesmanship. Turning then from the past to the future, Mr. Morley held that the Government had done quite right in appointing a commission to inquire into the labour question. It was necessary to know what ideas were working in the minds of the labouring classes, in order to see whether there were among them demands that legislation could meet and could deal with. The action of the Trade Union Congress in voting for a law to prevent any man at any trade and under any circumstances from working more than eight hours was absurd and impracticable. This year it was by the same body practically dropped in favour of a law to allow more than eight hours being worked if the majority of a man's fellow-workers in the same trade should so desire it. This, too, was an impracticable proposition; yet these perplexed resolutions showed that these working men were puzzling out the rights and wrongs of the eight-hours question for themselves, and the closer they looked into it the more clearly would they see that the just aspirations of the best amongst their number would be better met by an improved state of public opinion than by a proposal to thrust an Act of Parliament like a ramrod into all the delicate and complex machinery of British industry. After dealing with Sir M. Hicks-Beach's objections to the newborn zeal of the Radicals to re-establish parish councils, Mr. Morley turned to the Irish question, and declared most emphatically that the Liberals had not relegated Home Rule to a subordinate position in their programme. The Liberal party were pledged to carry Home Rule, and they would be the meanest of mankind if they shrank from that task. Any attempt to put Home Rule into a secondary place in the programme of the Liberal party would result in a more disastrous split to the Liberal party than that of 1886. Certainly ever since 1880 Irish affairs had overshadowed everything else in the House of Commons, and general legislation had had perforce to be neglected. The largest portion of the session just closed had been occupied by an Irish Land Purchase Bill; and the session of 1892 would, he predicted, be largely taken up by "two Irish topics of enormous difficulty and importance"—Irish local government, and the distribution of the free education grant in Ireland—which would "raise a vast number of the thorniest questions in the whole field of Irish politics." The coming Local Government Bill he dismissed as "a Bill to give

Ireland county councils like England, only they were apparently to be somehow entirely different." He quoted Mr. Balfour's speech at Plymouth to show as the main reason for the production of such a measure that it was "called for by a sentimental reason." But the county councils which were to be created were to be surrounded by "all sorts of safeguards," and then, when "shackled and fettered in this way," they were to be placed under the close control of a non-Nationalist board in Dublin Castle. The county councils themselves, Mr. Balfour freely admitted, would be mainly composed of Nationalists, and they were to be controlled by a non-Nationalist board; so that there would be great friction and the indefinite multiplication of all questions relating to Ireland, by which the British Parliament was hindered from attending to imperial business. In that way the last state of the House of Commons would be worse than the first. Mr. Morley concluded his speech by urging the constituencies of Great Britain not to allow the Irish question to drag on for another decade, interrupting and stopping all effectual discussion on measures of social progress—a somewhat strange argument with which to reawaken popular enthusiasm for a measure which relied more upon sympathy than reason for support.

The portion, however, of Mr. Morley's speech which—probably to his own surprise—attracted the most notice and criticism was his reference to the evacuation of Egypt. The French journals at once seized upon it as a promise that Mr. Gladstone on his accession to office would at once withdraw the English troops; and the English press, with a few rare exceptions, which attempted to explain away Mr. Morley's words, were unanimous in condemning so unwary a declaration. In truth, Mr. Morley's words hardly lent themselves to the interpretation put upon them, for he had limited himself to expressing the wish that the Foreign Office might have a chief bold enough to explain to the English people what the Egyptian occupation cost them, the insinuation being that the cost was very heavy. But the majority of his hearers and readers at once jumped to the conclusion that for the sake of conciliating French opinion the Liberals would reverse the foreign policy of Lord Salisbury, and revert to the idea so often put forward by non-military critics, that the route to India by the Cape was the best and most natural for England. Lord Knutsford, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, speaking at Saxmundham (Sept. 23), referred at once to Mr. Morley's utterance. He did not wish more than anyone else that our troops should remain in Egypt longer than was necessary, but he most strongly objected to scuttling out of that country before the work undertaken by English power and influence had been accomplished. That work, it was admitted, even by opponents, had been of the greatest possible advantage to the people of Egypt; and the work they had undertaken ought not to be

relinquished until the reforms they had initiated and a strong Government were established in that country.

The ill-effects of Mr. Morley's words on his own party, however, were most manifest, when Sir William Harcourt made a slashing speech in his most heroic style at Ashton-under-Lyne (Sept. 25). He took the occasion to fill up the blanks in Mr. Morley's programme, and, in view of the pending bye-election in Manchester, to place on record the passing phase of the Gladstonian policy in regard to Home Rule, and at the same time to attack once more the Liberal Unionists in the bitterest strain. Taking for his text an article in the *Nineteenth Century* on the next Parliament (Sept.), he affected not to know the writer—Mr. Edward Dicey—and managed to confuse him with Professor Albert Dicey, whose book on the Liberal Unionist policy had called for Mr. Gladstone's respectful notice. Sir William Harcourt pretended, moreover, to misunderstand the speech delivered by the latter when presiding at a Liberal Unionist banquet in February, and accused one and the same person of grossly insulting Mr. Gladstone by alluding to Mr. Gladstone as "old Timber Toes," and of wishing for his death. Whether the intentional confusion of the two brothers or the blundering misapplication of the spoken words of the one and the written words of the other was the more discreditable was a question left to public taste to decide, but in the correspondence which ensued the general verdict was that Sir William Harcourt's truthfulness and courtesy alike left something to be desired.

To return, however, to the Ashton speech. After alluding to his quondam colleagues and supporters (especially excepting Lord Hartington and Sir Henry James) as moved by "political baseness and political cowardice," Sir William Harcourt declared that the intentions of the Liberal party towards Home Rule were just what they always had been, although personally he seemed to value it rather as preliminary to other matters than for its own sake. The rights and wrongs of nations, he declared, could not be altered by the misconduct of a single man. In order to serve his personal ends and to cover his individual deficiencies, Mr. Parnell was striving his utmost to inspire suspicion and hatred between the Irish Nationalists and the English Liberals. If he had succeeded in that endeavour, he might, for a season, have put an end to Home Rule; but he signally failed in the attempt, and his defeat was the "bitter disappointment" of the Unionist party. Home Rule was still full in sight, and Mr. Gladstone would yet be able to "steer the vessel into port, in spite of the fog-signals hung out by wreckers." Of course it was the business of the Irish people to determine what they would accept; but it was equally the right and the duty of English statesmen to consider what they could safely propose, and what they could recommend the people of England to accord. Mr. Parnell had appealed almost exclusively to the forces

of violence and outrage and of crime upon both sides of the Atlantic. If such an appeal had succeeded, or were likely to succeed, there would indeed be an end of Home Rule. Home Rule might, and would, be conceded to the sense of reason, policy, and justice; but it would never be extorted from the English people by force or by fear; and the men who sought to "identify Home Rule with Fenianism and dynamite were its worst and most traitorous foes." The whole end and object of Home Rule was the permanent reconciliation of two peoples upon terms fair and honourable to both, and in a spirit of mutual confidence and good faith. The question stood upon a firmer foundation now than at any former period, and the prospects of a favourable settlement were more than ever assured. The Government had pledged themselves to a Local Government Bill for Ireland. That at least was promising, as it was the abandonment of the policy of coercion. It was the axe laid at the root of the tree of the present system of Irish government. If properly employed, local government would yet turn the wheel of Home Rule. Passing on to more general questions, Sir William Harcourt confessed that he was "not one of those ambitious and original geniuses who proclaimed unauthorised programmes," which were "much more likely to and better calculated to defeat than to promote real reform." But there were a few great questions, all of which were ripe for and demanded a solution. There was the liquor question, which affected every family within the three kingdoms. There was the demand of Wales and Scotland for Disestablishment by vast majorities of their representatives in both Houses of Parliament. There remained the greatest of all, the labour question. Formerly, it was principally a question of wages; now expression was loudly given to a desire on the part of the labourer, of men in arduous occupations, to have a reasonable respite from their perpetual toil. Men, like cattle, ought not to be overdriven. The desire was a laudable one, and the labouring classes ought to be put in a position to secure their only property, their labour, in a manner which they felt was for their own advantage. The only restriction was that wherever power was given responsibility ought to accompany it. The question should not be considered from the position of the patron and the patronised. What was wanted was not to give the rural labourer an improved cottage, built by money lent by the State to his landlord, but to enable him to acquire a house of his own. If the Liberal party had a majority at the next election it was to be hoped one of their first tasks would be to give to the agricultural labourer an efficient voice which would enable him to vindicate for himself the position which would make his life happier than it was, and would counteract the baneful influence which exiled the inhabitants of the country from rural districts, which exiled every man capable of aspiring to a better fortune, and which, while depopulating

the country, most grievously and ruinously overpopulated the town.

To this appeal to class jealousy, on which Liberal speakers seemed more and more tempted to rely, especially when speaking to or about the agricultural labourers, now in possession of votes, the Solicitor-General (Sir Edward Clarke), speaking at Launceston (Sept. 28), set forth the record of the existing Government. During their five years' tenure of office they had added seventy-two new vessels to the Royal Navy, they had reduced the National Debt by 37,000,000*l.*, and by their conversion scheme had permanently reduced the charge for interest by 1,000,000*l.* per annum. These results, of which the effect would be lasting, had been obtained without any addition of taxation, except on champagne, spirits, and of the death duties on estates over 10,000*l.* During the same period the duty on tea had been reduced twopence per pound, and on tobacco by fourpence (both of them the poor man's luxuries), whilst the middle class had been relieved to the extent of twopence in the Income Tax, fourpence in the pound off the house duty on small houses, and a half-penny per pound off currants. Besides building ships and improving the national defences, the Government had given from imperial funds four millions a year in relief of local rates, and was about to spend two millions more on free education.

Speakers on the Opposition side, when they alluded to Mr. Goschen's finance, generally avoided the plain issues and statements thus set forth, and contented themselves with quoting incomplete returns or half understood balance-sheets, and complaining when forced to retract that if they misunderstood the Chancellor of the Exchequer's figures it was because of the complicated form in which they were presented.

The National Liberal Federation, summoned this year at Newcastle, met at a somewhat earlier date (Oct. 1) than usual, and from the varied character of the report of its committee it might have been anticipated that its deliberations would have been protracted. By the useful rule, however, of allowing no discussion or amendment of the resolutions submitted to the delegates such danger was avoided, and, whatever may have been the views of individual members on the points agreed upon by the committee, their unanimous adoption was assured beforehand. The conference assembled under the presidency of Dr. Spence Watson, one of the most active members of the Liberal party in the North of England; but the task of welcoming the delegates devolved upon Mr. John Morley, in his capacity of member for the town in which the conference was being held.

Mr. Morley began by contrasting the conditions under which the conference met this year with those of the previous meeting. They had been rewarded by seeing the Liberal party in a temper and confidence that had never been surpassed. Ireland had vindicated the confidence that the Liberal party asked Great

Britain to place in her. Having referred to the moral importance of temperance reform, he declared that nearly all the questions submitted to the conference turned upon the principle of privilege, and that if they found a representative House of Commons opposed by a non-representative House of Lords, the people of Great Britain and Ireland would have to consider in good earnest whether the hereditary Legislature, non-representative, unreformed, out of sympathy and touch with the majority of the representative Chamber, could long exist. Finally, he said that religious privileges, especially in Wales, should not be maintained, and that the question of the condition of the labouring classes, both in the rural districts and in towns, demanded earnest attention.

After this the council of the Federation proceeded to pass a batch of resolutions. That referring to Ireland called upon Mr. Gladstone to frame and pass, in spite of the menaces of the House of Lords, a Home Rule measure. Others demanded popular control of elementary schools, the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church in Wales, and extended powers, including that of the taxation of ground values, to the London County Council.

Upon one feature of the committee's report, both Mr. Morley and the delegates were ominously silent. That document, in dealing with the question of labour candidates, had to include a paragraph which would at once satisfy the working men, who wished to see more labour members in the House of Commons, and the rich Liberal politicians, who, in return for the support of the party organisation, desired to retain as many seats as possible for themselves. After expressing the satisfaction with which the Federation always supported labour candidates, the report went on to say:—"The committee regrets to observe that in one or two constituencies so-called labour candidates have been adopted in opposition to well-known and tried Liberal members. Such a policy if persisted in can result in nothing but disaster. It will alienate loyal members of the Liberal party, and will greatly retard the return of genuine representatives of labour. Nor can it be overlooked that in all these cases opposition is directed against Liberal members, and in no single case against a Tory."

By way, however, of softening this rebuke to their working men supporters, the committee thought it necessary to introduce a sort of half promise of paid members, carefully avoiding any committal to the proposal. "The obstacles to increased labour representation in the House of Commons are very great. The Federation has long been pledged to do what it can to reduce those obstacles by placing the returning officers' charges on the rates, thus cheapening elections, and by recognising the principle of payment of members. The committee is more than ever convinced that the true policy of the Labour Association is that of

alliance with the party to which the overwhelming majority of their members has always belonged, and whose motto is now, as it has ever been, 'The greatest good of the greatest number.'

A wide programme of rural reform was, however, the central feature of the report. It aimed at establishing district councils and parish councils, elected by ballot on the "one man, one vote" principle, with control of allotments, powers of initiative in providing land for allotments or other public purposes, control of parish charities, supervision of commons and rights-of-way, sanitary powers, and management of parish schools or full representations on boards of managers. The compulsory registration of titles and cheap transfer of land by change in the register would be introduced, as well as the prohibition of the system of life estates and the abolition of the custom of primogeniture in cases of intestacy. Complete security for the tenant-farmer's improvements, the amendment of the Allotment Act, and the bestowal on county councils of compulsory powers to purchase land for public purposes were also demanded. The division of rates between the owner and occupier was another feature of the programme, and "the completion of the work of free education, and the development of practical instruction in relation to the various employments of those who live in the rural districts." Lastly, the Federation Committee proposed the reform of the magistracy, and the abolition of property qualification. These suggestions, the committee added, "are not to be considered in any sense as final, but are to be subjected to further review, and probably extension." On the question of the reform of the existing electoral laws, the committee ended with a declaration, of which the fulfilment might prove embarrassing to the leaders:—"If, after the General Election," said the report, "there should be an attempt to force a Liberal Government to make an early appeal to the country, let it be accepted as the settled determination of the Liberal party that that appeal shall be made to an electorate which fully represents the entire people." Any such appeal would of necessity involve a Redistribution Bill, under which Ireland would lose at least thirty seats. Its adoption would, it was argued, practically defer Irish Home Rule for an indefinite period.

It was therefore with more than usual interest that Mr. Gladstone's pronouncement upon the Liberal programme was anticipated. His reception at Newcastle was as enthusiastic as could be wished, and the assemblage of 4,000 persons in the Tyne Theatre (Oct. 2) bore witness to the unimpaired hold he had upon the great body of the electors. His speech, however, was a disappointment to many of his most devoted supporters, for, except upon the one point on which he himself felt a deep interest—Irish Home Rule—he did little more than give the authority of his patronage to the various items of the Federation programme. He began by predicting victory for the Liberal

party at the polls, and stated that when in power they would have an enormous amount of arrears of work to do. The Liberal party, he maintained, ever did and ever would take the earliest opportunity that could justly and wisely be chosen for the purpose of considering the question of short Parliaments. The question of the readjustment of taxation, particularly as between various kinds of property, would have practical and decisive attention when its turn came. Much had been justly said of the change effected by the present Parliament in the conversion of the National Debt, which had resulted, and would still result, in a large annual saving. But all that saving had already been absorbed by the enormous increase not only of the charges in supplying the necessary civil wants of the country, but of our naval and military expenditure. As the Liberals in Parliament understood it, the foreign policy of the present Administration had been almost the inverse and reverse of that of the Administration of Lord Beaconsfield; and as they endeavoured to make the work of the Beaconsfield Administration difficult, because they thought it was doing ill, so they had striven to make the work of the present Administration in its foreign politics easy, because, as far as they could discern, its spirit had undergone a beneficial change, and because appeals to passion and to pride were no longer sent broadcast over the country. At the same time, they would like Lord Salisbury to make an effort to relieve them from that burdensome and embarrassing occupation of Egypt which, so long as it lasted, must be a cause of weakness and of embarrassment, which was owing entirely to engagements contracted by a former Tory Government, the escape from which it was to be feared the present Tory Government, improved as it was in its foreign policy, would, notwithstanding, hand over to its successors to deal with.

On the temperance question Mr. Gladstone said he had a word of congratulation and of hope. "Although the proceedings of 1890 were negative and not affirmative—although they appeared to consist substantially only in the rejection of a bad plan, and not in the adoption of a good one—yet they had this effect, that they disposed, I really believe for all time, of the possibly monstrous and enormous claims for compensation which must have been made, and which the present Government then acknowledged and adopted, which might have been made in the extension of licensing. These claims would have imposed an impenetrable and inexpugnable fortification at the time to dealing with the drink traffic." Before leaving this topic, Mr. Gladstone declared that he was in favour of a thorough reform of the liquor laws, including local veto. He was in favour also—and the whole Liberal party was in favour—of Church disestablishment in both Scotland and Wales. He did not give preference to either nation; but he admitted that the champions of both would be very wrong to wait until Home

Rule had become law, and until in the new order of the Liberal programme their turn had come. He warned the House of Lords against following the suggestion of the Prime Minister to defeat any Home Rule Bill that might pass the House of Commons. If they did they would repent it. It would show that there was a power between the throne and the people, and would stop altogether the action of the constitutional machine. Of the subjects claiming precedence, the first place must be given to Ireland. Next after that the reform of registration demanded a very forward place. Registration could be divided into two parts—one the reform of registration properly so called, and the other the “one man one vote.” He wished to see a largely increased number of labour representatives returned to Parliament, because it would be for the benefit of the State. One consequence would be that necessary election expenses should fall, not on candidates, but on the public funds. Speaking of the position of the labour members, Mr. Gladstone said:—“Nothing can be clearer than the title of such men to receive such aid from the public Treasury as may be necessary in order to enable them to discharge the task which, for the public benefit and under public authority, has been imposed on them. I don’t enter into other questions connected with the subject. I only state, and state with very great confidence of conviction, the proposition which has just proceeded from my lips.” As to local government, the Liberal party desired to see established both district and parish councils, and compulsory powers for the acquirement of allotments—giving a boon to men who had long toiled for others, but for themselves in vain. Reform of the land laws, abolition of the present system of entail, together with just facilities for the transfer of land, was absolutely necessary in order to do anything like common justice to those who inhabited the rural districts of this country. He cautioned the working classes against committing themselves to any policy in regard to the hours of labour which would interfere with individual liberty. “It will require,” he said, “more than a mere majority in certain trades that are highly organised—it will require more than a majority even in all trades over the country—so to bend the minority that they shall be the subjects of coercive proceedings if they are unwilling, or if they find themselves unable, in justice to those dependent upon them, to conform to the new standard. I give no absolute judgment upon a question which has not yet, I believe, by an appeal to the country, been sufficiently examined; but I recommend much circumspection and much careful examination before proceeding to steps, or even to recommend actions, which may prove to be irretrievable, and which, therefore, ought not to be prematurely adopted.” Coming to the Irish question, Mr. Gladstone described the determination of the Ministry to do something for local government in Ireland as a sort of death-bed repentance. They had broken

their pledges to give no coercion and not to pledge British credit in connection with Irish land laws. As to the Irish Local Government Bill, they knew it would not be an affirmation of equal rights. It was idle to talk of local government with the control of the police. He did not admit that the government of Ireland had been a success, and he quoted figures with regard to crime to prove his assertion. Part of the crime was due to the misconduct of Parliament in not in 1886 passing measures to relieve distress. Illegality at that time, therefore, increased, and, as to general crime, Ireland did not present a diminution. According to an account supplied to him, there was, on the contrary, a small increase of ordinary crime in Ireland within the last few years. Mr. Gladstone said that it was for the Liberal party to bring the Irish question to an issue, and spoke of the feeling with which the Government's policy was regarded at home and abroad. "What," he asked, "is the general opinion of the civilised world on the conduct of England with reference to Ireland? A condemnatory verdict has long ago been pronounced, and in the whole public opinion and literature of every civilised country on this or on the other side of the Atlantic you cannot find a single exception to the rule that every competent, every creditable, every decent witness animadverts in terms most unqualified on the long-continued unworthy conduct of England towards Ireland, which has in so many respects lowered its high character, and been in contrast to its general fame." Having asserted that under our present system of legislation towards Ireland a sum of not less than 3,000,000*l.* was annually thrown into the sea, Mr. Gladstone went on to say that Ireland blocked the legislative machine. He held that if Ireland's demands remained unsatisfied after the next election it would no longer be a people oppressed by a Government, but a people oppressed by another people—the most odious of oppressions. He did not believe that a great nation would put itself in such a position. England had declared in favour of friendship with Ireland; and for that cause, if for no other, he anticipated a triumphant Liberal victory at the next General Election.

Mr. Gladstone's speech created a feeling of distrust in many quarters, even in those where his credit stood high. On the eve of approaching victory, loudly proclaimed in advance by himself and his followers, the veteran leader of the party told its various sections that each could have its own special wish gratified if only it would return Mr. Gladstone and his friends to office. The Welsh, who preferred Nonconformity to Anglicanism, were told that if they would support him he would support the disestablishment of the Church in Wales. The Free Kirk party in Scotland had only to outvote their brethren, and the Presbyterian Church of Scotland should be disestablished; the temperance party were to be rewarded with local option; the labour party with triennial Parliaments and the payment

of members; and the agricultural labourers with village councils armed with compulsory powers for the purchase of land to become the property of the labourer. In a word, it was felt that Mr. Gladstone, in order to obtain the means of carrying out the one political object he had at heart, for which the majority of English, Scotch, and Welsh constituencies cared little, was willing to give his support to questions in the solution of which he was unwilling or unable to take any part. All the same, not a few of Mr. Gladstone's opponents maintained that the one thing which would keep the Unionists in power would be the insistence upon Home Rule as the cardinal question at the next election. On this basis alone could the alliance between the Liberal-Unionists and the Conservatives hope to be maintained, and consequently any other programme would be more likely to bring back the Dissident Liberals to their old chief. Mr. Gladstone's reference to Egypt, moreover, impressed upon the French the conviction that his return to office would be the signal for the withdrawal of our troops from that country. In some ways his words were more explicit, at least to ears which were ready to receive hopes as promises. On the other hand, the idea that we should abandon the work which at the cost of so much blood and treasure we had built up in Egypt was repugnant to a large number of English Liberals, and it was probably with the object of calming their apprehensions that the ex-Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Bryce, addressing his constituents at Aberdeen (Oct. 15), was instructed to explain away the obvious inferences drawn from Mr. Morley's and Mr. Gladstone's speeches. "It was an error," he said, "to suppose that Liberals any more than Tories desired that we should simply scuttle out of Egypt without thought of ulterior consequences." But at any rate it was an error into which the whole continent of Europe—not merely party speakers or interested Frenchmen—had been betrayed; and nothing showed that Mr. Bryce's correction could undo the mischief caused by his leaders' incautious or reckless utterances.

The almost simultaneous deaths, with little warning in each case, of Mr. W. H. Smith and Mr. Parnell, for a moment drew away attention from political questions to their champions. In a manner both had been party leaders, although in Mr. Smith's case the title was perhaps a barren one. He had gained esteem and regard from friends and foes by his unremitting attention to public business, by his courtesy in its management, and by his conscientious conduct and firmness under temptation and aggravation. He had a strong, clear sense which made him invaluable as a party adviser, and scarcely less so as the head of a great department of the State. He was deficient in initiative and imagination, and failed to impose himself upon his colleagues as a leader of genius or resource; but in all the other qualities of a Cabinet Minister and a Parliamentary speaker he was well

endowed. Mr. Smith's position in the House of Commons, moreover, was almost unique; for, notwithstanding his inferiority to some of his colleagues as a debater, Mr. Gladstone himself recognised that he was entitled to special respect, and at all times treated him with marked deference.

Mr. Parnell's leadership was of a very different kind, and due to very different causes. An Englishman by education, if not by birth, his chief power, at all events at the beginning of his career, arose from his hatred of England. His cold reserve and want of imagination distinguished him from all previous Irish leaders; but these qualities, nevertheless, gave him an ascendancy over his fellow-countrymen greater than had been exercised by any, not excepting O'Connell. The Catholic priesthood, in view of his power, surrendered to him, a Protestant, however unwillingly, the leadership of a movement which was warmly supported by the Irish Catholics alone, and the Irish and American factions, into which the Nationalist party was divided, submitted to his direction and obeyed his orders. His sudden fall from almost absolute power showed the hollowness of the loyalty with which all classes up to the moment of the divorce suit professed to regard him; and it is scarcely possible not to infer that the majority of his partisans hailed with satisfaction the discomfiture of their despotic chief. His policy after that event still found its strength in hatred, but not so much for England as for the Liberal leader, who had insisted upon his abdication. Mr. Gladstone had undertaken to give Ireland Home Rule with the help of Mr. Parnell, and the latter determined that without him Mr. Gladstone's task should be impossible. This was the keynote of his bitter warfare against his former associates, against the clerical body, and against English sympathy. His pride, or perhaps his ambition, urged him alike to show that without him Ireland should not establish her right to self-government.

Mr. Parnell's death reopened the question of the Irish leadership, and many solutions were put forward; but the place occupied was not one which could be filled more easily after his death than it had been after his dismissal by his colleagues. Mr. Dillon, Mr. W. O'Brien, and others were championed by various sections; but the party decided to prolong the existing arrangement, by which Mr. J. M'Carthy, assisted by a select committee, was to retain the titular management of the Nationalist party until the following session.

Lord Salisbury, fortunately, had not much difficulty in filling the posts which had become vacant, although in the case of the leadership of the House of Commons the claims of Sir M. Hicks-Beach and Mr. Goschen had to be weighed. The readiness, however, with which these two statesmen consented to waive their rights lightened the Prime Minister's task. The former, speaking at Stockton-on-Tees (Oct. 18), said with reference to the leadership of the House: "I know that I accepted the

office most reluctantly in 1885 ; that I insisted upon resigning in 1886—I am afraid, against the wishes of Lord Salisbury, and certainly against the strong remonstrances of Lord R. Churchill, who succeeded me, because in my judgment another person was better qualified to fill that post than myself. And as I hold that opinion still, I neither expect nor desire that that office should be conferred upon me.” Mr. Goschen was not less explicit and unselfish. In his speech at Cambridge (Oct. 15) he alluded to Mr. Balfour as the man who had driven away the Irish spectre, who had won respect even from the Irish members, and who, in the opinion of many, should lead the Unionist forces in the House of Commons. Mr. Balfour was one of the youngest members of the Cabinet, and had made his first mark in Parliament as one of the ‘Fourth Party,’ who had changed the face of traditional Toryism. He had entered Parliament at the age of twenty-six, and twelve years later he became a Cabinet Minister. For five years he had moulded the Irish policy of the Ministry, and had applied it with firmness, but never vindictively, as his detractors endeavoured to show ; whilst in debate he had given proof of readiness and resource which especially qualified him for the leadership of the House. The appointment, therefore, when announced, received general approval ; the organs of the Opposition admitting that Lord Salisbury’s choice was logical, whilst the Conservatives were ready to overlook his tone of intellectual scorn, and to congratulate themselves on having produced a leader from their own ranks. His place as Irish Secretary was given to Mr. Jackson, who, as Financial Secretary to the Treasury, had conciliated men of all parties, and obtained his numerous thorny votes with noteworthy tact and with due regard to the criticisms of his opponents. Sir James Fergusson, who had occupied the more laborious than prominent post of Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was made Postmaster-General in succession to Mr. Raikes ; whilst the place vacated by him was given to Hon. J. W. Lowther, who in a previous Administration had acquired popularity on both sides of the House. Sir John Gorst, who had brought upon himself some censure by his outspoken criticism of the attitude of the Government towards the labour question, was given the Financial Secretaryship of the Treasury—an earnest, as was thought, of the intentions of the Ministry to make some efforts towards solving the social problem. Lastly, the Hon. George Curzon, an accomplished scholar and a clever speaker, who had spent much of his leisure in Central Asia, was selected to succeed Sir John Gorst, perhaps to supply Lord Cross with that information concerning frontier tribes and Russian outposts in which the Indian Office had shown itself to be lamentably deficient.

The bye-elections occasioned by these deaths and appointments revealed nothing fresh with regard to public opinion. A strong effort was made by the Gladstonians to capture the seat.

for South-East Manchester, vacated by Sir James Fergusson's promotion to be Postmaster-General; but Mr. C. S. Scott, a most admirable candidate, who had acquired great local popularity, and had made the *Manchester Guardian* the most important Liberal journal in the North-West of England, only succeeded in reducing the Unionist majority; and Sir James Fergusson was returned by 4,058 votes, to 3,908 polled by Mr. Scott; the figures in 1885 having been—Sir James Fergusson, 3,680; Scott, 3,353. The result was undoubtedly a disappointment to the Gladstonians, who clung to the belief that evidence of the defection of Lancashire from Unionism would be foreshadowed by the verdict of North-East Manchester. In Buteshire the vacancy caused by Mr. S. R. B. Robertson's promotion to the Bench gave rise to another contest; but the new Solicitor-General for Scotland, Mr. Graham Murray, was elected by 1,335 votes, against 990 given to Mr. John M'Culloch. In this case the Conservative candidate's majority was greater than in 1885, although it fell short of that by which the seat had been carried in 1886. At Cambridge University there was no contest, Professor J. C. Jebb being returned unopposed as a Conservative, although his claims upon the electors were those of a scholar and not of a politician. In the Strand Division, Mr. F. Smith was opposed, notwithstanding the protests of some prominent Liberals, who saw the folly of repeating in a metropolitan constituency the blunder committed at Aston. Mr. Smith offered himself to the Strand electors on the record of his father's services, and upon this was returned by a crushing majority of 3,000 votes over his opponent, Dr. Gutteridge, who succeeded only in revealing the weakness of the Radical vote in Central London. No election was requisite in the case of Mr. Balfour, who had merely changed from one office to another; and in the case of Mr. W. S. Jackson, the Leeds Liberals gracefully abstained from contesting the seat, although strongly urged to do so by certain irresponsible organs of the party.

During the interval between Mr. W. H. Smith's death and the last election arising out of it several prominent politicians had been discussing the situation. Amongst them Mr. Chamberlain, when speaking at Carmarthen (Oct. 13), was one of the most noteworthy, as indicating his changed attitude towards the Conservatives. He insisted that Lord Salisbury's Government had done more for the solid improvement of the masses of the population than any Government had done before in the present century in a similar period. In regard to Disestablishment he asserted that his attitude had not changed. He had voted for Disestablishment because he believed that in the interests of religion, in the interests of the Church itself, in the interests of the harmony of all classes of the population, it would be better for the Church to depend upon the devotion, and the loyalty, and the self-sacrifice of its own supporters, rather than it should

accept the invidious assistance and control of the State. Mr. Gladstone, he said, had only accepted Disestablishment in Wales in order to gain political support, and had never said one word in support of the principle of Disestablishment, which had been withheld from the "unauthorised programme of 1885," in deference to Mr. Gladstone's wishes on the subject.

A few days later, Mr. Chamberlain, at Sunderland (Oct. 21), somewhat overstepped the prescribed limits of party polemics, by holding up to censure the actions of Mr. Gladstone's Government of 1881-5, of which he had himself been a member. He described the Gladstonian leader when in office as incompetent, if not unsympathetic, in the treatment of social questions, and had left to the Conservatives to pass Factory Acts, Mines' Regulation Acts, Artisans' Dwellings Acts, Allotment Acts, and to give free education. The labour party, the seamen, the agricultural labourers, and the Scotch crofters would all lose by a change of Government. In Opposition the Gladstonians proposed everything, in office they effected nothing. Mr. Chamberlain next pressed the question whether the Gladstonians, who had so bitterly reproached the Liberal Unionists for deserting them in 1886, would really have desired to see Mr. Gladstone's Bill passed with all the faults which they had since discovered in it. Was it not clear that if it had passed—as it would have done but for the Liberal Unionists—the whole of the Parliament would have been wasted in trying to repair the errors in the Bill of 1886, and that instead of Ireland having been cleared out of the way she would have absorbed the time of the Imperial Legislature more than ever? And if that be so, what right have they to take so high a line in relation to the present or future action of the Liberal Unionists in the same sense? Might it not prove to be as beneficent as their action in 1886? Were it not for the frightful chaos into which Ireland, and probably Egypt, would be thrown by a Gladstonian victory, Mr. Chamberlain believed that nothing could be more fortunate for the Unionists than a return of Mr. Gladstone to power. "Imagine," he said, "a Gladstonian Cabinet endeavouring to satisfy at one and the same time the Catholic hierarchy and the English Nonconformists; reconciling the policy of Mr. John Morley with the policy of Mr. Tom Mann; striking out a foreign policy that would meet the views alike of Lord Rosebery and of Mr. Labouchere; and further, repealing the Union, abolishing the House of Lords, disestablishing the English Church, and shutting up every public-house. To behold this would indeed be a political luxury, but it would be a luxury far too expensive for us to afford." The Newcastle programme was "a heterogeneous congeries of various fragments of every programme under the sun, and brought together by the powerful agency of local caucuses." This "conglomerate programme" was to take a back place, and nothing was to be done, because Ireland blocked the way. To support the Gladstonian party at

the next election would be to postpone indefinitely all social and domestic measures. The Unionist party promised that Ireland should not block the way, and that they would make good progress with the measures the working classes had at heart. Mr. Morley declared the Local Government Bill "a mere skeleton." But whose fault was it that the skeleton was not yet clothed? Mr. Ritchie, when he brought in his Bill, proposed at the same time to deal with district councils, and was perfectly willing to deal with parish government also, and was only prevented by the waste of time by Mr. Morley and his friends. Mr. Morley said that only the fringe of the free education question had been touched. Was it "only the fringe" to relieve the working classes for ever of an enormous tax upon their means of subsistence? Would these classes have been content that this great reform should have been postponed until Mr. Gladstone and his friends abolished the voluntary schools, and thereby doubled the school rate throughout the land? The Irish Land Bill Mr. Morley described as "a model of destructive statesmanship." But all this criticism was due to a sense of failure, and to envy at the success of the Government. "They thought it positively indecent that a Conservative Government, chiefly consisting of Conservatives, should do so much progressive legislation in so short a time." For social legislation it could not be denied that the Conservatives, especially when supported by the Liberal Unionists, were eminently qualified and competent. While it had been the great glory of the Liberal party to remove privileges, imposts, limitations of all kinds, and to leave the individual free to make the best of his talents and opportunities, to the Conservative party belonged the credit for almost all modern social legislation. Mr. Chamberlain concluded by saying that the General Election would determine whether the Government should be encouraged to persevere in its present policy, or "whether the country is once more to be plunged into confusion, our foreign affairs to be disorganised and embarrassed, our possessions to be diminished or frittered away, and our home affairs to be inextricably entangled in the hopeless effort to satisfy Irish agitators and to conciliate the enemies of England at home and abroad."

Almost at the same time as Mr. Chamberlain was attacking the Gladstonian stronghold in the north-eastern counties, the new leader of the House of Commons showed his recognition of the support given by Lancashire to the Unionist cause by delivering his first speeches in that county. At Bury (Oct. 23) he occupied himself especially in replying to Mr. Gladstone's Newcastle manifesto. Taking for his text Sir William Harcourt's definition of opportunism—"modification of policy as the necessities of the time dictate"—he recognised it as describing simply the inevitable progress of society. But, if the necessities of the time meant "the necessities of the world of wire-pullers,"

if by changing their policy to meet the changing condition of the country was meant "selecting a platform to tickle the palate of their principal supporters," the less opportunism they had the better. Mr. Gladstone had, it was asserted, unfolded the official programme of the Liberal party. That programme, said Mr. Balfour, was, in music-hall phraseology, a "programme of varieties." There was "a little tumbling, a few card tricks, a good deal of walking on the tight-rope, a ballet of happy peasants, and, finally, the great scenic effect of Sir Wm. Harcourt, dressed in the full panoply of a Norman baron, bearing the cap of liberty aloft, leading a mob attacking the House of Lords." On the question of one man one vote, Mr. Balfour pointed out that, not many years before, a Reform Bill was accepted and furthered by the Conservatives, which had been brought in and furthered by Mr. Gladstone himself, who now appeared extremely dissatisfied with it. It revolted the mind of modern Radicals to think that it was possible for a man to have qualifications in two places, or that the universities should be admitted, and graduates should be allowed to have a representative as graduates. But if every intelligent adult had the right to one vote, and to one vote only, on what principle were women to be excluded? There ought, too, to be equal electoral districts, and no part of the country ought to send to Parliament a larger number of representatives than its population warranted. Under these circumstances Mr. Gladstone promised all the various sections of the Liberal party something which they did want in order to make them accept Home Rule, which they did not want. He patronised in vague and illusive phrases the secondary resolutions which the official programme included, some as remote, and others near at hand; whilst as to the precedence of Scotch or Welsh Disestablishment, Mr. Gladstone had hinted that the Scotch and Welsh members should settle it between themselves.

On the following day (Oct. 22), at Accrington, Mr. Balfour defended the Government against the repeated charges that they were not concerned in Ireland with the suppression of what in England and Scotland is called crime, but that they had devoted their energies to enabling the landlords to collect their rents. It had not been specially for the collection of landlords' rents that they had passed the necessary measures through the House of Commons, and had carried those measures into operation to the best of their ability. It had not been for the landlord or his agent, who had been the victims of outrage and the sufferers by the criminal conspiracies which the Government had been engaged in putting down, but for the man in the lowly cabin, the widow, the children of the victims of outrage, who were the greatest sufferers by the lawlessness the Government found unhappily in existence, and which they had done their best to suppress. They were taunted by their political opponents with being upholders of privilege. They looked to the

good of the whole population; and it was only because they thought that the rights of the part conduced to the good of the whole that they supported the rights of the part. Mr. Balfour went on to show that if the Gladstonians returned to power the Irish question alone must occupy the whole field of politics for an almost indefinite period. Apparently, when that was done with, the Gladstonians had got a very large number of other questions—such as Disestablishment and one man one vote—which would not improve the lot of a single British subject, which would leave the poor in their poverty, which would not stimulate industry, nor assist self-help, nor promote that individual freedom which was the basis of all political prosperity and commercial greatness. These measures were devised for platform use alone. He appealed, therefore, to the people and the electors of the country to turn their attention principally to two things—the passage of sound, useful legislation to the exclusion of sensational “platform” legislation, and to wise administration.

Mr. Morley found an almost immediate opportunity of carrying the war into the enemy's camp, first at the unveiling of Mr. John Bright's statue at Rochdale (Oct. 24), and next at a meeting of the Manchester Reform Club (Oct. 26). The former occasion, however, was scarcely one for the display of party politics, especially in view of Mr. Bright's attitude to Mr. Gladstone's later policy. Mr. Morley paid a warm tribute to the talents of the great orator—to his honesty and sturdiness of opinion—and laid stress upon the numerous benefits the possession of these qualities, and their devotion to the public good, had procured for his fellow-countrymen.

At the Manchester Reform Club Mr. Morley was able to speak with greater freedom, and he used it for the purpose of criticising Mr. Chamberlain's speech and his course of action with more than customary bitterness. He paid, in passing, a compliment to Mr. Parnell as “a powerful and extraordinary personality, cold and long-sighted, who in clearness and perception of facts surpassed any of his contemporaries. He did not attribute similar qualities to Mr. Chamberlain, who now accused Mr. Gladstone of stopping his Shipping Bill, whilst in 1886 he attributed its defeat to the Conservatives. In still more bitter terms he reproved his former friend and colleague for ignoring his own responsibility for the acts of the Government of which he was a member, and declared that years after he held up his colleagues to obloquy and contempt in order to serve a paltry purpose of the moment. This was a hitting below the belt for which he ventured to say a parallel could not be found in the worst times of our political history. To this strong language Mr. Chamberlain replied in a letter to the *Times* (Oct. 29) by remarking that he never denied his own share of responsibility for the blunders of the Government between 1880–1885, but that he did not see how that precluded him from pointing out

the errors they had made, and warning the country against repeating them. He further remarked, in reply to Mr. Morley's attack upon him for not resigning if Mr. Gladstone did not support him heartily enough in relation to his Merchant Shipping Bill, that, as Mr. Morley knew, he did tender his resignation, but withdrew it "at Mr. Gladstone's request, in view of the national interests involved in connection with the Franchise Bill."

The proceedings of the Church Congress would not naturally enter into the political history of the year, although many of the subjects there discussed academically might have important bearings on the social situation. This year, however, the meeting was held at Rhyl, not altogether without reference to the question of the disestablishment of the Church in Wales. In his presidential address the Bishop of St. Asaph sought to disprove that in Wales the Established Church was the Church of the few, or, to use Mr. Gladstone's words, "that the Nonconformists of Wales are the people of Wales." According to statistics prepared by Nonconformists, the number of adherents to Welsh Nonconformity furnished by the four great bodies—the Calvinistic Methodists, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Wesleyans—only furnished 46 per cent. of the total population of Wales and Monmouthshire. This point having been brought to Mr. Gladstone's notice, he replied that he could not recede from the statement challenged by the Bishop when that statement was "considered as a broad and large statement of a substantial truth"; and he added: "I had already drawn a distinction between 'the many and the few,' a phrase perhaps less invidious than that of 'the classes and the masses.' Among the few I understand the Church to preponderate. If I estimate the classes to be one-fifth of the population, the percentage (of Dissenters) becomes for the masses, or the people, 55 per cent." Mr. Gladstone further said: "Looking at their commercial preponderance, even upon the entire population, and looking at the various classes of society, it was not very far from the truth to say, though I admit there is some element of exaggeration, but only a very limited one, that the Nonconformists are the people of Wales." By this process of reasoning it was clear that the Radical party in attempting to arrive at the wishes of the people would begin by deducting 20 per cent. from the total population on the ground that education, taste, habits, or convictions had engendered opinions which the people did not share.

A further instance of this impatience of educated opinion was given a short time later by Sir George Trevelyan, who at Perth (Oct. 16), speaking against all the privilege franchises, declared that to him "the most odious and detestable of all" was the university franchise. His reason for this petulant outburst against a franchise which he himself possessed, and had given seats to Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Lowe, Sir Lyon Playfair, Sir

John Lubbock, and many others, was, perhaps, the most childish ever uttered by a public man. "If I were to give the reason for its being to me the most odious and detestable of all, I would say the reason was that it was the special favourite of Mr. Goschen." One might search through the most hysterical speeches of the French revolutionists for a long time before meeting with an utterance more frothy or more foolish.

Naturally the bold assertions of the Church party called forth strong denials from the opposite side, and a large meeting of the Nonconformists of North Wales, organised by the Liberation Society, was held at Rhyl itself, shortly after (Nov. 14) the dispersal of the Church Congress, to reply to the various statements there made with reference to Welsh Dissent. The chairman, Mr. J. Herbert Lewis, chairman of the Flintshire County Council, in his opening speech declared that their opponents' majority was steadily decreasing, and it was therefore hardly likely that they would be frightened by a Church Congress. Mr. Lloyd George denied the truth of the deduction drawn by the president of the Church Congress, that because 50 per cent. of the population were claimed by the Nonconformists the remaining 50 were adherents of the Church. This census had been taken in towns where there was a considerable floating and resident English population, and where the Church for that reason was more successful than in the rural parishes; and the claim made by the Bishop of St. Asaph was simply ridiculous. All the propounding of new and strange doctrines to buttress up the position of the clergy, all their scheming and plotting, would avail them nought. The doom of the Establishment was sealed. The Rev. J. Guinness Rogers said their aim was to bring about the severance of a union between Church and State, which they held to be irreligious, unjust, impolitic, and utterly opposed to the highest interest of religion and humanity. Lord Salisbury's power to appoint bishops was won at the polling booths, and it was idle for those who clung fast to a political institution to taunt them with employing political instruments for the purpose of getting rid of political injustice. Mr. P. Mostyn Williams moved, and Mr. Lloyd Jones seconded, the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:—"It having been demonstrated that the great majority of Welsh people belonged to other religious communities, and that the existence of a privileged Church is unjust, opposed to national feeling and productive of numerous evils, this meeting persists in demanding the disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales at the earliest possible period."

The course of political controversy about this time was slightly relieved by a correspondence arising out of an excursion into the domain of national finance by two county members who were but slenderly equipped for such an undertaking. Mr. G. P. Fuller, M.P. (*Wilts. Westbury*), initiating the example of his leader, Sir W. Harcourt, accused Mr. Goschen, in a public

speech, of "a very great attempt, if not an actual attempt, to defraud the ratepayers of the country! He charged him, amongst other things, of borrowing 20,000,000*l.* to strengthen the navy; of borrowing 3,500,000*l.* in order to show a surplus of 1,500,000*l.* in 1890; of understating in 1891 the actual product of taxation by three millions; and he asserted that Mr. Gladstone had extinguished in four years, 1880-4, more of the National Debt than Mr. Goschen had in the four years, 1887-91. Mr. Goschen easily disposed of Mr. Fuller's finance, which was based either upon complete ignorance or an inability to understand the accounts prepared by the permanent officials of the Treasury, without regard to political opinion. Sir Wm. Harcourt at once joined in the fray, and contributed a long letter, ostensibly addressed to Mr. Fuller, which certainly showed that the finance accounts of Mr. Goschen's chancellorship were more complicated than those of his predecessors; and that the opening of cross accounts for local loans, local grants, and navy defence, rendered the study of national finance difficult except to experts, amongst whom Sir Wm. Harcourt showed that he could not be reckoned; and suggested how slight a knowledge of such subjects was required by a Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Goschen dispersed of both his critics in a masterly fashion, but their discomfiture did not discourage another county member, Mr. Seale Hayne (*Devon. Totnes*), a few days later from entering upon the unequal contest. Mr. Seale Hayne's criticisms, however, scarcely went beyond the range of assertion, founded upon imperfect knowledge of the printed accounts and the Acts of Parliament which required that certain expenditure should be excluded from the ordinary accounts of the year and exhibited in a separate form. The only strong point brought out by Sir Wm. Harcourt was the large increase in the floating debt, which in April 1890 had reached nearly thirty-seven millions sterling, and had only been reduced by about two millions in the succeeding eighteen months. The other charge levelled against Mr. Goschen's finance, that he had made inroads on the 28,000,000*l.* which Sir Stafford Northcote had set apart *in perpetuo* for the annual payment of National Debt, could only be maintained as a weapon of party politics, inasmuch as Mr. Childers had, during his tenure of the Exchequer, shown equally small respect for Sir Stafford Northcote's wishes. Moreover, although Mr. Goschen might have committed the Treasury to a definite expenditure for a certain year, he had given in return an intelligible system of national defence, and the cost of his conversion scheme, even by the admission of his opponents, was not too dearly purchased in view of the ultimate extinction of 100,000,000*l.* of the National Debt.

But more cogent than his letters to the *Times* was Mr. Goschen's speech at Oldham (Nov. 5), in which, addressing a thoroughly democratic audience, he placed before them the broad

issues upon which the Government laid claim to the confidence of the people. Heat once declared that the Unionists had killed Home Rule at the last General Election, and that the form in which it would revive was still concealed from the general public and from the supporters of Mr. Gladstone. There were other questions which would occupy the attention of the Unionists besides that of the condition of Ireland. The leaders of the Gladstonians, while refusing to the country any knowledge of these negotiations, had behind the backs of the electors made a secret treaty with the leaders of both of the Irish parties. The next election would be fought, said Mr. Goschen, not simply upon the Irish question, but upon the attitude of the two great parties towards questions intimately connected with the prosperity of the country. Some of the Gladstonian leaders were doubtless sorry the Newcastle programme had been formulated. It was not the programme of Mr. Gladstone, or of Sir William Harcourt, or of Mr. John Morley. It was "the programme of the Gladstonian wire-pullers." The Opposition demanded separation in too many senses—not only separation between nationalities. They had invented the phrase "classes and masses," and other phrases and doctrines which might spread jealousy in this country and destroy the unity of purpose and community of interest on which the prosperity of the country had been built. It was they who continually put before the country the question of an effective army and navy as a question of the classes, and not of the masses, concealing the fact that working men were as deeply interested in the security of the country as any capitalist or manufacturer. The Government, moreover, had been denounced for their expenditure on the army and navy. Mr. Gladstone, describing it as expenditure "as far as possible from satisfying the relentless appetite of those who had laboured most to bring it about," showed that he had no sympathy with the efforts made to place the defence of the country upon a proper footing. Our foreign policy depended to a great extent upon the condition of the army and navy. But the Gladstonians were "utopians and sentimentalists," and "did not seem to believe in the possibility of war." They thought it waste to spend money on the army and navy. The present Government, in coming into office, had found it necessary to increase the number of ships, to supply the troops with a new rifle, to fortify coaling stations. Was all this useless? Even the Gladstonians did not object to spending money on the Volunteers, or to the increase of wages in the dockyards, because Volunteers and working men were voters. Recent expenditure had been heavy, but there would come a time when it would be possible to reduce it. The money spent lived in better armaments, in better armed troops, in a thousand ways; and the success of Lord Salisbury's foreign policy was very largely due to the steady increase of the efficiency of our army and navy. He challenged Mr. Fowler, who had repudiated all share in the

responsibility for these services, to state frankly to the nation that he did not desire to see the navy furnished with good guns and good boilers; that he did not care to see our coaling stations properly fortified; that he did not desire to see the Volunteers an efficient force. "If he would but make that clear," said Mr. Goschen, "the working classes would soon show that they had no wish to give him their support. How much of the money spent by the predecessors of the present Government," asked Mr. Goschen, "was buried in the sands of Egypt or drowned in the waters of the Nile? The present Opposition, during their five years of office, spent on expeditions, and in 'panic preparations,' a net sum of nearly nineteen millions. During the past five years the Government had not spent a penny on expeditions or in panic preparations. The foreign policy of Lord Salisbury had strengthened the position of Great Britain in the eyes of Europe and had powerfully contributed to the maintenance of peace; but Europe had been perturbed by the declarations made upon Egyptian policy by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley; and from the same quarter all opposition to the proposed means of finally stamping out the East African slave trade had arisen. The Unionists, if they were maintained in power, could afford to give their full attention to matters deeply affecting the interests of this country abroad, but their successors, instead of keeping watchful eyes upon British interests in every part of the globe, would have 'the more congenial occupation of destroying Churches and remodelling the Constitution.' In every part of the world at present colonial competition was keener than it used to be. But what did they think of commerce at Newcastle? 'One man one vote' seemed more important than great commercial questions. A time was approaching when commercial treaties would expire. During the next two or three years it might be necessary to give the deepest and most consecutive attention to questions connected with the industries and trade of the country, and it would be for the country to judge whether these questions could be considered while the Newcastle programme was being carried out. The Opposition," Mr. Goschen continued, "seemed to have a latent hostility to capital. Was not cheap capital of enormous importance as being the wage fund which, to a great extent, was at the disposal of the masses, and was it wise to discourage the wage fund of the country? Was it wise to frighten, penalise, and threaten capital? Capital could remove itself from one country to another, could escape from a country where it was attacked, and carry itself to countries where it was welcome. Would the working classes of this country be prepared to see capital emigrating from here to seek employment elsewhere?" The root of the whole matter, he argued, was that the Opposition continually thought it right to divide the country into classes. The Government had been charged with having given

three or four millions towards the relief of local taxation. They had done so, and by so doing had made municipal government easier. As soon as they relieved ratepayers generally there was a greater disposition shown to make improvements for the benefit of the community as a whole. They had endeavoured to lighten the burden of taxation and to contribute to the increased power of the country. The Government were prepared to go forward on the lines of their legislation of the past five years; but how far could their opponents be trusted to deal with the security of the country, to increase the power of the country, or to encourage the friendliness between class and class? The Unionists would support union between class and class, race and race, capital and labour, wealth and industry. Saxon and Celt together had built up the empire, had shed their blood in the common cause, and to the Unionists it belonged to maintain the empire as the heritage of Saxon and of Celt.

In this speech, as in so many by leaders on both sides, and more especially in the expedition undertaken by Sir John Gorst, the eagerness to attract the votes of the working classes was most evident. The Gladstonians, realising that their chances of winning a majority of seats in England on the Home Rule issue were small, put local self-government forward as a lure to the ratepayers in the towns and to the labourers in the country. The Unionists, recognising that if Home Rule occupied only a subordinate place in the speeches of the Opposition the verdict of the elections of 1886 would be reversed, turned to the conditions of labour in the hope of striking out some programme which might be at once practical and attractive, which would ensure a certain degree of comfort to the able-bodied, and the promise of something more attractive than the workhouse to the aged and infirm. Sir John Gorst, equally with Mr. John Morley, hesitated to meddle by Act of Parliament with the hours of labour; but the former, more than the latter, appreciated the difficulties which surrounded the question of allotments. Mr. Balfour, on this point more definite, was in favour of half-acre allotments, obtainable at nearly agricultural cost through the local authority; and Mr. Chamberlain, acting in harmony with some more extreme Radicals, proposed a scheme for State pensions for the aged poor who had given an earnest of self-help, for improved sanitary laws and better medical assistance. With both parties the object was the same—to secure the working-class vote. With the artisans in large towns, accessible to influences from all quarters and constantly shifting currents of opinion, the danger had probably passed away; but for the agricultural labourers, who for the first time were beginning to understand their power, it was scarcely a wise policy to teach them to use their votes for the narrowest personal advantages. The logical outcome of such tactics would be that on each succeeding occasion one party would endeavour to outbid the other by recklessly pledging the

powers and resources of the State to the benefit of a particular class.

It was anticipated by some that Lord Salisbury would take advantage of the opportunity offered by the Guildhall Banquet (Nov. 9) to remove the doubts which had been raised by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley as to our engagements towards Egypt. The tone adopted by the foreign, and especially the French, press necessitated some plain speaking, and in this respect Lord Salisbury did not disappoint his friends, although some of them found his utterances unnecessarily energetic. Before looking on foreign politics, however, he passed a warm eulogium on Mr. W. H. Smith, whose influence in the Cabinet he fully recognised. In Ireland the retirement of Mr. Balfour from the Chief Secretaryship, "after the best four years' work ever done by a statesman," would bring no change in the Irish policy of the Government, since it only involved his withdrawal from its immediate supervision. Lord Salisbury was not yet disposed to believe that a separate legislature in Ireland "would be distinguished by peace and order, by an abstinence from blackthorn, or by freedom from the curse of ecclesiastical domination." With regard to foreign affairs, whilst declining to prophesy, Lord Salisbury assured his hearers that there was not "on the horizon a single speck of a cloud which contained with it anything injurious to the prospects of peace." A war of tariffs, indeed, was impending in consequence of the approaching expiration of various commercial treaties, and in this way this country might be left in a position of industrial isolation. Protection, he said, was everywhere rising. The election of Mr. M'Kinley as Governor of Ohio suggested that the slight reaction against it had already spent its force, whilst in our only free-trade colony, New South Wales, a protectionist Ministry had been placed in office. It was, however, impossible for this country to follow suit, since the only protection we could exercise would be the impossible protection of articles of necessary consumption; our position, therefore, before long would be that of "the Athanasius *contra mundum* of free trade." Turning then to Egypt, Lord Salisbury said that utterances had been made which had "given heart to all who were unfriendly to England and pain to all who valued her prosperity." Foreigners did not perhaps "understand the play of our electioneering system," or appreciate "the emancipation from considerations of prudential patriotism which is conferred by a situation of lesser responsibility and greater freedom." They were accordingly misled by "meteorological" calculations of a change of government, which they would find, should it occur, would bring no change in his Egyptian policy of Great Britain. The present Government had found, not made, the present position in Egypt. They had been asked by Europe to involve sacrifices both of blood and treasure in order to rescue the country from the evils which had overtaken her, and they would

not waste these sacrifices by retiring before their mission was accomplished. Much had been done, but the external dangers were still great, and the internal difficulties were pressing, and until this true goal had been reached, "it must be the force of another Power that would keep Egypt from slipping back into a condition exposed to the attacks of barbarians without and intrigues within, and that Power must be England."

By a happy coincidence the Italian Premier, speaking at Milan on the same day, confirmed Lord Salisbury's peaceful auguries, seeing in the groups and alliances of friendly Powers a guarantee of peace rather than a threat of war. "These," he said, "gave a visible expression to the equilibrium, which was the guarantee of security." It was, perhaps, the simultaneous expression of hope and confidence which caused the rise in Egyptian and other foreign securities, rather than Lord Salisbury's vigorous assertion of our intentions towards Egypt, to which the Conservative press ascribed the movement in prices on the Stock Exchange of Europe.

The annual conference of the National Liberal Union, held this year at Manchester (Nov. 10), was largely attended by local sympathisers, who seemed desirous to prove that Birmingham did not stand alone among the great cities of the kingdom in its support of the doctrines of this party. The chair was occupied in the morning by Sir Henry James; but the principal speaker was the Duke of Argyll, who made a very remarkable analysis of the probable features of Mr. Gladstone's next Home Rule Bill for Ireland. It would be impossible in a short summary to do justice to his closely reasoned, brilliantly epigrammatic, and statesmanlike address, of which the only drawback was that it deserved more careful study than could be given in a single hearing. The Duke of Argyll was of opinion that Mr. Gladstone would not produce his Bill or forecast its details until after the General Election had been held; and he altogether doubted that Lord Spencer, a most guileless and simple-minded man, had been admitted to the knowledge of Mr. Gladstone's plan. He felt sure that the lines of the old Bill would reappear in a Bill drawn by the same hand on lines of inflated nationalism addressed to the Irish people, arousing their passions of nationality, and containing clauses of mere provincial bumbledom, not giving any satisfaction to the passions to which the Bill appealed. Going carefully through Mr. Gladstone's speeches on the subject since he first adopted the Home Rule policy, the Duke drew from his former colleague's promises, assertions, and denials thirty-one distinct points, from which the real nature of the future Bill might be fairly deduced. These points were as follows:—

1. "The scheme of Home Rule will be launched on a flood of passionate Nationalist language.
2. "Will break up the united parliament into two, three, or more separate bodies.

3. " Will break up the imperial executive into two separate executives.
4. " Will thus sever the whole sphere of legislative government into two separate domains.
5. " Will be framed on the principle of giving away all that is not expressly reserved.
6. " Will consequently abandon or compromise all powers that are not expressly kept.
7. " Will thus hide out of sight how much sacrificed, how little is preserved.
8. " Will assert the right of the Irish Parliament over 'all Irish' concerns.
9. " Will then attempt specific limitations.
10. " Will make this selection on no intelligible or consistent principles.
11. " Will involve glaring contradictions and violations of 'Nationalist' claims.
12. " Will combine tributary province with pretended 'nationality.'
13. " Will garrison the Irish nation with any army ticketed as 'foreign.'
14. " Will provide no adequate 'Supreme Court' to control.
15. " Will thus leave disputed powers to perpetual wrangle or civil war.
16. " Will give direct power to the Irish Parliament over supplies in imperial wars.
17. " Will give, or only postpone, power to establish hostile tariffs against Great Britain.
18. " Will admit, in addition, a body of Irish delegates into the citadel of the British Parliament.
19. " Will make no attempt to limit their voting power in that Parliament.
20. " Will thus place in the hands of the Irish priesthood the fate of British and imperial Ministries.
21. " Will also give the Irish Parliament power to 'meddle and muddle' in purely 'British' affairs.
22. " Will give no corresponding power to the British Parliament, or not in proportion.
23. " Will give no security to individual Irishmen for life, liberty, and property.
24. " Will give to the Irish Executive the right to appoint judges, with power to administer the Land Act, so as to pervert justice—a power already boasted of, and the exercise of it predicted.
25. " Will involve the principle that the life, liberty, and property of Irishmen are purely 'Irish affairs,' and no concern to the British Parliament.
26. " Will take collusive consent of existing Irish members as national pledges of finality.

27. "Will be concealed until elections are over.
28. "Will then claim mandate for issues never placed before the country.
29. "Will be 'rushed' through if possible by intimidation.
30. "Will depend for majority on Irish members.
31. "Will afford no prospect or hope of finality, but will provoke, of necessity, further and further demand."

Lord Hartington, who presided at the evening meeting of the Unionists in the Free Trade Hall, adopted a more popular tone, and, as a platform speech, was more effective than the Duke of Argyll's over-subtle analysis. He said that if the Home Rule Bill had passed nothing whatever would have availed to depose Mr. Parnell from power. As it was, however, the effectual pressure had been that of public opinion in this country. This indicated that their Gladstonian friends could not enjoy the luxury of giving self-government to Ireland and at the same time hope to exercise any pressure or control over the proceedings of that Government afterwards. Moderate people would probably come to see that it was not good for any faction of the Irish people to be absolutely free from the pressure of public opinion of the nation at large. One of the great difficulties in the government of Ireland had been the apathy of the minority; and the recent election at Cork showed that this was not yet removed. Expressing his disbelief in the value of Mr. Gladstone's figures about the election, Lord Hartington remarked that even, supposing a Gladstonian majority were returned, that did not necessarily mean the passing of the Home Rule Bill. Turning to the subject upon which Mr. Dicey had been so unjustly censured by Sir W. Harcourt, Lord Hartington said they were not debarred from discussing a subject which Mr. Gladstone himself raised sixteen years ago, when he said that his resolve to retire had been dictated by his personal convictions as to the best mode of employing his remaining years. Accordingly, Lord Hartington expressed his doubt whether it was to the public benefit that Mr. Gladstone should retain his position as leader of his party. For while on the subject of Home Rule he was its absolute dictator, he was on every other subject not the leader of his party at all. He was rather the mouthpiece and the exponent of the decrees of the caucus and the policy of the wire-pullers. The more complete and decisive the triumph of Home Rule policy, the more surely would it condemn the next Parliament to immediate extinction. As both Irish peers and Irish members would be disestablished by the success of his Home Rule Bill, Parliament would have to be dissolved at once on the passing of such a Bill; so that the next Parliament could certainly not enter on the programme of the Newcastle conference. Lord Hartington then took up the threat to abolish the House of Peers if it should insist on an appeal to the people concerning the Home Rule Bill carried—if ever it came to be carried—by the House of Commons. He pointed out

the very great danger of making the momentary will of the people the only power in the constitution, so that on all matters of colonial and foreign policy there would be no buffer between a popular impulse, perhaps excited by some purely domestic incident, and an abrupt revolution in our relations with our colonies and the rest of the world. If a single Chamber which reflected every ripple of popular opinion was to be the only spring of popular government, "then all the pains which have been bestowed by the statesmen who have founded the European republics in France and Switzerland, who have endeavoured to devise some check between the sudden and hasty and ill-considered expression of popular will, and its final execution, have been thrown away." The final and deliberate will of the people must, under a democracy, be accepted; but the temporary and momentary impulse of the people ought not to be at once assumed to be their final and deliberate will; and yet the House of Lords was menaced for allowing an appeal from one to the other, such as all careful democratic constitutions, whether in Europe or America, would justify.

These arguments, however, when put to a practical test, were found to be of little weight in the opinions of rural voters. For the South Molton division of Devon Lord Lymington, in 1885, had been returned as a Liberal by a large majority, and in the following year an almost equally large majority returned him as a Liberal Unionist, but probably in consequence of the popularity of his father, Lord Portsmouth, and of the esteem in which his judgment was held by the mass of electors. On the present occasion the Conservatives were taken unawares, and were almost forced to accept as their candidate Mr. Charles Buller, who, although belonging to the county, had hitherto taken no part in county affairs. His opponent was an especially strong one—Mr. G. Lambert—who had lived continuously in the district, taken an active part in its administration, and made himself popular by his energy and usefulness. His return (Nov. 13) was scarcely doubtful from the beginning of the contest, but the largeness of his majority—over 1,200—showed that the traditional Liberal feeling of the district was only temporarily alienated by the suddenness of Mr. Gladstone's change of front in 1886.

Mr. Chamberlain, who had been unavoidably absent from the Manchester gathering, possibly for the good reason of not wishing to arouse local jealousy, found a better opportunity of reviewing the political situation when addressing his own constituents (Nov. 18) in West Birmingham in a speech which his opponents hailed as a retraction of his famous dictum that property, to save it from confiscation, should pay "a ransom." More correctly, perhaps, it was a masterly retreat from an untenable position by one who was not prepared to go all lengths with the Socialist section of the Radical party. He defended himself with much spirit against the charge of having become a reactionary.

a Tory, and a renegade by an appeal to the work done by the Unionist Government. He pointed to the Irish Purchase Act, under which a great proportion of the peasantry might become the owners of the land they cultivated ; to the Bill under which 100,000 English labourers would obtain allotments ; to the reduction of taxation, the grant of free education, the promotion of technical instruction, the extension of the Factory Acts, the protection of seamen and miners, and the improvement of artisans' dwellings. If such a policy were in every sense of the word Liberal, how, he asked, could it have become Tory and reactionary because it had been initiated and carried by a Unionist Government? After touching upon the difficulties which awaited Mr. Gladstone should he attempt to fulfil his Home Rule pledges, he expressed his conviction that the return of the Gladstonians to office might produce results to be "regretted for more than a generation." No Government, he said, of recent times had so completely fulfilled its promises as had the present one. If they were again successful they would show once more that for them Ireland did not block the way. They had declared their intention to extend to Ireland the same or a similar system of local government to that enjoyed in England and Scotland. The Government, Mr. Chamberlain declared, were right in giving this question prominence. They were bound to keep their pledges and to put before the country, before they appealed to it, the whole of their Irish policy. If the concession thereby implied should be misused by men whose interest it was to keep Ireland in troubled waters, the consequences must be upon their own shoulders. The Government were also pledged to complete the work of local government in England by the organisation of parish and district councils ; to deal further with the question of artisans' and labourers' dwellings, and with that of employers' liability. They had promised, moreover, to amend the land laws by securing a freer disposition of land, to deal with small holdings ; to revivify, if possible, the almost vanished class of yeoman freeholders ; but, above all, the Government had promised to seriously consider the question of old-age pensions. Upon this question he (Mr. Chamberlain) was engaged personally, and his plan, when worked out, would be submitted to the leaders of the friendly societies, whose co-operation he hoped to obtain. He added :—"Society as a whole owes something to these veterans of industry. You see, I have not altogether forgotten the doctrine of 'ransom,' although I am very willing to confess that that word was not very well chosen to express my own meaning. But I say that the State has already recognised this claim in regard to its own servants. The soldier and the sailor are pensioned. Yes, but peace hath her victories no less than war ; and the soldiers of industry, when they fall out of the ranks in the conflict and competition in which they are continually engaged, they also have some claim on the consideration

and gratitude of their country." This claim was already recognised in the Poor-law, with its annual expenditure of nine millions, and the only question was whether part of that vast sum might not be more humanely and economically spent in promoting thrift from the outset rather than in dealing with the worst, the most fatal results of improvidence. A compulsory deduction of one farthing in the shilling from the wages of a man earning twenty shillings a week, supplemented by another farthing from the State, would give that man 20*l.* a year from the age of sixty; whilst, at the same time, his subscription might be returned at any time to his family if he died before the age at which his pension became due. In the first instance, however, Mr. Chamberlain proposed to try a voluntary system, in the hope that, as in the case of education, public opinion would after a while agree to a compulsory measure.

The Unionist defeat in the South Molton division of Devonshire seemed scarcely to affect the spirits of the party leaders, for not only did Mr. Chamberlain, as has been seen, declare in favour of a policy of "no surrender," but Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen followed Sir William Harcourt to Scotland in order to controvert the arguments he had advanced in favour of Mr. Gladstone's policy. Speaking at Crieff (Nov. 19) Lord Hartington described Sir William Harcourt's assumption of the infallibility of the Liberal party as one of the most audacious assertions of superstitious arrogance ever put forward, and he denied that politician's right to speak for the Liberal party. The present policy of that party had been adopted in deference to party necessities rather than from a conviction of its merits; whilst its adoption having shattered the Liberal majority in Parliament and the country could be recognised only as the policy of a section of the Liberal party. It was true that the present principles of the Gladstonian party bore a closer resemblance to those of the advanced democratic party in foreign countries than to the Liberalism of the past; but it would not be true to say that the policy of advanced democracy abroad had always been right and successful. No doubt (said Lord Hartington) it would be denied that there was any resemblance between Gladstonian Liberalism and advanced democracy. But there were one or two points in which there was only too close a resemblance. Liberals in the past valued, above all things, personal freedom. The advanced democrat—and the Gladstonian Liberal in this country—was always ready to impose any restrictions upon the freedom of action of his fellow-citizens. This change of front on the part of the leaders of the left wing of the Liberal party curiously illustrated this contention. Since 1886 the policy of Home Rule, even as an article of the section of the party which had continued to follow Mr. Gladstone, had been receding rather than advancing. Five years before Home Rule was not only the first, it was the only article of the Gladstonian

party. In 1886 Mr. Gladstone's election address to the electors of Midlothian contained one subject only. Instead of Home Rule being "presented as a tempting dish everyone would desire to partake of, it is now offered in the shape of a pill or bolus, which would only be swallowed if accompanied by a great quantity of more palatable jam." It might be in accordance with the notions of political honesty of others, but the notions of the Unionists did not agree with putting forward for acceptance by the people a policy consisting of a number of subjects with which it was absolutely impossible that the next Parliament could deal at all, if it were to deal with the question of Home Rule, and with which it would probably not be in the power of any Parliament to deal within a very considerable number of years. Lord Hartington claimed for the existing Government that its promises were confined within limits laid down for them by much more practical conditions. Much had been done by the present Parliament, but local government in England as well as in Ireland demanded completion, and free education had to be extended to Ireland.

On the following day (Nov. 20), presiding at a banquet in Edinburgh given in honour of Mr. Goschen, Lord Hartington bore witness to the independent position the Chancellor of the Exchequer had maintained throughout his political career, and he deduced therefrom the advantage which would arise in the future from the combined action of the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists under one chief. Mr. Goschen had been the first to recognise that his acceptance of the leadership of the House of Commons might have been attended with risk, and he had therefore stood aside, although his claims to succeed Mr. W. H. Smith were undoubted. As to the prospects of the party, Lord Hartington contended that recent events furnished no cause for despondency; the Government would probably lose some seats at the General Election, but there was nothing to justify the belief that the Unionist majority would disappear. If the worst happened, they would only be beaten by so small a majority that the Home Rule measure would have to be resubmitted to the decision of the country before it could become law.

That the Gladstonians were not destined to win back—at least immediately—all the seats, even in the rural districts, which they had lost in 1886 was shown by the result of the contests in East Dorset, where a vacancy had arisen in consequence of the death of Mr. Bond, who in that year had won the seat for the Conservatives. The candidates who came forward were Mr. Pascoe Glyn, who had been defeated by Mr. Bond, and Hon. Humphry Sturt, both local landowners of equal influence and popularity. Throughout the contest, which was carried on with vigour and keenness by both sides, the Irish Home Rule question was kept out of view, and the election, as far as could be ascertained, turned upon the domestic policy of

the two parties. Sir William Harcourt threw himself into the fray, and, with his accustomed boldness of assertion, declared that the great mass of the people of the agricultural districts were, by conviction as by interest, Liberals. He said :—" It is because the Liberal party is, what the Tory party is not, in touch with the peasant ; because the language, the thoughts, and the interests of the Liberals are identified with those of the labourer ; because our local tritons, when they speak to the local minnows, do not stand on their dignity, but adopt the democratic plan, that we succeed and they fail. The Tory view of the rural population is to regard the labourer as the subject of benevolent patronage, especially at election times, rather than to treat them as political equals, exercising their independent rights." As for the argument that a Home Rule Bill must occupy so much time as to put aside all other legislation, Sir William Harcourt pertinently asked, in view of the many measures passed by the Tory Government, why the conciliation of Ireland should occupy more exclusively the time of Parliament than the coercion of Ireland, which had been its occupation during the past five years. The bid for the labourers' vote became at once the keynote of the contest ; and in view of the avowedly low rate of wages paid to agricultural labourers in Dorsetshire, the Liberals hoped for a repetition of the victory they had won in Devonshire. In this, however, they were destined to be disappointed, for, although the poll showed the return of a considerable number of Liberals to their former leader, the Conservatives managed to retain the seat, although by a greatly reduced majority. The poll was an exceptionally heavy one, Mr. Suttr receiving even more votes than his predecessor, Mr. Bond, but the increase on the Liberal side was even more strongly marked.

Whilst this contest was going on in Dorsetshire, delegates of the Conservative associations in large numbers were attending the annual meeting of the National Union, held this year (Nov. 24) at Birmingham. At the preliminary meeting of the Council practical unanimity was expressed with regard to the maintenance of the Established Church in Wales, to the adoption of the principle of female franchise, and to the support of labour candidates ; but, on the other hand, considerable divergence of opinion was displayed as to the course to be adopted with regard to the promised Irish Local Government Bill ; and as the Conservative delegates, unlike their Liberal opponents on similar occasions, met not merely to vote silently the resolutions submitted by the party organisers, a very sharp discussion arose. It was maintained by many of the speakers that the Local Government Bill would not even tend to prevent Home Rule, and might without much effort be made to strengthen the hands of the Home Rulers. Others, in view of the fact that only one session of the existing Parliament remained, were of opinion that its time should not be devoted to so complicated a

measure, but given up to more pressing British questions awaiting legislation. The opposition of the delegates to Sir Albert Rollit's motion endorsing the Government Bill was so strong that it was found expedient to set it aside without actually negating it, and the Marquess of Granby therefore moved "the previous question," which, after the vote had been twice taken, was declared to be carried by a large majority.

In the evening Lord Salisbury addressed a large meeting of the delegates in the Birmingham Town Hall, which was as densely crowded as when the platform had been occupied by Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, or any other prominent politician. After touching upon various important questions awaiting solution, of which the incidence of taxation on land and houses was the most pressing, Lord Salisbury dwelt upon the agricultural depression, which he regarded as the inevitable consequence of free trade upon corn growing in latitude 52°; but he hastened to add that any interference with free trade would produce evils far greater to the nation at large than those from which a class had to complain. With regard to the Gladstonian cry of 'one man one vote,' Lord Salisbury deprecated this constant overhauling of our representative system, taking up all the time of the Legislature with ever-new Reform Bills, which had a tendency to absorb all other questions into themselves. He declared, however, that when the proper time arrived he should have no objection to reconsider the distribution of political power. If Ireland were treated with strict numerical equality, thirteen seats would be taken from her and given to the great centres of population in Great Britain, in which the intelligence and prosperity of the community reside. Moreover, the north of Scotland, the west of England, and also Wales all had a representation considerably in excess of their population.

Turning next to the question of parish councils, which had only incidentally been touched upon at the delegates' conference, Lord Salisbury expressed himself in the following terms, which were promptly seized upon by his opponents as evidence of his contemptuous indifference of the rural voters:—"To district councils we have already expressed our adhesion, and when the time of Parliament permits we shall be very willing to carry our pledges out. But when you come to parish councils I wish to know what they are to do. Parishes are a very strange, a very unequal, division of the country. You will find parishes very small and parishes very large. They have no duties, as far as I know, to perform, and when I am told 'You ought to give them parish councils in order to make rural life more interesting than it is,' I really cannot admit that the object of representative institutions is to amuse the electors who send representatives to them. If, among the many duties the modern State undertakes, the duty of amusing the rural population should be included, I should rather recommend a circus or something of that kind.

But I am quite certain if you attempt to amuse them by giving them parish councils you will not satisfy the demand you have raised. As far as I have had the opportunity of attending vestries, I am bound to say that amusement is not the feature to be remarked upon—that which is most prominent.” Lord Salisbury then went on to say that all these questions would, however, have to be put aside for the moment, and that when the General Election should come it would be upon the Union policy that the Unionist party should and would appeal for the support of the electors. When he was told that there was a “flowing tide” in favour of the Liberal party, he remembered that a flowing tide always ended by an ebb, and if he read aright the political history of the last two years, it was that the great towns were in favour of the Government, and that in rural districts it was not on the question of Home Rule, but on some question of allotments, or one of equal importance, that an opposite view was taken. On Mr. Jesse Collings’s Bill for Small Holdings, Lord Salisbury was of opinion some action should be taken by Parliament, so as if possible to rivet the yeoman to the soil. If by use of the public credit the number of small proprietors could be increased, it would be an enormous gain; but it must be tried as an experiment, and there must be the safeguard that when a man’s property was taken it must be paid for. He did not believe in a Gladstonian majority, and the attainment of it would not be the signal of perfect peace and quietness, the solution of all problems and the attainment of all ideals. As long as Mr. Gladstone tried to steal an assent, not willingly given, by concealing the provisions which he desired to enforce, so long the House of Lords would be right in requiring that the assent of the constituencies should be given to the definite provisions of which the Bill was composed. As Mr. Gladstone refused to tell the country what his Home Rule Bill was to be, he could not claim, as Lord Grey could when returned to power to carry the Reform Bill, that “the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill” had been accepted by the constituencies. With regard to Mr. Gladstone’s menacing the House of Lords, there could not be a revolution on limited liability, and with the House of Lords would go down a great many other things. If Unionists failed in the House of Lords, they would still fight to persuade the electorate of the mistake they had committed. Lord Salisbury then proceeded to speak of the extreme influence exerted of late by the Roman Catholic priests in Ireland. But, wishing not to hurt anyone’s religious convictions, he observed that ecclesiastical domination in secular affairs was not peculiar to any religious belief. “It is the parasite which eats out the vitality of all.” When established Churches were under considerable control they were less liable to it; that was a great argument in favour of Church establishments. They had it in the Church of England and had had it in the Church of Scotland; and even now it existed again and

again in the communities in Wales. Wherever it existed it was marked by the most perfect organisation, the most absolute detachment from any of the feelings which influence the ordinary citizen, the most entire superiority to any allegiance to the Government or established order. What, he asked, would be the state of the loyal minority in Ireland if they were handed over to such an ecclesiastical Government? He carefully said "ecclesiastical," for he believed the Irish archbishops were defying, not only their own country, but the head of their own religion. Mr. Gladstone had spoken of the minority as being "one could think not wholly incapable of making some effort at self-defence." Their work would be an incitement to civil war, which would be a terrible resort, the cause of unnumbered scenes of cruelty and massacre. Lord Salisbury closed in the following words his long and eloquent speech, which had been received with the greatest enthusiasm:—"Mr. Morley talks of the Irish spectre stalking down the House of Commons and taking the majority by the throat. He may be quite certain that if he has his way that Irish spectre will be as lively as ever, only his garments will be orange and not green. Mr. Gladstone's last address to us was a demand that, if we did not recognise the justice of his claim, at least we should recognise that it was inevitable. With the greatest respect I fling the adjective back in his face. The inevitable is on our side and not on his. The course of the world's destiny is with us and not with him. We are moving with the stream; he is battling hopelessly against it. Wherever you look you see in all political arrangements that, so far as geographical considerations permit, men tend to the consolidation of territory and the concentration of authority. Look at Spain. Spain is made up of former kingdoms and former separate nationalities, which gradually have been welded into one. Look at France. You see the same thing across the ages. Century after century the process of consolidation was steadily carried on, and has reached its utmost point. Look at Germany. Germany was a conglomeration of forty States, and it has become one powerful united State. Look at Italy. Even in our own day the various States of Italy have been, by the pressure of that common feeling which spreads over the world, and which, no doubt, has been largely caused by the increased facility of communication—Italy, too, divided as it was, has been pressed up into a common kingdom, territory has been consolidated, and authority has been concentrated in one capital. Even in the United States, young as it is, you see that State's rights are giving way to federal rights, and the central power is increasing every generation in its influence. This is the course of the world. This is the tendency which many causes, established causes of progress, imprint upon human destiny. This is the path which many nations have followed. Do you imagine that, at the bidding of Mr. Gladstone only; do you imagine that, by spreading subtle

lures by which the agricultural labourer can be hoodwinked and deceived ; do you imagine that, by contrivances such as that, the steady course of the earth as designed by Providence shall be turned back ? We are certain that it is not so. We believe that the election which is coming will decide in our favour. We do not stake our whole case on that. The same tenacity as our own opponents have exhibited, or even more, we shall show in maintaining our cause, believing that for certain we pursue the road and seek a goal which we must infallibly attain ; and strong in that faith we shall, under any circumstances, pursue what we believe to be the path of empire, the path of justice, and, as established by our own short experience, also the path of prosperity and peace."

On the following day (Nov. 25) there was a luncheon at the Birmingham Town Hall, at which Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain sat side by side as political allies. The former in his speech first dwelt at some length with the trading difficulties arising from the protectionist tariffs imposed by foreign countries, but he deprecated all idea of retaliation on our part. Turning to the political situation he dwelt at length on the advantages of the alliance between the Conservatives and the Liberal Unionists in view of the conditions and aims of party government. Mr. Chamberlain, in proposing the toast of the "Unionist cause," followed up the idea touched upon by Lord Salisbury by showing how the strongest influence at present existing in human action was party feeling. "It selects for us our friend ; it changes for us sometimes—very frequently—our opponent ; it controls our actions ; it even settles for us the limits of our moral obligations. Well, if there is anyone who thinks the last statement at all exaggerated, I would remind him that in the last few years, under the refracting influence of party politics, we have seen flagrant dishonesty become a patriotic virtue, murder has been as an incident in the campaign, the seventh commandment has hung suspended in the balance for a fortnight or three weeks, until at last the Nonconformist conscience pronounced it to be still of binding obligation. But this great force was burst through when the Liberal Unionists in 1886 refused to follow Mr. Gladstone in the course which they thought imperilled the safety of the empire. I agree with Lord Salisbury that it is not for a slight cause that one can sever one's self from one's old friends and political associations. It is not for a mere personal or private question that one can repudiate one's old leaders. It is only when, as in this case, the existence, or at least the security, of the empire is in question. Even after the rupture had taken place there were many of us—I was one of them—who hoped that it would be only temporary, who believed that the Gladstonians would speedily abandon the path upon which we knew, and they had good cause for knowing, they had most reluctantly entered ; and we looked forward, therefore, to a speedy reunion.

If I refer to that now it is to say that since then the gulf has widened and deepened. Now, I neither look for nor desire reunion. The Gladstonians have accepted the policy of the Parnellites, whilst between the sections of the Unionist party confidence has been created, prejudice has been removed. For the last five years we have fought under the same flag together, we have won victories together, we have suffered reverses together, and now, I say, we are determined, whatever may be the vicissitudes of the protracted struggle in which we are engaged—we are determined to march shoulder to shoulder until our object has been attained, and until we have finally defeated the vile conspiracy with which the integrity of the empire has been threatened. Last night, and again this afternoon, Lord Salisbury has spoken with a generosity which I desire to recognise of the loyal support which has been given to his Government by the Liberal Unionists. It is my duty to acknowledge to what an extent our way has been made smooth for us by the personal influence of Lord Salisbury and by the patriotism of his friends. In 1886 it seemed probable that, although we were agreed in resisting the repeal of the Union, we might fail to find a common ground in foreign policy, and above all in domestic constructive legislation, and the Gladstonians counted upon our disagreement, and were confident that the alliance would come to a speedy end. That they have been completely disappointed is due to the prudence and the wisdom and, if I may say so, the liberality in its best sense of the policy of the Government.”

This declaration was interpreted by some to shadow forth the approaching fusion of the Liberal Unionists and the Conservatives, but against this view Mr. Chamberlain himself protested; and, although he gave no hint as to the future, there were many who believed that Mr. Chamberlain was quite able to maintain, at all events for himself personally, an independent position, in the hopes, when the time should come, of reuniting the Liberal party under his own leadership in an attack upon the Church establishment.

Mr. John Morley's interpretation of his former friend's and colleague's position was very different. In a powerful speech delivered at Wolverhampton (Nov. 27) he took formal note of Mr. Chamberlain's withdrawal from the Liberal party, and then critically examined the various points of Lord Salisbury's Birmingham speech. He demurred to the dictum laid down by the Prime Minister that the country had a right to know distinctly the issue on which the House of Commons was to be elected, and that in the absence of such knowledge the House of Lords were to have the right and power to compel a fresh dissolution. This he declared was claiming a prerogative for the Upper House which no monarch now arrogated. This claim Mr. Morley denounced, not as a constitutional reform, but as a mere political dodge. But to reach this climax Mr. Morley had to

invent a fallacy which formed no part of Lord Salisbury's theory of the function of the House of Lords. The Prime Minister had distinctly admitted that it was the duty of that House to submit to the declared will of the people, as in the case of Lord Grey's Reform Bill, but Mr. Morley tried to show on high constitutional grounds that it had no right to resist a vote of the House of Commons. He was more happy when he twitted the Tory party, the great landed party, in its admission that it had lost its hold on the country districts, and was looking to the large towns for support. Replying to Lord Salisbury's inquiry as to what village councils were to do, Mr. Morley replied that they were to manage their own charities, their own allotment acts; to have the initiative for applying for land for public purposes; to have a share in the management of the parish school. Parish councils, he declared, held at an hour when the villagers could attend, and not with the clergyman in the chair, as of right, would speedily become an instrument for breaking down the monopoly of power and patronage in the hands of the squire and parson, of giving life and manhood to the people who lived there.

Mr. Gladstone also found it expedient to reply to Lord Salisbury and to discredit as far as possible Mr. Chamberlain and his friends, "who were neither Liberals nor Unionists," and he foretold that the approaching battle would be fought out between Tories and Liberals. He then reverted to the "Newcastle programme," of which the various points, he thought, deserved to be "cordially and sympathetically considered," but the only extension or shifting of his view was to be found in his reference to woman suffrage, which he now said must be considered in connection with the formula "one man one vote." Mr. Gladstone bestowed much sympathetic consideration on the agricultural labourers, for whom he now saw the dawn of a brighter day, ushered in by the parish council. In conclusion he sternly repudiated Lord Salisbury's assertion that the Liberal party had concealed the Home Rule question, and had attempted to persuade the people that the next election would be fought upon other issues. There was not a shred of truth in this allegation, which was not only unfounded but preposterous.

Turning for a moment from politics to social economics, Mr. Gladstone, addressing on the same day the workmen at Port Sunlight, gave another striking instance of the suppleness of his intellect and of the marvellous power of popular sympathy with which he was gifted. His speech, which was wholly upon the labour question, was a veiled condemnation of the new Unionism. He advocated with his accustomed warmth and conviction the advantage of profit sharing. Whilst he recognised the difficulty of its general adoption, in view of possible losses, he urged the importance of good work to men and masters; he insisted upon the unsatisfactoriness of strikes in the settlement of trade disputes;

and urged upon his hearers the benefits of co-operative production, which brought with it increased mutual knowledge between the labourer and the capitalist. With good work on one side and good feeling on the other, Mr. Gladstone maintained that the prospects of labour in this country gave no cause for apprehension and alarm.

The School Board election in London and the principal provincial towns indicated a general approval of the lines upon which the Education Act had been carried out. In London the serious burden thrown upon the ratepayers called forth a decided expression of opinion in favour of economy, for, in comparison with other large centres, the cost of public instruction in the metropolis was far higher than elsewhere, and with no apparently better results. The "moderate" candidates in London, at least, were identified with the Church party; and although they pledged themselves, if elected, to make some reduction in the rates, little reliance was placed upon such promises, for it was scarcely likely that they would venture to reverse the policy of their predecessors upon any important points, although by giving free scope to voluntary and denominational schools they might in many cases prevent the rates being burdened by an outlay upon competing Board schools. The religious difficulty which it was thought at one time would lead to constant friction, especially during elections, was not mentioned; but in some of the northern towns especially labour and Socialist candidates came forward, but they were not in any case able to command a sufficient following to obtain seats. The interest displayed in the elections even in London was very lukewarm, except, perhaps, on the part of the "faddists" and their friends, who advocated making education not only complete, by allowing scholars to pursue their studies to almost any lengths at the expense of the ratepayers, but also attractive by granting free meals, opening public swimming baths, and providing pianos in all Board schools. These advanced views were naturally supported by those who hoped to benefit by them; but the mass of small tradespeople and poorer householders resented strongly the idea of opening up a policy of which the ultimate cost was dangerously vague.

The outspoken objections of the *Standard* and other Conservative organs to the proposed Local Government Bill for Ireland naturally fostered the belief that a serious disagreement on this point existed among the leaders of the party, and it was asserted that the price to be paid by the introduction of such a measure was in excess of the value of Mr. Chamberlain's support, it being assumed that the introduction of the measure was due to the influence of the Liberal Unionists. In Ulster itself the proposal for the whole of Ireland was received with very mixed satisfaction, although the inhabitants of that province were not indisposed to accept some form of local self-government for themselves. The position of the Government was a difficult

one, for in view of the approaching General Election it was almost as dangerous to alienate one section of supporters as the other; and whilst in many constituencies the defection of the Liberal Unionists might lose Conservative seats, it was still more certain that the hostility of the Conservatives would be absolutely fatal to the Liberal Unionists. Mr. Balfour therefore found it advisable to speak out with the full authority of his colleagues, and as leader of the House of Commons, and on his return from Glasgow, where he had delivered his inaugural address on being installed Lord Rector of the University, he halted at Huddersfield and took occasion (Nov. 30) to review the situation, and at the same time to reply to the recent speeches of Mr. Gladstone, Sir W. Harcourt, and Lord Spencer, the last named having recently maintained that the actual and peaceful state of Ireland was due, not to Mr. Balfour's coercion, but to his substitution for it of Mr. Gladstone's former policy. To this Mr. Balfour replied that the system which his opponents called "coercion" was unaltered, and that Ireland was growing peaceful because she was growing satisfied. The past five years had shown that the Irish problem was not an insoluble one, nor beyond the power of a statesman to deal with it if supported by the patience, the patriotism, and the generosity of the people of Great Britain. In return he ventured to assert that within a measurable distance of time might be seen Ireland, whilst retaining national and local feelings consistent with loyalty to the British Crown and Parliament, caring less and less for separation. Mr. Balfour then hinted that it did not seem, from their utterances, that Mr. Gladstone and Sir William Harcourt were altogether agreed as to their policy—the one anxious to rely at the elections upon Home Rule, and the other upon the agricultural labourer's vote. The followers of the latter were the more numerous among the rank and file of the party, and they went about the country declaring that as soon as they were in power village councils should exist throughout the land, and that from village councils would come every good thing. But village councils, Mr. Balfour urged, whatever their merits might be, were not likely to alter materially the condition of the agricultural labourer, who went into the towns because for the past ten or fifteen years agriculture had been in a very languishing condition, and there was little or no employment for him. Co-operation between farmer and labourer might, Mr. Balfour thought, benefit the condition of both, but its application was beset with difficulties. Meanwhile the proposal that the labourer should buy land which he could not profitably cultivate was not a method to keep him in the country, as the Gladstonian speakers assumed.

The importance of this speech was, however, to a great extent, overlooked by both the supporters and the opponents of Mr. Balfour in the press in their eagerness to discuss its immediate application. Neither side seemed to realise that this authoritative

utterance was practically a reversal of the policy laid down by Lord Salisbury in his famous Newport speech. On that occasion the Prime Minister had distinctly enunciated the proposition that if self-government were to be conceded in any form to Ireland, a single Parliament would offer more chances of displaying greater independence and a wider appreciation of responsibility than a number of small self-governing bodies, which would be subject to every kind of local influence and prejudice. Moreover, the result of Mr. Balfour's extended visit to Ireland in the previous winter had enabled him to foresee the inevitable shifting of power to a class other than that which had exercised it for so long, and his speech seemed to foreshadow a scheme by which this revolution must be in some way recognised.

On the following day (Dec. 1), at the Huddersfield Conservative Club, Mr. Balfour frankly explained the reason which decided the Government to introduce a Local Government Bill for Ireland in the ensuing session. He declared that the differences of opinion in the party on the subject were more apparent than real, and that it was necessary to oppose Mr. Gladstone's ideal of a separate Parliament by strengthening the central Parliament and by municipalising local institutions. This latter idea, which was that of the present Government, had been largely realised in England and Scotland. Before he (Mr. Balfour) had had anything to do directly with Ireland the spokesman for the Cabinet in 1886 had stated that their ideal could not be complete until Ireland possessed, so far as her special conditions permitted, those separate municipal institutions which the rest of the kingdom enjoyed. He recognised at the same time that if a Local Government Bill were of a kind which would threaten private rights, menace social order, or would strengthen the forces of anarchy, no expressed intentions of the Unionist leaders should prevent the House of Commons from rejecting such a measure. If, however, it could be done safely, a Bill should be passed to carry out broadly, upon strict lines, and not upon a less wide basis, the policy applicable to the whole United Kingdom. The main point which the Government would have to establish would be that it was a safe Bill. It was inevitable that such a Bill must transfer from the landowning class in the south and west of Ireland administrative powers which they had hitherto used efficiently; but this would not justify the rejection of such a measure. It would, however, be sufficient ground for the rejection of the Bill if it permitted the existing rights of county officers to be interfered with, if it threatened the administration of justice, if it threw powers into the hands of the disloyal majority to coerce the loyal minority, or if it enabled the great masses of poorer ratepayers to throw an undue burden upon the smaller and possibly unpopular minority of rich ratepayers.

The objections raised to Mr. Balfour's proposals—by his

friends even more strongly than by his opponents—were twofold. They held that the policy of an Imperial Parliament should be to municipalise local institutions, but in no sense to allow them to become quasi-national; and that the moment was inopportune to raise hopes or to create occasions for dissension, which would be aggravated tenfold should the Gladstonians be returned to power. The latter were pledged to favour national aspirations to the utmost, and consequently the most elaborate precautions taken to restrict local bodies to the discussion of local affairs would be certainly abused if not openly set aside. Moreover, it was argued that practically the introduction of a measure on the eve of a dissolution was a mistake. More than a hundred members had already announced their intention of not offering themselves again for election, and consequently party ties and party restraint were far less powerful than at the beginning of a parliament. To ask members under such conditions to support a Bill which they honestly believed would do mischief to Ireland, in deference to a promise given years before, was to introduce into politics a Quixotic sentiment which would endanger the position of those who shared it.

It was, perhaps, significant that the Opposition leaders said little or nothing about Mr. Balfour's Bill, either waiting for further details or realising that the subject was one which had no real interest for the English electors. Sir William Harcourt, addressing his constituents at Derby (Dec. 9) and "taking stock," as he termed it, of both political parties, passed it by with a few sneers, and devoted the greater portion of his speech to an attack upon the Liberal Unionists in general and Mr. Chamberlain in particular. Commenting on the Conservative meeting at Birmingham he said:—"The Tory commander-in-chief had come down in state to receive the capitulation of the old Liberal fortress. The Bazaine of Birmingham was there to surrender to the triumphant foe the key of the fortress." Retorting upon Mr. Chamberlain's declaration that he had no longer any wish for reunion with his former colleagues, Sir William Harcourt said that it was long since reunion had been possible. "His account had long been closed in the books of the Liberal party, and written opposite to his name was 'no effects.'" Mr. Chamberlain at one time had been willing to accept the principles of Mr. Gladstone's measure, and to accept an Irish executive and an Irish Legislature, and if the round table conference came to an end it was not from any differences of opinion either upon principle or detail, but for reasons of a totally different character. As to the gulf between Mr. Chamberlain and the Liberal party, it was a split as to the spirit which ought to govern the conduct of men in the mutual relations of public life. In the opinion of the Liberal party those relations forbade a man to disavow the policy in which he himself had been a principal actor, to vilify colleagues whose counsels

he had shared, and to condemn their common actions as though he had no part in them. As to the prospects of the Liberal party, Sir William Harcourt regarded them full of the promise of approaching triumph. The Liberals, he said, placed Home Rule first, but claimed the right to deal with matters of equal importance—the condition of the rural population, Scotch and Welsh disestablishment, the temperance cause, and the “one man one vote” reform. The labour question they would deal with in the spirit of Mr. Gladstone’s suggestion respecting the payment of members and the introduction of an increased number of labour representatives into the House of Commons.

Mr. John Morley, speaking at Oldham (Dec. 5), defended his party against the charges of latent hostility to capital, of secretly negotiating with the Irish leaders, and of veiling a feeling of separation under a demand for a system of self-government for Ireland. He ridiculed Mr. Balfour’s plan of setting up a number of county councils which no one asked for or desired, adding that his idea of local government was so fenced round with safeguards, limitations, and provisos that it would be something quite different from local government in England. In reply to Mr. Chaplin’s recent defence of small holdings at Swindon (Dec. 2), Mr. Morley declared that the best authorities had no faith in small holdings of forty acres or so for a few individuals as a solution of the land problem. Such plans might well be tried, but their adoption would not lessen the necessity for compulsory powers of taking land in small quantities about a village. In this way, and by slowly extending the power to get allotments, and by teaching the rural populations the lesson of co-operation and the need of association, would be the only way to arrive at a satisfactory reform of the land system.

The constant demands made upon statesmen for speeches on purely political subjects put a stop to nearly all those brilliant, instructive discourses with which the recess was formerly enlivened. To the majority of our political speakers the power of “detachment” was probably denied, whilst to many more the pursuit of politics absorbed the whole of their time and thoughts. Mr. Gladstone was the most notable exception to the prevailing spirit of the day, and few, if any, could so completely lay aside political thoughts and party aims as this extraordinary statesman, who was now on the threshold of his eighty-third year. But, if in this respect, he stood superior to all others, he did not stand quite alone. Mr. Balfour at Glasgow (Nov. 26), in his rectorial address had taken for his subject the modern illusion that human society was governed by some irresistible and automatic “law of progress.” He maintained, on the contrary, that history showed nothing but a succession of national civilisations which had successively collapsed; and he concluded a very remarkable and closely reasoned speech by rejecting the theory that the accumulation of knowledge was a guarantee of civilisation, first, because knowledge

did as much, if not more, to dissolve social ties and to stimulate social scepticisms as to bind them together; and secondly, because no knowledge existed by the magic of which men could really be guided and inclined to hold together in close association.

Mr. Goschen, too, had on more than one occasion to show himself, not only as the fighting champion of the Liberal Unionists in the Cabinet, but also as the Chancellor of the Exchequer and titular financial head of a great commercial country. In the early part of the year he had already spoken of the difficulties of the Government and the Bank of England in the presence of sudden demands for cash in times of panic. The warnings he had then addressed to the bank managers of the United Kingdom had not been altogether passed unnoticed, and Mr. Goschen recognised that it was all the more incumbent on the part of the Government to assist the Bank of England to the possession of a metallic reserve more in proportion to the credit commitments of the country. Taking advantage, therefore, of a meeting of the London Chamber of Commerce (Dec. 1), he placed before that body his currency proposals in order that they might be discussed before any steps were taken in Parliament in a matter so vital to the interests of British trade. Mr. Goschen first proposed to increase permanently the gold held by the Bank of England twenty millions sterling, through the issue of 25,000,000 one-pound notes. These would be secured to the extent of four-fifths in gold, which, he anticipated, would remain in the vaults of the Bank of England, and by one-fifth in "securities," namely, Consols. He further proposed to dispense with the occasional necessity for suspending the Bank Charter Act by giving the Bank of England the power of issuing notes in times of emergency up to a fixed amount in proportion to the gold in its vaults, the check to an issue in excess of the immediate requirements of the occasion being found in the high rate of interest payable to the Exchequer in return for this privilege. A few days later Mr. Goschen wrote to the Governor of the Bank of England describing the broad outline of his scheme. He proposed to authorise the Bank of England to issue one-pound notes on the condition that the additional issue which would ensue should be issued in the proportion of 4*l.* on gold against 1*l.* on securities. An issue based on this proportion would be grafted on to the present system as follows:—

The Bank of England is at present authorised to issue 16,450,000*l.* on securities. Beyond that all notes must be represented by gold. The average amount of gold in the issue department for the years 1881–90 may be taken as between 21,000,000*l.* and 22,000,000*l.*—say, to obtain round figures, 21,550,000*l.*—which, if added to the 16,450,000*l.*—the authorised amount of the fiduciary issue—would give a total of 38,000,000*l.*, representing the average total issue under the provisions of the Act of 1844. I would disturb nothing up to this point beyond

authorising the issue of one-pound notes under precisely the same conditions as those under which notes of higher denominations are issued at present. But beyond this limit of 38,000,000*l.* I would authorise the issue of notes under the conditions which I have sketched—namely, 4*l.* on gold to 1*l.* on securities.

The proposal may be stated in another and perhaps a simpler way by describing the authority as commencing when the stock of gold in the issue department of the Bank of England stands at 21,550,000*l.*

If an additional sum of 25,000,000*l.* were issued in the proportion of 4*l.* on gold to 1*l.* on securities, the addition to the stock of gold would be 20,000,000*l.*, bringing the total to 41,550,000*l.*, and the position would be as follows:—

Total notes	
Old average	£38,000,000
Additional issue	£25,000,000
	————— £63,000,000

This total would be issued against gold and securities respectively in the following proportions:—

Total stock of gold—	
Under the old provisions . . .	£21,550,000
Add four-fifths of £25,000,000	
under the new provisions . .	£20,000,000
Notes issued against gold	£41,550,000
Notes issued against securities—	
Previous amount	£16,450,000
Add one-fifth of £25,000,000 .	£5,000,000
Total notes issued against securities	————— £21,450,000
Total notes as above	£63,000,000

If, contrary to expectation, the additional issue under the new terms should reach 50,000,000*l.*, any further issues beyond that sum would be required to be covered in full by gold. The second part of his scheme Mr. Goschen explained as follows:—

“ If the addition to the stock of gold through the issue of one-pound notes should bring the total stock up to 30,000,000*l.*, a point which would be reached by the issue of 10,000,000*l.* under the new conditions, I should be prepared to give certain additional powers of issue in times of emergency which, under the present system, it would not be justifiable to grant. I would authorise the Bank to strengthen the reserve in the banking department by the issue of additional notes against securities on paying to the Government a high rate of interest, to be fixed by law. I stated that the rate of interest must be neither so high as to make the permission inoperative nor so low as to encourage people to speculate up to it.”

On its first announcement Mr. Goschen's scheme was received with favour in several quarters, but after time had been given to reflection and discussion, the general opinion in com-

mercial circles was that the proposal offered no guarantee for the retention in the Bank of any larger amount of bullion than was absolutely necessary, and that practically the immediate result of its adoption would be the still greater inflation of credit and the export to foreign capitals of all the bullion, first purchased by the Bank of England, and subsequently set free by the natural action of trade and exchange. The more sentimental objection to the substitution of one-pound notes for sovereigns scarcely found serious expression, the custom of Scotland and Ireland, as well as of Continental countries, showing that the difficulties in the way of giving currency to paper money were not insuperable, whilst public tastes suited itself readily to the occasion. Before the close of the year, however, Mr. Goschen had sufficient evidence that his scheme would meet with little support from the higher authorities in the commercial and banking world, and it seemed probable that it would not come before Parliament for consideration. Mr. Goschen at Glasgow (Dec. 9), however, was more successful when replying to the sarcasms of Sir William Harcourt and exposing the fallacies upon which Mr. Cameron, M.P., had based a criticism of his financial acts. To the former, who had ridiculed the divided policy of the Conservatives at Birmingham, Mr. Goschen retorted by reading the letters of delegates to the Newcastle conference, who described that meeting as "a blooming plant," and he contrasted the open discussion invited by the Conservatives to the "resolutions drawn up in secret conclave" and rushed through the Radical meeting without any delegates being allowed to think, and still less to make remark. To Dr. Cameron's reproaches that the reduction of the interest on the national debt was effected at the expense of "the widow and the orphan," because they had no votes, and that his (Mr. Goschen's) surpluses were obtained by taxing cheap tea, beer, spirits, and tobacco as heavily as higher qualities of the same luxuries, Mr. Goschen replied that his opponents often "played the widow," and that if the charge meant anything at all it meant that between five and six hundred millions of Consols were held by orphans and widows who had no votes. To the other criticism he replied that to establish an *ad valorem* duty would be difficult in practice, would hamper trade, make the commodity dearer, and lead to the consumption of the worst articles and to fraud of every description.

The illness of Prince George of Wales, which at one time threatened to be serious, may have in some way hastened the announcement of the betrothal of his elder brother, the Duke of Clarence and Avondale, to the Princess Mary Victoria of Teck, his second cousin. What is more certain is that the innate loyalty of the English people towards their sovereign, though often kept in the background, was stimulated, first, by the anxiety felt for one so near the throne, and secondly, by the thought that one still nearer, and the prospective heir, was about to break

through the traditions of his family and to marry a princess born and bred in England, whose mother had always been one of the most popular amongst the royal family. No discordant note was heard from any quarter when the announcement was made, and from all sides arose words of congratulation coupled, in most instances, with substantial proof that fifty years of Queen Victoria's reign had made loyalty popular to an extent unknown in the history of the House of Hanover, except, perhaps, for a brief period in the early life of George III. Even then the jealousies of the "great families" made the expression of attachment to the sovereign a matter rather of political expediency than of personal regard, whilst the mass of the people were probably as indifferent to the occupant of the throne as they were ignorant of his feelings towards them.

There had been a growing feeling among the leaders of the Liberal party that it might not be prudent to trust exclusively to "Home Rule for Ireland" as the sole watchword of the party at the approaching General Election. The Newcastle programme had shown the various drifts and currents of opinion among the party, and each in turn had received the formal endorsement of the party leader. But when the Congress separated considerable doubt remained which plank of the platform would best serve to make the Tory coffin. Mr. Schnadhorst, the astute manager of the old Birmingham caucus, now promoted to be director of the Liberal executive, was credited with the idea of putting forward the claims of the rural labourer, whose real or supposed grievances, whether social, political, or ecclesiastical, might unite in a common centre the sympathies of all sections of the party. Under Mr. Schnadhorst's advice, and with his aid, a conference of villagers was therefore summoned to meet in London at the Memorial Hall (Dec. 10), and very great care was taken to make the meeting honestly representative of the rural districts, if not exclusively of the agricultural labouring class. Some four hundred delegates attended, and warned by the adverse criticism which the silent voting at Newcastle had called forth, each speaker was allowed five minutes to express his views. From the first it was evident that the Nonconformists largely predominated, and from the fluency in which many of the speakers expressed their animosity to the Church, it looked as if a certain number of the delegates had acquired the power by constant practice. In nearly every case, however, these short speeches were to the point, showing dissatisfaction with the working of the existing allotments system and the desire for village or parish councils to acquire land forcibly, and to re-let it to the labourers cheaply. They were even more unanimous against the existing system of letting cottages which, at the will of the farmer, they lost when they lost their work or left his service; they wished for an extension of the system of out-door relief and at the same time a reduction of the rates, and they were gener-

ally agreed as to "the tyranny" of the farmer, the squire, and the parson, the last-named being especially the object of their dislike, on the ground of his "bossing" the village affairs. There was thus nothing revolutionary in the programme even of these advanced spokesmen of the rural labourers, who, as they possessed a vote, were fully entitled to have their wants known; but it was evident that whatever was to be done was in their opinion to be done by others and not by themselves—by the State or by the landlords, whose powers of doing good they were at the same time so anxious to restrict. Amongst a few speakers, who on this point were supported by general assent, there seemed to exist a curious delusion that there still existed a large extent of cultivable land which the present possessors out of mere selfishness allowed to remain unproductive, and they were anxious that in such cases the State should intervene to compel the owners to regard themselves as trustees for their poorer neighbours.

Upon the dislike to the "parson" and allotments at a fair rent there was practical unanimity. As to parish councils, the general view seemed to be in favour (1) of grouping all but the larger parishes; (2) against giving the councils the control of the poor law; (3) for giving them control (*a*) of the land, (*b*) of the school charities, on which the meeting was very strong; (4) for electing the councils by ballot and on "one man one vote;" (5) for abolishing the vicar's official chairmanship of the vestry. On the land question, however, to which the meeting settled after the social tea, there was practically one opinion. Only one speaker—a village postman—asked for land nationalisation, though several declared that the land must be for the people. On the other hand, the word peasant-proprietary was not heard; nor, apart from the speeches of the few freeholders, was the thing asked for. The line of the speakers was clear. They wanted their three F's—first, the land at a fair rent; secondly, land and cottages with a fixed tenure; thirdly, compensation for improvements. "We don't want the land for nothing," "A fair market rent," were the expressions. Speaker after speaker told the story of prohibitive rents—2*l.* 10*s.* to 3*l.* an acre; of attempts to confiscate improvements by resuming the land after the expiry of the leasing terms, of cruelly enhanced rents. The farmers joined equally in this cry. "Good culture is penal; it is only bad culture that is lawful in England," was one sharp epigram in a much-applauded speech by a Cornish tenant-farmer. Equally strong was the demand for better cottages and an application of the Artisans' Dwellings Act to the rural districts. The meeting, therefore, crystallised in the plainest fashion the demand (1) for a new Local Government Act, and (2) for a new Agricultural Holdings Act. The delegates, moreover, plainly indicated that they expected to get what they asked for in distinct terms "early in the next Parliament," and "concurrently with Home Rule," which must have been an awaken-

ing to some politicians who hardly expected that "Giles's trip to London" would have resulted in the enunciation of a new system of rural economics.

On the following day (Dec. 11) the rural delegates were invited to a breakfast at the Holborn Restaurant, which somewhat weakened the tone of reality observable at the previous day's gathering. The idea of giving to each guest a duplicate ticket, with a portrait of Mr. Gladstone, was doubtless ingenious and astute, but it lowered what might have been an imposing expression of provincial opinion to the level of an electioneering manœuvre. The delegates had clearly shown by their utterances that the substitution of Liberals for Conservatives would in no way satisfy their wishes, and that they had objects of their own which they valued more than party shibboleths, and intended to pursue for their own sake. A sudden awakening to this state of feeling may have caused Mr. Gladstone to put aside as far as possible party politics from his speech, and induced him to deal discursively though benevolently with the various subjects discussed. The warmth of his reception, however, by the assembled delegates could leave him in no doubt as to his personal popularity, or of the readiness of the local Liberals to place themselves under his leadership so long as he would go in the way of their wishes. They found him willing to reduce election expenses; to divide the rates between landlord and tenant; to establish parish councils; and to compel landlords to give land for allotments; but they could not get him to echo one of their complaints against either squire or parson. On the contrary, he took up his position as a squire, and argued that the interests of the squire, of the farmer, and of the labourer were all interdependent. Mr. Gladstone's clearest utterance was distinctly in favour of parish rather than of district councils, as being more competent to deal with labourers' allotments, to defend rights of way, to protect ancient charities, and to deal with expropriations for the benefit of the villagers. Scarcely less important was Mr. Gladstone's on the subject of labourers' allotments. The ordinary demand was that the parish or district should buy land of the squire at a price to be fixed by a jury, or by the County Court, or by a jury with appeal to the County Court, and should let it to the labourer "at agricultural rates." The cost of conveyance, of drainage, of the erection of buildings and the like, would have to be defrayed either by the tenant, or would fall upon the ratepayers; and it had been always held that the tenant would be called upon to make good this expenditure by the payment of a higher rent. Mr. Gladstone, however, made a much wider proposal. "Now, I own it is my opinion—you are practical men and are better judges of it, perhaps, than I am—that the power of taking land upon lease for a sufficient time, with proper provisions for the termination of the lease, would be a very valuable additional power. It would simplify the matter.

It would avoid all difficulties as to the raising of considerable sums of money, and when once the parish council—the public authority, that is the best phrase—the public authority is in practical possession of the land, you will see what they can do. They can regulate the rents; they can make provision not only against extravagance of rent, but for adequacy in the holding; they can also make provision for a reasonable security in the tenure. That is a point upon which very likely many landlords would be jealous; but having the local authority for their tenant, and having the security of the rates for what the local authority have to pay them, the local authority would have its hands free to regulate the concession of land in every way, in every condition that appertains to its security and its profitableness, and in every way which the best interests of the people might direct.” Mr. Gladstone supported this view by a reference to the policy adopted by the late Lord Tollemache with highly satisfactory results both to himself and to his tenants; but it was nevertheless open to the objection that, whilst smoothing the path of the parish council in the matter of finance, it was far less likely to commend itself to the landowner. The council and the labourer would be tempted to look upon the matter in the light of an experiment, of which, if unsuccessful at the end of a certain term, the squire would have to bear the brunt.

Whilst the Gladstonians were bringing to the front the grievances of the rural labourers, and promising them all manner of benefits when restored to power, the Unionists, especially those who followed Mr. Chamberlain, were urging on the question of State pensions for the old and infirm of all classes of the labouring population. The question was not altogether a party one, for Mr. Chamberlain had been associated with several Radicals, Dr. W. A. Hunter, M.P., being the most conspicuous, in advocating the claims of the aged poor for some better refuge than the workhouse, or some kinder treatment than out-door relief. The prospect before the labouring poor was dismal in the extreme. According to Mr. Charles Booth, a philanthropist who had also studied the poor-law question from the statistical side, 40 per cent. of the population of Great Britain which reached 65 years of age received poor-law relief, so that the number thus relieved in the preceding year was upwards of half a million, eight-ninths of whom had never received relief in any shape until they had reached the age of 65. Mr. Booth's scheme was more far-reaching than any suggested by Mr. Chamberlain. He was sceptical that men would or could in many cases voluntarily tax themselves in the present for the hope of a remote annuity. He therefore proposed to abolish both out-door and in-door relief altogether, and at the age of 65 pay to every individual in England and Wales a pension of 5s. a week. This, he estimated, would cost in round numbers 17,000,000*l.*, from which 3,000,000*l.* at present expended on the aged poor would

have to be deducted, leaving a net cost of 14,000,000*l.* To meet this he proposed an additional eightpenny income tax—or a fourpenny income tax—and a revival of the sugar duty, in order that the sum should be raised from the entire population and not exclusively from the well-to-do. Mr. Booth contended that such a pension would pauperise nobody, for if the taxation were fair, every one would have an equal claim to its proceeds; it would not affect the rate of wages, for it concerned only those past work. But the fundamental objection to Mr. Booth's scheme, and partially also to Mr. Chamberlain's, was that they taught the poor and hard-worked to rely less on their own thrift and industry and more and more upon State aid. Both schemes were phases of that State socialism which was so strongly attracting both Conservatives and Radicals, and both were open to the criticism of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies (Mr. J. Ludlow) in his farewell report after sixteen years' experience of the habits of the working classes. "The obvious objection to any non-compulsory provision for superannuation, aided by a State subsidy, is that it virtually would not touch that one-seventh of the population over 60 who are stated to be paupers, but would only help those who are best able and most likely to help themselves."

In dealing with purely political questions at Edinburgh, Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that when he last addressed his hearers from that platform, four and a half years before, he and his friends had been bitterly upbraided by the Gladstonians for not accepting Mr. Parnell's assurances that Mr. Gladstone's Bill would absolutely satisfy Ireland, which he made the starting point for fresh demands. Since then Mr. Parnell had himself assured the country that he accepted Mr. Gladstone's "trumpety Bill" only as a makeshift and as an instalment. Mr. Chamberlain then went on to protest against the policy of evasion and concealment as to what was intended with regard to Home Rule.

In 1879 Mr. Gladstone had said that the authority of the Imperial Parliament must not be weakened or compromised. But both sections of Irish members now insisted that the Irish Home Rule was to be free from the outside interference of anybody. Which of these views was Mr. Gladstone willing to give up? After insisting at some length that domination of Roman Catholic priests is strong in Ireland, Mr. Chamberlain said he did not wonder that the people of Ulster should say that they would "fight rather than sacrifice" what they have secured "to the greed of Irish agitators or the bigotry of Roman Catholic priests." If Ulster were cut out of the Bill, the Irish allies would not be thankful for a Dublin Parliament which was not accompanied with right of taxing rich Ulster. Mr. Chamberlain also spoke of the desirability of providing a scheme of local government for Ireland, involving, as far as possible, the liberties enjoyed by England and Scotland. However, it would be right

for the Government to take reasonable precautions, and having done so, to leave the Irish, in the matter of local government, to work out their own salvation.

On the following day Mr. Chamberlain, who already realised the impending change in his position towards the Liberal Unionists, consequent upon the withdrawal of Lord Hartington from the House of Commons, received a number of deputations, to each of which he addressed a few words of advice or encouragement. To the Edinburgh Liberal Unionists he said that for years they would exist as a third political party in the State: that re-union with the Gladstonians was impossible in view of the personal tone of hostility adopted by the latter, and that a complete fusion with the Conservatives was equally inadvisable. To the fishermen of Moray, Firth, he gave the advice that they should look to the Fishery Board for the redress of their grievances, and should make efforts to secure the reform of that body. To the labourers of Elgin, Nairn, and Caithness he admitted that the condition of their cottages was unsatisfactory, but that by their votes they could determine the action of the County Council and of their Parliamentary representatives. To the representatives of friendly societies he admitted that a voluntary scheme for national insurance was necessarily imperfect, but he deprecated the total shelving of the question because a perfect plan was not forthcoming.

Had Mr. Chamberlain at this point brought his campaign for the year to a close, his position and that of his immediate followers would have been less open to attack. Unfortunately, just before the close of the year it was announced that an arrangement had been arrived at by which the Duke of Devonshire, whilst still retaining the titular headship of the party, should place in Mr. Chamberlain's hands its leadership in the House of Commons. The latter, apparently desirous of marking his accession by an imposing manifesto, addressed (Dec. 29) a letter to a meeting of Welsh Unionists at Ruabon. After expressing the opinion that at the General Election Home Rule would either receive its death warrant, or would stop progress of all other legislation, Mr. Chamberlain went on to say, "I am convinced that the only chance for the speedy satisfaction of the legitimate claims of Welsh Nonconformity is to be found in the defeat of Home Rule. Every Welsh Dissenter who votes for a Gladstonian at the next election votes, first, for the indefinite postponement of Welsh disestablishment and land reform; secondly, for the creation of a Roman Catholic domination in Ireland, which will be dangerous alike to the civil and religious liberties of the Protestant portion of the population; thirdly, for the desertion of his co-religionists in the province of Ulster; fourthly, for civil war and anarchy in Ireland, and for the absolute sterility of English and Scotch legislation. I feel strongly, as a Radical and a Nonconformist, that the continued alliance of the

Gladstonians with Irish Catholics and Home Rule is fatal to the progress of all the reforms in which I am interested, and I therefore earnestly desire the success of the Unionist party."

The fallacy underlying such an argument was at once seized upon by the writer's opponents, and Sir William Harcourt, thanks to an anonymous and possibly mythical "correspondent," was able to have the last word in the political controversies of the year by writing as follows:—"I am obliged to you for your letter. I had already seen with amusement Mr. Chamberlain's encyclical to the Welsh Nonconformists. As a 'Radical and Nonconformist' he adjures the supporters of Welsh Disestablishment to vote against the Liberal party, because 'he is convinced that the only chance for the speedy satisfaction of the legitimate claims of Welsh Nonconformity is to be found in the defeat of Home Rule.' He declares that 'every Welsh Dissenter who supports Mr. Gladstone at the next election votes for the indefinite postponement of Welsh Disestablishment.' I presume, therefore, that Mr. Chamberlain, who is now understood to be the authoritative mouthpiece and organ of the Liberal Unionist party in the House of Commons, feels himself entitled to hold out to the Welsh Dissenters the expectation that if Mr. Gladstone and Home Rule should be defeated at the next election, he and his Tory allies will secure that 'speedy satisfaction of the legitimate claims of Welsh Nonconformity' which the Welsh Dissenters are invited to promote by giving their vote to Unionist candidates. This is, no doubt, an important declaration proceeding from the successor to Lord Hartington at the present juncture; and, as he has so frequently undertaken to promise and vow all manner of reforms on behalf of the Unionist Government, and has professed his desire that every issue should be placed before the constituencies in the most definite form at the next election, the Welsh Dissenters have a clear right to know whether this intimation on the part of Mr. Chamberlain, as the condition of their support, is made with the authority of Lord Salisbury and the present Duke of Devonshire on behalf of the united party; and whether they are prepared to confirm the declaration that the 'only chance of the speedy satisfaction of the legitimate claims of Welsh Nonconformists' rests on the continuance of the present Government in power. If they are not, the Welsh Nonconformists may well think once, twice, or thrice before they accept Mr. Chamberlain's prescription as to the surest method of averting an 'indefinite postponement of Welsh Disestablishment.'"

In other quarters, not usually hostile to Mr. Chamberlain, this bid for the Welsh Nonconformist vote at the cost of the Church Establishment in the principality was severely blamed, not merely as a sacrifice of principle, but as a serious tactical blunder, at a time when the Unionist candidates in all constitu-

encies would require the hearty and unanimous help of the Conservative party.

During the closing weeks of the year an interesting series of letters appeared in the *Times*, some signed by the writer, Mr. Arnold Foster, but others over the signature "Vetus," animadverting on the state of the British Army, and on the administration of the War Office. The former, according to its critics, was barely able to place a single *corps d'armée* in the field, the home dépôts being exhausted by the requirements of the regiments in India; the short service system had proved a failure; the cavalry for the most part were unprovided with horses; the artillery in a scarcely better plight; the supply and commissariat departments unprepared, untrained, and wholly inadequate, and we had scarcely any reserves on which to fall back. With regard to the War Office, its constitution was as chaotic as at the time of the Crimean War; the recommendations of Lord Hartington's Committee had been put aside; responsibility nowhere existed; and the personal control of any branch of the service was unknown.

The apologists for the Army and the War Office were neither discreet in their recriminations nor happy in their excuses. Mr. Stanhope, the Secretary for War, in a speech at Hammersmith (Dec. 11), carefully avoided all the more serious charges brought against his department, and in a thoroughly optimistic speech maintained that the men were no worse than of old, while the officers of all arms were greatly superior to their predecessors.

The Army of 101,000 men employed in India and the Colonies was, he declared, in splendid order, the men being, in particular, decidedly older than they used to be; while in the Home Army of 103,000 men, only 30,000 were under twenty years of age. If that army, however, were employed in the field, 66,000 Reserve men, all mature and fully trained, would at once be added to its ranks. This system of young men with the colours and mature men in the Reserve was the universal system of the Continent, and worked here perfectly well; the men, when summoned, arriving so regularly that the Reserve was, in fact, in the first line of the Regular Army. The number of recruits was ample, though there had been some difficulty about the Artillery, in which trained men were required, and he doubted if higher wages would attract a better class. It was only possible to engage unskilled lads, for skilled workmen of twenty-one had settled to work and would not leave it. If we offered the highest rate, and the men would not come, we should have taken a long step in the direction of a conscription.

Mr. Stanhope admitted that the Reserve upon which he relied would be more dependable and more efficient if it were called out for annual training; but he held out no hope that any step would be taken to give the men even a rudimentary training in the use of those weapons which, in the event of a war,

they would have placed in their hands. He said nothing, too, as to the obstacles which stood in the way of reform being adopted in the War Office and the administrative departments of the Army similar to those which existed at the Admiralty. In a word he made it clear by his silence on these points that to whatever extent the Parliamentary responsibility of the Secretary for War might exist, the dual Government of the Army still remained, and to a very great degree was exercised by those who were outside control in what pertained to their respective branches of the service, whilst they were at the same time practically free from any sort of responsibility, except in matters of conduct and discipline. The public at large, it must be admitted, took but little apparent interest in the controversy, which they left to experts on the one side and official apologists on the other. The experience of numerous costly panics, all more or less attributable to the defenceless state of the nation, was insufficient to arouse anything like popular feeling, and Mr. Stanhope was able to withdraw from further controversy without having seriously grappled with any of the criticisms to which his administration had given rise.

The sudden illness of Prince George of Wales, and the expression of public feeling which it called forth, was another proof, added to many others, of the personal ties by which the Royal family was bound up with the daily life of the nation, which claimed to share their joys and their sorrows. Although the Prince's condition never became critical, it was sufficiently bad to awaken the public to the chance of the Crown passing once more through the female line, where the succession had not, by some inexplicable reason, been barred in consequence of the Prince's marriage with a subject. Prince George, however, was barely convalescent when the betrothal of his elder brother, the Duke of Clarence and Avondale, to his second cousin, Princess Victoria of Teck, was officially announced. Seldom, perhaps only in the case of his own father's marriage, was the news of the intended marriage of the Prince in direct succession to the English Crown so thoroughly popular. He was, it was said, going to marry an English woman, born and bred in England and brought up in English ways. Her mother, the Princess Mary, and her grandmother, the Duchess of Cambridge, had for nearly half a century been favourites with all ranks. They had done, as far as possible, within their circumscribed limits to second the Sovereign in her self-constituted and persistently pursued policy of making loyalty popular, and they had had the satisfaction of finding the reward of their blameless and devoted lives in the general esteem of their fellow subjects of every degree. Of the Duke of Clarence (Prince Albert Victor) little was known to the outside world. Neither his position nor his age had given him the opportunity of showing to what extent he possessed the social qualities and tact which were chief requisites

of his station. By those who knew him personally he was spoken of as amiable in character and simple in his tastes. He had shown considerable interest in his work as a soldier, and on the rare occasions on which he had to appear in public alone, he had acquitted himself with credit. The news, therefore, of the approaching marriage between two such representatives of the Royal Family was welcomed with general satisfaction, and as the year closed no prospect seemed brighter than theirs; no union was anticipated by heartier good wishes or heralded by more hopeful omens of happiness.

The position of parties at the close of the year had, notwithstanding the administrative successes of the Government, shifted considerably to the advantage of the Gladstonian Liberals. The opening months of the year had found them suddenly thrown into confusion by the rupture in the Irish party, and the personal hostility of its former leader to Mr. Gladstone and his chief lieutenants. As time went on it was seen indeed that Mr. Parnell was no longer all-powerful, but his place had been taken by those with whom a Liberal leader might have greater hesitation in forming an alliance. Even after the death of Mr. Parnell the schism was kept up by the two sections into which the nationalist party had been divided, and all personal questions of Mr. Parnell's fitness having been removed, it was seen that the struggle in the future would be between priests and laymen, or perhaps between the Church and the secret societies. With neither section were the Conservatives prepared to enter into alliance; and consequently the Liberals, who promised Home Rule to Ireland, could count, without going through the form of an alliance, on the support of the Irish vote at Westminster on all critical occasions, until Mr. Gladstone unfolded his Bill, which would probably dissatisfy both sections. Meanwhile it seemed as if Mr. Balfour's promise of a Local Government Bill for Ireland was as likely to arouse as little appreciation in that country as it did in England and Scotland, for in all the bye-elections which took place in the latter half of the year, the promise was disregarded, and its probable results kept in the background. The bye-elections, moreover, had been unfortunate for the Conservatives, not because the Liberals had captured many seats, but because they were ready to contest all. The Liberals in no case lost any seat which had been previously occupied by one of their own party, but in many contests they were able to show that the wave which had passed over the constituencies in 1886 was receding, and that in the ensuing elections the Conservatives would have to face a state of parties little different from that which confronted them in 1885. The Liberals, moreover, had discovered that their strength lay in the counties, and especially in the rural districts, and their managers were astute enough to put the wrongs of the agricultural labourers in the first rank of those to be redressed by their party when once more restored to

office. They trusted to the imperfect memory and still more imperfect education of the electorate to which they appealed, for their candidates never seem to have been taunted with the total neglect of the agriculturists by the Liberals so long as they were unprovided with votes and unwilling to use them independently. The Unionist party in the House of Commons had, in addition, to bear the loss of several prominent members, two of whom, Mr. W. H. Smith and Lord Hartington, were wise and cautious advisers, both endowed with common sense—a quality of incalculable value in conducting public business and generally most needed in some unforeseen crisis. Mr. Balfour had therefore come to the leadership of the House at a most critical moment, and although no doubt as to his courage, his readiness, and his ability found expression, there were not a few who foresaw that the management of a coalition party in the last session of a long Parliament would have been safer in the hands of a less brilliant but more prudent leader. Moreover, in the conduct of public business Mr. Balfour might necessarily hesitate to impose his will upon his elder colleagues in regard to the conduct of the Bills placed in their respective charge, it being a recognised theory that each minister should regard his own Bill as the one most indispensable alike for the nation as for the stability of the Government. Nevertheless, by the admission of partisans and opponents, Mr. Balfour was the only Parliamentary leader who had increased his reputation during the year. Mr. Gladstone's pre-eminence was never in question, but in spite of his occasionally brilliant oratorical displays it was seen that if the weight of years did not bend his back or shorten his step, there were other signs which led men to think him unequal to conduct, unaided, the management of a party, and still less the leadership of the House, should he be re-called to assume it.

CHAPTER V.

SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

I. SCOTLAND.

THE history of Scotland during the year might be briefly summed up in the words 'Alarms and Excursions'—alarms from numerous conflicts between capital and labour, and excursions of political leaders across the border to stir up or to encourage the zeal of their respective supporters. The long protracted struggle between the railway companies and their servants with which the year opened inflicted a vast amount of inconvenience upon the innocent travelling public, and thereby the sympathy which the strikers might otherwise have enlisted was lost. The chief points demanded by the men on the North

British, the Caledonian, and the Glasgow and South-Western Railways were a recognised limit of ten hours for all employed, except in the case of those in busy shunting yards, where eight hours only were to be the limit, the hours of work reckoned by each day, not on the aggregate of the fortnight; increased pay for overtime and Sundays; annual holidays, and the mileage system for both goods and passenger trains. The number of men who came out was about 9,000, and at least six weeks passed before the negotiations between the directors and the men came to a close, the self-constituted representatives of the latter raising all sorts of trivial objections because they were ignored by the directors. In the end the men gave way, and the companies being free to treat direct with them, were able to make certain concessions, to abandon all prosecutions, and to promise to take back the men as far as their places were open. The companies had, however, shown that they were able, although at a great cost, to cope with a great strike, and that they were able to set aside the officials of the union. The Earl of Wemyss, in the House of Lords, said that the strike had resulted in a loss to Scotland of a million sterling, and of between 200,000*l.* and 300,000*l.* to the railway companies.

The only Bill before Parliament specially relating to Scotland was the Private Bill Procedure Bill. The Government proposed, in February, to refer it to a Select Committee of the House of Commons; but, owing to a difference of opinion between the Government and the Opposition as to the best manner of dealing with the measure, and especially as to the constitution of the proposed commission, the Bill was dropped, to the great regret of many persons in Scotland. When, under the Budget proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a surplus of two millions was appropriated to free or "assist" education in England and Wales, Scotland became entitled to an "equivalent" grant of about 220,000*l.*, the probate duty grant having already been applied to free education there in 1889. Claims to a share in that sum were at once made by various interests—University education, secondary and technical education, a national library, and relief of parochial and other rates. As the sum actually available for the current year was only 100,000*l.*, the Government resolved to apply the whole of that sum for one year in relief of local rates, to be administered by the municipal authorities in counties, burghs, and police burghs, leaving for the consideration of Parliament next Session the appropriation of the larger sum. In June the Scotch Education Department issued a minute abolishing all fees in the case of children between five and fourteen years of age. These were the ages afterwards specified in the English Elementary Education Act, but, at the instance of the Scottish members, the Government altered the limits in Scotland to the ages of three and fourteen.

The proposals of the Government for carrying out the recom-

mendation of the West Highland Commission included an additional expenditure of nearly 7,000*l.* a year to secure a more rapid, more frequent, and more regular steamboat service between the Hebrides and the mainland, the improvement of roads in Lewis, a great extension of telegraph lines in the Hebrides and in Orkney and Shetland, the expenditure of 4,000*l.* on lighthouses and beacons, and of 40,000*l.* on new piers, breakwaters, and harbours. The Crofters' Commissioners continued their labours during the year, and on many estates in the Hebrides and on the mainland rents were greatly reduced, and arrears to a large extent wiped out. The reduction of rents varied from 25 to 41 per cent., and the proportion of arrears extinguished was generally 70 per cent., and sometimes more. In a few instances rents were slightly raised, and applications for more land were generally acceded to by the landlords, the tenants admitting that the Crofters' Act was of real use and the source of general contentment. It will have been seen from the foregoing chapters that the visits of the Unionist leaders to Scotland have been more numerous than those of their opponents. The Gladstonian cause was regarded as safe in the event of a General Election, as they held already forty-five out of the seventy-two seats by which Scotland is represented in Parliament, and in at least twenty-four out of the twenty-seven seats held by the Conservatives the Unionists were seriously threatened. The two contested elections of the year—at Paisley and in Buteshire—revealed nothing from which any forecast of the future could be gathered. For the first-named constituency a Gladstonian, and in the latter a Unionist, replaced representatives of the same party, and in each case were elected by slightly reduced majorities.

The political issue in Scotland turned rather upon disestablishment and Home Rule for its own people than upon any eagerness to extend to Ireland privileges which Scotland did not enjoy. Both Unionists and Gladstonians combined the religious with the political question in their speeches. Mr. Balfour and Mr. Goschen urged that the Scotch vote for Irish Home Rule was being purchased with promises of Disestablishment, and their supporters were not unnaturally indignant that their Church should be sacrificed to the political expediency of their opponents. At the closing meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the Moderator (Dr. MacGregor) reviewed the history of the Scottish Church, and enlarged upon the evils which would flow from Disestablishment. The United Presbyterian Synod and the Free Church Assembly, on the other hand, renewed their testimonies in favour of Disestablishment and Disendowment, and at a later period there seemed to be some attempt set on foot to bring about a reunion of these two bodies.

The burning question in the Free Church Assembly, however, was a proposed Declaratory Act, setting forth the relations

of the Church to its confessional teaching. That was in fact a proposal on the part of the leaders of the Free Church to relax the rules of orthodoxy, so as to make room for the peculiar doctrines of such men as Professor Dods and Professor Bruce, whose teachings were very distasteful to the strict Calvinists represented by Mr. M'Caskill of Dingwall and Mr. W. Balfour of Edinburgh. This Act was approved by the Presbyteries of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other places by large majorities. A prominent member of the committee intrusted with the consideration of the Declaratory Act affirmed that the effect of it was to convert the Free Church into a "Church of the Holy Ambiguity," maintaining at the same time that the Act in question offered the best possible solution of the doctrinal difficulties in which the Free Church was involved. He added that, if the strict Calvinists did not accept the terms offered now, they would have to face more disastrous issues afterwards.

The legislation of previous sessions led to the introduction of numerous changes in the University system. The most important of these were concerned with graduation in arts, in medicine, and in science, with examinations, with the institution of a faculty of music in Edinburgh, with the education and graduation of women in the faculties of arts and medicine, and with the *status* of assistants and lecturers. These ordinances, Liberal in their general tendency, did not entirely satisfy university reformers. The wide range of options proposed in the arts ordinance was held to be to a large extent illusory, and the ordinance on medical education in Edinburgh was pronounced deficient because it did not provide for an adequate increase in practical classes, in which the Edinburgh school was at one time in advance, but was now held to be backward in comparison with the medical schools of London, Oxford, Cambridge, Manchester, and other English centres. Moreover, while English universities still adhered to compulsory Greek, it was proposed to make Greek an optional subject in all the universities of Scotland.

The returns of the census taken in March showed the population of Scotland to be 4,033,103, being an increase of 297,530 since 1881. The chief features of interest revealed in the returns were a great increase in the populations of the larger towns and a great decline in the rural population. In 1841, for example, the eight principal towns in Scotland contained less than a quarter of the whole population of the country. They now contained fully one-third of it. The increase was naturally found to be greatest in the manufacturing towns. Glasgow still stood at the head of Scottish cities, with a population of 565,714—an increase of 54,299 since 1881; but the increase was less in the city of Glasgow itself than in its busy and ever-growing suburbs. Greenock was the only large town in Scotland in which the population had gone back during the decade—a result due to the collapse of the sugar trade. In 1881 it stood in the fifth

place, now both Leith and Paisley leaped over it, and it was in the seventh place. It was not only in the great cities, such as Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dundee, that a high rate of increase was perceptible. It was seen also in such provincial towns as Ayr, Kirkcaldy, Hawick, Galashiels, Airdrie, and Motherwell, for the most part growing industrial centres. In quiet residential towns like Perth, Stirling, and Kelso, though there was not an actual decline, there was a much slower rate of progress. Montrose and Forfar, which used to have a good record in connection with the linen trades, were among the backgoing towns. The decline in the rural population was most conspicuous, as might have been expected, in the Highlands, but it was not uniform there. There was also diminution in several Lowland counties, for example, in East Lothian, Midlothian, and Peeblesshire.

II. IRELAND.

The negotiations for a settlement of the differences between Mr. Parnell and the majority of his late party, which were begun at Boulogne at the close of 1890, were resumed in the first week of the new year. Mr. Parnell again met Mr. W. O'Brien at Boulogne, and their conferences, which were of a friendly nature, were at first believed to be tending to a peaceful conclusion; but a hitch arose, and Mr. Dillon, who still remained in America, was sent for to mediate. Meanwhile Mr. Parnell returned to Ireland, where he continued to deliver speeches containing bitter attacks upon Mr. Gladstone, the Irish bishops, and the seceders from his party, while he spoke with significant friendliness of Mr. W. O'Brien, whom he described as "one man amongst a million," and a "trusted and true friend of Ireland." Mr. Dillon promptly obeyed the summons addressed to him. Landing at Boulogne (Jan. 18), he first discussed the situation with Mr. O'Brien in a long conference at that place, and the two colleagues then retired for some days to Paris. Representatives of the press were informed that Mr. Dillon was in perfect agreement with Mr. O'Brien, and that a satisfactory settlement might be expected. Subsequently the scene shifted again to Boulogne, and for several weeks there was a continuous going and coming of Irish members across the Channel. The most diverse accounts of the proceedings were given, but the prevailing view was that Mr. McCarthy was to be superseded in the leadership of the Parliamentary party by Mr. Dillon, and that Mr. Parnell's retirement, which was to be more or less temporary, was to be made as little unpleasant to him as possible. More light was thrown upon the actual proposals later in the year, but the negotiations now suddenly broke down, and the failure to come to an understanding was announced in a letter from Mr. Parnell to Mr. O'Brien. The reasons for the failure were not disclosed by Mr. Parnell, though he said he had "perceived within the

last few days that there existed in some quarters, and those quarters from which such a spirit might be least expected, a spirit breathing the deadliest hostility to that of peace." These words were generally understood to refer to the action of the Roman Catholic bishops, and especially to that of Archbishop Walsh. Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien now at once crossed from Boulogne to Folkestone, where they were arrested (Feb. 12), and whence they were taken by way of London to Ireland to serve the six months' term of imprisonment to which they were sentenced in the previous autumn.

The abrupt termination of the Boulogne negotiations was also signalled by a meeting of the anti-Parnellite members at Westminster, under the presidency of Mr. Justin McCarthy (Feb. 12). Mr. McCarthy submitted a report, drawn up by himself and Mr. Sexton, on another set of negotiations, namely, those which had taken place between the Gladstonian leaders and members of the Nationalist majority as to the treatment to be accorded in the next Home Rule Bill to the questions of the land and the police. In regard to the former, Mr. Gladstone's view was stated as follows:—"The land question must either be settled by the Imperial Parliament simultaneously with the establishment of Home Rule, or within a limited period thereafter, to be specified in the Home Rule Bill; or the power to deal with it must be committed to the Irish Legislature." As to the police, Mr. Gladstone intended, it was said, that the Irish constabulary should be converted by degrees, within a period not to exceed five years, into a purely civil force, under the complete control of the Irish Parliament. These assurances were deemed satisfactory, but the rumour got abroad that Mr. Parnell had held out at Boulogne for a written understanding from Mr. Gladstone (and, according to *United Ireland*, from Sir W. Harcourt also) that the Irish Parliament should have unfettered control at once over the police and the land.

Open war between the two factions was now declared. On the second Sunday and Monday after the final breakdown at Boulogne (Feb. 22 and 23), Mr. Parnell delivered a series of speeches at and in the neighbourhood of Roscommon and at Longford, in which he justified his own action and denounced the understanding which had been arrived at between the anti-Parnellites and the Gladstonians. He held, however, that the present troubles would lead to great good, and that the refusal of Irishmen to submit to the "dictation of any English statesman" had demonstrated once more their title to legislative independence. Speeches on the other side were frequent. The campaign of the platform, indeed, was kept up continuously from this time and on each part with increasing bitterness. It was observable, however, that among Mr. Parnell's assailants the most venomous was Mr. T. M. Healy, whose attacks were personal rather than political, and who violated all the canons

of good taste by indecorous and ill-natured allusions to Mrs. O'Shea. Mr. Parnell's popularity seldom failed him in any of his public appearances, and from the enthusiasm displayed on these occasions it might have been supposed that he would carry everything before him. His meetings were generally a stormy success, the violent element in them being furnished by combats between the two parties, when both were present. But the anti-Parnellite meetings suffered most from this cause: they were not unfrequently wrecked by the intrusion of the other side, with the inevitable result of broken heads and disorder. These outward indications of popular feeling were misleading. The regard manifested for Mr. Parnell may have been genuine enough, and it may have been shared by the majority of the population, but the influence of the priests was everywhere cast against him, and proved to be irresistible.

The National League for the most part espoused the cause of Mr. Parnell, and the anti-Parnellites found it necessary to start another organisation on similar lines, which they called the Irish National Federation. It was inaugurated at a meeting in Dublin (March 10), at which Mr. Justin McCarthy, who presided, said that the new movement had the approval of the archbishops, bishops, and priests of Ireland, representatives of the latter of whom, according to a trustworthy report of the meeting, constituted a third of the audience. Both sides, however, found that the customary supplies from America were failing them. The receipts announced at the periodical meetings of the National League were of trifling amount, and the new Federation began its career with a practically empty treasury. Mr. Parnell made a fresh effort to recover support by a manifesto addressed to the Irish in America. This document set forth that the National League—originally the Land League—which was created in 1880, through the instrumentality of the American Irish, had been weakened and disorganised by the secession of malcontents, and others corrupted by the influence of the Gladstonian Liberals, and that consequently it had become Mr. Parnell's duty to reconstruct and reunite the National forces. For that purpose he had sent a deputation of tried men to solicit the aid of the American Irish "in quelling this mutiny and disloyalty to Ireland, . . . so that they may make one more, even though it be their very last, effort to win freedom and prosperity for their nation by constitutional means." But the manifesto fell flat, and very little success attended the labours of the deputation. The American Irish determined to withhold supplies so long as the Nationalist party in Ireland remained divided.

St. Patrick's Day (March 17) was made the occasion of a great Parnellite demonstration at Cork. A resolution of confidence in Mr. Parnell was carried at a large open-air meeting, after which Mr. Parnell delivered a vehement speech, declaring

for the complete independence of Ireland, and denouncing his late Irish colleagues and English allies. Referring to some observations of Mr. Davitt's, made a few days before, he avowed his willingness "to go to my constituents to-morrow, if my colleague in the representation of this city of Cork will do so." The challenge thus impetuously uttered was promptly accepted by Mr. Maurice Healy, Mr. Parnell's colleague, but effect was never given to it. There can be no doubt that Mr. Parnell felt he had acted hastily, and though he placed his application for the Chiltern Hundreds in the hands of Colonel Nolan, the Parnellite Whip, he attached a condition which was clearly outside the bargain, and neither seat was vacated.

The North Sligo election, consequent on the death of Mr. Peter Macdonald, provided a new fighting ground for the two factions, and gave each of them a strong present motive for action. The struggle was a very bitter one, and on both sides there were hard words and harder blows. Speaking at Sligo (March 28), Mr. Parnell said he would not allow the national right of Ireland to be tampered with by the "feeble, cowardly, and traitorous" hands of seceders. Discussing the claims of individual opponents to be regarded as leaders, he declared they could never make a leader of either "the foul-mouthed" Timothy Healy, "the uncertain and maudlin" Sexton, or "the hysterical" Davitt, "who never belonged to any one party for twenty-four hours together." But these were mild epithets compared with those which Mr. Maurice Healy had applied to Mr. Parnell at Sligo two days before (March 26). He described Mr. Parnell—who was many years his senior, and who probably had some claims to at least courteous treatment from him—as "an unapproachable trickster," and as having proved himself "not only a libertine and a liar, but also a cowardly sneak." The Parnellite candidate, Alderman Dillon, polled 2,493 votes out of a total poll of 5,754, and though he was thus beaten by a majority of 768, the result was not so sweeping a victory as the anti-Parnellites had expected. No fewer than 1,700 voters declared themselves illiterates, and many of these were conducted in processions, headed by priests, to the poll. Priests were everywhere active and conspicuous on the day of the election (April 2), and it was clearly by their influence that the seat was won for the candidate of their choice.

The difficulties of Mr. Parnell increased, and they were not made less irksome by the reproaches of the anti-Parnellites in reference to the funds hoarded in Paris. A correspondence took place between Mr. Parnell and Mr. Justin McCarthy as to the disposal of these funds, and the former made certain proposals which the latter declared he had assented to. Jealousies arose, however, as to the priority of claims upon the fund, and nothing was done. The position was aggravated by the collapse of the Plan of Campaign on one estate after another, and by the bitter

complaints of tenants that the promises of assistance which had been made to them had not been kept. Both sides suffered from this state of things, and it seemed more than ever necessary that they should accommodate their differences. In May, Mr. E. Dwyer Gray, of the *Freeman's Journal*, endeavoured to mediate between the disputants, and he had some hope of success, but the negotiations were brought to an abrupt conclusion by a statement in the *National Press*—the new anti-Parnellite paper—to the effect that Mr. Gray was going to desert Mr. Parnell and join his opponents. This was at once contradicted, with some warmth, by Mr. Gray, who declared that since his efforts for peace had been so misrepresented he would not further proceed with them. No doubt there were hindrances to peace on both sides. Mr. T. Healy was a very pronounced hindrance. At a meeting of the National Federation (May 20), over which he presided, he said that if any person attempted to patch up the present differences by a compromise on the basis of Mr. Parnell's continued leadership, he would be simply "hunted out of the country with a kettle tied to his tail."

Mr. Parnell's speeches rang the changes on three main points, namely, the untrustworthiness of Mr. Gladstone and English statesmanship, the perfidy of his old colleagues, and the want of consistency shown by the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the priests. His most dignified utterances on the last point were contained in a speech delivered at Belfast (May 22). He claimed that the question of the leadership should be decided from political considerations only. He was aware, he said, that another claim had been made by a body of eminent dignitaries, whose opinion and judgment were entitled to every respect, but that body had deprived itself of the right to deal with this question from the moral point of view by an act of omission, and certainly, as regarded one or two of its prominent members, by an act of commission. The act of omission was the failure of the hierarchy to take any action for seventeen days after the verdict in the divorce case; the act of commission he could answer for as regarded the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Meath. Three days after the verdict the Bishop of Meath informed Mr. Healy that in his judgment they ought to uphold the political position and leadership of Mr. Parnell. The Archbishop of Dublin wrote to one of the newspapers to controvert the view that the seventeen days' delay proved the hierarchy to have acted from political motives, and stated that that delay had been made in order to allow him (Mr. Parnell) to retire voluntarily. In fact, a letter had been written by his Grace to a gentleman some days before Mr. Gladstone's letter was laid before him. That letter advised his retirement, not on the ground of morality, but on that of political expediency. There was not a word about morals and religion in the whole of it.

By a curious coincidence Archbishop Croke referred some-

what fully to this subject in a speech on the same day (May 22) at Newinn, though his remarks were a reply, not to Mr. Parnell's speech, but to one of similar purport delivered some days earlier by Mr. John Redmond. The Archbishop denied that the bishops of Ireland had first condoned Mr. Parnell's offence, and afterwards yielded to English dictation. A body of bishops was not easily moved. Some of them were old; all of them were engrossed in the various duties of their state; and in this instance three of the most notable of their body were absent in Rome—the Primate of All Ireland, the Bishop of Down and Connor, and the Bishop of Raphoe. They had to be communicated with by wire. Even this caused some delay; but they met as soon as possible, and denounced as emphatically as they could have done the fallen leader. If they had met earlier and denounced Mr. Parnell sooner they would have done it too soon; but as they met at the proper time and hit forcibly, they were said to have neglected their duty and spoken too late. With regard to the Leinster Hall meeting, where Mr. Parnell was accepted as the Irish leader by the Irish representatives and other leading men, he admitted that it was a blunder, but repeated the words of Lord Chesterfield in his address to his son:—"The man who makes a mistake and corrects it is simply wiser to-day than he was yesterday."

Archbishop Walsh addressed a letter to the *Times* (May 25), professing to deal with Mr. Parnell's statement at Belfast, as it affected himself. He did not deny the truth of the statement, but he refused to enter into a controversy with Mr. Parnell, though he eulogised the energetic attack upon him of Archbishop Croke. That prelate renewed his attack, and widened the area of it by demanding an audit of the National League accounts, and by commenting, in language involving dangerous implications, upon the large sums of money which had passed through Mr. Parnell's hands unaccounted for. Mr. Parnell replied to the demand for an audit in a speech at Wicklow (May 31). He said that a similar request had been refused when made by Richard Pigott, by the *Times*, and by the Special Commission, and he would not agree to it when made by Archbishop Croke as the mouthpiece of the seceders. The Archbishop appears to have felt that he had gone a little too far, for in concluding his episcopal visitation, in the course of which his crusade against Mr. Parnell had been conducted, he told the people of Galbally that if he had at any time spoken disrespectfully of Mr. Parnell, he wished to express his sincere regret for having done so, and he added that there was no one who had had at all times a greater regard for Mr. Parnell as a mere citizen of the world than he had.

One of the most melancholy episodes in recent Irish history is that furnished by the sorrows of the Tipperary tenants. The story of their enforced submission to evictions, notwithstanding

that they had no quarrel with their landlord, and of the building and occupation of the shanties of New Tipperary, belongs to an earlier time than this chapter deals with. But the increasing misfortunes of these unhappy people came to a head in the year whose events we are now recording. They found themselves deserted by the leaders whose orders they had obeyed, in the faith that the promises which were made to them would be kept. Many of them were ruined; all of them had suffered heavy losses and endured much misery. They therefore determined to make their peace with Mr. Smith-Barry, the landlord with whom their relations had always been cordial and neighbourly until they were made to accept the evil offices of the Plan of Campaign. A deputation from the whole body of tenants had an interview with Mr. Smith-Barry, and easy terms of settlement were conceded by him. The announcement of Mr. Smith-Barry's readiness to facilitate the return of his tenants to their holdings gave a new aspect of cheerfulness to the town of Tipperary, where shops and places of business which had been long closed were once more opened. But the forces of mischief were not quite exterminated, and boycotting and intimidation were again resorted to by the agents or adherents of the Plan of Campaign. The deputation who negotiated terms of settlement with Mr. Smith-Barry were denounced in the Nationalist newspapers, and a member of the deputation replied in the *Freeman's Journal*, with a statement of facts which embodied as strong an indictment against the Plan of Campaign as was ever brought against that organisation. The renewed efforts of the boycotters were denounced by the local Roman Catholic clergy, one of whom, Father Power, declared that the tenants had been deceived by their leaders and continually hoodwinked by promises which were never kept. He urged them to exercise their liberty and protect themselves. Most of them had already done so, and others followed their example. New Tipperary—what there is left of it—remains for a memorial of proceedings which, whatever may have been the motives of those who promoted them, were both a hideous blunder and a crime.

The continued rivalries of the two political factions, coupled with the failure of funds and the determination of tenants to throw over their leaders and make peace with their landlords, did not advance the prospects of Home Rule. This was confessed in a letter which Archbishop Walsh addressed to the *National Press*, and in which he said:—"I am deeply convinced that the continuance of this ruinous conflict, even for a little longer, must be absolutely destructive of every hope of the establishment of Home Rule in Ireland, at all events, within the present century. To me it is one of the most obvious truths of the present deplorable situation, that the fitness of our people for Home Rule, and indeed for constitutional government of any kind, is on its trial, and that so far the evidence of that fitness is some-

what less clear than it ought to be." Mr. Parnell characterised the Archbishop's gloomy view of things as "child's talk, and the purest nonsense." But there was no abatement of the conditions from which Archbishop Walsh drew his conclusion. In the contest at Carlow, for the seat rendered vacant by the death of the O'Gorman Mahon, the contending factions assailed each other with renewed bitterness. In the view of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, moreover, Mr. Parnell's position was aggravated by his marriage to Mrs. O'Shea. The Bishop of Raphoe, in a letter published while the contest at Carlow was proceeding, declared that "the original scandal, from a moral point of view, was not more intolerable in an Irish leader than was what went by the name of 'marriage' with the divorced wife of a living man;" and he added, "in Christian Ireland this news only capped the climax of brazened horrors." A more important Episcopal pronunciamento was issued on the eve of the Carlow election. It consisted of the terms of a resolution adopted at a general meeting of bishops at Maynooth, recording "the solemn expression of our judgment, as pastors of the Irish people, that Mr. Parnell, by his public misconduct, has utterly disqualified himself to be the political leader . . . has supplied new and convincing proof that he is wholly unworthy of the confidence of Catholics, and we therefore feel bound on this occasion to call on our people to repudiate his leadership." This appeal was effectively used in the interests of the anti-Parnellite candidate for Carlow, who was returned by an overwhelming majority.

An effort to strengthen the Parnellite cause was made by a great convention in Dublin (July 23), attended by delegates from all parts of Ireland, and presided over by Mr. Parnell. Resolutions were enthusiastically passed in favour of "national self-government," and, pending that, of several minor and intermediary reforms. The most striking event of the day, however, was the splendid reception given to Mr. Parnell, both by the delegates and by the public out of doors. Nevertheless, his fortunes were still waning, and a greater loss than any he had yet sustained awaited him in the defection of Mr. Dwyer Gray, and, with him, of the *Freeman's Journal*, the policy of which Mr. Gray was in a position to control. Mr. Dwyer Gray had long felt uneasy in a position of hostility to the Roman Catholic bishops and clergy, and when Mr. Parnell married Mrs. O'Shea he made that offence against Catholic decorum the ground of his secession from him. Later in the year, the loss of the *Freeman's Journal* was in some degree counterbalanced by the starting of two new Parnellite papers, but the battle became more hopeless when this strong organ transferred its support to the other side.

The resolve of Messrs. O'Brien and Dillon to range themselves on the side of the anti-Parnellites was another severe blow for Mr. Parnell. On their release from Galway Gaol (July 30) they received addresses from Mr. Parnell's opponents, in

reply to which they stated that they would not accept Mr. Parnell's leadership. Mr. Dillon indulged in some strictures upon Mr. Parnell, to which the latter replied on the following Sunday at Thurles, and the wrangle afterwards led to an acrimonious correspondence. Mr. O'Brien's return to liberty was signalled by a characteristic speech to a few outstanding Tipperary tenants. He assured them that they had "realised the heroic," and that those who made terms with Mr. Smith-Barry would "wither into the earth under the indignation of the unpurchaseable and fearless Irish race." The very next day, however, the "unpurchaseable" butter merchants of Tipperary abandoned the "William O'Brien Arcade," and went back to the old butter weigh-house on Mr. Smith-Barry's property.

There was no suspension of hostilities during the summer, but speeches and meetings were more casual. Mr. Dillon made many speeches, most of which were marked by the outspokenness peculiar to him. Thus he said at Dublin that he "placed no importance upon the pledges of English Ministers as regards the future of the party and the cause;" and he added, "I have stated publicly and privately that I refuse to counsel my people to pledge their reliance on any English Minister." On the same occasion Mr. Arthur O'Connor, one of the ablest members of the anti-Parnellite section, though his public appearances were few, remarked: "I should be very sorry to trust to the promise of an English Minister when Ireland was concerned." Mr. Dillon, however, could have had no misgiving as to some immediate fruits of Mr. Gladstone's return to power, for at Carrick-on-Suir shortly afterwards (Oct. 4) he declared that when Mr. Gladstone was back in office "the landlords, and agents, and grabbers would be very easily dealt with, and he believed in his soul that every one of them would then be begging to the people for mercy." On the same occasion he made the remarkable admission that he and his friends would originally have been satisfied if Mr. Parnell had retired from the leadership for six months.

Mr. Parnell addressed no meeting after Sept. 27, when he spoke at Roscommon. He was in low health, and the rheumatic affection from which he suffered had been aggravated by his frequent journeys to Ireland and his speeches out of doors. His last public declaration of any kind consisted of some observations which he made to a press reporter, who interviewed him at Brighton, on Mr. Gladstone's Newcastle speech. He pointed out that Home Rule no longer occupied the first and sole place in Mr. Gladstone's programme, and he especially drew attention to the remark of another speaker at Newcastle, who stated that "other measures had overtaken Home Rule and marched abreast with it." On Oct. 7 the whole country was shocked to hear that Mr. Parnell had died on the previous night. Nobody appears to have known how seriously his efforts had told upon him, and certainly no one was prepared for the sudden announcement of

his death. In almost his last words he sent a pathetic message to Ireland. His words were: "Let my love be conveyed to my colleagues and to the Irish people." It was too hastily assumed that Mr. Parnell's death would have the effect of reuniting the divided Nationalist party. His late opponents were no doubt desirous of peace, and some of the more prominent of them, in their public allusions to Mr. Parnell, spoke of him with respect, but the late leader's immediate followers elected to keep up the struggle. A new bitterness was imparted to it, indeed, by the suggestion that Mr. Parnell had been "done to death"—the words formed the heading of an article in *United Ireland*—by the persecutions of his opponents. So strong was the public feeling in Dublin against the anti-Parnellites, that no member of that party ventured to be present at the funeral in Glasnevin Cemetery.

The first collective act of the Parnellite members, after their leader's death, was to issue a manifesto in which they denounced the men "who, in obedience to foreign dictation, have loaded with calumny and hounded to death the foremost man of the Irish race." This strong language brought Mr. W. O'Brien into the field with as vigorous a reply to "the unhappy creatures who assail me with murderous scoundrelism, and permit besotted shrieks for vengeance to go forth with their authority in reference to Mr. Dillon or myself." In the letter in which he thus expressed himself Mr. O'Brien went on to say that at Boulogne the Parnellites were as anxious as he and Mr. Dillon were for Mr. Parnell's retirement from the chairmanship of the party. This statement was, of course, repudiated, and an angry altercation ensued, carried on in letters and speeches, as to what really took place at Boulogne. According to Mr. O'Brien's version, Mr. Parnell was to be consoled for his retirement by remaining president of the National League, by receiving a letter of thanks and eulogy from the Roman Catholic bishops, and by more explicit assurances from Mr. Gladstone as to certain essential points in the Home Rule Bill. According to the Parnellite version, Mr. Parnell's retirement was never meant to be more than a temporary sop to the Nonconformist conscience; the Roman Catholic bishops were to issue, not merely a letter of thanks, but a retraction of their manifesto against Mr. Parnell; and—what was the most important condition of all—Mr. Parnell was to have a complete veto on any Home Rule Bill introduced by Mr. Gladstone which did not satisfy his requirements. There seems to be no doubt that communications passed to and from Mr. Gladstone, through the medium of Mr. Justin McCarthy, in reference to the suggested further assurances from him, and some explicit statements were made by him regarding the treatment of the police and land questions.

The Parnellites elected Mr. John Redmond as their leader, and he stood for Mr. Parnell's seat at Cork, his opponent being

a local butter-merchant, whose most active agents and supporters appear to have been the priests. The contest was marked by frequent scenes of violence, and so strong were the manifestations of popular feeling against the anti-Parnellite leaders, that without police protection their lives might have been in danger. Mr. T. Healy did not venture to appear at Cork, but he contributed to the prevailing bitterness by an attack which he made at Longford (Nov. 1) on Mrs. Parnell—then prostrated by grief—whom he spoke of as “this abandoned woman.” A relative of Mrs. Parnell afterwards publicly horsewhipped him, an act which, strangely enough, had no sequel beyond the presentation of a whip to Mr. Healy’s assailant and a wreath to Mr. Healy himself. Notwithstanding the strong feeling exhibited in his favour, Mr. Redmond was defeated at Cork by a large majority.

He was avenged, however, by his triumphant return for Waterford, where a vacancy was shortly afterwards caused by the death of Mr. Richard Power. Here he was opposed by Mr. Michael Davitt, unquestionably the strongest candidate who could have been brought against him. So great an importance did Mr. W. O’Brien and Mr. Dillon attach to the issues of the election, that in their speeches they prognosticated evil days for Home Rule if Mr. Davitt were not returned. But Mr. Redmond carried the seat (Dec. 23) with a majority of 546. The effect of this victory was to infuse new spirit into the Parnellite ranks, and to emphasise what Mr. Redmond and his colleagues regarded as a good prospect for the coming year.

The history of the Irish legislation of the year has been given in the chapters dealing with business in Parliament. The work of administration, perhaps, never bore more satisfactory fruits. Agrarian crime was reduced to such trivial proportions that in the middle of the year it was found practicable to withdraw the stringent provisions of the Crimes Act from operation, except in a few limited districts. There was great poverty in the West, caused by the failure of the potato crop in the season of 1890, but the railway and relief works instituted by Mr. Balfour greatly mitigated the distress. A relief fund was originated by the Lord-Lieutenant and Mr. Balfour, who issued a public appeal for subscriptions, and so prompt and ample was the response, that funds were forthcoming to meet all really necessitous cases. Early in the year Lady Zetland and Miss Balfour made a tour in the distressed districts, where they were received with as much enthusiasm and respect as in the previous year had attended Mr. Balfour’s visits to the same districts. Mr. Balfour’s relinquishment of the Chief Secretaryship, on his appointment to the position of First Lord of the Treasury, was an occasion of regret to a large section of the Irish people, who, by resolutions and otherwise, expressed their high appreciation of his services to Ireland.

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

I. FRANCE.

THE distinguishing feature of French politics during the year was the stability of the Ministry. For the first time since the year 1865 the composition of the Cabinet at the commencement and at the conclusion of the year was identical. The various ministers occupied the same places, and if their relative importance or their personal influence within the Cabinet underwent any modification, nothing was known officially. This fact, so uncommon in the recent history of France, indicated a thorough revolution, not only in its parliamentary habits, but also in the classification of parties, and in the nature of the political and social problems submitted for discussion. Moreover, if the surface of the political world appeared unruffled, momentous changes were going on amongst all classes of society, and measures were being taken of which the importance would appear hereafter.

The principal currents of opinion of which the existence showed itself during the year 1891 may be briefly summarised. Of those in the domain of home politics the most important was the division of the Catholic party into two groups, one accepting the Republic, the other persisting in its attitude towards the Monarchy.

The extraordinary prominence given to social problems was attested by the events at Fourmies, the official intervention of the constituted authorities into the great strikes of Paris and the North, and, above all, in the creation of the Labour Bureau. The new direction given to fiscal policy had not at the close of the year produced any obvious results, but it was obvious that the consumers at home would before long become conscious of its effects, whilst abroad the ultra-Protectionist policy of the Chamber could not fail to seriously affect international relations. Yet by a strange contradiction it was in 1891 that the fêtes of Cronstadt and Portsmouth gave to the great majority of Frenchmen the belief that their country had at length emerged from the attitude imposed upon it by the disasters of the Empire.

The result of the Senatorial elections (Jan. 4), by which one-third of the Upper Chamber was renewed, was the first evidence of the increased strength of the Republican party. Although 82 seats in all had to be filled up, there was little anxiety as to the result; the work of eliminating the old opponents of the Republic was carried on systematically but quietly, and the Monarchists lost 10 votes in the Senate. The defeat in the department of the Seine Inférieure of M. Pouyer-Quertier, one of the chiefs of the Protectionist party, and the withdrawal of M. Paris, a former minister under Marshal MacMahon, were the most important losses to the reactionaries. On the other hand, the return of M. Jules Ferry, elected in the Vosges, was regarded as an act of justice, and, at the same time, bore witness to the increased strength of the Moderate Republicans. For this reason doubtless it was greeted alike by the Radicals and the Monarchists with violent recriminations.

Following closely in the Senatorial elections the success of the National Loan (Jan. 10) showed the financial strength of the country. The amount of 3 per cent. Rentes asked for by the Minister of Finance was 869½ millions of francs at 92.55. On no occasion since the first Revolution had the Government asked for a loan on such conditions, nevertheless it was subscribed for in Paris and the Departments 16½ times over, and the payments of the first instalment proved that the subscriptions were real and not speculative.

The assembling of the Chambers (Jan. 13) was marked by a desire on all sides to push forward the business of the session. M. Floquet was re-elected President without opposition, with MM. Casimir Périer, Peytral, de Mahy, and Spuller as Vice-Presidents; of these M. Peytral alone belonged to the old Radical group. The speech with which M. Floquet inaugurated his seventh presidency attracted considerable notice. He proclaimed as the basis of stable government the harmony between the two Chambers; he urged his colleagues to decide honestly between private interests which appealed for their votes, and public interests which had a right to their protection. The Chamber profited by the grave advice given by its President to sweep away as rapidly as possible a number of frivolous interpellations presented by irresponsible members. Amongst these one by M. Péchon, on the intrigues of Italy in Tripoli, attracted some notice. M. Ribot, the Foreign Minister, in reply, declared that the relations between France and Italy were happily not such to be in danger from the forged telegrams of newspaper agencies.

At this moment, moreover, more important cares than those of parliamentary life were pressing upon the inhabitants of the French capital. The long and intense frost had produced among the labouring classes more than the usual amount of misery. Exceptional measures were at once taken by the municipalities throughout the country to lessen the sufferings of the homeless.

Public subscriptions were organised by the Press of Paris and the Departments, the buildings of the Universal Exhibition, which still remained standing, were transformed into vast dormitories, and everything possible was done to relieve the sufferings of the poor. When, however, the thaw came it was discovered that in a great measure the autumn sowing had been destroyed, and thus a further burden had been thrown upon the country. The Protectionists took advantage of these disasters to urge the necessity of protecting the national agriculture and commerce. This action aroused counter demonstrations, and at Lyons, Marseilles, and Bordeaux, committees drew up protests against the new tariff policy, and even towns of the second order, such as Nimes, Valence, Avignon, organised meetings at which the taxes on raw materials were strongly denounced. In a word, one half of France protested against the tariffs which the other half demanded.

Lastly, the incident of the drama of *Thermidor* seemed for a moment to threaten the Ministry; the dramatic author, M. Sardou, had in his piece represented Robespierre in an unflattering guise. The first representation had been an undoubted success for the author, but at the second, an uproar was made by indignant Republicans, who protested against the use of a State-aided theatre for such purposes. The Minister of the Interior thereupon forbade further performance of the play, a somewhat arbitrary proceeding, inasmuch as the piece had, before being placed upon the stage, been submitted for the approval of the State Censor. The public, moreover, not unreasonably asked what was the use of the dramatic censorship if the decisions of the Minister of Public Instruction could be arbitrarily overridden by the Minister of the Interior? The incident gave rise (Jan. 29) to a lively debate in the Chamber, in the course of which M. Clemenceau put forward the proposition that the Revolution and its leaders should be accepted *en bloc* by all Republicans.

A few days previously an important step had been taken by the Government, the *Journal Officiel* (Jan. 23) having published a decree constituting a Labour Bureau. The object of this body (Conseil Supérieur) was to collect and distribute rapidly trustworthy information on all labour questions. In order to give the necessary independence and strength, two-thirds of the Council were made up of employers and workmen in equal numbers, whilst the remaining third consisted of deputies and others specially versed in economic questions, and certain public functionaries. This institution was subsequently completed by the creation of a public Department of Labour annexed to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. In order to guard against any complaints, the Government took care to choose as workmen members of the Council, the presidents or secretaries of the principal syndicates elected by the workmen themselves; but as

if to show how little the Socialist bodies understood political education, several of the members invited to join the Council were directed by their societies to decline the posts offered to them.

At the same time the Chamber, devoting itself to debates on social questions, discussed a law limiting the labour of women and children, voted a limitation of the day's work to ten hours, and prohibited night work. In this debate the Comte de Mun, one of the leaders of the Catholic party, and an ardent advocate of the alliance of the Church and the working classes, took a prominent part. His speech on this occasion was a great success, and by 415 to 72 votes his resolution was accepted.

The Minister of Finance, on bringing forward his Budget for the year 1892, was met by an amendment proposed by one of his predecessors, M. Léon Say, who moved that before choosing a committee of the Budget, the Chamber should commence by a general debate upon the financial proposals of the Government. This innovation, however, was defeated (Feb. 8) by 301 to 203 votes, but the result showed that a coalition between the Right and the Extreme Left was a danger which at any moment might threaten the Ministry.

The next subject which engaged the attention of Parliament was of a very different character. For some years the betting agencies in Paris and the provinces had been increasing in numbers and activity. Offices were established throughout the country where the public were tempted to risk their money on the races held almost daily on suburban racecourses. In another form this revived the lottery system, of which the vices had been so clearly proved. Every day complaints were made to the police of thefts and embezzlements which could be traced to this increase of betting. At the same time the *Assistance Publique*, which drew a portion of its funds from a tax on public amusements, found itself deprived of a portion of its revenue in consequence of these offices not being under official control. Two interpellations were therefore addressed to the Ministry on the subject by M. Ernest Roche to M. Constans, the other by M. Paulmier to M. Develle, Minister of Agriculture, and in consequence of the discussion which followed, the Ministry brought forward and passed by 338 to 149 votes a Bill suppressing the private betting agencies, whilst allowing the continuance of the *pari mutuel*. The receipts, however, of the latter were taxed at the rate of 2 per cent. for the benefit of the *Assistance Publique*, and a further 1 per cent. payable to the State for the encouragement of horse breeding. This law, financially useful if not morally necessary, was passed with little opposition, but its application was attended with considerable difficulty.

As a rule, moreover, the debates in the Chamber at this time were dull and monotonous, when an incident, of which the consequences might have been the gravest, suddenly bore witness to the continued existence of those elements of disorder which

Boulangism had organised. The arrival in Paris of the Empress Frederick (Feb. 18) had in itself no political significance. Her love of art was well known throughout Europe, and it was therefore only natural that she should be desirous of seeing the collections of which Paris was the centre. But her stay at Paris coincided with or followed immediately upon an attempt made at Berlin to organise in that capital an international exhibition in which the contemporary French school of art was to be represented. The Emperor William II. was understood to be favourable to the proposal, and a long visit paid by him to Madame Herbettes about this time had been the subject of considerable remark. For this reason it was assumed that the Emperor's mother was commissioned to negotiate with the principal French artists for their participation in the Berlin exhibition. Thereupon a lively discussion arose in the French press as to whether it was befitting to the dignity of France that the pictures of Détaillé and Puvis de Chavannes should be sent on a journey to Berlin. Opinion on this point was divided when it became known that the Empress, after visiting the Palace of Versailles, had on her return stopped at the ruins of the château of St. Cloud. The Boulangist newspaper at once seized upon the incident, declaring that simple excursion to be an insult and an outrage to France. Manifestations were organised, and little by little was set up a sort of rivalry in patriotic susceptibility. A group of deputies proceeded to the École des Beaux-Arts to place a crown on the monument of Henri Regnault, killed at the battle of Buzenval, whilst the Patriotic League, always dispersed yet always active, fostered demonstrations in the streets. In view of the unforeseen agitation the Dowager-Empress was forced to shorten her stay, and promptly quitted Paris (Feb. 27) for England, and at the same time all idea of any participation by the French artists in the Berlin exhibition was abandoned. The Emperor did not fail to feel keenly this check to his hopes of reconciliation in the field of art, and a few days later rigorous measures on the Alsace-Lorraine frontier, which for a moment had been softened, were revived with greater severity.

The most important debate at this moment arose in the Senate on an interpellation by M. Dide on the state of French colonisation in Algeria. M. Dide pointed out the serious dangers in the future arising out of the small increase in the number of French colonists lost amongst 4 millions of natives, whilst M. Pauliat, who had drawn up the report on Algeria for the debate on the Budget, exposed the incredible abuses of the administration; he urged that M. Tirman, the Governor-General, was wanting in vigilance, that little or nothing was done for the education of the Arabs, of whose children scarcely 10,000 attended the schools provided for them. Moreover, not content with neglecting the Mussulmans, the French officials frequently oppressed them. "There is no longer any justice for the natives of Algeria," said

he ; “ these wretched people are oppressed by taxes of every description ; they are oppressed by the Algerian colonists, who are the real masters and the tyrants of the colony. They manage the country as if it were their patrimony, closing it as far as possible to the French of France.” Thus directly challenged, M. Tirman defended himself with no little skill. He urged that the ten years of his pro-consulate had been a period of profound peace ; and whilst admitting that the moral improvement and subjection of the natives was far from accomplished, he threw the responsibility upon the difference of habit and religion. M. Constans intervened to assure the Senate that everything was for the best in the best of colonies ; but this official optimism convinced nobody, and the Government did not dare to oppose the nomination of a commission of inquiry. M. Jules Ferry took part (March 6) in the discussion. It was the first speech of the former President of the Council after his return to parliamentary life, and he was received with great enthusiasm by his former colleagues. The order of the day, which was voted by the Senate by a large majority, declared that the Commission, in concert with the Government, should propose the necessary modifications to be introduced into the administration and legislation of Algeria.

M. Bérenger, the proposer of this order of the day, had shortly before obtained a great success in the Chamber of Deputies. Struck by the large number of Recidivists brought before the tribunals, and having convinced himself that the reimprisonment of hardened criminals was unproductive of good results, he sought another remedy. He consequently brought forward a Bill which was first passed in the Senate, then adopted with some modification by the Chamber, and finally promulgated as a law of the State, but known to the public as the “ *Loi Bérenger*.” In his view the most frequent cause of relapse into crime was the material impossibility for convicted persons to recover their position. On quitting prison they found themselves almost outlaws whenever they presented themselves in search of work. They were forced to produce evidence of their former guilt. Moreover, by the rules of the judicial system, whenever a sentence was passed by one tribunal, it was notified to the tribunal of the place whence the delinquent originally came. By this system the tribunals doubtless were able to recognise criminals, but at the same time it hindered men from obtaining work on their discharge. In spirit if not in act it revived the old custom of branding, whilst it was more refined and more ineradicable. M. Bérenger’s remedy was that in the case of each person condemned for a first offence, the tribunal should have the right to suspend the sentence for five years ; if during this interval the accused gave occasion for no further prosecution, he was purged from his previous sentence, and his judicial record remained clear. In the case, however, of

a fresh conviction, he would have in the first instance to undergo his former sentence.

Several days were next occupied in noisy, but somewhat unpractical, discussions on the aid to be given to farmers whose autumn sowings had been destroyed by the severe winter frosts. The agricultural party, led by the President of the Customs Commission, M. Méline, brought the matter before the Chamber, but it was difficult to believe that the interest displayed was altogether philanthropic. A small amount of agitation on the subject had shown itself in the agricultural districts of the West and Centre, where the Monarchists had taken the lead; a number of Republican deputies thought this too good an electoral manœuvre to be left to their opponents, and hastened to bring the matter before the Chamber. The Protectionists demanded that those who had suffered from the frosts should be released from the payment of the Land Tax. This concession, however, would have involved too serious a loss to the revenue, so was rejected; but at the same time the Boulangists seized the opportunity of proposing that all Frenchmen paying a rental of less than 200 francs per annum should be exempted from House Tax. This proposal was rejected by 336 to 145 votes, and M. Méline and his 144 colleagues had to content themselves with a small subsidy of 6 millions which the Senate subsequently rejected as insufficient to relieve real losses, and dangerous as a precedent.

The death of Prince Napoleon at Rome (March 17), although anticipated, found the Bonapartist party in the midst of a crisis, for some considerable numbers of that body had ceased to regard the Prince as the head of the Imperialist party, and affected to receive orders only from his eldest son, Prince Victor. But on his death-bed the former had refused to be reconciled with his rebellious son, and nominated his second son, Prince Louis, as the successor to the headship of the Bonapartists. Prince Louis, however, declined the shadowy legacy, and recognised without hesitation the rights of his elder brother—an act of self-devotion which was promptly repudiated by many of his father's supporters—thus signalling once more the hopeless discredit into which the Bonapartist party had been brought by these family squabbles and arrangements. It was indeed "*La fin d'un rêve*," as described by the son of one of Napoleon III.'s most distinguished ministers, M. Duruy, in a book which attracted much notice at the time.

With the collapse of the Bonapartists, the hopes of the Royalists once more burnt brightly, and they looked forward to being able to group round their standard the anti-Republican forces which were either slumbering or stumbling in the dark. The Comte de Paris at once set about reorganising his party, and having accepted the resignation of the senator, M. Bocher, who had hitherto represented him in France, he selected Count

Othenin d'Haussonville as the official exponent of his new programme. In his farewell letter to his old and faithful supporter the Comte de Paris, defining the Monarchy as "traditional in its principles, modern in its institutions," hinted that he had failed to discover the means of infusing the new blood into his exhausted followers. The Count d'Haussonville was not more successful in reanimating the Royalist party than his predecessor, nor in bringing forward candidates even partially pledged to a restoration; so that by degrees the Right in the Chamber evolved, under the leadership of M. Piou, a group of constitutionalists who declined to take any Monarchical pledge.

M. d'Haussonville, however, was not disposed to allow his assumption of the leadership of his party to pass unnoticed. For the past seven years committees had existed in the majority of the departments whose duty it was to keep alive the Monarchical spirit, but it was a general reproach that these committees, instead of being in direct touch with the electors, were for the most part composed either of personages, doubtless distinguished and wealthy, but were either wholly unknown to the masses, or were altogether hostile to the principle of universal suffrage. In his efforts to reorganise the Monarchical party M. d'Haussonville decided to begin by renewing and strengthening the numbers of its staff officers. The Royalists, for the most part distinguishable by their names, their relatives, or their fortunes, were able to furnish in most districts agents and helpers who exercised considerable influence. In some cases to a noble name and a large fortune was added the reputation of traditional piety, and all these qualifications carried weight with the peasantry, whilst it flattered the local leaders and *petite noblesse* to be intrusted with political duties. The Press was next brought to support the personal efforts of the landowners. Journals were established where none had before existed, and those already in circulation were stimulated and improved by the supply of news furnished by the press syndicate. At the same time young men gifted with fluency of speech were encouraged to give "conferences" in country towns and villages; it became the fashion to call oneself a Socialist; and "slang," local as well as general, became the object of study by persons of the highest rank. The Royalists of Nimes were only pushing things to a logical conclusion when they struck up an alliance with the cooper Numa Gilly, who had promised to make them masters of the prefecture of that important city, but pending the realisation of their programme they were content to imitate the ways of the Boulangists and to distribute gratis newspapers and pamphlets throughout the country. Unfortunately it was found necessary to stop suddenly this propaganda, for the young Duc d'Orléans, having been disappointed in his attempt to serve as a conscript, had abandoned all thought of military life in order to follow in the train of an operatic troupe. The Chamber of Deputies, however, was not slow to

recognise the possible dangers of the situation, and an inquiry set on foot at this time showed the extent of the injury done to municipal government by the intrigues of the Monarchists and Boulangists; and in many places in the West and Centre it was found advisable to postpone the date of the municipal elections.

During the Parliamentary recess at Easter an international congress of miners met in Paris at the Labour Exchange (*Bourse de Travail*), and discussed at length the question of a general strike. The views on the point were so conflicting that the Congress declined to adopt the responsibility of recommending it, but public attention was struck by the calm and serious manner in which the debates were conducted throughout. The International, proscribed in Germany and still legally interdicted in France, had reformed its ranks, and, having arrived at a truer knowledge both of its powers and of the dangers which threatened it, gave proof that it also understood the advantages of Opportunism.

The spring session of the Conseils-Généraux gave an opportunity to these provincial assemblies to express their views upon three important questions—namely, the Customs Tariff, the renewal of the privileges of the Bank of France, and the betting question at race meetings. As might be expected, the views put forward were very contradictory, private or personal interest in most cases deciding the Council. For example, the Southern departments demanded free import of maize and oil-seeds from Africa, and heavy duties upon raw silk and wine. The Northern protested against any increase in the price of wine, but clamoured for protection in the matter of sugar and bread-stuffs. The Conseil-Général of the Gironde expressed itself strongly in favour of the State taking in hand the Canal du Midi, which had been transferred to the railroad company, but was useless for purposes of transport in consequence of the heavy charges levied by the company.

It was at this moment (April 21) that the governorships of the two most important French colonies became vacant. M. de Lanessan, Deputy of the Seine, was appointed to Indo-China, and M. Cambon, Prefect of Lyons, Governor-General of Algeria, in succession to M. Tirman, who, in consequence of the debate referred to, had tendered his resignation. Whilst in Algeria it was only a change of governor, in Indo-China the whole administration was to undergo modification. M. de Lanessan was invested with the widest powers, and, by his nomination, was declared depository of the powers of the Republic, having sole right to correspond directly with the Home Government, and with the nomination of all civil functionaries, with the exception of a few specially named, and these were only to be named on his recommendation, and were subject to his dismissal.

On the reassembling of the Chambers (April 27), the long expected debates on the Customs Tariff commenced. The general

discussion, of little practical value, lasted nearly a month (May 22), whilst the debates on the separate clauses were continued at intervals until the end of the session.

In the interval the May-day manifestations, the object of unusual precaution in all large centres of industry, took place. In Paris the precautions sufficed to prevent any conflict in the streets, but all the available troops were kept under arms, and, with the arrest of about two hundred Socialists, of whom two-thirds were at once liberated, everything passed off quietly.

In other places, however, the day was marked by most serious troubles. At Levallois Perret, almost a suburb of Paris, a fight took place between the police and a body of Anarchists. Revolver shots were fired, and several of the police were wounded in attempting to seize the red flag of the mob. At Lyons the people, carrying black and red flags, attempted to force an entry into the cemetery in order to place wreaths on the graves of the combatants of 1831 and 1834. Several charges of cavalry were necessary to disperse the crowd, and several soldiers were wounded by revolver shots. Upwards of sixty persons were arrested, of whom the great majority were old offenders. At Marseilles the Socialist Deputy, Aristide Boyer, was arrested in a scrimmage with the police, and at Nantes a similar manifestation occurred, but at Bordeaux, Toulouse, and the principal cities of the south, peace was not disturbed.

In the north, on the other hand, serious conflicts took place at Lille, Douai, Valenciennes, Roubaix, and elsewhere. In the Pas de Calais the workmen contented themselves with quitting their mines and workshops during the day, and with sending to the authorities petitions demanding a limitation of eight hours' work. But at Fourmies, a large industrial town in the north, a strike had broken out a few days previously, and the workmen endeavoured to bring about a general stoppage of work throughout the district. In view of this excitement the gendarmerie and infantry of the neighbourhood had been brought into the town. These, however, had not succeeded in maintaining peace, and the authorities had been assailed by a shower of stones. Eight of the most turbulent miners were arrested, and on an attempt to rescue them a struggle ensued between the crowd and the soldiers. One of the officers was surrounded and severely assaulted, whereupon the troops fired, killing seven of the crowd and wounding ten others, amongst whom were two young girls. The firing not having been preceded by three summonses to disperse was made the subject of a Parliamentary discussion. On this occasion the Boulangists displayed their usual violence; one of them, M. Ernest Roche, exhibited in the tribune a bloody shirt, pierced by five balls, which he had brought back from Fourmies, and declared, in closing his speech, that if there was still justice in France, M. Constans should be prosecuted. The Minister of the Interior laid before the Chamber the instructions

he had given to the authorities, and had little difficulty in proving that the events at Fourmies were due solely to professional agitators working upon the population. He terminated his speech in expressing his regret "for the officer who had been so unfortunate as to find himself in the sad necessity of acting in accordance with his duty." Thereupon M. Ernest Roche cried out, "Assassin! assassin!" and on being at once censured by the president, he left the Chamber, crying, *Les valets valent les maîtres*. After a speech by M. Millerand and the Comte de Mun, who demanded an inquiry into the events at Fourmies, the Chamber voted an order of the day by 371 to 48 votes, and rejected M. Millerand's proposition by 339 to 156 votes. In like manner, a few days later (May 8), the resolution proposed by M. Camille Pelletan for a general amnesty of political offenders was negatived by 294 to 191 votes, showing that the two Centre groups could still present a solid face.

Before the close of the month (May), however, certain incidents came to the surface by which the position of two members of the Cabinet—the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of War—was seriously compromised. A long-standing dispute as to the limits of French and Dutch authority in Guyana had been at length referred to the arbitration of the Czar, but by some strange oversight the French Foreign Office neglected to produce for the information of the arbitrator certain documents which supported the French demands, and in their absence the Czar decided in favour of the Netherlands' claim. It was not until the award had been made that the neglect was discovered. At any other moment such a blunder would have cost the responsible Minister his portfolio, but from patriotic feeling, as well as from a certain regard for M. Ribot, the Chamber was satisfied with a discreet reply to an embarrassing question.

A similar desire to maintain the Ministry in office was shown by the Chamber in its dealings with the rivalries and squabbles between the Military and Naval departments, which, notwithstanding M. de Freycinet's skilful handling, threatened at any moment to create a public scandal. It was a Boulangist deputy, M. le Hérissé, who first (May 21) attracted public attention to the fact that the Navy Department had entered into negotiations with the English firm of Armstrong & Co. for the construction of guns for the French navy. M. Gréville-Réache forthwith seized the opportunity of once more contending that the State arsenals and workshops, in consequence of the privileges they enjoyed, were unable to hold their own against private enterprise. Although he placed plainly before the Chamber his point, that State institutions were unable to produce the best quality at the lowest price, he was unable to obtain any effective support. But the debate had scarcely closed when it became known that another scandal had been brought to light, in which the War Department was especially concerned. The Paris representative of the Eng-

lish firm of Armstrong & Co., M. Triponé, was arrested without warning, and a few hours later the police took into custody M. Turpin, practical chemist, who claimed to be the inventor of the new explosive, melinite. These arrests were followed by several others, against whom a charge of high treason was preferred, it having transpired that M. Triponé was an artillery officer of the Reserve, and that many high officials of the War Department were implicated. M. Turpin still further incensed public opinion by the publication of a pamphlet professing to reveal the circumstances under which the secret of the manufacture of melinite had been sold. The book was, as far as possible, suppressed, but the alarm had been raised, and the Correctional Police Tribunal only reflected public opinion in summarily condemning Turpin, Triponé, and another to five years' imprisonment for divulging matters connected with the defence of the fatherland, whilst their subordinates escaped with somewhat slighter punishment. The public, however, was far from satisfied with what had taken place, with closed doors, at the police court, and M. de Freycinet was called upon to reassure the Chamber and the nation. The Minister of War declared that the extent of the prisoners' indiscretion had been greatly exaggerated by public opinion, and that what they had revealed was in reality insignificant and useless. But it was found impossible to reconcile such an assurance with the infliction of the maximum penalty pronounced by the law court, and for some hours a means was sought to exonerate the Minister without exasperating the Chamber, but it was not until ten orders of the day had been rejected that one was found which suited alike the tastes of the majority and of the Ministry.

The omnibus strike, which only lasted two days (May 25 and 26), was in itself of but little importance, except to the travelling public, but as a symptom of the feelings of both the working and middle classes, a Radical newspaper (*Le Rappel*) had for some time been urging omnibus drivers and conductors to form a trade union, which, by common action, would ensure attention to their legitimate complaints. The officers of the union, who were also omnibus drivers, were at once dismissed by their employers, and the men, making common cause with their representatives, at once came out on strike. The public, although seriously inconvenienced, at once sided with the men, and even assisted in stopping and unharnessing the omnibuses which the company had found means to despatch. The Paris Municipal Council, moreover, seemed disposed to help the men in their struggle by holding out the threat of depriving the company of its monopoly if it failed to carry out the conditions upon which it had been granted. There was, however, no need to have recourse to this extremity, for the company, recognising that public opinion was against them, appealed to the President of the

Municipal Council, Dr. Levraud, to mediate between the company and the union, with the result that the latter have obtained the concession of nearly every point in dispute, and business was resumed as usual on the morning of the third day.

This strike had been noisy, good-humoured, and short-lived, but nevertheless it led to important results. It was a powerful object lesson in the use of syndicates or trades unions, and it gave an impulse to the system of workmen's association which no propaganda or no preaching had hitherto acclimatised under the law of 1884. The success of this strike inspired workmen and employés of all descriptions to follow the example of the conquerors. Speedily and from all sides came the news of the formation of trades unions, followed by the declaration of strikes against masters. The news of the success of the omnibus strike in London confirmed the hopes of the most sanguine, and strikes were looked upon throughout the country as the infallible solution of all trade grievances. Unfortunately for the strikers, the circumstances were not always favourable, whilst the public failed in many cases to understand their grievances or to recognise them as justifiable. For example, the journeymen bakers of Paris, in their desire to suppress the registry offices (*bureaux de placement*), decided to leave off work, but they attained no results. In like manner, a few days later, the railway workmen commenced a noisy agitation, and, through the medium of an ill-chosen syndicate, put forward preposterous demands. The engine-drivers having steadily refused to mix themselves up in the strike, it finally terminated in the ruin of those who had brought it about. Public opinion in this and in other cases pronounced strongly against the men, and the police were at length forced to interfere in order to cause the freedom of work to be respected. On their side, too, the workmen learnt the important lesson that it was not enough to form a syndicate to boycott a factory or two in order to force the employers to capitulate.

Whilst the strikers were exchanging blows in the streets, Protectionists and Free Traders were exchanging arguments in the tribune. The failure of the approaching harvest was already foreseen, and in face of the diminished produce of the crops it became necessary to take steps to anticipate a want of corn. For this reason, notwithstanding the protests of the agriculturist group, the Chamber reduced the Corn Tax from five to three francs per hectolitre. The Senate, however, showed itself more Protectionist than the Chamber, and amended the proposal in such a way as to render the benefit illusory. The Chamber thereupon insisted upon its policy, but an agreement was come to by postponing the date until the end of August. Encouraged by this first success, the opponents of the new Customs Tariff recommenced the struggle (June 9) over raw silks, and succeeded in obtaining a total exemption of the tax on the raw material. Lyons illuminated its streets in consequence, but from the

southern departments, where silk culture was pursued, angry cries arose.

Whilst the Protectionists, defeated in the Chamber, were making ready to take their revenge in the Senate, the Catholics prepared themselves to join in the fray. A new party, under the name of the *Union de la France Chrétienne*, was formed, having for its chief M. Chesnelong, and Comte de Mun, Baron de Mackau, and MM. Keller and d'Herbelot as vice-presidents. Their ostensible object was to hinder the movement of adhesion to the Republic inaugurated by the Cardinal de Lavigerie. In point of fact it was only an attempt to revive, under another name, the old Conservative Union under the cloak of a religious movement; and there was only wanting to the new party the name of M. de Cassagnac to make it indistinguishable from the older coterie. The Cardinal recognised the necessity of taking an independent course, and at once launched forth a letter in which he insisted upon the urgency of a fair and frank understanding between Catholics and the Republican Government, trusting to the future to redress by legal means the grievances of which the Church justly complained in the military and education questions. The Bishop of Grenoble, Monsieur Fava, supported Cardinal de Lavigerie's policy, and a few weeks later it became known that the Pope himself was favourable to some such attempt at a reconciliation with the Republic. At a later date M. d'Haussonville, from the layman's point of view, recognised the danger of creating a simply Catholic party, and, in an address to the electors of Toulouse, reminded them that the fear of the triumph of any such party would at once revive the anti-clerical spirit throughout France.

Before entering upon the recess the Chamber showed plainly that its members were well nigh exhausted by the labours in debating and voting the new Customs Tariff. One day they were ready to support the Ministry by an implicit vote of confidence, and on the next threatened to overthrow them on a question of administration. In the former case it was M. Laur, the Boulangist deputy, who wished to raise the burning question of the passport regulations on the Alsace-Lorraine frontier; but the Chamber would not allow the matter to be discussed. The other matter rose out of a demand made by M. de Freycinet, Minister of War, for a credit of 600,000 francs to enlarge the buildings of the École Polytechnique. This vote was rejected by the Chamber on the last day (July 18) of its session, and the Minister at once left the House with the intention of offering his resignation to the President. His colleagues, however, insisted that the vote of confidence carried by a majority of 200 on the previous day was a truer gauge of the feelings of the Chamber than the rejection of an insignificant vote of credit. M. de Freycinet, recognising that his resignation would imply the collapse of the Ministry, of which he was the titular chief

as well as Minister of War, at length consented to remain in office.

The Parliamentary recess was marked by two or three important incidents, which afforded much gratification to the public mind, and the Ministry deserved considerable credit for having recognised the cravings of the nation. Towards the close of July the Northern Squadron, under the command of Vice-Admiral Gervais, was directed to visit Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Cronstadt, in succession. At the last-named port the French were welcomed with unexpected enthusiasm, and the officers treated with marked attentions. The Czar Alexander visited the fleet, and on board Admiral Gervais' ship expressed his admiration of the ships and their crews in special terms. It was no wonder that attentions such as these should awake a responsive echo in France, and before long it was known in every village that the Czar had listened, bareheaded, to the French hymn of liberty, the "Marseillaise," and it became obligatory at all meetings for the military or civil bands in attendance to play the Russian national air, and for the audience to rise and uncover. The long wished for alliance with Russia seemed at length realised, and no one who cared for popularity dared for some time to express doubt as to the solidity of the understanding between the French Republic and the autocrat of the Russian. Even the autumn session of the provincial councils was occupied with the Cronstadt reception to the exclusion of more pressing business, as from many bodies addresses were, contrary to all usage, voted and despatched to the Russian authorities.

In the Cronstadt manifestations there had been such glaring exaggeration that the more reasonable public men began to grow anxious; and it was therefore with no little satisfaction that the news was received that the French fleet had been invited to stop at Portsmouth on its return from the Baltic; and the evident cordiality of the reception which was given by all classes was taken as an encouraging symptom of a more solid understanding between the two nations of Western Europe, most in sympathy by their love of freedom.

The autumn manœuvres in like manner ministered to the patriotic fever which had seized upon the nation. Four complete army corps assembled in the Eastern Departments, and went through an unusual amount of campaigning. Each of the four corps at first operated against the other; they were then formed into two bodies, and finally all four corps were mustered together and took the field against an imaginary enemy. The President of the Republic, accompanied by his Cabinet, assisted at the final manœuvre, and at a banquet given at Vendevre (Sept. 10) to the generals commanding and the foreign authorities, M. de Freycinet spoke in an optimist strain of the military strength of France, and the recent recognition of her power by foreign

powers. "Peace," said he, "is no longer in the hands of others, but in our own." The general review of the troops held by the President at Vitry-le-Français (Sept. 17) confirmed the belief that the military power of France had been completely re-established, and towards the end of the month the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Ribot, speaking at Bapaume on the occasion of the unveiling of a monument to General Faidherbe, took credit for having shown to the world the power of the Republic.

This feeling of self-satisfaction, however, was before long shaken by the criticism of certain military authorities, who had been inclined to speak out in consequence of the articles of M. Reinach in France, and of Sir Charles Dilke in England. It was admitted that all the sources of the weakness of the French army had not been removed; the advanced age of many generals commanding, the jealousies between the staffs of the various chiefs, were amongst the most potent weak spots in the military system, but the public scarcely suspected their existence, and no outside pressure was available to bring about the necessary reforms.

The complete triumph of the Republican party apparently culminated in the suicide of General Boulanger. Deserted by his former friends, betrayed by those whom he had wished to serve, the former leader of the great party of the discontented had lost two months previously the friend who shared his exile. With her death the pecuniary resources of the ex-general came to a close, and he was unable to face boldly and with dignity the struggle for existence. The former head of the French army found no other issue from his position than that of suicide (Sept. 30) on his mistress's grave in the cemetery at Ixelles, near Brussels. In this way, at once tragic, sentimental, and ridiculous, one of the parties hostile to the Republic disappeared, but at the same moment the Clerical party recommenced with greater eagerness than ever its struggle for supremacy.

On the very day on which General Boulanger was buried at Brussels and the Municipality of Nice inaugurated the monument to Garibaldi, news arrived of serious troubles in Rome. The French Catholics, who had organised pilgrimages of working men, brought to Rome several hundred youths to be presented to the Pope. Some of these, when visiting the Pantheon, were so foolish as to write in the Visitors' Book placed near the tomb of Victor Emmanuel words which were considered as an offence to Italy. A riot ensued, the French pilgrims and those of other nationalities were chased through the streets of Rome, and it was necessary to hurry back the pilgrims in all haste. The French Government having received from the Consulta an explanation of the circumstances, judged it advisable to stop the departure of other pilgrimages, whilst the Minister of Public Works, M. Faillieres, requested the French Bishops to abstain from visiting Rome without having previously obtained per-

mission. This circular, although absolutely legal, was received in the worst spirit by the French Episcopacy. The Archbishop of Aix, Mgr. Gouthe-Soulard, wrote to M. Faillieres a letter which promptly found its way into print, in which he reproached the Minister with having neither thought nor care for the dignity of France. The impetuous Archbishop was congratulated and fêted by the reactionists of all parties. Brought before the Court of Appeal of Paris in consequence of the outrageous language of his books, Mgr. Gouthe-Soulard was condemned (Nov. 24) to a fine of 3,000 francs. A subscription, opened by the *Figaro*, produced in a few days considerably more than was needed, whilst letters of congratulation and encouragement arrived from all sides. Moreover, the Archbishop having published in a volume the pleadings of his counsel and the statement made by himself before the Court of Appeal, the majority of the French prelates seized this opportunity to express their feelings on the policy of the Government, and to encourage a rising feeling of discontent.

The extraordinary session of the Chamber (Oct. 15) was devoted almost exclusively to the discussion of the Budget, whilst the Customs Tariff occupied the attention of the Senate. The first-named body displayed its usual slowness, and was unable to pass its financial measures in time for discussion by the Senate. Another year, therefore, closed without the Budget having been voted, and it was found necessary to have recourse once more to the expedient of the "provisional twelfth." This delay went far to lessen the satisfaction which two important reforms gave to the country; the tax on railway express fares, imposed after the war of 1870, was abolished, and it was further arranged that from April 1, 1892, all railway fares should be reduced 25 per cent. for third-class passengers, and in less proportion for the other classes. The other reform, which ensured a considerable reduction in the law costs of small suits and sales, was due to the insistence of a former Minister, M. Henri Brisson. For a long time complaints had been made on all sides of the onerous charges for Court and other fees which, with the payments to the lawyers, not unfrequently exceeded the proceeds of the sales or the sums in dispute.

Contrary to the custom of previous years, the Budget of Public Worship was voted without debate. Every member of the Republican majority agreed to put on one side vexatious questions about which they could not count a majority in the Chamber. Amongst these the most important was the separation of Church and State; and notwithstanding the taunts of friends and opponents, the party refused to bring the question into discussion.

The most noisy debates arose upon M. Basly's interpellation (Nov. 9) on the miners' strike in the Pas de Calais. This strike had been started by the Secretary-General to the Miners' Syndicate, M. Lamendin, and had been decided on by a ballot taken throughout the district, after the manner of a plebiscitum.

Under such circumstances, the struggle promised to be severe, but the Government, encouraged by a vote (349 to 107), determined to intervene. The Prefect of the Pas de Calais, M. Alapetite, one of the youngest and most distinguished of French Prefects, was commissioned to bring about an arbitration. In this task he was wholly successful, whilst the prompt settlement of the dispute was no less important as a precedent than the intervention of the Government in a struggle between labour and capital was a formal recognition of the demands of the Socialists.

The Senate, however, was by no means disposed to follow in the same groove, for in the debate on the Bill for limiting the hours of work for women in factories, the amendment of M. Béranger, giving absolute freedom to women of full age, although opposed by M. Jules Simon, was carried by 109 to 99 votes. The still more thorny question of the attitude of the State towards the Church was also raised before the Upper Chamber (Dec. 9) by M. Dide, a former pastor of the Evangelical Church; but on the motion of MM. Demôle, Merlin, and Ranc, the following order of the day was voted by 211 to 57 :—“ The Senate, considering that the recent manifestations of a part of the clergy might imperil public peace, whilst constituting a flagrant violation of the rights of the State, trusts to the declarations of the Government that with the powers it possesses (or, if necessary, will seek them from Parliament) it will impose upon all respect to the Republic and submission to its laws.”

A similar debate was raised in the Chamber of Deputies (Dec. 11) by M. Hubbard, much to the annoyance of the Clerical party. The Right attempted to put a summary stop to the discussion by moving the previous question, but the President, M. Floquet, ruled that to move the previous question in such a case would be to put a stop to the right of interpellation which had been always recognised. The Chamber supported this view by 374 to 133 votes, and the debate was commenced and lasted two days. On this occasion the Minister of Justice and Public Worship, M. Faillieres, showed more than ordinary indecision in pronouncing for either side, whilst M. de Freycinet was more than usually shifty and evasive. The result of this policy was that the Government was only able to get voted by 243 against 223 the order of the day adopted in the Senate.

The victory was anything but decisive, showing, as it did, the profound dissension which existed between the two wings of the Republicans on the religious question. But in a matter so delicate, the most essential was to gain time, and M. de Freycinet might claim that his temporising policy had been justified. It was in fact a critical moment for the Prime Minister, for in the interval he had been received (Dec. 10) at the French Academy, where his inaugural oration on Emile Augier was regarded as a finer specimen of eloquence than any political speech of the day.

It soon, however, became apparent that the success obtained by the Government was a barren one, and only ensured a few days' truce; and from all sides the attacks were renewed, whilst the efforts of the Ministry to calm the general excitement were disregarded. For instance, in the manufacturing centre of Romans, where in former days Gambetta had pronounced some of his most stirring appeals, the Catholics opened a congress under the title of the Free States of Dauphiné. The ostensible object of the meeting, which was held under the presidency of the Marquis de la Tour du Pin-Chambly, was to reconstitute the old divisions of the ancient province; and the chairman declared that the meeting marked the dawn of a great movement, of which the aim would be "to revive the times when the Church was free, and the bishops were not State functionaries; when religious communities flourished and the country districts were populous." A few days later the death of Mgr. Freppel, the impetuous Bishop of Angers, who sat as the deputy for Brest, gave the clergy of the West the opportunity of showing the strength of their organisation. Catholicism once more threw in its lot with the Conservatives, whilst it drew its recruits from the various Monarchical parties already in process of decomposition.

The year consequently closed in an atmosphere of doubt and mistrust, of which the Ministry was the first to reflect the impression. In a trifling administrative matter which was to leave the Government untrammelled, the Ministry asked for the right (Dec. 21) to extend for a year treaties of commerce with those countries which, although entitled by special agreement to exceptional advantages, were ready to apply to French goods the most favoured nation clause. In the discussion which ensued it was impossible to discover whether the Government had the right to make certain reductions on the minimum tariff to any nation whatever. The Constitution, in fact, recognised the right of the Government to make treaties of commerce; but the question arose whether their right was not limited by the new tariff law. M. Clémenceau summed up this final debate by saying what each one was thinking, "*nous n'y comprenons plus rien du tout.*" The general conclusion was, the Ministers, anxious to please everybody, would solve no perplexing difficulties. The year moreover closed without the Budget having been voted, nor the new Customs Tariff passed; whilst it remained a matter of doubt whether the Government was inclining towards clericalism, or whether the clericals were coming forward to help the Government in the hope of dominating it. Above all, doubts prevailed as to the result of the new tariffs in the great towns, in the country districts, and its effect on French industry and on foreign relations. Rarely, perhaps, were so many serious and irritating questions pressing at once for thoughtful consideration and immediate solution.

II. ITALY.

The anniversary of the death of Victor Emmanuel (Jan. 10) called forth, as usual, one of those political manifestations at which orators of the Right love to drape themselves in the post-humous authority of their popular sovereign. This year Signor Bonghi, a former Minister of Public Instruction, attacked the policy of the Prime Minister, drawing a comparison between Victor Emmanuel and his son little flattering to the latter. "It was not the late King," said he, "who would have permitted Ministers to take his place, and it was not to him that his Ministers would have dared to hand a speech to read from the Throne marked by long, obscure, and inconclusive passages." These reproaches were, however, somewhat difficult to reconcile with the principal grievances of the Opposition, which had been with the too personal intervention of the King Umberto in military and diplomatic questions, but by their vigour they suggested the keenness with which politics would be discussed in the approaching Parliamentary session.

In face of the dangers threatened by the attitude of the Right, the Prime Minister took heart and decided to face them. Doubtless he was in some way misled by the results of the elections of the preceding November, when the Ministerial candidates had been returned by large majorities. Signor Crispi, in a word, was determined to lead the Parliamentary majority, not to allow himself to be led by it. Only from this point of view could the introduction of three measures, of which his partisans saw the danger, be understood. He proposed to rearrange the territorial divisions and to suppress a large number of *circondarii*, involving the withdrawal of as many sub-prefects and at least twenty prefectures, and thereby giving promise of important savings. Naturally the towns of which the officials were to be suppressed protested vehemently against the proposal.

Similar reasons of economy, and others still more important, explained and amply justified the proposal put forward by Signor Crispi for establishing a single State bank for the whole of Italy, to replace the large financial *istituti* of the old kingdoms, but here, again, the Prime Minister came into collision with fierce local jealousies, the Sicilian deputies coming in a body to implore their compatriot to make an exception in favour of the Bank of Palermo. The Prime Minister, in reply, declined to enter into the consideration of private interests, and thus by a single stroke alienated some of his principal supporters.

Lastly, a Bill was drafted to carry out a part of the financial programme of Signor Grimaldi, of which the most important article was the prompt collection of duties charged upon alcohols. The Minister was so certain of being able to carry this point,

that on the day on which the Bill was introduced he provisionally put it in execution in order to prevent hasty purchases.

On the first day of the session Signori Bonghi and Martini brought forward a proposal for the abolition of the *scrutin de liste*, and notwithstanding the opposition of Signor Crispi, the Chamber commenced to discuss the principle, and a day or two later (Jan. 28) entered upon the discussion of its clauses. Thus, from the very outset, the Government found itself in conflict with the Right, upon which it depended for support.

About the same time the Marchese de Rudini and the Comte Leopoldo Pulle, speaking on behalf of their colleagues, reminded the Prime Minister that he had promised to give portfolios to the deputies Luzzatti and Ellena; but on this point Sgr. Crispi declined to make any formal engagement.

Such was the situation when the debate commenced (Jan. 31) in the Chamber on the new spirit tax. Signor Bonghi opened the discussion by attacking the Bill with his usual bitterness. Signor Crispi replied somewhat sharply. He declared that respect for the dead alone prevented him from drawing a comparison between his management of the national finances and that of the Right, adding: "Nevertheless, the policy followed up to 1876 was very different; it was a servile policy towards the foreigner." At these words Signor Finale, Minister of Agriculture, who had been a colleague of Minghetti, rose and quitted the Ministerial Bench. Signori de Rudini and Bonghi, standing up, violently addressed the Prime Minister, and Signor Luzzatti, president of the Financial Commission, declared that after such language he refused to defend the Bill. In the midst of these angry declamations Signor Crispi, apparently unmoved, maintained a haughty and provoking attitude, calling upon the Chamber to vote the Ministerial order of the day proposed by Signor Villa. By 186 votes to 123 the Chamber rejected it, and refused to discuss the Bill before them.

On learning the result of the vote, the Prime Minister, turning towards Signor Damiani, exclaimed, "At last I am free!" and at once quitting the Assembly, withdrew to his own house, where he could give free expression to his feelings. It was not until ten o'clock in the evening that he betook himself to the Quirinal. The King, already acquainted with the details of the sitting, said to him, "I know what has happened; it distresses me; it is with grief that I receive the resignation which you offer, reserving to myself the right to decide what is now to be done."

The Ministerial crisis thus commenced was prolonged for some days. Signor Crispi had managed to fall by inclining towards the Left, and he consequently tried to induce the King to appeal to Signor Zanardelli to construct a Cabinet from that party. The King, however, refused to lend himself to this combination; he preferred to continue the old process of evolution.

inaugurated by Depretis and proposed to Signor Biancheri, President of the Chamber of Deputies, to form a Ministry composed of moderate men chosen both from the Right and from the Left. This not having been found practicable, the King turned to the Marchese de Rudini, whom he commissioned to form a Cabinet from the Right with certain elements of the Opposition. A few days later (Feb. 8) that statesman was able to submit to the King the following list:—Marchese de Rudini, Deputy, President of the Council and Foreign Affairs; Baron Nicotera, Deputy, Interior; Conte Luigi Ferraris, Senator, Justice and Public Worship; Colombo, Deputy, Finance; Luzzatti, Deputy, Treasurer; Lieutenant-General Pelloux, War; Paschale Villari, Senator, Public Instruction; Chimerri, Agriculture and Commerce; and Branca, Public Works. The new Premier had made every effort to obtain the co-operation of Signor Saracco, who had been Minister of Public Works 1887–89, but he had failed in his endeavours. Thus a large number of portfolios had been assigned to the men of the North, Pelloux and Ferraris being Piedmontese, Luzzatti, Venetian, and Colombo Milanese; whilst the South was represented by the Prime Minister, Nicotera, Chimerri, Villari, and Branca.

The programme of the new Government was based upon policy of as strict economy as the need of keeping up the armaments would permit; the aggressive policy towards the Vatican was to be discouraged, and whilst not abandoning the Triple Alliance, the Ministry proposed to renounce as far as possible compromising relations with foreign Powers.

To the fallen Minister the King showed that his services to the State were not unappreciated or forgotten, but to the offer of a title of nobility Signor Crispi replied by a request to decline the proffered honour, whilst his attitude towards his successors was most praiseworthy. For instance, when serious disturbances occurred at Palermo, Signor Crispi, at the solicitation of the new Minister of the Interior, telegraphed to the prefect and mayor of the city—both of them his own nominees—requesting them to entreat the people, in his name, to preserve order in the city.

In presenting their programme to the Chamber (Feb. 14) the new Ministry insisted especially upon the savings they hoped to effect on the national expenditure. They withdrew, however, the Bill for the wholesale reduction of prefectures brought in by their predecessors, and announced their neutrality on the question of *scrutin de liste*. With regard to external politics, the Prime Minister explained: “We shall stand fully and faithfully by our alliances. We shall prove to the world that we are not actuated by aggressive intentions. Doubts and suspicions having been raised as to our attitude towards France, we shall do our utmost to remove all false interpretations of our intentions.”

With this formal sitting the Chamber then adjourned, in order that the Ministry might have the leisure to make them-

selves acquainted with their official duties. The Opposition meanwhile were not inactive; the Left organised a Committee of Observation which worked in concert with a junta of the various defeated parties of the Chamber. In consequence of the Ministerial crisis, moreover, Signor Biancheri, President of the Chamber of Deputies, in accordance with custom, retired; but his value was so highly appreciated by all parties, that the Chamber unanimously refused (March 2) to accept his resignation. The President of the Council was the first to pay a tribute to the zeal, impartiality, and patriotism of Signor Biancheri, declaring that he had been elected to the chair by the general voice of all parties; and this tribute was endorsed by Signor Zanardelli, the leader of the Opposition.

The Minister of the Treasury, Signor Luzzatti, lost no time in bringing forward the Budget 1891-2, as modified by the new Cabinet. His forecasts of the future were somewhat less optimistic than those of his predecessor, for in place of a surplus of 600,000 lire, he estimated that the Budget would show a deficit of 38½ millions. To meet this, he proposed to apply the savings, amounting to 9 millions, as announced by his predecessor, Signor Grimaldi, and promised by rigid economy to effect further savings to the extent of 36 millions. In this way the Government hoped to find itself in possession of a surplus of 7 millions, which they proposed to hold in hand to meet any shortcomings in the receipts of the current year. The Minister, however, proposed to make use of these 7 millions, and 3 millions more coming from the re-organisation of the Banks of Issue, to the reduction of taxes on food. The first trial of strength between the Government and the Opposition arose on the nomination of the Budget Committee, when 22 Ministerialists were elected against 11 of the Opposition, a result due to the support given to the former by the 25 members of the Extreme Left.

At this moment the Lioraghi incident suddenly cropped up and practically completed the rout of Signor Crispi's followers. The journal *La Tribuna* opened the campaign by the publication of certain accounts brought by the traveller Signor Corazini of the murders committed at Massowah by Lieut. Lioraghi. With the aid of a civilian named Caquassi, this officer had managed to get rid of a number of Ethiopians, suspected of correspondence with the enemy. The circumstances under which these murders had taken place were especially cruel, and on the accounts being known, Lioraghi fled to Switzerland, whence he wrote to *Il Secolo* a letter in which he admitted having caused to be executed more than 800 Abyssinian rebels, but it was, he maintained, with the knowledge of his superiors. General indignation was expressed throughout the country at these methods of introducing European civilisation into Africa, and Lioraghi's extradition having been demanded and accorded, the Government was questioned (March 11) in the Chamber by Signor Prinetti and Cavalotti as to its

intentions. The President of the Council at once replied that a Commission had been named, composed of magistrates, deputies, and the commander-in-chief of the eighth army corps at Florence, to investigate the charges. He concluded by asking for a vote to cover the expenses of the inquiry, which was to be extended so as to embrace the whole question of colonial organisation, and the conduct of all civil and military officials in Abyssinia. Signor Crispi thus indirectly challenged, seized the occasion to reappear in the Tribune. He declared his warm approval of the proposed Commission, and expressed his confidence in the verdict of time.

The Commission of Inquiry, however, was found to be somewhat difficult to organise, and the first chosen President, Signor Armo, pleaded, on the ground of health, his inability to cross over to Africa; and when at length the Commission was started on its inquiries, it found itself hampered by the secret resistance of the military authorities of the colony. After all, the trial of Lioraghi, after having dragged on for several months, ended, to the dismay of everyone, by the acquittal of the accused.

The moment was scarcely well chosen for the reappearance of Signor Crispi, he would have gained in reputation by being for a while forgotten. But he thought, after Signor Armo's resignation of the Presidency of the Lioraghi Commission, that it was an opportune moment to question the Government on its general policy, and in a remarkable speech (March 21) he presented with power and skill the case against his successors; reproaching them with having shown undue regard for the Pope, and at the same time living by the protection of the Extreme Left.

To this charge Signor Cavalotti at once replied, by reminding the Chamber that it was Crispi who, following the policy of Depretis, had kept himself in office by the votes of a coalition, and that, more than any other leader, he had aimed at breaking up the old parties. Cavalotti was followed by the Marchese de Rudini, who gave a clear explanation of his policy, which he summed up in the following words: "No provocation at home or abroad; firmness and wisdom towards the Vatican, as towards all Europe; in Africa economy, and forbearance everywhere." In this debate it was remarked that the Prime Minister abstained from the use of an argument which could not fail to have produced considerable effect; he had just previously received news that the mission of the Marchese Antonelli to the Negus had completely failed. For several days he kept from the knowledge of the public the telegram, in order not to have the appearance of obtaining a too easy triumph over Signor Crispi. The Chamber passed a vote of confidence in the Ministry by 256 to 96 votes.

At the same time another serious matter was occupying the attention of the Government. On March 14, eleven Italian subjects, inhabiting New Orleans, had been lynched in prison by the mob, on the ground that they belonged to the secret society of

the Mafia. This execution had been planned and carried out in a particularly horrible manner. The Italian Government immediately demanded the punishment of the guilty, and a pecuniary indemnity for the families of the victims. The American Foreign Office replied that the Constitution of the United States did not permit the Federal Government to interfere in the judicial acts of a State, whilst at the same time the constitution and dignity of the United States could not allow the Italian Government to enter into direct negotiation with the authorities of Louisiana.

The Italian Government thereupon ordered its Consul at New Orleans, Signor Corte, to commence an inquiry on the spot. From this it appeared that four only of the victims were still Italian subjects, the others having already obtained naturalisation as American citizens; at the same time he reported that the Italian colony as a body was in a prosperous condition, possessing in Louisiana upwards of 1,500 landed properties, 3,000 shops and numerous farms, and steamboats on the Mississippi, and that amongst the victims two only showed doubtful antecedents. The view held therefore by the Italian Government was evidently that of justice and civilisation. It was impossible to admit that such outrages should be allowed to pass without any effort to bring the guilty to justice, but in answer to the Italian demands the Federal Government, beyond expressing its regrets, declined to take any steps. The Italian Government thereupon recalled its Minister, Baron Fava, and the settlement of the matter was indefinitely postponed.

At home the Rudini Cabinet was not slow in giving proof of its desire to pursue a policy of conciliation. It put a stop to the confiscation of the property of the religious fraternities which the preceding Ministry had seized under the law concerning charitable endowments; it changed the character of the Italian schools established in Turkish countries, which, instead of being instruments of propaganda and causes of trouble, became centres of education, their superintendence being shifted from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to that of Public Instruction.

During the Easter vacation a Workmen's Congress was held at Milan, where the principal subject under discussion was the observance of the May-day labour fête. The proceedings of the Congress were throughout orderly, showing the progress made by the Italian Socialists. Here and there, however, meetings organised to demand work gave rise to disturbances, but as a rule the attitude of the Italian working men throughout the year was peaceable.

In the Chambers the principal subjects debated were the abolition of the *scrutin de liste*, agreed to (April 25) after a vigorous speech by Signor Nicotera, the African policy, and various financial proposals. Of the latter, the most important was the establishment of a *Crédit Foncier*, which was voted (April 28) by a large majority.

In Italy the large number of workmen without work gave rise to greater apprehension with regard to the May-day manifestations. A week beforehand notices were exhibited in all the police offices of the kingdom absolutely prohibiting processions, public meetings, and demonstrations on that day. Measures had been taken to send back to their own homes, as far as possible, workmen without work who might have been attracted towards the large towns. These precautions, supported by the decision arrived at at the Workmen's Congress, caused everything to work smoothly on the dreaded day. At Venice, Turin, Verona, Como, Pavia, Casale, Alexandria, and Parma everything passed off quietly, while at the busy shipyards and workshops of Leghorn the men enjoyed a peaceful holiday. The workmen of Genoa, to the number of about 1,000, held a meeting outside the town at Sanpierdarena, and wished to enter the city in procession, but at the summons of the police they quietly dispersed. At Ravenna three persons were arrested; at Naples there was shouting but no fighting; whilst at Florence, an orator who invited his audience to pillage the houses of the rich was promptly arrested. It was at Rome that the most serious events occurred. At the last moment the police authorised a meeting on the Piazza Santa Croce di Gerusalemma. Elaborate precautions had been taken, and large bodies of troops were held in reserve. Excited by the speeches of the Socialists Liverani and Cipriani, the latter of whom urged the need of organisation, the crowd, on the suggestion of another Socialist named Landi, proposed at once to parade the streets of the city. The police thereupon broke up the meeting, and a scene of confusion followed. The troops were summoned to support the civil force, shots were fired on both sides, and in the struggle the Deputy Barzilai was knocked down by an officer of the *bersaglieri*.

As might be expected these events were not allowed to pass unnoticed in the Chamber, but although the deputies expressed their confidence in the Government by the substantial majority of 235 to 113 votes, the social question could not be settled by a simple order of the day. Its importance, in fact, was daily becoming more pressing, as was proved by the action of the Pope, who issued (May 9) an encyclical addressed in the first instance to the Catholic hierarchy, and subsequently communicated to the civil powers. This brief *de conditione opificum* affirmed once more that the Church alone could reconcile the apparently conflicting interests of workmen and their employers, and it enjoined upon the Catholic clergy throughout the world to make the Church's influence real and universal.

The abrupt departure (May 20) of the Prime Minister from Rome gave, however, a fresh turn to popular discussion. The object of his journey to Monza, where the King was passing the spring, was known to be connected with the renewal of the Triple Alliance, which King Umberto was perhaps more anxious to keep

in force than either of his co-signatories. He, therefore, anticipated the natural expiration of the old treaty; and although this was kept secret for several weeks, it was ultimately admitted under very dramatic circumstances. In the debates on the Budget in the Chamber of Deputies, the Prime Minister was challenged to explain the relations of Italy with foreign Powers, but when he attempted in two successive sittings (June 27 and 28) to defend the policy of the Government, he was unable to obtain a hearing. He, therefore, decided to give in the calmer atmosphere of the Senate the speech which he had intended to deliver at Monte Citorio; and he then took the credit of having signed an act which placed Italian independence under such strong protection.

The foreign policy of the Government having been thus settled, the Cabinet at once took up the questions of military discipline and financial reform. General Pelloux, the Minister for War, had found on his accession to office the rules of the service dangerously relaxed. He felt it incumbent even to place General Bava, commanding at Rome, under arrest for absenting himself from a review of the troops held by order of the Minister, the general's excuse being that the weather was rainy. The need of firmness and activity, as well as effort and discretion, was shown by the constant difficulties arising out of the disturbed state of trade. In the Romagna, the Socialists found in the number of the unemployed materials for serious agitation, and the financial crisis, which had ruined so many in 1889, seemed on the point of again breaking out. In Sardinia an armed body of workmen attacked the railway station of Chilidani, and carried off all its contents, whilst at Naples it was found necessary to dissolve the Municipal Council and place the administration of that important city in the hands of a Royal Commission.

The financial situation of the kingdom was clearly placed before the Chamber and the electors. The ordinary receipts of the year 1891-2 were estimated at 1,648 millions of lire, and the extraordinary at 127 millions, or an aggregate of 1,775 millions. On the other side of the account the ordinary expenditure was placed at 1,592 millions, and the extraordinary at 189 millions, making a total of 1,781 millions, or a deficit of 6 millions. In other words, there was a visible deficit of 6 millions of lire liable to be increased by the certainty with which foreseen expenditure was incurred, and the equal uncertainty that taxes would always produce the returns anticipated.

According to the Budget statement, one-third of the revenue (602 millions of lire) was derivable from taxes upon ordinary commodities, the tobacco monopoly producing 193 millions, and the salt monopoly 63 millions—an enormous amount, but showing a considerable diminution since 1881, when it produced 83 millions—figures which suggested that, notwithstanding a rigorous

system of surveillance, there was a vast expansion of contraband trade, stimulated by the wide extent of the national seaboard.

Of the expenditure side of the Budget 250 millions were absorbed by the Ministry of War, 115 millions by the Naval Department, and 143 millions by Public Works, of which 115 millions were regarded as extraordinary expenses. Ten years previously the allocation of the revenue had been 225 millions to the Army, 45 millions to the Navy, and 166 millions to Public Works. These figures naturally gave a text to those who were opposed to the foreign policy of the Cabinet, and they maintained, with some show of reason, that in presence of general distress and financial embarrassment the unproductive expenditure alone increased, whilst useful expenditure, such as the construction of harbours, roads, and railways, was curtailed on all sides on the ground of economy.

It was perhaps a feeling that these complaints were not without reason that inspired the first idea of a Central European Zollverein, of which the authorship was assigned to General von Caprivi by his sovereign; but the exciting cause, doubtless, was in reality the discussion of the treaties of commerce between Italy and the two German Powers.

During the autumn the military manœuvres were in Italy the cause or the excuse for interviews between princes and statesmen; but they gave rise to no important speeches, except that made by the Marchese di Rudini at Mondovi (Aug. 23), on the occasion of unveiling the monument of Charles Emmanuel I. In Lombardy, the autumn was marked by several strikes in different branches of industry, one of which, at Milan, led to an attempt on the part of the mayor to bring about an understanding between the men and their employers. The latter, however, strongly resented this interference, declaring themselves capable of arranging with their workmen.

By an unfortunate coincidence the month of September was devoted by the Catholics of Italy and other countries to pilgrimages to the capital, and by the Garibaldian veterans to fêtes in honour of their deceased leader, who on Sept. 20, 1870, had entered the city by the Porta Pia. Hitherto the two bodies of enthusiasts had kept themselves apart, and order had been preserved. This year, however, the folly of a French pilgrim (Oct. 2), when visiting the Pantheon, threatened for a moment to disturb the peace of Europe. The Papal Court naturally seized upon the incident to renew its traditional complaints, and to prove to the world that the Papacy was deprived of the freedom necessary to carry out its mission. On the other hand, the opponents of the Papacy called for the abolition of the Law of Guarantees, the presence of the Pope in Rome being incompatible with the King's sovereignty. The most noisy, if not the most important demonstration in this sense occurred at Catanzaro, in Calabria, under the presidency of the Syndic, the Senator Rossi.

Meanwhile the trial of the anarchists had been slowly proceeding at Rome. Among the sixty-two accused of taking part in the disturbances were the Deputy Cipriani and a German student named Körmer, who had been in custody since May-day. The defiant attitude of the accused had obliged the magistrates to resort to especially vigorous measures, and these drew from their counsel repeated protests. By this means the trial was indefinitely prolonged, and no verdict rendered before the close of the year.

The visit of M. de Giers to the King of Italy at Monza following so immediately on that of King Charles of Roumania was regarded as something more than a mere act of politeness; but whatever was treated between the Russian Foreign Secretary and the Italian statesman remained secret, although M. de Giers' subsequent visit to Paris gave grounds for supposing that important matters had been under discussion.

The opening meeting of the Peace Congress at Rome (Nov. 8) was presided over by Signor Biancheri, President of the Chamber of Deputies, assisted by the Syndic of Rome, the Duc Caetani. One of the English delegates, Mr. Phillip Stanhope, M.P., obtained great success by his speech in favour of peace, and an interesting character was given to the sitting by the request of the German delegates to have the debates conducted in French.

The words and resolutions of the Peace Congress at Rome found an echo in the speech of the Prime Minister delivered in the Scala Theatre of Milan (Nov. 9), when the Marchese di Rudini explained to an immense audience the principal points of the Ministerial programme. He warmly repudiated all idea of hostility towards the Papacy, which in Italy was limited to the exercise of spiritual power, not only by the law which should not be violated with impunity, but by the almost unanimous consent of the most pious and faithful believers. Alluding to the recent events stirred up by a parcel of fanatics, he declared that they would not make him deviate from his task. "We will not in any way infringe the immovable Law of Guarantees; and strong in the present and sure of the future, we are able to offer without fear to the Pope the greatest liberty, and at the same time to pay him sovereign honours." Turning, then, to African affairs, the Marchese di Rudini announced that Italy had established peaceful relations with Margascia, that a resident would be shortly established with Makonnen, and that in a short time they hoped to renew friendly relations with Menelek. At the same time, General Gandolfi was instructed to establish a civil Government wholly independent of the Governor and the military commander. The Minister concluded his speech with these words: "Being unable to offer to public curiosity new and imposing campaigns, we shall content ourselves with an honourable peace."

With regard to the political situation, he expressed himself

perfectly satisfied, thanks to the pacific air of the Triple Alliance. "Our views," he said, "have not at all times been rightly appreciated. We have found ourselves, in consequence of mistrust and unjustifiable suspicion, face to face with financial and economic difficulties so serious as to prove an urgent need for Italy to conquer her financial and economic freedom. One more slight effort is needed, and that freedom, without which political independence ever loses its value, we hope to gain for the country." He concluded by promising retrenchment in every branch, by postponing for a time the carrying out of public works.

The friends of Signor Crispi determined that the former Minister should at once reply to his successor. An imposing banquet was organised (Nov. 12) at Palermo in his honour, but his supporters alone were present. In a telegram addressed to the organisers of the fête, Signor Crispi declared his confidence in the future of Sicilian democracy, "which would know, as in 1849 and 1860, how to stir up the Italian nation, and to resist the scepticism of men who had never risked their lives, and would make no sacrifice to the Fatherland."

This telegram, appearing on the eve of the King's visit to the Exposition at Palermo, produced some disturbance, of which the Marchese di Rudini was the principal object, but the matter passed off without further trouble.

The negotiations between Italy and Austria having at length come to an end, a treaty of commerce was signed at Munich (Nov. 20), and shortly afterwards a similar arrangement was made with Germany, and Spain was invited to associate herself in the union. The principal object of these treaties was to find, in Germany especially, an outlet for Italian products in order to compensate for the losses caused by the closing of the French markets. The principal clause of the tariff, therefore, referred to the export duty on wines, which was fixed at 20 marks for table wines, 10 marks for mixing wines, and 4 marks for grapes and must.

Immediately after the signature of this treaty the Italian Government by a simple decree increased the import duties on alcohols, oil, coffee, sugar, oats, oil-seeds, perfumery, and beer. This was the step taken by the Crispi Cabinet *in extremis*, but the times were changed, and the new Ministry had no doubt that it would obtain from the Chamber a Bill of indemnity for its *Catenaccio*.

On the meeting of Parliament this decree gave rise to a curious incident. Signor Crispi was unable to condemn a measure which he had himself recommended eight months previously, but he argued that there had been a violation of the standing order which prevented the presentation in the same session of a Bill which had already been rejected by one of the Chambers. In this view he was supported by Signor Imbriani, to whom the Marchese di Rudini replied, recognising his right to raise the

question, pleaded the urgency of the situation, and called upon the Chamber to ratify the action of the Ministry.

The position of the Ministry at the opening of the session, although attacked from many quarters, seemed stronger than ever. The ecclesiastical question promised to give rise to much bitter controversy, it having been greatly envenomed by the speech delivered in the Austro-Hungarian delegations by Count Kalnoky. This speech had caused considerable excitement in Italy, and was regarded as an indiscreet intervention of an ally in internal affairs. Signor Cavalotti took the opportunity of contrasting with it the correct tone on the same subject assumed by M. Ribot in the French Chamber. After several sittings had been devoted to the debate, Signor Rudini replied that he would never consent to the intervention of foreign Governments in Italian affairs, and—addressing at the same time the friends of Signor Crispi and the Extreme Left—that if they had hoped to find on the Ministerial bench Neo-Guelphs they were mistaken, they would only find Liberals and Ghibellines. At length, on the proposal of Signor Curioni, the Chamber, taking note of the declarations of the Government, and expressly approving its management of internal ecclesiastical policy, by 248 to 62 votes passed to the orders of the day. The relations of Austria and Italy were the subject of further debate with reference to the occupation of Pelagosa islands, situated in the Italian waters of the Adriatic. On the most important of them the Austrian Government had erected a lighthouse, and had otherwise occupied the others. In the absence of any official correspondence, it was difficult to carry on a debate, but Signor di Rudini promised a communication on the subject.

The text of the Commercial Treaties with both Germany and Austria-Hungary was laid before Parliament shortly before Christmas (Dec. 17), accompanied by an *exposé des motifs*, in which the Ministry insisted upon the advantages of an alliance which should, by binding together the material interests of 120 millions of people, directly advance the cause of European peace. Relying upon the popular feeling of satisfaction aroused by these treaties, the Ministry felt strong enough to face without anxiety the debate on the *Catenaccio*. The attack was begun by the eminent economist, Signor Ellena, who in a vigorous speech showed how the taxes, thus summarily imposed, would weigh most heavily upon the poor. The Minister of Finance, Signor di Colombo, admitted that it was unfortunately to the mass of the population that the Government had to look for the 20 millions of lire which he hoped the taxes would produce, and that personally he was prepared to face the unpopularity which their imposition would doubtlessly bring upon the Ministry. The general discussion was brought to a close by a vote of confidence carried by 248 to 124, the majority being composed of members of the Right, of the Right Centre, and of a section of the Left

Centre, whilst the minority drew its numbers exclusively from the Left and the Extreme Left. Cavalotti and Comte Ferrari, however, as if indicating the possibility of an approaching re-arrangement of parties, withdrew from their former colleagues, whilst Signor Crispi tried by all the means in his power to pose as leader of the Opposition to the exclusion of Signor Zanardelli. These tactics only resulted in strengthening the position of the Government by weakening that of their opponents, for on the following day (Dec. 18) the *Catenaccio* was voted by 207 to 75 votes.

The new Ministry had thus reached the close of the year under the most encouraging auspices from a Parliamentary point of view; but they had before them many serious difficulties to surmount. It was important to reconcile the retrenchments necessitated by the state of the Budget with the satisfying the demand of work for the unemployed. From this serious duty the Government did not seek to escape by shirking their responsibilities, and the Minister of War, General Pelloux, openly declared that in the case of a war the great difficulty would be to feed the families of those serving in the field, and that so far no solution of this problem had been found.

CHAPTER II.

I. GERMANY.

THE first half of the year was marked by the death, within a few weeks of each other, first, of the ablest opponent of the Government at Berlin since the establishment of German unity, and then of one of its principal founders. On March 14, Dr. Windthorst, leader of the Clerical party in the Imperial Parliament of Germany and the Chamber of Deputies of Prussia, and Prime Minister of Hanover before its annexation to Prussia, died at Berlin in his seventy-ninth year. "His little Excellency," or "the Pearl of Meppen," as he was called, was the most influential political leader in Germany. He was the only deputy who was sometimes more than a match for Prince Bismarck, and his loss was deeply felt by the party which he had led. Dr. Windthorst's disappearance from the political scene was a severe blow to the German clericals and to the Vatican, but the impression it produced was for a time completely eclipsed by the sudden death of Count Moltke, which took place at Berlin, in his ninety-first year, on April 24, after he had been present at a sitting of the Reichstag. The Prussian Diet and the German Parliament adjourned on the following day, and all classes, from the Emperor downwards, joined in the public manifestations of sorrow for the loss of their great national hero.

The Emperor's fondness for making speeches, which is almost as great as his passion for travelling, was manifested in some curious

and characteristic utterances. In an address to the Diet of Brandenburg, on February 22, he said :—

“I am very well acquainted with the attempts of the present time to disquiet men’s minds. The spirit of disobedience is creeping through the land, clothed in a bright and seductive garment. It is trying to confuse the minds of my people and of the men devoted to me. It makes use of an ocean of printer’s ink to hide the ways which must be clear to everybody who knows me and my principles. I will not let myself be led astray by that. It may give pain to my heart to see how misunderstood are the aims which I pursue. But I cherish the confidence that all who are well disposed to the Monarchy, and all those who wish me well—and, above all, the men of Brandenburg—have not wavered for a moment, and have never lost faith in what I have done.

“We must press forward and work, and we must struggle at home. If the whole is to prosper, do not conceal from yourselves that sacrifices of private interests must here and there be made. Our present parties are founded on interests, and often pursue these interests too closely. It was the high merit of my predecessors that they never joined parties, but always stood above them, and that they succeeded in uniting the several parties for the good of the whole. Well, you see how success has crowned these endeavours for the good of the whole and for the progress and prosperity of our work. I hope and express the firm confidence that each of you, in his work and sphere of influence, will understand that he is to work and labour for the whole, that he must stand faithfully at my side and help me.

“I do not believe that the men of Brandenburg will hesitate to follow me on the paths I tread. You know that I regard my whole position and my task as given me by Heaven; that I am called in the name of a higher Being, to whom I must one day give account. I can therefore assure you that no evening and no morning passes without a prayer for my people, or, especially, without a thought of my Mark of Brandenburg. Well, Brandenburgers, your Margrave is speaking to you! Follow him through thick and thin on all ways on which he shall lead you.”

On May 5, at a banquet at Düsseldorf, he made the following remarks on his home and foreign policy :—

“The Prince of Wied was kind enough to allude to my labours for the welfare of the Empire. That is a duty attendant upon my position, and I shall rejoice if, by the aid of Heaven, I am enabled to govern my country, in the future as in the past, in peace. Could I but hold the peace of Europe in my hand, I would at least take care that it should not be broken. At any rate, I shall do all that in me lies to see that the blessings of peace are preserved to us.

“In domestic affairs also we have had much to do, but we are gradually putting things on a firm foundation. You need only

glance at the number of Bills that have either been passed by overwhelming majorities of the representatives of the people, or are approaching that stage. It is clear, therefore, that the ways into which I, with my Government, have struck, are the right ways. While I stick to those paths I have to answer to my conscience and to God alone, and I shall not deviate from them one inch.

“ I know very well that you especially are looking eagerly towards Berlin. This Province, with its great industrial establishments, and the thousands employed in them, may be compared to the heart, with its many arteries. It has sometimes beaten faster, sometimes threatened to beat no more. I hope to stop all that. You may rest assured that no trouble will be too great, no work too laborious, that may be necessary for justice to be done to industry, both to employers and to employed. In order to make this possible it is, of course, the duty of the Ruler and of the Government to seek such connections abroad as may enable our industry to compensate itself for the trade of which some States are trying to deprive it, and I can inform you that the Austrian Commercial Treaty was drafted yesterday. I have reason to believe that you will derive all possible benefit from it.

“ I am deeply grateful to the city of Düsseldorf for its warm reception. I am firmly convinced that, like the sons of the other Provinces, the sons of this Province also, who fought so gallantly and well for the glory of the Empire in 1870, will follow me. Now, as ever, I am assured that salvation lies in co-operation. That is one of the results of Monarchy. There is only one master in this country, and I am he. I shall suffer no other beside me.”

Three days afterwards he thus addressed the students at Bonn, on the subject of duelling, at one of their beer meetings :—

“ It is my firm conviction that every youth who enters a corps or beer-drinking and duelling club will receive the true direction of his life from the spirit which prevails in them. It is the best education which a young man can get for his future life, and he who scoffs at the German students' corps does not penetrate their real meaning. I hope that as long as there are German corps students the spirit which is fostered in their corps, and which is steeled by strength and courage, will be preserved, and that you will always take delight in handling the duelling blade. There are many people who do not understand what our duels really mean, but that must not lead us astray. You and I, who have been corps students, know better than that. As in the middle ages manly strength and courage were steeled by the practice of jousting or tournaments, so the spirit and habits which are acquired from membership of a corps furnish us with that degree of fortitude which is necessary to us when we go out into the world, and which will last as long as there are German universities. You have been good enough to refer to my son

(the Crown Prince), and I give you my hearty thanks for doing so. I trust that the young man when he is advanced enough will matriculate here and join your clubs, and that he will then meet with the same kindly sentiments that were extended to me. And now a word to those young freshmen who are but beginning to lead a corps life. Train your courage, your discipline, and your obedience, without which we cannot as a State continue to live, and I trust that many officials and officers will emerge from your midst."

Perhaps the most remarkable, however, of his speeches was that delivered in December to the recruits of the Foot Guards at Potsdam, shortly after he had shocked the German Liberals by writing in the visitors' book at Munich the words "Suprema lex regis voluntas":—"Recruits, you have before the priest and the altar sworn fealty to me. You are too young to understand the true meaning of the words you have just spoken, but be diligent in following the instruction which will be given to you. You have, my children, sworn allegiance to me. That means that you have given yourselves to me body and soul. You have only one enemy, and that is my enemy. With the present Socialist agitation I may order you—which God forbid!—to shoot down your relatives, your brother, and even your parents, and then you must obey without a murmur."

Second only in importance and interest to the Emperor's utterances were those of Prince Bismarck, who, in his retirement at Friedrichsruh, continued to exert a powerful influence on German public opinion. Hearing that a meeting of South German peasants had decided to oppose a policy depriving Germany of the corn duties, and giving her the Jesuits instead, he expressed approval, and added that he earnestly desired the preservation of the German peasantry; and in receiving a deputation from Aix-la-Chapelle on January 17, the Prince said—"People are already beginning to break off bits from various parts of the edifice of the Empire, which, however, is firmly built."

On April 30 he was elected (chiefly by the votes of the National Liberals) by a large majority to the German Parliament as member for Geestemünde, and during the election he made the following statement of his political faith in a speech to the Conservative Club at Kiel:—

"People often ask the meaning of Conservative. Literally translated, it means conserving, but the conserving does not consist in always advocating what the Government of the day may desire. For that element is subject to change, but the foundations of Conservatism are constant. It is, therefore, not necessary, nor even useful, that the Conservative party should be Ministerial under all circumstances. Conservative and Ministerial views do not always coincide. As a Minister, I was often enough opposed by the Conservatives, and did not reproach them on that account,

so long as their attacks did not extend to the personal sphere.

“There is a good old political proverb, *Quieta non movere*—that is, ‘Let sleeping dogs lie.’ It is genuine Conservatism not to consent to legislation which causes disquietude when change is unnecessary. Even in Ministerial circles there are people who feel impelled to make mankind happy by means of their own elaborate devices. A Government which advocates unnecessary innovations acts in a spirit opposed to Conservatism, for it alters legal conditions which have stood the test of experience, and this without any suggestion from the parties most concerned. People reproach me with not having been a Conservative as Premier and Chancellor, because I destroyed many old forms and established much that was new. Well, the value of the old things which were to be annihilated, and that of the new things which were to be established, must be weighed against one another.

“When I became Minister, and earlier, in Frankfort, I was firmly convinced that we could only achieve the power to breathe and live freely among the European nations by reawakening the sentiment of German nationality, and by securing the unity of the German races. At first, I placed that above everything else, as soon as I saw the possibility of extending our unity beyond the limits of Prussia. We had, and have, a special national feeling as Prussians, which was originally an offshoot of the great German national feeling. At bottom, it has no more justification than the special patriotism of other German States. It was a matter of course for me that I should feel this Prussian consciousness, in which I had been brought up, very vividly. But as soon as I was convinced that the Prussian national feeling was the stumbling block in the way of German unity, I ceased to pursue Prussian aims exclusively. The tasks of a Chief Minister were, therefore, different then from what they are to-day, now that we have been called by God to be one of the first nations in Europe—as I will say out of politeness, instead of the first. It was, therefore, my first task to develop the national feeling above everything. My participation in the beginning and in the course of the civil war in Germany—I mean in 1866—and in the destruction of old forms, was at bottom more Conservative than persistence in conditions of dismemberment, which would finally have led to dissolution, or even to foreign supremacy. For me, however, the main thing was to fan the embers of German national feeling which were all glowing—in other words, to conserve a quite antiquated possession. This possession was accordingly conserved and developed mainly by means of war—it was, unfortunately, impossible to effect this peacefully—but is now, I believe, so much the more firmly established.

“I, therefore, regard as unjust the reproach of apostasy which is levelled against me by many of the present Conservatives, who, for their part, pursue no clearly determined aims.

The unification of Germany was an act of Conservatism, and I can undergo, with a clean conscience, any examination on the subject. I do not believe either that one must belong to a party in order to be Conservative. In the last years of my administration I, therefore, went to some trouble to assist the coalition of the Conservatives and National Liberals. I hope that this organism will not go altogether to pieces, and that the Conservatives will make a difference between those with whom it is impossible to live in political concert and those who are honestly ready to do so. I shall regret it if the coalition falls to pieces.

“My aims are not directed against the present Government. I desire only that the Government should attend to the Latin proverb I have just mentioned as embodying one of the leading practical principles. I do not say this from love of opposition, but because I am interested in the prosperous continuance of the conditions in the forming of which I co-operated. It has been demanded of me that I should cease to care about politics. Never have I come across a piece of greater stupidity than is involved in that unheard-of demand. Experts have the best right, and sometimes it is their duty, to speak on questions which belong to their special subject, and I believe myself to be not wholly without special knowledge after my long term of office. My action can now be only negative, but I shall not permit anyone to forbid me to express my competent judgment on a measure which I deem harmful. This, I believe, is also in the Conservative spirit—not Ministerial, but conserving.”

In a subsequent address to a deputation of National Liberals who had come to congratulate him on his election, the Prince said:—

“A pang goes through my political heart whenever I see that parties, which are endeavouring with equal sincerity to maintain the Empire, do not hesitate to resort to venomous invective in their mutual hostilities. I should like to interfere in such cases, like a parish beadle bringing peace, and prove that the *tertius gaudens* is the worst enemy. My Parliamentary action will be in that direction. The idea of opposing my successor in office or the Government is very far from my mind, but the thought of standing silent before Bills that I regard as pernicious is equally removed from me. What reason in the world have I to be silent on such occasions? Because I possess more experience than most others? The duty of speaking, which is incumbent on me from my special knowledge, seems, in my conscience, to be pointed at me like a pistol. The gentlemen who attack me on that account have no conception of it. If I believe that the Fatherland is standing with its policy on the edge of a bog which it would be better to avoid, and if I know the bog while others are mistaken as to the nature of the ground, it would be treason to hold my tongue. What other aims can I have than to serve the country? Ambitious ones?

That would be foolish. What more can I become? My advancement has already reached its highest point."

The first important event in the home politics of Germany in 1891 was the resignation of Dr. Gossler, as Minister of Public Worship and Education, on March 11. Dr. Gossler was the last of the political members of the Bismarck Cabinet, and in continuation of his policy of reconciliation between Church and State had proposed to the Prussian Parliament a Bill for restoring to the Roman Catholic bishops the funds which had been withheld from them during the *Culturkampf*. This proposal did not meet with the approval of the House, and even Dr. Miquel, the Minister of Finance, opposed it. Under these circumstances, as Dr. Gossler no longer possessed the confidence either of the House or his colleagues, he resigned. His successor was Count Zedlitz-Trützschler, President of the Province of Posen, a moderate Conservative and a very capable administrator.

The principal achievement of the German Parliament in the year was the Trades Law Amendment Act. As regards Sundays and holidays, this Act makes it compulsory on employers to grant their hands absolute resting periods of various lengths, from twenty-four hours for Sunday to forty-eight hours for Church festivals like Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. In certain occupations work is absolutely forbidden for the first day of these Church festivals, but may otherwise be permissible for five hours on Sundays and holidays. Communes may limit or entirely forbid work on certain days. The Federal Council is to have discretionary power in the regulation of Sunday work in certain ways, but exceptions to the Sunday interdict are made in favour of persons connected with inns and other public houses of entertainment, concert halls, theatres, and other popular resorts, as well as railways.

Another section of the Act creates entirely new provisions for the protection of the lives and health of workers, and gives the Federal Council discretionary power to fix a maximum working day in those trades and occupations which may seem to prove harmful to their votaries by reason of overwork.

A third section deals with the relations between journeymen and apprentices to their masters. These have been modified in some respects, as, for example, to enable an action of breach of contract to lie on either side for wrongful dismissal or wrongful quitting of service.

With respect to juvenile labour, it is laid down that from April 1, 1894, children under the age of thirteen may not be employed at all in factories, and above this age only in cases where their elementary education is no longer obligatory on the parents. The new law also contains several enactments in favour of juvenile labourers, specially with reference to the intervals of their work. Women are forbidden to work at all during the night, with some specified exceptions, while eleven

hours must be their *maximum* day's work. In the case of mothers, the period of their immunity from work after confinement has been extended from three weeks to four weeks, and even for the succeeding fortnight they may only be taken on again upon a medical certificate. The powers of the factory inspectors have been correspondingly increased as well as the penalties for transgression of the Act.

The other Bill next in importance passed by the Reichstag was that amending the sugar tax and bounty system hitherto prevailing in Germany. By this new law the export bounties will gradually be diminished from August 1, 1892, when the Act comes into operation, till 1897, when they will be done away with altogether. The law abolishes the existing raw material duty of 80 pf. per double centner on beet, and raises the excise on the finished article from 12m. to 18m. for the same quantity. The export bounties are to be gradually extinguished.

Towards the end of May an agitation was got up by the German Liberals for a reduction of the corn duties, as, owing to the deficient harvests in some of the principal corn-growing districts, there had been an increase in the price of bread. On June 1, however, the Chancellor made a statement in the Prussian Lower House to the effect that the Government had decided not to propose to the Federal Council a temporary suspension or reduction of the duties on corn. He said that, according to the information at the disposal of the Government, the harvest would not be a good, but an average one. It was true that the prices of corn were unusually high, but not so high as to justify the use of the word "distress." Austria, Russia, North America, and India were fully able to meet Germany's increased need of corn. Considerable supplies were on their way to Germany, owing, in part, to the present high prices obtainable there, and partly to the conditions in the exporting countries. The United States and India exported mainly wheat, while Russia still had a large stock of rye, which she would send to Germany as soon as it seemed profitable to do so. In view of the increase in the consumption of wheat in Germany, it would, therefore, not be difficult to get over the rye deficit till next harvest.

General Caprivi then discussed the question whether the abolition or reduction of the corn duties would serve any good purpose, and said that even the best political economists were puzzled to decide whether prices would be reduced by such a step:—

"Since the proceedings in the House on May 27, prices abroad have, of course, risen, while the present home prices are those of the general market, *plus* the German duty. Considering the rising tendency in that market, the reduction of German prices would not be equal to the reduction of the duties, and foreign countries would, therefore, be the gainers in any case, whereas it is very doubtful whether the German consumers would be any better off. The poor cannot be helped by the reduction of the

duties by 50 per cent. for four months, but only by their temporary suspension. The Government, however, cannot see its way to this measure, as steadiness is the first condition of healthy development in commerce, industry, and agriculture, and as the fluctuation of conditions is not conducive to solid business and legitimate speculation. After the expiry of the term of the reduction the restoration of the higher rate would probably be difficult, and increase the present agitation.

“The Government will not adopt Free Trade as regards the corn duties. It is true that certain reductions in them are agreed upon in the Commercial Treaty with Austria-Hungary, but only in return for concessions of equal value. Moreover, a brief abolition of the duties might inundate the home market with foreign corn to such an extent that the sale of the harvest would be seriously hindered. The present agitation is inconvenient, but a Government must bear the responsibility for what it recognises as the right course, and must be able to swim against the stream. A 50 per cent. reduction for four months would make rye two or three pfennigs cheaper per kilogramme, but would not affect the price or the weight of bread. Only a prolonged reduction, such as is contemplated in the Commercial Treaty with Austria-Hungary, can be of use to the poor. Any temporary reduction is also highly undesirable from the politico-commercial point of view. A rapid change in the views of governing circles might easily disturb the whole action in this direction of the Government, which expects great benefits from it.”

Although, however, the Government persisted in its refusal to reduce the corn duties, the prices of wheat and rye increased to such an extent that on August 15 important reductions were made in the freight rates for rye, wheat, barley, oats, and other cereals on the State railways.

The Prussian Parliament was closed by the Emperor on June 21, after the Bill for the restitution to the Catholic dioceses of the clerical stipends which were sequestered during the *Culturkampf* had been passed with amendments, introduced to prevent the sums so restored from being diverted from their original purpose.

In the German Parliament a Bill for the repression of drunkenness was introduced on August 26, but its discussion in the House was postponed until the session of 1893. A similar Bill was proposed in 1882, but it was dropped in consequence of the opposition which it met in committee. Under the new Bill licences for the sale of spirituous liquor are to be of two kinds—those analogous to the grocers' licences in this country, and those analogous to the ordinary publicans' licences. Holders of the former are not to sell spirits in less quantities than half a litre. The ordinary publican's licence is to be what we should call a licensed victualler's licence—that is, the retail dealer in spirits is to be required to provide food as well as liquor. No liquor is to

be sold before 8 o'clock in the morning, and the publican is to do all in his power to hinder the abuse of spirituous liquors. He is not to sell spirits to any person below the age of 16 years, to any visible drunken person, or to any person who, within three years, has been punished as a confirmed drunkard. He is to see that drunken persons are conducted to their dwellings, or handed over to the care of the police, and he is forbidden to supply liquor on credit. The Bill further provides that a man who, on account of drunken habits, is unable to manage his affairs, or who, by his conduct, threatens to bring his family into want or to endanger the safety of others, may be placed under a guardian, and that this guardian may, with the consent of a Court, place his ward in an asylum for inebriates. In default of this procedure, the Court itself may intervene and order the committal of such a person to the asylum.

Another Government Bill which had to be dropped in consequence of the opposition to it in the House, was one for increasing the pay of the non-commissioned officers of the army. General Caprivi, in defending the Bill, said that the Socialists were an element of danger "which might possibly have to be combated in the streets," in which case well-paid non-commissioned officers would render good service. Social democracy, he added, is at present the greatest danger to the State, which it would be necessary to combat most energetically. In making new proposals, he always inquired, in the first place, what effect it would have on social democracy. As regards political parties in the German Parliament, he would take good advice wherever he found it, but he had convinced himself that he could not find it among the Radicals or National Liberals, and the Government could not, therefore, enter into closer relations with them.

In October a Congress of the German Socialists took place at Erfurt. Some of the most violent members of the party seceded from the Congress, and established an "Association of Independent Socialists for the liberation of the proletariat from the chains of servitude"; but the great majority agreed to a party programme, comprising the introduction of direct equal and universal suffrage, biennial Parliaments, the right of the people to initiate and negative legislation, the training of the nation in arms, but no standing army, free and strictly secular education, free administration of justice, free medical attendance, free burial, and thirty-six hours' uninterrupted rest from labour every week.

On November 11 the German Imperial Budget for 1892-98 was submitted to the Federal Council. The total expenditure exceeded that of the preceding year by about 110 million marks, of which about 44½ millions were permanent, and 65½ millions non-recurring expenditure. The receipts showed an estimated increase over those of the current year of nearly 24 million marks, and exceeded the increased expenditure by about 700,000 marks.

Appended to the Budget Bill was a Bill authorising a loan of upwards of 146 million marks on account of the War, Naval, and Railway Departments. Supplementary Estimates were also submitted for the year 1891–92, together with a loan for defraying the cost of the supply of increased rations to the men of the Imperial Navy, the purchase of material for field railways, and the fortification of Heligoland. It was pointed out that this island should be strongly fortified, in order to be protected against any foreign attack—a task which should not be entirely left to the fleet. Another object of the measure was to prevent Heligoland from being used by a hostile fleet as a base for organising a blockade, or making preparations for extensive operations in the German Ocean.

A revolting murder of a night watchman at Berlin by a married couple, named Heinze, produced a great sensation in the German capital, and on Oct. 27 the Emperor issued the following rescript on the subject:—"The most regrettable state of things which the recent trial of the married couple Heinze has brought to light has deeply moved my paternal heart. Although I have already stated my views to the Minister of Justice, and am aware that in the Ministry of the Interior steps have been taken to remedy the existing evils, I nevertheless feel it to be my duty to draw the attention of my entire Cabinet to this incident, affecting as it does the well-being of the whole country, and to request it, as soon as possible after the deliberation of the various departments, to lay definite proposals before me on the subject. If in so doing I refer to the considerations which appear to me specially important in order to insure a proper comprehension of the existing state of affairs, it is because I feel myself obliged to do so, seeing that the decision will be given in my name, and because I am fully conscious of the duties devolving upon me as Sovereign defender of law and public order.

"The Heinze trial has proved in a terrifying manner that the number of degraded men who live with and are supported by prostitutes in the large towns of my Empire, but more especially in Berlin, has become a danger to the State and society. With a view to stamp out this plague, the first consideration will be as to how far the existing laws can be employed for the extirpation of these degraded wretches. This task falls to the police and the Public Prosecutor. It will be the duty of the police to proceed against the excesses of this hideous class of men without mercy, and they may do so with the knowledge that they will be assured not only of my gratitude, but also of my protection. In regard to the application of the Criminal Code, the Courts must endeavour not to allow themselves to be led astray by a false humanity, but must punish even first offences with the highest possible penalty. In this connection the question will be discussed as to whether and in what way a change of or a supplement to the existing penal code may be required.

"The criminal procedure will also be exhaustively considered and measures taken to deal with those advocates who, blind to their duty of helping to elicit the truth, make it their business to bring about the triumph of wrong by frivolous opposition. Not less important is it that the dignity of the Bench should under all circumstances be upheld against the attacks of the defence, the accused, or the public. It also appears desirable that, in cases where the most shameless immorality occupies the attention of the Court, the public should be excluded.

"In contrast to the distressing revelations of the Heinze case, I note with pleasure that all classes of the population have fully recognised the gravity of the great dangers brought to light by this disgraceful trial, and that public opinion is unanimous in demanding an efficacious remedy for the existing state of affairs. All this gives me reason to hope that the measures adopted by my Government will not fail to meet with that support of the pure-living portion of my people, without which no lasting result can be attained.

"WILLIAM.

"To the Ministry of State."

This rescript caused some indignation among the members of the German Bar, and on Oct. 29 two barristers, Dr. Gossmann and Dr. Ballien, who appeared for the defence in the recent Heinze murder trial, came before a Court of Honour of the Bar of Berlin, in order that their conduct in the course of that case might be considered. After examining all the circumstances, the Court found that the statements charging the two advocates in question with having accused the presiding Judge of partiality, with having in an unjustifiable manner induced the prisoners to refuse any avowal of guilt, and with having abused the rights of defence, were not proved. On the other hand, the Court of Honour held that Dr. Gossmann and Dr. Ballien had, by drinking champagne in open Court, violated the rules of conduct governing members of the Bar; that the reproach brought against Dr. Gossmann of having sent in an irregular manner to the Judge's house for legal documents was well founded, and that Dr. Ballien's manner of intercourse with the two prisoners was improper. The two barristers were accordingly reprimanded, and Dr. Gossmann was, in addition, mulcted in a money fine of 500 marks.

In Colonial affairs it became more and more manifest that Germany cannot maintain her colonial possessions without a considerable Imperial expenditure both of money and men.

On Jan. 19 Baron von Marschall, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, made the following communication to the German Parliament respecting the future organisation of German East Africa:—"A Governor is to be appointed, with extensive powers, who will be immediately responsible to the Imperial Chancellor,

and will combine in his own person the civil and military authority from and after April 1. He may delegate his powers wholly or in part, especially in the cases of expeditions and for the purpose of the administration of distant territories. The independent administration of the various provinces is regarded as inexpedient, since it would cause all manner of disputes. The protective force will have a special commander, who will be responsible to the Governor within certain defined limits, and to the Imperial Navy Office in matters which fall outside these limits. The Colonial Fleet will also be responsible to the Navy Office, but is to be at the disposal of the Governor for the prevention of smuggling, and for purposes of jurisdiction. A number of chiefs of stations, who have also to supervise the administration of Customs, will be appointed.

“Small expeditions from the coast are to be undertaken for the purpose of maintaining order. A further advance inland can take place only step by step, and, at first, only with a view to securing the great caravan route from Lake Victoria *viâ* Tabora and Mpwapwa to the coast. The expenditure is fixed at 3,500,000 marks, of which 2,200,000 marks is for the troops, 800,000 for the fleet, and 500,000 for the Government. The Imperial force will consist of twenty-eight German officers, thirty-two German non-commissioned officers, twelve coloured officers, forty coloured non-commissioned officers, and 1,500 coloured men.”

This statement was followed by an important speech on German colonial policy from General Caprivi in the debate on the Colonial Budget on Feb. 5. “The means at our disposal,” the Chancellor said, “for the development of East Africa are to be applied exclusively to that region, and, therefore, Vituland must be given up, the coast must be retained, the administration organised, and East Africa placed under the direct protection of the empire. A definite policy of this kind was necessary, for the problem contained many unknown quantities, not to mention that England’s influence over the Sultan of Zanzibar was stronger than our own, and that the German element in Zanzibar had been increased, for the most part, by very doubtful acquisitions. Our negotiations with England took place, therefore, under conditions the reverse of favourable. I am still convinced that the Treaty, even apart from the acquisition of Heligoland, is advantageous to us, and that the assertion of a part of the Press that Germany has again been duped by perfidious Albion is without foundation.”

This contention the Chancellor explained on the ground that Vitu, without the islands of Manda and Patta, which no Court of Arbitration would ever have allotted to Germany, was absolutely worthless, and that Count Herbert Bismarck told the East Africa Company, when it took over Vitu from the Vitu Company, that that province was valuable only for purposes of compensation. As to Zanzibar, the Chancellor declared that the

conditions that formerly prevailed there were unendurable, and that the Protectorate of the island was, therefore, left to England.

"We should always observe," he continued, "an attitude of complaisance towards England, in the hope of eventually deriving some benefit from it. I admit that trade after the cession may remain as it was before, but that depends to a large extent on the mercantile habits and nautical traditions of the people. We had to give up Zanzibar, for it was quite impossible for us to accept the Protectorate, and go on as before. We could not do that, for we had to take over a strip of the coast, and haul down the Sultan's flag in the district thus acquired. It has been said that we should have waited, and left matters to shape themselves, but that is a proposition which leaves the factor of England out of the reckoning.

"Over and over again I have been told that Prince Bismarck would hardly have ceded a portion of our territory. I should have been neglectful of my duty if I had not ascertained the views of my predecessor, even were he not the important man that he actually is. I found, as regards Vitu, that when Prince Bismarck was at his country seat in October, 1889, the question arose of the annexation of that district. The Prince requested the Foreign Office to find out whether the English had not gained a legal footing there, for 'Lord Salisbury's maintenance in office is of more value than all Vitu.' Again, when the annexation of the line of coast now held by us, in return for a payment of 10 or 20 million marks, was under discussion, the Prince wrote on the margin, 'We must ask the English if they would assent, for England is more important to us than all Zanzibar and Vitu put together.' We have, therefore, only followed in the footsteps of our predecessors in our Colonial policy."

The Chancellor went on to describe the difficulties experienced in getting the 4,000,000 marks for the Sultan, and continued:—"Germany's present complete independence of the Sultanate of Zanzibar is a genuine success, and one not too dearly purchased by the English Protectorate. We have not given up Zanzibar, as one speaker contended yesterday, for we never had it. We have simply withdrawn, and made a good bargain, as we are now in undisputed possession of the coast, without which we could never have got on in East Africa. The Treaty has also secured to us a well-defined territory there which enables us to organise the Administration at our will and pleasure." The object in view, said the Chancellor, is to make German East Africa a sort of Crown Colony. Although he sympathised with the suppression of slavery, it injured the cultivation of the plantations, since the inhabitants had to accustom themselves to work, which was no very easy matter.

He went on to express great satisfaction at the way in which Parliament had recognised the labours of Baron von Soden. Before accepting the Governorship, the Baron wished to acquaint

himself with the country. He had returned, not, indeed, an optimist, but impressed with the belief that something could be done there. "One man must be placed at the head of affairs in East Africa, and we know of none better than Baron von Soden. We shall be rejoiced if Major von Wissmann, Emin Pacha, Dr. Peters, and others, continue to give us the benefit of their experience in that country, where there is room for them all. But we must lay it down as a condition that they consent to be subordinate to the Governor, however many of his prerogatives he may transfer to them. I believe that the present position of East Africa is better than it was last year, and I hope that it will be better still next year. I have a firm belief in the German nation; I hold that, in matters entailing hard work, it is second to none, and that it will not take its hand from the plough."

The debate which led to this speech plainly showed the difficulties with which the East Africa Company had had to contend, and the necessity ultimately laid upon the Foreign Office at Berlin of taking over the control of the territory within a reduced and limited area. Similar indications manifested themselves during the debate upon a grant for 1891 for the Government service in Damaraland and Namaqualand, in South-West Africa. The vote was opposed on the ground that the early history of German colonising experiments was a record of failure; that experiments of industrial enterprise should be made by private individuals; that hitherto the course followed by Germany abroad had been a "fruitless experiment with insufficient means for insufficient objects;" that the greater part of the capital of the German company formed to develop South-West Africa had been lost; and that the proposed enterprise of the new company was very doubtful, where "there are no roads, no paths, no coal, no industry," and where there was practically no protection from the natives by Imperial troops.

The Reichstag finally voted the few thousand pounds that were required for the expenses of the German occupation; but General Caprivi intimated clearly that no addition would be made to the force of forty or fifty constables who represented German authority within a limited district of Damaraland; and it was practically admitted by the Chancellor that the German occupation itself would be judged at the end of another year by the simple question whether the new German company, which it was hoped would be formed, could accomplish any practical results to warrant the continuance of the German occupation.

The objects sought to be promoted by the new German company, it was said, would be agricultural industry and mining enterprise; but the German people do not care to invest their money in such adventures. The whole capital of the German Colonial Company, which holds whatever concessions are held by Germany in that country, has been absolutely lost, and there

being no money to be obtained in Germany, the idea was to captivate British capitalists and investors by the anticipation of a larger future success than has marked German enterprise hitherto. But the territory will be entirely under German law and control; and it was felt to be not at all certain that people in England would care to risk their money under such conditions in Damaraland and Namaqualand. Moreover, Englishmen have already secured large mineral and other rights in both Damaraland and Namaqualand.

A general concession of all mineral and railway rights had been granted by Kamaherero, the paramount chief, his headmen, and the nation, to Mr. Robert Lewis, a British colonial subject, who had lived in that territory for thirty years, and it was felt at Berlin that the demand for his re-admission into Damaraland, from which country the German authorities expelled him, and the recognition of his mining and other rights, would require to be considered, and that very probably satisfaction would have to be rendered.

Some serious reverses were suffered by the German troops in their conflicts with the natives, both in Western and in Eastern Africa. In the German Cameroons, Captain Baron von Gravenreuth was killed at the siege of Buka, and in Eastern Africa an expedition under Lieutenant von Zelewski was massacred by the warlike tribes, only two subalterns and two non-commissioned officers having succeeded in making their escape to the coast. Major von Wissmann was removed from the post of governor of the German possessions in Eastern Africa on account of ill-health, and was succeeded by Baron von Soden, a civilian whose appointment was much criticised, on the ground that only a soldier could deal effectually with the increasing discontent among the native tribes in the German protectorate.

The necessity of providing for the defence of the German colonies, coupled with the increasing armaments of Germany's adversaries in Europe, led to a considerable augmentation of the expenditure for the navy.

The German Navy estimates for 1892-3 provided for an increase in the *personnel* of that service which would eventually more than double its effective strength. Its war strength for 1890-1, leaving the marines out of account, was 18,000 men, and provision was now made for an annual increase, taking effect on April 1, 1896, of 2,218 men, which, on the basis of a twelve years' service, would gradually effect an increase of 20,000 men, thus more than doubling the present war strength. Provision was likewise made in the estimates for 1,800 officers, deck officers, chief mates, and mates, while the torpedo corps was to be strengthened by an addition of 750 men. These additions, like those first mentioned, were to be gradual, beginning on April 1, 1892. In the case of the French Navy, it was impossible for naval experts in Berlin to overlook the fact that the

Cherbourg division can be sent out fully prepared for active service in some four-and-twenty hours, and in little more than twenty-four hours later might make a descent upon Wilhelms-haven. The German fleet was certainly not ready to go to sea at such short notice, as the vessels had only about a third of their full complement of sailors, and not much more than half the number of machinists that would be required to put them upon a war footing. It was, therefore, deemed absolutely necessary to raise the figure hitherto regarded as sufficient in time of peace if Germany is not to remain behind France in the matter of efficiency. The peace footing was to be raised to half the full complement in case of seamen, and two-thirds in that of machinists. The reserve was also to be strengthened from year to year. With regard to ships, provision was made in the estimates of 1889-90 for four ironclad line of battle ships, nine armoured cruisers, seven corvettes, four cruisers, two despatch boats, and two torpedo division boats, in all twenty-eight new vessels destined to replace others which had become obsolete. Of these there were to be completed in the course of the year 1891-2, one ironclad, three armoured cruisers, two cruisers, one despatch boat, and two torpedo boats. All these vessels are much more complicated in their arrangements and armament than those they will replace, and it is with a view to their proper equipment as soon as completed that the enormous increase in the *personnel* of the navy above described was provided for. The immediate increase, to take effect on April 1, 1892, including officers, was about 1,000.

The estimates were passed by the Reichstag, with some modifications, on March 6, and a Polish member, M. Koscielski, who zealously supported the votes in Committee, was presented by the Emperor with a picture representing the Fleet of the Great Elector, the first Hohenzollern who ventured to undertake Colonial enterprises. The dedication was as follows:—"To Herr von Koscielski, in remembrance of his manly attitude in favour of my Navy by his grateful Emperor and King." His Majesty added in the margin the names of all the ships and the number of their crews.

The most important achievement of the Government in foreign politics was the establishment of a Central European Customs League. This League, of which the principal members are the Powers that form the Triple Alliance, evidently added considerable strength to that alliance by establishing a community of trade interests as well as political interests between the States of Central Europe. The treaties forming the League come into force on Feb. 1, 1892; they are to remain valid till the last day of 1903, and for an indefinite period after that date, unless one year's notice of termination be given. Each treaty imposes specified duties, but, owing to the most favoured nation clause, the practical effect is that each member of the

League introduces certain changes into its own general tariff which will benefit all the other members, and these changes have been so calculated that in every case where a member of the League has had hitherto to compete with a country not yet belonging to it—for instance, Germany with England in the import trade with Austria—the market will be secured in future to the former, to the exclusion, as far as possible, of the outsider. In the example given above, English manufactured goods would be excluded from the Austrian market to the benefit of German industry. With this object a number of duties in the Austrian tariff were increased and others reduced, as is the case also in the general tariffs of Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and Belgium.

With regard to the countries having no native industries, such as, for instance, the Balkan States, and the Eastern countries in general, the principle adopted by the League was that each member of it shall have equal advantages with the rest, and that the League, as a whole, shall compete with those countries that do not belong to it. Thus, a most important clause in the old treaty between Austria and Germany, of December 1878, which was afterwards denounced, was reintroduced into clauses 15 and 16 of the new treaty, by which Germany and Austria-Hungary bind themselves to place each other's goods on precisely the same footing as their own in the matters of railway rates, distribution over different lines, times of delivery, and whatever else falls under the head of railway administration. A similar proviso was made for the transfer of passengers over the respective lines and the forming of international railway junctions where they do not at present exist.

The importance of these clauses lies in the fact that, both in Germany and Austria-Hungary, the railways are, for the most part, worked by the State, and the rest are certain to fall before long under State control. It had been a long-standing grievance with Germany that, by the introduction of differential rates on the Hungarian State lines, German exports to Servia, Bulgaria, and Turkey over the Eastern railways running through Hungary have been handicapped, and Hungarian exports fostered, without any change in the existing duties. A similar complaint against Hungary was, however, also raised by Cisleithania, which was no better treated, and, by way of retaliation, the exports of Austria and Hungary to the West, through Germany, were subjected to measures of reprisal. All this has come to an end with the new treaties, and, as the clauses respecting railway rates are also inserted into the treaties with Italy and Switzerland, entirely new trade routes will be created, differing to an important extent from the present ones. Hitherto the shortest route had not always been the cheapest. The clauses referred to will injure the countries outside the League even more than the new duties, which embody only few modifications, chiefly important from the fact that they are virtually unalterable for at least twelve years.

to come, while the general tariff of each country applicable to outsiders can be changed at will in the interest of the League.

The German duty on wheat was reduced from 5 marks to 3 marks 50pf., and a reduction benefiting Austria and Switzerland was made in the duty on cattle. Far more numerous are the changes introduced into the Austrian tariff, the increases being nearly as many as the reductions. The duties on lace and embroidery, for instance, were fixed at 300fl., instead of 200fl.; on silk laces 500fl., instead of 400fl.; on twisted yarn 18fl., instead of 12fl.; on packing canvas 6fl., instead of 2fl.; on raw cotton yarn 40fl., instead of 34fl.; on bleached cotton yarn 50fl., instead of 45fl.; and so on, to keep out better English goods, and encourage Alsatian and other German produce. The reductions were far less sweeping, with the exception of linen, on which the reduction was from 80fl. to 40fl., and on pure silk goods, reduced from 400fl. to 300fl. per hundred kilos. The duty on raw iron was reduced from 80 kreutzers to 65 kreutzers; on ingots, from 1fl. 60kr. to 1fl. 50kr.; on wrought and rolled iron and steel, from 2fl. 75kr. to 2fl. 50kr.; on iron and steel rails, from 2fl. 65kr. to 2fl. 50kr.; on railway wheels, from 6fl. to 5fl. 50kr.; on better class iron wares from 15fl. to 12fl.; and on sewing machines, from 20fl. to 6fl., with the view of excluding American and English sewing machines in favour of those made in Germany. Altogether the changes were such as Austrian industry will be well able to bear, and at the same time will be of great advantage to Germany, Switzerland, and Belgium.

The following are some extracts from the Memorandum which was laid before the German Parliament on Dec. 6 in explanation of these Treaties:—

“The Commercial and Customs policy of Europe during the last ten years has been largely founded on a system of comprehensive conventional tariffs on the basis of the Commercial and Customs Treaties of France with Belgium, Portugal, Scandinavia, Spain, Switzerland, and Holland in the first half of the last decade, to which other Treaties with Italy, Austria-Hungary, &c., were added. These Treaties to a large extent fixed the Customs duties of most of the European States for many years in a manner which conferred considerable advantages as compared with the autonomous general Customs tariffs of those countries. Germany had adopted this system only to a comparatively small extent, and concluded Commercial Treaties, fixing or reducing certain duties in return for corresponding concessions, only with Italy, Spain, Greece, and Switzerland. Germany merely reciprocated the most favoured nation treatment with most European and several non-European States. The Treaty of Frankfort determined the commercial relations between Germany and France. Germany, therefore, had kept her hands essentially free, but fully participated in the advantages of the European conventional tariffs, as one of the most favoured nations.

“This state of things, which secured to Germany important benefits, will cease on Feb. 1, 1892, when a complete revolution of European commercial policy threatens to take place, owing to the marked growth of Protectionist tendencies in France, Russia, and the United States. Germany's exports to Russia fell from 228 million marks in 1880 to 131 millions in 1887, and have increased very slightly since then, owing to the rise in rouble notes, which, however, was instantly counterbalanced by the raising of the Russian duties. As regards the United States, the M'Kinley Act greatly injured the import trade from Europe, in which Germany is largely interested. The nearer the expiry of the European Commercial Treaties, which afforded Germany numerous advantages, approached, the more urgent was it for her to decide whether she would adopt the Protection policy of the above States, which considerably favours mutual isolation, or secure for herself a decisive influence over the approaching changes of the European Customs tariffs by international agreement. She could not but choose the latter alternative.”

After a brief account of Germany's commercial policy since 1879, the Memorandum continues:—“Germany's development into an industrial State of the first rank, the increase of her population, and the fact that the products of her soil do not quite meet the demands of home consumption, compel her to import large quantities of foreign raw materials and food, for which she must export, first and foremost, manufactured goods. The average import of raw materials from 1880 to 1890 was 2,406 million marks, or 1,357 millions after deducting the export of raw materials. In 1869, on the other hand, the corresponding figures were 2,818 and 2,033, and in 1890 even 2,966 and 2,120. The export of manufactured goods did not keep step with this large increase of the import of raw materials. The average from 1880 to 1890 was 2,260 million marks, and 1,211 millions after deducting the imported manufactured goods, but the corresponding figures in 1889 were 2,382 and 1,185, and in 1890, 2,482 and 1,286. Nevertheless, these figures sufficiently show what large interests are bound up with the German export trade, how deeply the working classes are concerned in it, and what an important factor it is in the prosperity of German industry and of German national economy at large. The total of the German exports in 1887 was 3,190 million marks; in 1888, 3,352; in 1889, 3,256; and in 1890, 3,409. This shows convincingly that we are not all-sufficient for ourselves, despite the increased capacity of consumption.

“The conclusion of new International Treaties on the most favoured nation basis only, without fixed duties, would make it possible for Germany to secure the home markets for home products, by Protective duties at discretion, but would not afford the slightest guarantee that foreign markets, which are indispensable to the German export trade, would remain accessible.

Considering the competition among all progressive States, which is becoming more and more keen with the increase of production and the means of production, lasting commercial intercourse between them is conceivable only on the basis of the rational exchange of goods, which, again, presupposes a certain mutual limitation of free control of Customs. In view of the prevailing politico-commercial tendencies Germany could not be sure of maintaining her export trade if she did not, by such limitations, afford other countries an opportunity of paying for the goods received, wholly or partially, in products of their own. The assurance of greater stability in Customs is as important as the establishment of more favourable relations between the markets, and is justly regarded by men of business as essential to the prosperous development of the international exchange of goods. The stability of Customs, which has been urgently demanded for years past, can, moreover, be attained only by fixing duties for a long term by Treaty."

The debate on the Treaties was opened in the Reichstag by General Caprivi on Dec. 9. He began by saying that a Treaty had now been concluded with Switzerland also, and he hoped to be able to place it in the hands of members that day. He added that the autonomous tariff of 1879 and the subsequent increase of the duties in 1885 and 1887 had had a very favourable effect on the industries of Germany. But disadvantages afterwards came to light, owing to over-production, which, simultaneously with the constantly-increasing importation of raw materials, and especially food stuffs—due to the steady growth of the population—shifted the balance more and more to the detriment of the Empire. This had to be remedied, not in the sense of the *doctrinaire* question, "Free Trade or Protection?" but so as to maintain and improve agriculture and industry, and especially in such a way as to find work for the workers. He repelled the attacks of the agrarian party with regard to the reduction of the duties on agricultural produce, saying that the present Government had done more than any other for agriculture by beating back the storm of last spring, which was strong enough to have swept away all the corn duties if the Government had yielded.

Any comparison of German conditions with those of England at the time of the abolition of the corn laws was out of the question. There were very few great landowners in Germany. Most of the proprietors had small estates, and had to strain every nerve, since they had, for the most part, bought their acres too dear; but they could, nevertheless, bear the reduction of the corn duty by a mark and a half. He was not of the opinion that agriculture suffered by this reduction. It was the State that suffered, for the duties raised the prices, not only of imported, but of home-grown grain. The reduction of the wine duty was based on similar reasons.

Manufactures, which Frederick the Great, even in his time,

called "the wet nurse of the State," needed a certain amount of protection, and the best way was to secure markets by means of treaties with other States for a term of years, based on mutual concessions. Such Treaties had been concluded with several States, and it was to be hoped that similar ones would follow, though the United States and Russia could hardly be expected to join. It was a historical fact that empires of such great extent invariably tried to close their frontiers, in a trade sense; and the course of events in Austria would probably show the same tendencies there. It was, therefore, necessary to unite the Powers of the Triple Alliance commercially as closely as had been done politically, for it was impossible for politically united States to wage commercial war.

The Chancellor went on to refer to an article in the *Kreuz-Zeitung* which stated that the German Anti-Semites were trying to whip up the votes of Czechs, Ruthenians, Slavonians, and Slovacks, but not of the Germans and Magyars, in Austria-Hungary against the Treaties, and stigmatised the attempts of this paper—which, he said, pretends to be more Prussian than the Prussian Government itself—to excite foreign countries against the Fatherland as highly regrettable. In conclusion, he appealed to the patriotism of the members to pass the Treaties, which formed an inseparable whole.

The Treaties were opposed by Count Kanitz and the extreme Conservatives, and also by the Imperialist convert to bi-metallism and Protection, Baron Kardorff, who delivered a long speech against them, but added that he would vote in their support if they were concluded for five, instead of twelve, years. General Caprivi combated the idea that the home market had been neglected as compared with the export trade. He declared that every justice had been done it, but that it did not suffice, and the export trade must be increased. He showed that Protection had injured German industry, and remarked that the assertion that Germany was an industrial State should neither offend nor concern agriculture, which, on the contrary, ought to see that greater trade meant increased prosperity. He added that his statement regarding the commercial balances was not intended to gain over either the Liberals or Baron Kardorff, but was merely the expression of his opinion.

The Chancellor went on to say that the question of the re-monetisation of silver need not be considered for the present, as it was not one that could be answered in a minute, and Germany's relations to England and the United States rendered it especially inopportune. He held that the question could not be answered at all without England. He also pointed out that the reduction of the wine duty would benefit only the Italian "mixing" wines, for no such wines were imported from France. He concluded by saying that the parties to the Treaty would not consent to a term of only five years.

The most formidable opponent of the Treaties was Prince Bismarck, although he did not actually come to the German Parliament, but addressed the public through speeches to deputations and articles in the press.

In a speech to a deputation from Siegen he said:—"If I went and opened my mouth in the Reichstag, I should have to oppose the policy of the day more strenuously than I can as yet reconcile with my position and antecedents. I must either hold my tongue or speak as I think. If I do the latter, it will be to an effect, at home and abroad, which I cannot justify to myself. I may be obliged to suppress this feeling, but to-day I can only say '*Nondum meridies.*' If I went now to Berlin, and spoke in the interests of agriculture, I should only be answered, '*Vous êtes orfèvre, monsieur.*' My scruples would be looked upon as interested, and the matter then be dropped. If I were there, I should speak more of politics, and more in the interest of labour than in my own—that of agriculture, which has grown accustomed to be the step-child of bureaucracy, and to have burdens laid upon it without mercy or knowledge."

The Prince then went into a very minute account of all the errors and disadvantages he saw in the new Commercial Treaties, and concluded by saying:—"I have served the State for fifty years, and was its leader for some decades. It is against my feelings publicly to oppose its rulers, as I should be forced to do if I were to speak in the Reichstag at all. Stronger reasons than those of to-day must arise if this repugnance is to be overcome. The necessity will probably not disappear, but I shall wait. . . . I shall delay my participation in the debates, however deeply I am grieved that for twelve years we shall be bound to conditions the effect of which nobody, not even their originators, can foresee."

In an article on "the situation" in the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, a paper known to be inspired by the Prince, after saying that the Treaties are being accepted for political rather than economic reasons, the writer remarked that the Treaties must not be regarded as a gain to Germany, but as concessions to her allies. "The fact that the Treaties are to remain in force longer than the political alliances—so that after the expiry of the existing Alliance Treaty, Austria-Hungary may be able, under the pressure of the economic community of goods, to force us to give up the Eastern policy hitherto pursued by us and to join in her own plans in that quarter—seems to us of importance. It is the more possible, because we are about to widen the gulf that has been caused—through no fault of ours, it is true—in the economic relations of Germany and Russia; and this, under circumstances suggesting that the Imperial Government has ceased to attach value to the restoration of better political relations with that country. That Professor Delbrück, who recently asserted that it will be Germany's duty in the next great war to liberate the

Russian Poles, and make them independent, and that we must therefore make friends of the Poles, was invited to dinner by General Caprivi the day after, does not prove that the Chancellor is in sympathy with such exasperating utterances addressed to Russia; but now that a semi-official organ has spoken to the same effect, and declared that the *Preussische Jahrbücher* (of which Herr Delbrück is editor) had justified that course of action towards the Poles, it seems no longer doubtful that there is a certain tendency to injure our relations with Russia, and to prepare for coming changes.

“The peaceful sentiments to which General Caprivi will, perhaps, shortly give utterance again, may be quite sincere, but just as he was able to praise in the highest terms Herr Flottwell’s administration of Posen, and at the same time to justify the recent measures taken there, so he will be driven again into contrary paths, despite the obvious correctness of our former policy in the East. As the Counsellors at the Foreign Office who are working towards a rupture with Russia are being mentioned by name in social circles in Berlin, the question forces itself upon us, who is driving and who is being driven? The Imperial Government is about to make a change in foreign policy, and the Commercial Treaties are a part of this change. It would, therefore, be a matter for regret if the Reichstag were to waive the fuller discussion of this policy, and itself be wheeled in a bath-chair, so to speak, into the Promised Land of commercial brotherhood. The more thorough the discussion, the more clearly must it be seen that the passing of the Commercial Treaties in their present state means the beginning of events which will afterwards be stronger than the men who started them and than the need of peace.”

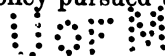
Prince Bismarck’s objections were, however, too vague to produce much impression. The Treaties were passed on Dec. 17 by a majority of 242 to 48, and on the following day the Emperor conferred upon General Caprivi the title of Count. Speaking at a banquet at Teltow, near Potsdam, the Emperor, in reference to the adoption of the Treaties by the Reichstag, said that this satisfactory result was due to the devoted labour of the Imperial Chancellor. That simple, homely Prussian General had in two years succeeded in making himself conversant with and in mastering problems of extreme difficulty. With a rare political insight he had at the right moment saved the Fatherland from evil consequences. It was only a natural consequence that single individuals must make sacrifices, in order that the whole should reap advantage. He (the Emperor) believed, however, that the achievement represented by the introduction and conclusion of the Treaties of Commerce was, for posterity, one of the most important events in history, and was literally an act of vital moment. The Reichstag had by a great majority shown that it recognised the far-seeing political vision of this

man, and that it associated itself with him. The German Parliament had by so acting set up for itself a mark and monument in the history of the German Empire. Despite the suspicions and difficulties with which the Imperial Chancellor and his (the Emperor's) advisers had met from the most varying quarters, they had succeeded in guiding the Fatherland into new paths. "I am convinced," said his Majesty in conclusion, "that not only our Fatherland, but millions of the subjects of other countries which are united to us in the great Customs League, will sooner or later bless this day."

The conclusion of these Treaties made the relations of Germany with Austria more cordial than ever, but it naturally did not contribute to improve those of Germany with France. On Feb. 28, owing, it was said, to the anti-German manifestations made in Paris during the visit of the Empress Frederick, the stringency of the passport regulations for travellers between Alsace-Lorraine and France was considerably increased, and on March 14 a deputation waited upon the Emperor from the Diet of Alsace-Lorraine, praying for a relaxation of them. The deputation was very graciously received by the Emperor, who said that he could not comply with their wishes at present, but that he hoped that circumstances would, "at a not too distant period," enable him to do so. "This hope," he added, "will be the earlier fulfilled the more the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine convince themselves of the permanency of the ties which unite them with Germany, and the more decidedly they act on the resolution to adhere at all times faithfully and firmly to me and to the Empire."

The promise thus held out was fulfilled on Sept. 21, when an Imperial decree was issued, providing that on and after Oct. 1, 1891, passports on entering Alsace-Lorraine will be required only from military men on active service, ex-officers, pupils of foreign military schools, and persons who before performing their military service lost their German nationality. The visa for such passports as are required will be free of cost. It was also ordered that foreigners staying more than twenty-four hours in Alsace-Lorraine must give notice to the police under penalty of expulsion.

The Triple Alliance was renewed for a further period of six years on June 28, and the Emperor characteristically communicated to the world the first intelligence of the fact in a conversation with the Chairman of the Hamburg-American Steamship Company, while on board of one of the ships of that line as it was passing down the Elbe. His warm reception in England in July gave great satisfaction in Germany, and the interview between him and M. de Giers at Berlin, in November, contributed to remove some misconceptions about the intentions of Russia. But Prince Bismarck criticised through his organ, the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, the foreign as well as the home policy pursued under



the new *régime*. He revived the old complaint that friendship between England and Germany is not only advantageous to England but positively disadvantageous to Germany, "because Russia's alienation from Germany keeps step with the Anglo-German *rapprochement*, and this may eventually deprive Germany of the neutrality of her Eastern neighbour at a moment when she may need it." "The value of England's assumed friendship," said the *Nachrichten*, "lies in the fact that, in case of war, she would either guard the coast of Italy with her fleet, or help—though this is much more doubtful—to protect the German coast. But in so doing England would, in the first place, be acting largely in her own interests; secondly, it is an open question whether and how far the British Fleet would be equal to such a task; and finally, it is uncertain whether there would be a Cabinet at the head of English affairs prepared to undertake a policy of that nature, and whether Parliament would sanction it if there were."

"Further—and here we come to the cardinal point of our whole foreign policy—it is to be hoped that our relations with Russia will not always remain in the present state of estrangement, but will gradually return to the only sound condition—a friendly and neighbourly agreement with that country and Austria-Hungary. The Panslavists will not always be able to keep the army on what is almost a war footing; and, as regards the alternative of peace with Russia, or dependence on the help of England in the event of war, we should prefer the former, for the reason that peace between Germany and Russia serves Russia's interests as well as ours, whereas a war between Germany and Russia would serve England's interest only—for which, in the main, we should be fighting. Let us have friendship with England, but only on the footing of the most absolute equality. The idea that Germany's friendship is not at least as valuable to England as England's is to Germany must not be attributed to us, nor must the English nation be accustomed to look at things in that light. Only at this price do we wish for her friendship; at any higher cost we reject it."

To these and other criticisms on his policy General Caprivi replied in the German Parliament as follows (Nov. 27):—"The situation is really very simple; but newspaper readers insist on sensational news, and when they do not get it complain of the Government. One point, for instance, is the Russian journey of his Majesty the Emperor, about which it is said that his stay at Narva had a very bad effect. I had the honour to be there, and returned with the conviction that the effect was excellent. The intercourse of the two Sovereigns, which is bound to be friendly owing to their position and relationship, took the most favourable form possible. I should not say this if I did not know for certain that the other side was equally satisfied. Then came the Cronstadt meeting. People were disquieted by it, and reproached the

Government with the very friendly reception of our Western neighbour at that place. We have no power to prevent other people from shaking hands in friendship. We renewed the Triple Alliance, which had already existed for years. The Press beat its kettle-drums and blew its trumpets perhaps a little too loudly, and this probably induced the other party to sound trumpets on their own account. It did not alter the situation in the slightest degree; it merely defined it better in the public eye.

“As early as the seventies, when I was on the general staff, the expression of ‘war with two fronts’ came into vogue, and we had to prepare for a war of that kind; but I emphatically deny that the Cronstadt meeting has given us any more reason to be more anxious than we were before, and I am absolutely convinced that the Czar’s personal intentions are the most peaceful in the world. No Government wishes to provoke war at present, and none has such a preponderance as to begin hostilities with a light heart, for the next will really be a war of ‘*saigner à blanc*.’ The Cronstadt meeting has increased the self-reliance of our Western neighbours, but it has only cleared the situation. This is certainly no reason for disquietude, though we cannot lay aside our armour, and must maintain our armaments on their present footing for a long time to come. But the more generally the obligation of military service is introduced, the more plainly will people see what a serious thing war is, and how dangerous it is to play with fire.

“A further disquieting factor was the Anglo-German Treaty. Count Arnim said last year that he was delighted to see the storm of indignation it aroused, but the storm has become in the course of the year a very faint breeze, which can hardly be fanned into life again, even by artificial means. Time has proved that we were right. We were said to have made great sacrifices for a secret agreement; but such an agreement does not exist, and never did. The reproach that we ceded too much is refuted by the fact that we have our hands full with what we have got. I said once before that the worst thing that could happen to us would be for some one to make us a present of all Africa. The retention of the ceded regions, including Zanzibar, would have cost us more money than the Reichstag would have granted, or than my conscience would have allowed me to ask for. Even the taking over of the mainland from the East Africa Company has been very expensive, and we have had to resort to the dubious means of a lottery to carry out the objects of the Brussels Conference.

“The idea that our mainland territory is of less value than the English sphere is an utter mistake. The pessimists assume that ‘perfidious Albion’ did a good stroke of business in the Treaty, and that the German Michel once more pulled the chestnuts out of the fire. The importance of Heligoland was generally recognised, but it was believed that the island had been

rated too high in the Treaty. Gentlemen, let us take only the negative value of the island, and imagine what would have become of it if it had passed out of England's hands into those of another country than Germany. It would certainly not have been difficult for England to find something for which to exchange it with another nation. What a storm of indignation would have arisen if, shortly before the outbreak of a war, the British flag had been hauled down in Heligoland, and that of another nation less closely related with us hoisted in its place !”

The Chancellor then went on to deal with the pessimistic views set afloat about the Poles, Alsace-Lorraine, and the Army. With reference to Alsace-Lorraine he said that, though the Government was reproached with weakness for rescinding the passport regulations, it was really impossible to make them permanent. Moreover, the Provinces were being rapidly absorbed into the body of the Empire. Service in the Army had worked wonders in this respect, and by the time a few more generations had passed through it, the question would be as good as dead. As regards the Army, he pointed out that every newspaper nowadays must needs have military contributors, though there were not fifty officers of any importance among the whole of them. “They write articles,” he said, “winding up with ‘*Si vis pacem para bellum,*’ or ‘*Videant consules.*’” He did not consider that the limits of Army extension had been reached, and the Government would enter into negotiations with the Reichstag next winter for the full utilisation of the increase of the population. No precautions had been neglected on either the Russian or French frontiers. In conclusion, he said :—

“I will not plead for myself, but I am of opinion that a nation which respects itself ought not wantonly to represent its Government as weak. We sincerely wish to live in peace with all nations. We have succeeded hitherto in doing so ; and I do not know why we should not succeed in the future. The German Government is confident, because it leans on a good Army, and, above all, knows that it is in sympathy with a nation which, if necessary, stands behind the Army ; and I see no reason why this Government should not be able to protect the dignity and prestige of Germany under all circumstances.”

As a defence of his policy, or rather of that of the young Emperor, this speech of General Caprivi was marked by his usual adroitness and good sense, and it was very favourably received by the House. But it cannot be said that during the year 1891 the prestige of Germany stood so high, either at home or abroad, as it did when Prince Bismarck was Chancellor. The new policy started by his successor has so far only been tentative, and it was conspicuously lacking in the firmness and decision of the previous *régime*. At home moderate men were irritated and alarmed by the Emperor's experiments in social legislation, and at his pietistic leanings ; abroad, the Emperor's demonstrative visit

to England, and the ostentatious announcement of the renewal of the Triple Alliance, had the effect of drawing France and Russia more closely together, and establishing between them a mutual understanding which might some day ripen into a war-like combination.

II. RUSSIA.

The year 1891 is one which will long be remembered by the Russian people. It was a year of persecution, of famine, of financial difficulties, made more disastrous by a reckless expenditure on armaments and a withdrawal of able-bodied men, who were wanted more than ever in the fields, to fill the ranks of an army which could only be required for the purpose of an aggressive war.

The persecution of the Jews, initiated in the previous year, grew to such alarming proportions as to excite the indignation and sympathy of the whole civilised world, and to move the more wealthy of the Jewish inhabitants of other countries to organise societies for the assistance of their unfortunate co-religionists in Russia. At Moscow large numbers of Jews were expelled and sent in batches to the frontier in railway carriages with locked doors. Merchants complained of the difficulties experienced in collecting debts, owing to the expulsion of the Jewish agents, who were almost exclusively employed in the various branches of Russian trade, and business was completely disorganised. The situation became so serious at the beginning of May that orders were given to suspend the expulsion of the Jewish artisans, and to give others time to settle their affairs before leaving the city. All Jews who had acquired landed property since 1882 were to dispose of it within six months, the Government buying it at a low valuation, should no higher bidder be found for it within that period. On May 15 the Grand Duke Sergius was appointed Governor-General of Moscow, but though he and the Czar expressed great indignation at the brutal treatment to which the Jews had been subjected, the decrees ordering their expulsion remained in force, and were carried out with unremitting severity. Several of the wealthiest Jews, members of the first guild of merchants, left Russia altogether, and the building which had just been erected at great expense by the Jews of Moscow for a synagogue, was sold. In August orders were issued to all governors to enforce the strict observance of the laws of 1865 and 1882, forbidding Jews to possess land, factories, cloth mills, wind or water mills, and other industrial establishments, although these laws had for many years ceased to be operative. The oppression of the Jews by the Government naturally led the peasants to think that they also would be permitted to harry their old enemies with impunity. In October serious riots broke out in the town of Starodub, in the province

of Tchernikoff. The Municipal Council having issued a decree permitting the Jews to sell their goods on the Christian holidays, crowds of people assembled in the streets on Sunday, Oct. 4, destroyed the Jewish shops, with their contents, and were only dispersed by the police after thirty-six hours' plunder.

That the decrees for the expulsion of the Jews were issued with the full knowledge and approval of the Czar there can be no question, although for the barbarous incidents by which it was accompanied some of his officials were doubtless mainly responsible. Both the Sovereign and his principal adviser, M. Pobiedonosheff, act under the impulse of a national and religious fanaticism which convinces them that the expulsion of the Jews *coûte que coûte* is essential for the welfare of the Russian people both in this world and the next. The only way for a Jew to escape persecution in Russia is to become a member of the Russian Church. A gratuity of 15 roubles is given as an inducement for this so-called conversion, and it is stated that during the year 50,000 Jews accepted the bribe. But the great majority of the Jews in the Empire remained faithful to their ancient creed, and suffered accordingly. The persecution was not limited to the Jews, it extended to all residents in Russia not professing the orthodox faith, including even those who were Russians by nationality. Thus severe decrees were issued against the Stundists, a numerous sect who refuse to worship images. All works tending either directly or indirectly to the propagation of the doctrines of this sect were prohibited, and among them were some of Count Leo Tolstoi's writings on social and religious subjects. Persons professing Stundism were to be so described in their passports, with the object of preventing them from obtaining employment in the Government service, on railways, steamboats, or other administrations subject to official control. Stundists convicted of having made proselytes of members of the Orthodox Church, as also the converts themselves, were to be rigorously prosecuted, such offences being punishable by imprisonment or deportation to Siberia. Similarly stringent measures were also to be taken against those who might seek to make converts to Catholicism among the Mussulman population of the Caucasus or Central Asia.

An instance of the severity with which these decrees were executed is given in the sentence passed by a tribunal in a town in Podolia. Seven men were brought up before the Court charged with leaving the orthodox faith and becoming Stundists, and, being found guilty, were sentenced to various periods of imprisonment, from six months to five years, with exile in the latter case to Siberia, and in all cases with deprivation of civil rights.

In Poland and Finland national fanaticism was the accompaniment of religious fanaticism. The attempts of force the Russian religion, language, and national aspirations upon the

Poles were pursued with more vigour than ever, but with no greater success; and as if to fill the cup of the indignities inflicted by the Russian Government upon its Polish subjects, it called upon them to subscribe funds for the erection of a monument to the infamous General Mouravieff at Vilna, the Polish city where, during the insurrection of 1863, he was known as "the hangman," on account of the thousands of insurgents—some belonging to the highest Polish nobility—who by his orders perished on the gallows. In Finland, which had hitherto enjoyed the privileges of a separate Government, and conducted its official transactions in its own language, and through men of the Finnish nationality, the use of Russian as the official language was made compulsory, and it was laid down that Russians only were in future to be appointed to official posts under the Government. In August the Czar paid a visit to Finland, but the people gave him a very cold reception, in striking contrast to the enthusiasm which prevailed when he last came to the grand duchy in 1885. A rigid censorship was exercised upon the Press, which had previously been comparatively free under the charter granted to Finland by Alexander I. in 1808, and it was directed that all bills laid before the Finnish Diet "which affect the interests of Russia" should be submitted to the Russian Government for consideration before they could become law.

The persecution of the Jews caused considerable disturbance not only in the transaction of business in the great Russian commercial centres, but in the financial arrangements of the State. The Budget of 1891—which, as usual in Russian Budgets, showed an exact balance between expenditure and receipts—amounted to 962,800,000 roubles, of which 9,100,000 were for increased expenditure on the Army and Navy. In April the Ministry of Finance endeavoured to raise a 3 per cent. Conversion Loan, but the attempt failed, owing to the opposition of Messrs. Rothschild, who refused to have any further dealings with a State which had roused the indignation of the world by its barbarous treatment of their co-religionists. It was believed that the policy which M. Vischnegratzky, the Russian Minister of Finance, had induced his Imperial master to accept was that Russia should silently continue her war preparations, obtaining the necessary funds by successive so-called conversion loans. This policy had now received a check, and the friends of peace rejoiced accordingly. But their triumph did not last long. In September M. Vischnegratzky resumed negotiations in Paris for a loan of 500,000,000 francs, and although the whole of the amount was not subscribed, a sufficient sum was obtained for the more pressing needs of the Russian treasury, and further supplies were procured by the issue of 50,000,000 roubles in paper-money.

The most urgent of the unforeseen charges which Russia

had to meet were those arising from the famine. The failure of the crops made it absolutely necessary to take precautionary measures to protect the people from starvation, but the steps taken with this object were tardy and ineffectual. On August 11 an Imperial ukase was issued forbidding the exportation of rye, rye meal, and every kind of bran from the Russian ports in the Baltic, the Black Sea, and the Sea of Azoff, or over the western frontier; it was ordered that the grain consigned to the distressed provinces should be carried by railway at considerably reduced rates, the officials of the Department of Agriculture were empowered to buy grain at current prices for sowing, and extensive public works were set on foot, at a cost of 15,000,000 roubles, to provide the peasants with remunerative employment. As, however, the ukase forbidding the exportation of rye announced that the prohibition would not come into force until August 27, sufficient time was left for merchants to get rid of nearly all their stock, so that when the limit fixed was attained there was very little rye left to export, and the ukase became practically a dead letter. Towards the end of August the distress among the poor began to grow alarming, and the prices of black bread, potatoes, eggs, and other necessaries of life rose by from 100 to 150 per cent. It soon became evident that for the next four or five months some 30,000,000 people in the Empire would be dependent on public and private charity. A general movement now began among the wealthier classes for collecting subscriptions to relieve the poor in the distressed districts. The Czar set the example by countermanding all State balls in order to apply the money thus saved to the Famine Relief Fund; the Empress granted 20,000 roubles to the fund, and the Czarevitch 3,000. The leaders of the fashionable world resolved upon abstaining from costly entertainments, and upon practising abnegation in various ways. Most of the public officials and University professors announced their intention of dispensing with a certain percentage of their salaries; while the boys and girls in the public schools saved their pocket money, and even many working men set aside a proportion of their weekly wages for the purpose of sending contributions to the starving peasantry. The officers of several regiments of the Guard determined not to drink champagne at their festive gatherings, and to devote the money thus saved to the relief of the destitute. All the newspapers, numerous charitable associations, and the State Departments opened subscription lists, and collections were made every Sunday and feast-day in the churches.

Unfortunately this stream of charitable relief lost much of its strength through the defective channels by which it had to pass before it could reach those who were in need. The public bodies which had to administer the funds collected were sadly wanting in the energy and assiduity and the spirit of organisation which were necessary to render the distribution sufficiently

rapid, effectual, and general to meet the requirements of the sufferers. The Zemstvos, or provincial councils, instead of keeping one year's supply lying ready in their granaries, had converted the whole reserve stock into cash year by year. The consequence was that, on the one hand, the grain was in the hands of speculators, who created as near an approach to a "corner" as the Government would allow; while, on the other, the failure of the harvest, affecting the exchange in the usual way, very considerably decreased the value of the funds so rashly obtained by the Zemstvos. In other words, the entire command of the grain market in Russia was in the hands of private persons, while, if the Zemstvos had held a year's stock of grain always ready, the market could have been controlled by them.

The Central Government, too, interposed obstacles to the propagation of news as to the famine, and to the formation of private organisations for affording relief to the starving peasantry, which in a civilised country would be impossible. In September a secret circular from the Director of the Press Department ordered the newspapers under the usual penalties "to speak of the famine cautiously, avoiding all strong expressions which might excite the public mind;" not to mention the famine otherwise than as "insufficiency of corn," "bad harvest," and the like; and to "strictly abstain from supporting any of the supposed general remedies which it belongs to the domain of the Imperial Government alone to decide upon." In October a deputation, representing a number of the richest merchants in Moscow, arrived in St. Petersburg to petition the Government for permission to form a society for the relief of the distress caused by the famine, which was backed by an immense capital, and numerous volunteers who would assist in the work of organisation on the spot; but the Minister of the Interior refused the authorisation, and even declared that any persons visiting the famine-stricken districts with the same object as that of the proposed society would be arrested.

Further, instead of the loan of 260,000,000 roubles which was required, the peasants got only 22,000,000. The Government refused to lend the sum requested by the Zemstvos, merely because there was no precedent for such large advances, though the governors, who are the representatives of the central authority in the provinces, testified that the famine also was unprecedented. Thus the famine was allowed to irremediably ruin the agriculture of the twenty provinces which are the granary of the Empire. Cattle, implements of labour, and all the reserve stock had been carried away, and from one-fifth to one-third of the fields remained without seed. This means a deficit of at least 30,000,000 bushels in the harvest of 1892.

In the beginning of October the State Controller, General T. I. Philipov, addressed to his subordinates a circular on the question of famine relief subscriptions, which begins as follows:

—"I lately travelled on a tour of inspection through seven provinces stricken with extreme dearth. Specimens of the bread which is now eaten in those provinces, and of the dough from which it is baked, are exposed on my writing-table and examined with horror by my guests."

On October 21 Senator F. L. Barykov made a speech upon the extent of the present famine and of the measures which had been taken to cope with it. The number of persons more or less affected by the scarcity, according to Mr. Barykov, was about 32,000,000, and their position cannot improve for another ten months. In order to give to each peasant even eight bushels of rye, more than 32,000,000*l.* would have to be subscribed.

In November the exportation of all kinds of cereals, except wheat, from the Empire was prohibited, but the famine grew more alarming than ever. Soon it was found that most of the grain which had been purchased by the Town Councils for the relief of the sufferers from the famine was extensively adulterated, in some instances as much as 30 per cent. Many of the members of the Town Councils, including that of St. Petersburg, who were implicated in those frauds were dismissed from their posts. The money subscribed by charitable persons, too, was found in many cases to have been appropriated by fraudulent officials; yet though these disgraceful incidents were brought personally to the notice of the Czar, and he must have been aware at least of the broad facts of the famine which was stirring the whole country, and for the moment absorbed all other questions of internal administration, he is reported to have refused a contribution of 2,000 roubles offered for the relief of the sufferers by the colonel of a Finnish regiment, at the same time stating, "There is no famine in my Empire."

The result of the obscurantism thus practised by a European Government at the close of the nineteenth century is shown in the following description by an English correspondent of the state of the famine-stricken districts which he had just visited:—
"What struck me most was first of all the appalling fact that the major part of the vast empire known as European Russia—namely, fifteen provinces—is in receipt of what we should call outdoor relief. Imagine an entire country, about ten times the size of England, completely pauperised, the country gentry turned into guardians of the poor, the Government a gigantic workhouse. The next fact which strikes one forcibly is the absolute helplessness and self-abasement of the peasants. Where there are no country gentlemen the peasant seems to be absolutely ruined. The fact is the entire population is invertebrate. The country gentleman has been placed in a most unenviable position. The peasants believe that the Czar has given him money for distribution, and that he is keeping it back. If this view gains ground, it may lead to very serious complications. A party of peasants went to a telegraph station, and handed in a telegram

addressed to the Emperor, to the effect that the Governor of the province was stealing the money which was their due, and which 'the little Father' had sent for distribution among them. The telegram was not sent, but it led to the institution of an inquiry, which proved that a belief existed among the people that as they sent their money to the Emperor it was his duty to keep them. Besides, it was thought that, as he could have as much money as he liked, money could be no object to him."

It was natural, in the midst of the general disorganisation produced by the famine, that journalists should become more daring in the expression of their opinions, and that the secret agitation which had for many years been going on against the autocratic system of government should gain in strength. A remarkable article on the famine was published by the *European Messenger*, a monthly review of St. Petersburg. The writer compared the famine to the Irish calamity of 1846, and contrasted the conduct of the British and Russian administrations on the two occasions. He declared that nobody in the Russian Empire had ever imagined that the economic condition of the Russian people was so wretched, and that now that the truth is known, Russia ought not to launch into any extraordinary undertakings for many years to come. The first cost of mobilising and putting an army into the field is so enormous nowadays that even a madman would decline to incur the responsibility of such a task with the general impoverishment of the nation behind him. Foreign action is a luxury which only rich nations can afford, and it was criminal on the part of the Pan Slavist writers in the Russian press, and those who back them up, to fill the ears of the Russian people with inflammatory stories about atrocities in Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Hungary, only calculated to rouse enmity against other nations. For these agitators must know that Russia will be unable to embark on warlike adventures for years to come. Most of the tales appearing in the Russian press about the ill-treatment of the Slavs were, the writer adds, either pure inventions, or insignificant facts distorted. "The Russian peasants' own fate is far worse. Millions of Russian peasants would be fortunate if they could only change places. As to the constant incitement of the Russian people by the Pan Slavists against foreigners, Germans or Jews, it should not be forgotten by Russian journalists that all the corn usurers, those who are defrauding, fleecing, and oppressing the Russian people in their dire distress at this present moment, are genuine native Russians, people of the purest Russian blood; and that no Jew or German has ever been convicted of crimes equal to those committed by these Russians."

Not only did the terrible distress in these famine-stricken districts produce repeated acts of brigandage and riot, but signs of a revival of the revolutionary agitation grew more and more numerous towards the end of the year. In seven towns

secret printing-presses and numerous copies of secret proclamations were found by the police; 240 persons belonging to the revolutionary conspiracy, including fourteen officials, four schoolmasters, and six officers of the army and navy, were arrested at Moscow, and sixty more members of the conspiracy, all belonging to the higher classes of Russian society, together with 153 literary men and students, were arrested at St. Petersburg. The proclamations called upon "the persecuted and oppressed nation" to overthrow the Government and introduce liberal institutions.

In foreign affairs the most notable event of the year in Russia was the enthusiastic reception of the French fleet at Cronstadt. The somewhat ostentatious visit of the German Emperor to England, and especially the renewal of the Triple Alliance, which practically left France and Russia isolated, naturally led to a desire on the part of those Powers to approach each other with a view to concerting measures for protecting their interests against any encroachment on the part of the allies. Overtures had from time to time been made by the French with this object, which, however, were but coldly received by the Czar, though he took the opportunity of a French exhibition having been opened at Moscow in May to pay a visit to that city. But there could be no mistake as to the significance of the reception of the French fleet under Admiral Gervais at Cronstadt, at the end of July. Not only were the French officers cheered by the people with a spontaneous enthusiasm which in Russia is very rarely permitted, but their official reception went far beyond the ceremonies usual on such occasions. A grand banquet was given to them by the municipality of St. Petersburg, at which the Mayor delivered a speech in French, dwelling upon the friendship between France and Russia, and saying that the municipality desired to symbolise it by offering to the French officers cups of fraternity called *bratinas*, in order that when drinking out of them they might always remember the friends the French had in the far North. These cups were filled with champagne, which was drunk by the officers amid great enthusiasm, the orchestra playing the Russian National Anthem and the *Marseillaise*. The French revolutionary hymn was also played, for the first time in Russia, by the military bands on the Russian vessels which met the French squadron at Cronstadt. The demonstration was evidently a national as well as an official one; but its effect was to some extent neutralised by the subsequent visit of the French fleet to Portsmouth. There is no doubt, however, that though no treaty of alliance was entered into between France and Russia, a strong bond of sympathy was established between the two countries. The French took every occasion—as, for instance, on the arrival in Paris, on August 11, of the Grand-Duke Alexis—to reciprocate the friendly manifestations of Cronstadt; and they gave Russia a more solid proof of

their desire to co-operate with her by their subscriptions to the Russian loan and their support in the question of the Dardanelles (see Turkey and the Minor States of Eastern Europe).

Notwithstanding the distress caused by the famine, there was no relaxation in the war preparations of the Russian Government. It continued to mass troops on the Austro-Russian frontier, and in July the number of battalions of reserve infantry stationed on the frontier was doubled. A network of strategic lines was also constructed, with the object of facilitating mobilisation. Steps were also taken to augment and reorganise the Russian Navy, which at the end of the year consisted of 36 first rate vessels (28 in the Baltic and 8 in the Black Sea), 48 second class ships (38 in the Baltic and 10 in the Black Sea), 88 third class ships (49 in the Baltic, 27 in the Black Sea, 7 in the Caspian, and 5 in the port of Vladivostock), and 20 vessels of the fourth class (17 in the Baltic and 3 in the Black Sea). The object of the reorganisation was to create a strong fleet of sea-going ironclads and iron-belted cruisers. Two additional torpedo cruisers were ordered for the Black Sea fleet, and steps were taken to buy up the private shipbuilding yards. But though every means was thus taken to prevent the country from being unprepared in the event of a war, the Government was evidently anxious, in view of the difficulties caused by the famine, to avoid all occasion for one.

In October the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. de Giers, had an important interview with the King of Italy and his Ministers at Monza, in which he gave the most positive utterances as to the pacific intentions of his Imperial master, which were afterwards repeated by him in an interview with the Emperor William at Berlin. The only power with regard to which Russia maintained an aggressive attitude was England. The principal Russian journals violently attacked Lord Salisbury's policy in Egypt, China, and Afghanistan, and expressed a hope that England would become more pliable in the event of a change of Government after the next General Election.

CHAPTER III.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

THE failure of the compromise between the German and Czech nationalities in Bohemia ("Annual Register," 1890, pp. 324 and 325), and the resignation of the twenty-five Italian members of the Tyrolese Diet, because the Government refused their demand for an administrative and political separation of the Italian from the German Tyrol, made it necessary for the Government at Vienna to make an appeal to the country, and the Reichsrath, elected in 1885, was accordingly dissolved on January 25. In a

statement accompanying the Imperial decree for the dissolution, Count Taaffe, the premier, appealed to all moderate parties, of whatever nationality, to assist him in carrying out the policy of his Government. This was a distinct bid for the support of the German Liberals, who had hitherto been the most important section of the Opposition; and their chief adversary, Dr. Dunajevski, Minister of Finance, a Pole, and the most brilliant and talented member of the Cabinet, accordingly sent in his resignation, which was accepted by the Emperor (Feb. 4). He was succeeded by Dr. Steinbach, a German, and an official of the Ministry of Justice.

On February 13 a pastoral letter was published, signed by thirty-two Archbishops and Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Austria, and dealing with the coming elections. The conciliatory tone of this document with regard to other religions and parties was especially remarkable, as the anti-Semitic movement and the strife between the nationalities had hitherto been to a great extent fomented by the lower clergy. The pastoral pointed out the honest striving after daily bread of the lower classes, the rancorous discontent of the poor, the prevailing spirit of licence and disobedience against divinely-constituted authorities, the universal social strife, and the bitterness infused into this struggle. On the other hand, it described the immense progress in every branch of human activity, the facility of inter-communication, and the spread of knowledge and culture, accompanied, however, by the disappearance of the Christian faith and Christian morals. The growing weakness of authority was traced to the influence of the atheistical press. The agitation of demagogues amongst the working classes was pointed to as the source of the spreading discontent and class hatred; this, together with mutual distrust, the disappearance of real brotherly love, and extreme egotism, had become the dominant features of the working population.

Following upon the above picture of the present condition of society, came a description of the strife and hatred among different nationalities and different creeds; and, in conclusion, the pastoral declared in strong words for the maintenance of the unity of the Empire, for the growth of a general patriotism raising itself above the ideas of particular nationalities, and for goodwill and unity among the different parts of the population.

The result of the elections was that the "Old Czechs" under Dr. Rieger, who had thoroughly discredited themselves by first negotiating and accepting the compromise of 1890 and then repudiating it, were practically extinguished, their seats being in almost every case captured by the "Young Czechs," who are anti-Clericals, anti-Germans, and advocates of an alliance with Russia. The new Reichsrath was composed as follows:—German Liberals, 110; German Nationalists, 17; Poles, 58;

Ruthenians, 8; Young Czechs, 38; Moravians, 11; Conservatives, 77; Italians, 9; Roumanians, 2; anti-Semites, 14.

As the Young Czechs were now among the irreconcilable opponents of the Ministry, Count Taaffe attempted to form a Government party by bringing about a coalition between the Poles, the Conservatives under Count Hohenwart, and the German Liberals. Such a coalition would have given the Government a majority of about 100; but the fundamental differences of opinion between the German Liberals and the members of the other parties were too great, and after much negotiation it was agreed that although each party should retain its freedom of action, they should all three give a general support to the Government so long as the measures laid by the Ministry before the House were not opposed to their political principles. As Count Taaffe had no intention of proposing great constitutional changes, and only required the consent of the House to measures for promoting agricultural and industrial prosperity, in which no question of political principle was involved, the arrangement thus arrived at, though in the nature of a makeshift, was sufficient for the immediate necessities of the situation.

The Reichsrath was opened by the Emperor on April 12, and in order to avoid a stormy debate on the address, it was proposed to substitute for the usual form of address a simple expression of thanks for his Majesty's speech. This proposal, which was made by Dr. Smolka, a Pole, the venerable President of the House, was carried unanimously (May 7). As an earnest of their promise to support the Government, the German Liberals now gave their votes, for the first time in twelve years, in favour of the secret service money demanded by the Ministry (June 8). Shortly after (June 17), the Premier stated that the appeal of the Government to the different parties for an armistice in political affairs had been generally well received, and that almost the entire population evinced a longing for peace at home and a desire for a speedy solution of various economic and social problems. The Government wished to prepare the way for the continuance of the "mutual contract" between the Moderate parties on the basis of useful legislation, and the Moderate parties had responded in the most gratifying way to the appeal in the Speech from the Throne to their patriotism. "I must point out with particular satisfaction," he continued, "that a great party, representing a large number of German constituencies, a party which had hitherto stood aside, has resumed its participation in active Parliamentary work."

As a further mark of the reconciliation between the Government and the German Liberals, Count Künburg, a member of that party, was appointed to the Cabinet in December, as a Minister without portfolio. The German Liberals thus obtained a special representative in the Ministry, like the Poles and the Czechs; and at the same time one of the ablest of the Polish

deputies, Dr. Bilinski, was appointed to the important post of Director of the Austrian Railways. Almost the only break in the general harmony which prevailed in the Reichsrath occurred on December 16, when Dr. Gregr, the leader of the "Young Czechs," made an exceedingly violent speech against the Government. "Bohemia," he said, "is being sucked dry by Austria, which behaves to it like a vampire. The majority of the Czech population of Bohemia is utterly wretched in the midst of this alien Empire, and the longing to emerge from their Babylonian captivity has already penetrated into the lowest strata of the Bohemian people. Could the Bohemians of times past have foreseen what would become of their descendants, their choice of a King in 1526 would have been very different. Their nationality is oppressed and persecuted in this Austrian State, which is a State of violence and tyranny towards all Slavonic races. The bond between the Crown and Bohemia will be severed if the traditional rights of Bohemia are scouted much longer, and the future relations of the two countries will be those of the conquered towards the conquerors. The Männlicher rifle will be of little avail in the hands of a people without loyalty and without enthusiasm; instead of kindling that enthusiasm for the State by making the Bohemian people contented, they are brought to hate—I repeat, to hate—this State. And, mark my words, the day of reckoning will come."

The speaker, who was twice called to order, was replied to by Prince Charles Schwarzenberg, a young member of the great Bohemian family of that name. He protested, as a Czech himself, against the unpatriotic speech of the Young Czech leader. He reminded him that whenever Bohemia had deviated from the choice of 1526—as, for instance, during the Thirty Years' War—the country had repented of it, and added:—"If you and yours hate this State—and it is, unfortunately, a fact that hatred of Austria is spreading in Bohemia through your teachings—what will you do with your country, which is too small to stand alone? Will you give it to Germany or to Russia, for you have no other choice if you abandon the Union?"

Dr. Gregr's intemperate speech, however, was far from representing the sentiments of the great majority of his countrymen, as was proved by the enthusiastic reception given to the Emperor when he visited the exhibition at Prague, in September. It is true that fêtes were given in honour of the Russian visitors, but the Polish ones were equally well received, and the destruction of the railway bridge over which the Emperor was to pass on his way from Prague to Reichenberg was evidently the work of a fanatic who had no connection with the Czechish movement.

The Austrian Budget for the year 1892 was introduced to the Reichsrath by Dr. Steinbach, the new Minister of Finance, on Oct. 11. Like the last Budgets of his predecessor, Dr. Dunajevski,

who, by his able management, had closed the era of Austrian deficits, Dr. Steinbach showed that there would be a surplus, amounting for the year 1892 to 600,000 florins. He pointed out, however, that the sum capable of being devoted to the redemption of the debt will be about two millions less than in the last Budget, while the indirect taxes had reached their highest possible limit, and the direct taxes showed no elasticity. On the other hand, the increase in the Military budget, amounting to about five million florins, of which 70 per cent. falls upon Austria and only 30 per cent. on Hungary, was, according to Dr. Steinbach, not only sure to be maintained, but the immediate future was certain to bring additions to the military expenditure, and consequently the greatest economy was necessary, lest a deficit, which had disappeared for the last four years, should make its reappearance, and render the long-promised currency reform impossible. This reform, which, he said, it was the earnest desire both of himself and of his Hungarian colleague to carry out as soon as possible, he regarded as conditional, first, on the maintenance of an equilibrium between the national income and expenditure; and next, on the international money market being in a state favourable to the purchase of the necessary gold on convenient terms. The estimated expenditure of Austria for the year 1892, was 584,620,000 florins, while that of Hungary was 395,300,000 florins, and that of Bosnia about 10 million florins. The total expenditure for the whole Monarchy would, therefore, be about 990 million florins, equal at the present rate of exchange to about 85 million pounds sterling, or only about five millions sterling less than that of the United Kingdom. The total population is nearly the same, but the general wealth, the industry, and the export trade of Austria-Hungary is little more than one-tenth that of Great Britain. It follows from this that the taxes in Austria-Hungary fall much heavier on the inhabitants than in the United Kingdom.

In Hungary the Parliamentary session was practically wasted by the obstruction of the Radicals. A Bill for administrative reform was introduced by the Government in June. Five weeks elapsed in discussing the title of the Bill, and the House having at length decided to close the debate, each of thirty members of the Opposition brought in an amendment, which, being backed in every case by ten signatures, had, according to the rules of the House, to be disposed of before the Chamber could go into Committee on the original measure. The result was a Parliamentary deadlock, and the Ministry determined to have recourse to the dangerous expedient of a dissolution, as it was not until August 6 that the first clause of the Bill could be passed. The clause which was most objected to by the Radicals was the 135th, which abolishes the ancient right of the *comitats*, or provincial assemblies, to prevent the execution of measures ordered by the Government. This is a relic of the long obsolete system under

which the comitats used to levy recruits and collect taxes on behalf of the King, and it is now often used from a mere spirit of opposition to impede Government measures. Finding that there was no prospect of carrying the whole Bill, the Ministry withdrew all the clauses after the first, and introduced a second clause, giving the Government discretionary powers to execute the arrangements for the appointment of county officials; but, although in this form the Bill was passed (Aug. 8), it was evident that, with the existing opposition, further legislation on the subject would be impossible, and the Ministry accordingly issued a decree on December 23, ordering the elections to take place on January 28 and the five following days.

The Hungarian Budget for 1892, introduced on October 7 in the Parliament at Buda-Pesth, showed a trifling surplus of some 1,200*l.*; but the Hungarians were well contented that there was no deficit to announce. The public satisfaction was the greater because the closest scrutiny could not detect any unreal item in the estimates, and, moreover, the balance-sheet for 1890 showed an actual surplus of 27 million florins over the expenditure for that year. Hence the estimates for 1892 were received with much favour in political and financial circles. Hungary has made enormous progress in her finances of late years. The receipts from all sources in 1868 were only 127 million florins. In 1890 they were 392 millions, and it was estimated that in 1892 they would reach 395 millions. No loans are included in these latter figures. The Budget further showed that the increased expenditure which the delegations would be asked to grant would only be one million florins, while the increased outlay on the Honved Army was estimated at less than a million florins.

In his Budget speech the Finance Minister, Dr. Weckerle, stated that the reform of the currency, which had been rejected some time back, was now desired, and was being earnestly considered in both halves of the Monarchy, and that that reform would be carried out as soon as the state of the money market permitted. He added that the large surplus over the estimates of the last two years had been used to purchase gold, as a first step towards the realisation of the desired reform in the currency. This announcement caused a rise in the price of gold on the Vienna Bourse.

The continuance of the war preparations in Russia forced Austria to take corresponding steps for her defence, and an increase of 16 million florins in the Military budget was submitted for this purpose to the delegations in November. The measures contemplated were, in the first place, the erection of permanent barracks in Cracow, Rzeszow, Tarnopol, and Przemyśl, besides several other places in Galicia, to replace the temporary barracks which, during the war scare in the winter of 1887-88, were put up with such haste that damp timber had to be used, in consequence of which some of these temporary buildings had

already become uninhabitable. The outlay for permanent stone barracks in Galicia was estimated to amount to many millions, and considering the anxiety of the Ministers of Finance of Austria and Hungary to maintain an equilibrium between the income and expenditure, the Government would not have asked for such a large sum unless the War Office were convinced that the distribution of the Russian troops close to the Austrian frontier was no temporary arrangement.

It was further proposed to construct new fortifications in Galicia, as the first-class fortresses there, Cracow and Przemyśl, and the temporary works round Lemberg, were not deemed sufficient to secure that important province against a surprise. The new works were to be erected to the east of Lemberg, probably near Brody, Tarnopol, and Stanislan, towns which were quite open to an incursion of Russian cavalry. The other measures included the raising of the artillery in Galicia from the diminished peace footing to the normal war footing; an increase in the number of field hospitals; the purchase of moveable camp tents of the newest system; the serving out of the new light repeating rifles to the technical troops, and the supply of smokeless powder for the heavy ordnance. The principal items, however, were for the barracks and fortifications in Galicia.

The statements made by the Emperor to the delegations on November 11 referred as follows to the necessity of further military preparations:—

“I can say, with satisfaction, that we stand in friendly relations with all foreign Powers. In full agreement with my allies, I see in the maintenance of the peace of Europe the surest guarantee for the happiness and prosperity of nations. My Government keeps this aim ever in view. From all the Cabinets of Europe the like assurances of pacific endeavour reach us. It is true that this has not yet led to the removal of the dangers besetting the political situation of Europe, nor has it brought the universal military armaments to a standstill; but as a need for peace manifests itself so generally and harmoniously, the hope of a final attainment of that end appears not to be precluded. May it be vouchsafed to me to be able to announce to my people the glad tidings that the present cares and burdens of a threatened peace are at an end. In the Bills to be submitted to the delegations the financial position of the Monarchy has been conscientiously considered. The estimates for the Army and Navy have been restricted to the most urgent needs.”

This, coupled with a false report to the effect that the Emperor had stated to M. Jaworski, chairman of the Polish party in the Reichsrath, that war was imminent, caused something like a panic on the Vienna Stock Exchange, and Count Kalnoky, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, made some reassuring statements to the Hungarian delegation on November 14. Referring to the

different interpretations which had been placed on the Emperor's speech, he said that the present position of Austria-Hungary, so far as the prospects of peace were concerned, was favourable. He did not know of a single political question which was calculated to give rise to any direct apprehension that the present long period of peace might through it now suffer interruption. The relations of Austria-Hungary with all the European Powers were of a perfectly friendly character. The assurances which had reached the Government from all quarters not only proved the pacific endeavours of the Powers, but the Vienna Cabinet had in its possession authentic and authoritative assurances that in no quarter was there any thought of aggression of any kind upon a neighbour.

Consequently, at the present time there was no ground for apprehension, either with regard to European peace in general or for Austria-Hungary in particular. Nevertheless, the main reason for the recurrent anxiety so generally felt was to be found in the unabated continuance of military preparations and armaments in all States, which armaments involved the danger that, as the facilities for war increased, the possibility of war might be brought nearer. Nobody doubted the desire of Austria-Hungary for the maintenance of peace. Moreover, the same wish was present everywhere, and this justified the hope that gradually an issue might be found from the present contradictory state of things.

The purely defensive alliance which Austria-Hungary had entered into with pacific objects justified the conclusion that the Central European States would co-operate with her in the future as in the past for the maintenance of peace. The alliance had been renewed for several years, and all three members of it had become convinced that it had done good, that its continuance was desirable in the interests of its signatories and of European peace, and that its renewal should be effected prior to the expiration of the former treaty. On all sides, the opinion prevailed that no member of the alliance should undertake fresh obligations, inasmuch as at the foundation of the Triple Alliance all emergencies had been thoroughly weighed. In the course of these negotiations the fullest agreement and the most entire confidence had been manifested between the Ministers of the three Powers concerned.

The visit of the German Emperor to England, although of high significance, was not the starting point of new combinations but the result of already existing ones. The visit would not have been made, nor would the Emperor's reception have been so brilliant, had not strong sympathies existed for the German Emperor and for Germany, and had not the English people already possessed a right understanding of the peaceful aims of the Triple Alliance. Regarding the reception of the French fleet at Cronstadt, Count Kalnoky observed that what had occurred

arose from the consciousness that the mutual interests of France and Russia demanded a closer *rapprochement* between the two Powers; but he did not believe that any profound European changes were to be expected from the Cronstadt visit.

Adverting to Austria's Eastern policy, the Count said that her aim was to secure to all the States of the Balkan Peninsula a free development within the limits defined by the Berlin Treaty. Towards Roumania the relations of the Empire were those of unchanged friendship, while as regarded Servia, Austria-Hungary showed every consideration for that State, whose Government, owing to the confused state of Servian parties, was confronted with exceptional difficulties. Some improvement of the relations between Austria-Hungary and Servia was, moreover, noticeable, though the Servians were more and more drawn into a policy inimical to their own interests. It would be better if the Belgrade Cabinet pursued a less magnificent foreign policy, and paid more attention to the internal affairs of the country.

Count Kalnoky proceeded to contrast with the conduct of the Servians the industry and activity displayed by Bulgaria in the development of its resources. The question of the recognition of Prince Ferdinand remained unchanged, but the general position of Bulgaria was, notwithstanding, good. Every well-wisher to Bulgaria must recommend a correct attitude towards the Porte, abstinence from any adventurous action, and patient waiting.

Upon the Dardanelles question, the Minister said that, although the other Mediterranean Powers were more nearly affected than Austria-Hungary in the matter, they took up the same attitude as she did. Russia must use the Straits for communication with her possessions in Eastern Asia, and the vessels of the so-called volunteer fleet were, in time of peace, transports sailing under a commercial flag. The Turkish Circular Note on the Russo-Turkish agreement in this matter gave Austria-Hungary and the other Powers occasion to take note of the action of the Porte, and at the same time to call attention to the treaty stipulations providing for the closing of the Dardanelles to men-of-war. It had been remarked that the final settlement of the question regarding the passage of the vessels of the Russian volunteer fleet through the Straits had coincided with the visit of the French fleet to Cronstadt, and certain inferences had been drawn from the fact; but, in truth, the coincidence was only the result of chance, for the matter had formed the subject of controversy long before the events at Cronstadt.

Referring to the relations of Austria-Hungary with Italy, Count Kalnoky pointed out that the interests of Italy lay more in the direction of the Mediterranean than of the Balkan provinces; but it was difficult to separate the two, and, therefore, the Eastern policy of Austria and Italy was identical. It was a Conservative policy, having for its object the maintenance of the *status quo*,

without any claim to the acquisition of territory, or to undue influence. The meeting of M. de Giers and the Marchese di Rudini was regarded by the Austrian Government without distrust. It was even a desirable occurrence, for M. de Giers, whom he (Count Kalnoky) knew to be a moderate statesman, was able to convince himself that Italy, equally with the other members of the Triple Alliance, had purely pacific objects in view. He had reason to believe, in view of the confidential relations subsisting between the Ministers of the Triple Alliance, that he had been made fully acquainted with what had passed between the two statesmen at Milan and Monza, and he had no reason to be otherwise than perfectly satisfied with the course and result of the interview.

Count Kalnoky further stated that his views on the situation in Europe differed in no essential respect from those recently expressed by the Prime Ministers of Italy and Great Britain, inasmuch as at the present time he saw no ground which would endanger peace. The first proof of that was the War Budget which had just been presented to the delegations. The Government would, undoubtedly, have had to throw many millions into the balance if it had believed in the imminence of war, or had entertained serious apprehensions concerning the immediate future.

In reply to Count Karolyi, the Minister for Foreign Affairs said he knew nothing of any withdrawal of the Russian troops from the West to the East, or, in other words, from the vicinity of the Austrian frontier. In fact, the Russian semi-official organ, the *Invalide*, had openly announced the contrary, and there had been, so far, no cessation in the pushing forward of the Russian troops.

In a further statement in reply to Herr von Zallinger, the Ultramontane delegate for the Tyrol, on the subject of the revival of the temporal power of the Pope, Count Kalnoky stated that this was a difficult problem, which Austria could not touch without offending the Italian nation. The Government was fully aware that there was an overwhelming majority of Roman Catholics in the Empire, and was also desirous of seeing the position of the Holy Father such as would carry with it complete independence, as becoming and necessary for the head of the Catholic Church—a position, he would add, such as would satisfy the Pope and the Papal See, for only in that case could there be peace between the Papacy and the Italian kingdom. He would do all in his power to bring this about; but, at the same time, it was the general wish of the people of Austria-Hungary to live in peace and friendship with the Italian nation. Moreover, Austria was politically allied with that nation, and that alliance was one of the foundations of its policy.

The relations between Austria and the other Powers were throughout the year of a very friendly character. The splendid

reception of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand d'Este at St. Petersburg in February, the Emperor of Austria's visit to the British fleet at Fiume in June, the visit of the young King Alexander of Servia to the Emperor at Ischl in July, and the meeting of the German and Austrian Emperor at Horn, in Lower Austria, in September, contributed to strengthen the friendly relations of the Court of Vienna with those of other European capitals. The renewal of the Triple Alliance brought the new Italian Ministry into closer connection with those of Germany and Austria, and the establishment of a Customs league between Germany, Austria, Italy, Belgium, and Switzerland gave those countries a common interest in the maintenance of peace, thereby adding considerably to the value of the Triple Alliance as a security against aggressive attempts on the part of France or Russia.

TURKEY AND THE MINOR STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

Brigandage has during the year been very rife in Turkey. On May 31 the ordinary train from Constantinople to Adrianople was attacked by a band of brigands, composed of thirty persons, under the orders of a man named Anastase, or Lefter, a Greek, who destroyed the line by carrying away some rails. The train was thrown off the line, with the engine, the tender, the goods van, a carriage of the fourth class, and one of the second class. The brigands, who were waiting in ambush, then rushed upon the train; two of them prevented the engine-driver from giving signals, while the others plundered the occupants of the train, one of whom was wounded, and carried off five first-class travellers, as well as the engine-driver.

One of the captives, M. Moritz Israel, was subsequently released in order to procure the money necessary for the ransom. The brigands demanded 200,000 francs, payable at Kirklisse, and threatened to assassinate the travellers if the police should take any steps to deliver them.

The ransom was paid, and the prisoners were liberated on June 8. Another outrage by brigands took place in August at Ezegli, near Rodosto, where a Frenchman, acting as manager of a farm, was captured by a band of eleven armed men, and only released on payment of a ransom of 5,000*l.*; and a fortnight later an Italian stationmaster on the Uskup and Salonica line, with his foreman, was also carried off by the brigands and ransomed for 2,000*l.*

Serious disturbances also occurred in various parts of the Sultan's dominions. At Jerusalem there was a dispute between the members of the Greek and Latin Churches as to which of them should repair a wall in the Holy Places. From words they proceeded to blows, the Turkish troops interfered, and many of the combatants were killed or wounded. In Yemen the Arabs revolted, and the insurrection was quelled with great

difficulty by the Turkish troops, after several months' hard fighting.

In September Kiamil Pacha was dismissed from the post of Grand Vizier, and was succeeded by Djevad Pacha, formerly Governor of Crete. This incident was regarded in France and Russia as a triumph for the policy of those States, Kiamil having been a devoted adherent of England and the Triple Alliance; but although the Porte showed a more conciliatory spirit towards Russia under the new Grand Vizier than formerly, it remained on as friendly terms as before with the other Powers. This was very plainly shown in the negotiations on the question of the Dardanelles. The right of the Sultan under the clauses referring to the Straits in the London Convention of 1841, as confirmed by the subsequent treaties of Paris and Berlin, to forbid the passage through the Straits of ships of war, had for some time caused disputes between the Turkish and Russian Governments, as ships of the Russian "volunteer fleet" carrying the commercial flag, but with arms or troops on board, were frequently passing between the Russian ports on the Black Sea and those on the Pacific. In April one of these ships, the "Kostroma," was stopped by the Turkish commander at the Dardanelles, and it was then agreed between Russia and the Porte that steamers under the commercial flag, even if carrying soldiers or arms, were to be permitted to pass the Straits if previous notice were given to the Porte. In August another Russian steamer, the "Moskva," was stopped in the Straits on the ground that it had soldiers on board, and that the prescribed notice had not been given. The steamer was detained for fourteen hours, and was then allowed to pass, the Russian ambassador having explained that the supposed soldiers were only reserve men who had served their time and were returning home. At the same time the Porte informed the Russian ambassador that in order to prevent the recurrence of such misunderstandings the notification to the Porte as to ships of the Russian volunteer fleet having munitions of war, arms, soldiers, or convicts will only be required in the case of vessels outward bound from Odessa. Captains of ships of the volunteer fleet coming home from the Pacific ports will only be required to declare to the commandant at the Dardanelles that he has "only unarmed time-expired soldiers" on board, and then they will be allowed to pass. This concession produced considerable excitement in Germany and Austria, where it was at first interpreted as practically opening the Straits to Russian ships of war, and the alarm was greatly increased by the false report that the British fleet had occupied a small island off Sigri, on the west coast of Mitylene.

In May shocking outrages were committed on the Jews in Corfu by the populace. Many Jewish houses were burned, and women and children massacred. The Greek Government sent

troops to suppress the riots, and the ringleaders were severely punished.

The presence of a number of Russians, stated to be Nihilists, in Bulgaria was made the occasion of representations on the subject which were addressed in January by the representatives of Austria and Germany to the Bulgarian Government. Soon after the discovery of the bombs manufactured by Nihilists in Paris, the Russian Government addressed itself to all the European Powers with a request that they would use their influence at Sofia in order to secure a discontinuance of the protection alleged to be afforded in Bulgaria to the Russian Nihilists. The St. Petersburg Government professed to know that several Revolutionists who had been expelled from Switzerland and France had found an asylum in Bulgaria, where they continued to manufacture explosives for use in Russia. The request was coupled with a circumstantial memorandum, giving the names of those Russians who had been staying for years in Bulgaria, and whom the St. Petersburg Government declared to be Nihilists. It also mentioned the names of others who were stated to have arrived shortly after the trials at Zurich and Paris. The representatives of Austria and Germany gave verbal notice to the Bulgarian Government of the statements made in the Russian Memorandum, pointing out that it was in Bulgaria's own interest not to give protection to persons who conspire against another State, and especially to the manufacturers of bombs and other explosives. Herr von Wangenheim, the German Consul-General, made this communication in conjunction with his Austrian colleague, Herr von Burian, not in the name of Russia, but in that of the German Government, which, like that of Austria, took the step in the interest of Bulgaria herself rather than to please Russia. England and Italy, however, did not back up the Russian demand.

In its reply the Bulgarian Government thanked the two Powers for having drawn attention to danger threatening Bulgaria, and promised that it would closely investigate the statements mentioned in the Russian Memorandum. If they proved correct, either wholly or in part, then Bulgaria would take steps to fulfil her international obligations.

In February the Bulgarian Government sent to the representatives of the Powers a rejoinder to the Russian Memorandum. The Note, which was of considerable length, began by affirming that liberty of sojourn in the Principality is granted to every foreigner entering the country provided with the regular papers, and not known to be guilty of acts contrary to general order or public morality. It is in this manner that Bulgaria, following the example of all Constitutional States, understands her duties of hospitality, but she has never thought of affording an asylum to the anarchists of any country. Particulars were then given of persons described in the Russian Memorandum as Russian

anarchist refugees settled in Bulgaria. Some of these had never come to the Principality, while others had arrived with their passports in good order. At a time when the Russian Imperial Government was represented by diplomatic agents and consuls, and when the Ministries of War and the Interior, as well as the Administration of Public Works, were presided over by Russians sent specially by the Imperial Government, neither the diplomatic agents, nor the Consul, nor the high Russian functionaries occupying posts as minister or administrator, had raised the slightest protest against the admission into the public service of some of the very persons whom it now classed as dangerous conspirators.

The Note then proceeded to point out that the number of Russian subjects in Bulgaria had been considerably reduced, and that, as regards the alleged harbouring of Nihilists, the Princely Government does not know where the colony of anarchists spoken of by Russia is to be found. "Instead of addressing the Great Powers, and pledging them to make joint representations to the Princely Government, thereby making the matter a question, so to say, of international importance, it would have been desirable that the Imperial Government should have addressed the Princely Government, as it has done on all occasions where its interests were concerned, through the intermediary of the German Consulate-General, in order to set forth its complaints regarding the alleged machinations of Russian Nihilists in Bulgaria, furnishing at the same time a documentary statement of the facts, in order to demand, in case of need, the punishment of the guilty parties. The Memorandum communicated by the German Consulate-General, which was the occasion for the representations made by the Great Powers, adduces nothing to show that the alleged Russian anarchists, Nihilists, or others have organised a plot or commenced a revolutionary movement against Russia or any other State. While, however, pleased to be able to affirm that no action of this nature can be imputed to the Russian subjects settled in Bulgaria, the Princely Government is unfortunately constrained to state that Bulgaria has not been treated equally well, thanks to agitators (*agents provocateurs*) and anarchists coming from outside the borders of the country."

A recapitulation was then made of the events of the past few years : the numerous attempts against the public order and liberty of the country, the dethronement of Prince Alexander, the sanguinary riots in Silistria and at Rustchuk, the Nabokoff Expedition, and the recent plot of Major Panitza and Captain Kolobkoff. All the Nihilists, whether Bulgarian or Russian, who promoted these attempts against the State, enjoyed particularly favourable treatment in Russia, some being admitted to the Imperial army, while others receive decorations.

"Bulgaria," the document concluded, "never wishes to forget its sad and ill-fated past. It has peace and tranquillity too

much at heart to allow foreign anarchists to take refuge in the country with the avowed object of directing a revolutionary propaganda against another State. Bulgaria's sole desire is to proceed with the work of its own development, and to live in good relations with all countries."

To this clever *riposte* the Russian Government made no answer, and the incident was closed. But Bulgaria seemed destined never to enjoy any lengthened period of tranquillity. On March 27, while M. Stambouloff, the Premier, and M. Beltcheff, Minister of Finance, were entering their official residences, the latter was killed by three shots from a revolver which were evidently meant for M. Stambouloff. The assassin escaped, and it turned out that there was no ground for the suspicion at first pretty generally entertained that the outrage was the work of Russian agents. That there were Russian agents in the country is proved by the fact that the messenger of the Russian Legation was expelled in April for sending threatening letters to Prince Ferdinand, the Princess Clémentine, M. Stambouloff, and M. Grecoff; but there was no evidence to connect him with the murder of M. Beltcheff. M. Stambouloff had made many enemies by his unrelenting suppression of the revolutionary elements in the country, and it was probably to this circumstance that the attempt to assassinate him was due, though no doubt the assassins may have hoped for reward from the Pan Slavist Committee at Moscow.

In June, M. Tricoupis, the ex-Minister of Greece, visited Servia, Bulgaria, and Roumania, in the vain hope of establishing a Balkan Confederation. He was well received in all of these States, but he must have convinced himself that the rivalry between Servia, Bulgaria, and Greece as to the possession of Macedonia must render any such scheme impracticable. An arrangement might perhaps be possible on this point between Greece and Servia, but M. Stambouloff plainly intimated to M. Tricoupis that Bulgaria would not countenance any attempt to separate Macedonia from Turkey, who was Bulgaria's ally as well as her suzerain. The relations between Bulgaria and Turkey were indeed most friendly throughout the year, but there were apprehensions of a conflict with Servia, and the Bulgarian Government made preparations for a possible attack from that quarter. Not only were new fortifications erected towards the Servian frontier, but Plevna was so strongly fortified as to become the chief bulwark of Bulgaria in case of its being overrun by an invader. No less than eight detached forts, on the system of General von Löwenhaupt, which best adapts itself to hilly and undulating ground, were under construction, and when they are finished, Plevna will be the principal *point d'appui* of the Bulgarian army and one of the strongest fortified camps in Europe.

From Plevna a broad military road, fifty-two kilomètres in length, was constructed to the Danube fortress of Nikopolis,

which is also a sort of natural fortress, being almost hidden beneath the elevated banks of the Danube.

With Austria and Germany, on the other hand, the relations of the Bulgarian Government continued to be most cordial. Prince Ferdinand paid a visit to Vienna in August, and though, not being the recognised ruler of Bulgaria, he could not be given an official reception, he had an audience of the Emperor at which the latter expressed warm sympathy with the Bulgarians and their ruler. On his return to Sofia the Prince celebrated the fourth anniversary of his accession, which was observed with great enthusiasm throughout the Principality. The great advance in material prosperity and civilisation which has taken place under his rule has by degrees made him popular with the people, though they have still not forgotten the services rendered to them by Prince Alexander of Battenberg, now serving in the Austrian army under the pseudonym of Count Hartenau, to whom the Bulgarian Chamber voted an annual pension of 50,000 francs on December 13.

Towards the end of the year Bulgaria was involved in a serious dispute with France through the expulsion by a decree of the Government at Sofia of a French subject, M. Chadourne, correspondent of the Havas Agency, on the ground that he had spread false and slanderous reports in the press with regard to Bulgaria and its Government. M. Lanel, the French Chargé d'Affaires, protested against the expulsion as constituting a flagrant violation of treaties, and demanded that the decree should be rescinded. In reply to this demand the Bulgarian Government reminded M. Lanel that on two occasions in the past it had decided to expel the correspondent in question, but had refrained from doing so in the hope that, owing to the representations made to the Agency and the warnings given to the correspondent, the latter would change his attitude towards a Government and a country which had given him hospitality for long years past. Notwithstanding this, the said correspondent had continued to publish in the journals untruthful intelligence of a character to throw discredit upon Bulgaria abroad; and, further, by his actions in the country itself, continued to create difficulties for the Government. To put an end therefore to such a state of affairs, the Bulgarian Government, to its great regret, without having any intention of infringing treaties, had found itself under the necessity of expelling this correspondent, whose stay in Bulgaria constituted a danger to the tranquillity of the country. Moreover, the step taken by the Government did not, in its opinion, constitute a violation of treaties, for the reason that the treaties are absolutely silent regarding the treatment of foreigners who interfere in internal political affairs, and by their actions or writings create difficulties for the Government in questions affecting public order and involving respect for the institutions of the country. The Bulgarian Government must follow the

principles which guide all States. The Note concluded by stating that the Bulgarian Government regrets that it is unable to repeal the measure already adopted, and expressing the hope that the French Government would, out of regard for justice and equity, take note of the paramount reasons determining the conduct of the Princely Government on this occasion, and would not attribute to it a character which might disturb the good relations subsisting between France and Bulgaria.

Immediately on receipt of the Bulgarian reply, M. Lanel proceeded to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and verbally informed M. Grecoff that he had orders to break off all relations with the Bulgarian Government.

France next addressed herself through her Ambassador to the Porte, announcing the suspension of relations between France and Bulgaria, and stating the reasons why this step had been taken. The Porte transmitted this communication to the Bulgarian Government, and asked for an explanation. The matter had not been concluded at the close of the year, but as France was not supported by any of the other Powers in her view that the conduct of Bulgaria constituted a breach of treaties, it became evident that the incident would not lead to any alarming complications.

In Serbia the ex-King and his Queen were still disturbing elements that interfered with the peaceful development of the new *régime*. King Milan at length accepted voluntary banishment from his country (April 12); but he only consented to such banishment until his son should attain his majority, and on the condition that 1,000,000 francs should be paid to him out of the Servian treasury. On May 18, an attempt was made by the Government to expel Queen Natalie from Serbia, but she was rescued by a party of students, who took her back to her residence. The expulsion was finally effected on the following day, after a prolonged and severe struggle between the students and the gendarmes, which naturally left a very bitter feeling against the Government among the people of the capital, where the ex-Queen was very popular. In August her son went with M. Ristitch, the Regent, and M. Pasitch, the Prime Minister, on a round of visits to some of the principal European States. He first proceeded to St. Petersburg and Moscow, where he was received with great enthusiasm as Russia's only ally, together with the kindred State of Montenegro, on the Balkan Peninsula; then he visited Paris, and finally had several interviews, accompanied by the Servian Regent and Premier, with the Emperor of Austria at Ischl. In home affairs the most important incident in Serbia during the year was the resignation of the Gruitch Cabinet, and the appointment in its place of a Ministry under M. Pasitch, President of the Radical Club and Chairman of the Radical Caucus, which had manipulated the last elections. Both the previous Cabinet and its successor were Radical, and General Gruitch had

to resign, not on account of any differences of principle between him and the Radical majority, but because the Minister of Finance had introduced several items in the Budget for increasing the salaries of the higher State functionaries which the Chamber, composed mostly of peasants, considered exorbitant. M. Pasitch was formerly an associate of Russian Nihilists, but during the previous year he had made his peace with the Czar, and he was now regarded as the chief representative of Russian influence in Servia against that of Austria. This was probably the real reason for the change of Ministry, as Dr. Vuitch, the Minister of Finance, whose Budget had been the ostensible cause of the fall of the Gruitch Cabinet, retained his post under M. Pasitch.

Roumania, too, had its Ministerial crises. On March 5 a new Conservative Cabinet was formed under General Floresco, but it had scarcely declared its policy in the Chamber of Deputies when a vote of censure was passed against it by a majority of 77 to 69. The Chamber was then dissolved, and in the elections which followed the Ministry obtained a large majority. This, however, is the usual result of a General Election in Roumania, as all Ministries, whether Liberal or Conservative, do not scruple to use every possible means of bringing up electors to vote for the Ministerial candidates. This system of coercion, however, cannot be used towards a candidate once he is elected, and personal considerations play so important a part in Roumanian politics that a Ministerialist member, after voting with his party for the first few months, often goes over to the Opposition when he finds that his expectations of Ministerial favours have not been realised. The Floresco Ministry lasted from April to December, when it broke up through the secession of M. Vernesco. On December 9 a new Cabinet was formed under M. Catargi, but it was beaten in the Chamber on December 21 by a majority of 78 to 74. M. Catargi then made overtures to M. Carp, the leader of the Yunimists, or Young Conservatives, who agreed to join the Ministry on the condition that the Chamber should be dissolved, and that M. Catargi should accept the Yunimist programme of administrative reform (see "Annual Register," 1888, page 305). The year ended with preparations for a General Election.

The death, on May 16, of John Bratiano, Roumania's greatest statesman, plunged the whole country into mourning. He was Prime Minister from 1876 until April 1881, a period covering the Russo-Turkish war, in which the Roumanians fought side by side with the Russians before Plevna, and which resulted in the proclamation of the independence of Roumania from the rule of the Sultan, and, finally, in the establishment of the Principality as a kingdom. In April 1881 M. Bratiano was replaced for a short time in the Premiership by his brother, M. Demeter Bratiano, but in June of that year he again became head of the

Cabinet, and maintained his position until 1888, when he was compelled to resign in consequence of a riotous outbreak at Bucharest, which was only suppressed after much bloodshed. When he left office he had been in power practically for twelve years. Since that time, owing to the divisions in the Liberal party and other causes, M. Bratiano had gradually withdrawn himself from political life.

On May 22 was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the arrival of the then Prince Charles of Hohenzollern, now King of Roumania, in Bucharest. A month previously (on April 20, 1886) he had been chosen by a *plébiscite* to ascend the throne of the united Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. The election of the Hohenzollern Prince was a surprise to all Europe, with the exception of Napoleon III., who had objected to the previously successful candidate for the vacant throne, the Count of Flanders, as he was son of a Princess of the House of Orleans. For this reason the French Emperor had privately suggested to the late John Bratiano the young Hohenzollern Prince, then a lieutenant in the 2nd Prussian Regiment of Dragoon Guards, as a more suitable candidate. The consent of King William of Prussia to this candidature was easily obtained, but Prince Bismarck disliked the whole affair, and for many years afterwards the German secundogeniture on the Lower Danube was a source of anxiety to the ex-Chancellor, who thought it might some day involve Prussia in difficulties.

The election of the Prince occurred on the eve of the Austro-Prussian war, and was so unwelcome to the Vienna Cabinet that he had to find his way to his future capital *incognito*, travelling under the name of "Herr Lehmann, merchant," and subsequently assumed the disguise of a ship's cook, on proceeding by the Austrian steamer down the river to Turn Severin, where he first touched Roumanian soil on May 20, 1866. He found the country rent by political factions, and filled with revolutionary and Republican ideas. The upper classes were corrupt, the lower ignorant, the finances in a hopeless state, and the army worthless. Russian agitation was predominant, and the Prince, in order to secure his recognition by the Suzerain Power, had to go to Constantinople.

The Roumanians, in celebrating the anniversary, showed their gratitude for the immense services which this hard-working German Prince, who is a model of patience, perseverance, and foresight, had rendered to his adopted country within the past quarter of a century. In spite of the violence of parties, including Republican factions, the throne of Roumania has been secured, and the proclamation of the King's nephew, Prince Ferdinand of Hohenzollern, as heir to the throne, has been accepted by the country with the greatest enthusiasm, so that the continuance of the dynasty rests on a solid basis. The army, created anew by Prince Charles, was able at Plevna to save Russia from otherwise

certain disaster, and has been filled with self-confidence which promises well in the event of any future struggle against Russian aggression.

During the day a continuous stream of deputations presented addresses to the King, and in the afternoon some 2,000 village mayors assembled at the Athenæum, all wearing the brilliant national costume, with scarves, to hear an address delivered by M. Ionesco, one of the first among living Roumanian orators. In his speech he gave a sketch of the recent history of Roumania, and, among other things, he mentioned the following striking figures:—

“Twenty-five years ago,” he said, “there was not a mile of railway in all Roumania. Now there are 3,000 kilomètres. In 1866 the commercial rate of interest was as high as 11 per cent. Now it is 4 per cent. In 1866 the value of the exports was only 110 million francs. Now it is 274 millions. The total value of the commerce at the former date was only 181 millions. Now it is nearly 700 millions. Again, in 1866 the Budget was 55 millions, now it is 165 millions. In 1866 a 5 per cent. loan was issued at 65, now it is above par. In 1866 Roumania had no school of medicine, nor of engineering, nor even a bank.” The orator further enlarged on the immense progress the country has made in the years of King Charles’s reign, and concluded with the hope that the next quarter of a century might show a proportionate advance.

The Hohenzollern origin of the King naturally facilitated his relations with the German and Austrian Courts, though the Russian proclivities of many of his subjects prevented him from joining the Triple Alliance. In October he visited Berlin, and was received by the Emperor with demonstrative cordiality. One of the objects of this visit was stated to be to find a suitable bride for the heir-apparent to the Roumanian throne, whose desire to marry Mlle. Vernesco, maid of honour to the Queen, had been thwarted by the King and the Ministry. But the Emperor was doubtless glad to use the occasion for showing to Europe that among those who will assist him in repelling Russian aggression in the East may be reckoned the little State which lies on the road from Russia to Constantinople, and which, in proportion to its population and resources, has the best and largest army in Europe, and is expending vast sums in rendering impossible a forcible occupation of her territory by Russian troops.

CHAPTER IV.

MINOR STATES OF EUROPE.

I. BELGIUM.

A TRAGIC and painful event marked the opening of the year. Without any warning, and before anyone could have foreseen danger, the country, with dismay, learned that Prince Baldwin, elder son of the Count of Flanders, and heir-presumptive to the crown, had been carried off (Jan. 23) by a sudden illness, at the age of 21. This unexpected death was a heavy loss to the country, for over and above the personal qualities which had made him universally beloved, Prince Baldwin realised to the highest degree the great and difficult duties which some day it seemed it would be his lot to perform. It may truly be said of him that the whole of his too short career had been devoted to the care of preparing himself thoroughly and conscientiously to his future task. By his death the only remaining heir to the crown was the second son of the Count of Flanders, Prince Albert. In presence of this national loss, all political differences were silenced, from all sides were heard hearty expressions of sorrow for a loss of which the consequences might prove fraught with many dangers to the country.

The hopes to which the previous year's vote of the Chambers (see "Annual Register," 1890, p. 358) on the important question of the revision of the Constitution had given rise, and the promised reform of Article 47, concerning the electoral laws, did not receive a solution during the present year, but it became more and more clear that the country was in earnest for a change, for the people realised that in no other country in Europe was the electoral body so small as in Belgium. In 1890, by a unanimous vote, the Chamber of Representatives had decided to take into consideration a resolution of M. Janson, the Radical leader, concerning the revision of Article 47 of the constitution. The Liberals had supported the proposal, deeming the revision a social necessity; on the side of the Catholics, or Conservatives, there was less unanimity of opinion, some voting by conviction, others simply in order to give some satisfaction to public opinion, hoping that further concessions would be unnecessary. Lastly, a large number, under the guidance of M. Woeste, who was hostile to the proposed reform, had no other object in view than to force the Liberals to expose and define their views. It was well known that the Liberal party was unanimous only upon the necessity of a revision, various solutions of the problem having been put forward by its members, and M. Woeste hoped to profit by the dissensions that would then be disclosed, and cause the project to be finally abandoned.

Nevertheless, under the pressure of public opinion, this first

step having been taken by the Chambers, it was followed by others, and at length a Commission, composed of members of the Chamber belonging to both parties, was chosen to discuss the revision of the Constitution. Various proposals were put forward ; one was for the adoption of universal suffrage ; another, by M. Frère-Orban, recommended a large extension of that statesman's former plan of giving electoral rights to all citizens whose instruction had attained a certain standard ; the Prime Minister, M. Beernaert, proposed to combine M. Frère-Orban's plan with the principle of householding ; and lastly, another plan was based exclusively upon this latter principle.

These various points were discussed at great length, and it was not until a formidable strike had broken out, and that the situation thus created had become menacing, that the Commission, recognising the strength of public opinion out of doors, and in order to give satisfaction to the loudly expressed claims of the working men's party, were induced to bring their debates to a definite conclusion, and then unanimously resolved to report in favour of the necessity of revision. However wise this resolution may have been, it nevertheless caused a painful impression throughout the country on account of its having been voted on the day (May 20) on which the leaders of the workmen's party had fixed for proclaiming a universal strike, unless the Legislative Chambers had before that day given satisfaction to their demands. Whether the choice of the day for so important a constitutional vote was a pure coincidence remained undecided, but the workmen considered, and not wholly without reason, that they had gained a signal victory over the privileged classes.

This vote, after all, was no more than the endorsement of the Chamber's vote of the previous year, and was followed by no practical measure. The report of the Commission on this important question, moreover, was so long delayed that it could not be discussed by the Chambers, and the general opinion was that the Government wished to gain time and wait for the elections of 1892 before definitively placing the question before the country.

In the course of the year both the Liberal and the workmen's party made imposing manifestations in favour of reform. In the beginning of January deputations from all parts of the country assembled at Brussels, under the guidance of the leaders of the Radical party, and presented a petition, claiming universal suffrage, to M. Buis, burgomaster and deputy of Brussels, requesting him to carry it to the President of the Chamber, who had refused to receive the delegates of the meeting. As was expected, this Brussels demonstration, as imposing by the number as by the position of those who took part in it, passed off in the most calm and orderly manner. Nevertheless, the Government either felt, or affected to feel, the greatest uneasiness as to its probable consequences, notwithstanding the assurances given by

the leaders. Large bodies of troops were therefore concentrated at Brussels, and the anxiety of the Ministers grew to such a pitch that they resorted to the extreme measure of calling to arms two classes of militia, amounting to about 10,000 men. This attitude, which was diversely interpreted, nevertheless created throughout the country the impression that there was an invincible hostility in the Cabinet to the popular demands. The working men, more than any others interested in the extension of the suffrage, were determined to make only pacific demonstrations. A deputation of their body solicited and obtained a personal interview with the King, in order to expose the situation, and to inform him that the working party was decided to resort to a general strike if satisfaction were not given to their claims. The interview, which was very cordial, did not, however, as was easy to foresee, bring about any results; the delegates requested the King to make use of his influence over the Chambers to urge them to vote universal suffrage, but this the King could not do without infringing his constitutional duties.

Events shortly afterwards proved that the threats of the working party were not altogether baseless, for soon after the May-day Socialist manifestation, which had passed off with the greatest order, an extensive strike broke out in the coal districts of Liège and Charleroi, soon after followed by less important strikes in numerous other industrial centres. The situation wore from the outset so menacing an aspect, that imposing military forces had to be speedily drafted to the scenes of the principal strikes, in order to prevent a repetition of the lawlessness which had marked the course of the strikes of 1886. Still more than on previous occasions the strike of this year had an essentially political character, for although the pretext was an increase of salary and a reduction of the day's work to eight hours, the true object was to obtain, by intimidation, if not universal suffrage, or a large extension of the electoral right, at least the assurance that these important questions would be promptly examined. As already stated, this object was in a large measure attained, the Commission chosen by the Chamber having finally adopted the principle of the revision.

In short, although the question was not finally solved during the year, it was clear that the *consitary* system was definitively condemned, and that the period of Belgian history inaugurated in 1830 was now closed.

Independently of this important question of the revision of the Constitution, the solution of which, in one way or another, will have such immense influence on the nation's future destinies, the question of the defence of the country continued to occupy, to a large extent, public opinion. The introduction into the army of the principle of personal service met with more and more adherents, not only amongst the Liberal and workmen's parties, who were unanimous for this reform, but also amongst

a constantly increasing number of Catholics. Nevertheless, electoral considerations once more obliged the Government to postpone proposing a Bill on this important question, which had an uncompromising opponent in the Catholic leader, M. Woeste, and, on the other hand, found but a feeble supporter in the Minister of War, Lieutenant-General Pontus. It may be remembered that on joining the Cabinet the Minister of War had openly declared that he would relinquish his post if the principle of personal service were not promptly introduced into the army. So far his affection for the proposal had been limited to saying, in answer to various interpellations on the subject, that it was useless to propose a Bill, since the majority was decided to reject it. The Minister's attitude was most severely criticised by a large number of retired general officers, irrespective of political parties, who were unanimous in declaring that, contrary to the Minister's categorically expressed affirmations, the Belgian army was wholly insufficient, so far as regarded the number of men, to ensure the defence of the country; and further, that the adoption of personal service was a measure which military no less than social reasons of the highest importance rendered absolutely indispensable. An eloquent letter on this subject, published by a most distinguished officer—Lieutenant-General Vander Smissen—caused the greatest sensation throughout the country, for it clearly brought to light the important dissensions existing between the Minister of War and the most respected and trusted military men.

Another incident, relating to the defence of the country, also created much sensation. In June the Minister of War found himself forced to ask the Chambers for a supplementary credit of 14 millions of francs, destined for the completion of the fortifications of the Meuse. It had been declared at the outset that the cost of these would not exceed the 54 millions originally voted. The responsibility of this new and unforeseen expenditure was laid upon the military Engineers, whose chief, the celebrated Lieutenant-General Brialmont, became the object of the most virulent attacks on the part of the Catholic party, and more especially of M. Woeste. The publication of the correspondence exchanged between the Minister and General Brialmont created throughout the whole army the most painful impression.

With regard to foreign affairs, the most noticeable event was a remarkable speech made at Marseilles by M. Buis, Burgomaster at Brussels, and Liberal member of the Chamber at Marseilles. In categorical and authoritative terms he put a stop to the long accredited story of an alleged military convention between Belgium and Germany, insisting especially on the neutrality in which both the King and the nation found the most effectual protection of their independence. These declarations caused a very favourable impression in France, where it had been too

readily assumed that Belgium had entered into an alliance with the German Empire.

A slight Ministerial change took place in the course of the year. The Minister of the Interior and Public Instruction, M. Mélot, resigned his post, his successor being M. de Burlet, who, like the Minister of Justice, has no seat in the Chamber of Representatives.

II. THE NETHERLANDS.

The most important event of the year was the overthrow of the Conservative Ministry presided over by M. Hartsen, and the accession of an entirely Liberal Government. The Legislative elections, which took place in June, wore from the outset a most favourable aspect for the Liberal party, which for many years had not been so strongly united. Whilst, on the other hand, the divisions of the Catholic party, and the coolness that had arisen between this latter and the orthodox anti-Revolutionists, had greatly weakened the Conservative forces.

After a very keen electoral contest, the final result of the polling was that, in the newly constituted Chamber, the Liberals numbered 54, the Catholics 25, the anti-Revolutionists 20, the Radicals 1, and the only candidate of the Socialist party, M. Domela Nieuwenhuys, was not returned. The Liberal party thus disposing of a clear majority of ten, it became impossible for the Conservative Ministry to continue in office. The Ministers did not, however, resign immediately after the election, for by all parties it was deemed inexpedient that the proposed journey of the Emperor and Empress of Germany should coincide with a Ministerial crisis. This politically important event took place in July, without giving rise to any incident, in spite of the threats of the Socialists, and the Imperial guests were received with the utmost enthusiasm. Although repudiating with the greatest energy the idea of entering into an alliance with Germany, as some had insinuated was the real motive of the Imperial visit, the Dutch nation saw, with undisguised satisfaction, that the friendly relations that had long existed between Holland and her powerful neighbour, far from diminishing, were, on the contrary, stronger than ever.

The Conservative Ministers having tendered their resignation, the Queen-Regent Emma first appealed to M. Heemskerk, the President of a former Ministry, but he declined the task of forming a coalition Cabinet, in view of the Parliamentary situation that was, beyond doubt, favourable to the Liberal party. The Queen then turned to M. Van Tienhoven, the Liberal Burgomaster of Amsterdam, who was shortly able to submit the following list: M. Van Tienhoven, President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Tack van Portoliet, Interior; M. Smidt, Justice; M. Pierson, Finances; M. Loly, Public

Works; M. Van Bedem, Colonies; Lieut.-Colonel Seyffardt, War; and M. Zansen, Marine.

Before this complete change of Ministry, a partial crisis had occurred in the Conservative Cabinet early in February, when the Minister of Marine, M. Dyserinck, had resigned. On being questioned as to the causes of the obstacles put to the advancement of a naval officer, who was at the same time a deputy, his conduct had been disapproved by 67 against 17 votes. Upon this he at once threw up his office, and Captain Krugs was appointed to succeed him.

The partial elections that took place in the course of the year but slightly modified the composition of the Second Chamber; and the seat at Garda, which had been gained in May by the Liberals, was reconquered in November by the Conservatives, owing to the coalition of the ultra-Catholics and the ultra-orthodox Protestants. On the other hand, more distinct evidence of the decided change in favour of the Liberal opinion was to be found in the electoral district of Tiel, where, at a bye-election, the constitutional candidate, M. Mackay, former President of the Conservative Cabinet, obtained 798 votes only, against 1,547 given to his Liberal opponent.

Outside of electoral matters, the military question was again foremost in public opinion. This important subject, of which the previous year had not seen the solution, again came to the front in May, when the Government made known that the principal points of the previous year's Bill, especially personal service with a few eventual exemptions, would be maintained. During the debate on the Bill, it became evident that the cause of national defence had gained many fresh supporters. M. D. Nieuwenhuys' motion to reject the Bill on account of the proposed increase of men and expenses, was negatived by 71 to 5 votes. In like manner the motion of a Catholic deputy, M. Vermeulen, declaring that the personal and financial charges involved would weigh too heavily upon the country, was rejected by 51 to 24. On the other hand, the proposal of M. Rutgars, a Liberal, in favour of the principle of personal service, was adopted by 49 against 27; and, lastly, the proposal of another Catholic deputy, M. Van Houtem, demanding that the discussion of the articles of the Bill, relating to personal and obligatory military service, should be indefinitely postponed, was rejected on a close division by 47 to 44 votes. On assuming office, the Liberal Government frankly pronounced itself in favour of the introduction of obligatory military service; and they further recommended the nomination, in time of peace, of a commander-in-chief, who, in case of war, would at once assume the duties of the post. The Government also proposed a Bill fixing the term of military service to ten years, four of which were to be passed in the reserve.

In the Indies fresh disturbances arose during the year at Surinam, but were immediately followed by energetic measures,

which proved sufficient; but at Acheen, no satisfactory progress was made in the settlement of the long standing dispute. In matters nearer home, the Prime Minister, in answer to the request of certain Catholic deputies, declared that the interests of the country did not, for the present, require the re-establishment of a mission to the Pope; and with regard to commercial treaties, he said that the Government had reserved to itself complete freedom of action, and waited for the proposals of the other Powers.

In financial matters, the Budget for 1892 showed a revenue of 127,600,000 florins, and an expenditure of 130,000,000 florins, thereby disclosing a deficit of about 2½ millions, which, added to the deficits of preceding years, gave a total deficit of 36 millions. In order to cover this sum, the Government proposed, and the Chamber sanctioned, a loan of 45 millions of florins at 3½ per cent. It was worthy of notice that, in the year's Budget, whilst the expenses for public works and war were reduced, the sums voted for public instruction were increased, in comparison with the changes of previous years.

At the beginning of the year, the Chambers passed unanimously, with the sole exception of the Socialist, D. Nieuwenhuys, a resolution fixing the civil list of the young Queen Wilhelmina at the sum of 600,000 florins.

Although now definitively separated from Holland, the Grand-Duchy of Luxemburg continued to entertain the best relations with the mother country. The most important event in this little country was the proposition, made quite at the close of the year, by M. de Blockhausen, of a considerable reduction of the electoral qualification. The Constitution of 1868, fixing the rate at 30 francs, had reduced to a few thousands the number of electors. According to the new Bill, the electoral franchise was henceforth to be exercised by all inhabitants of the Duchy paying taxes to the extent of 10 francs per annum.

III. SWITZERLAND.

The principal events of public importance during the year occurred, as in the previous year, in the canton of Ticino. In accordance with the decision then arrived at, elections were held in January for the nomination of a *Constituante*, whose mission was to frame the project of the revised Constitution. The Liberal party, however, foreseeing a defeat, and as a means of protesting against alleged frauds in the composition of the electoral lists, decided to abstain completely from the polls. This determination, which created much ill-feeling throughout the canton, joined to the fact that public opinion was still greatly disturbed by the recent events, excited serious apprehensions as to the pacific issue of the electoral contest. The uneasiness of the Federal Council on this score was even such as to induce its members to

discuss the question whether it would not be advisable again to send troops to the canton. Happily these forebodings were not realised; the elections passed off very quietly, the number of electors being greatly reduced by the abstention of the Liberals of all shades.

A further plebiscitum was then necessary to ascertain to what extent public opinion was favourable to the project of revision as proposed by the *Constituante*. The Liberals were as strongly opposed to the proposal as the Conservatives were in favour of it, the latter maintaining that it gave full and complete satisfaction to all the reasonable claims of the Liberal party. This time the referendum took place amidst the greatest calm, so much so, that the special Commissary, Colonel Kuenzli, did not even consider his presence necessary at Bellinzona, the chief town of the canton, which, in the previous year, had been the principal scene of party violence. The result of the referendum proved favourable to the Conservatives, and the revised Constitution was adopted by a majority of 350.

In the meantime the events of September 1890 had reached a judicial conclusion, the principal actors of the insurrection being brought before a Court of Justice at Zurich.

The National Council of the Swiss Confederation had, after protracted discussions, by 70 to 64 votes, decided to grant full and entire amnesty for all acts relating to the insurrection; Castioni, the murderer of the Councillor of State Rossi, who had fled to England, and whose extradition had been refused by the British authorities, being alone excluded from the benefits of this decision. The Council of State, however, refused to ratify the general amnesty, so that the legal proceedings had to go on. They ended, as was generally foreseen and even hoped, by the acquittal of all the accused, and ultimately the Federal judges, by 5 against 2, rejected an appeal to set aside the verdict and to rehear the case.

As a necessary sequel to this acquittal, the Minister of Justice to the Federal Council proposed to the Legislative Chambers to vote the amnesty demanded by the National Council of Ticino; and finally, in December, the National Council adopted, by 95 against 10, the decree of the Federal Council proclaiming an amnesty for the Ticino agitators. This wise measure, destined to finally efface all the sad and irritating remembrances of a civil war, met with general approbation. In the same spirit of conciliation the Federal Council unanimously recommended to the Chambers to indemnify the canton of Ticino for the expenses resulting from the presence of the Federal troops in the preceding year, amounting to 500,000 francs.

¶ Apart from these events, hardly any incident worthy of notice took place during the year in Switzerland, with the exception of the resignation, in the beginning of December, of the President of the Confederation, M. Welti, who, ten times in the

course of twenty-five years, had been invested with this important office. The Chambers elected as his successor, before the close of the year, M. Zemp, a Conservative member for Lucerne, who, in notifying his acceptance of the honour, declared his firm intention to place the country's interests above his party's, whilst personally changing in nothing his own political and religious beliefs. At the same time a Radical deputy of Zurich, M. Hauser, was elected President of the Confederation for the ensuing year.

In the canton of Geneva the elections for the Council of State proved a fresh and signal defeat for the Radical party, whose policy was thus distinctly condemned. Likewise, in the canton of St. Gall, a very noticeable political change took place on the occasion of the renewal of the executive power; the Conservative democratical list was carried, by a majority of over 4,000 against that of their Radical adversaries, whose leader, Dr. Kurti, had been in power for more than twenty years.

In the canton of Basle, a proposal in favour of the election of judges by the people was adopted by 3,389 against 2,299 votes.

In view of the Protectionist tendencies of the French Chambers, Switzerland increased, on a very large scale, the taxes on almost all French imported goods, so much so, that the increase of the Swiss tariff was almost equivalent to a total prohibition of articles manufactured in France.

IV. SPAIN.

In anticipation of the General Elections to be held for the first time on the basis of an extended suffrage, the earlier days of the year were marked by an unwonted excitement in political questions. The struggle promised to be severe, and the Republican party was especially anxious to show its full strength. The groups into which it was subdivided for a moment laid aside their quarrels, and Federalists, Unitarians, and Possibilists were to be found marching under the same flag, and dragging after them to the polling-booths a motley crowd of Anarchists, Socialists, and Zorrillists, except in such cases as at Madrid, where six candidates, chosen among the more prominent leaders of the May-day disturbances, were put forward. The Carlists meanwhile were not a little discouraged by the good understanding existing between the Ministry and the Holy See, the Papal Nuncio having advised the clergy in the strongest terms at least to observe absolute neutrality during the elections.

There were, therefore, good reasons for presuming that the first trial of universal experience would not be very dangerous to existing institutions, unless the two wings of the Monarchist party should determine to push their quarrels to extremities. So far Señor Sagasta's attitude had been one of extreme reserve; notwithstanding the galling circumstances of his fall, he would

not consent to make overtures for an alliance with the Republican party. This moderation, of rare occurrence in Spanish political history, was recognised in a striking way. At the express desire of the Queen-Regent the leader of the Opposition was invested (Jan. 23) with the Order of the Golden Fleece.

The General Elections, of which the anticipation had been more disturbing than the reality, proved that the forecast of those who declared that the results of universal suffrage would be scarcely apparent, was not far from the truth. The party in power—the Conservatives—on this occasion were as successful at the ballot-boxes as in former days, notwithstanding the brilliant anticipations of Reformers, and carried 289 out of 438 seats. The Opposition was composed of somewhat heterogeneous elements—70 followers of Señor Sagasta, 10 of Señor Martos, 30 Republicans, 5 Independents, 5 Carlists, and 4 Clericals. From another point of view the result of the elections showed the complete rout of even the more moderate advocates of Free Trade, there being scarcely threescore deputies in all who ranged themselves to the commercial views of Señors Moret, Pedregal, Puigcerver, &c. Amongst the prominent political men who obtained re-election were Don Emilio Castelar, for Huesca; Señor Ruiz Zorrilla, for Barcelona; Pi y Margal, the leader of the Federalists, for both Barcelona and Valencia. In fifteen large towns the Republicans were successful, but at Madrid, owing to some faulty arrangement for the ballot, six Ministerialists were returned against two Opposition candidates. In the provincial districts the abstentions were very numerous, whilst in the towns they often exceeded one-third of the total number of registered voters. A more curious feature was the apparently increased popularity of the ancestral families, of whom there were 40 *grandees* and 60 nobles—a larger number than had ever been returned since the restoration of their seats in the Cortes.

The elections for the Senate, which followed after a fortnight's interval, showed that restricted as well as universal suffrage was susceptible of Governmental influences, for out of 128 seats which had to be renewed, 108 were supporters of the Ministry.

The policy of the Government, as determined by the result of the elections, seemed to point towards devotion to Clericalism and adherence to Protectionism. On these two questions the majority was agreed, but on others they were hopelessly at variance. The Ultramontanes, under the leadership of Señors Pidal and Menendez Pelayo, formed the Extreme Right, beside whom the ultra-Tories, under Señor Romero Robledo, took their seats. Next came the temporising Conservatives, led by Señor Cardeñas and Elduayen; then the modern Conservatives or Silvelistas, after their leader, Señor F. Silvela—distinct from the neo-Conservatives, or converted Liberals, under the Duke of Tetuan and Admiral Beranger; and, finally, the military party,

which took its orders from Marshal Martinez Campos and General Daban.

Feeling itself strong in popular opinion and sympathy, the Government decided to remove the restrictions which prevented the return to Spain of Señor Ruiz Zorrilla and other Republican exiles; but their overtures were met by the refusal of the proscribed to take advantage of the proffered amnesty unless rank and decorations were restored to all officers condemned for participation in revolutionary movements since 1874, as had been the case with the Carlist officers. Marshal Martinez Campos strongly opposed this concession, denying that the two cases were parallel, for the Republicans had been everywhere defeated and dispersed, whilst the Carlists had been able to make terms with their arms in their hands.

The opening of the Cortes (March 2) by the little King and the Queen-Regent was made the occasion of an imposing display; and Martinez Campos having been elected President of the Senate, and Marquis Pidal y Mon, President of the Chamber, the Chambers at once took up the discussion of public affairs. The Ministry had at the very beginning of the year denounced the various treaties of commerce by which Spain was bound to other countries, according in each case the benefits of the "most favoured nation" clause. The negotiations with the United States were of a more delicate and liberal nature, in view of the requirements of the Spanish colonies. Eighty per cent. of the sugar, 50 per cent. of the tobacco, and 70 per cent. of the rum and other products of Cuba and Porto Rico, were consumed in the United States, and in return for special privileges for their imports, the Washington Government insisted upon certain concessions with regard to the importation of wheat and machinery into the Spanish colonies. The authorities at Madrid would listen to no such proposals, and the Cubans, angered by the refusal, sent a number of delegates, headed by Señor Rafael Montero, the leader of the Autonomist party in the Havana, to expose to the Spanish Cabinet the dangers of a refusal. After some time the delegates succeeded in persuading the Government to withdraw from the negotiations with the framers of the McKinley Tariff, so far as related to the Spanish colonies, and by this means an arrangement was arrived at by which both the home producers and the colonists—placed on a different footing—were able to make satisfactory terms with the United States.

The Duc de Tetuan had further reason to be proud of achieving a diplomatic success in his negotiations with France on the subject of the outlying islands Elavey and Coinco, on the Guinea coast, which were recognised as belonging to Spain, as was also the Rio Benito.

Whilst the Government was thus occupied with foreign affairs, the Socialists were striving hard to impress their views upon the people at home by propagandism and force. At Barcelona

a strike (March 6) gave rise to frequent collisions between the workmen and the military, in which, as was inevitable, the latter suffered the least. Abandoning for a while appeals to violence, workmen's delegates assembled (March 28) at Madrid in considerable numbers, and adopted unanimously the resolutions put forward by the Catalonian deputies fixing the day's work to eight hours, and by their decision the adhesion of the Committees of Spanish Socialists to the groups of the "Marx" internationalists was assured. Doctrines of the latter party, it should be explained, were taking more and more hold upon the Spanish Socialists, and was, in a great measure, holding in check the Anarchist section. For this reason the Minister of the Interior announced his readiness to allow indoor public meetings of all sorts to be held on May Day; but, at the same time, he rigorously vetoed the holding of open-air manifestations. The result fully justified the precautions taken by the Government. At Madrid, May Day passed off without any more alarming symptoms of disturbance than such as found expression at the Anarchist banquets, where the guests abused one another in language as strong as that they united in pouring on the Government and the *bourgeoisie*. Moreover, the day's labour question was not likely to be a burning one in Madrid, the custom being to work until sundown; and a deputation of masons, which was cordially received by the Marquis Tidal, was able to dissipate all idea of a general strike on their part.

In like manner at Barcelona and Valencia, although there had been a general holiday, no disorders took place. Only at Cadiz, where the gendarmerie had to disperse a body of 900 Anarchists, and at Bilbao, where a fire broke out in the naval arsenal, was there anything to disturb the public mind, and the fatal day passed without causing serious embarrassment.

Unfortunately, neither the energy of the Cabinet, nor the zeal of provincial governors, could entice back to the public treasury the absent cash. The financial situation was still critical, the debates on prolonging the privileges of the Bank of Spain gave to the Opposition the opportunity of signalling to the public the difficulties of the national credit. Nearly the whole of the month of May was employed in these debates. Señor Moret (May 10) sharply attacked the conditions of the new Bank Charter, and Señor Puigcerver, a former Liberal Minister (May 26), declared that it was a serious blunder to increase an already excessive circulation on credit, and instead of taking advantage of the opportunity to borrow 150 millions without interest, he held that the Government would have acted more wisely in sharing with the Bank the profits of the new issue. The Minister of Finance replied that it was true the Bank was more interested than anyone else in not unduly increasing the amount of notes in circulation, and with this argument induced the Chamber to ratify, by 137 to 74 votes, the principal clauses of the new

Charter. The result was to show that the official optimism was not altogether justified.

The disorders at Bilbao culminated (June 1) in a meeting of a number of bakers on strike, where one of the speakers had used language so violent that the Government Commissary dissolved the meeting. In the confusion which followed their dispersal a striker was shot with a revolver. Popular feeling was aroused to the highest pitch, and the Police Commissioner was only rescued by a cavalry charge. General Loma, suddenly summoned, occupied the city, and for some time these repressive measures seemed adequate. Meanwhile, the Republicans were holding meetings in Madrid and elsewhere to discuss the reorganisation of their party, which was now somewhat compromised. The working-class element had identified itself so markedly with Socialist doctrines, leaving politics more and more aside, that the frightened bourgeois threatened at any moment to become Conservative. It needed all the eloquence of Don Emilio Castelar and the firmness of Señor Salmeron to stay the disorganisation of their party.

The close of the summer session, however, brought economical questions to the front rank. On the one hand, the agriculturists, alarmed by the taxes voted in France on Spanish wines, besought the Government to intervene, in the hopes of obtaining less onerous conditions. The sharper merchants, from the beginning of July, began sending enormous quantities of wines across the northern frontier. On the other hand, the Republicans and Free Traders raised an alarm of an approaching famine, and besought Señor Pedregal to reduce the tax on corn, by showing that Spain consumed 41 million hectolitres, whilst its production did not exceed 28 millions. The majority of Spanish agriculturists, however, were willing to submit to the importation of corn, if only they could find in the exportation of their wines the means of balancing their accounts. Unfortunately, the export trade in Spanish wines had of late years seriously suffered, the time had long passed since the wine-growers of the Peninsula could flatter themselves with the idea that Spain was the cellar of the world. Italian competition and defective wine-making had greatly reduced their market, and in spite of all their efforts the Spanish producers had not been able to dispense with the intervention of the French dealers. Spanish wines only took their place in common use until they had been treated by the makers of Bordeaux, Cete, or Paris, and had been disguised under French names. This outlet was now closed to them. The laws voted by the French Chamber under the double pressure of the hygienists and the proprietors of the vineyards of the south forbade *plâtrage* above a certain degree, considerably less than that previously admitted; moreover, wine above eleven degrees of alcohol was taxed at a rate per degree equal to the tax on alcohol. A strong effort was made throughout the country

to obtain, diplomatically or otherwise, some protection for Spanish interests, but no practical result ensued.

The summer months brought with them additional trials to the temper and patience of the Spanish farmers. For some weeks a spell of excessive heat and drought threatened to destroy all hopes of the harvest, especially in the southern and central provinces. A few weeks later, before the vintage was over, the districts watered by the Guadiana and the Guadalquivir were ravaged by floods; and, in the town of Consuegra, in the province of Toledo, out of a population of 5,000 inhabitants, nearly 3,000 were swept away or drowned. At Almeria the loss of life was comparatively slight, but the damage done to the town was even greater. Under these circumstances, and with popular feeling still excited, as shown by the dynamite outrage committed in the Puerta del Sol at Madrid, it was not surprising that the financial situation should be troubled. The premium on gold had in October amounted to 9 per cent. in consequence of the largely increased paper issue; and in spite of the efforts of the President of the Council, the dissatisfaction of the public with the financial arrangements of the Government was so general, that a change in the Cabinet was seen to be inevitable. The changes were precipitated by the retirement of the Minister of Marine (Nov. 14), who had challenged a journalist to fight in consequence of the latter having criticised his policy; and a few days later the whole Cabinet tendered their resignations.

The Ministerial crisis, however, was of but short duration. The Queen-Regent, in view of the state of parties, requested the chief of the out-going Ministry, Señor Canovas del Castillo, to reconstruct it; and Señor Silvela having refused to take part in the new arrangement, overtures were made to Señor Elduayen, the leader of the Conservative group, whilst at the same time the President of the Council showed a disposition to draw into closer union with the somewhat inconstant group led by Señor Romero Robledo. At length (Nov. 23) the following list was submitted to the Queen-Regent, and at once published: President of the Council, Señor Canovas del Castillo; Foreign Affairs, Duke of Tetuan; Grace and Justice, Señor R. T. Villaverde; War-General, Azcarraga—all of whom belonged to the preceding Cabinet. The new Ministers were, Señor Elduayen, Interior; Señor Concha Castañeda, Finance; Admiral Montojo y Triello, Marine; Señor Linares Rivar, *fomento*; and Señor Romero Robledo, Colonies.

The influence of Marshal Martinez Campos was plainly traceable in the selection of the new administration, although he had been unable to induce Señor Gamacho, a former member of Señor Sagasta's Cabinet, to accept the Ministry of Finance. At the same time this statesman expressed his readiness to accept the post of Governor of the Bank of Spain, and to use his influence to persuade the Senator Concha Castañeda,

former Director in the Ministry of Finance, to join the Government.

Señor Canovas' most important recruit was, without doubt, Don J. Elduayen, Marquis del Paso de la Merced, former Minister of Finance and Foreign Affairs in the Cabinet of January 1884, a rich landed proprietor, a brilliant speaker, as well as a man of action. If the accession of Señor Romero Roblado promised additional astuteness, that of the new Minister of the Interior brought with it the more useful quality of energy.

The first resolutions of the reconstituted Cabinet were not to augment the floating debt contracted with the Bank of Spain; and to give to the Bank the means of increasing its metallic reserve, it was further decided that subscriptions to a 4 per cent. redeemable loan should be opened in the country to reimburse a part of the advances made by the Bank to the Treasury. This operation, however, was not carried out until after the close of the year.

The Minister of Finance next (Dec. 9) laid before his colleagues the new Customs Tariff. Like that of France, it was composed of two scales, one granting special advantages to such countries as offered them in return. Both tariffs, moreover, might be modified from time to time if thereby greater concessions were obtainable, but the Ministry declined on principle to admit the "most favoured nation clause."

This new tariff was, it must be admitted, supported by the majority of the agricultural and industrial population of the Peninsula, although it clearly foreshadowed a tariff war with France. For this Spain prepared herself with the same ardour and passion she had displayed in 1885 on the occupation of the Carolina Islands by Germany. At public dinners French wines were proscribed, invitations to balls bore the condition that the dresses worn should be home made of homespun materials. In the Cortes the Opposition stood aside, and Señor Sagasta courteously supported his rival and successor in his policy of reprisals. The discussion of a fresh line of railroad with France was indefinitely adjourned, and the Treaty of Commerce with Italy postponed to June 30.

Such was the political situation at the close of the year, and for a long time it had not been so serious. The Government had not only to cope with serious financial difficulties, but it found itself face to face with the elements of disorder in a state of exasperation. Dynamite outrages were occurring in all provinces. At Valencia, during the midnight mass, four bombs were exploded in different churches, wounding women and children; the chief altar of the cathedral, one of the most famous works of Spanish sculpture, and its statue of the Virgin, revered throughout Spain, were entirely destroyed. A new strike broke out in Bilbao, and it was found necessary to proclaim a state of siege throughout that province. The principal hope of the

Government in their struggle with the Anarchists was to be found in the religious feeling of the population.

The Budget of the year 1891-2 had shown receipts 805 millions of pesetas, against expenditure 810½ millions, so that even on paper the equilibrium did not exist.

V. PORTUGAL.

If the first year of the reign of Dom Carlos I. had been troubled by the affairs of Africa, the second was even more so by serious agitations nearer home. More than once the existence even of the Monarchy seemed in question, whilst the national finances were more than ever disorganised.

The King, on opening the Cortes in person (Jan. 2) announced the signature of a provisional peace in Africa for six months, but before the deputies could discuss the matter, the Chambers were adjourned to the beginning of April. An expedition was despatched (Jan. 12) for Africa, and the Government decided to create a special military decoration for services rendered in the Colonies. Meanwhile the public feeling against foreigners continued, and the Lisbon Chamber of Commerce demanded the termination of all commercial treaties. Thus in Portugal, as in Spain, uncompromising Protectionism became the popular cry.

A serious military and Republican rising at Oporto (Jan. 31) for a moment occupied the attention of the Government. The insurgents, supported by important subsidies from Portuguese who had returned from Brazil, had no time to organise themselves, and the leadership of the revolt fell to two inferior officers, who, at the head of about 600 men, attempted to get possession of the barracks. Foiled in their attempt, they seized the Hotel de Ville, which they held for a short space, during which, although the population remained neutral, the advocate, Alvez Veiga, attempted to form a Republican Directory, to which no citizen of importance rallied.

The troops, who remained faithful, commanded by General Coste Real, having assured the safety of the Prefecture and Telegraph Office, proceeded to surround the rebels in the Hotel de Ville, who, after a few hours, were compelled to surrender for want of ammunition, Captain Leitas and Sub-Lieutenant Malheiros being taken prisoners, but Alvez Veiga managed to escape into Spain. Although peace was not outwardly disturbed in other towns, yet the precautions taken by the Government showed the dangers of the situation. A policy of stern repression was pursued in Oporto, and a state of siege having been proclaimed, the prisoners were brought before Councils of War held on vessels in port, Republican newspapers were suppressed, and all persons found in their offices were imprisoned. Those found guilty were sentenced to transportation to Africa, but

some of them, before the close of the year, had managed to escape.

Financial embarrassments forced the Government to call together (March 4) the Cortes for an extraordinary session. It was then decided that with the view of consolidating the floating debt, the Government should concede to a financial society the tobacco monopoly, the company furnishing the funds needed for the conversion. This proposal having been voted, the Chambers separated, but only to meet together a few weeks later in the midst of a financial and Ministerial crisis. This arose from the resignation of the Ministers of the Interior and of Public Works (April 15), posts which the President of the Council, General d'Abreu e Sousa, had been unable to fill up before the reopening of the session.

Meanwhile the financial situation had become more critical; the Chambers were called upon to vote a *moratorium* until July 10, but this suspension of payments was little else than an admission of inability to meet them. Before taking this step recourse had been had to every expedient, public works had been stopped, mono-metallism had been renounced by the authority given to the Banco Lusitano to make its payments in silver, but this institution took advantage of the example given by the Government, and in its turn suspended its cash payments. Meanwhile the Minister of Finance hastened to Paris in the hope of finding means to carry on the Government, whilst the Portuguese Minister in London signed a definitive treaty with Great Britain under the condition that the ratifications should be exchanged within thirty days.

By this time (May 21) General d'Abreu e Sousa had reconstituted his Cabinet, retaining the Presidency of the Council and the Portfolio of War; the Home Office was given to Councillor of State La Vaz de Sampaio e Mello, Finance to Dom Marienno de Carvalho; Justice to Dom A. de Moraes Carvalho; Marine and Colonies to the Marquis de Vilhena; Public Works, Commerce and Trade, Señor Ferreira Franco Pinto Castello Branco, whilst the Comte de Valbom retained the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Portfolios of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, pending their suppression, were held by the Minister of the Interior.

This Cabinet was essentially a Ministry of Affairs. Its business, however unwelcome, was to sign conventions necessarily disadvantageous and unpopular, and it obtained from the Chamber of Deputies (June 6) and from the Peers (June 10) the consent which it was impossible to withhold. Certain Portuguese journalists, and amongst them the Deputy Ferreira Almeida, enraged at the idea of losing a portion of the old Portuguese possessions in Southern Africa, proposed to give up the Eastern portion, and to apply the sums received by their sale to improving the Colonies nearer to the mother country;

but this proposal met with little support. The Minister of the Interior, as an alternative, submitted a Bill to prevent emigration to America, and to direct it towards the African Colonies. The country, doubtless, would have gained by such a diversion, for the Portuguese emigrating to Brazil were either lost to that country, or returned as rich nabobs, to exercise only a pernicious influence upon home politics.

The Budget voted at the end of June anticipated 244 millions of francs (42,967,000 milreis) receipts, against 256 millions expenditure; in other words, a deficit of nearly half a million sterling. To obtain this result every head of expenditure had been reduced to a minimum, Public Works and Public Instruction almost disappearing from the Budget. Power was given to the Finance Minister to establish a monopoly of alcohols, matches, and petroleum, to reduce the pay of all officials, to hasten the coining of money at Birmingham and Lisbon. Unfortunately these monopolies chiefly affected the poorest classes, and consequently produced small results. Moreover, the greater portion of the bills falling due in July were held in England, and had to be paid in gold.

It was hoped, however, that two milliards of francs due by Brazil to Portuguese subjects might afford some relief to the situation, and a delegate was despatched by the Finance Minister to propose an arrangement. To add to the difficulties of the moment, the harvest promised badly, and it was found necessary to reduce the import duty upon foreign corn.

As might have been expected, the methods adopted for bolstering up public credit met with violent objections. At Brager a meeting of 5,000 workmen protested (Nov. 20) against the payment of their wages in paper money, and demanded that the civil governor should protect them against its discredit with the money-changers. It was, of course, found impossible to put in force any such restriction, and for a month or more the country was flooded with paper currency of all kinds—coupons, *cedulas* issued by trust and trading companies, by public departments, and by private individuals.

A more pleasant incident in the history of the year was the amnesty accorded on the joint birthday of the King and Queen (Sept. 26) to the soldiers condemned for having taken part in the Oporto riots; but to the officers the same favour was not accorded. The need of not relaxing altogether the rules of discipline was shown a few days later (Sept. 26) at Funchal, the capital of Madeira, where a rise in the price of maize gave an opportunity to the foreign merchants to stir up discontent amongst the inhabitants of the island. By the display of a little firmness, tranquillity was restored, and the matter gave rise to no further ill-feeling.

A few days before the re-opening of the Cortes for its ordinary winter session the President of the Council and the Minister of

the Interior, on the eve of the municipal elections throughout the kingdom, had an interview with the leaders of the Progressists. These promised to give their support frankly to the Ministerial candidates, it being understood that their party should obtain a fair number of nominations on the Ministerial lists. By this means the elections passed off everywhere with complete tranquillity, and it might have been thought that the happy years of the previous King's reign had returned. As evidence, moreover, of the desire on the part of the Government to make reductions on all sides, the Diplomatic and Consular services were completely reorganised (Nov. 10) by royal decree. The legations at Berne, Stockholm, Tangiers, and Buenos Ayres were abolished, whilst at Washington and the Hague, Portugal was in future to be represented by a Minister Resident, and a considerable number of consulates were totally suppressed.

All these palliatives together were, however, powerless to bring about an improvement in the monetary situation, and at the close of the year Portugal found herself forced to negotiate with her foreign creditors for a reduction of the interest on the external debt. The conditions which these creditors attempted to impose were most galling to the national pride and self-respect. Nothing short of the administration of a portion of the national revenue by a European Commission would satisfy the bondholders' representatives, and it was scarcely to be expected that the Portuguese Government would entertain such a proposal, if any other solution could be found. The situation, however, into which the country had drifted was favourable to the progress of Republican ideas. The Republican party set itself seriously to the task of reconstituting itself as a political factor; a widespread propaganda was set on foot by the advice of a congress, of which the proceedings, although jealously watched, offered no excuse for Government intervention. The funeral obsequies of the ex-Emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro d'Alcantara, gave the Republican party an opportunity of parading its strength in various parts of the kingdom, notwithstanding the warnings issued against such manifestations, and the threats of prosecution levelled against their organs in the press. The powerlessness of the Government was the most characteristic symptom of the year.

VI. DENMARK.

The year 1891 was, politically, one of considerable importance, inasmuch as there was an increasing tendency on the part of a large section of the Opposition to abandon their old hostile and futile position towards legislative work proceeding from the Government, with which on several points they agreed to cooperate. The natural result of this altered policy was a split within the Opposition, which threatened to widen and deepen as time went on.

Already as far back as the autumn of the previous year there had been indications of a change in the position of the Moderate Opposition, when a Bill was introduced by two well-known members of the Folkething (Messrs. Boisen and R. Clansen), purporting to reduce the duty on certain necessary articles of consumption, and to impose a tax on beer. Not only was this Bill contrary to the wishes of the more Radical part of the Opposition, but it had been ascertained that it would meet with at least conditional support from the Government and the Right. Early in January the Parliamentary Committee had completed its report on the Bill, and the Moderate Left and the Right were found to be in agreement upon its main features. The duties on sugar and petroleum, it was recommended, should be reduced, a beer tax imposed in their place, and the surplus resulting from these changes applied towards old-age State pensions.

The Radical faction of the Opposition (the Berg party, the Hörup party, and the Socialists) at once set to work to upset the understanding between the Moderates and the Right. They introduced an Old-Age Pension Bill of their own, which, whilst involving an annual increase of indirect taxation amounting to something like 8,000,000 kr., suggested no reduction of existing taxes. This Bill was, on the face of it, impossible; but the co-operation between, or, as the Radicals sneeringly called it, the amalgamation of the Moderate Left and the Right, led to the eventual passing of an Old-Age State Pension Law. This law provided a pension for respectable or deserving poor over sixty years of age, the State contributing a sum corresponding with that provided by the local corporations or parishes. For the first four years the total Government grant was not to exceed 1,000,000 kr., and subsequently not to exceed 2,000,000 kr. annually. Although not framed on a very extensive scale, this Old-Age Pension Law was, on the whole, looked upon as a very fair piece of legislative work, except by the Socialists and their sympathisers, who seemed to believe that no measure was better than a half measure of justice to their demand. Another important Bill passed during the session was the Copenhagen Free Harbour Law. This Bill had been before the Chambers on several occasions, and had involved a considerable amount of work in committee and elsewhere. A number of smaller Bills were also passed, and the session altogether proved more fruitful, from a legislative point of view, than what had been the case for several years previously.

The Budget for the year 1891-2 had, however, to share the fate of a good many of its predecessors. Although the Moderate Left was willing to co-operate with the Government to bring about some useful work, they nevertheless remained strong opponents of the Government's financial policy, and what had happened regularly for several years again took place. Parliament was dissolved at the expiration of the financial year

(March 31), and the Government again issued a Provisional Budget, being the seventh consecutive Budget not voted by the legislative bodies.

The altered position of the Moderate Left towards the Government—the former having abandoned what was called the “withering” policy of former sessions, when almost every Bill emanating from the Government or their followers was ruthlessly boycotted or “withered”—drew nearer together the other sections of the Opposition, and during the recess a great many political meetings were held in the country, at which the Radical and the Moderate Left criticised each other’s policy with considerable vehemence and bitterness. Although at these meetings numerous resolutions were carried, it was often difficult to say with whom the electors really sided; but there was reason to believe that where no strong personal feelings were brought into play, the move in the direction of more settled and regular political conditions was viewed with satisfaction by no small portion of the nation.

A change in the Ministry, which had on several occasions been spoken of as impending, took place early in July, when M. Scovenius, the Minister of Public Worship, resigned, his successor, Professor Goos, being appointed a few days after. M. Scovenius, a cousin of M. Estrup, the Prime Minister, had been a member of the Ministry for a number of years, and held a prominent position in politics. He was an able administrator and a ready debater, but did not approve of the more conciliatory attitude which the Ministry had of late adopted in order to meet the Moderate Left, although he, on the other hand, was supposed to have sympathies with the literary tastes of M. Brandes and some of the more Radical of the Left. Professor Goos, the successor of M. Scovenius, was a member of the Landsting (the Upper House), and a very able man, but he had incurred the special dislike of the Radical Left and of the Socialists, who, on his nomination, did not seem to have forgotten the cause of their old animosity.

Parliament met, as usual, on the first Monday in October (Oct. 5). Several Government measures of some importance were introduced, as were also the Provisional Budget for the current and the Budget for the next financial year. With regard to these latter the Opposition still showed itself to be united, and the arguments of former sessions were again brought forward, but there were signs of at least some legislators growing a little weary of these oft repeated proceedings. They foresaw that this policy, if carried to extremes, constituted serious danger to constitutional government by familiarising the people with provisional laws and their results, leading to the acceptance of accomplished facts by the Moderates as inevitable.

What no doubt contributed somewhat to the first part of the session being comparatively quiet was the absence of M. Christen

Berg, the old Liberal leader, who had been obliged to go to the south of Europe on account of ill-health. He returned to the House towards the end of October, and at once took up his old position of refusing all votes to the present Government. Although his immediate followers only numbered about a dozen and a half, he was elected member of a good many committees and chairman of the Financial Committee. His health was thought to have been materially benefited by his visit to Italy, and it caused a tremendous sensation when it became known, on the morning of November 28, that Christen Berg had suddenly died during the night.

In him Denmark lost, if not her most influential, certainly her widest known politician, and no man did more to arouse interest in politics among the peasantry throughout Denmark than Berg. He was about thirty-five years old when he, on January 30, 1865, was first elected as member for the town of Kalding to the Folkething of the Rigsraad. In the following year he was returned by the same constituency as member of the Folkething of the Rigsdag, and he represented Kalding up to the time of his death. He soon became a conspicuous political figure, and took an important part in the debates on the revision of the Constitution, finally voting for the Constitution now in force.

Berg's influence within the Liberal party rapidly increased. He not only understood the arts of the agitator, but was also a very able organiser, who knew how to enforce the requisite discipline amongst his followers. It was to a great extent owing to his influence and labours that "the United Left" was formed in 1870; and when this party had obtained a majority in the Lower House in the year 1872, Berg became the real Opposition leader. He was a very hard worker, and not only spent almost every recess in addressing meetings all over the country, but started a number of newspapers in various provincial towns, so that he was, more than anybody else, in direct touch with the electors. He had a wonderful gift for remembering people, which often did him good service. The keynote in Berg's political career was the introduction of Parliamentarism in the Folkething; he became the most determined opponent of the Conservative Government, but he overvalued the power of the Folkething in influencing the Government. He was, to a great extent, instrumental in there being no Budget voted in the year 1877, when the Estrup Ministry, which was still in power at his death, issued their first Provisional Budget. Berg gradually became specially allied with the Radical section of the Left, although he subsequently again combined with the Moderates. In the year 1883 Berg was elected President of the Folkething, and his power was probably never greater than during the following two or three years. On June 16, 1885, Berg was present at a political meeting at Halstebro, in Jupland, where the local magistrate

was somewhat forcibly removed from the platform, partly, at least, at Berg's request. This affair led to Berg being prosecuted, and he was ultimately sentenced by the highest Court to six months' imprisonment, on ordinary prison fare. Having undergone his imprisonment, he was again elected President of the Folkething, but his star had begun to decline, and in 1887 he resigned the chair, as well as the leadership of the Left. The number of his followers became greatly reduced, although the last General Election rather improved his position. He was at the time of his death chairman of the Financial Committee of the Folkething, and, in spite of his impaired health, he worked very hard. His funeral was the occasion of an unprecedented display of political and personal sympathy.

The Socialist party in Denmark during 1891 continued its agitations; a considerable number of meetings were held in various parts of the country, and the organs of the party in the press slightly extended its work, indulging in the same aggressive and often violent language, as during the last few years. One of the two Socialist members of the Upper House introduced an Eight Hours Bill, which was promptly rejected, but in other ways the Socialist members in both Houses accomplished very little to distinguish themselves.

VII. NORWAY.

The year 1891 brought about great and unexpected changes in the political affairs of Norway, changes, the lasting effects of which it is impossible for anybody to foretell. The close of the year saw the establishment of a Radical Ministry, to whom the elections had given a considerable majority in the Storting, although the year had commenced with a Conservative Government, for which most people were inclined to prophesy a fair term of office. M. Stang was an able and moderate Prime Minister, and it was anticipated that the General Election would give him that majority in the House which he required. A year and a half of office, however, had proved enough to disclose the real weakness of the Stang Cabinet, and the nation subsequently confirmed the decision of the Storting in the most unmistakable manner.

It was the ever vexed question of the mutual relations of Norway and Sweden in the matter of Minister for Foreign Affairs and foreign representation which brought about this unexpected change. Negotiations had been going on for some time with a view of modifying the existing system, and the Stang Ministry had acquiesced in a proposal, according to which Norway and Sweden should hold an equal numerical position in the Ministerial Council of State, with co-equal constitutional responsibility towards the Norwegian Storting and the Swedish Riksdag. As a further concession towards Norway, it was also

proposed that diplomatic affairs should be transferred from the Ministerial to the conjoint Council of State. This arrangement was apparently in accordance with the lines accepted by the Storting some short time before, and would probably, under ordinary circumstances, have been hailed with satisfaction, by giving a joint foreign Minister for joint foreign affairs.

But the temper of the times had changed, and this draft scheme no longer satisfied the Left. When its details first became known, the more Radical members of the Liberal party promptly denounced it, and their disapproval found an adequate expression in a cleverly worded vote of want of confidence in the Stang Ministry. The form of the charge brought by the Opposition was that M. Stang had consented to a Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs. Although this charge was hardly sustained by the scheme, M. Berner's resolution was carried (Feb. 23) by 59 votes against 55. This result was obtained by a coalition between the two sections of the Liberal party, the Radicals, or pure Left, and the Moderates. The Stang Ministry forthwith tendered their resignations, which King Oscar accepted. Some difficulty was, however, experienced in forming a new Government. M. Berner declined the Premiership for himself, whilst, as several of the proposed new Ministers resided in the provinces, further delay, due to the wintry weather, arose from the difficulties of communication. At length M. Steen, having somewhat reluctantly been called by the King, accepted the task of forming a new Ministry, and was able (March 6) to present a list of his colleagues. The nine Ministers, who then assumed office under conditions which seemed to foreshadow a long tenure, were as follows:—Johannes Steen, Prime Minister, born in 1827, after many years as teacher in several schools, was appointed head master of the Stavanger School in 1866, since which he had taken a very prominent part in the political life of Norway, having with few intervals been a member of the Storting for a quarter of a century. He was in 1871 elected President of the Odelsting, and in 1881 of the Storting. As chairman of the "Protocol Committee" in 1883 he was one of the most earnest advocates for action being taken against the Selmer Cabinet. He had been a member of various committees, and held a prominent position in the House, being a ready and able speaker and a very hard worker.—M. Otto Blehr, State Minister, resident in Stockholm, a younger man by 20 years, was a lawyer who had brought his legal knowledge to bear upon various important Bills before the Storting, of which he had been a member for several years. He, too, took a prominent part in the Selmer action, and had also done much in connection with the Jury Act. The other Ministers were Berner, Holst, Konoir, Lange, Nysom, Ovam, and Wexelsen. Several of those had been more or less active and prominent members of the "Pure Left" section.

The immediate followers of the new Ministry in the Storting only numbered between 20 and 30, whereas their opponents, the Right, could muster about twice that number; but the Moderates now left the Conservatives, and allied themselves with the Pure or Radical Left. This change was no doubt partly brought about by the patriotic feeling aroused by the altered relations with Sweden which had been brought prominently to the front by the Radicals, whilst the Conservatives were charged with being lukewarm and indifferent in the matter. On this question the Moderates were anxious to side with the new Government for fear of being reproached with want of patriotism, but on one or two other points in the programme of the Radicals the Moderates took up a more reserved position.

At an early moment the important State Railway Bill was somewhat ostentatiously put forward, but the Government, finding that it would not do to rush it through without discussion, allowed it to be postponed to the following session. Several important alterations in various matters connected with public taxation and the tariff were also discussed, but the Government in more cases than one waived their original demands, either accepting a compromise, or allowing the matter to stand over till a more convenient date. The sugar duty was reduced from 40 öre to 30 öre per kilogramme, and the petroleum duty from 10 öre to 5 öre. A Bill for legalising the recognition of Dissenters seemed at one time to foreshadow a renewal of the union between the Moderates and the Conservatives, but M. Steen managed to maintain the friendly feelings between his party and the Moderates, which had brought about the defeat of the Stang Ministry. Nevertheless, such legislation as took place during the session was of a democratic nature, in sympathy with the feeling of the greater portion of the nation.

The tacit understanding between Radicals and Moderates, which had existed whilst the Storting was sitting, was, however, at an end after the close of the session, when the election began in earnest. Every one was agreed that grave issues were at stake, so that the country witnessed during the summer and autumn an amount of agitation which has never been seen in Norway before. Ministers, past and present, took an active part in the campaign, and the language used, both at meetings and, perhaps, more especially in the press, was often heated and violent. The Radicals forced to the front the three principal features of their programme: an independent or separate foreign representation for Norway, entailing a separate Norwegian Minister for Foreign Affairs; direct taxation, and universal suffrage. There was a certain halo of national independence and true democracy about their demands which served them unexpectedly well during the electoral period, and contrasted with the meagre and sober Conservative programme which, as party spirit grew, fell decidedly flat. Proportionate representa-

tion was the novel political feature of the latter, otherwise the Right advocated a steady advance, on the old lines, towards the obtainment of full equality for Norway with Sweden in the diplomatic question. The Moderates were placed in an awkward position, which also told its tale upon the result of the election. In several places they co-operated with the Conservatives in order to keep out candidates of the advanced Left; but the latter almost invariably reversed the verdict of the previous election three years before. The slow and complicated election affair in Norway extended over several months, but success almost invariably attended the efforts of the Radicals, and several Conservative strongholds were conquered. The interest displayed in the elections was unprecedentedly great, and there were constituencies where almost every vote was polled, but the number of voters formed only a small percentage of the population; the number of persons entitled to vote at the election 1891 being altogether 139,691, against 128,368 in 1888, showing an increase of 8·8 per cent. The number of votes recorded in 1891 was altogether 101,874, or 72·9 per cent., against 89,143 in 1888, or 69·4 per cent. of the electors. In 1891 there were about 50,500 votes belonging to the Right and the Moderates, and about 51,500 belonging to the Left, or Government party, whereas at the previous election in 1888 there were about 50,700 votes belonging to the Right and the Moderates combined, and about 38,800 to the Radical Left. This showed the great advance of the "Pure Left" as compared with the two other parties, which, jointly, only polled 200 more votes in 1888 than at the election in 1891. The result of the elections, which lasted about six months, was that the Government secured 65 votes, the Conservatives 35, whilst the Moderates were reduced to 14 members. For all legislative purposes not entailing constitutional changes the Government had thus sufficient majority, although this was short of the requisite two-thirds majority required when alterations in the Constitution are involved. It was, however, anticipated that a few of the Moderates would vote with the Government on certain questions of legislation and administration.

The most difficult portion of the Government programme was undoubtedly the separation of Norwegian and Swedish foreign representation. The realisation of this plan, it was urged by the Moderates, would involve the dissolution of the union between Norway and Sweden; but the Radical party in Norway refused to admit this view, at least not confessedly; but even if it led to this result, they would in all probability bear the consequence with equanimity. On the other hand, Sweden would most likely not consent to a separation of her own foreign representation from that of Norway, so that the adoption of the scheme in one country would not ensure its becoming law for both. The struggle, which seemed more threatening, had a

deeper cause, for whilst in Sweden Constitutionalism—and even Conservatism—seemed to have taken a strong hold of the electorate, Norway found herself at the close of the year fairly launched on the stream of genuine democracy.

VIII. SWEDEN.

The year 1891 was, on the whole, quiet and satisfactory for Sweden politically and otherwise. A little less bitterness was perceptible between opposing political parties, which seemed more disposed to make mutual concessions than had been the case for several years.

Just before the Riksdag was opened by the King (Jan. 19), several of the Parliamentary leaders held party meetings in Stockholm, those of the old and the new Landtmanna parties being the most noteworthy. The President (*talmän*) for the First and the Second Chambers elected before the King's speech (Jan. 17) were respectively Count G. Lagerbjelke and M. G. Ryding. The Budget laid before the House showed a fair surplus, of which, as had been done for the last few years, the greater portion was applied to the continuation of the Northern Main State Railway.

The elections of the previous autumn having materially increased the number of Free Trade sympathisers in the Second Chamber, the question of revising the tariff was raised. An important and interesting debate ensued in both Chambers. Both parties put forward their best, and at the voting it was found that the First Chamber was for maintaining the existing duties, whilst the Lower House gave its vote in favour of Free Trade. At the joint voting, which is obligatory when the two Chambers arrive at different results, the Protectionists carried the day (March 14), and the existing duties on rye, flour, and bacon were sustained.

One of the most important questions before the Chambers during last year was the one dealing with the defence of the country. Everyone was more or less agreed that the efficiency of the military arrangements of Sweden left a good deal to be desired, but at the same time great difficulty had been experienced in bringing the various views into focus. What was actually done during the year amounted to taking votes for new artillery and for the ironclad "Thule" and a couple of first-class torpedo boats. These votes were carried by the joint voting of the two Chambers. But the large proposal with regard to the army again fell to the ground, although considerable efforts were made to bring about a compromise. The existing military arrangements of Sweden with regard to men and their pay were in urgent need of reform. The Government, therefore, urged the adoption of several important alterations. Acting, however, with much moderation and discretion, it asked the Chambers

to prolong the prescribed course of drill, to extend the existing series of recruits, and to increase the Norrland defence grant, in return for which the Government offered to write off the remaining ground taxes and to facilitate the payment of local debts in other ways. The Government then went altogether considerably out of its way in order to conciliate the opponents to the Bill, which was accepted and passed by the First Chamber. The Lower House, however, proved less amenable, the rejection of the Bill there being brought about by a coalition between several otherwise diverging factions. The Centre expressed the fear that the increased military expenditure would tend to sustain the Protectionist tariff; the Radicals demanded universal suffrage in return for the increased military duties, whilst the old Sconian Landtmanna party for the occasion found itself in somewhat unusual company.

It was whilst this question was still open that the long-pending question of the relations between Sweden and Norway reached a critical stage. The proposal for a re-arrangement of the diplomatic representation of the two countries—Norway and Sweden—had been finally discussed in a joint Council of State, and its recommendations at length (Jan. 28) received the approval of the King. It was agreed in this Council, that the proposal should be promptly laid before the legislative bodies of the two countries, and accordingly (Feb. 4) it was introduced in the Riksdag. Its fate in the Norwegian Storting, and how it was destined to upset the Stang Ministry and entirely alter the course of political events in Norway, is dealt with under that country. Owing to the reception the measure had met with in Norway, its fate in the Swedish Riksdag was foreseen. The Constitutional Committee, however, found it expedient to give expression to its views, which differed from those contained in the royal proposal. The committee was of opinion that the matter should not be dealt with exclusively on the basis of diplomatic affairs, but that the military side of the union between the two countries should also be included, so that the whole question of the union should be considered irrespective of the diplomatic question. This was put forward ostensibly with a view of securing for Norway full equality, and of consolidating and fastening the unionist tie between the two countries. The Chambers, with advisable discretion, declined to support the report of the committee, fearing it might create further excitement and ill-feeling in Norway, the Riksdag simply negating the proposal. The action of the Swedish Riksdag was, however, not appreciated in Norway, where a new departure had already been declared, and where the Radical Government went far beyond the demands of their former partisans to the extent of insisting on a separate Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

In connection with the differences between Sweden and Norway it may here be convenient to point out the false position

in which the Swedish Prime Minister had placed himself by a hasty and ill-advised, but much misconstrued utterance, on the occasion of a private meeting (May 3). Whilst discussing the proposed military reforms he was reported to have said that if they were passed they would be able to "talk Swedish" with the Norsemen. This remark of M. Akerhielm raised a violent storm in Norway, whilst in Sweden the opponents of the Government tried to put a significance and sense into the Premier's utterance which it was never meant to possess. The matter was turned in every way to the disadvantage of the Prime Minister, and it was thought that he would have to resign forthwith; but he managed to hold on for some little time, and it was two months (July 6) before Baron Akerhielm's resignation was gazetted, M. E. G. Boström the same day being appointed his successor. Some little trouble had been experienced in finding a suitable man, the Free Traders being apprehensive that M. Boström might prove far too advanced a Protectionist. These fears, however, which, after all, may not altogether have been very genuine, were not confirmed by his subsequent doings.

The Bill brought in by a private member, fixing the number of members in both Chambers, which had been left in abeyance, was again taken up for consideration. This measure anticipated a proportionate reduction of the right of representation for the larger towns, with a view of counterbalancing the Radical elements of those constituencies. Some exception was taken to the Bill in the First Chamber, chiefly on points of detail and procedure, but ultimately it was passed by both Chambers without alteration under a protest from the more advanced section in the Lower House. The King, however, declined to give his sanction to the Bill, but it was understood that a Bill founded on it would be adopted by the Government, and reintroduced in the following session.

The Riksdag, in addition, passed several Bills of importance, including a maritime law, which, like one or two other measures, were Scandinavian and not solely Swedish.

In the beginning of July a French squadron of ironclads visited Stockholm, and the reception was so friendly, not to say enthusiastic, that a certain amount of political importance was attached to the visit.

Early in August the purchase by the Swedish State of the Sulea-Gellivara Railway (the Swedish-Norwegian Railway Company) was completed. Although the line was taken over at a very fair valuation, the transaction meant a loss of between two and three millions sterling to the share and debenture holders, mostly English.

On September 1 the new Gothenburg University, liberally endowed by private munificence, was opened with much solemnity, great interest being taken in this, the "youngest University of Europe."

Several elections in the autumn having further increased the Protectionist majority in the First Chamber, the agitation against duty on the more general articles of food was revived with much energy in various parts of the country, the want of work lending considerable force to the protests of the poor and unemployed against such measures, which made the necessaries of life still dearer and more difficult for them to obtain. The most important demonstration took place at Stockholm (Oct. 30), simultaneously in four different quarters of the city. The immediate cause for selecting that day was its being the anniversary of the issue of a royal decree, which promised that some part of the increase of the revenue arising from the Protectionist tariff should be applied to insurance of workmen and other similar purposes beneficial to the poorer classes. It was now urged that the Protectionist Government had not kept this promise, and that the surplus had been diverted to other purposes. This argument was in fact only partially well-founded, for the surplus had, among other things, been applied to making good the financial deficiencies of the previous Free Trade period, and to carrying on the works on the North Trunk State Railway. Moreover, the blame for the absence of any legislative measures for insuring workmen against accidents could not justly be laid to the charge of the Government, but rather attached itself to the Riksdag. No results having come of the previous Parliamentary labours in this respect, the Government on the day of these mass meetings appointed a new committee to consider the question. This committee was constructed to further advance this important matter, principally on the basis of the German law already in operation.

Shortly before the close of the year, a further change was made in the Cabinet, the Church Minister, M. G. Wennerberg, feeling it his duty to resign on account of the manner in which a vacant Professorship had been filled up. His successor was M. Gyljam.

Although the Riksdag of 1891 left for a subsequent session the completion of some very important legislative work, such as a revision of the tariff and, still more, the military question, there were signs that some understanding or arrangement might be arrived at between various parties or factions in the Chambers. These measures may then have a much better chance of being advanced at a not very distant future. It was thought that the compact Protectionist majority in the First Chamber might co-operate with the centre and old Landtmanna party of the Lower House, and that in this way some definite settlement of the military question might be arrived at, and that whilst granting a reduction of the duty on corn, means might be found to ensure a fair amount of protection to Swedish industry.

CHAPTER V.

ASIA.

CENTRAL ASIA—AFGHANISTAN—INDIA—CHINA—AND JAPAN.

Afghanistan.—Although it was often rumoured during the year that an Afghan mission had been appointed by the Ameer, Abdurrahman, to conclude a commercial treaty with Russia, nothing came of it. Later it was said that the Ameer of Bokhara, with envoys from Afghanistan, would be received by the Czar at Gatschina about the middle of December, when the treaty would be signed. None of these rumours were confirmed, and there remained no reason to doubt the Ameer's good faith.

In 1887 Mr. Pyne, an English mechanical engineer, entered the service of the Ameer with the permission of the Government of India. Leave was granted to Mr. Pyne to go on the distinct understanding that he was proceeding at his own risk. He left Peshawur without any European companions, trusting entirely to his Afghan escort. He was ignorant of the language and customs of the people, but he fared well at Cabul, and the Ameer made known to him, through interpreters, his desire to establish workshops for various kinds of manufactures. Estimates, drawings, and photographs of machinery were accordingly placed before his Highness, who examined them critically, and showed greater knowledge than might have been expected regarding mechanical details. He selected various plants of machinery, including every important essential for the formation of engineering workshops and a foundry. Plant for making rifles and munitions of war, and also such labour-saving appliances as minting machinery, soap and candle machinery, &c., were not overlooked. The Ameer, with characteristic shrewdness, stipulated that nothing should be purchased which Mr. Pyne could not undertake to land safely in Cabul. Hence it became necessary to devise means whereby the heavy machinery could be built up in many small parts, as camels were the only transport for a great part of the way. The Ameer's workshops were in due course put in full working order under the management of the two English mechanics who went up to Cabul two years after. The mint was able to turn out a new silver coin of handsome appearance at the rate of fifty a minute, and the cartridge factory produced a few thousand solid-drawn Martini-Henry cartridges but little, if at all, inferior to those supplied to British troops. The cartridge machinery was in complete working order by the close of the year, but in a few months it was anticipated that the rate of production would reach several thousand rounds of ball ammunition per day. Mr. Pyne was commissioned to buy more plant for the workshops. During his stay in India he spoke in the warmest terms of the kindness and liberality with

which he and his assistants had been treated by the Ameer, and expressed his firm belief in the loyalty of Abdurrahman to the British Government.

The Ameer was exerting himself in July to raise a militia force from the various tribes, and in connection therewith he bestowed various military titles on the local governors. As the crops in the latter end of the summer were seriously damaged by locusts, the export of wheat from Candahar was prohibited. A census was also ordered throughout Afghanistan. In October the Ameer was anxious for a mission to visit Cabul, but the Indian Government opposed this idea, and invited him to visit the Viceroy in India. Not replying to this invitation, the Ameer issued a proclamation stating that he intended to visit England, and claimed to have a sincere friendship for England, although he thought the English only partially recognised it; but as trade developed he hoped there would be a better understanding. The internal progress of the State was excellent during the year, and a possible source of trouble with the refugee adherents of Ishak Khan was, it is stated, satisfactorily nipped in the bud by the summary execution of two Orya Khel chieftains, Shanayar Khan and Dilawar Khan, who were charged with being in treasonable correspondence with their brother at Samarkand, who is one of Ishak Khan's firmest adherents.

The Black Mountain.—At the beginning of the year a strong expedition was sent out under General Lockhart to the Black Mountain to quell the wild tribes raiding the settled borders of the Samana range. Delayed for a time by the intense cold, the first column reached Gwada by the end of January, the second blew up a tribal stronghold at Sinnela, and the third destroyed the village at Salla. Snow on the Kotal lay three feet deep, and a good deal of the early work of the expedition was done while the snow was yet falling. By April both sides were better prepared for hostilities, and it was reported that 19,000 Miranzais were gathering to oppose the British force of 7,500. The fighting, desultory at first, became after a while more severe, and before the end of May the primary effect of the expedition was attained, the Akazai tribe—the most troublesome in the whole district—tendering their submission. A fortnight later practically saw the end of the operations. Early in July the despatches were published, the Viceroy heartily concurring with the Commander-in-Chief in his "high appreciation of the vigour and ability with which Sir William Lockhart conducted the operations, and the gallantry of the troops under his command." The encomium was well deserved, for the singularly difficult work of the expedition was very brilliantly carried out in the face of almost every kind of obstacle.

The Hassanzai and Akazai tribes surrendered unconditionally, and accepted the terms imposed upon them, and their chiefs were received in durbar by Major-General Elles, who explained to

them that the Government would withdraw the troops at once if Hashim Ali, the source of all the trouble, were given up. The chiefs replied that he was beyond their power of arrest. It became, therefore, necessary to maintain a force in the country till the tribes could prevent Hashim's return. Just as the year closed, news arrived of the complete collapse of the combination against British authority, and the consequent tranquillity of the semi-independent States bordering on the disaffected districts.

The Pamir Affair.—On the North-Western frontier a serious incident took place, by the advance of a Russian expedition, under Colonel Yanoff, across the Pamirs and through the Hindoo Kush into British Indian territory. Captain Younghusband, who was on special duty in the neighbourhood, came across Colonel Yanoff's party—some 30 Cossacks and 100 infantry—in the deserted village of Bozai-Gumbaz, on the skirts of the Wakkan Valley, well on in the hot weather. Captain Younghusband was at first treated with great courtesy, but was subsequently informed that the Russian expedition had orders from the Governor-General of Turkistan to arrest him and conduct him to Marghilan, the first Russian cantonment beyond the Alai Pamir, unless he would give a written undertaking to leave the neighbourhood at once, and not to travel by what the Russian officer styled “newly acquired Russian territory.” Captain Younghusband accordingly left the Little Pamir, but he was able to find out that the Yanoff expedition had descended the Wakkan Valley to Baikra, and thence by another valley route had crossed the Hindoo Kush by the Korabhaut Pass, penetrated into the Yakhun river district of Chitral State, and after journeying some distance along the valley, had re-crossed the Hindoo Kush by way of the Baroghil pass, re-entering the Wakkan Valley at Sarhad in Afghan territory. On the Alichur Pamir, which is claimed by China, Lieutenant Davidson, who had been despatched thither by Captain Younghusband, fell in with General Chang, who, with a small force, had been ordered by his Government to establish a frontier outpost and build a fort there. While Lieutenant Davidson was there, Colonel Yanoff came up with his men, claimed the region as Russian territory, compelled the Chinese General to immediately withdraw, and placed Lieutenant Davidson under arrest, subsequently conveying him in the direction of Marghilan, but setting him free before arriving there. He returned in the direction of Kashgaria and met Captain Younghusband on the Tagdumbash Pamir in company with General Chang, who was very indignant at the treatment he had received at the hands of Colonel Yanoff, and declared that in the early spring his Government would send two Ambans and a large force to occupy the Alichur Pamir. Captain Younghusband, although carefully prevented from pursuing his journey, was courteously entertained by the Russian officers, and was escorted by them to the limits of the disputed

district, having only established the fact that neither the Chinese nor the Russians were disposed to withdraw their shadowy claims to the most barren and inhospitable region, perhaps, in all the trans-Himalayan country.

The Manipur Massacre.—When the Government came to the tardy decision to depose and deport Tekendrajit Singh, who practically assumed the rulership after the flight of the Maharajah, Soor Chandra Singh, in September 1890, Mr. Quinton, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, was sent to Manipur to make the announcement. The country was at that time peaceful and tolerably prosperous, and the people seemed quite content with the new ruler. Mr. Quinton was accompanied by Colonel Skene and other officers and some 500 native troops, and he told Mr. Grimwood, the Resident, that he proposed to arrest the Senapati (or, as he styled himself, Jubraj) at a durbar which was to be called for March 21. Some delay occurred in receiving the Regent, the Jubraj, and other of the Manipuri Princes, and Tekendrajit was thus enabled to get an inkling of what was going on. His suspicions were aroused by the heavy guard around the Residency, and under a plea of sickness he refused to put in an appearance at the durbar. The durbar was postponed till the following day, and eventually, Tekendrajit continuing to maintain the same stubborn attitude, Captain Butcher, 42nd Goorkhas, was ordered to arrest him. At five o'clock on the morning of the 24th, he left the Residency Camp with 250 Goorkhas, and reached the palace an hour later. When he and his party reached the north-west portion of the inner enclosure, they were fired upon by the Jubraj's troops, of whom there were 6,000 in and around the palace. They returned the fire and presently occupied the palace, from which, however, the Jubraj had already escaped. Firing went on most of the day, and in the evening, under pretence of a parley, Tekendrajit induced Mr. Quinton, Colonel Skene, Mr. Grimwood, Mr. Cossins, Mr. Melville, and Lieutenant Simpson to enter the palace, and there, by order of the aged Tongal General, and with the acquiescence of Tekendrajit, they were treacherously assassinated, except Mr. Melville, who was murdered in an adjoining village; Lieutenant Brackenbury had already received a fatal wound, and a number of sepoys fell in the engagement earlier in the day. Mrs. Grimwood and Captains Boileau and Butcher, with a handful of troops, succeeded in escaping from the Residency, which had been reduced to ruins by the guns presented some years ago to the State by the Government of India; and some weeks later the city was taken possession of by General Graham and General Collett. The fugitive Princes were captured shortly afterwards, and after a patient trial by a Court composed of Colonel St. John Michell, Major Ridgeway, V.C., and Major Maxwell, Political Officer, Tekendrajit, the Tongal General, the Regent, and the Angao Senna were sentenced to death. In the case of the two

former, this sentence, after appeal to the Government and due consideration, was carried out on August 13. The sentence on the other leaders was commuted to transportation for life. During the advance on Manipur a striking feature was the daring displayed by Lieutenant Grant in holding out, with a mere handful of men, against a force of over 800 Manipuris, and in capturing from them the fort at Thobal. For this gallant conduct, Lieutenant Charles James William Grant received his Majority and the Victoria Cross. Subsequently he was appointed aide-de-camp to Sir J. Dormer, Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army. In rather melancholy contrast to Major Grant's plucky behaviour was the fact that Captain Boileau and Captain Butcher, who were both engaged in the fighting in Manipur, had to resign the service on compassionate allowances in consequence of alleged misconduct on that occasion. Mrs. Grimwood had many remarkable adventures in making her escape. For her bravery the Royal Red Cross was conferred upon her in June. The administration of Manipur was eventually placed in the hands of Major Maxwell, a Rajah (not Maharajah) having been selected in the person of Chura Chand, the five-year old great grandson of a former ruler, Narsingh. A tribute was imposed upon the State, and the principle of absolute subordination to the British Government will be rigidly adhered to. By last accounts the State was in a fairly prosperous condition, and the people appeared perfectly contented with the new order of things.

Burmah.—Severe droughts were prevalent in August in Upper Burmah, and gloomy reports were received from nearly every district, but in September the crop prospects improved somewhat where rain had fallen. In Myingyan, Magwe, Minbu, and Yamethin the outlook continued very gloomy. In Lower Chindwin advances were being made to distressed cultivators to save them from selling their plough cattle. Relief works were vigorously set on foot to mitigate distress, at a cost of not less than six and a half lakhs of rupees. Special agricultural advances were also sanctioned to the extent of four lakhs. A scarcity of food supplies in Lower Burmah occupied the attention of the Chief Commissioner, and he endeavoured to meet the danger of famine in that quarter as well. The total stocks of rice in September in Rangoon were estimated at 70,000 tons, of which only 30,000 tons were available. The city of Rangoon requires 4,500 tons per month, and Upper Burmah 20,000 tons monthly. The Financial Commissioner gave a statement on the condition of the food supply, and the concluding paragraph of his memorandum was not very reassuring. He said, "I believe that at least one million out of three millions of people in Upper Burmah have means of buying as much grain as they require, but, so far as I can see, the grain is not likely to be forthcoming." In October the condition of the distressed districts improved

somewhat. Rain had fallen at Meiktila and Yemethin, and many left the relief works to plough and sow their lands. With all the drawbacks of threatened famine, and disturbances among the Chins and Lushais, which were, however, speedily checked, Burmah was prosperous and quiet during the year. Mr. A. Mackenzie, who was appointed Chief Commissioner on the retirement of Sir Charles Crosthwaite in 1890, became Sir Alexander Mackenzie, K.C.S.I., January 1, and he has shown himself to be a capable officer. A force of 1,200 men was about to be sent in November against the Kachyen tribes on the Bhamo frontier, and for the Chin country expedition an army of 2,600 men, with six mountain guns, was provided. Brigadier-General Wolseley was to command the columns.

Bombay.—Lord Harris, the new Governor, was very popular with all classes. His predecessor, Lord Reay, had several difficult tasks to perform. Among others, the modification of the Bombay forest laws in order to meet the just claims of the poorer peasants, met with opposition from the departmental authorities, for they looked upon the existing system as a kind of official vested interest. Respecting this question, Lord Harris officially declared that the judgment of Lord Reay was a just and right one. In a speech at the opening of a great gymnasium for the native youth of Bombay, early in March, Lord Harris said, "I have done absolutely nothing but to carry out in continuity what was being carried out by my predecessor." Such a tribute to the worth of a predecessor and a political opponent increased the new Governor's popularity, whose fondness of field sports and open-air exercise did not interfere with his devotion to serious work. His policy has been to examine everything for himself.

New Year's Day found him at Ahmedabad entertaining the Cesarewitch. A day or two later he cut the first sod of the Godra-Rutlam extension of the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway. March found him opening the Nassik Tramway, a first small attempt at feeder lines. After visiting Dhoolia he touched at all the coast ports between Bombay and Mormugao, proceeding to Mahableshwur *via* the Western India Portuguese Railway, to Dharwar, Hubli, Bijapur, Belgaum, Miraj, and Kolhapore. In April he proceeded through the Southern Mahratta country and opened the Kolhapore State Railway. In June he opened the new water works at Ahmedabad. In August he spent twelve days in running up to Simla and back. In October he visited Ahmednugger and Sholapore; and in November made a tour through Sind, which extended as far as Quetta and the Khojak. Later, he made a journey (much of it on horseback) through Hotgi, Gadag, Bijapur, Athni, and Miraj, so as to see for himself that portion of the Bombay Presidency which was threatened with famine or scarcity.

Early in the year (on April 25) Bombay was startled and

horrified by a tragedy the mystery of which has not even yet been unravelled. At three o'clock on Saturday afternoon two young Parsee women, Buchoobai, aged 20, and Perojbai, aged 16, the former a daughter-in-law and the latter a daughter of Burjorjee Sorabjee Godrez, and both in a fairly good station in life, left their home in Mody Bay, stating that they were going to visit Buchoobai's aunt in the Cheera Bazaar, at the other end of the town. Half an hour later the elder girl was seen to fall from the top gallery of the Rajabai Town in the University Gardens, a distance of 97 feet, and she was almost immediately followed by Perojbai. Buchoobai was killed on the spot, and Perojbai was so terribly mangled that she died in a few moments without speaking. The suggestion on the part of the Parsee community generally was that they had either been thrown from the Tower by some scoundrels who had sought to outrage them, or that they had flung themselves over the gallery to escape from them. Names were freely mentioned in connection with this theory, and one Manockjee Aslajee was indicated as either principal or accomplice in the alleged crime. After an inquiry extending over nineteen days the coroner's jury, by a majority of eight to one, returned a verdict that Buchoobai died from injuries sustained through throwing herself from the Tower in consequence of an attempted outrage upon her by some person or persons unknown to the jury, and that to this attempted outrage Manockjee Aslajee was privy, under such circumstances that the acts of such person or persons unknown and of Manockjee Aslajee were culpable homicide not amounting to murder. With reference to the death of the other young woman, Perojbai, the verdict was that the girl was thrown from the Tower by Manockjee Aslajee in order to destroy evidence of his complicity in an outrage attempted on her by some person or persons unknown. Manockjee Aslajee was subsequently committed for trial by Mr. Cooper, the Chief Presidency Magistrate, but at the sessions the jury, without leaving the box, returned an unanimous verdict of not guilty, and Mr. Justice Farran observed that he did not think that "any sane person could have arrived at any other verdict," there being, in fact, no direct evidence against Aslajee whatever. The Parsee community memorialised the Government to inquire into the whole case, especially with regard to the conduct of the police, who, it was freely alleged, had been heavily bribed. The accusation fell to the ground, and the Government declined to re-open the case; and, despite the offer by the Parsees of a reward of Rs. 20,000, the tragedy has remained unexplained to this day, one section of the community holding to the theory of attempted outrage and murder, and the other to the theory of suicide. Both girls were married, but had never lived with their husbands, who were still at college. The whole circumstances of the case and the mystery in which it was wrapped created a profound sensation in Bombay.

The western capital of India showed its determination to be ready for a further development of her sea-going trade. In March Lord Harris opened the new Merewether Dry Dock, an enterprise worthily completing two centuries of harbour works in Bombay. The new graving dock being independent of the tides, vessels will thus be put in or discharged at any time; whilst by its size it was adapted for large ships of war, and can take in vessels longer and of broader beam than the great Indian troopships.

As far back as 1670, the Court of Directors ordered the construction of dry docks at Bombay, and in 1689-90 they directed Governor Harris to "complete a dry dock in Bombay, that it might become a safe retreat to English shipping." But till 1748 the only dry dock was a mud basin, in and out of which the tide flowed at will. In 1750 the dock now known as the Upper Old Bombay Dock was at length finished, and two more basins were opened by 1765. To the end of the century "this triple line of docks, one within the other, was the pride of Bombay and the astonishment of travellers; 'the greatest work of the English in the East.'" "Bombay," wrote the traveller Parsons in 1775, "boasts such a dry dock as perhaps is not to be seen in any port of Europe either for size or convenient station." The next period of extension commenced at the beginning of the present century, the Upper and Lower Duncan Docks being completed in 1807. These in their turn served their purpose for another period of about forty years, when a third period of dock extension began. In 1850 the P. and O. Company entered the field, took over the little old Mazagong Dock, and undertook a series of important works, which, after many additions and improvements, received a still further extension in 1890. The magnificent Merewether Dry Dock, opened by Lord Harris, was therefore the historical completion of a series of harbour works which have grown with the growing trade of Bombay during the past 200 years, since the Court of Directors' instructions to an earlier Governor Harris in 1689.

Madras.—Lord Wenlock, the new Governor of Madras, assumed the duties of that Presidency January 23. He had to face at the outset what threatened to be a serious famine. Public relief works were started in various districts, and efforts were made to bring food to the famine centres. Prices continued to rise throughout the year, especially in Salem, Nellore, North Arcot, and Bellary, notwithstanding the efforts of the officials to allay the panic. Unfortunately party politics were speedily introduced into the discussion of Lord Wenlock's measure; and the Governor was bitterly attacked in England and by a portion of the native press for not displaying greater resource. Other witnesses, equally competent and more impartial acquitted Lord Wenlock and his assistants of any remiss-

ness, and bore testimony to the devotion of the European officials of all grades. The cause of the famine was a protracted drought, causing the standing crops to wither, and the consequent loss of much cattle. In some districts a scarcity of drinking water having been reported, the Government gave orders for the systematic sinking of wells, with good results in many cases.

The National Congress.—The seventh Indian Congress closed its session at Nagpore in December, and the 800 delegates present reaffirmed all the resolutions arrived at by former Congresses. The movement, now almost entirely identified with Hindoos of the Bengali Baboo type, had ceased to have much importance. This year the speeches and resolutions were, on the whole, couched in moderate language, and, with the exception of the proposal that the army of India should be reduced by 48,000 men, there was little to attract attention.

The Viceroy.—Special interest attached to Lord Lansdowne's tour this year throughout India. His Excellency summed up the results of his journey in a speech delivered at Calcutta (Nov. 30). In Gwalior, he said he had found a young chief of great promise, and an administrator of singularly liberal mind; in Bhopal, a Begum who was the firm friend of the British Government; at Indore, a Maharajah taking a personal part in the enlightened administration of his State; and at Cashmere he was able to invite the Maharajah once more to take part in the government of his country, "of which," said the Viceroy, "we have never ceased to regard him as the legitimate ruler." In this connection his Excellency laid down the principle that it should be regarded as a matter of first importance that States in subordinate alliance with her Majesty should be governed in such a manner that we need have no scruple in preserving for them the measure of independence which they at present enjoy. "Not only," he said, "would it be an act of injustice to deprive them of the privileges of self-government to which they are entitled, but it would be a distinct misfortune to the Empire if those interesting remnants of indigenous rule were to be entirely effaced. They may not all of them be governed entirely in accordance with our ideas of good government, but it is a question whether, in spite of this, they do not from their point of view prefer to remain under their own rulers, even if they are denied some of the administrative luxuries which we provide for the people of British India."

Sir George Chesney, Military member of the Viceroy's Council, retired from his post in June, leaving the defences of India on a level of efficiency that had never before been attained. Time alone can decide whether the recent policy of the Government of India, in regarding the feudatory Princes and their armies not as chiefly a source of danger, but also as a reserve of force, is wise and prudent. At all events, Sir George has ren-

dered services such as few soldier administrators have been permitted to perform.

India is, as Lord Lansdowne said in his great speech at Calcutta, a land of sudden vicissitudes—a land in which we can never tell to-day what to-morrow has in store for us:—"From the poor ryot, who sees his scanty crop swept off the face of the earth in a few hours by a swarm of locusts, to the Financial member of Council, who sees his hopes of a surplus suddenly wrecked by agencies over which he has no control, we all of us are liable to see our cloud-built castles and our golden dreams shattered and dissipated by visitations as unlooked for as they are overwhelming. India never ceases to be conscious that the gaunt spectres of war, want, and insolvency are hovering in the distance, and ready to swoop down upon us at any moment."

At the opening of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway the Viceroy declared the policy of the Government with regard to railway enterprise in India, and replied to frequent complaints of a rooted antipathy to the employment of the agency of companies for the construction of railways.

Lord Lansdowne said: "In some cases the offers made to us involved the proposals that we should virtually assume the whole of the responsibility for any loss which the bargain might entail in the event of its proving a disastrous one; in others we have been asked to alienate vast areas of land without any sufficient equivalent for thus parting with the national estate; in others, again, we have been pressed to concede monopolies of timber or minerals without really knowing what we were going to part with; in yet other cases we have found private enterprise seeking to construct a section of some great railway, the section selected being, I need not say, the easiest and most profitable, with the certainty that Government would have eventually to undertake the completion of the more difficult and unremunerative sections. Or, again, we have been invited to sanction the construction of projects competitive with lines already in existence, and certain, if completed, to deprive these of a portion of their income."

The Nagpur-Bengal Railway will form the *crux* of the rival claims of Calcutta and Bombay for the commercial supremacy in India. It throws open the wheat-bearing plateau of Chatisgarh, and will probably add largely to the grain exports of India. The two great mercantile capitals will both profit by the new line. The question is whether they will equally profit. On the one hand, the enormous trade of Bombay in our times is essentially the product of the railway system, and every extension of that system in Northern and Central India has helped to increase the prosperity of the Western capital. On the other hand, Calcutta has the reserve of force which comes from the command of vast fertile provinces at its very gates, and the new Nagpur-Bengal Railway promises to be the starting-point of other lines which

will bring the rice and oil seeds of Orissa to the banks of the Hooghly. Bombay has on its side the advantage of an unrivalled harbour, while Calcutta is really a river emporium, with a dangerous and difficult communication with the sea. The new railway runs across the heart of the peninsula, forming a direct route for passengers and goods between the two rival harbours of India, and distributing the mineral and agricultural wealth of the central regions and the Chatisgarh plateau between them.

Legislative.—The Age of Consent Act, by which the limit of age of consent to marriage for native female children was raised from ten years to twelve, was one of the most important enactments of the year, and a reform of incalculable value was thereby introduced. Encouraged by the passage of this Act, social reform was engaging the attention of the better class of native politicians instead of fanciful political reforms.

The Factory Act came into force Jan. 1, 1892. The definition of "factory" was modified by the substitution of fifty for twenty as the number of persons employed; 14 was fixed as the age below which persons should be deemed children, except in factories where the shift system was in force. Women, it was provided by the Act, were not to work more than eleven hours a day; Sunday was recommended as a holiday, except in certain cases, but anyone could be employed on Sunday who had had a complete day's rest during the three days preceding that day.

Census.—The Census of India, taken this year, showed an increase of 22 millions for British India during the decade. The total population of the Empire, including the feudatory States, was found to be 285 millions, compared with 253 millions in 1881. Three millions were gained by the annexation of Burmah and Ava. Bombay, as a city area, showed a population of 856,000; Calcutta 674,000 as a city area, but claimed, with her suburbs and Hourah across the Hooghly river, to rank first with a population of 969,000. The work of Census was, on this occasion, confided to Mr. J. A. Bainer, of the Bombay Civil Service, who was specially selected for the task in consequence of the aptitude he had shown some few years previously in superintending the Census taking in Bombay. Transferred to the Central Government at Simla, he organised, in anticipation of the date for the numbering of the people, an army of more than a hundred thousand enumerators, whose duty it was to obtain all possible and reliable information regarding the inhabitants of their respective districts; their inquiries extending not only into their age, condition and relationship of the various members of each tribe or household, but their religion, caste, descent, and means of livelihood, so that the Census reports, when published, would be a complete history of the population of India.

Financial.—By the Budget issued (March 20) by Sir David

Barbour, the Financial member of the Viceroy's Council, the accounts for the year 1889-90 closed with a surplus of Rx. 2,612,033, being an increase over the revised estimates of Rx. 802,300. The revised estimates for the current year placed the revenue at Rx. 85,313,500, and the expenditure at Rx. 82,526,400, making a surplus of Rx. 2,787,100, of which the greater part was due to the rise in exchange.

Sir D. Barbour remarked that there had been a moderate but not unsatisfactory growth of revenue under the ordinary civil heads during the year, but that the large surplus now estimated did not arise from causes which could be contemplated with complete satisfaction. The Budget estimates for the coming year gave the revenue as Rx. 86,025,300, and the expenditure as Rx. 85,909,700, leaving a surplus of Rx. 115,600, which practically meant that the revenue just balanced the expenditure. The famine grant was restored to its original amount, Rx. 1,500,000, and opium was taken at a lower figure than in the current year. The rate of exchange was estimated at *1s. 5½d.* He stated, with the usual reserve, that the Secretary of State proposed to sell Council bills amounting to 16 millions sterling, and raise a loan of 2,600,000*l.* for the discharge of debentures and advances to railway companies.

Sir D. Barbour next proceeded to discuss the prospects for the immediate future, and stated that difficulties might arise due to special causes—namely, war, famine, a further fall in opium, decreased railway traffic, growing military expenses, and a fall in the rate of exchange. Opium had already fallen largely, and there were no strong indications of its recovery, but the fall up to date had already been discounted. It was impossible to speak confidently regarding the military expenditure. The closing year had witnessed extraordinary fluctuations in the exchange, and while the Government profited largely by the temporary rise, that result was not attained without injury to the commerce of the country. Trade between England and India was for a time reduced to mere gambling.

Sir D. Barbour expressed regret that these violent fluctuations had not resulted in the final settlement of the question, and said that the perpetually recurring evils from the difference in the monetary standards of India and other countries could not be endured for ever, and the final solution of the problem must be found, he believed, in a double legal standard. He maintained that the theory that a low rate of exchange was beneficial to Indian trade, was one of the greatest delusions that ever gained possession of the human mind. A sudden rise of exchange would doubtless temporarily check trade, but trade would in time adapt itself to the new conditions. What India required was not a high rather than a low rate, but some system under which fluctuations would be neither great nor frequent, but would oscillate round a fixed point.

He considered that the adoption of the free coinage of silver by the United States would lead to a greater stability in the relative values of gold and silver, and in that case it would be probably best for India to maintain the free coinage of silver for an indefinite period, in the hope that a final solution would one day be obtained. But if the United States should abandon silver as a monetary standard, then probably the easiest and safest course would be for India to adopt the gold standard at or about the exchange of the day, rather than attempt to establish a higher rate. The adoption of the gold standard in India would probably be attended by very serious consequences to the Western nations, but if they looked only to what they considered their own interests, they could not object to India doing the same.

On the whole, Sir D. Barbour believed that the future prospects, apart from questions of exchange and military expenditure, were decidedly encouraging.

Money.—The year disclosed an abnormal expansion of the currency of the country, largely due to the American silver legislation of 1890, which caused heavier importations of silver into India during the official year 1890–91 than during any similar period since 1865–66, with the single exception of 1877–78. The consequence of this was an increased note circulation which, from amounting to Rs. 14,79,00,000 on March 31, 1890, rose to Rs. 22,41,00,000 on March 31, 1891, an increase of available money of Rs. 7,62,00,000. There are other causes for the inflation of the money market which carry us up to date. One item is the excess in value of export over imports of the year. This is given by the Financial Department of the Government of India for the seven months April 1 to October 31 last, as compared with a similar period in 1890 as under:—

1890. Total exports, value	Rs. 56,75,22,000
" " imports " 	" 55,19,54,000
	Rs. 1,55,68,000

Or a balance of 1½ crores in favour of India, while for 1891 the comparison shows:—

Exports, value	Rs. 64,09,28,000
Imports " 	" 47,07,51,000
	Rs. 17,01,77,000

Or seventeen crores of rupees in favour of India. The total treasure imported for the same period of the two years compares thus in value:—

1890	Rs. 13,92,91,000
1891	" 7,72,71,000
	Rs. 6,20,20,000

The exports of treasure being fairly equal for the two years. The heavy exports this year of wheat in addition to the importation of money into the country last year and this, must be taken into consideration in finding an explanation of the glutted money markets. The value of wheat exported for the periods above mentioned amounted to:—

For 1891	Rs. 10,12,94,000
Against for 1890	„ 3,68,24,000
	Rs. 6,44,70,000

Silver.—The market for silver was wanting during the year in the absorbing interest which it received in 1890, for in that year the price fluctuated between 44*d.* in January, which was the lowest quotation in London during the year, to 54½*d.* per oz., which was reached in September, and was the highest point; the year 1891 only saw fluctuations between 48½*d.* in January as the highest rate, and 43½*d.* the lowest, which was touched in December. From a statement showing the shipments of silver to Bombay and Calcutta during the year, it appears that while in 1890 they amounted in value to 6,680,000*l.*, last year the value was just under half that amount, or 3,300,000*l.* Bombay, in the first instance, before the natural distribution of money takes place, had to bear the burden of the weight of the imports, from the fact of the amount coined there being about four times what goes through the Calcutta Mint. From the accounts relating to the trade and navigation of British India, published by the Department of Finance and Commerce, we find that for the seven months, April-October, the imports of silver for the years 1889, 1890, and 1891 were as follows, respectively:—

Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
5,97,76,605 .	10,37,67,890 .	4,67,78,351

These figures plainly show that India had received more silver than it required in 1890, and the glutted market has been reflected by cheap and unremunerative money lying idle in the Presidency Banks. The highest point silver touched during the year was in January, but it was then on its downward course, and from 48½*d.* reached 46½*d.* per oz. before the month was out. In February it fell further to 44½*d.*, but rallied a little in March for a time. In April it touched 43½*d.*—almost the lowest point for the year. From that time until July, when it had again risen to 46½*d.*, there were not many important fluctuations, but since July the course was downward, with almost no check worth speaking of. It was at one time thought that the American Congress would introduce a measure which would relieve the pressure of supplies on the markets of the world, but this came to nothing. During the year large quantities of the metal were taken by Spain, China, and Japan, while Portugal and Bulgaria have also been in the market. Had it not been for the

purchases for these countries, which made a steady drain, it is probable that the rate would have fallen lower than has been the case. The stock in India must now be distributed in some degree, as the ryots have made large profits by the export of their seeds and wheat, the excess during the past year over 1890 in the value of these two items being over six crores of rupees, and this must mean a large movement of silver and money among the agricultural classes. The imports of gold during the seven months, April to October, amounted in value to Rs. 3,04,92,000, against Rs. 3,55,23,000 in 1890, and Rs. 2,87,52,000 in 1889, the United Kingdom sending Rs. 1,23,67,000, and the next largest supply, of the value of Rs. 84,05,000, coming from China. The depressed condition of the trade of India at the close of the year was full of evil augury for the future of silver, but opinions were divided whether the interests of the natives were in any way damaged by a decline in the value of exchange, which chiefly affected those dependent upon remittances from India to Europe.

CHINA.

Jealousy and hatred of the foreigner in China developed this year into mob violence, which took the form of a concerted movement against the foreign missionaries living in the valley of the Yang-tze-kiang river. A serious riot occurred on May 12 at the commercial town of Wuhu, on the left bank of the river, where a Jesuit Mission building was attacked and set on fire. Fortunately the inmates escaped to a place of safety, while other Europeans took refuge in the hulks lying in the stream. A gunboat belonging to the French navy proceeded up the river to Wuhu to take the place of the British gunboat temporarily absent, and the Viceroy of the province was ordered from Peking to take immediate action, but the mischief had been done. The leaders of the mob appeared to be persons of some position, and gave their orders as if accustomed to command; and it was noticed that they carried small red flags, such as were in the hands of the rioters at Hankow in 1883. They issued a proclamation at Wuhu, charging the missionaries and their converts with many "abominable crimes," such as allowing both sexes to frequent churches together, and paying women to abduct children whose eyes and hearts they cut out. Even well educated Chinamen believed that the Christians used the eyes of native children as medicine. The proclamation stated that the baby of a woman named Shen "disappeared in the twinkling of an eye, cradle and all, without leaving behind the slightest trace," and that the bereaved parents proceeded to the church and found there dried bones of young children. The proclamation ended thus:—"Now, people of Wuhu, do you, with united hearts and combined strength, destroy the Roman Catholic Church and the

Protestant Church, and all the properties owned by them! When these are destroyed no rebuilding will ever be permitted. Destroy again as soon as they rebuild. Chase out all the barbarian thieves. Then can we rise and ascend from misery to happiness. Only the Roman Catholic Church is to be destroyed, but do not touch the Customs. If you injure the Customs, you will not escape the arm of the law." In this riot no lives were lost, and the only property destroyed was that belonging to the Jesuit missionaries. The local authorities at Wuhu fired blank cartridges on the mob, but did nothing more. Months later, over twenty of the rioters were captured, and some of them were decapitated by order of the Viceroy. In May, a band of rioters attacked and looted a girls' school belonging to the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, in the vicinity of Nankin. A number of houses were pillaged, and other neighbouring Missions were attacked. Her Majesty's ship "Porpoise" was sent to Nankin to preserve order. Similar outbreaks occurred in May at Hochow and Chingyi. At Tanyang, near Chinkiang (June 1), a Chinese mob burned a French church 200 years old, and pillaged and set fire to adjacent Mission buildings. The rioters also broke into the Christian cemetery, and dug up the bodies of the dead. On June 5 a riot was suppressed at Kinkiang by British, French, and American gunboats.

During the attack which was made on the Wesleyan Mission at Wusueh (June 5), Mr. Argent, the Wesleyan lay agent, and Mr. Green, an English Customs officer, lost their lives while trying to pacify the mob. The chief incentive to all these riots appeared to be the inflammatory placards against foreigners which were everywhere posted. No one, however, was punished for issuing them. Excuses were made by the Government that these outrages were the work of secret societies among disbanded Hunan soldiers, and that the primary object was not to injure foreigners, but to entangle the Government in foreign complications in order to cause revolution and to depose the ruling Manchu dynasty. There was some reason to believe that the secret society of the Kolao Hui was at the bottom of the disturbances. As to the expulsion of the dynasty, certain high officials were said to be in favour of a pure Chinaman for Emperor, instead of a Manchu Tartar. The bulk of the Chinese army had hitherto consisted of Hunan men, who defy the Peking authorities, and it was declared that the Emperor doubted the loyalty of the provinces, and dreaded to coerce them. Whatever the truth was, there was no want of excuses and no haste to bring the criminals to justice.

The diplomatic representatives at Peking of the different Powers protested against the outrages, and informed the Chinese Government that if foreigners were not protected, they would take vigorous action. Consequently, under this pressure, the Emperor signed a decree in June ordering protection to foreigners

and foreign Missions throughout the Empire. The decree also ordered the punishment of the instigators of the riots.

Great Britain, France, and Germany had each two or more gunboats in the Wongpoo river to protect the foreign settlements near Woosung. The Chinese naval vessels, however, were not employed to keep the peace until five months after the outbreak at Wuhu, when the northern fleet repaired to the scene of the riots. This was quite useless, since the Great Powers were then on the watch with their own fleets. Rioting continued at intervals at many of the small towns, but at the large cities, where foreign ships of war were anchored, nothing happened.

At Shanghai the missionaries, living in the suburbs, were ordered by the Consuls of the several Powers to come into the city for protection, and most of them obeyed.

Another serious outbreak took place at Ichang, a treaty port on the Yang-tze river, in August, instigated by a handful of men at noonday without warning or provocation. It began at the American Episcopal Mission, where a crowd rapidly collected. The gate was broken down, and, with the cry "Kill the foreigners!" the rioters set fire to the building. A Mr. Sowerby, belonging to the Mission, narrowly escaped being stabbed as the crowd rushed in. The Roman Catholic Convent near by was next fired, and the nuns were with great difficulty saved from death. Several were badly injured. The mob then marched through the town pillaging right and left. No one was killed, though attempts were made to murder the foreign residents. A number of the rioters were soldiers who were disguised as civilians, and the evidences were numerous that the riot was directed and carried out by soldiers, under orders from their secret society leaders.

Sir John Walsham, the British Minister, protested vigorously in August against the dilatory action of the Chinese Government, asking why the Emperor's edict was not telegraphed throughout the Empire; why the Wuhu magistrate, who attempted to quell the riot there, was degraded, while his superiors, who did nothing, were not punished; and why the punishment of the Wusueh rioters was delayed. But unsatisfactory replies were given to these questions from Peking. The Government, indeed, formally admitted responsibility, but it seemed powerless to cope with the difficulty, fearing, it was supposed, its Hunanese soldiers and officials. The situation appeared to be critical, and many thought the only solution would be for a foreign force to over-awe the Hunan soldiers with the tacit connivance of the Chinese Government. After much evasion, and as a result of the firm attitude taken by the several Powers, the Tsung-li Yamên finally moved in the matter, and Li Hung Chang himself telegraphed to the two Viceroy's on the Yang-tze to pay all missionary claims for damages at once, without disputing their amounts.

As to the punishment of those concerned in the riots, there were six punished for the Wusueh murders, but no one for the outbreaks at other places on the river. The Taotai, or Governor, of Wuhu, after five months' delay, was degraded. A poor Mandarin at Wusueh, who offered himself as a sacrifice to the mob, and was at once degraded, was reinstated in deference to protests of the foreign Ministers at Peking, whilst a Mandarin who, in the same riot, turned into the streets the European women and children that had fled for shelter to his *yámen*, was unpunished. The foreign residents were much dissatisfied with the leniency of the Chinese authorities towards the offenders. Sentences of penal servitude, banishment, and branding on the back were the severest penalties inflicted on the murderers.

The Chinese Government announced in December that it had paid indemnities amounting in all to 400,000 taels, or about 100,000*l.*, to the Christian Missions of all nationalities and to the families of the two foreigners killed; that they had inflicted penalties upon some ten officials for neglect of duty; that four persons had been executed for taking part in the riots, and that the authors of pamphlets inciting the people against foreigners would in future be condemned to death; and that as it was known that the disturbances were the work of the Kolao Hui secret society, a large number of persons known to belong to it had been put to death.

Prince Chun, the father of the Emperor, died early in the year, and his funeral was one of the most imposing pageants ever seen in Peking. It began at four o'clock in the morning. At the moment the procession was ready to move, the Emperor went in front of the coffin, knelt down, and bowed his head three times, each time crying aloud. The other sons of the Prince performed the same ceremony. The coffin was borne by eighty bearers, the Emperor following on foot a part of the way. The pall was crimson silk, covered with gold embroidery. The bearers were clad in blue silk costumes, their hats being decked out with peacocks' feathers. A pavilion was carried after the coffin by forty-eight bearers, then came eight handsomely caparisoned camels two by two, twelve milk-white horses with yellow trappings, four men bearing each a golden eagle, and four men leading small white dogs. Two large white satin banners, trimmed with scarlet, and embroidered with yellow Imperial dragons, were borne next; then came a great crowd of men carrying fish-shaped flags, swords, spears, and knives. After them umbrellas, made to represent various curious objects, were borne. Next came a band of music, and after another gorgeous pavilion carried by men dressed in scarlet silk, which contained the funeral eulogy of the Empress Dowager, came a pair of lions, a pair of deer, a pair of storks, and a girl and boy, all wrought in evergreen shrubs. A yellow sedan chair and a yellow chariot preceded the Prince's favourite horse. A company of archers

and a number of gaily-decorated open waggons, on which stood young boys bearing the Prince's official wardrobe, hats, boots, &c., brought up the rear. The whole route was lined with soldiers.

Floods on the Yang-tze river in July caused much suffering to the peasants in the valley, where the rice fields were completely covered, and thousands of acres were submerged. The upland rice was also damaged by heavy rains, and it was feared that the second rice crop could not be planted in time for harvesting; yet later it turned out to be a very prosperous season for agriculture in north China; the crops were everywhere abundant, and great contributions were sent in for the relief of the sufferers from famine.

Increased competition of India and Ceylon in the tea trade caused terrible loss to many who had made this industry a source of wealth in the past. In 1890, the exports of tea amounted to 1,665,896 piculs, valued at 26,663,450 taels. In 1886, the value of tea exported was 33,500,000 taels. The silk exports declined also very considerably in 1890 from those of the preceding year. Imports showed an increase of more than 14 per cent. over the previous year. The import of cotton goods showed an increase of 25 per cent., from 36 million taels to 45 millions. Native cotton mills were beginning to work the raw Chinese cotton into yarn. In July the Minister, Li Hung Chang, was arranging to start a cotton factory at Shanghai, at a cost of 200,000*l.* The total of the entries of shipping engaged in the foreign trade of China in 1890 was 3,114 vessels of 2,944,000 tons. The total of entrances and clearances was 24,876,000 tons, of which sixteen millions of tons were under the British flag, six and one-third millions were Chinese, and one and one-third million were German.

The ratifications were exchanged in January for the opening of the new treaty port of Chung-King, but owing to Chinese obstruction not much advantage could be made of the concession by foreign nations. Ichang still continued to be the terminus of commercial enterprise on the Yang-tze-kiang river. At the end of 1890 the number of foreigners resident in all the treaty ports was 8,107. More than one-third of these were British. Americans numbered 1,153, Japanese 883, Germans 648, Portuguese 610, French 589. The aggregate native population of the treaty ports was estimated by the Chinese Customs statistics at more than 5½ millions.

A disturbance took place (Nov. 27) at Chaoyang, where some cavalry soldiers destroyed a brigand's village. A rebel force of some 2,000 men attacked the troops, but it was defeated with severe loss, and the brigand leader was killed. At Peking this affair was magnified into a rebellion which threatened the ruling dynasty. No doubt in the north-eastern part of the Empire brigandage prevailed to such an extent that there was little

security for life or property, particularly in Manchuria. Massacres of Mongolian landowners were reported at the end of the year, and it was said that the marauders included a number of land cultivators from Shantung, who were waging agrarian warfare, but all these accounts were vague and uncertain.

Tonquin.—The business of fighting the pirates was very active. When the bands of Hanoi and Hanam had been dispersed, the spring campaign opened (April 20) at Haiduong and Bac-ninh. In two months, at least, 1,100 pirates were killed, with twenty-two chiefs and fifty minor leaders. After June 20 hardly a day passed without some encounter in which the pirates were invariably defeated. Several bands were completely broken up. As late as December 15 a battle was fought at Deo Van, in which the pirates lost forty killed and eighty were wounded. An excellent understanding existed between the French Governor-General and the population.

Formosa.—This fine island off the coast of China has for its chief product camphor gum. Next to this in commercial importance is the sugar crop, which is chiefly in the hands of a few native capitalists. The cultivators, having to pay usurious interest, are little better than serfs to these money-lenders. The cane is crushed in stone mills turned by buffaloes, but such is the wasteful working, that it is estimated that one-third of the entire crop is lost. A great raid by savages was made about the close of the year on several of the camphor stations, and two large camphor factories were badly damaged. A force was collected by a prominent native of great influence, who attacked the savages and drove them to the forests with considerable loss.

HONG KONG.

Universal regret was felt in Hong Kong when Sir William des Vœux resigned his post of Governor of the Colony in May, on the ground of ill-health. He was succeeded by Sir William Robinson.

A difficulty arose about the time of Sir W. des Vœux's departure between the Governor and the unofficial members of the Legislative Council, respecting the proposed increase of official salaries in the colony. The unofficial members desired the Governor to telegraph to the Secretary of State, asking him to suspend sanction of the measure until a memorandum from them on the condition of the colony should reach him. As the Governor declined to do as they wished, they communicated direct to the Colonial Secretary, also writing a letter to the Governor which he thought disrespectful. The signers of this letter declared afterwards that no disrespect was meant, and as the Governor was about to leave the colony there was no further contention.

Tin was discovered at Kowloon, opposite Hong Kong, in

August, and a concession was granted by the Colonial Government to a local firm to work the deposits exposed by the rain-storms of recent years. In one ravine the lode was found at the depth of 200 feet. Iron, copper, and silver were also found, but not in paying quantities. In many cases the tin reefs were of great width, and thousands of tons of surface ore were accessible.

The Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce addressed a complaint to the British Minister in China with regard to the preferential duties established by Cantonese Customs officials on goods shipped by native vessels from Canton, with a scale of duties in exports below the Treaty tariff for produce carried by native craft under the jurisdiction of the Chinese Imperial Customs, and less than the rates charged by foreign vessels, thereby driving the carrying trade from foreign vessels to junks.

Negotiations for the appointment of a Chinese Consul at Hong Kong came to an end, not on account of the outrages on foreigners in China, as was at first supposed, but because the Chinese Foreign Office advised the Emperor to refuse the offer of an *exequat*ur, in the first instance, for a single year, fearing that if it were withdrawn at the end of that time it would seem like a severe rebuff to the Chinese Government. The limitation of time had been made in order to meet the objections made in the colony respecting the appointment, and the Chinese Government declined to accept the condition.

JAPAN.

An important speech on the foreign policy of Japan was made at the beginning of the year in the Lower House of the Japanese Parliament by Viscount Aoki, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. He reviewed the Treaty revision question historically, and described the manner in which the early treaties with foreign Powers were concluded, and also the circumstances which forced the Tariff convention of 1866 on the Government of that day. The most favoured nation clauses, in later treaties made by Japan with certain foreign countries, he declared, were most serious to the commercial and legislative independence of Japan. Attempts were made to make new treaties in 1871, when a special mission was sent to Europe; in 1875; in 1878, when a special treaty was signed with the United States; also in 1880, 1882, 1886, and 1888. These treaties were not permanent, and the Government had not at all abandoned the idea of treaty revision. In fact, no Government could give it up; it was one of the national duties. But the Foreign Office had other duties, and could not devote itself day and night to this idea only. Revision was bound to come, he said, as the present system was inconsistent with Japanese progress, and was in conflict with the Constitution. He said also that the Chinese were the proper partners of Japan in trade and industry; that in olden times the Japanese manned their boats and harried the coasts of China,

and that the descendants of those hardy mariners ought to have something better to do than lose themselves in contemplation of the two words "treaty revision;" that large spheres of activity and of national development lay before them, and when the treaties were revised, these would become much larger. He thought that the tariff question could not be separated from the judicial question, but that they must be dealt with together.

The Japanese Parliament protested in January against recent commercial treaties made by the Foreign Minister with other nations, and demanded the reimposition of the tariff and judicial autonomy.

On the night of January 19, the Parliament buildings were destroyed by fire. The new edifice, which will replace the temporary structure, it is estimated will cost 3,000,000 yen.

Prince Sanjo, who had been Prime Minister from 1868 to 1886, died in February of influenza. Just before his death the Emperor conferred upon him the highest rank possible to a Japanese subject, which was last bestowed by an Emperor of Japan in the eleventh century.

From official reports, published in February in Japan, it appeared that the aggregate foreign trade of the country in 1890 was \$138,221,246, being an increase of \$2,156,780 as compared with 1889. The exports amounted to \$56,593,513, and the imports to \$81,727,733, so that the latter exceeded the former by over \$25,000,000, or nearly \$30,000,000 if freight, insurance, and other transit and import charges are added to the total value here given, which includes only the market value at the port of shipment. Such disparity between the exports and imports has never been known before; for many years the two were about equal, but for ten years past the exports have always exceeded the imports, sometimes by a very large amount. This year the imports were about half as much again as the exports. This transformation was largely due to the failure of the rice crop of 1889, by which exports lost in the one item of rice about \$7,000,000, while, as rice had to be imported to make up for the deficit, imports gained \$10,000,000 under that head, making up \$17,000,000, while the remainder was attributable to the great disturbance of international exchange caused by the silver legislation of the United States.

An attempt was made at Otsee (May 12) upon the life of the Russian Czarewitch, who was travelling in Japan, by a fanatic native policeman. Suddenly rushing upon the Prince with a drawn sword he slightly wounded him on the head. As he raised his weapon for a second blow, Prince George of Greece knocked him down with his walking stick. This assault, it was said, was not due to any political motive. The event caused the deepest regret in Japan. The expenditure incurred by the State in connection with this assault amounted to nearly 5,000%. No such attack had ever been made before on any foreign visitor of

inevitable, it regarded a dissolution of Parliament as a matter of national congratulation, for it would lead the country another step nearer to the consummation of constitutional government. The manifesto took up in detail the defence of the conduct of the Opposition, and finally summed up the situation as follows :— “ After grave reflection we have come to the conclusion that unless the system of party cabinets be introduced, there is no hope of harmony between the Executive and the Legislature, now in a condition of unavoidable conflict.” By the Japanese Constitution the Emperor has still despotic power, and he is not likely to yield this power to popular demands without a contest.

The Greek Church in Tokio opened in March a magnificent cathedral, erected on one of the most conspicuous sites in that city. It was in the form of a Greek cross having equal arms, the main edifice measuring 91 feet in each direction, with an additional vestibule of 35 feet at the western end. As a precaution against earthquakes, the whole of the brickwork at different heights was bound with strong iron ties, spanning the arches and serving as supports for the ornamental silver candelabra suspended from the dome and the principal arches. At the consecration, a congregation of over 3,000 Japanese were present. At the conclusion of the service, which lasted four hours, the first peal of bells ever heard in Tokio were rung from the western tower.

It would seem that missionary success in Japan is not confined to the lower classes. In the House of Representatives, consisting of 300 members, there were thirteen baptized Christians, and the Japanese franchise for members of Parliament is a very high one. For nearly twelve years Japan has had a systematic local government. From the ward or village assembly, promotion takes place to the provincial assembly. Out of the 300 members of the late Lower House, 134 had been members of provincial assemblies, and they were thoroughly familiar with Parliamentary business. However obnoxious the Japanese first Parliament may have been to the Ministry, it was doubtless a truly representative body, and reflected the real opinions of the Japanese people.

COREA.

A commercial treaty was concluded between the Governments of Japan and Corea, allowing the export of ginseng to Japan and Japanese cloth to Corea, with a reduction of duties. It was arranged that the new commercial code would take effect in April 1892.

At Soshi several outrages were committed upon Japanese residents, and complaints were made to the Chinese Government that members of the Japanese community had been maltreated.

The condition of affairs in the Peninsula was peaceful during the year, and there were less alarming reports of Russian interference.

violence. Bridges and railroads over a great extent of country were totally destroyed. The volcano, Nakusan, was in violent eruption, and the appearance of the mountain was completely changed by the enormous masses of stones and mud that were thrown out. Great fissures appeared in the earth at many places, rendering roads impassable, and the land subsided over large tracts of country. The disaster caused great suffering among the natives, but no Europeans lost their lives. The Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Bickersteth, with a travelling party, was on his way to the region of the earthquake, with his son, the Bishop of Japan, but they all escaped injury.

After sitting a little over a year, the first Parliament was dissolved (Dec. 25). Count Ito, the President of the House of Peers, had resigned the appointment in the summer. His services in forming the new Constitution, which was moulded chiefly after the German model, had given him great prominence. The dissolution of Parliament was owing to a difference existing between the Government and the Opposition as to methods of Parliamentary procedure, which was virtually a contest between the German bureaucratic system and the system of English Parliamentary government. From the first the Government was in a minority, and its chief measures were met with the most strenuous opposition from the coalition of groups forming the majority. Towards the end of the year the Cabinet presented an Address to the Throne, praying that the House of Representatives might be dissolved. As the election to the Upper House is for seven years, that body was not affected. The Address set forth that the beauty of constitutional government consisted in promoting the interests of the country and the welfare of its inhabitants by harmonious co-operation of the Executive Government and the Legislature, but it complained that various efforts of Ministers to effect retrenchments had been opposed by Parliament with the greatest persistency, that body claiming a right to suppress or reduce expenditure of the State, in the face of repeated declarations of the Government, that such right was not granted it by the Constitution. Among other measures which the Diet had declined to pass was the appropriation for the relief of provinces that had suffered from the recent earthquake. In conclusion, the Address said: "Such having been the conduct of the House of Representatives since the opening of the present session, your Imperial Majesty's humble servants have come to the conviction that it is against the interests of the country and the welfare of your Majesty's subjects to entrust the discussion of State affairs to such a Diet."

The Kaishinto or Progressist party, on the other hand, led by Count Okuma, a few days after the dissolution issued a manifesto. It asserted that the Government had declined to obey popular opinion, but since a collision between surviving customs of feudal times and the principles of popular rights was

inevitable, it regarded a dissolution of Parliament as a matter of national congratulation, for it would lead the country another step nearer to the consummation of constitutional government. The manifesto took up in detail the defence of the conduct of the Opposition, and finally summed up the situation as follows :— “After grave reflection we have come to the conclusion that unless the system of party cabinets be introduced, there is no hope of harmony between the Executive and the Legislature, now in a condition of unavoidable conflict.” By the Japanese Constitution the Emperor has still despotic power, and he is not likely to yield this power to popular demands without a contest.

The Greek Church in Tokio opened in March a magnificent cathedral, erected on one of the most conspicuous sites in that city. It was in the form of a Greek cross having equal arms, the main edifice measuring 91 feet in each direction, with an additional vestibule of 35 feet at the western end. As a precaution against earthquakes, the whole of the brickwork at different heights was bound with strong iron ties, spanning the arches and serving as supports for the ornamental silver candelabra suspended from the dome and the principal arches. At the consecration, a congregation of over 3,000 Japanese were present. At the conclusion of the service, which lasted four hours, the first peal of bells ever heard in Tokio were rung from the western tower.

It would seem that missionary success in Japan is not confined to the lower classes. In the House of Representatives, consisting of 300 members, there were thirteen baptized Christians, and the Japanese franchise for members of Parliament is a very high one. For nearly twelve years Japan has had a systematic local government. From the ward or village assembly, promotion takes place to the provincial assembly. Out of the 300 members of the late Lower House, 134 had been members of provincial assemblies, and they were thoroughly familiar with Parliamentary business. However obnoxious the Japanese first Parliament may have been to the Ministry, it was doubtless a truly representative body, and reflected the real opinions of the Japanese people.

COREA.

A commercial treaty was concluded between the Governments of Japan and Corea, allowing the export of ginseng to Japan and Japanese cloth to Corea, with a reduction of duties. It was arranged that the new commercial code would take effect in April 1892.

At Soshi several outrages were committed upon Japanese residents, and complaints were made to the Chinese Government that members of the Japanese community had been maltreated.

The condition of affairs in the Peninsula was peaceful during the year, and there were less alarming reports of Russian interference.

CHAPTER VI.

AFRICA.

EGYPT.

IN Egypt again the record of the year is one of quiet but steady progress. The Government of the Khedive had been able to make itself respected, and was slowly gaining ground in public esteem. The Khedive showed himself determined to adhere loyally to the English alliance, and ready to accept the suggestions of his English advisers; he occupied a more active part than before in politics, appeared constantly in public, visited many outlying parts of his dominions, met and consulted different classes of his subjects, and proved more clearly than before his intention of ruling in fact as well as in name. During the early part of the year, the administration of Riaz Pasha remained in office, but it did not always work without friction. The Prime Minister, an Egyptian official of the old school, attached to the idea of personal rule and to the arbitrary methods associated with it, was plainly out of sympathy with the larger and more liberal views which the Khedive and his English advisers are endeavouring to introduce into Egyptian politics. His undisguised hostility to the judicial reforms which were urgently demanded by the state of the country, and by the irregular and ineffective administration of justice, caused a good deal of embarrassment, and at last, early in May, Riaz resigned his office upon the ground of ill-health. A new Ministry was promptly appointed under the Presidency of Mustapha Pasha Fehmy, an experienced official who had served under Nubar, but who enjoyed no special reputation, and the Khedive from that time forward became practically his own Prime Minister. Only one of the old Cabinet, Fakri Pasha, the Minister of Justice, was retained; but some months later, the lack of interest shown by Fakri Pasha in the administration of his department led to his dismissal, and to the appointment of Ibrahim Fuad instead. The other members of the new Cabinet were Rushdi Pasha, who took office as Minister of Finance; Zeki Pasha, who became Minister of Public Works; Tigrane Pasha, who returned to the Foreign Office; and Artin Pasha, who was made Minister of Education. For the remainder of the year the new Government apparently acted cordially with the Khedive.

From time to time, during the year, the usual reports were circulated in Constantinople, Paris, and Cairo, as to the

intentions of the English Government with respect to the evacuation of Egypt. About the end of July some overtures on the subject were made to the English Foreign Office by the representatives of the Porte, but Lord Salisbury declined at that time to re-open the subject. In the autumn the rumours on the subject increased, and a certain significance was given to them by the speeches of French and English politicians, of Mr. Gladstone at Newcastle and of M. Ribot in Paris. In November, Lord Salisbury took occasion to declare that our work in Egypt was not yet done, and that it was our duty to remain there to do it. This utterance, of course, evoked an outbreak of angry criticism and complaint in France, to which, by this time, politicians in Egypt had grown accustomed. All through the year France continued her unfortunate policy of jealous protest against every action of English officials in Egypt, and her agents there spared no opportunity of displaying their hostility towards England, and of embarrassing and delaying the projects formed by the Khedive's English advisers for the improvement of the country.

The most important question which arose during the year in regard to the internal administration of Egypt was the question of judicial reform. The difficulty of suppressing crime in the interior, the alarming prevalence of brigandage, and the disorganisation of the unpaid local paid police rendered urgent measures necessary, and at the beginning of the year a Commission was appointed by the Khedive to report on the judicial reforms proposed to the Government by Mr. Justice Scott. But the hostility of Riaz and of some of his colleagues, who, like most Egyptian officials, could not be induced to see the necessity of rendering the administration of justice really independent, secured the rejection of Mr. Scott's proposals, and defeated the scheme. Thereupon Sir Evelyn Baring interposed, and, acting by his advice, the Khedive assumed a firm attitude on the subject. In spite of the hostility of the Egyptian Government, and the protests of the French against this fresh exercise of English influence in the country, the Khedive consented to appoint Mr. Scott as legal adviser to the Government of Egypt, and as president of a committee of three to supervise the local tribunals. From that time the work of reform proceeded quickly. In April, Colonel Kitchener, the Adjutant-General of the Egyptian Army, was appointed to command and reorganise the police force. In May, Mr. Scott and Colonel Kitchener together drew up a comprehensive plan for the suppression of brigandage, and for judicial reform in the interior. The plan was submitted to the Egyptian Legislative Council, which discussed it with freedom and with good sense, and in the end a satisfactory programme was agreed to, and was accepted by the Government of the Khedive. It was decided to reorganise and to pay the local police; to establish a law for the suppression of

vagabondage; to take steps to ensure greater celerity in the passing and in the execution of criminal sentences; to forbid the carrying of arms without a license; to enforce work and discipline among prisoners; to amend the powers of the mudirs, so as to increase their summary jurisdiction; and to substitute for the system under which several judges sat and heard cases together, a larger number of district courts with summary jurisdiction, each under a single judge. The effect of these vigorous measures was already visible before the end of the year in a notable reduction in the statistics of brigandage and crime.

The Egyptian Government displayed equal activity in carrying out new schemes for the material prosperity of the country. The important question of water-storage had engaged the attention of the Public Works Department, and in October it was decided that an International Commission of Engineers should meet in Cairo to consider the subject. Another Commission was appointed to consider plans for a desert railway from Keneh to Kosseir, and the Government agreed with the Suez Canal Company to construct a light railway from Ismailia to Port Said. The unhealthiness of Cairo compelled the Government to undertake also the drainage of that city. A considerable increase in the number of students attending the schools was reported, and as a result of the encouragement offered for the study of English, Egyptian schoolboys learned to recite Shakspeare in class. The work of discovery and excavation was steadily pursued under the joint direction of two European inspectors appointed to preserve ancient monuments, and some notable discoveries at Luxor and Aboukir rewarded the encouragement given by the Government.

But the most satisfactory feature of the year's history was the steady improvement in Egyptian finance. The labours of the Public Works Department bore fruit in the largest crops of cotton and sugar ever known in the country, whilst the published accounts for 1890 showed the largest revenue ever collected in recent years, and a surplus of E. 650,000*l.* The great increase in the value of Egyptian imports—an increase of E. 855,000*l.* between 1890–91—was another sure sign of prosperity; and it was noticeable that the increase was principally derived from cotton goods, coffee, and other articles largely used by the mass of the people. The report of the Director of Customs also showed a considerable increase in the receipts of his department, and the Government endeavoured to secure the consent of the Powers to some fresh measures against smuggling. The Budget for 1892, published early in December, showed an estimated revenue of E. 9,950,000*l.*, and an estimated surplus of E. 550,000*l.* The Government proposed on an early occasion still further to reduce the land tax, and to make some other slight reductions in taxation, while certain sums were to be set aside for increasing the grant to the Ministry of Justice, and for sup-

pressing slavery on the shores of the Red Sea. In every respect the Khedive's financial advisers had reason to be satisfied with their continued success.

Lastly, in the Soudan, though rumours were many and confusing, it would seem that the danger of trouble from the Mahdi was lessening every day. The latest reports pointed to the collapse of the Mahdi's aggressive projects, and to the gradual dissolution of his power. In the neighbourhood of Suakin, Osman Digna and his followers caused some disturbance early in the year, and necessitated in February a movement on the part of the Egyptian expeditionary force, which stormed and occupied Tokar, and drove the Dervishes from the neighbourhood. Apart from that single episode, which was attended with some serious loss of life, the news from the Egyptian frontier ceased to threaten the quiet of the country.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Cape Colony.—Sir Henry Loch, the Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa, with Mr. Cecil Rhodes, Premier of the Colony, visited England in February to confer with Lord Salisbury concerning South African affairs. Questions relating to the Portuguese claims, and to the federation of the South African States, were discussed, and it was understood that their mission was highly successful. Mr. Rhodes, on his return in April, made a speech of some importance to the Congress of the Africander Bund in session at Kimberley. He disclaimed in it all hostility to existing independent States, but intimated that the establishment of new independent communities ought not to be permitted in South Africa. Instead of opposing Mr. Hofmeyr and the "Africanders," Mr. Rhodes expressed a desire to work with them for the union of the South African people in one confederacy.

The Cape Parliament met on May 26. An important Bank Bill, providing for the regulation of the note currency, was introduced during the session by Mr. Merriman, the Treasurer of the Colony. Its chief clauses were copied from the banking systems of the United States of America and the Bank of England. A deposit of Government securities with the Treasury to the amount of the intended issue of notes by each Colonial bank was stipulated, in the event of failure the Government having the right to sell enough of the securities of the defaulting bank to pay the notes in full.

The Treasurer, in his Budget speech (June 9), expressed confidence in the soundness of the Colony's finances, and stated that the expenditure for the current year was 4,555,000*l.*, and the revenue 4,541,000*l.* The revenue for 1892 he estimated at 4,286,000*l.*, and the expenditure at 4,260,000*l.* Of a debt of 24,000,000*l.* the Colony held 2,750,000*l.*

The willingness of the Home Government to agree to the annexation of Bechuanaland by the Cape, gave further promi-

nence to the claims of the Colony to the first place in any future union of the South African States.

By the completed census, the population of the Colony was found to be 1,527,224; 376,987 being Europeans, 13,907 Malay, 50,388 Hottentots, 229,680 Fingoes, 608,456 Kaffirs, and all other coloured races 247,806.

Railway enterprises were pushed forward. Towards the close of the year agreements were made between the Cape Government and the Netherlands Company under guarantee of the Transvaal Government for the speedy completion of the Pretoria and Vaal river railway to meet the Cape extension. The Cape Government advanced 400,000*l.* for the purpose, and secured running powers over the line. The junction of the Eastern and Western railways at Steynsburg was officially opened in November. This completed the Colonial railway system, and gave easy access to the rich coal deposits of the Stormberge district.

Uncertainty with regard to the Boer *trek* into Mashonaland caused the Imperial Government in the spring to send troops, under command of Col. Carey, into Bechuanaland, to relieve the police in that country for service in the Protectorate. The High Commissioner proclaimed in April the annexation to Bechuanaland of certain strips of territory which had formed the eastern frontier of the German protectorate in Namaqualand.

Preparations were being made for an International Exhibition to be opened at Kimberley in September 1892, at which special prominence was to be given to economical mining, electric lighting, and agricultural machinery. All European exhibits were to be carried from the coast to Kimberley, and taken back to Port Elizabeth or Cape Town free of charge.

Gazaland.—Gungunhana, the king of Gazaland, sent two envoys to England in April to ask the protection of the "Great White Queen," and to protest against the claims of the Portuguese to supremacy in his dominions. He had allowed the Portuguese to fly a small flag over his kraal as a token of friendship and not of subjection. He asked that the traffic in strong drink introduced by the Portuguese might be stopped, as it was ruining his people. The English Government declined to assume the protectorate, as the sphere of influence assigned to Portugal by recent treaty extended over territories where Gungunhana had levied tribute and claimed authority.

Ngamiland.—This territory was during the year brought within the sphere of British protection, by arrangement with Germany. After the death of King Moremi, who ruled with almost absolute sway, the Government was carried on by Dithapo, the chief head man, as a sort of Regent under the control of other head men. The people were extremely dissatisfied with the Regent Sechome, who ruled in the name of a youth of sixteen, and a nephew of King Khama, who had inherited the throne.

Natal.—At the opening of the Natal railway extension at

Laing's Nek, on the Transvaal border, in April, President Krüger, General Joubert, and other Transvaal officials were received with great ceremony and honour. After attending the festivities there, they made a tour through the colony. At Pietermaritzburg and Durban they were entertained at banquets, and at all the towns which they visited, they met with a most cordial reception from the people. On returning to Pretoria, the Transvaal President warmly recognised the obligation imposed on him by the splendid reception everywhere in Natal, and declared his purpose to work for the progress and prosperity of the whole of South Africa.

Considerable opposition to the measure conferring responsible government on Natal was felt in the Colony from fear that it encouraged a Customs Union with the Transvaal Republic instead of that long contemplated with the Cape Colony, and especially when the new railway was completed to the Transvaal frontier, giving such inducements for an arrangement with the South African Republic. With regard to the responsible Government Bill, the Home Government requested the Legislative Council of the Colony to make certain amendments, among others it advised the construction of the new Legislature with two Chambers instead of one. It was understood also that no laws were to be passed enacting special provisions for those not of the English race without the sanction of the Imperial Government. At the end of the year the scheme of responsible government had not been perfected, and the grant had not been allowed.

Zululand.—All was quiet in Zululand during the year, and the people were peaceable and contented under Imperial rule. The exiled chiefs, who might have created disturbance if they had been allowed their liberty, still remained in banishment at St. Helena, notwithstanding the petitions that were offered for their pardon and release.

Transvaal, or South African Republic.—An armed invasion or *trek* into Mashonaland was threatened in April, and rumours circulated that thousands were to take part in it. The purpose of the migration was said to be the establishment in that territory of an independent Republic on June 1. Sir Henry Loch at once informed the Transvaal President that this procedure would be in violation of Act X. of the Swaziland Convention agreed to by the Transvaal Republic, and would be regarded by her Majesty's Government as an act of hostility to the Queen. Whereupon President Krüger issued a proclamation prohibiting any subjects of the South African Republic from taking part in the projected *trek*. The Volksraad confirmed the proclamation, and added the further provision that any "trekker" would be liable to a fine of 500*l.* sterling, or one year's imprisonment with hard labour. A religious motive was said to impel the movement, which was effectually restrained by the prompt action of President Krüger.

In November, some 10,000 Boers assembled at Paardekraal to celebrate the anniversary of the independence of the Transvaal Republic. Many Englishmen were present, and, as no references were made by orators to past conflicts of the two races, perfect harmony prevailed.

Mashonaland, &c.—The search for mineral wealth continued in Mashonaland. In December there had been 2,500 prospecting licences issued, and 8,000 gold reef claims, 120 silver claims, and 80 tin claims had been registered. Some, however, gave bad reports of the land, and there was much complaint of want of native labour on the gold fields. Early in the year the exceptionally heavy rainfall prevented progress. Operations were principally carried on in the Umfuli river region, where rich deposits were found. Valuable discoveries were also made on the Sobakwe river, to the southward of the Umfuli, and on the Mazoe river. The Kaiser Wilhelm field, described by the German traveller Karl Manch in 1871, was rediscovered in August. Mr. Rhodes arrived at Fort Salisbury October 16, by the Pungwé route, and completed arrangements for telegraph connected from there with the outside world, and a treaty between Portugal and Great Britain, made during the summer, secured railway communication sooner or later directly with the coast. The alluvial gold deposits appeared to have been worked out by some ancient people, but reef working by the use of crushing batteries promised better results in the future.

As to the agricultural advantages of the country, a Commission, appointed by the Africander Bund, had expressed a high opinion. Between Fort Charter and Fort Salisbury, and between Salisbury and Manica, the land was found well suited for tillage or grazing. A difficulty in the way of settlement of the agricultural districts had arisen from the want of valid titles to the land, as no one had the absolute power to give a title deed.

The claims of Colonel d'Andrade to the effective occupation of Mashonaland, when, with Gouveia and a body guard, a tour was made through a portion of the country, and Portuguese flags were distributed to the native chiefs, raised a dispute with the British South African Company, which threatened serious results, but the claims were shadowy, and were not held valid. Several outrages were committed by Portuguese officials during the spring, yet her Majesty's Government made continued effort to pacify Portuguese sensitiveness, and to yield even more than could fairly be claimed. In March the steamer "Countess of Carnarvon" was seized on the Limpopo river on a charge of smuggling, and taken with her cargo to Delagoa Bay as a prize. The Portuguese defended the capture, asserting that the steamer had on board arms and ammunition belonging to the British South African Company, which were being smuggled into the interior to arm native tribes, and they claimed the right to stop the vessel under the Mozambique Customs regulations. Officials

of the chartered company on board, however, positively denied that the vessel carried any contraband goods. Later, at Beira, some Portuguese war ships stopped the progress up the Pungwé of Sir John Willoughby's gunboats, "Agnes" and "Shark." The Portuguese claimed that this was not a breach of the *modus vivendi* of November 20, 1890, alleging that because the British South African Company's officials still remained at Massi Kesse, under pretext of guarding the property of the Mozambique Company, a state of siege was declared. The police of the chartered company had a collision in May with a Portuguese force near Umtasa's kraal in Manicaland, in which the Portuguese were defeated, with the loss of several men.

Finally, Lord Salisbury sent an *ultimatum* to Portugal, and a new treaty was concluded, delimiting the spheres of influence of either nation. It provided that the navigation of the Zambesi and Shiré rivers should be entirely free to the ships of all nations, the Portuguese Government engaging to permit and facilitate transit over the waterways of the Zambesi, Shiré, Pungwé, Busi, Limpopo, Sabi, and their tributaries, and also over the land routes. Arrangements were made for the construction of a railway along the Pungwé or Busi valley as well as for a telegraph line.

The affairs of the British South African Company were in a satisfactory condition. Although expenditure had been heavy, a sufficient balance remained to continue the development of the vast territory of the company for another two years without fresh capital.

EAST AFRICA.

Abyssinia.—Italy at first obtained a position on the East Coast of Africa through British favour. It was originally intended that the boundary between the British and Italian spheres should proceed along the river Juba as far as 8° of N. latitude, and thence N.W. to 35° E. longitude. Beyond that the Italian sphere was to be within the boundaries of Abyssinia. By the protocol of March 24, 1891, the line of demarcation follows the Juba to latitude 6° N., thence following the 6th parallel up to the meridian 35° E., giving thus to Italy Kaffa and most of the Galla country. King Menelek seemed dissatisfied with having made any agreement with the Italians, and wrote a complaining letter to Queen Victoria. Her Majesty availed herself of the intermediary of Italy, to show that notwithstanding the arguments of the Negus, she respected the Italian protectorate established by the treaty of Ucciali.

Russian agents were striving to obtain a foothold in Abyssinia through the influence of the Aboona or High Priest of the Abyssinian Church, representing to him that the Russian Church was in perfect agreement with his own. The change of attitude of King Menelek towards the Italians was attributed to French and Russian intrigues.

Comoro Islands.—The French resident in Anjoan was compelled to ask protection of the Governor of the island of Mayotta because of insubordination of the natives. In Grand Comoro, the most important island of the group, the people deposed their Sultan, who was under French protection, and at Mohilla island a war vessel was found necessary to keep in order those who were dissatisfied with the French protectorate.

Madagascar.—The Governor of Belmona, who had massacred 200 persons for complaining to the Government of his misrule, was executed in February.

Serious troubles were impending in Madagascar in September. The French claimed the right of giving their *exequaturs* to the consuls in the island. The native Government, however, insisted that the right had been reserved to them by the last treaty with France. Neither party was disposed to yield, and war seemed inevitable. The Prime Minister, the husband of the Queen of the island, had lately lost his brother and one of his sons by poison, as was supposed, and there seemed to be a plot to kill the ruling family.

Mozambique.—The Mozambique Company was reorganised in November, and received the sanction of the Portuguese Government to their new articles of association. 150,000*l.* of British capital was turned over to the company with a guarantee of a much greater investment as the money should be required. Colonel Machado, late Governor-General of Mozambique, was appointed the company's first Governor in Africa.

German East Africa.—Baron von Soden was appointed in April to be Governor of German East Africa, and Major von Wissmann and Dr. Peters to be "Commissaries at the disposal of the Governor." Emin Pasha was also offered a sub-Governorship by Baron von Soden. The programme of the new administration included the reduction of the Colonial forces, increase of import duties, taxation of the natives, the protection of the established companies and mission stations, and increased facilities of communication by the construction of roads. In February, Lieut. Siegl, with a small force, occupied Tabora, having concluded treaties with most of the petty Sultans of Unyamwesi, by which they yielded their sovereignties to Germany. A serious engagement took place (Aug. 17) between the German troops and the Wahehe tribe at Uhela, south-west of Mpwapwa. The Germans were commanded by Lieut. Zelewski, who was slain with several other officers of the expedition. The Wahehes originally emigrated from the south, and resemble the warlike Zulus, to whom they are said to be related. This was the most severe disaster that the Germans had met with in East Africa, while the force was the strongest that had been sent to the interior, and included one-fifth of the German colonial troops in the country. The official report (Aug. 30) of Lieut. Tettenborn, who led the retreat, stated that the losses of the column were 250

privates, with their rifles, four officers, six subalterns, 96 carriers, three guns, and most of the baggage. The Wahehe army numbered 3,000, and 700 were left dead on the field. Major von Wissmann, in December, procured 300 Soudanese soldiers in Egypt to replace the German losses in this battle.

Zanzibar.—Under the security given by the British protectorate, Zanzibar was rapidly becoming the centre of trade for East Africa.

A remarkable increase of tonnage was apparent in the shipping trade. For the six months ending September 30, the net tonnage entered was 131,000, and for the previous six months 72,000. The Sultan, by the advice of the British Consul-General, Mr. Gerald Portal, had provided the entrance to the harbour with buoys at considerable expense, and was ready to provide the whole coast with lights if the actual expenses could be met by levying harbour and light dues. With the Sultan's consent, a government consisting of British and native officials was formed at Zanzibar in October, which it was hoped would much increase the commercial importance of the port. General Mathews took the office of Prime Minister, with the approval of the Sultan, and the assent of the other members of the Government appointed at the same time. The revenue, except a sum of three lakhs of rupees annually reserved for the Sultan's privy purse, was to be expended for police, for harbour improvements, and for public works, under supervision of the Sultan and the British Consul-General. The Sultan exerted himself to suppress the sale of spirits in his dominions, and licenses for limited sales to Europeans were procurable only from the Consul-General. The Sultan decreed in December that the import duties from foreign countries would be abolished February 1, 1892, except those on alcoholic liquors, arms, munitions of war, kerosene oil, and explosives. Great enthusiasm was displayed at a public meeting of merchants, where Mr. Portal, the Consul-General, announced this decree.

WEST AFRICA.

Sierra Leone.—Requests were made by English merchants that Great Britain should assume a protectorate over the Samory country, but this conflicted with a recent treaty made with the French Government, by which it was agreed that Sierra Leone should not extend beyond the Niger, so that it was too late to urge the extension of English influence into a sphere assigned to France by definite treaty.

Certain native tribes, north of Grand Cape Mount, rebelled and appealed to the British at Sierra Leone for protection. The Liberian republic in December was on the point of sending troops to suppress the movement.

In June the French annexed nearly 200 miles of coast, under claim of the Governor of Konakry, who proceeded thither with

two war vessels, and declared the territory from St. Andreas to Cavally to be under French rule, and that it had belonged to the French for many years. Part of this coast had, however, been claimed by Liberia for nearly a century. The affair caused much excitement, which was partly appeased by the Governor's promise that no Customs duties would be levied for some months at least. A British frontier police force, under Captain Campbell, met with a severe repulse from the natives at a town on the borders of the British settlement. An official visit to the tribes in the interior by Governor Llewellyn, of Bathurst, who proceeded up the river to arrange for trading facilities, was made early in the summer.

Congo Free State.—A regulation was made that all steamers going to the Upper Congo must have their cargoes inspected to prevent the sale of arms and ammunition to the Arab slave-hunters. The manager of the Dutch Company on the Upper Congo ordered his steamers to disregard this rule, and when the Dutch vessels were forcibly inspected, complaints were made of illegal interference. The slave-hunters, finding their passage across the river Aruwimi intercepted by the Congo State forces, crossed the Roubi and threatened Djobbir.

After the Brussels Conference the Congo State reduced the tariffs which injured trade. In 1890 the Free State exported ivory to the value of 4,668,887 francs. A reduction of duties, amounting to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on this commodity, was effected, leaving a duty of 10 per cent. *ad valorem*. India-rubber duties were also reduced to 10 per cent. Certain other taxes were reduced by one-third.

An expedition was sent out in May, under the command of Captain Stairs, to take possession of the Katanga copper region, in the interests of the Anglo-Belgian Katanga Company and the Congo Free State. Captain Stairs, who accompanied Stanley in his Emin Pasha expedition, received the active support of King Leopold in this enterprise. Among the leading members of his staff were Lieut. Badson, the Marquis de Bonchamps, and Dr. Moloney. Five hundred men were to be enlisted at Zanzibar, and the route *via* Tanganyika was intended to be taken.

Niger District.—Major Claude MacDonald was appointed British Commissioner for the Oil rivers and Niger territories in March.

CENTRAL AFRICA.

Northern Zambesia.—Mr. H. H. Johnston, who was brought into prominence in 1889, in connection with the Serpa Pinta affair, was appointed in March to be her Majesty's Commissioner for the territories within the British sphere of influence lying north of the Zambesi; also to be Consul-General for Portuguese East Africa. Lieutenant Sclater, of the Royal Engineers, who was to be in command of the police in Ayassaland, received per-

mission to accompany him. The total area of the plateau region in Central Africa entrusted to Mr. Johnston's care was about 600,000 square miles, with a present population of nearly a million, including 300 Arabs and about 400 Swahelis, who are the slave raiders and ivory stealers that disturb the peace of the country. In addition to the allowances made by the Imperial Government, a subsidy of 10,000*l.* per annum was granted by the British South African Company to Mr. Johnston. Three Vice-Consuls were appointed to serve under the Consul-General, Mr. W. Sharpe, an experienced officer, being chief.

Emin Pasha.—News came from Emin and Dr. Stuhlmann that they had left Mwamba for Kibiro about the beginning of July, with all their porters and goods. Emin declared that it was not his intention to return by the same route. On September 2 he had been already three months in the Albert Nyanza district, and had been received with the greatest enthusiasm by his former troops. Captain Lugard, with 300 regular and 700 irregular soldiers, was sent to oppose his further advance, but they were unlikely to meet him. In December he was probably reinstated at Wadelai.

Uganda.—A treaty was concluded in March with the King of Uganda in behalf of the British East African Company, but in July affairs were in a very disquieting state. Captain Lugard, with a force belonging to the Company, attempted to preserve order, but he was not strong enough to keep the balance of the contending parties. A feud existed between the Romanists and Protestants, and they were farther than ever from agreement. The Company contemplated abandoning Uganda altogether. The Mussulmans were becoming aggressive, and in the autumn Captain Lugard defeated them in a battle near Uganda. From the latest reports the Christians were in a doubtful position.

CHAPTER VII.

AMERICA.

I. UNITED STATES.

THE condition of political parties in the Congress of the United States, Jan. 1, 1891 (the second session of the Fifty-first Congress), was as follows :—In the Senate—Republicans, 51 ; Democrats, 37. In the House of Representatives—Republicans, 178 ; Democrats, 154 ; Levi P. Morton, of New York, being Vice-President of the United States and President of the Senate, and Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, Speaker of the House of Representatives. The Cabinet of President Harrison included James G. Blaine, of Maine, Secretary of State ; William Windom, of Minnesota, Secretary of the Treasury ; Redfield Proctor, of Vermont, Secretary of War ; Benjamin F. Tracy, of New York,

Secretary of the Navy; John W. Noble, of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior; Jeremiah M. Rusk, of Wisconsin, Secretary of Agriculture; John H. Wanamaker, of Pennsylvania, Postmaster-General; and W. H. H. Miller, of Indiana, Attorney-General.

The Senate passed a free coinage measure, Jan. 14, providing that the United States unit of value should be a dollar coined of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains of standard silver, or $25\frac{8}{10}$ grains of standard gold, giving all bullion owners authority to deposit bullion for coinage, and making all certificates issued for gold or silver legal tender. The radical character of the Bill, however, caused its defeat in the House of Representatives in February. The opposition in the Atlantic States to free silver coinage was very strong, but in the Western States many held to the delusion that there was need of an increase to the volume of currency to stimulate trade, as well as to give facilities for the payment of mortgages and debts. There was great danger of causing a premium on gold and driving it out of the country by this silver legislation. The average bullion value of a silver dollar in 1890 was 81 cents., and in 1889 it was only $72\frac{1}{2}$ cents.

An Act was passed, Feb. 7, making an apportionment of representatives in Congress among the several States under the Eleventh Census, by which the House of Representatives, after March 3, 1893, was to consist of 356 members, each member to represent 173,901 population, which was fixed as the ratio of representation.

After many vicissitudes, the Copyright Bill passed both Houses, and was signed by the President. This was accomplished chiefly through the exertions of Senator Platt, of Connecticut. A very important amendment offered by Senator Sherman had passed the Senate, which allowed the importation of copyright books on payment of a duty of 25 per cent. *ad valorem*, but this was rejected by the House of Representatives. Finally, the amendment was dropped in the Conference Committee, enabling the Bill to be passed in the last moments of the session. A feature of the Act, which required that a book by a foreign author should be printed in the United States, if it were to be copyright, appeared to give a great advantage to American printers and publishers.

It was the policy of the Secretary of State during the year to negotiate reciprocity treaties with different countries having trade with the United States. One, affecting Cuba, was arranged with Spain, and another was made with Brazil. A commercial agreement was concluded with the British West Indies and British Guiana, whereby, in return for the continued free introduction of sugar and coffee from those colonies, the latter agreed not only to enlarge greatly the free list of their Customs duties, but to make reductions in their tariff charges upon the products of the United States.

The Indian troubles in the North-West that had broken out

at the close of the preceding year for some time were unsettled. The Government endeavoured to prevent further bloodshed, but the Interior Department officials were opposed to General Miles's policy of segregating the Indian tribes, and that caused delay. Lieutenant Edward Casey, a very promising young officer of the 22nd Infantry, was killed while venturing too near the camp of the hostiles at Pine Ridge, and at Wounded Knee there was a massacre of Indian women and children through their needless exposure to the fire of the troops, which only served to rouse a still more bitter feeling amongst the tribes. Raids by hostile Sioux continued for a considerable time to alarm the white settlers. There could be no doubt but that the Indians had good reasons for complaint, for they had been long defrauded of their legal supplies of food and clothing by dishonest Government agents. The Indians at last submitted, and most of them surrendered their arms to the United States forces, and the President gave orders for the agencies to be placed for the time being under the military control of the War Department. The total Indian population in the United States, exclusive of those in Alaska, was officially stated to be 250,483. The report of the Secretary of the Interior ascribed the troubles with the Sioux to various causes, such as their own warlike feeling, the influence of Sitting Bull, added to their belief that a new Messiah had come to deliver them, the failure of their crops in two successive years, and the reduction of the rations issued to them. Besides, there were promises made them by the Sioux Commission which were not carried out because of the failure of Congress to sanction them.

A long diplomatic correspondence on the Behring's Sea dispute continued between the State Department and the British Foreign Office, but no great progress was made towards a settlement of the question. On Jan. 12 it was taken into the United States Supreme Court by Sir John Thompson, and a motion was made by Mr. Joseph Choate in behalf of Canada for a writ of prohibition commanding the United States District Court in Alaska, to annul the proceedings by which the Canadian sealer, *W. P. Sayward*, was libelled in 1889. This schooner was seized by the United States revenue cutter *Rush*, while cruising for seals nine miles from shore in Behring's Sea, was taken to Alaska, and there condemned by the district magistrate. The Supreme Court granted leave (Feb. 2) to file the application for the writ. A *modus vivendi*, to expire May 15, 1892, and largely due to these proceedings, was arranged between the two Governments, by which the claims of the United States for the time were virtually allowed. Sir Baden-Powell and Professor Dawson were appointed in June as commissioners for Great Britain to proceed to Behring's Sea, and they were expected to report on every phase of the sealing question. Two commissioners were appointed by the United States Government to make a similar investigation. Early in July the schooner *E. B. Marvin*, from

Victoria, was seized and towed into Oonalaska as a prize. Although a sealer, it appeared that she was not sealing at the time, and had not been taking seals in Behring's Sea. Her capture was regarded as a very flagrant outrage. The British schooner *Otto*, also, was seized in September by the United States cruiser *Mohican* for violating the seal fishing regulations. In November it was announced that the dispute was to be submitted to a final arbitration by the respective Governments of Great Britain and the United States. The agents of the United States Treasury reported that they had found over 10,000 dead pup seals at St. Paul's Island that had died of starvation, the mother seals having been killed while they were suckling their young.

The total number of Mormons in the United States, according to the last census, was 144,352. Their chief strength lay in Utah, but they were represented in nineteen States and two territories. Idaho had 14,805, and there were more than 1,000 in each of the States of Colorado and Wyoming. Joseph Smith, son of the founder of Mormonism, is the head of a monogamous branch established in Iowa. The monogamous church has 30,000 members in the whole country, of whom half were in Iowa.

The jury in the trial of the Italians accused of assassinating last year Mr. Hennessy, the New Orleans Chief of Police, yielding to the threats and bribes of the Mafia Secret Murder Society, acquitted six of the prisoners, much to the disgust of the citizens. Early on the morning of March 14 a crowd collected around the statue of Henry Clay, in New Orleans, and were addressed by a lawyer named Parkerson. Aroused to frenzy by his speech, the mob started for the prison where the Italians were confined, and by the time it arrived at the gates, it was seen that there was an organised body of 200 men leading it, who were armed with guns seized from a storehouse that they had pillaged. Admission to the gaol was refused, and the mob was called upon to disperse by the keeper of the prison; but with axes, crowbars, and large beams brought from an adjoining building, an assault was made upon the outer door, and it was quickly broken down. The leaders stood on either side of the entrance, and rapidly selected fifty men to execute the sentence of Judge Lynch. Only these were allowed to enter. As they ran up the stairs they heard footsteps pattering along the gallery. "There they are!" cried one enthusiast. The cry was taken up by those in the lobby and, from them, by the mob outside. The men on the stairs had only got half-way up when this occurred. When they reached the landing the door leading from the gallery to the women's department was thrown open, and the backs of the fugitives were seen as they disappeared down a winding staircase. Not a word was spoken. Half a dozen men ran quickly along the gallery and quietly down the stairs. They found the prisoners crouching in the space hastily vacated by the female prisoners.

Marchesi, the boy prisoner, was first taken in charge and placed in safety, as it had been decided to spare his life because of his tender years. He was found concealed between two mattresses.

The other Italians were scattered around the enclosed space. They set up a yell for mercy, and made a dash for the end of the yard. "Give it to them," was the order, and instantly three guns and a pistol were discharged. Gerachi, who was the last of the fleeing men, received a charge in the back of his head, and, turning a complete somersault, fell on his face. He never moved again. Then Monasteri and Caruso fell, the backs of their heads literally riddled with bullets. Romero, with a cry of anguish, turned to his executioners and crouched on his knees with his head almost on the ground. In that attitude he was killed. He was the only one of the victims who had a hat on his head, and, notwithstanding the fact that he was riddled with bullets, his hat never left its place. His black frock-coat was torn to shreds by the bullets.

It had been intended to take Macheca, who had been the leader of the Italian assassins, outside and hang him; but in the meantime another section of the mob had broken into the cell where he was confined. He heard the men coming, and rushed from the cell, but was cornered in the gallery of the condemned prison. Here a young man in the mob hit him on the head with the butt end of a rifle, which caused him to drop senseless. It was reported that he was dead; but as the crowd was about to leave, some one suggested that, as an extra precaution, he should be placed beyond any possibility of recovery, a bullet was fired through his brain at point-blank range, and his corpse was left where it fell. The mob outside were getting impatient and had begun to groan. They demanded that the victims should be brought out and hanged in sight of all. The streets and squares around the prison were filled with people, among whom were many women and children.

But a still more dreadful act of the tragedy was yet to come. The avengers were not yet satisfied. They got hold of Bagnetto and dragged him out of the building. He had already been fatally wounded, and his dark face was besmeared with blood. As the crowd in the square caught sight of him they uttered a roar of rage. They had heard the shots within the gaol but had not seen the slaughter. Now was their opportunity. Some one brought a rope, which was noosed and thrown round the man's neck. The other end was cast over the limb of a tree. The dying wretch was swung up, then a fusillade from a score of weapons ended his sufferings.

In another instant a side door of the prison opening on Marai's Street was pushed open, and several armed men appeared pushing before them Polizzi, the half-crazed Sicilian who offered to turn State's evidence. He looked aghast with terror, and was

evidently quite mad. He was without coat or hat, and wore a red flannel shirt. His long black hair hung dishevelled over his face.

The crowd called upon the armed men to kill him. He was dragged down to the corner of Marai's and St. Anne streets. The crowd was dense, and it was difficult to force a passage. From balconies men and women watched the scene with opera glasses.

At the corner is a lamp post. A man threw a rope across the street. Another man scaled the post and passed the rope over it with a noose at one end. The noose was adjusted round the neck of the trembling wretch by willing but unskilled hands, the other end of the rope was tugged at by a line of men who quickly formed for the purpose. The man was hoisted into the air, but only for an instant, for the rope slipped and he fell to the pavement. In a couple of seconds the rope was readjusted, strong hands pulled it taut, and the body was dangling from the post. As soon as the man was high enough to make the range safe and allow the shots to escape the heads of the people a dozen reports rang out. The blood gushed from Polizzi's face, and many shots riddled his body. Then the rope was tied securely to the post and the corpse left hanging.

Just before Polizzi was brought out Captain Colieu, with a dozen police in a police van, came tearing down Marai's Street. They did not go beyond the corner of St. Anne Street, for there they were met by a throng of citizens who shook their fists at the officers and ordered them away. After the lynchers had completed their work in the interior of the prison, Lawyer Parkerson mounted the sill of a window in the prison and addressed the crowd. Tumultuous cheering greeted him.

"Fellow-citizens," he said, "after the law has failed and justice has been thwarted by a corrupt jury and hired agents of the murderers, the citizens, under the leadership of my associates, have taken the law into their own hands and have meted out swift punishment to the assassins who have so long infested and disgraced the community. The men who killed our Chief of Police, Captain Hennessy, are dead. Some are within the walls of the prison, the others upon the street before your eyes. Lynch law is a terrible thing, but the Mafia must cease in New Orleans from this moment for ever. The responsibility for this day's tragedy rests not with its immediate participants, but with the infamous jury who acquitted the murderers. The people demanded that these murderers should be punished with death. We have executed their will. Now the affair must end here. If you have confidence in me you will disperse and return to your homes, resting assured that if there are any other matters to be attended to they will receive attention."

The crowd cheered lustily, and, taking Mr. Parkerson on their shoulders, carried him to his home in a triumphal proces-

sion, and then dispersed quietly, as requested. The bodies hung on the extemporised gallows half the day. Mr. Parkerson's reference to "other matters to be attended to" was interpreted as meaning the possible capture of the fugitives who are blamed with causing the miscarriage of justice at the trial—the givers and receivers of the bribes.

Intense excitement was aroused by this tragical incident, and the Italian Government demanded the arrest and punishment of the lynchers, whom the New Orleans grand jury refused to indict. Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, replied that it was beyond the power of the United States to interfere in a matter wholly within the jurisdiction of the sovereign State of Louisiana. The Italian Minister, Baron di Fava, was recalled, because the King of Italy was displeased with his failure to obtain redress, and there was even some talk of the need of convening Congress to consider the critical situation, as Italy threatened war and destruction if the affair was not promptly adjusted. At last the State Department, in order to settle the dispute, agreed to compensate the widows and orphans of the lynched Italians, and cordial relations with Italy were restored.

President Harrison made a tour through the south-west in April. It was intended that he should meet President Diaz, of Mexico, at El Paso, Texas, but the constitution of Mexico forbids the President to go out of the country during his term of office, and the President of the United States is likewise restricted to remain within United States boundaries, so a meeting could not take place. President Harrison, in reply to representatives of the Mexican President, who welcomed him at the border, said—"I am glad to stand in this gateway for trade with the great Republic of Mexico, and I am glad to know that it is not only a gateway for commerce, but also a gateway for friendship. I desire to return to the people of Mexico, and to that illustrious and progressive statesman who presides over her destinies, not only my sincere personal regard, but also the assurance of the friendliness and respect of the American Government and of the American people. I look forward with interest to the larger development of our trade, and to the opening up of new lines of commerce and of new avenues of friendship. We have passed that year in our history, I hope, when we were aggressive and unpleasant neighbours. We do not covet the territory of any other people, but we do covet their friendship and those trade exchanges which are mutually profitable."

Anarchists in Chicago were still troublesome. In November, on the anniversary of the hanging of the so-called "martyrs," a large body of police made a descent on a large building, where two secret meetings were being held, broke open the doors, and arrested twenty-five or more Anarchists who were armed with pistols and knives. They struggled and fought, cursing their captors, threatening the lives of the Mayor and Chief of Police,

and declaring that within a short time Chicago would be blown up. A similar meeting in Philadelphia was dispersed by the police, who would not even suffer the Anarchists to enter their hall.

During the past ten years there have been numerous distinct organisations of farmers formed in the United States. In the south there is one composed of negroes. The largest of these alliances is called "The National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union," and was organised in Florida in 1890. It includes in its platform what is called the Sub-Treasury Scheme, which, in brief, is a plan for the establishment in each county of each State, when demanded by 100 or more citizens of the said counties, of a branch of the Treasury Department, where cotton, grain, and tobacco may be deposited, the owner receiving therefor Treasury notes equal to 80 per cent. of the net value of such deposits. There is no unity of opinion, however, even within the organisation, respecting the constitutionality or feasibility of this scheme. Amalgamation with other similar alliances was sought for, with the view of forming a third party to contest for the Presidency in 1892. In May a Convention met at Cincinnati, and the "People's Party of the U.S." was formed. The newly-elected Farmers' Alliance Senator Peffer, of Kansas, presided over the deliberations of the Convention.

The platform adopted by the new party, after declaring the necessity for a "third party," announced as its principles the well-known doctrines of the various schools of the Farmers' Alliance in a series of "planks," lettered from A to H. A declared that all national banks should be abolished, and the Government should issue enough legal tender Treasury notes "to transact the business of the country on a cash basis;" and such notes, "when demanded by the people, should be loaned to them at not more than 2 per cent. per annum upon non-perishable products," and "also upon real estate." B demanded free and unlimited silver coinage. C demanded laws against alien ownership of land and the dispossession of lands now owned "by alien and foreign syndicates" and by railroads and other corporations in excess of actual use. D demanded that taxation "should not be used to build up one interest or class at the expense of another." E limited all revenue to the "necessary expenses of the Government economically and honestly administered." F demanded a graduated tax on incomes. G favoured national control of railroads, and if this did not remove existing abuses, that then the Government should own them. H declared the President, Vice-President, and United States Senators should be elected by direct vote of the people.

This platform was prepared by Ignatius Donnelly, of Minnesota. He was the enthusiastic advocate of forming a "third party," and, although opposed, he carried it triumphantly

through the Convention. The delegates applauded vociferously as each "plank" was read, and one long, lank six-footer from Texas, clad in a light suit of clothes, punctuated the applause by a prolonged, weird whoop of exultation, which so electrified the Convention that he was conducted to the rostrum, and there repeated his unearthly Indian yell to the intense delight of the assembled multitude. His name was Davis, and he said he was in favour of every "plank" in the platform, and was also an ex-Confederate soldier. This was the opening of an extraordinary scene. An ex-Union soldier, from Indiana, rushed up to Davis, and they dramatically grasped hands in full view. Then a negro from Texas appeared and joined the two soldiers, and, amid a whirlwind of applause, somebody moved the adoption of the platform. The Convention went wild. All rose up, mounted tables and chairs, yelled like Comanche Indians, then took to singing, and in thunderous chorus rolled out the refrain, "Good-bye, old parties, good-bye," and, finally, the Doxology. A forest of flags and banners was gathered around the three delegates on the rostrum, and finally a Kansas man was held aloft by two others, mounted on tables, so that he made the Kansas banner outtop all the rest. This tumult lasted until sheer exhaustion restored comparative quietness.

Elections were held on November 3 in several of the States, the Democrats carried New York, Mississippi, and New Jersey; the Republicans, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Nebraska, and Colorado. In Massachusetts a Democratic Governor was elected. In Ohio Mr. McKinley, author of the Tariff Bill, was elected Governor by a moderate majority. The failure of the Democrats in this State was probably owing to their introduction of the free coinage issue. In New York, Mr. Flower, the Democratic candidate, was elected by a majority exceeding 40,000. In Pennsylvania the Republican majority was about 50,000. In Iowa the Democrats secured the Governorship, but the Lieutenant-Governor and a majority of the State Legislature were Republican.

Great preparations were begun in Chicago for the "World's Columbian Exposition," and at the close of the year the buildings, large and numerous, were well advanced towards completion. Large sums of money towards the expenses were appropriated by the several States and by the general Government, as well as by the Governments of many foreign countries. The grand total cost of the Exhibition it was estimated would be nearly twenty millions of dollars.

The Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom, died very suddenly from cerebral hemorrhage at a banquet in New York city, January 29, after he had just made an elaborate speech on the financial questions of the day. His place in the Cabinet was filled the following month by the appointment of Charles Foster, of Ohio. Another vacancy in the Cabinet, caused by the election of Redfield Proctor, of Vermont, to the Senate, in place

of Mr. Edmunds, who had resigned, was filled by Stephen B. Elkins, of West Virginia, who was appointed Secretary of War in December. Otherwise President Harrison's Cabinet remained unchanged.

The Fifty-second Congress met for their first session on December 7. The state of parties in each House was as follows:— In the Senate: Republicans, 47; Democrats, 39; Independents, 2. In the House of Representatives: Democrats, 236; Republicans, 88; Farmers' Alliance, 8. The Lower House was organised by the election of Charles P. Crisp, of Georgia, as Speaker. The President's message was presented to Congress December 9.

It reviewed the Behring's Sea dispute, and announced that an arbitration had been arranged for; it referred to the lynching of the Italians at New Orleans as a deplorable incident, and stated that the Federal officers and courts had not received authority from Congress in such cases to intervene either to protect the foreigner or to punish his murderers.

The Chilian matter was discussed, and Mr. Egan's conduct was palliated. The President referred to the anti-foreign outbreak in China, insisting on protection of the lives and property of Americans in that country. A defence was attempted of the McKinley tariff, and adverting to the silver question, the President said:—

"I believe that the majority of our people earnestly desire that full coinage use should be made of silver as soon as other nations co-operate and a ratio be fixed. The business of the world requires both metals. I endeavoured, by official and unofficial agents, closely to observe the state of public sentiment in Europe, and I did not find it to be such as would have justified me in proposing an International Conference. I am sure, however, that there is a growing sentiment in Europe in favour of a larger use of silver, and I know no more effectual way of promoting this than by the accumulation of gold in this country. The security of gold reserves in Europe would be the most persuasive argument for the use of silver. The net loss of gold in the fiscal year was nearly \$68,000,000. With the movement of the crops the return began of \$20,000,000 on December 1, and recovered at New York \$28,000,000, which, I believe, will, during the winter and spring, be largely increased."

Concerning the Navy, he said that twenty-four warships of all classes were now in course of construction, and that there should be no hesitation in promptly completing the Navy with the best modern type of vessels, large enough to enable the country to display its flag in all seas for the protection of its citizens and the extension of its commerce.

The report of the Secretary of the Treasury made no important fiscal recommendations. The revenues of the last fiscal year, ending June 30, were \$458,544,233, and the expenses

\$421,804,470, leaving a surplus of \$37,239,763. It was estimated that for the current fiscal year the revenues would be \$493,000,000, and the expenses \$409,000,000, leaving a surplus of \$24,000,000. The estimate for the next fiscal year was that the revenues would amount to \$455,336,350, and the expenses to \$441,300,093, making a surplus of \$14,036,257. The Treasury redeemed \$134,947,635 of debt during the last fiscal year, including premiums; also \$20,911,163 more up to November 1, 1891. The Secretary estimated that the Treasury cash balance at the close of the fiscal year on July 1 next would be \$139,728,145.

From the reports issued by the Agricultural Department, it appeared that the total maize crop of the year had only been exceeded once, and the wheat product was the largest ever grown in any country. Maize, 76,204,515 acres, yielding 2,060,154,000 bushels, valued at \$836,439,228; wheat, 39,916,897 acres, yielding 611,780,000 bushels, valued at \$513,472,711; and oats, 25,581,861 acres, yielding 736,394,000 bushels, valued at \$232,312,267.

The total output of pig iron in the United States during 1891 was 8,279,870 tons. This was a decrease of 922,833 tons, occurring entirely in the first half of the year, the second half showing an increase. The total output of Bessemer steel rails was 1,219,874 tons, or a decrease of 577,615.

The statistics as to the foreign trade of the country during 1891 showed that the total value of the imports was \$828,312,646, or an increase of about \$5,000,000 over 1890; but this trifling increment was explained by the circumstance that the imports of 1890 were exceedingly large by reason of the anticipated passing of the new Tariff Bill. The average annual import of the decade ending with 1890 was \$701,862,430, or nearly \$126,500,000 less than the import of 1891. The exports amounted to \$970,586,282, which was greatly in excess of any previous year, and exceeds the average annual exports of the decade 1881-90 by \$206,563,150. The increase was mainly breadstuffs, raw cotton, copper and its manufactures, iron and steel and their manufactures; while there was a decrease in the export of provisions, mineral oils, cattle, and wood and its manufactures. On the whole, the foreign trade of the country increased in the year by \$117,918,654, or about 6.5 per cent. over 1890. The figures for the past three years show a large increase in the duty-free imports, and a correspondingly larger decrease in the dutiable imports.

The total number of pensioners on the rolls of the Government, June 30, 1891, was 676,160, requiring a disbursement of \$118,548,959.

The question of restricting emigration was becoming more and more serious, as a growing proportion of immigrants from Europe were of those classes and countries that were least adapted for citizenship in a Republic.

II. CANADA.

Canada was much exercised by the discovery of corruption in one of the departments of the Government, when Mr. Abbott, the Premier, announced in August that a searching investigation would be made with a view of introducing sweeping reforms. Sir Hector Langevin, Minister of Public Works, was implicated in these charges of corruption, and resigned his office, although he was afterwards acquitted of personal malversation. Alleged corrupt practices existed in connection with contracts under the control of the Department of Public Works, and a Mr. McGreevy, a personal friend of the Minister, was the prime mover in these fraudulent transactions, which had been going on year after year. Another scandal was unearthed that gravely compromised Mr. Mercier, the head of the Quebec Ministry, in connection with the Chaleur Bay Railway. The investigating committee of the Senate at Ottawa found that a claim of \$175,000 made by the contractor, and paid by the Quebec Government out of money voted by the Provincial Legislature, had been fraudulently obtained by the payment of a large bribe to the editor of a newspaper owned by Mr. Mercier, and that the larger part of the money had been used to meet pecuniary obligations incurred by Mr. Mercier and other prominent members of the Nationalist party at Quebec. The Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, Mr. Angers, took the extreme step of dismissing the Ministry while they had a majority of twenty-six in the Assembly. Mr. Mercier's party, of course, denounced this action as tyrannical and unjust, and at the close of the year were preparing to appeal to the voters of the province at the election to take place in March following. Mr. Mercier had been very devoted to the interests of the Papacy in Canada, and for his faithful services had been made a Count a few months before by the Pope.

Mr. de Boucherville formed a new Cabinet with himself as Prime Minister (Dec. 21), and it was regarded as the strongest the province had had since the confederation of Canada.

The death of Sir John Macdonald, who for thirteen years had been the Canadian Prime Minister, occurred in June, and was deeply regretted by the people of the Dominion, irrespective of party. He was the foremost promoter of Canadian Confederation, and of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and these will remain as the chief monuments of his fame. The Queen, in recognition of his services, bestowed a peerage upon his widow in July. Sir John Macdonald was succeeded by the Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, who became Premier, Lord Stanley of Preston continuing Governor-General by appointment of the Crown.

The Hon. J. A. Chapleau threatened in June to secede from the Conservative party, because he desired the portfolio of Railways and Canals, to which he claimed he was entitled by seniority.

He continued, however, in his position of Federal Secretary of State.

The Census returns were disappointing, showing, like Great Britain and the United States, a migration from country to town. Migration to the North-West depleted the country districts of Ontario in part, while the exodus to the United States was considerable, and due, possibly, to the protective policy of the Government. The total population was stated to be 4,823,344, being an increase for the decade of 11·52 per cent. Ontario province numbered 2,112,989 ; Quebec province, 1,488,586. The population of the maritime provinces Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island remained nearly stationary.

The trade of the Dominion for the year in the aggregate amounted to \$218,384,934, being a decrease of \$222,456, as compared with the preceding twelve months. The exports were valued at \$98,417,296, or an increase of about 1 million. The imports, however, showed a falling off of \$668,147. The aggregate trade between Canada and Great Britain amounted to 91 millions, as compared with 94 millions between the Dominion and the United States. The figures in the latter case showed an increase of 2 millions, due to the enhanced demand for raw material for Canadian manufactories. The trade with Germany, Newfoundland, and the West Indies was very satisfactory, while with China and Japan there was an extraordinary improvement, which was thought to be clearly due to the opening up of the Canadian Pacific steamship route.

There was a great increase in the Canadian trade with the British West Indies after the close of the Jamaica Exhibition.

The debt of the Dominion Government amounted (Nov. 30) to \$236,392,111.

The Newfoundland Government having refused to comply with Canada's ultimatum asking for the withdrawal of the prohibition against the supply to Canadians of herrings for bait or for commercial purposes, the Dominion Government in December issued an Order in Council imposing a duty upon Newfoundland fish imported into Canada, and restricted the bonded privileges granted to the products of the sister colony when in transit to the West Indies or elsewhere. The Newfoundland Government retaliated by imposing prohibitory duties upon food imports from Canada. This had a tendency to throw the trade in food products into the hands of the United States.

It was expected that Great Britain would be asked to veto this policy, on the ground that one British colony should not discriminate against another.

III. MEXICO.

In general the prosperity of the preceding year was continued, and the people were alive to all kinds of business enterprises. President Diaz's government was successful and popular. A number of new railway lines was projected. The Monterey and Mexican Gulf Railway was completed August 26, and as the year closed, the Pachuca branch of the Mexican Central Railway was finished. Improvements in the harbour of Tampico, with the object of making it a deep-water port, were being effected in September, which promised to give the town its ancient position as the principal point of entry on the Mexican seaboard. The President, in opening Congress on September 16, spoke as follows:—"The excellent state of the Public Treasury is maintained. In the fiscal year which closed June 30, the general volume of revenue exceeded by more than a million of dollars the total collection of the previous year. Our credit maintains a distinguished place abroad, although Mexican securities are not exempt from the fluctuations which in various ways are felt by all other securities in those money markets." A new tariff, with a considerable advance of duties on many articles of American manufacture, came into force November 1, and gave great satisfaction to manufacturers and importers. Another indication of progress appeared in the efforts of the Government to create a navy. According to official statements, the population of the country was 11,638,824. Agriculture, despite the fertility of the soil, suffered some serious reverses. Severe droughts injured the cotton crop, making the yield much below that of 1890. Coffee-growing was the best paying industry of the country. In December the complete failure of the maize crop and black bean crop was causing an incipient famine in some agricultural districts, and urgent petitions were sent to Congress for the removal of the tax on maize, long enough for the people to replenish their grain supply from the United States. In the States of Zacatecas and Jalisco there were famine riots, and Indian corn had advanced 100 per cent. in price.

Mexico is a Federal Republic, originally with nineteen States. There are now twenty-seven States, with two territories and one Federal district—the city of Mexico. There is one member of Congress for 40,000 inhabitants. Senators are elected by the people in the same manner as the members of the Lower House. The Congress meets every year from September 16 to December 15, and from April 1 to May 31. The revenue for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1891, was \$41,770,000. Expenditures were \$38,452,804. The total debt of the country in 1890 was \$113,606,675. The external debt, amounting to 10,500,000*l.*, was contracted in London. The whole military force of the

country is about 26,000 men. The nucleus of a navy exists in a fleet of two unarmoured gun vessels of 450 tons and 600-horse power each, armed with 220-pounders, and three gun-boats.

IV. CENTRAL AMERICA.

Guatemala.—A very exciting political struggle for the Presidency of the State was in progress during the summer, the election taking place at the close of the year. Five candidates were in the field, and President Barillas was seeking re-election, although debarred by the Constitution from again becoming President. He was accused of attempting to keep in office, if necessary, by force. Guatemala was making rapid progress in trade and commerce. The revenue receipts in 1890 were \$8,527,683, and expenditures were \$8,300,778; exports, \$14,401,534; imports, \$6,930,434. The total national debt was \$783,259. Great advance has been made in coffee cultivation. In ten years, production has more than doubled, and the prices realised have more than quadrupled. In the interior districts of Chiapas, in Northern Guatemala, a long drought was followed by great scarcity of food. Nearly all the live stock died or were killed for food, and it was announced in December that not less than 5,000 persons had died from starvation and disease caused by want. The duties on cattle, flour, and foreign provisions were remitted by the Government in August on account of the great scarcity.

Honduras.—The Presidential election took place in September, resulting in the success of General Ponciano Leiva, who had been Minister of War, and who was the nominee of the Progressionist party.

Great advantage was expected to result from the construction of waggon-roads in the interior, and an important contract was made by the Government to this end, as lack of easy intercommunication has hitherto been a great barrier to the development of the country.

Panama Canal.—Although this undertaking was considered as practically dead, M. Wyse was attempting in July to form a new company on the ruins of the old one, to carry out a scheme for the completion of the canal by forming a great inland lake, to be reached by three locks on either side. He represented that 600 millions of francs would be required, which, with the machinery and plant of the old company, would give ample means for finishing the work. The feeling in France was bitter against M. de Lesseps and the other directors of the late Panama Canal Company. The amount sunk in the Panama project was stated in round figures to be 53,000,000*l.* sterling; but of this sum only 783 millions of francs were actually spent on the works of the Isthmus, the rest being wasted in expenditures of various kinds in France.

Nicaragua Canal.—Good progress was made with the Nicaragua Canal, and there were hopes of finishing it in 1897. The company finds its chief support in the United States, and President Harrison, in his message to Congress in December, stated that it was of the highest concern to the United States that the canal should be speedily constructed, at the smallest possible cost. He recommended also a Government guarantee for the interest on the bonds, to control the stock. Last year \$65,000,000 was the highest sum estimated necessary for completing the work; but in December the company were making efforts to secure the guarantee of the United States Government for the issue of \$100,000,000 worth of bonds.

V. WEST INDIES.

Cuba.—A Commission of the leading representatives of commercial and agricultural industries in the island visited Spain in January by invitation of the Government. Several conferences with the Colonial Minister were held, to discuss the grave situation of commercial and financial affairs, induced partly by the high tariff of the United States, and partly by causes within the control of the Spanish Government. The Commission claimed of Spain that the law of July 1888 should be abolished, that tobacco should have a free sale on payment of the duties; that the industrial tax on sugar should be suppressed, and that all export duties should be abolished. They also asked for a complete reform of the Custom Houses in the island, and especially the discontinuance of the system allowing Custom House officials to participate in the fines imposed.

Mr. Foster succeeded later, as a special envoy from the United States, in arranging a basis of reciprocity in trade between Cuba and the United States. Spain signed the treaty with reluctance, but the pressure of her colony was too strong, and she was obliged to yield.

Cuba has a very fertile soil, but only about one-third of the land is under cultivation. The total exports are in value about 30,000,000*l.* sterling. The sugar crop in 1891 amounted to one million tons, and the preceding year to 800,000 tons. A proper currency is greatly needed in the island, as it is very difficult to get change in business transactions. The highway robberies that in former years were so prevalent, were fast diminishing under the rule of Viceroy and Captain-General Potavieja.

Hayti.—Attempts were made by the political enemies of President Hippolyte to assassinate him in April. While riding, in company with some of his staff, near Jacmel, he was fired upon by four men hidden under a bridge. Two of the President's attendants were killed by the assassins, who escaped arrest. On May 28 there was a revolt at Port-au-Prince. The streets were crowded with women and children, when a band of soldiers, led

by General Guerrier, attacked the prisons, setting free the prisoners, while another body of rebels kept up a firing at the arsenal gates, to prevent aid being sent from there. Troops were promptly ordered out, to quell the uprising, by General Hippolyte. Some thirty rioters were shot down, and among them several innocent and unarmed persons were killed.

The efforts of the United States Government to secure a lease of the St. Nicholas Mole for a coaling station were met by refusal by Hayti, and there was some likelihood that the French would gain control of the port sooner or later.

Jamaica.—The Industrial Exhibition was opened January 27, and closed May 2, and was visited by 304,000 people. It increased the revenue of Jamaica by over 60,000*l.* for the year; extended trade relations, improved local business, and brought all classes together to work for a common object. Sir Henry Blake, the Governor of the Island, with Lady Blake, made every exertion to secure the complete success of the exhibition.

The railway syndicate that has control of the lines intended eventually to encircle the island, were pushing forward the work as rapidly as possible. American cars were replacing the English carriages in use when the road was purchased.

Grenada.—The cultivation of the sugar-cane has been nearly abandoned on this island, and only enough is now produced to satisfy local wants. The chief production is cocoa. Last year's export was nearly 6,500,000 lbs., and the export increases yearly. In addition to this source of revenue a prosperous trade in tropical fruits has sprung up with the United States.

St. Vincent.—There was a riot in the island of St. Vincent in December, owing to the attempt of the Government to pass a law providing for the reduction of the number of judges of the Appeal Court from four to three. The people protested against the proposed measure, but the British Colonial Office directed the Governor to carry through the law. When the Governor arrived from Grenada the people followed him shouting and hooting, compelling him to take refuge in the Government office. Her Majesty's sloop *Buzzard* was summoned from Barbados, and arrived shortly afterwards at Kingstown, the capital of St. Vincent. Captain Browne went ashore, when a crowd of 600 people surrounded his carriage and began to throw stones. Captain Browne was hit and wounded by the missiles and the carriage was damaged.

After the captain had reached the Government offices, the crowd paraded the streets and threw stones at the house, several persons inside being injured. Affairs became so threatening that it was found necessary to land thirty seamen. They succeeded in clearing the streets, but Captain Browne, on leaving the Government office in the evening, was again attacked by a furious crowd, and bloodshed would surely have occurred if

seventy seamen with a Nordenfeldt gun had not arrived and restored order. The Governor ultimately summoned the Legislative Council and introduced the measure, which was passed by the vote of the official majority against the unanimous vote of the unofficial members.

Trinidad and Tobago.—Sugar raising has not been remunerative for the last few years on these islands, but there was an increased export of cocoa, and 80,000 tons of asphalt were taken from the pitch lake in Trinidad last year. Sir Frederick Napier Broome, the newly-appointed Governor of the Islands, entered upon the duties of his office.

VI. SOUTH AMERICA.

Argentine Republic.—Affairs in Argentina went on from bad to worse during the year 1891. After the revolution of July 1890, Vice-President Pellegrini succeeded the deposed President Celman, having formed a coalition Cabinet. The Presidential election for a term of six years was expected to occur in March 1892, and there was much excitement in the country. General Bartolomé Mitre, who had held the office of President before, a worthy and much respected man, was invited to become a candidate, and for a time it seemed that he would be chosen by the consent of all parties, but dissensions arose later among the various parties, and his chances of election were much lessened. The Union Civica that supported his nomination, being composed principally of Buenos Ayres citizens, aroused the jealousy of the people in the interior provinces to such a degree, that in June the Radical party nominated Señor Saenz Pena for the Presidency, while several other candidates were proposed by the other political parties. In October General Mitre announced his intention of withdrawing from the contest on account of the want of unanimity among his supporters. There were local outbreaks from time to time during the whole year, with riots and disturbances caused by political and local dissensions, while the depressed condition of business affairs no doubt helped to aggravate them.

The Budget for 1892, as finally voted, fixed the expenditure at 4,600,000*l.*, with an estimated revenue of 4,400,000*l.*, but it was feared that the Congress had secretly voted for additional expenditure to provide for new ironclads and armaments, quite out of proportion to the resources of the country. The Customs revenue, for nine months ending in September, showed a reduction of 660,000*l.*, compared with the same months of the preceding year.

The harvest for 1891 was valued at 16,420,000*l.* Wood and timber produced 6,600,000*l.*, hides 4,100,000*l.*, and miscellaneous articles 11,000,000*l.* The continual inflation of the currency gave reason for the gravest apprehension. At different periods

of the year the gold premium was as follows:—On January 1, 225; March 1, 260; April 1, 267; May 1, 256; June 1, 311; July 1, 248; August 1, 307; September 1, 294; October 1, 331; November 1, 294; December 1, 276; and December 19, 286.

When General Roca retired from power in 1886 the financial condition of the Argentine Republic was as follows:—Currency \$70,000,000, debt \$117,200,000, revenue (gold) \$37,200,000. The value of the currency dollar was 80 cents (gold). In August 1890, when Celman was overthrown, the currency was \$200,000,000, debt \$355,800,000, revenue (gold) \$29,200,000. The value of the proper dollar was 40 cents (gold). In November 1891, currency was \$300,000,000, debt \$475,000,000, revenue (gold) \$22,500,000. Value of paper dollar 27½ cents (gold).

To assist the Jews compelled to leave Russia, Baron Hirsch started a colony in the Argentine Republic. An association was formed, which he endowed with a capital of 2,000,000*l.*, and 1,300 square leagues of land in the Chaco were purchased at 200*l.* per square league, to provide a settlement for one of the colonies of outcast Hebrews.

Brazil.—The new Republic of Brazil did not attain the quiet enjoyed under the Empire, and experienced the usual fate so common to South American Republics. On November 3, President da Fonseca (who had been formally elected head of the Government, February 25) dissolved the Congress, and ordered a new election of representatives. A conflict had arisen between the President and Congress, and fearing that Marshal da Fonseca would proclaim himself dictator, the Legislature passed a law determining the process by which a President could be impeached. Fonseca vetoed the measure, but his veto was overruled by Congress. The President thereupon dissolved the Congress, and a state of siege for two months was declared in Rio de Janeiro. Riots occurred there, and many persons were killed. The Congress charged the President with the unwarrantable assumption of sovereign power, while the President accused the Chambers of passing laws contrary to Republican ideas. This was the re-establishment of a dictatorship, and in justification of his arbitrary act, the President addressed a manifesto to the nation. At first it was thought that the army and navy would support Fonseca, but in that he was disappointed. The State of Rio Grande de Sul refused to accept the situation, and appealed to arms for the settlement of the dispute; and nearly half of the army stationed in that State, both regiments and garrisons, revolted. On November 23 the navy broke out in open revolt, and demanded the resignation of the Marshal-President, who, finding resistance useless, was forced to comply with the wishes of the insurgents. Vice-President Floriano Peixoto then assumed the reins of Government, and a new Cabinet was appointed. Francisco de Paula Rodrigues Alvez, an eloquent speaker, and one of the ablest financiers in Brazil,

was made Minister of Finance. Marshal da Fonseca, besides abdicating the Presidency, resigned his command in the army. President Peixoto declared Fonseca's act in dissolving Congress null and void, and summoned that body to meet December 8, while Marshal da Fonseca attempted to justify his *coup d'état* in a long manifesto, in which he charged the representatives in Congress with incompetency, and defended his usurpation as necessary to the public safety.

Railway concessions were granted by the Government for numerous new lines of roads. In October a Bill was passed reorganising the federal offices, under the departments of Finance, Justice and Interior, Industry, Means of Communication and Public Works, Foreign Affairs, War, and Navy. A decree was issued November 7 providing for the lease of the State railways for not less than thirty-three years. The most important of the ten Government railways is the Central, which is 535 miles long, and is the only one that pays a dividend.

Dom Pedro, the ex-Emperor of Brazil, died at Paris on December 2, aged 66 years. His attachment to his country was unimpaired by the harsh treatment he had received from his late subjects, and a general feeling of grief and regret was expressed in Brazil, while they remembered too late his many private and public virtues.

Chili.—The conflict between President Balmaceda and Congress ripened into revolution. On January 1, the Opposition members of the Senate and House of Deputies met, and signed an Act declaring that the President was unworthy of his post, and that he was no longer head of the State nor President of the Republic, as he had violated the Constitution. On January 7 the navy declared in favour of the Legislature, and against Balmaceda. The President denounced the navy as traitors, abolished all the laws of the country, declared himself Dictator, and proclaimed martial law. It was a reign of terror. The Opposition recruited an army in the Island of Santa Maria under General Urrutia and Commander Canto. On February 14 a severe fight took place with the Government troops in Iquique, and the Congressional army took possession of Pisagua.

In April, President Balmaceda, at the opening of the newly-elected Congress, delivered a long message, denouncing the navy for attempting to subvert the Government. The contest continued, and April 7, Arica, in the province of Tarapaca, was taken by the revolutionists. Some naval fights occurred later, and the ironclad *Blanco Encalada* was blown up by the Dictator's torpedo cruisers. Finally, on August 21, General Canto landed at Concon, ten miles north of Valparaiso. Balmaceda's forces attacked immediately and were routed, losing 3,500 killed and wounded. The Congress army lost 600. On the 28th a decisive battle was fought at Placilla, near Valparaiso. The Dictator had 12,000 troops, and the opposing army 10,000. Balmaceda's

forces were completely routed after five hours' hard fighting, with a loss of 1,500 men. Santiago formally surrendered, and the triumph of the Congress party was complete. A Junta, headed by Señor Jorge Montt, took charge of affairs at Valparaiso August 30. Balmaceda, who had taken refuge at the Argentine Legation in Santiago, was not able to make his escape, and to avoid capture, trial, and punishment, committed suicide, September 20, by shooting himself. On the 19th November Admiral Jorge Montt was chosen by the Electoral College, at Santiago, President of Chili, and on December 26 he was installed with great ceremony and general rejoicings.

Paraguay.—A financial panic occurred at Asuncion June 2, when gold rose to a premium unprecedented, being quoted at 660. It was due to the reckless management of the Government, and to the influence of the depression in Argentina and Montevideo. The revenue, which in 1889 was over four millions of dollars, fell away in 1890 to \$1,736,103.

Uruguay.—Emigration was steadily increasing, and in April and May the proportion of departures to arrivals was nearly three to one. Some 60 per cent. of those leaving were Italians unable to find work in the country.

Dr. Ellauri sailed for England June 12, on a financial mission, one of his objects being to arrange for amortisation by purchase of the bonds of the Uruguay public debt, instead of by drawings at par. The Government was in financial straits, and therefore another conversion of the Uruguayan debt was proposed to Congress by message from the President, providing for the payment of 4 per cent. on the consolidated debt—viz. 3½ per cent. for interest, and ½ per cent. for amortisation. Much dissatisfaction was expressed by bondholders with the proposed reduction. Forty-five per cent. of the Customs revenue was promised for the service of the debt, and it was a choice between this adjustment and a suspension of payment altogether. At the close of the year there was still uncertainty concerning the whole scheme of readjustment.

Venezuela.—A settlement of the long-standing boundary dispute with British Guiana was attempted by the intervention of the United States Government, which was not grateful to the British Government. The unsettled relations with Venezuela were proving injurious to British commerce. British exports to Venezuela amount to more than a million sterling yearly. The dispute respecting the boundary can only be settled by arbitration, to which the British Government does not consent. The Venezuelans assert that the real frontier between their country and the British colony of Guiana is marked by the Essequibo river. Great Britain took the colony from the Dutch, and claims that Guiana extends to the west of that river. American trade with Venezuela was increasing, and amounted for the last fiscal year to 10 millions of dollars. This was partly due to the boun-

dary dispute and partly to difficulties with the Central Railway of Venezuela, and the La Guayra Harbour Improvement Company—both British enterprises. The people have been jaded with incessant revolution for the last thirty years, and have lately been enjoying a prosperity unusual to South American Republics. How long it will last is rather doubtful.

CHAPTER VIII.

AUSTRALASIA.

THE question of confederation has occupied a prominent place among the colonists of Australasia during the year 1891. A Convention to decide on the outline of a Federal scheme, to which all the colonies sent representatives, irrespective of local party divisions, met at Sydney on March 2, under the presidency of Sir Henry Parkes, the veteran Prime Minister of New South Wales. The proceedings were on the whole worthy of the momentous occasion, the delegates being impressed by a full sense of the gravity of their duties, and exhibiting in their deliberations, not less than in the results to which they reached, a spirit of loyalty to the Empire, and of regard for the future of Imperial Unity, which is full of happy augury for the ultimate success of the movement. On the main point, namely, as to the desirability of some form of political union, there seems to have been little or no difference among the colonial delegates. Nor is it open to doubt that a general belief existed that the Federal Union would be accomplished, at least, of all the Australian colonies proper at some date not distant. After a debate extending over five weeks, during which the utmost liberty of discussion was claimed and permitted, the delegates agreed to the draft scheme of a Federal Constitution, to be submitted hereafter to the Legislatures of the various colonies. The leading features of that constitution, in which the delegates were practically unanimous, include a Federal Parliament with two Houses, in which the Council or Upper House is to consist of two representatives of each colony, of equal rank and power, irrespective of local differences of size, importance, or population, with a Lower House of Representatives elected on a popular basis. The Upper House, which is thus modelled on the principle of the American Senate, is restricted to functions analogous to those discharged by the Legislative Councils in the several colonies. It will have no power over the public purse, all money bills being exclusively originated and passed within the popular Assembly. The general prerogatives of the Federal Parliament were left, perhaps wisely, loosely defined; but while the fullest liberty is to be granted to each individual constituent State within its juris-

diction to legislate on domestic matters, no questions of justice, of defence, and of the relations with the outside world have been assigned to the Federal Legislature.

On a point which seems to have divided the delegates more than any other, namely, the question whether a final right of appeal in law to the Imperial Privy Council at home shall be reserved to her Majesty's subjects in Australia, there seems to have been no definite resolution, but it is probable that, in accordance with the general sentiment among the people of Australia, this point will be ultimately decided in accordance with the sounder belief that the appeal to the Imperial Council gives up no colonial right while retaining a universal and inalienable British privilege. On the burning question of inter-colonial trade, on which it seemed probable that differences would arise owing to the conflict between the nicely balanced parties of Free Trade and Protection, a general agreement has been arrived at which, while it promises internal peace, portends future trouble between Federal Australia and Great Britain. Whatever may be the measure of Protection which may be adopted at the seaports against outside nations, the colonies, as represented at the Sydney Convention, determined, for the present, that there should be Free Trade between themselves. On this question it is evident that much of the apparent unanimity is due to the many difficulties arising from the internal dissensions and local jealousies. Some of the delegates did not scruple to affirm that they valued Protection more than Federation, while others look to a Federal Parliament as a refuge against high Customs duties. In order to come to any agreement upon a Federal scheme, it was almost necessary that this question of what principle of trade shall be adopted by the Federated Colonies should be deferred for future settlement; and it is precisely here where is to be looked for the great obstacle to the practical adoption of Confederation by the various colonies, whose tariffs at present are widely divergent and often in conflict.

The name finally adopted by the delegates for their Federal scheme was "The Commonwealth of Australasia." This has already been subject to somewhat severe criticism as being too fanciful a denomination and scarcely expressive of the predominant feeling which was supposed to characterise the movement of loyalty to the Imperial connection. Already by one of the principal colonies—Victoria—the name has been rejected, and it is probable that some less high-sounding and more distinctive appellation will be chosen to denominate Federal Australia. The scheme, as adopted by the Sydney Convention, will have to be entrusted to the various Legislatures for confirmation; and it may be that the influences which have so happily guided the decisions of the Federal delegates hitherto will be less active in the future. In any case, no scheme of Australian Confederation can take such shape as that it can be presented for confirmation

to the Crown and Imperial Parliament until the expiration of another year or two.

A conference of the military commandants of the various colonies was held at Adelaide to consider the subject of Australian land defence and to frame a scheme of general armaments. They have decided that a mobile force of not less than 12,000 trained militia should be provided by the colonies, *pro rata* of their populations, in twenty-four battalions of 500 men each. The scheme for which there already exists, or will shortly exist, the necessary means may be expected to be shortly adopted.

The first appearance of a joint colonial squadron in Australian waters took place in August, and is an event of much significance, as indicating the progress which has been made by the Australian colonies in the matter of naval defence.

The joint convention appointed to consider the question of Inter-Colonial Free Trade, which met at Adelaide, reported favourably to Lord Kintore, the Governor of South Australia, upon a uniform tariff throughout the colonies.

The squatters, or sheep farmers, throughout Australia have, in view of the recent organised strikes of shearers, agreed to form a Pastoralists' Association in defence of their industry.

Australia has been visited during the year by "General" Booth, in search of a field in which to exercise his benevolence, and by Mr. H. M. Stanley, the famous African explorer. "General" Booth has been successful in collecting funds in aid of his purpose, but his idea of planting his "submerged tenth" on Australian soil has been stoutly resisted.

New South Wales.—The new Governor, the Earl of Jersey, arrived in Sydney on January 15.

The Federal Convention met at Sydney on March 15, to draw up a scheme of confederation for the Australasian colonies. All the colonies, including New Zealand, sent delegates, and the proceedings were marked by much cordiality. The necessity for union was universally conceded, and the leading principles of a confederation were agreed to with but little difference of opinion. The constitution upon a popular basis, with equal representation of the colonies in the Upper House of Parliament, was decided upon, and a measure framed embodying the opinions of the delegates, which is to be afterwards submitted for the approval of the various local Legislatures.

The Parliament of New South Wales was opened by the new Governor, Lord Jersey, on May 19. A vote of want of confidence in the Parkes' Ministry was moved by Mr. Dibbs, the leader of the Opposition, on May 27, with the result, after several days' debate, of a "tie," sixty-three members voting on either side. The Speaker gave a casting vote for the Government. A dissolution of Parliament followed, and a General Election was held, which ended with results unsatisfactory for the Government, although not immediately adverse to Sir Henry Parkes. Among

the members returned were 51 Ministerialists and 57 of the Opposition, with 26 representatives of the "Labour party," which for the first time made its appearance in the Assembly, independent of either side, and divided on the question of Free Trade or Protection. Of avowed Protectionists there were 76, of Free Traders 62, giving to the former, for the first time, a clear majority in the New South Wales Assembly. Of this majority Mr. Dibbs, a recent convert to Protection, is the recognised leader.

At the meeting of the new Assembly, Mr. Dibbs again brought forward a motion of want of confidence in the Government, but aided by the votes of the Labour members, whose support he had secured by promises of legislation in their behalf, Sir Henry Parkes succeeded in securing a majority.

The support of the Labour party, which had been purchased by alterations in the Electoral Law giving greater power to the Labour interest, and by changes in the common law regarding questions between master and servant, was necessary to maintain Sir Henry Parkes in office against his political opponents. But the Ministry were quickly made aware that this support would only continue so long as they did the behests of their allies. To the question of Confederation, which was to Sir Henry Parkes a matter of nearest concern, the Labour delegates were either indifferent or openly hostile. Meanwhile the demands of the Labour members on the Treasury, in the prosecution of their crusade against property, were such as could not be met without a total dislocation of the colonial scheme of finance. The resignation of the Treasurer, Mr. McMillan, the ablest and soundest of Sir Henry Parkes' colleagues, was but an anticipation of the fate which, from the date of the opening of Parliament, was in store for the Government. The Ministerial crisis was brought to a point in October through the alienation of the Labour members. A majority of the Assembly refused, at the bidding of the Ministry, to reconstruct the Coal Mines Regulation Bill, in order to reconsider certain provisions which had been inserted by the Labour party, forbidding any miner from working more than eight hours a day, or working at all on "Pay Saturday." Before the debate closed, Sir Henry Parkes uttered a strong protest against the tyranny sought to be imposed upon labourers by the Trades Unions. Immediately after the defeat of the Government, it was announced, on October 19, that Sir Henry Parkes had resigned office, the announcement being coupled with the statement that the veteran statesman, now past his eightieth year, would be debarred by his increasing infirmities from ever taking part again in public affairs. The Opposition, to which was transferred the support of the Labour party, assumed office, under the leadership of Mr. Dibbs as Premier and Chief Secretary. The other places, as announced on October 23, were filled as follows:—Treasurer, Mr. John See; Minister of Works, Mr. W.

J. Lyne; Minister of Lands, Mr. Henry Copeland; Attorney-General, Mr. Edmund Barton; Minister of Public Instruction, Mr. F. B. Sutton; Minister of Justice, Mr. R. E. O'Connor; Minister of Mines and Agriculture, Mr. T. M. Slattery; Postmaster-General, Mr. John Kidd; Vice-President of the Executive Council (without portfolio), Sir Julian Salomons.

The new cabinet represents, perhaps, not more than is usual in colonial cabinets, men of various opinions and of very opposite principles. Upon the question of Federation the Ministers are divided, Mr. Barton being, perhaps, the only one who has hitherto been enthusiastic in the cause, towards which Mr. Dibbs, the Premier, has shown much indifference—being inclined, if to any federation at all, to a Federal Republic separate from Great Britain. The one point on which the new cabinet is united, and the only one which promises to be of use to them in maintaining their power is Protection.

The retirement of Sir Henry Parkes from active political life (which more recent events prove to be a little unreal) brought Mr. G. H. Reid to the front as leader of the Opposition. Mr. Reid was a member of the late Administration, between whom and his chief there was not much agreement. Mr. Reid is an ardent Free Trader, and is believed to be something less than friendly to the cause of Federation. In fact, an analysis of the new division of parties seems to disclose a curious confusion and intermingling of political platforms. The most zealous Federationist, and, therefore, the legitimate successor of Sir Henry Parkes in the policy most favoured by that statesman, is Mr. Barton, who is the strongest member of the Administration which has replaced that of Sir Henry Parkes. On the other hand, Mr. Dibbs is a strenuous Protectionist, whose chief opponent is Mr. Reid, who is not for Federation, though strongly for Free Trade. The change in the Government of the colony is, therefore, one which, pending fresh developments of the growing labour interest, does not afford much scope for a forecast of the future of New South Wales.

The Dibbs Ministry met Parliament in November, bringing forward two measures, one for the carrying out of the principle of "One Man One Vote," and the other bearing upon the strike question, in which certain changes in the law were proposed favourable to the strikers. The promised legislation is all in the interest of the Labour party, which hopes by its influence in Parliament and by the curtailment of the electoral privileges of "property," to rule the next great uprising against capital to an issue more successful than the last.

The new Treasurer, Mr. See, delivered his Budget speech in Sydney on December 1, in which the Protective policy of the Government was unfolded. The new tariff, he averred, would be so framed as that the taxes would spare the working man and fall on the rich. Agricultural improvement would be ex-

tended, and the people employed at a higher rate of pay, so that the money might be kept in the country. The Government proposed to introduce both specific and *ad valorem* duties, while remitting others which fell on articles of general consumption, such as tea. The *ad valorem* duty on most articles of foreign production would be 10 per cent., with 15 per cent. on luxuries such as silks, jewellery, and carriages. The total amount expected from the new taxes was 905,000*l.*, of which 550,000*l.* would be derived from the *ad valorem* duties. The Government further proposed a duty of 10*d.* per 100 lbs. on imported grain, of 1*s.* per 100 lbs. on flour, of 10*s.* a ton on hay and straw and potatoes, and 20*s.* a ton on onions. The Treasurer anticipated that the revenue from these sources would quickly cease, as the country would "soon grow enough for its own consumption"—a remarkable if not unique instance of a financier who imposes new taxes with a view to the diminution of revenue. A tax on stock coming over the border was also included in Mr. See's scheme, which is a direct attack upon the intercolonial trade, and is likely to lead to retaliatory measures from the other colonies, while it creates a new impediment in the path of Federation.

The financial policy of the Government was under discussion in the Assembly on a motion by Mr. Reid, affirming that the protective proposals of the Administration ought to stand over until a Parliament had been elected on the basis of "One Man One Vote." The motion was defeated by a majority of 71 to 63, the Labour party being divided, though a number of members who are opposed to Protection voted with the Ministry. In the course of the discussion Mr. Dibbs declared, in excuse for the new taxes, that a deficit existed in the public treasury, which he charged upon the faulty management of the finances by his predecessors. Mr. McMillan, the ex-Treasurer, in his reply, denied the existence of any deficit, averring that the figures of Mr. See were obtained by his bringing into the accounts of the present year a number of items of expenditure which were incurred in the past, and the payment for which should be spread over several years. The revenue of New South Wales for the year 1891, as since ascertained, was 10,047,000*l.*, which was an increase of 548,000*l.* over that of 1890. No case for new taxation, it was argued, had been made out by the Dibbs Ministry. Moreover, in justification of the policy of the Ministry, it was pointed out that no deficit was needed. Either a policy of Protection was right or it was wrong. If Protection, as Mr. Dibbs argued, was to be resorted to, because it was to make the people rich and prosperous, it should be imposed whether the ordinary sources of revenue were sufficient or not. According to the Treasurer himself, the new fiscal changes were intended to stop the importation of foreign products, and, therefore, to be self-destructive—which was a position inconsistent with that now maintained by

the Government, that the new duties were required in order to provide for a failure of revenue. Mr. Reid's arguments would seem to be conclusive in proving the insincerity of the present Government in their financial measures, of which the real justification is to be sought for in the exigencies of the political situation. The existence of the Dibbs Administration depends upon the Labour vote, and the Labour members are not to be purchased on any other terms than the continuance of the present extravagant rate of public living, which is to be kept up at the expense of the propertied classes.

The dramatic incident of the debate on Mr. Reid's motion was a violent attack made by Sir Henry Parkes on his late colleague, the leader of the Opposition. Sir Henry Parkes, who, like other living statesmen presently out of office, has borne his exclusion from power very impatiently, assailed Mr. Reid in angry tones for his want of adroitness in bringing forward his motion, and his general presumption in succeeding to the leadership of the Opposition and the Free Trade party without having been formally elected thereto, criticising his parliamentary conduct, and denouncing what he implied to be Mr. Reid's treachery to himself, his former leader. Sir Henry Parkes even went so far as to declare that he, though a life-long Free Trader, who had been decorated with the gold medal of the Cobden Club, would vote with the Government. In the event Sir Henry Parkes did not vote at all, but left the Chamber before the division. This painful scene, out of which the veteran ex-Premier emerged with a sadly dilapidated reputation for tact and patriotic feeling, has contributed to bring into greater prominence the extreme confusion which prevails in the political situation of New South Wales. A few days before this, Sir Henry Parkes had attacked at Kiama Mr. Barton, once a colleague of his, and now a chief stay of the Dibbs Ministry, for having too hastily assumed that Federation had been given over to his (Mr. Barton's) charge. What had happened was this: On the night of his defeat by a combination of the Opposition with the Labour party, Sir Henry Parkes, suffering from great bodily and mental distress, told Mr. Barton that he had determined to resign his seat in Parliament, and to be rid of that load of insult and labour. Mr. Barton had tried to dissuade him from that course by asking, "What would become of Federation?" To which Sir Henry Parkes had replied: "You are young and strong; you must take up Federation." These hasty words, uttered in agony, were not, the ex-Premier argued, a sufficient warrant for Mr. Barton's claim of having succeeded to the reversion of the championship of the Federal cause.

Sir Alfred Stephen, late Chief Justice, and since then, on his retirement from the bench, Lieutenant-Governor of the colony, announced his resignation of that office through failing health and growing infirmities. Sir Alfred Stephen has passed his

ninetieth year, having had a public connection with the colonies for a period of nearly seventy years.

Victoria.—The year 1891 has been marked by a serious and long-continued financial depression, caused chiefly by excessive land speculations, and coming as the reaction from a past condition of inflation. Several of the smaller banks succumbed to the pressure on their resources, brought about by the fallen values of the property in which their capital had been invested, and the difficulty of realising the land estates which had been purchased during the incidence of the "land loan" of 1890. Many of the building societies also had to close their doors. Widespread loss and injury have been caused throughout the colony by these failures, which in some cases were found to be attended with fraud and dishonest dealing on the part of their managers.

The year has been tolerably free from political excitement, there having been no serious attempt to disturb the reign of the Munro Ministry, which, if it has lost any portion of public confidence, has had no more formidable difficulties to encounter than those which arise from its own rash and ill-considered policy—a policy of concession to the prevailing democratic sentiment which, before the end of the year, had to be considerably modified.

Mr. Munro, the Premier, made an important speech to his constituents at Geelong, on April 16, in which, somewhat to their surprise, he dealt chiefly with the question of Confederation, showing more zeal in the cause, and more hopefulness as to its ultimate success, than he had been credited with feeling. The Victorian tariff he regarded as the best which Federated Australia could adopt. The ruling fiscal principle of the Federation, he declared, would be Free Trade internally, and Protection externally. He objected to the name of Commonwealth, and preferred retaining the right of a final appeal to the Crown in law matters—a point in which there had been some difference of opinion among the members of the Federal Convention.

The Parliament was opened on June 23. Prominent among the measures announced in the Governor's speech, in which the programme of Ministerial policy was conveyed, were Bills for the abolition of plural voting and for the extension of the franchise to females. That neither of them was very urgently demanded by public opinion, or requested by Ministers as essential to their existence, was proved by first one and then the other being dropped before the session was ended. The question of "One Man One Vote" very nearly involved a Ministerial crisis. A Bill embodying this principle was carried through the Lower House, but met with considerable opposition in the Council. The majority of the members of the Upper House were in favour of amending the Bill by giving a second vote to every ratepayer. The leader of the Ministry openly held out a threat that he would dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country if the Bill

were not carried. The Ministerial representative in the Council, however, took an opportunity, while the Bill was before the House, of declaring that the question was an open one in the Cabinet, and that he and certain of his colleagues would resign if the clause containing the One Man One Vote provision was carried. For a few days it seemed as if that familiar incident of Victorian politics, a Ministerial crisis, were imminent. After a Cabinet Council it was known that Sir Frederick Sargood, the Minister of Defence and Education, Mr. J. Davies, Minister of Justice, and Messrs. Fraser and Ham, representatives of the Government without portfolio, all members of the Legislature, had resigned their offices. A few days afterwards, however, on November 11, Mr. Munro, the Premier, announced that these resignations had been withdrawn. By what mutual concessions the breach in the cabinet had been repaired and a crisis or an appeal to the country averted, the public were not informed. There is reason to suppose that the Government has been persuaded that there is no great feeling, even among their own supporters, in favour of the proposed drastic change in the electoral system. There is a growing opinion, not only among the propertied classes, but all who have any stake in the colony, especially in the agricultural districts, that the One Man One Vote principle should be modified to the extent of giving a second vote to everyone paying rates. In the meanwhile, the Bill, on which the Government began by staking its existence, has been quietly dropped for the session. It has been discovered that there was no demand for it on the part of any considerable section of the public. The Government had never been pledged to bring it forward, and it must have been aware that it could serve no political purpose, except to increase the influence of the Trades Union Council and to multiply the number of the so-called Labour members.

The Federation Bill has been under discussion in the Victorian Assembly, though the interest in the subject has perceptibly waned, chiefly because of the political and fiscal changes in New South Wales, which seem to indicate a recrudescence of the old feelings of intercolonial jealousy. The name of the proposed Federal Government was altered by the Assembly from "Commonwealth" to "Federation." With the retirement of Sir Henry Parkes from the leadership of New South Wales and the advent of a new Ministry in that colony, pledged to prefer local to general interests, it may be assumed that for the present the Federal scheme has been shelved. The policy of the new Government in Sydney being to encourage local industries at the expense of its neighbours—to exclude not only the manufactures of the mother country, but the products of the other colonies from the Sydney market—there is no present likelihood of the colonies agreeing to any project of union, the first condition of which, it is generally allowed, must be Free Trade within the Federation.

The legislation of the year in Victoria has been of little significance. Foiled in the only two measures which promised to be subversive of political society and of existing institutions, the One Man One Vote Bill, and the scheme for admitting women to the franchise, the Munro Government, taking its defeat with much equanimity, has confined its activity to passing a Bill for the suppression of opium-growing, and another to the bringing under the better control of Parliament the administration of the public railways.

The Treasurer made his financial statement on July 25, announcing a deficit of 309,000*l.* Finding no encouragement in the state of financial affairs in London for the issue of a fresh loan, the Government proposed a scheme for the issue of Treasury Bonds to the extent of 6,000,000*l.*, of which 750,000*l.* are to be issued at once. As these will bear interest at the rate of 4 per cent., it is only borrowing money under another name, and on terms which must necessarily affect the market price of Victorian Government stock.

The general tone of public opinion, as indicated by the course of political action, the restraint which the Government has been compelled to place on itself, and the courage with which it has faced the financial difficulties of the year, appears to indicate a subsidence of that political ferment from which the colony has been lately suffering. The wild utterances of some of the representatives of Labour in Parliament, such as Mr. Hancock, a recent importation from England, who has been the first to utter the word "confiscation," and has spoken of that and "everything" being "possible in a Democratic country," have helped to create a healthier reaction.

Speaking of the great strike of last year, Mr. H. G. Turner, late President of the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce, had the courage to declare at a public meeting that "never was a movement which had less grounds for its inception, or that was more wantonly or fatuously conducted."

The population of Victoria, as enumerated at the census taken on April 5, was 1,140,405, being 598,414 males and 541,991 females. The increase in ten years has been 278,059. The population of the city of Melbourne, with its suburbs, has increased from 282,947 in 1881 to 490,902. The number of native-born Australians now amounts to $\frac{8}{11}$ ths of the population of Victoria, the number of British- and Irish-born colonists having remained stationary during the last ten years.

Queensland.—In Queensland there has been a renewal of the labour troubles, encouraged, if not fomented, by the Democratic party in the colony, and by certain rash utterances on the part of those whose office it is to administer the law. The Government, on the whole, behaved with tolerable firmness in maintaining the public peace, in spite of the many temptations to court the favour of the masses by declining to put in force the

powers which reside in the Executive. Parliament was opened on June 30 by Sir Henry Norman in a speech in which prominence was given to the subject of Federation. Speaking, it may be presumed, in the name of his Ministry, he declared that he was convinced that the Federal scheme would be adopted with such amendments as might be necessary to give expression to the local Australian patriotism and the material interests of the Continent at large. The proposal submitted last year to Parliament for the division of Queensland into three separate provinces would again be laid before the Legislature, subsequent events having proved such a change to be desirable. He deplored the recent attempt by an organised body of law-breakers to disturb the public peace and to injure one of the most important and productive of the colonial industries. But his Government had recognised that their first duty was to maintain order and to secure the freedom of citizens in their lawful convictions, and therefore had called out the military to support the police. He congratulated the colony on the termination of the difficulty, and upon the conduct of the officers and men who had been engaged in vindicating the law and in maintaining the public peace.

Referring to financial matters, Sir Henry Norman declared that, owing to the want of confidence caused by the recent disturbances, the finances of the colony had been injuriously affected. The expenditure rendered necessary by the labour troubles had caused a serious deficit in the public accounts, while the ill-success of the recent application for a loan in the London market had shown the desirability of discontinuing the large public expenditure on public works. If in the result the Australian communities were taught to rely more on their internal resources and less on the foreign capitalist, he believed their experience would tend to the permanent public advantage.

The Naval Defence Bill was one of the earliest measures brought before Parliament. Sir Samuel Griffith, the Premier, in moving the second reading, urged that the question was not one of money but of honour and policy, the colony being bound to carry out the promises made by its representatives. The Bill was carried by a majority of forty-two to twelve, and has since become law; the scheme of Australian Naval Defence, from which Queensland only had stood out, being thus completed.

The Colonial Treasurer, Sir Thomas McIlwraith, delivered his Budget speech on August 8. He estimated the gross revenue of the year at 3,675,200*l.*, and the total expenditure at 3,647,693*l.* The accumulated deficit would be met, not by a new loan, but by the issue of Treasury Bills, to be met by the sale of county lands in large areas. The amount of borrowed money to be spent in public works during the year would be reduced by more than one-third. In the course of his speech, the Treasurer complained of the manner in which the Bank of Eng-

land had treated the Queensland Government in the issue of the last loan—the Bank being charged with having failed to carry out its promises. The matter has since been one of public discussion between the representatives of the Bank of England and Sir Thomas McIlwraith, with the result that the Bank has been able to prove that the Queensland Treasurer's criticisms were unfounded.

With regard to the matter of Federation, Sir Samuel Griffith declared in the Assembly that it would be futile to introduce any Federal Bill into the Queensland Legislature until it had been adopted by the Parliament of New South Wales. As New South Wales, under the present *régime*, has decided to postpone the subject of Federation, it may be assumed that the scheme has been indefinitely postponed.

South Australia.—The Parliament was opened on June 16. Dr. Cockburn, the leader of the Opposition, brought forward a motion of want of confidence in the Government, which was defeated by a majority of seven.

The Hon. Thomas Playford, Premier and Treasurer, delivered his financial statement on August 20. He announced that the year ending June 30 left a surplus of 153,691*l.*, of which 120,858*l.* had been used to meet Treasury Bills. Out of the total amount borrowed, amounting to 19,900,900*l.*, there was a profit over working expenses of 4 per cent. in 17,600,575*l.* expended in public works, leaving the interest on 2,300,325*l.* only to be provided out of the general revenue. The railways were paying over 5½ per cent. on their cost, while the irrigation and drainage works were paying over 3 per cent. The Treasurer declared that there had been an increase in the value of both imports and exports, the total figures in 1890 having been 15,500,000*l.*, while for 1891 they were 19,600,000*l.*

Western Australia.—The first Parliament of Western Australia, under the new Constitution Act, was opened on January 20 by the Governor, Sir William Robinson. Almost the first measure announced in his speech was one which proves that Western Australia will lose no time in assimilating her political system to those of the other colonies—at least in the direction of finance. A Bill authorising a loan to the amount of 1,300,000*l.* for railways and public works was announced on behalf of the Government. It has since been passed, and a portion of it, to the extent of 500,000*l.*, placed on the London market.

Meanwhile there has been a great and most encouraging increase of population since the institution of responsible Government, with a corresponding activity in all the branches of trade and commerce. The first section of the Midland Railway, from Guildford to Gingin, was opened on April 10.

The total revenue of the year, the first year of responsible government, amounted to 497,000*l.*, being an excess over the estimate of 55,000*l.*, while the expenditure amounted to 435,000*l.*

The revenue for 1892 is estimated at 538,000*l.*, and the expenditure at 578,000*l.*

Several new gold deposits are reported as having been discovered in the Northern Territory, as well as indications of a diamond mine in the Kimberley district.

Tasmania.—The Tasmanian Parliament was opened by the Governor on July 8. The Viceregal speech spoke in glowing terms of the improved financial condition of the colony and its coming prosperity. There was a large surplus in the revenue for 1890, and a prospect of a still larger one for 1891. The mineral resources of the country were being developed with highly satisfactory results. The railway returns since the purchase of the main line by the Government were very encouraging, though greater efforts were needed to bring the newly-discovered silver fields into communication with the seaports and the centres of population. Although the returns from the reproductive public works were very satisfactory, paying already "a fair contribution to the interest on the cost of construction," the Government, in the interest of the bondholders, and in order to maintain the credit of the colony in the money market, proposed to limit further borrowing until a more favourable season.

Mr. B. S. Bird, the Treasurer, in his financial statement, announced a surplus of 35,000*l.* in the year. The revenue for 1892 was estimated at 910,000*l.*, and the expenditure at 875,000*l.*

An Eight Hours Bill was rejected in the Assembly by the casting vote of the Speaker.

Fresh discoveries of tin are reported in the island, the deposits being of unusual richness, especially in the Blue Tier district. Iron ore has also been found in the interior.

New Zealand.—The Parliament was opened on June 11. In the Governor's speech stress was laid on the soundness of the financial condition of the colony as proved by the increased value of the exports. The exodus of the people to the other colonies was mentioned as a matter of regret, and new land legislation was promised with a view to the promotion of settlers on the soil, including a scheme for the repurchase of private estates. A Bill dealing with the labour difficulty was announced, and a statement made that no change was contemplated in the existing scheme of taxation.

The Premier and Treasurer, Mr. John Ballance, who is the champion of the advanced or popular party, which is now in possession of power, delivered his financial statement at Wellington on June 16. The revenue for the past year amounted to 4,283,000*l.*, and the expenditure to 4,175,000*l.* For the next year Mr. Ballance estimated the former at 4,413,000*l.* and the latter at 4,150,000*l.* He proposed to abolish the existing property tax, and to adopt in its place a graduated land tax, ranging from 1*d.* to 1½*d.* in the pound, with certain exemptions

for improvements up to the value of 3,000*l.* A graduated income tax, from 3*d.* to 1*s.* in the pound, would also be introduced. The public debt stood at 37,349,000*l.*

Rather through the disorganisation which prevails in the political condition of the colony and the weakness of the Opposition than through its own strength or the favour it enjoys in the country, the Government has been enabled to carry all these sweeping measures into law, though the so-called progressive land and income tax is not to be introduced until 1893. The scheme by which the burden of taxation is laid, in an increasing ratio, on properties above 500*l.* in value, has been severely criticised, and is likely, if ever carried out, to lead to the departure of some of the best colonists, together with a considerable amount of capital, from the country. The principle, for the first time introduced in any British colony, of making the larger properties pay at a higher rate, is intended, of course, to please the democratic supporters of the Government and the Labour party; but its obvious tendency will be to limit all improvement in the condition of the colony; to increase the burdens which already are so heavy on its productive interests; to lessen the attractions which New Zealand presents to the British emigrant; and necessarily to curtail and to damage the fund of national wealth, in the maintenance of which none are more deeply interested than the working classes. Mr. Ballance's cry continues to be, however, "New Zealand for the New Zealanders"; and as he has succeeded in driving his only formidable rival, Mr. Bryce, not only from power but from public life, he is likely to remain in office to work his pernicious policy until the Labour party begins to feel the effect of these "Progressive" measures.

An attempt made by Mr. Rolleston, the temporary leader of the Opposition, to overthrow the Government on a vote of want of confidence, was defeated by 11 votes. Mr. Bryce, on whom the hopes of the colony had been fixed as the only possible alternative to Mr. Ballance, having made use of language in the House for which he was censured by a vote of the majority, has resigned his seat and retired into private life.

A great meeting of the Maories was held at Waima in May, attended by delegates from many of the tribes, for the purpose of taking into consideration the desirability of forming a confederation of all the Maori tribes for political purposes. A thousand natives were present, and several stormy speeches were made, but the meeting broke up without coming to any definite conclusion regarding action in the future. At the census taken in April the total number of Maories in the islands was found to be 41,312, showing a decrease of only 120 since the last census. This fact seems to prove that the causes which have operated in the past to hasten the decadence of the native race are ceasing to work, and that the process of Maori decline has been arrested. The total population of New Zealand, as given in the census returns, is now 619,000.

The Federation proposals, brought forward by Sir George Grey in a languid and perfunctory manner on August 3, have been dropped in the House of Representatives. It is evident that New Zealand will not enter, for the present, into any system of Australasian Federal Union.

The Women's Suffrage Bill, which was passed by the House of Representatives, was rejected, somewhat contemptuously, by the Legislative Council.

Lord Onslow announced his desire to be relieved of the office of Governor. The reasons for this step were said to be that the Government House at Wellington being unhealthy and infested with typhoid fever, the Ministry declined to adopt any suggestions for its cleansing and improvement.

The last link of the railway system of the North Island, connecting Wellington the capital with Napier, and Napier with Wanganui and Taranaki, has been completed.

Fiji.—The chronicle for the year 1891 is almost a blank. Several smart shocks of earthquake were felt in May among the eastern and northern islands of the group, causing some slight damage.

Polynesia.—The Baron Sennft von Pilsbach was appointed President of the Municipal Council of Samoa by the representatives of the three Powers, England, Germany, and the United States, but the appointment, which is virtually one of chief local Resident and adviser of the King, was not popular, and has not been a signal success. The Baron von Pilsbach suffered himself to be embroiled in Samoan politics, and the latest news is that his resignation is probable.

Tamasese, the Samoan chief set up by the Germans as King in place of Malietoa, is dead. Fresh dissensions, however, have broken out between Malietoa and Mataafa, a claimant to the throne, hostilities between whose partisans have only been prevented from breaking out by the active interposition of the Powers. All business at Samoa has been stagnant, and it is feared that the peace lately secured is likely to be disturbed.

The British Resident at Rarotonga, Mr. F. G. Moss, has instituted a Parliament for Tonga, which met for the first time in August. There is one House of Assembly of twelve members, and a Supreme Court with native Chief Justice. All measures are to be approved by the British Resident.

The death of Mr. Dominis, the American husband of Queen Liliukoloni of Hawaii, has plunged the state into confusion. The American interest is severely affected. The local residents of that nationality are urging the United States Government to annex the Islands.

There have been disturbances in the New Hebrides and Solomon's Island, caused by the behaviour of the French residents, who are extremely unpopular in Polynesia. A petition from some of the native chiefs of the New Hebrides was forwarded to the British Government praying for annexation.

PART II.
CHRONICLE OF EVENTS
IN 1891.

JANUARY.

1. The New Year's Honours included peerages for Sir Francis Sandford, long connected with the Education and Scotch Departments; and Sir Edward C. Guinness, who had given 250,000*l.* for the relief of the London poor.

— The new year was also marked by the reduction of the Indian and Colonial postage to the international rate of 2½*d.* per half ounce.

— Nioro, the chief town of the insurgent chief Ali Madori, who had risen against the French in Senegal, occupied, after the complete defeat of the Toucouleurs, who lost 400 men.

— After remaining two years in force, the Minister of Agriculture consented to relax the dogs muzzling order in the Metropolitan District.

— At a bazaar held at St. John's School-room, Upper Wortley, near Leeds, a number of children were playing in some tableaux called "Snow Flakes." By some misadventure a Chinese lantern carried by one caught fire, and rapidly extended to the cotton wool with which the children were covered. Nine lives were lost, and others seriously injured.

2. Hurstbourne House, near Andover, the seat of the Earl of Portsmouth, an eighteenth century mansion, burnt to the ground. Many family portraits and relics were destroyed.

— Shortly after the close of the performance of "Cleopatra" at the Fifth Avenue Theatre, New York, an alarm of fire was raised. In a few hours the whole theatre was destroyed; Hermann's Theatre and Sturtevant House and other buildings in the same block were seriously damaged.

— Two severe shocks of an earthquake felt at San Francisco, and at the Lick Observatory the ceilings were cracked.

— About 250 clerks employed in the Savings Bank Branch of the General Post Office struck against an order of the Postmaster General to work beyond the seven hours stipulated by the Order in Council.

3. The discontent in Newfoundland in consequence of the circumspect policy of Lord Salisbury reached such a pitch that threats were openly made to throw off British Supremacy and to appeal for admission to the United States.

3. The Chapel Royal, Whitehall, formally handed over to the United Service Association for a museum and lecture hall.

— The Republic of Guatemala ravaged by an epidemic of small-pox, by which upwards of 20,000 persons lost their lives.

4. A terrible accident occurred on the frozen Danube between Buda and Pesth. The ice suddenly gave way at a spot where the crowd was greatest, and about sixty persons were immersed, of whom, however, a large majority were rescued.

— The Senatorial Election throughout France resulted in a decided gain for the Republicans. M. Jules Ferry, after many years exclusion, was returned for the Department of the Vosges.

5. A serious riot took place at Motherwell, near Glasgow, in consequence of the attempt of the manager of the Caledonian Railway to evict from their houses tenants who refused to return to work. Only two out of sixty consented, and on the Sheriff-Substitute attempting to carry out the order, the men, assisted by large numbers of miners from Hamilton, resisted. A squadron of Hussars was sent for to assist the police, and to disperse the crowd, which had attacked the station master's house, and destroyed the signal boxes. The Riot Act was read, the streets cleared, but the evictions were not carried out.

— By the intervention of the Sultan, the long-standing differences between the Porte and the Patriarchate were adjusted, and the Orthodox Churches were reopened throughout European Turkey in time to permit the Christians to attend their Christmas (old style) services.

6. An Anarchists' Congress assembled at Lugano, at which two Italian deputies attended.

— Messrs. Decker, Howell, & Co., of New York, who had suspended payment during the panic, resumed business, having paid all creditors in full, interest and principal, an amount exceeding \$12,000,000.

— A serious epidemic of typhoid fever declared itself at Florence, where there had been 900 cases within three weeks, with 75 deaths.

7. A final interview between Mr. Parnell and Mr. W. O'Brien took place at Boulogne, at which an arrangement was arrived at, though kept secret, which it was hoped would put an end to the schism and lead to the reconstruction of the Nationalist party under a new leader.

— The midnight Scotch express train from Euston came into collision near Preston with the detached wagons of a goods train, and the fireman of the express train was killed.

— A certain portion of the Chilian navy revolted against the government of President Balmaceda, and against the attempt to levy taxes which had not been properly voted by the Chambers. Contrary to expectation, the army did not join in the movement, but remained faithful to the existing government.

8. The Bank rate of discount reduced from 5 to 4 per cent., the Reserve standing at 15,531,645*l.*, or 39½ per cent. of the liabilities, and the stock of bullion to 24,143,860*l.*

— The Postmaster General having received a deputation of the clerks who had struck against the extra work imposed upon them, consented to their resuming work on apologising for the breach of discipline.

8. A fire broke out in the warehouse of a pianoforte manufacturer on the Boulevard St. Martin at Paris, and caused the destruction of property valued at upwards of a million of francs.

— A company of French troops, chiefly Zouaves, snowed up in Talterny Pass, between Tlemcen (Algeria) and Sebdon, the inhabitants of the village of Terny being also isolated by the snow drifts.

9. Terribly severe weather experienced in Eastern and Southern Europe; the Saone was frozen over at Lyons and the Rhone as far south as Arles. The Italian coast of the Adriatic suffered also, and the mountains behind Turin were covered with snow. In England the frost, with a single day's break, continued, causing much distress in the potteries and shipping centres, as well as in London.

— In consequence of the failure of the negotiations between the Irish leaders, Mr. John Dillon left America for Europe.

— A private soldier, named Wm. Thully, shot himself just before midnight under the west portico of St. Paul's Cathedral whilst in a fit of insanity.

10. The Right Rev. Dr. Magee, Bishop of Peterborough, appointed to the Archbishopric of York.

— A man, who declared himself to be Padlewski, who had assassinated General Seliverstoff in Paris, arrested by the Spanish police at Olot, near Barcelona. He turned out to be a Belgian deserter named Coberg, *alias* Tom Lane, a frequenter of Paris race courses.

11. Mr. Parnell addressed a large and enthusiastic meeting at Limerick, and reviewed the past and present position of the Irish National party, and was received with great enthusiasm.

— At the election for the assembly to revise the constitution of the Canton of Ticino, all the Liberals abstained from voting, only 10,600 Catholics out of an electorate of 26,000 going to the polls.

12. The Behring Sea question, involving the question of the jurisdiction of the United States over the high seas at a distance of 59 miles, taken to the United States Supreme Court, to be decided as a legal question on the motion to annul the proceedings of the District court at Sitka, which had condemned the sealer *W. P. Sayward*, the Canadian government assenting to the action.

— The long frost, which had lasted almost without break for six weeks, suddenly broke up all over the continent and in England. The north of Scotland throughout its prevalence had been enjoying exceptionally warm weather. The majority of the rivers in central Europe were frozen over and the northern ports, including Antwerp, were closed by ice. The thaw lasted only two days.

13. Wellington, the capital of New Zealand, visited by serious floods, during which the records preserved in the cellars of the Houses of Parliament were almost totally destroyed.

14. At Rouen a serious fire broke out in the upper part of the beautiful Palais de Justice and rapidly spread along the roof. In consequence of the unwillingness of the firemen to direct a strong stream of water against buildings known to be fragile, the fire obtained a firm hold, and the greater portion of the wing rebuilt in 1882 was seriously injured.

— At the 'Tea Mart' in Mincing Lane some tea from the Gallahorn

estate, Ceylon, was sold at the unheard of price of 87s. per pound, and the purchasers later in the day were offered a large advance on their bargain. The tea, which was of the Pekoe variety, resembled carraway seeds. The tea was re-sold on the same day for 5*l.* 10s. per pound.

15. Professor Koch published an account of the discovery of his remedy for tuberculosis, and its scientific composition.

— General Miles, the United States officer in command on the Indian frontier, reported the practical conclusion of hostilities and the willingness of the Indians to act peaceably towards settlers.

— The United States Senate, after fourteen hours' debating, adopted a free coinage Bill by 39 to 27 votes.

— At Glasgow two gas receivers containing many millions of cubic feet of gas exploded, doing considerable damage in the neighbourhood. It was subsequently surmised that the receivers had been intentionally blown up, and 1,000*l.* reward was offered for a clue to the perpetrators.

16. The Supreme Court at Copenhagen prohibited cremation in Denmark pending the passing of a new law for the disposal of the dead.

— The German Reichstag, after four days' debate, rejected by 210 to 106 votes the motion made by the advanced parties to obstruct the protective-import duties on corn.

17. Sir James Hannen, President of the Probate and Admiralty Court, appointed a Lord of Appeal.

— The United States Senate, after thirty-two hours' continuous session on the Federal Election Bill, informally adjourned over Sunday. The object of the Republicans who supported the Bill in prolonging the sitting was to show to the members of their own party the necessity of the closure.

— M. Labruyère and others who had been sentenced to imprisonment for aiding and abetting the escape of Padlewski released on appeal, the court holding that there was great doubt as to the identity of the person they assisted.

18. After two days' thaw, the frost returned all over Europe. At Marseilles the docks were frozen, and the wells at Perpignan. On the Riviera Cannes was covered with snow, and at Nice the drinking fountains were frost-bound and the harbours at Toulon covered with two inches of ice. The lakes of Morat, Constance, and Zurich were frozen over. At Naples there were five inches of snow in the streets, and even in the district of Malaga the cold was so intense as to bring the jackals down among the villages, ravaging the flocks. The Tagus was frozen over as far as Toledo, and the Ebro at Sarragossa was covered with 15 inches of ice.

19. The trustees of the British Museum announced the discovery on certain papyri purchased by them in Egypt, of the hitherto unknown, except in detached fragments, Treatise of Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens. The text of the treatise was written on the back of a papyrus containing the monthly accounts of the bailiff of an Egyptian estate, living in the eleventh year of Vespasian's reign.

— Colonel Paiva O'Audrade, who had been taken prisoner by the police of the British South Africa Company in Manicaland, but subsequently re-

leased, arrived at Lisbon, where he received a great ovation from the public and the ministers.

19. Queen's College, Oxford, celebrated the 550th anniversary of the sealing in the Tower of London, by Edward III., of the licence to Robert de Eglesfield to form a collegiate hall at Oxford, to be called Queen's Hall.

— In accordance with prescribed law, the Crown Prince of Siam, having entered his thirteenth year, was, in sign of his coming of age, shorn of his "top-knot," with a most magnificent ceremonial.

20. A decided thaw set in all over Europe, the temperature suddenly rising to above 40° under the influence of a west wind.

— The Japanese House of Parliament at Tokio, where the first Parliament had been opened by the Mikado two months before, totally destroyed by fire.

— The first Parliament of Western Australia, under the new constitution, opened by the Governor, Sir W. C. F. Robinson, who recommended the raising of a loan of 1,800,000*l.* for railways and public works.

— A great demonstration of citizens in favour of an extended suffrage took place at Brussels, marching from the Congress Column to the Town Hall, where the delegates presented an address to the Burgomaster and other Liberal members.

— A landslip, attributed to the sudden thaw, involving the loss of three lives, took place on the chalk hills above the Elham Valley, near Folkestone. In the middle of the night a labourer's cottage, with six occupants, had been driven by the falling earth and snow right across the road into a meadow beyond, and completely smashed. Three children escaped, but the father, mother, and an infant were killed.

21. The election for Hartlepool resulted in the return of Mr. C. Furness (G.L.), 4,608 votes, against Sir William Gray (L.U.), 4,805 votes.

— The Marquess of Salisbury, who was the guest of the Master of Magdalene College, addressed a large meeting of Unionists and Conservatives in the Cambridge Corn Exchange.

— At a "full meeting" of the members and associates of the Royal Academy, Mr. Thomas Brock, A., sculptor, and Mr. Andrew C. Gow, A., painter, were elected Academicians, and Mr. David Murray, painter, an Associate.

22. The Bank of England reduced its rate of discount from 4 to 3½ per cent., the reserve being 17,054,489*l.*, or 48¼ of the liabilities, and the stock of coin and bullion 24,023,140*l.*

23. Prince Baldwin, eldest son of the Comte de Flandre, and heir to the Belgian throne, died after a very short illness, attributed to a chill received whilst attending on his sister, the Princess Henrietta, who was suffering from inflammation of the lungs.

— A considerable portion of the Amalienborg Palace at Copenhagen, the residence of the Crown Prince and Princess, damaged by fire, and a large quantity of valuable art objects destroyed.

— At the instigation of the German Emperor, the Government prepared a bill for removing the sequestration of the funds of the Roman Catholic

Church, and for appropriating the accumulation, amounting to eight millions sterling, to Church purposes.

23. An explosion of fire damp occurred at the Hibernia pit, Gelsenkirchen, Westphalia, by which forty-four pit men lost their lives, and as many more were seriously injured.

— In the House of Commons, Mr. Channing's resolution in favour of regulating the hours of work for railway servants defeated by the narrow majority of eighteen. The President of the Board of Trade promised a Committee of Inquiry.

24. The rapid thaw succeeded by rains caused floods in many parts of Great Britain and on the continent, especially in Northern France and Belgium, whilst on all the principal rivers sappers were being constantly employed in blowing up the ice which had been formed and checked the natural flow of the water.

— At Weymouth, a squabble between some soldiers and civilians ended in the former having to retire to their barracks. They soon after returned reinforced by the picket, and commenced a savage attack upon the civilians, totally refusing to obey their officers, and many of the townspeople were seriously wounded.

25. The French preacher, Père Didon, after an enforced retirement from preaching for several years, occupied the pulpit of Notre-Dame at Paris, where a congregation of more than 6,000 was assembled, and nearly 1,500*l.* was collected for the erection of a church in Rome.

26. A fearful snowstorm, which had prevailed for nearly two days along the Atlantic coast, did enormous damage in the chief towns. The traffic in the streets was impeded, and in many cases the train service was altogether suspended. In New York all the electric light and telephone wires were broken down, and telegraphic communication was cut off from the rest of the world for several hours.

— Intelligence received that the important port of Coronel, the principal coaling station on the coast of Chili, had been bombarded by the insurgents.

— Mr. Justice Butt appointed to succeed Sir James Hannen as President of the Admiralty, Probate, and Divorce Court, and Mr. Francis Henry Jeune, Q.C., to succeed Mr. Justice Butt.

27. The French Government prohibited the performance of M. Sardou's new play of "Thermidor," in consequence of the violent scenes provoked on its first representation. The play reflected strongly upon Robespierre and other leaders of the Revolution, and this gave offence to the Radicals of Paris.

— In the House of Commons a motion, after some verbal alterations, was agreed to without a division, to expunge from the journals of the House the resolution of June 22, 1880, preventing Mr. Bradlaugh taking the oath, making an affirmation, or taking his seat.

— At the Frick Coke Company's pits, Mount Pleasant, Pennsylvania, an explosion of gas took place, followed by the pit being set on fire, and upwards of 150 miners lost their lives.

28. Several hundreds of travelling "showmen" met at the Agricultural

Hall, Islington, to protest against the Movable Dwellings Bill, which provided for the Government inspection and control of vans and their occupants.

28. At a banquet given in honour of Mr. Goschen by the Leeds Chamber of Commerce, the Chancellor of the Exchequer explained his views as to the issue of one pound bank notes, to be represented by an equivalent gold reserve, and ten shilling notes by a silver reserve.

— In the House of Commons the second reading of Mr. E. Robertson's Bill to amend the Conspiracy Law in the interests of men on strike, rejected by 179 to 143 votes, after the debate had been closed by Mr. Robertson himself.

— Serious rioting, extending over several days, took place at Kingston, Jamaica, in consequence of disputes which had arisen between several soldiers of the 1st West India regiment and the constabulary. A very large number of the latter were injured before peace could be restored.

29. Prince Baldwin of Flanders buried in the royal vault at Laeken, after an imposing funeral service, held in the Cathedral of St. Gudule in Brussels.

— The Bank of England reduced its rate of discount from $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 3 per cent., the reserve standing at 17,598,784*l.*, or $45\frac{1}{2}$ of the liabilities, and the stock of coin and bullion 24,143,379*l.*

— The strikes of the Scotch railways, which had lasted for six weeks, and had been accompanied by many outrages upon officials and property, brought to a close by the general surrender of the men.

— At Alhamana, near Trikkala, in Greece, an avalanche carried away a great portion of the township, causing the death of twenty-five persons, and seriously injuring many others.

— Mr. Windom, United States Secretary of the Treasury, whilst at a banquet given by the New York Board of Trade, died suddenly from heart disease. He had just finished his speech, and had sat down a few minutes previous to his seizure.

30. Comte von Waldерsee, Chief of the General Staff of the German Army, resigned his post, and transferred to the command of the Thirteenth Army Corps.

— General Booth, before leaving England for Sweden and Norway, announced at a farewell meeting that more than the 100,000*l.* asked for had been subscribed for his new scheme "Darkest London."

31. Three regiments of infantry and some men of the fiscal guard (pensioners) quartered at Oporto, dissatisfied with recent promotions, joined by some civilians, revolted, seized the Town Hall, and proclaimed a Republic. The insurgents next proceeded to bombard the Royal Palace, where they did considerable damage. The loyal troops at length surrounded the buildings where the rioters were established, and drove them back with heavy loss, and by nightfall the city was restored to quiet. Comparatively few civilians took part in the revolt. It was estimated that about 100 lives were lost, and 500 persons were made prisoners.

— In the Italian Chamber, Sr. Crispi having been betrayed into strong expressions concerning his late predecessor's policy, Sr. Minghetti found himself placed in the minority by the secession of a large body of his supporters. He at once resigned the premiership.

FEBRUARY.

1. The first general elections with universal suffrage held throughout Spain, and passed off with complete tranquillity, except at Barcelona and one or two manufacturing towns. The ministerialists were generally successful, but all shades of the opposition were represented, including the Republicans and the Carlists.

2. Mr. Fuller, Chief Justice of the United States, decided that the Court had jurisdiction to review the proceedings of the Alaska Court, and granted the petition of counsel for leave to file its application in the matter of the *W. P. Sayward*.

— Out of forty men working on the road between Demitsana and Tripolitza in the Peloponnesus, fifteen were frozen to death, and the remainder removed to a neighbouring village in a very serious condition.

— The Bishop of Worcester (Dr. Perowne) and the Bishop of Mauritius (Dr. Walsh) consecrated in Westminster Abbey by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of London, Rochester, and others.

— Two bands of Arnauts, numbering 600 men, each armed with Martini rifles, marched on the town of Drenitza, burned the Governor's Palace, the barracks, and a Greek Church.

3. Eyraud, the murderer of the process-server Gouffé, executed at Paris outside La Roquette prison, in the presence of a disorderly mob.

— The Lord Mayor placed in position, close under the walls of the Mansion House, the first stone of the main junction box of the electrical system for lighting the city of London.

— Mr. C. Bradlaugh's funeral at Brookwood, Woking, attended by upwards of 3,000 persons, who were conveyed in three special trains. There was no funeral ceremony and no speeches.

4. In the House of Commons the second reading of Mr. Gladstone's Religious Disabilities Removal Bill rejected by 256 to 228 votes.

— At a banquet given by the Marquess of Bute as Mayor of Cardiff, in honour of opening some extensive steel works, a fire, originating in the collapse of an incandescent lamp, caused an interruption of the dinner, the destruction of the hangings of the hall, and the loss of some family portraits lent by Lord Bute.

— The Governor of the Dominion of Canada dissolved Parliament, and the Prime Minister, Sir J. Macdonald, issued an address advocating the abandonment of a Protectionist policy, and the conclusion of a Reciprocity treaty with the United States.

5. The whole of the coal tippers and crane-men employed at the Bute Docks, Cardiff, struck work in consequence of the refusal of the directors to discharge non-union hands. Although not a numerous body, thousands of men in other branches were thrown out of employment by this step.

— The revolution in Chili assumed very serious proportions. The Congressionalists, after having taken Pissagua, were obliged to surrender to the President Balmaceda's forces, when 100 of the garrison were killed. 800

taken prisoners, and twenty-eight officers subsequently shot in cold blood. On the other hand, the President's troops were completely blockaded at Santiago and Valparaiso, which had declared in his favour.

6. In the House of Commons Mr. Rowlands' motion to deprive the Liveries of the City Companies of the franchise, negatived by 148 to 120 votes.

— The announcement of the defeat of S  nor Salmaon, the Republican leader, by his Conservative opponent in a suburb of Barcelona, led to serious rioting, in the course of which considerable damage was done before the troops could restore order.

— The discovery made of a vast tomb of high priests of Ammon among the Lybian Mountains, north-west of Thebes, near Dehr El-Bahri. Upwards of 200 sarcophagi were discovered, together with numerous statuettes, papyri, and statues, all in complete preservation. The date of the tomb was assigned to the eleventh dynasty, about 2,500 B.C.

7. A severe blizzard visited the Western States of America. On the Union Pacific Railway, between Cheyenne and Sydney, six mail and express passenger trains, with upwards of 500 passengers, were snowed up for two days, and great difficulty was experienced in conveying food to them.

— A Coalition Ministry formed in Italy under the presidency of the Marchese di Rudini of the Right, supported by Sr. Nicotera of the Left.

9. The Russian Ambassador returned to the Lord Mayor the address signed by the latter and others, which had been voted at the meeting at the Mansion House, to express sympathy with Jews and their treatment in Russia.

— The advance of the Egyptian troops from Suakin to Tokar having been decided, a large body of men embarked for Trinkitat. No British soldiers were sent, but the chief officers in command were all British.

— The official report of the census in Hungary, taken on the night of Dec. 31, 1890, showed the total population to have increased in ten years by two millions, to 17,500,000, of whom 8,200,000 were Hungarians.

10. Mr. A. J. Balfour received from Trinity College, Dublin, *honoris caus  *, the honorary degree of LL.D. by the unanimous vote of the University, and was most enthusiastically received by the students on his arrival.

— A French banker named Berneau, trading as V. Mac   & Co., absconded, leaving liabilities estimated at upwards of seventeen millions of francs. Among his clients were several thousand priests and several bishops. He had offered and for a long time paid 10 per cent. per month upon all moneys deposited with him.

11. In the House of Commons the second reading of the Bill for Legalising Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister passed by 202 to 155.

— The negotiations between the two sections of the Irish party, which had been going on at Boulogne and elsewhere for many weeks, brought to a conclusion, no understanding with Mr. Parnell having been established.

— The dockers' strike, which seemed to have been almost overcome or averted at Cardiff, suddenly extended to London and Liverpool, the stevedores on the Thames leading the way in boycotting four lines of steamships.

12. Mr. Justin M'Carthy called a meeting of his colleagues at the House

of Commons and explained the position of the Irish party, and the attitude of Mr. Parnell. Almost simultaneously Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P., and Mr. Dillon arrived at Folkestone, and voluntarily gave themselves up to the police authorities.

12. Mr. Gladstone opened the new public reading-room for the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and made a long speech in favour of the institution.

— At Northampton the vacancy caused by Mr. Bradlaugh's death resulted in the election of Mr. Alderman Manfield (G.) by 5,486 votes, against 3,723 given to Mr. R. A. Germaine (C.).

13. Another murder, in many respects resembling those attributed to "Jack the Ripper," perpetrated at Whitechapel, in a narrow thoroughfare running under a railway arch. The woman, who was still living when found by the policeman, was about twenty-seven years of age, and of the same class as the other victims. A man named Sadler, a fireman on a steamship, was arrested by the police and charged with the most recent murder, but was ultimately discharged.

— Two serious fires occurred in London—one at the brewery premises of Messrs. Barclay & Perkins, Southwark, and the other in Long Acre, where a fire originating in a fruitsalesman's warehouse spread to several adjoining houses, including a large coachbuilder's factory and showroom, and destroyed property to the value of 50,000*l.*

— Messrs. O'Brien and Dillon conveyed to Clonmel Gaol, no demonstration being made at Dublin, or along the route travelled.

14. Rev. Mandell Creighton, Canon of Windsor and Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge, appointed Bishop of Peterborough.

— In the United States all the amendments of the Copyright Bill which had been made during its progress, negatived by 31 to 29, and the Bill restored to the shape in which it left the House of Representatives.

— A serious fire caused in the New York Post Office by the fusion of electric wires in the machine-room. Much damage was done to the building.

15. After considerable hesitation, the Khedive consented to the appointment of Mr. Justice Scott as Judicial Adviser, with a consultative voice and veto on the administration of justice in Egypt.

— After a battle fought on the Pampas at Dolores, when the Chilian Government troops were defeated with heavy loss, Iquique surrendered to the Parliamentarians, but in a riot which ensued during the night 200 of the inhabitants were killed and much damage done to the city.

16. In the House of Commons Mr. J. Morley's vote of censure on the Government for the maladministration of justice in Ireland negatived, after a single night's debate, by 320 to 245.

— The Rev. T. W. Jex-Blake, rector of Alvechurch, near Redditch, and Head Master of Rugby School 1874–86, appointed Dean of Wells.

— In Berlin, in consequence of remarks made by the Emperor at General Caprivi's dinner, serious rumours were afloat concerning the action of the German Government towards Prince Bismarck, should the latter persevere in his hostility to German policy at home and abroad.

17. The Egyptian and Soudanese troops—about 1,500 strong—left Trinkitat for Tokar, where Osman Digna was intrenched with a strong force of dervishes and troops.

— At Lyons, simultaneously at the Grand Théâtre and at the Théâtre du Célestins, fires were occasioned by the overheating of the electric wires, but in neither case did the actors or spectators lose their presence of mind, and the performances were continued.

18. The Empress Frederick of Germany arrived in Paris on a visit, of which the chief object was to induce the French artists to take part in the forthcoming International Art Exhibition at Berlin.

— Heavy floods occurred in Ohio and West Virginia, all the great mills on the south side of Pittsburg being obliged to close their cellars, whilst the Cambria Ironworks were wholly deserted, and thousands of houses in the neighbourhood inundated to half their height.

19. Tokar captured by the Egyptian troops, commanded by General Helled-Smith. The dervishes—about 2,000, with an equal force in reserve—attacked the Egyptian position, but were repulsed on each onslaught, and finally retired in confusion, leaving 700 dead on the field. Osman Digna, with thirty followers, fled to Kassala.

— The body of General Sherman removed from New York to St. Louis, with grand military honours. Ten thousand troops took part in the ceremony, together with the President and two ex-Presidents—Hayes and Cleveland—and the members of the Cabinet.

— General Rocca, Minister of War in the Argentine Republic, fired at by a boy aged fifteen and slightly grazed by the bullet, whilst driving in the streets of Buenos Ayres. A state of siege was subsequently declared by the Government in consequence of a rising at Cordova.

20. At the ordinary half-yearly meeting of the shareholders of the London and North-Western Railway Sir Richard Moon, who for forty-three years had been connected with the management of the line, and had been chiefly instrumental in its success, retired from the chairmanship of the Board, and was succeeded by Lord Stalbridge. The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) proposed a vote of thanks to Sir Richard Moon, which was warmly received by the meeting.

— In the House of Commons, Mr. Pritchard Morgan's resolution in favour of the disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales negatived by 235 to 203 votes. Mr. Gladstone supported the resolution in a long speech, in which he explained his change of attitude.

— Pisagua, Iquique, Antofagasta, and Chanarac occupied by the insurgent Chilean troops under General Urriza.

— The Rev. the Marquess of Normanby appointed Canon of Windsor.

— At Cardiff, where the labour dispute had been maintained throughout the week, Mr. J. H. Wilson, the general secretary of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union, committed by the stipendiary magistrate for trial on the charge of riotous assembly.

21. The President of the United States appointed Mr. Charles Foster, ex-Governor of Ohio, to be Secretary of the Treasury in succession to Mr. Windom.

21. The Waterloo Cup won by Colonel North's Fullerton, and the same owner's Simarian the Waterloo Purse, the former dog thus scoring two consecutive winnings of the Cup, with a division of the prize in 1889.

— The Great Eastern Railway Company's steamship *Ipswich*, whilst crossing from Harwich to Antwerp, ran down a barque off the Galloper during a dense fog, and seven of the crew of the sailing vessel were drowned.

22. Maids Moreton Lodge, Buckingham, the residence of Baroness Kinloss, almost totally destroyed by fire, originating in the library, and spreading rapidly to the gun-room, where was a quantity of ammunition. The inmates were rescued, but many pictures, relics, and books belonging to the family of the late Duke of Buckingham were destroyed.

23. The Norwegian Cabinet of M. Stang resigned in consequence of a defeat in a proposal from the Liberal Opposition, demanding greater independence for Norwegian foreign policy.

— The Portuguese Government ordered the closing of all Republican and Socialist Clubs throughout the country, and suppressed a number of Republican newspapers.

— Four men who had been entombed in the Jeansville Mine, near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, nineteen days, were discovered still alive by the search parties. Food and drink were conveyed to them at once, but it was found impossible to relieve them for another day.

24. The "Silver Pool" established in New York, in view of the passing of a Free Coinage Bill, collapsed, after having accumulated ten million ounces of silver, at an average of \$1 10 c. per ounce. The price of silver having fallen to \$1 5c., the speculators were forced to sell to prevent the Government buying a supply abroad.

— The Government announce its intention of appointing a Royal Commission to inquire into the relation of Labour and Capital.

— Severe fighting took place in Burmah, when the town of Wuntho, held in force by the rebels, was attacked and carried after a desperate resistance, and the Tsawbwa's palace burnt.

25. Professor Liebreich before the Berlin Medical Society, and Dr. Bernheim at Paris, demonstrated their remedies for tuberculosis, the former advocating the use of cantharidate, and the latter the transfusion of blood—that of a goat being used.

— The Empress Frederick gave serious offence to the Parisian press and population by visiting Versailles, where the German Empire had been proclaimed during the siege of Paris. The French painters, who had previously promised to exhibit at Berlin, announced their withdrawal in view of the public feeling.

— Marshal Deodoro de Fonseca selected, by Congress, President of the Brazilian Republic by 129 votes against 106 given to Senhor Prudente de Moras.

— The Marquess of Salisbury presided at the Jubilee Banquet and Meeting of the Chemical Society, and spoke on the progress and future of chemical science.

26. The Queen, accompanied by the Prince of Wales and members of the Royal family, went from Windsor to Portsmouth to christen and launch the

Royal Sovereign, the largest ironclad afloat, and the *Royal Arthur*, an unarmoured cruiser of the newest design.

26. In the House of Commons the Factories and Workshops Bill, introduced by the Government, read a second time without a division.

27. A mass meeting of many thousand Bengalese and others, held on the Calcutta race course, to protest against the Age of Consent Bill, proposed by the Government. The proceedings were quiet and orderly throughout, but the Bill was severely denounced as opposed to religion.

— The Empress Frederick of Germany left Paris quietly for Calais, where she embarked for Dover. Special police precautions were taken at Paris and elsewhere to prevent any demonstration of hostile feeling.

28. The French Chamber rejected, by 330 votes to 144, the Bill legalising the *pari mutuel*, the Government having pledged itself to enforce the law against gambling.

— Serious floods reported from Arizona, when the town of Yuma had been almost destroyed, and 1,400 persons rendered homeless, and forced to encamp upon the hills.

— At Monte Carlo, a visitor, said to be an Englishman, broke the bank, winning at trente-et-quarante the maximum stake of 12,000 frs. fourteen times in succession. Subsequently he lost all his winnings, also 15,000*l.* of his own money.

MARCH.

1. A census of the whole population of India taken simultaneously by an army of upwards of a million and a quarter of enumerators under the superintendence of Mr. A. Baines.

2. The Australasian Confederation Convention opened at Sydney, and on the motion of Hon. James Munro, Premier of Victoria, Sir Henry Parkes was unanimously elected President. All the six Australian Colonies and New Zealand were represented.

— The Wesley Centenary Services inaugurated by unveiling in front of the City Road Chapel, the scene of his labours, a statue of John Wesley. Addresses were delivered by Archdeacon Farrar, Right Hon. H. H. Fowler, and others.

3. In the House of Commons Mr. Stansfeld's resolution, in favour of the "one man one vote" principle, negatived by 291 to 189 votes.

— The Austrian elections for the Reichsrath, held throughout the Empire, resulted in Bohemia in the complete rout of the old Czech party, in the rural as well as the borough constituencies.

4. The United States Congress, after a continuous sitting of more than four-and-twenty hours, during which Bills were disposed of as rapidly as their titles could be read, passed the Copyright Bill, by which the rights of foreign authors to their works, if published within the United States, were recognised for the first time. The fifty-first Congress then legally expired.

— The Associated Chamber of Commerce, under the presidency of Colonel Hill, C.B., M.P., entertained the Marquess of Salisbury at a grand banquet, who spoke at length on the relations of labour and capital.

5. After repeated delays the Emperor of China gave audience to the Foreign Envoys at Peking. They were received separately in a small pavilion, after being kept waiting for some time surrounded by a noisy crowd. The Emperor remained on a dais about eight yards from the Envoys, with a table in front of him, and the audience of each envoy lasted about five minutes.

— The general elections taken throughout the Dominion of Canada resulted in the return of 124 Conservatives and 91 Liberals, the number in the former Parliament having been 132 Conservatives and 88 Liberals. The chief question before the election was the Revision of the Tariff, in view of the effects of the M'Kinley Bill in the United States. The border districts strongly supported a Free Trade policy with the States.

— The House of Lords, sitting as a Court of Appeal, reversed by six votes to two the decision of the Court of Appeal as to the liability of the Bank of England for upwards of 70,000*l.*, the amount of fictitious bills drawn by a clerk of the firm of Vagliano Brothers, and debited to their account.

— The Queen, accompanied by the Empress Frederick, who had been spending a few days in London, visited the Horse and Hackney Show at the Agricultural Hall, Islington.

— The Bavarian Government after much hesitation consented to the ancient fortifications of Nuremberg being dismantled—in order to allow of the extension of the city limits.

6. At New York a coroner's jury empanelled to inquire into the cause of death of several persons in a railway collision in a tunnel, declared the directors and officers of the New York, New Haven, & Hartford Railway Company immediately responsible, because their engine-driver failed to see the light, and their car-stoves fired the wreck. The coroner thenceforth issued warrants against nineteen persons, including the President of the railway and many well-known directors, among whom were Mr. C. Vanderbilt, and Mr. Chauncey Depew.

— In a letter addressed to M. Garachanine, by ex-King Milan, and published in the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna, the writer publicly insinuated that his former Prime Minister had caused or connived at the murder of two women, imprisoned for an attempt in 1883 to assassinate King Milan.

— For the first time since the death of the Prince Consort a dramatic performance, by command of the Queen, took place at Windsor Castle. The "Gondoliers," performed by the Savoy Company, was chosen.

7. The eighteenth annual football match between the fifteens of England and Scotland, played in Richmond Park, resulted in the defeat of the English team by three goals to one.

— Disastrous floods in Tennessee and Mississippi, hundreds of families being driven from their homes, and railway communications interrupted between Nashville, Memphis, and Vicksburg.

— A British steamer, the *Countess of Carnarvon*, on her voyage up the Limpopo river, fired on and captured by a Portuguese gunboat, on the charge of conveying arms to a native chief who had acknowledged himself the vassal of Portugal.

8. At the Auteuil races, the first held after the adoption of the anti-

betting regulations, the attendance was very small both in the stands and enclosures. On the course the number of the police exceeded that of the public.

8. The revised Ultramontane Constitution for the Canton of Ticino approved by a majority of 850 on a total vote of 21,000.

9. After a long continuance of dry and genial weather, the wind shifted to the north-east, and snow commenced falling in almost every part of the United Kingdom, the ground being covered to the depth of several inches. In the English Channel the gale gathered in force as the night progressed, and at length increased to a hurricane, accompanied by a blizzard. The mail steamers were unable to cross; the club train steamer *Victoria*, which attempted the passage, was thirteen hours at sea, and narrowly escaped; and the Admiralty pier at Dover afforded no protection to the ships which sought safety behind it, and along the south coast wrecks occurred involving loss of life.

— Almost simultaneously a blizzard of extraordinary violence raged over the westerly and north-western States of the Union, Minnesota, Iowa, Illinois, and Ohio suffering most severely.

— An important engagement took place between the Government and Parliamentary troops in Chili, in which the former were seriously defeated, and their Colonel-in-Chief killed.

10. At the London Commercial Tea Sale Rooms a small lot of Ceylon tea from the Cashmere estate, known as "golden tips," was sold at the unprecedented price of 10*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* a pound.

— A riot, arising out of a strike of the Clockmakers' Union, took place at Long Island. The factory where certain non-union men had been employed was wrecked, the machinery destroyed, and vitriol poured over the infant child of the head of the firm. The strikers were all Poles, of whom a dozen were arrested.

11. An agreement signed in London between Great Britain and France for the settlement of the Newfoundland Fisheries question by arbitration.

— The resignation announced of the Prussian Minister of Public Worship, Herr von Gossler, who had lent himself to the policy of Prince Bismarck's Culturkampf, but had, as successor to Dr. Falk, brought in a Bill for restoring the bishops' and clergy's confiscated funds without any restrictions. His place was taken by Count Zedlitz-Frühchler, Governor of Posen.

— In consequence of a run upon the Société des Dépôts et Comptes Courants, the French Minister of Finance summoned the representatives of the leading Paris bankers to take measures to prevent a financial crisis. The Bank of France was authorised to advance sixty millions of francs, of which fifteen millions were guaranteed by the various banking houses.

12. The attempt of the "New Unionists" among the sailors and firemen to dictate terms to the shipowners finally collapsed. The shipowners, having formed a federation amongst themselves, required the men to accept a ticket from them, and to work in conformity to its conditions. After several weeks' struggle the strike leaders were repudiated by the men and the ticket accepted.

13. After four days' interruption of all communications between London and

Plymouth, and the country to the west of that port, the first mail train since March 9 was able to be despatched. Frequent snow-storms of extraordinary severity had burst over the country, stopping up all roads, rendering the railroads impassable, and occasioning great loss of life to men and women, cattle and sheep. Fourteen vessels were lost on the coast, and with them many lives.

13. Mr. Parnell issued an address to the Irish Americans claiming their support in his struggle against the "malcontents, office seekers, and envious persons" of the Irish party.

— In consequence of the accumulation of ice on the Danube, below Budapesth, the water broke through the dams and inundated a large tract of country. In some villages the water rose to the level of the roofs; many lives were lost and much property destroyed.

14. The Italians charged with the murder of Chief Constable Hennessey at New Orleans having been acquitted by the jury, were taken back to prison to await further charges. A committee of the inhabitants of the city meanwhile called a public meeting and attacked the gaol, and having effected an entry, nine of the Italians were shot and two hanged. The crowd then dispersed without further disturbances.

— Mr. Gladstone, who was the guest of the Provost of Eton, gave a lecture to the boys of the school on the Artemis of Homer.

16. The telephone cable between London and Paris, of which the laying commenced on March 2, after many delays on account of the blizzard, completed throughout and connected with the land lines.

— The Parliamentary Committee presided over by Mr. Hanbury, M.P., having resolved to enforce the Standing Order refusing to allow counsel to cross-examine in cases where they had not heard the examination-in-chief, the leaders of the Parliamentary bar left the room, and declined to appear before the Committee.

17. Mr. Gladstone left Charing Cross station for Hastings, where he addressed a large audience at the Gaiety Theatre on the financial arrangement of the Government and Mr. Parnell's leadership.

— The Anchor Line steamer *Utopia*, with 850 passengers and crew, chiefly Italian emigrants bound for New York, came into collision with H.M.S. *Anson*, which was lying at anchor off Ragged Staff, Gibraltar. The *Utopia* sank almost immediately, and 574 persons were drowned, together with two British seamen who were engaged in rescuing the drowning emigrants.

18. The Portuguese official at Port Beira stopped the British mail to Mashonaland, fired upon two cargo lighters, and proclaimed a state of siege on the Pungwe river.

— The Supreme Court of Newfoundland gave judgment in the case of *Baird v. Sir Baldwin Walker*, a case arising out of the latter having ordered Mr. Baird's lobster tinning works on the French shore to be closed. The answer was that the Admiral, acting under orders, was carrying out a *modus vivendi* with a foreign power. The Court decided on all points in favour of Mr. Baird.

— In the House of Commons the Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Wales) Bill read a second time by 185 to 179 votes.

18. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decided on appeal in the case of *Musgrove v. Chun Teong Toy* that the Collector of Customs at the port of Melbourne, Victoria, was justified in refusing to accept 10%, the fine imposed upon Chinese immigrants in excess of 600 attempting to land from a single ship.

19. The Age of Consent Bill passed the Indian Legislative Council after some debate, Sir Romech Mitter, the chief official on behalf of the Bengal Hindoos, being absent from illness.

— The Court of Appeal, consisting of the Lord Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls, and Lord Justice Fry, decided that a lady who had been "abducted" by the husband must be allowed her freedom, and that, notwithstanding the decree of restitution of conjugal rights pronounced by the Divorce Court, the husband could not be allowed to detain in his own house a wife against her will.

— Mr. P. Tate, who had previously offered his collection of modern pictures to the National Gallery, offered, at the cost of 80,000*l.*, to erect at South Kensington a new National Gallery of Modern Art. The Chancellor of the Exchequer consented to give the necessary land.

20. The election at Aston Manor, Birmingham, resulted in the return of Captain Grice Hutchinson (C.) by 5,310, against Mr. W. Phipson Beale, Q.C. (G.L.), who polled 2,332 votes.

— In the House of Commons a motion for the opening of museums, &c., on Sundays was rejected by 166 to 39 votes.

— The House of Lords, sitting as a Court of Appeal, decided in the case of *Sharp v. Wakefield* that the discretion of the local justices was unfettered in granting or refusing the renewal of a public-house licence which lasted for a year and no longer.

— The Grand National Steeple Chase at Liverpool won by half a length by the favourite Mr. W. G. Jameson's *Come Away*, aged, 11 st. 12 lbs. (Mr. H. Beasley). 21 started.

21. The forty-eighth annual boat race between the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge resulted in the victory of Oxford by less than half a length, after a splendid race, during which neither boat was ever clear of the other.

— The House of Commons Point-to-Point Steeplechase, which took place in the Pytchley district, near Daventry, won by Mr. A. Pease's *Nova Creina* for the light weights, (12 st.), by Lord Henry Bentinck's *Bugler* for the 14 st. class.

— A very serious fire—by which the premises of Messrs. T. Tyler and Sons, Newgate Street, were wholly burnt out—broke out and extended in all directions, causing a great destruction of property in the very heart of the city of London. The fire was not got under for many hours, and continued to smoulder for two days.

23. The Queen and Princess Beatrice left Windsor for Grasse, reaching Cherbourg about 6 p.m., where the Royal party passed the night on board the "Victoria and Albert."

— The British East Africa Company, acting under the instructions of the British Government, concluded a treaty with the principal chiefs, abolishing slavery in the province of Vitu, fixing the absolute emancipation of all slaves

before May 24, 1896, and handing over the administration of the territory to British officials.

24. The Empress Frederick, who was staying at Buckingham Palace, opened the Shaen Wing of Bedford College.

— A protocol, signed at Rome by Lord Dufferin and Marchese di Rudini, settling the British and Italian sphere of influence in East Africa. The whole of Ethiopia and a district bordered by the Tiber and the Blue Nile recognised the Italian zone.

25. Mr. Quinton, British Commissioner in Assam, who had gone to Manipur to settle affairs in the district, and his escort, composed of 450 Ghoorkhas, commanded by English officers, were attacked by the natives. After two days' fighting, having exhausted all their ammunition, the detachment had to fall back, and Mr. Quinton and three other officers were taken prisoners and subsequently murdered by order of the ruler of Manipur.

26. The Court House at Cork, where the trial of the persons charged with rioting at Tipperary was going on, was totally destroyed by fire. The Court adjourned to a neighbouring building; and owing to the presence of mind of the judge, Mr. Justice Monroe, who remained to the last in Court, all panic was averted.

27. M. Beltcheff, the Bulgarian Finance Minister, assassinated in the streets of Sofia, whilst walking with M. Stambouloff, the Regent.

28. At the Cork Assizes the jury, after three days' trial, acquitted three of the persons charged with the assault of Colonel Caddell and two constables at the Tipperary Court House Riot, and being unable to agree as to the two others, these were discharged.

80. The Volunteer forces had field days at Dover, Brighton, and Portsmouth, which were well attended, and in which they displayed great smartness. In all cases the attacking forces succeeded in forcing the positions of the defenders.

31. The International Miners' Congress met at Paris, under the presidency of Mr. T. Burt, M.P., and was attended by delegates representing a million miners of various countries.

— The Italian Minister at Washington, Baron di Fava, unexpectedly presented his letters of recall, his Government being dissatisfied with the American delay in dealing with the lynching of Italian prisoners at New Orleans.

— The members of the Bonaparte family met at Moncalieri, and formally recognised Prince Victor as their head, Prince Louis, the second son, designated by his father's will, agreeing.

APRIL.

1. Prince Bismarck, on the occasion of his seventy-seventh birthday, received numerous presents and congratulations from friends and admirers throughout Germany, but no messages were sent by the Emperor or any member of the Royal family.

— The results of the census in India showed an increase of about twenty-

five millions in the decennial period, being estimated at 285 millions for British India and the feudatory States.

1. Serious rioting took place in Western Pennsylvania among the coke-workers, chiefly foreigners, driven to desperation by long idleness. The mob was only dispersed after much resistance, while twenty strikers were killed and several wounded.

— The Australasian Federation Convention agreed with the general principles of the new "Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia," and accepted the clause providing for the nomination of the Governor-General at a salary of not less than 10,000*l.* per annum.

2. A serious colliery explosion took place in the Apevale Pit, near Newcastle-under-Lyme, by which eleven lives were lost.

— Prolonged drought throughout certain parts of the Madras Presidency had a most disastrous effect on the crops, the Government were obliged to undertake the relief of the more necessitous persons in Arcot and elsewhere.

— The natives of the island of Binao, a Portuguese island off the Coast of Guinea, revolted against the authorities, hoisted the French flag, and defeated with considerable loss the troops sent against them by the Governor of Guinea.

3. The election for North Sligo resulted in the return of Mr. Bernard Collery (Nationalist) by 3,261 votes; Mr. Alderman Dillon (Parnellite) polling 2,493.

— The chief of the police at Buenos Ayres issued an order closing all the Salvation Army halls, on the ground that the organisation was not a recognised church. The Salvationists decided to fight the question out on the ground of religious liberty, accorded to all dwellers in the State.

4. The International Congress of Miners, after several noisy and long sittings, voted by 34 votes to 5 the Belgian resolution, as modified by the English delegates, inviting Governments and Parliaments to agree to an international convention establishing the eight hours day in mines.

— Funeral services held at the Chapel Royal, St. James', and at Walmer, simultaneously with the interment of Earl Granville at Stone in Staffordshire. The Queen and the various members of the Royal family were represented, and political leaders of all parties attended.

— The twentieth annual International Football (Association) Match between England and Scotland was played at Ewood Park, Blackburn, and resulted in the victory of England by two goals to one.

— At Leicester, the Portland Stakes of 8,000*l.*, won by Mr. J. B. Leigh's Flyaway, 2 yrs., 8 st. 11 lbs. (G. Barrett), an outsider. Nine started.

6. Cardinal Lavig rie, at Biskra, solemnly received the members of the new order.

— The decennial census taken throughout Great Britain and Ireland, under the direction of the Registrar-General (Sir Brydges Henniker) and Dr. Wm. Ogle, M.D.

— The Marquess of Dufferin, in delivering his Rectorial Address to the students of St. Andrew's University, dwelt at length upon his own personal career and experiences.

6. The will of Prince Napoleon opened at Francin, near Geneva. He had disinherited his eldest son, Prince Victor, and prohibited him from assisting at his funeral. He expressed a wish to be buried in the Hotel des Invalides, or, in case of refusal, on a rock in the Gulf of Ajaccio.

— The ninth International Conference of the Evangelical Alliance assembled at Florence, and was attended by about 200 delegates, under the presidency of Professor Geymonat, principal of the Waldensian College in Florence.

7. The Budget of the London County Council to 1891-92, explained by Lord Lingen, showed an anticipated expenditure of 1,581,898*l.*, as compared with 1,732,121*l.* for the preceding year, pointing to a possible reduction of the rate from 18½*d.* to 11½*d.* in the pound.

— At the Epsom Spring Meeting the Great Metropolitan Stakes won by Duke of Beaufort's Ragimundo, 3 yrs., 6st. 3 lbs. (R. Challoner). Nine started.

— Sir James Stephen took formal farewell of the Bench, the Attorney-General expressing the feelings of regret of the Bar at the loss of so distinguished a judge.

— Acting under instructions from the Argentine Government, the National and Provincial Banks of Buenos Ayres suspended cash payment for three months.

— Arica and Tacna, two important towns in Chili, surrendered without resistance to the Congressional forces.

8. The Grand Duke Michael Michaelovitch, the Tzar's cousin, excluded from military service, and deprived of his commands in consequence of his recent marriage, at Nice, with the Countess Sophia de Merenburg, daughter of Prince Nicholas, of Narran, and grand-daughter of the Russian poet, Puschkin.

— At Epsom, the City and Suburban Handicap won by Colonel North's Nunthorpe, 5 yrs., 8 st. 4 lbs. (M. Cannon), defeating all the successive favourites. Fifteen started.

— The opening of the railway between Pietermaritzburg (Natal) and Lawig's Creek (Transvaal) celebrated with great rejoicing on both sides of the frontier, President Krüger, General Joubere, and other Transvaal officials, visiting Durban, where they were received in State by the Governor.

— The Australian Federation Convention adopted the Federal Constitution Bill as reported from the Committee of the whole body. The session of the Convention was then closed.

10. Mr. Richard Henn Collins, Q.C. (called to the bar at the Middle Temple, 1867), appointed judge of High Court in the room of Sir James Stephen, resigned.

— The names of the Royal Commissioners on the Labour Question, as approved by the Queen, announced in the House of Commons. Lord Hartington was named Chairman, and amongst the twenty-seven members Mr. J. Mawdsley, of the Operative Cotton Spinners; Mr. Tom Mann, president of the Dock Labourers' Union; Mr. Edward Trow, of Glasgow; and Mr. M.

Austin, secretary of the Irish Democratic Labour Federation, represented the interests of the working classes.

10. In the House of Commons a resolution moved by Sir J. Pease calling upon the Government to do away with the Opium Revenue in India was carried by 160 to 180 votes against the Ministry.

11. The Countess of Zetland and Miss Balfour brought to a conclusion a visit among the distressed districts and western islands of Ireland, during which they were everywhere received with the greatest respect and cordiality.

— A fire broke out on Tower Hill, at the corner of Great Tower Street, by which a large block occupied as a tea warehouse, and a number of bonded warehouses of other buildings adjoining, were totally destroyed.

— At Chicago also a serious fire destroyed a Dime Theatre in the upper floor of the Haymarket Theatre, and a large furniture warehouse, causing damage estimated at a million dollars.

13. Serious strike riots took place at Manningham Mills, Bradford, which were repeated on the following day. After repeated efforts to clear the streets, the military were each day called upon to charge the crowd. Much damage was done to the shops and houses, but no lives were lost, although many were more or less injured.

— According to the preliminary returns of the German quinquennial census, taken Dec. 1, 1890, the total population was 49,422,496, showing an increase of slightly over 2,500,000, or at the rate of 1·07 per annum.

— A severe earthquake destroyed the greater portion of several villages in the district of Vau, in Armenia, and caused the death of several of the inhabitants.

14. At the election held in the Geestemunde district, Prince Bismarck polled 7,557 votes; Herr Schmalfeld, a local workman and Social Democrat, 3,928 votes; the Freisinnige or Radical candidate, 2,162; and the Guelph or German Hanoverian, 3,848 votes. A second ballot then became necessary, the district numbering about 80,000 electors, of whom scarcely more than one half went to the poll.

— In a letter addressed to the clergy and laity of the diocese, the Bishop of Truro (Dr. Wilkinson) announced his resignation of the see in consequence of failing health.

15. The influenza epidemic, which had revived in various large cities of the United States, was especially fatal in New York, where 227 deaths were reported in the course of twenty-four hours. In various parts of England the epidemic showed itself, but in a less aggravated form.

— Serious riots occurred at Benares in consequence of a temple having been taken for secular purposes. The crowds attacked the telegraph office, cut the wires, destroyed a railway station, and did much damage in the town. A strong force of European and native troops was ordered into the town to enforce order.

— At Lynden, near Louisville (Ill.), a wedding was brilliantly celebrated; and attended by fifty guests. A short time afterwards, one by one, the guests showed symptoms of arsenical poisoning. Eight deaths ensued. The poisoning was traced to the spring whence the water for the house was drawn, and

it was surmised that the arsenic had been placed there by a disappointed suitor of the bride.

16. The directors of the Bank of England raised the rate of discount from 3 to 3½ per cent., the total reserve standing at 12,997,382*l.*, or 34½ per cent. of the liabilities, and the store of bullion at 21,308,577*l.*

— The Court of Appeal upheld the decision of the Chancery Division in the case of Sir Walter de Souza *v.* Cobden, and declined to recognise the right of women "to act" upon the London County Council, but reduced the penalties of 50*l.* for each occasion to 10*s.*

— The Newfoundland delegates arrived at Liverpool to protest against the "Coercion Bill" brought forward to enable Great Britain to carry out its conventions with France.

17. In the House of Commons Mr. J. Morley's amendment to the Land Purchase Bill (Ireland), making the advance of money subject to the approval of the local authorities, defeated by 247 to 170 votes.

— The Home Secretary received a deputation of women chain and nail makers from Cradley Heath, to protest against the proposed restrictions of women's labour in their trade.

18. A grand military ceremony took place at Berlin on the occasion of presenting new colours and standards to various regiments. After their consecration in the Palace Chapel, the Emperor, in handing the flags to their respective regiments, made an address.

— A baronetcy conferred upon Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, K.C.S.I., the distinguished judge and jurist on his retirement.

— Mr. H. Hucks Gibbs (Conservative) returned unopposed for the City of London.

— The first Mahomedan marriage celebrated in England took place at the Moslem Institute, Liverpool. The bride being a Protestant, the ceremony had previously been performed at a Church of England. The bridegroom was a Mahomedan barrister practising in England.

19. Six hundred Forlima Bay fishermen contrived to offer bait to the French fishermen at St. Pierre, whose supply had been cut off by the enforcement of the Newfoundland Bait Act. The natives attempted to preserve the blockade, and a riot ensued, in the course of which several fishermen were seriously injured.

20. King Milan, under the arrangement come to with the provisional Government, finally quitted Serbia during his son's minority, the Government undertaking to pay him 40,000*l.* per annum.

— A serious fire on the Sandthor Quay at Hamburg raged for upwards of thirty hours, completely gutting several piles of warehouses. The damage done was estimated at several millions of marks.

21. The Earl of Selborne, M.A., Hon. D.C.L. Magdalen College, admitted as High Steward of the University of Oxford, in succession to the Earl of Carnarvon, deceased.

— The Marquess of Salisbury, as Grand Master of the Primrose League, presided at the annual "grand habitation" held in the Covent Garden Opera

House. He stated that the number of adherents to the League had risen from 11,866 in 1885 to 1,002,097 in 1891.

21. The election for the Woodstock Division of Oxfordshire resulted in the return of Mr. G. H. Monck (C.), 4,448, against Mr. I. Benson (G.), 3,760 votes.

— The 3rd battalion of the Grenadier Guards, stationed at Chelsea Barracks, attempted to give expression to their dissatisfaction by refusing to parade. The mutinous spirit, however, was promptly checked, and a few ringleaders having been placed under arrest, the danger was averted.

22. Sir Henry Lock, Governor and High Commissioner at the Cape, telegraphed to President Krüger that the proposed trek to establish a Republic in Mashonaland would be regarded as an act of hostility to Great Britain. In reply, the President of the Transvaal telegraphed that he had "damped" the trek.

— The *Blanco Encalada*, the flagship of the Congressional (Revolutionary) party, in Chili, blown up in Caldera Bay by a torpedo launched from the *Almirante Lynch*. Upwards of 200 sailors and others were drowned or killed by the explosion.

23. In the House of Lords, the Newfoundland Commissioners, including the Prime Minister of the Colony, Sir William Whiteway, heard at the bar of the House against the Newfoundland Fisheries Bill.

— In the House of Commons Mr. Goschen introduced his Budget, showing a surplus of nearly two millions, of which one million was to be absorbed in establishing the principle of "Free Education."

— The powder magazine at Fort Monteverde, outside the Portese Gate of Rome, exploded, killing two civilians and injuring more or less seriously 150 persons. Serious damage was done to the principal public buildings in the city—to St. Peter's, St. John Lateran, and to the Vatican itself.

24. The polling at Whitehaven resulted in the return of Sir James Bain (C.), 1,838 votes, against Mr. Shee (G.), 1,105 votes.

— Great strikes took place in the coal districts of Westphalia, giving rise to serious apprehensions. In the neighbourhood of Dortmund alone upwards of 10,000 men left off work, demanding shorter hours and increased pay.

— Count von Moltke, who had attended a sitting of the Herrenhaus in the afternoon, and dined with his family in the evening, died quite suddenly and peacefully.

25. The Dean of Windsor (Dr. Randall Davidson) and Canon Creighton consecrated Bishops of Rochester and Peterborough in Westminster Abbey.

— The Grand Duchess Elizabeth Feodorovna, a daughter of the Princess Alice of England (and Hesse), received into the Greek Church at the private chapel of the Palace at St. Petersburg.

— A prolonged partisan fight between the Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites took place at Thurles, and the latter party having beaten off their assailants with the help of the police, were received and thanked by the Archbishop of Cashel (Dr. Croke) for having manfully done their duty.

26. In consequence of the illness of one of the judges of the Supreme

Court of the United States, the hearing of the "W. P. Sayward case," relating to the fishing rights in the Behring Straits, postponed for six months.

27. In the House of Lords the Newfoundland Fisheries Bill, after a lengthy debate, read a second time without a division.

— The Duke of Rutland appointed a Knight of the Garter in the room of the Duke of Bedford, deceased.

— The expedition against Manipur, made by three columns operating from different sides, arrived almost simultaneously, one column only having met with resistance. The capital was found deserted, the magazine blown up, and the palace plundered. In one of the rooms of the latter the heads of Mr. Quinton, Colonel Skene, and others were discovered.

28. A serious outbreak of Russian influenza showed itself in various parts of England, the Midland Counties being chiefly affected, and many districts which had escaped the previous year's epidemic.

— The body of Count von Moltke, after lying in state at his official residence in Berlin, conveyed with great ceremony and pomp to the railway station, to be transferred to the grave at Kreisau, in Silesia, where his wife was buried. The German Emperor and the King of Saxony walked beside Major von Moltke, the chief mourner. The hearse and coffin were laden with splendid wreaths and floral tributes from the crowned heads of Europe and the chief military bodies of Germany.

— A hardly contested fight took place in the harbour of Valparaiso between the insurgent cruiser *Magellanes* and three Government torpedo boats, in which two of the latter were severely damaged; but the *Magellanes* was forced to withdraw as soon as the harbour batteries began to fire.

29. The Chinese Government formally and successfully protested against the selection of Mr. Blair, nominated to be United States Minister at Peking, on the ground of his strongly expressed views on the subject of Chinese immigration.

— At Newmarket, the Two Thousand Guineas Stakes won easily by three lengths by Lord Alington's Common (G. Barrett). Nine started.

— A great fire broke out in the yard of Messrs. Duffy, sawmill proprietors and packing-case makers in Bermondsey, and before it could be brought under control had consumed eighteen private dwelling-houses and rendered numerous families homeless.

— Baron Hirsch notified his readiness to contribute a sum of 8,000,000*l.* towards a fund for establishing in Syria and other places the Jews expelled from Russia.

30. The results of the second ballot in the Geestmunde District of Hanover gave a large majority to Prince Bismarck, who polled 10,544 votes as against 5,486 votes given to Herr Schmalfeld, the Socialist candidate.

— The Queen arrived at Windsor in the course of the evening, having left Grasse on the previous morning, travelling by way of Cherbourg and Portsmouth.

MAY.

1. The May-Day Demonstration of Working Men's Unions in Europe and America passed off with very few breaches of public order. In Paris, Madrid, and Brussels military precautions on a large scale were taken. At Lyons and Marseilles there were collisions with the police and soldiers, and at Paris a cartridge containing 4 lbs. of dynamite was exploded under the window of the Duc de Trévise, but apparently without political motive. At Fourmies, on the Franco-Belgian frontier, serious rioting took place, and fifteen persons were killed by the troops. The district of Liège was placed in a state of siege.

— At Newmarket the One Thousand Guineas Stakes won by Mr. Noel Fenwick's Mimi (Rickaby). Twelve started.

— The Brighton morning express narrowly escaped being wrecked in consequence of the subsidence of a bridge near Norwood Junction as the train was passing over it. The engine and carriages were thrown off the lines, and several passengers in the last carriage were injured and shaken.

2. The ceremony of anointing the Duchess of Sparta, on her admission to the Greek Church, took place in the Royal Chapel at Athens, the Metropolitan officiating.

— The Royal Naval Exhibition at Chelsea opened with great ceremony by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales.

3. A largely attended demonstration of working men was made in Hyde Park in favour of the compulsory adoption of an eight hours' day of labour.

— The 100th anniversary of the proclamation of the Polish constitution at Warsaw celebrated with great enthusiasm throughout Galicia.

4. Mr. W. H. Smith appointed Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and the Earl of Derby, K.G., Chancellor of the University of London, in succession to Earl Granville, deceased.

— Under the rule of the temporary Governor of Moscow, General Kostanda, the penal laws passed at various times against the Jews suddenly put in action with great harshness, thousands of persons of the shopkeeping and artisan classes being suddenly forced to leave the city and district or to suffer imprisonment.

— The German Emperor, visiting the Rhine Province, arrived at Düsseldorf, where he was enthusiastically received, and made a speech strongly in favour of the maintenance of peace.

5. The polling in the Stowmarket division of Suffolk resulted in the return of Mr. (or Viscount) Sydney Stern (G.), 4,846, against Mr. E. Greene (C.), 4,132 votes.

— A serious fire, caused by an explosion of malt dust, broke out in the brewery premises of Messrs. Courage, Bermondsey, and spread rapidly down to the edge of the Thames, destroying a vast range of buildings.

— The grand jury of the "parish" of New Orleans returned a presentment, indicting six persons as bribers of the jury which tried the murderers of Mr. Hennessey, the Superintendent of Police, declaring that of the men lynched in prison eight at least were American citizens, and regarding the

attack on the gaol as the spontaneous uprising of the most respectable citizens, who resented the paralysis of the law by the action of the Mafia.

6. The freedom of the City of London (in a gold box) presented to Mr. William Lidderdale, Governor of the Bank of England, in recognition of his signal services during the recent financial crisis.

— A general strike broke out at the coal mining district round Liège, as well as in the Charleroi and Mons districts, necessitating large drafts of soldiers from Brussels and the agricultural centres.

— The Chester Cup won easily by the favourite, Baron de Hirsch's Vasistas, 5 yrs., 8 st. 3 lbs. (G. Barrett). Twelve started.

— It was announced that the house of Rothschilds had withdrawn from participation in the New Russian Conversion Loan. Almost simultaneously the administrative authorities suddenly suspended the expulsion of the Jews from Moscow.

7. The Bank rate of discount raised to 4 per cent., the reserve standing at 12,211,000*l.*, or 83½ per cent. of the liabilities, and the stock of bullion at 20,786,000*l.*

— Serious fires took place in the timber yards of Long Island City, by which timber and other property valued at several millions of dollars was destroyed.

— The election for South Dorset resulted in the return of Mr. W. E. Brymer (C.), who polled 3,284, against Mr. Pearce Edgcombe (G.), 2,844 votes.

— A war steamer, supposed to belong to the Chilian parliamentary party, escaped from San Diego, California, carrying with her the United States Deputy-Marshal, who had been put on board to detain the ship.

8. The polling in the Market Harborough division of Leicestershire resulted in the return of Mr. J. W. Logan (G.), 5,982, over Mr. E. Hardy (C.), who polled 5,498 votes.

— The German Emperor, *en route* from Cologne to Carlsruhe, spent several hours at Bonn, where he attended a *commers*, or students' supper, and spoke warmly in support of students' corps and their customs.

— At Kempton Park the Spring Two Year Old Plate (3,000 sovs.) won by Baron de Hirsch's Windgate, 8 st. 6 lb. (G. Barrett), defeating the favourite, Duke of Portland's Sinew by a short head. Thirteen started.

— The Regent of Manipur and one of his ministers captured by the pursuing party.

9. The Archbishop of York, Dr. Magee, in accordance with his own wishes, buried in Peterborough Cathedral, his successor in the bishopric officiating.

— The Kempton Park Jubilee Stakes won by Colonel North's Nunthorpe, 5 yrs., 9 st. (M. Cannon), defeating another outsider, Mr. Baird's Martagon, by a head. The favourite, Mr. A. W. Merry's Surefoot, made no show. Nineteen started.

11. A royal decree issued by the Portuguese Government granting a general suspension of payments, in virtue of which the Bank of Portugal suspended changing its notes for sixty days.

11. Mr. Cunninghame Graham, M.P., expelled from France on account of inflammatory language used by him at a Socialist Meeting at Calais.

— A terrible explosion occurred on board a large tank ship, the *Tancarville*, which had gone into dry dock at Newport, Monmouth. It was supposed that rivets highly heated had been driven into some unknown storage of gas. The hatchways, deck, and fittings of the ship were blown to pieces, the concussion smashed windows in the town a mile distant, and five persons were killed on the spot and a dozen others seriously injured.

— The Czarewitch attacked and wounded in the head by a fanatical Japanese policeman at Obsu, near Kioto, where a few weeks previously the first Greek Cathedral had been consecrated with great ceremony.

12. Captain E. H. Verney, M.P. for North Bucks, having pleaded guilty to a misdemeanour and been sentenced to one year's imprisonment, was, on the motion of Mr. W. H. Smith, seconded by Mr. Campbell Bannerman, expelled from the House of Commons.

— Convocation of the University of London rejected by 461 to 197 a new charter submitted by the Senate, of which one of the features was the creation of a teaching University in London.

— A railway train running through a pine district in Huntingdon county, Pennsylvania, which had taken fire, left the track and was wrecked, the cars caught fire and thirty persons were burnt to death, and many more seriously injured.

— Ill-feeling against the Jews, which had been growing for some time past in Corfu, culminated in an attack on the Jewish quarters of the town, by the Greek mob, which had for some days drawn a cordon round the ghetto preventing all egress. Several Jews were killed and wounded.

13. Mr. Parnell, addressing a meeting of the Irish National League at Linehouse, was received with considerable hostility, and his speech was frequently interrupted by his opponents.

— At Wuhu, in the northern province of China, the mob having attacked and gutted the Catholic Mission, and set fire to the Custom House, wrecked the British Consulate, the Consul and his wife escaping with great difficulty.

— The Newmarket Stakes for 3 year olds, value 4,500*l.*, won by Mr. Noel Fenwick's Mimi, 8 st. 13 lb. (J. Watts). The favourite Duke of Westminster's Orion was fourth. Twelve started.

14. The Prince of Wales and Mr. Gladstone included amongst those attacked by the influenza epidemic, which had made so many victims in the House of Commons that it was decided to fumigate it thoroughly with sulphur.

— The Bank of England raised the rate of discount from 4 to 5 per cent., the revenue standing at 12,445,889*l.*, or 34 per cent. of the liabilities, and the stock of bullion at 20,944,301*l.*

— A collision occurred in the neighbourhood of Fort Salisbury between the Portuguese and a body of men belonging to the British South Africa Chartered Company. The Portuguese had seven men killed and several wounded, and were forced to withdraw.

15. The German Emperor, whilst driving three Russian horses in a troika to the Charlottenburg race course, came in contact with a tree in the corso.

One of the horses, which was running away, was brought to the ground and the axle broken. The Emperor managed to escape without hurt from the accident, which took place almost at the same spot where he had been thrown from his dog-cart a year before.

16 A band of sixty Arnauts attacked the Servian village of Svetze, but after a prolonged and sanguinary resistance they were beaten off by the populace, leaving several dead.

17. H.R.H. the Duchess of Fife gave birth to a daughter at East Sheen Lodge.

— The inauguration of the University of Lausanne, hitherto the seat of an Academy, took place, deputations from all Swiss and numerous foreign Universities attending.

18. An attempt to expel Queen Natalie from Belgravia, ended in a serious collision between the troops and the students and citizens. Having been forcibly placed in a carriage, the Queen was being driven to the quay where the royal yacht was waiting. The University students, however, detached the horses, and dragged the Queen back to her residence, of which they constituted themselves the guard, repelling all the efforts of the troops to enter.

— The sixth annual cart-horse parade took place in Regent's Park, and was attended by 280 vehicles—viz., 288 one-horse carts, &c., thirty-three pairs, eight "unicorns," and one four-horse team.

— The Co-operative Congress opened at Lincoln, under the presidency of Mr. Duncan M'Innes, the inaugural address being delivered by Mr. A. H. D. Acland, M.P.

19. The Queen approved of the appointment of Dr. W. D. Maclagan, Bishop of Lichfield, to the Archbishopric of York.

— After twelve hours' delay and hesitation, Queen Natalie expelled from Servian territory and conveyed in a special train over the Hungarian frontier.

— The village of Bourget, in Savoy, nearly completely destroyed by fire.

— A quantity of dynamite being conveyed by train between Parrytown and Irvington (N.Y.), was exploded by a spark from the engine, and eighteen persons were killed and twenty-five injured.

20. The International Postal Congress held this year at Vienna formally opened by the Markgraf von Bacquehem, Austro-Hungarian Minister of Commerce.

— The Marquess of Salisbury having been presented with the freedom of the city of Glasgow, replied to the Lord Provost's speech by a review of British and foreign policy as to the African continent.

— The West-end journeymen tailors, to the number of about 1,500, struck work in favour of shorter hours and against overtime in excess of eight hours a week. The number of strikers was subsequently increased to upwards of 4,000.

21. The Queen, on her way from Windsor to Balmoral, visited Derby and laid the foundation stone of the new buildings of the Royal Infirmary.

— The House of Commons, after a few days' recess, reassembled; the

House and various Committee rooms and offices having been thoroughly fumigated and disinfected during the interval, with the hopes of preventing any further spread of the influenza epidemic, of which 150 members and officials had been victims.

21. Captain Julien Viand, better known as Pierre Loti, elected a member of the French Academy, to the *fauteuil* vacant by the death of Octave Feuillet. The other candidates were the Vicomte de Bornier and M. Zola.

22. In the House of Commons, from which five-sixths of the members were absent, the Irish Land Purchase Bill at length passed through Committee.

— A revolution broke out in the province of Cordoba (Argentine Republic), but was suppressed with the loss of twenty-five lives.

— The Senaputty of Manipur, the chief cause of the massacre of British officials at that place, arrested at a village, by Major Maxwell, near the Arame palace, disguised as a Naga coolie.

23. M. Triponé, a captain of the French Territorial Army, and M. Turpin, a distinguished chemist, arrested on the charge of selling the secret of the fabrication of melinite and other explosives to Messrs. Armstrong. After a long inquiry each of the accused was condemned to five years' imprisonment and to heavy fines.

— The International Bicycle Road Race from Bordeaux to Paris (358 miles), won by an Englishman, Mills, in 26 hours 35 minutes. The first five places were obtained by Englishmen.

— A disastrous fire, caused by the upsetting of a spirit lamp in the drawing room of a private house, 38 Egerton Gardens, Brompton, resulted in the death by suffocation of the owner, Lord Romilly, and two of his servants, and serious injury to two others.

24. The Czarewitch arrived at Vladivostok, and at once laid the first rail of the first section of the Great Trans-Siberian Railway.

— The French Derby won by the second favourite, M. de Moubel's Ernak (Madge). Ten ran.

25. A general strike of the omnibus drivers of Paris occasioned great inconvenience to all classes, but public feeling was with the strikers, who demanded increased pay and more holidays.

— A band of rioters attacked the city of Nankin, and pillaged the houses of the European residents, as well as the Mission Houses of the Methodists and other religious bodies established there.

— The Pope's Encyclical on the "Condition of Labour," condemning the socialistic theory, issued and published throughout Christendom.

26. The Queen conferred upon Lieut. C. J. W. Grant, of the Indian Staff Corps, the decoration of the Victoria Cross, and promoted him to the rank of Captain, with brevet rank of Major, in recognition of his services in Manipur.

— In the House of Commons the motion to adjourn over the Derby Day, moved by Lord Elcho, was carried by 137 to 109 votes.

— At Epsom the Woodcote Stakes (2 year olds) won by the favourite, Mr. Rose's Bona Vista, 8 st. 12 lbs. (J. Woodburn). Eight ran.

27. At Epsom, the Derby Stakes (5,000*l.*) won easily by two lengths by

the favourite, Sir F. Johnstone's Common, by Isonomy—Thistle (G. Barrett). Eleven ran.

27. The strike of the Paris omnibus drivers came to an end on the intervention of the Municipal Council, the Company granting the men's demands for shorter hours and better rates of pay.

— A terrible petroleum explosion took place at Dunkirk, by which ten persons were burned to death, and enormous damage done to the surrounding buildings.

28. The young Queen of Holland and her mother held a solemn and musical reception in the new Church at Amsterdam, which were attended by about eight thousand persons, and medals were struck commemorative of the Queen's first public appearance.

— Four large boxes of dynamite discovered in the Custom Department of the French Exhibition at Moscow, which, it was surmised, were intended to be exploded on the occasion of the Czar's visit.

— The polling in North Bucks resulted in the return of Mr. H. S. Leon (G.) by 5,018 votes, against 4,632 given to Hon. Evelyn Hubbard (C.).

— A resolution broke out in Hayti; an ex-minister and a party of citizens attacked the gaol and liberated 200 political prisoners. Martial law was proclaimed over the western portion of the island, and desultory fighting and severe reprisals followed.

29. The evicted shopkeepers of the town of Tipperary, and other tenants of Mr. Smith Barry, having paid their rent, returned to their houses and holdings, and the abortive scheme of forming a "New Tipperary" finally abandoned.

— On a ballot of the West End and City tailors, it was decided by a majority of 800 to accept the conditions recommended by the Conciliation Committee. The foreign workmen and East End Jewish tailors decided to continue the strike.

— At Epsom, the Oaks Stakes (value 4,000*l.*) won by the favourite, Mr. Noel Fenwick's Mini (F. Rickaby). Six started.

— The Czar and Czarina arrived at Moscow, and took up their residence at the Kremlin, extraordinary precautions having been taken for their safety along the route.

30. The Marley Tunnel on the Great Western main line between Totnes and Plymouth, suddenly fell in just after the passage of a train. For several days traffic was absolutely stopped, passengers and luggage having to be driven in carriages from one side of the tunnel to the other.

— The Orient express stopped and rifled by brigands near Adrianople frontier, and four passengers (Germans) and the engine-driver carried off, and held to ransom for 8,000*l.* After nine days' detention the money was paid, and the men released at Kirkiless.

JUNE.

1. The election for the vacant seat at Paisley resulted in the return of Mr. W. Dunn (G.L.), who polled 4,145 votes, against 2,807 given to Mr. K. M'Kerrell (C).

— The French Chamber agreed to the New Betting Bill proposed by the Government, recognising the right of the *pari mutuel* on race courses.

— The abstract of the Irish Census returns showed that the population of Ireland had fallen from 8,196,257 in 1841 to 4,706,162 in 1891, the province of Munster showing the largest decrease.

2. Sir John Lubbock, as Chairman of the London Council, made his annual report on the finances and work of the Board, the expenditure of the year 1891-92 being estimated at 2,844,000*l.*, for which a rate of 11½*d.* in the pound would be requisite.

— A fresh financial panic took place at Buenos Ayres, two Italian, one French, and one Spanish Banks, temporarily closing their doors, and the Chamber of Deputies passing a Bill for suspending for thirty days legal proceedings against the banks.

3. A thunderstorm of extraordinary violence broke over Vienna, and raged for more than three hours, during which twenty-six houses in different parts of the city were struck by lightning, three persons killed, and many injured.

— Sir Reginald Hanson (Conservative) returned unopposed for the City of London, in the room of Sir Robert Fowler (deceased).

4. The Chilian insurgent ironclad, "Itata," which had escaped from a Californian port, and had eluded the United States' cruiser sent in pursuit, voluntarily surrendered herself at Iquique to the American officer in command, having previously transferred at sea to a consort the greater portion of her munitions of war.

— The Bank of England reduced its rate of discount from 5 to 4 per cent., the reserve standing at 17,660,596*l.*, or 44½ of the liabilities, and the Stock of Bullion at 26,281,596*l.*

— The Rev. Dr. Hermann Adler unanimously elected Chief Rabbi of the United Congregations of the British Empire, in succession to his father, Dr. Nathan Adler, deceased.

5. Dr. Gott, Dean of Worcester, and many years Vicar of Leeds, appointed Bishop of Truro, in the place of Dr. Wilkinson, resigned.

— The Portuguese Cortes ratified the new African Boundary Treaty with Great Britain after a brief discussion.

7. The drivers and conductors of the London General Omnibus, and London Road Car Company, to the number of about 3,000, came out on strike, and London was almost wholly deprived of omnibuses for an entire week, when an agreement was arrived at with the men on the basis of a working day of twelve hours.

— The Grand Prix de Paris won by M. Edward Blanc's Clamart (Lane), an outsider. Twelve ran.

8. In the House of Commons the Vice-President of the Council (Sir W. Hart-Dyke) moved a resolution to bring in the Government Bill for Free and Assisted Education, which was agreed to without a division.

— The elections to the Dutch States General held throughout the country showed a slight accession to the Liberal party.

— Serious earthquake shocks felt throughout North Italy, the neighbourhood of Verona being especially disturbed, and several buildings fell in. Slight shocks continued to be felt for several days, and, simultaneously, the central crater of Vesuvius showed signs of activity.

9. After a trial lasting seven days, in the course of which the Prince of Wales was called as a witness, the jury, after ten minutes' deliberation, returned a verdict for the defendants in the action for slander brought by Sir William Gordon-Cumming against Mr. Berkeley Levett and others, accusing him of cheating at play at Tranby Croft.

— A fire, attributed to the spontaneous combustion of cotton, broke out on board the steamship *City of Richmond* six days out from New York to Liverpool. Her signals of distress attracted the notice of other steamers, and by their help she reached Queenstown in safety, but still on fire.

10. The body of Sir John Macdonald, after lying in state in the Senate Chamber of the Dominion Parliament at Ottawa, conveyed with great ceremony and marks of universal respect to Kingston for interment.

— Terrible forest fires took place in New Brunswick, extending over upwards of sixty miles, and destroying the railway buildings, farms, and all other property.

11. The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty, delimitating afresh the sphere of each country's influence in Eastern Africa, having passed the Cortes, signed at Lisbon, and laid before the House of Lords by Lord Salisbury.

12. The principal events at the Ascot meeting were decided as follows :

The Prince of Wales's Stakes.—Mr. D. Cooper's Melody, 3 yrs., 8st. 8 lb. (Watts). Eight started.

Ascot Stakes.—Mr. J. Lowther's Houndsditch, 5 yrs., 7 st. 8 lb. (Fagan). Ten started.

Gold Vase.—Mr. D. Cooper's Mons Meg, 3 yrs., 6 st. 12 lb. (Chaloner). Three started.

Royal Hunt Cup.—Mr. J. Hammond's Laureate II., 5 yrs., 7 st. 10 lb. (M. Cannon). Twenty-two started.

Coronation Stakes.—Mr. Brodrick Cloete's Cereza, 3 yrs., 8 st. 10 lb. (J. Watts). Seven started.

The Gold Cup.—Lord Hartington's Morion, 4 yrs., 9 st. (J. Watts). Five started.

New Stakes.—Lord Alington's Goldfinch, 2 yrs., 8 st. 10 lb. (G. Barrett). Ten started.

Wokingham Stakes.—Capt. Machell's Rathbeal, 4 yrs., 7 st. 10 lb. (G. Chaloner). Twenty-four started.

Alexandra Plate.—Mr. J. Gretton's Gonsalvo, 4 yrs., 9 st. (G. Barrett). Four started.

Hardwicke Stakes.—Lord Dunraven's L'Abbesse de Jouarre, 5 yrs., 9 st. 9 lb. (M. Cannon). Five started.

— A funeral service held in Westminster Abbey in connection with the burial of Sir John Macdonald. The Queen and various members of the Royal family were specially represented, and the service was attended by the Speaker of the House of Commons and a large number of members irrespective of party.

13. A special edition of the *Dublin Gazette* revoked throughout Ireland the summary powers conferred by the Crimes Act, except in the county Clare and certain baronies in counties Donegal, Galway, and Tipperary.

— A fire broke out in the wealthy Greek monastery of Simon Petros on Mount Athos, by which the building was completely destroyed and damage done to the extent of 40,000*l*.

14. A terrible accident occurred at Mönchenstein, near Basle, where a bridge over the river Birse gave way under the weight of an excursion train. Upwards of seventy persons lost their lives, and as many more were severely injured.

15. In the House of Commons the Secretary of State for War expressed the regret of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales for not having required Sir William Gordon-Cumming to submit his case to the Commander-in-Chief.

— The Irish Land Purchase Bill, after a prolonged debate, read a third time, and passed by 225 to 96.

— An agreement signed at Washington between the Governments of the United States and Great Britain for a close time for fur seal fishing in Behring Sea, "with a view of promoting the friendly settlement" of pending questions.

— The Select Committee of the House of Commons, to which, after its second reading, the Bill of the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway was referred, declared the preamble of the Bill was not proved, implying thereby that neither the St. John's Wood nor any alternative site for the London terminus of the line was acceptable.

16. Sir Charles Dilke presented with an address of congratulation, signed by 10,000 of the inhabitants of Chelsea, on his approaching return to public life.

— At the Cambridge Congregation honorary degrees were conferred upon the new High Steward, Lord Walsingham; the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava; Sir Alfred Lyall, K.C.B.; Sir Archibald Geikie, F.R.S.; Professor W. Flower, C.B.; Dr. Elias Metschnikoff, Mr. Lecky, and Herr Dvorak.

— The southern half of the town of Seabright, New Jersey, including two hotels, a church, the post office, many summer residences, and all the business houses, destroyed by fire, of which the damage was estimated at three and a half millions of dollars.

17. The centenary of the birthday of Michael Faraday celebrated at the Royal Institution, the Prince of Wales presiding. Lord Rayleigh delivered a lecture on Faraday's connection with the institution.

— At the Oxford Commemoration honorary degrees were conferred upon the Duc d'Aumale, the Lord Chancellor (Halsbury), Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, General Sir Donald M. Stewart, Hon. Samuel Way (Chief Justice of South Australia), Dr. Jebb (Professor of Greek at Cambridge), and Mr. Briton Rivière, R.A.

18. In the House of Commons Mr. Buxton carried, by 202 to 186 against the Government, an amendment on the Factories and Workshops Bill, raising the age of "half-timers" from ten to eleven.

— The Bank of England reduced its rate of discount from 3 to 4 per

cent., the reserve standing at 19,485,697*l.*, or 46 per cent. of the liabilities, and the stock of bullion at 27,844,057*l.*

19. The Eastham section of the Manchester Ship Canal, about four miles in length, flooded and made available for traffic.

— The Hon. and Rev. Augustus Legge, vicar of Lewisham, nominated Bishop of Lichfield, and Rev. Prebendary Forrest, vicar of St. Jude's, Kensington, appointed Dean of Worcester.

— A rising of the Assyr Arabians took place in Yemen, the insurgents inflicting a serious defeat on the Turkish troops of the district.

20. The following civil list pensions were granted during the year, commencing from the date of the fifty-third anniversary of the Queen's accession :

Miss Ida Bingham, daughter of Colonel C. Bingham, R.A.	£	100
Mrs. A. M. Whittier-Page, widow of Professor B. Page, of Durham	100	
Mrs. F. A. Barkly, widow of Governor Barkly, of Heligoland	50	
Mrs. E. Davies, widow of Professor James F. Davies	100	
Mrs. E. M. Schmitz, widow of Dr. Leonhard Schmitz	75	
Lady Isabella Burton	150	
Misses K. and F. Sullivan, daughters of Dr. Sullivan, Queen's College	50	
Miss A. C. Macdonald, sister of Colonel A. Macdonald	50	
Mrs. M. Redfern, widow of James Redfern, sculptor	100	
Mr. G. Barnett Smith	80	
Dr. R. F. Weymouth	100	
Miss Iza Duffus-Hardy, daughter of Sir T. D. Hardy	100	
Mr. Harrison Weir, animal painter	100	
Mrs. Bristow, widow of Mr. W. H. Bristow, geological survey	45	

— A fire broke out at Messrs. Tussaud's waxwork exhibition in Regent Street, completely destroyed its contents, and seriously damaged the surrounding property.

— The Prince and Princess of Wales went to Eastbourne to formally open the new children's wing of the All Saints' Convalescent Home.

— The Regent and the Senaputty of Manipur found guilty of waging war against the Queen, but acquitted of the charge of abetting the murder of the British residents and others.

21. A collision took place on the Lough Swilly Railway, about two miles from Londonderry, between an empty excursion train and a military train conveying the Donegal Artillery Militia to Letterkenny. The engine-driver and stoker of the excursion train were killed, and about fifty of the soldiers were injured.

— The first section of a new railroad in Tonquin opened, passing through the district of Hu Long Ling, formerly infested by pirates.

— Balloon accidents took place at Paris and St. Petersburg. At the former a squall of wind carried the balloon against a chimney, and seriously injured the two occupants of the car. At the latter place the balloon escaped whilst being filled, suddenly carried up four men, and then burst, all the men being killed in the descent.

22. The Queen, with several members of the royal family, were present at the marriage of her godchild, Miss Ponsonby (eldest daughter of Sir Henry Ponsonby), at the Guards Chapel, Wellington Barracks.

23. The Emperor of Austria arrived at Fiume, and was received with great enthusiasm by the natives, and warmly greeted by the British fleet, which had been ordered to rendezvous there in honour of his visit.

— Serious riots took place at Bordeaux, arising out of the strikes of the tramcar men. The police were driven back by the mob, and it was some hours before Hussars could clear the streets. Several persons were seriously injured, and, after one or two rescues, about 100 strikers were conveyed to prison.

— At a general assembly of the Royal Academy Mr. Frank Dicksee, A.R.A., was elected a full Academician.

24. In the House of Commons the Free Education Bill read a second time by 318 to 10 votes.

— The foundation stone of the Church House, to be erected on a site near Westminster Abbey, laid by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught.

— The ninth jubilee of the foundation of Eton College—the annual celebration of June 4 having been omitted—marked by the consecration of a new chapel, an open-air thanksgiving service, and the opening of an exhibition of Eton relics and portraits.

25. A thunderstorm of unusual severity passed over both Wales and Lancashire, setting on fire buildings, hayricks, &c., and causing the death of nearly twenty persons. In central Germany, on the banks of the Rhine and Moselle, and in Switzerland, rain fell in great quantities, carrying away buildings and bridges, and greatly impeding locomotion.

— The French Chamber, by 439 to 104 votes, refused to ratify the Brussels Convention for regulating the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa, ostensibly on the ground that under it the right of search would be revived, although all the other European powers, except Portugal, had given their adhesion.

— The Prince of Wales, after attending the meeting of the Royal Agricultural Society at Doncaster, went to Rotherham to open a people's park, purchased by the Corporation.

— The marriage of Mr. C. S. Parnell, M.P., and Mrs. O'Shea took place at Steyning, near Brighton, before the district registrar.

26. In the House of Lords, after two evenings' debate, the Irish Land Purchase Bill read a second time without division.

— The seventeenth celebration of the Handel Festival at the Crystal Palace concluded with the performance of "Israel in Egypt."

— The steamship *Normandy*, running between Dieppe and Newhaven, went ashore in the fog on the rocks off Beachy Head, but was floated off a few hours later by the tide, having sustained no damage.

27. Violent scenes provoked by the ultra-Radicals at the last sitting of the Italian Chamber, in consequence of the President having ruled that an interpellation of Admiral Brin, an ex-minister, on the Triple Alliance should have precedence. The sitting was twice suspended in consequence of the disorder.

— The South Wales tin-plate manufacturers decided to suspend work in consequence of the large out-put which had been made in anticipation of the effects of the M'Kinley Tariff. Upwards of 20,000 working men were put out of employment by this decision.

28. The German Emperor during his journey down the Elbe, on board the *Colva*, formally ratified a treaty for the Renewal of the Triple Alliance for a further period of six years, the Italian Prime Minister referring to the fact in his closing speech to the Senate.

29. In the House of Commons, Mr. H. Fowler's instruction on going into Committee on the Free Education Bill to subject all schools to local control rejected by 267 to 166 votes.

— The following announcement was placarded: "New Tipperary. To be sold by private treaty, in lots to suit purchasers, four streets, one mart, and one weighing machine."

— The Queen came to London to act as sponsor at the christening of the infant daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Fife, which took place at the Chapel Royal, St. James.

— Whilst cruising among the Pacific islands and practising gun drill, a 6-inch breechloading gun on board H.M. cruiser *Cordelia* exploded, killing two officers and four men and wounding seven others.

30. The German Emperor and Empress visited Heligoland, and discussed with the military authorities the various plans for fortifying the island.

— The Queen conferred a peerage upon Lady Macdonald, the widow of the Canadian premier, Sir J. Macdonald.

— The Oxford and Cambridge cricket match resulted in the victory of the latter by two wickets. The following were the scores:—

CAMBRIDGE.

First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Mr. R. N. Douglas, b Bassett	4	b Berkeley	15
Mr. W. I. Rowell, b Bassett	3	b Smith	1
Mr. G. J. V. Weigall, c Palairret, b Smith	11	b Bassett	2
Mr. C. F. Foley, b Smith	12	c Boger, b Berkeley	41
Mr. A. J. L. Hill, c Brain, b Smith	62	c Berkeley, b Bassett	4
Mr. F. S. Jackson, b Bassett	10	b Berkeley	2
Mr. G. M'Gregor (captain), b Berkeley	29	b Berkeley	8
Mr. E. C. Streatfeild, b Berkeley	36	b Berkeley	8
Mr. C. M. Wells, st Brain, b Bassett	11	not out	0
Mr. S. M. J. Woods, b Smith	0	not out	4
Mr. D. L. A. Jephson, not out	10		
B, 13; 1-b, 7; n-b, 2	22	B	8
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	210		93

OXFORD.

First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Mr. W. D. Llewellyn, b Hill	38	c Douglas, b Woods	24
Mr. H. D. Watson, c Streatfeild, b Woods	7	c Weigall, b Woods	17
Mr. M. R. Jardine (captain), b Woods	0	c Hill, b Streatfeild	15
Mr. L. C. H. Palairret, c M'Gregor, b Jackson	2	c Streatfeild, b Woods	11
Mr. T. B. Case, c Rowell, b Woods	5	run out	2
Mr. G. L. Wilson, c and b Woods	0	b Streatfeild	58
Mr. E. Smith, b Woods	16	c Jephson, b Woods	32
Mr. A. J. Boger, run out	4	c Jackson, b Wells	5
Mr. H. Bassett, b Woods	15	c Streatfeild, b Jackson	0
Mr. W. H. Brain, c and b Woods	6	c Jephson, b Wells	7
Mr. G. F. H. Berkeley, not out	7	not out	8
		B, 4; 1-b, 8; w, 3;	
B, 5; 1-b, 3	8	n-b, 2	17
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	108		191

JULY.

1. Trieste and Fiume ceased to be free ports, their customs duties being assimilated to those of Austria-Hungary.

— The German Emperor and Empress arrived at Amsterdam, where they were received with many signs of rejoicing and great cordiality by the Dutch people and the two Queens.

— A terrific tornado, accompanied by thunder and hail, passed over the Crefeld district of Germany and Brunswick, wrecking houses, fields, and forests. Many of the inhabitants were buried under the ruins of their houses and several drowned by the rapidly swollen stream.

— A Brazilian tourist, Senhor Jardin, who had made the ascent of Vesuvius during its increased activity, was suddenly enveloped in the smoke and fell into the crater, his companions narrowly escaping a like fate.

— The President of the United States issued a proclamation admitting Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Switzerland to the benefits of the New American Copyright Act.

2. The Bank of England reduced the rate of discount to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the reserve standing at 18,245,211*l.*, or $43\frac{1}{4}$ of the liabilities, and the stock of bullion at 28,254,201*l.*

— The City Treasurer of Philadelphia, whose defalcations amounted to more than $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions of public money, lost in private speculation, sentenced to fifteen years solitary confinement, and to pay a heavy fine.

3. A disastrous collision took place at Ravenna, Ohio, between the Erie express from New York and a freight train drawn up at the station. The engines, which were piled up over the carriages, ignited the woodwork, and many passengers were seriously burnt, in addition to those injured by the collision, whilst thirteen people were killed on the spot. On the Kanawha and Michigan Railway, near Charleston, West Virginia, thirteen people were killed and sixty injured by the collapse of a trestle bridge previously injured by fire.

— A force of 800 infantry, 200 cavalry, and two guns, on the urgent representation of the British Ambassador at Constantinople, despatched to recover an English girl, Miss Kate Greenfield, who had been carried off by the Kurds on the Persian frontier. After much negotiation, Miss Greenfield declared to the British Consul that she had willingly left her home and accepted Islamism. The troops were thereupon withdrawn.

4. The German Emperor and Empress, accompanied by a large suite, arrived at Port Victoria, where they were received by the Prince of Wales and conveyed to Windsor, where their arrival was heartily greeted by a large assemblage.

— The annual cricket-match between Eton and Winchester, played at Eton, resulting in the defeat of the home eleven :—

ETON.

First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Mr. G. R. Brewis, c Lewis, b Morres	1	c C. Wigram, b Morres	0
Mr. R. A. Studd, c Lewis, b Wigram	20	c Lewis, b C Wigram	5
Mr. F. L. Crabtree, c sub, b Morres	6	b C. Wigram	8
Mr. V. R. Hoare, b C. Wigram	1	run out	56
Mr. R. C. Norman (captain), c Micklem, b Morres	9	c and b Morres	5
Mr. E. Lane-Fox, c Ricketts, b Morres	8	st Lewis, b Case	13
Mr. H. A. Arkwright, c Wigram, b Case	59	c Micklem, b C. Wigram	44
Mr. F. C. France-Hayhurst, c Case, b Scott	29	c L.-Gower, b C. Wigram	4
Mr. D. H. Forbes, c Ricketts, b Scott	0	c Morres, b H. J. Wigram	6
Mr. C. H. Northey, not out	8	c Morres, b Case	16
Mr. M. S. Farmer, c Morres, b Case	0	not out	0
B, 8; 1-b, 1	4	L-b, 1; w, 2	8
	145		160

WINCHESTER.

First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Mr. W. S. Case, b Arkwright	4	c and b Forbes	37
Mr. L. W. S. Rostron, c and b Forbes	41	c Arkwright, b Hoare	9
Mr. H. D. G. Leveson-Gower, b Forbes	3		
Mr. L. O. Micklem, b Hoare	25	b Arkwright	28
Mr. C. Wigram (captain), lbw, b Lane-Fox	37	c Brewis, b Forbes	11
Hon. E. G. Scott, c Lane-Fox, b Arkwright	28	not out	4
Mr. R. L. Ricketts, c Studd, b Hoare	15	not out	0
Mr. G. W. Jackson, b Hoare	32	b Hoare	7
Mr. H. J. Wigram, b Arkwright	5		
Mr. E. R. Morres, not out	5		
Mr. R. P. Lewis, b Hoare	2		
B, 6; 1-b, 5; n-b, 1	12	B, 4; n-b, 2	6
	209		97

5. The Swiss popular vote to decide the people's right to take the initiative in demanding constitutional changes affirmed by 169,142 against 117,888 votes. In eighteen cantons the vote was affirmative and in four negative.

— A cyclone from the south-west, of unusual force and destructiveness, passed over a part of Louisiana and Texas, the penitentiary and governor's house of the former State being blown down, whilst at Galveston the waters of the Gulf of Mexico were driven over the lower part of the town.

6. The marriage of the Prince Aribert, of Anhalt, and Princess Louise, youngest daughter of the Prince and Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, took place at Windsor. The latter couple at the same time celebrated their silver wedding, the Queen and the Emperor and Empress of Germany attending the ceremony.

— The steamship *Dunholme*, of West Hartlepool, came into collision with s.s. *Kinloch*, about three miles off Dover, during a thick fog, and seventeen of the crew were drowned.

— The mountain railway from Visp (Viege) to Zermatt, the work of Herr Stockalpe, formally inaugurated.

— A rain cloud, or waterspout, burst over the town of Ekaterinoslav, sweeping away 150 houses and four bridges, and causing the death of a large number of persons. The water in the principal streets rose to a height of five feet.

7. The "electrocution," or execution by electricity, of four murderers took place at the Sing-Sing prison, New York, in the presence of a few experts and officials, by whom it was certified that in each case death had been painless and instantaneous.

— Sixty British lobster factories on the French shore of Newfoundland closed by order of Sir Baldwin Walker, and many thousands of persons thrown out of employment, the French authorities also strictly enforcing the terms of the treaty.

— The election for County Carlow resulted in the return of the anti Parnellite candidate, Mr. J. Hammond, by 3,755 votes, his opponent, Mr. A. S. Kettle, polling only 1,539 votes.

— A terrible landslip, caused by recent heavy rains, occurred on the banks of the Skeena River, Vancouver Island, by which nine houses and their forty occupants were overwhelmed.

8. In the House of Commons the Free Education Bill was read a third time without a division and passed.

— The German Emperor and Empress attended a gala representation at the Royal Italian Opera, where they received a magnificent reception.

— The steamship *Utopia*, which sank on March 17 in Gibraltar Bay, after striking against the ram of H.M.S. *Anson*, successfully raised and beached.

— The Prince of Wales unveiled the equestrian statue of Lord Napier of Magdala, by Sir Edgar Boehm, erected near Carlton House Terrace.

— The Convent of St. Victor at Montreal, used as an asylum for deaf mutes, caught fire and was burnt to the ground. One of the Sisters of Mercy, by her courage and resource, rescued 140 of the 800 inmates whose escape by the staircase had been cut off.

9. The final heats at the Henley Regatta were decided as follows :

Grand Challenge Cup. Leander Club beat London Rowing Club, 1 length, 6 min. 51 secs.

Visitors' Challenge Cup. Trinity Hall Boat Club beat Brasenose Boat Club, 2½ lengths, 7 min. 45 secs.

Wyfold Challenge Cup. Chester Rowing Club beat Kingston Rowing Club, 1½ lengths, 7 min. 50 secs.

Ladies' Challenge Plate. Balliol College Boat Club beat Eton College Boat Club, ¼ length, 7 min. 20 secs.

Silver Goblets. Lord Ampthill and Guy Nickalls beat F. Wilkinson and W. H. Fletcher, 1 ft., 8 min. 36 secs.

Stewards' Challenge Cup. Thames Rowing Club beat Trinity Hall Boat Club, 1¼ lengths, 7 min. 45 secs.

Thames Challenge Cup. Moulsey Boat Club beat Thames Rowing Club, ¼ length, 7 min. 18 secs.

Diamond Sculls *v.* Nickalls, Magdalen College, Oxford, *r. o.*

— At Leicester, the Prince of Wales' Stakes, value 6,000*l.*, won by M. E. Blanc's Révérend, 3 yrs., 9st. (J. Woodburn), defeating the favourite, Mimi, the winner of the Oaks, which was last. Six started.

— The London School Board, by 21 to 13 votes, decided to "free" all its schools from the date of the operation of the new Act.

— The All-England Lawn Tennis Championship ended in the Messrs. Baddeley, having previously defeated Messrs. Renshaw and Baldon, defeating the holders, Messrs. Pim and Stoker, by four games to two.

10. The German Emperor paid a State visit to the City of London, of which he was presented with the freedom, and in reply to the Lord Mayor expressed himself strongly in favour of peace in Europe. The procession was received all along the route with great cordiality, and the street decorations, especially in the City, were profuse.

— At Sandown the Eclipse Stakes of 11,500*l.* won by Mr. A. W. Merry's Surefoot, 4 yrs., 10 st. 2 lbs. (Liddiard), defeating Mr. Blanc's Gouverneur, and the favourite, Sir F. Johnstone's Common, after a magnificent race. Nine started.

11. The German Emperor's State visit to England closed with a review of Volunteers at Wimbledon, followed by a fête at the Crystal Palace, where a general review of the National Fire Brigade was held under the command of Captain Shaw.

— The annual cricket match at Lords between Eton and Harrow resulted in the victory of the latter by seven wickets. Scores as follows:

ETON.			
First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Mr. R. A. Studd, run out	9	b Pope	40
Mr. G. R. Brewis, lbw, b Pope	70	c Clayton, b Paine	41
Mr. R. C. Norman (captain), c Anderson, b Rome	8	absent	0
Mr. V. R. Hoare, b Rome	4	c Barlow, b Smith	15
Mr. H. A. Arkwright, b Pope	6	c and b Anderson	28
Mr. F. L. Crabtree, b Rome	7	run out	7
Mr. E. Lane-Fox, c Smith, b Anderson	6	not out	9
Mr. F. C. France-Hayhurst, c Bevington, b Anderson	0	c Bevington, b Pope	14
Mr. C. H. Northey, not out	10	c Anderson, b Pope	5
Mr. D. H. Forbes, b Pope	0	b Rome	9
Mr. H. St. J. Peacock, b Pope	2	run out	0
B, 1; 1-b, 2	3	B, 7; 1-b, 11; n-b, 1.	19
	125		187

HARROW.			
First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Mr. J. C. Bevington, c Hoare, b Arkwright	71	c and b Fox	12
Mr. B. N. Bosworth-Smith, b Fox	20	not out	26
Mr. C. G. Pope (captain), b Arkwright	44	not out	12
Mr. M. Y. Barlow, c Hayhurst, b Crabtree	58	b Forbes	13
Mr. W. B. Anderson, c Fox, b Crabtree	26		
Mr. A. I. Paine, c Hoare, b Fox	7	b Forbes	3
Mr. T. T. Phelps, b Forbes	4		
Mr. F. G. H. Clayton, b Forbes	0		
Mr. C. S. Rome, not out	0		
Mr. C. S. Ridgeway, b Hoare	4		
Mr. C. Andreae, b Hoare	0		
B, 3; 1-b, 2; n-b, 2.	7	B, 1; 1-b, 2; n-b, 3.	6
	241		72

12. During a high tide off the Mersey, a hurriedly constructed embankment 250 ft. in width, and forming part of the Eastham section of the Manchester Ship Canal, suddenly gave way, causing very serious damage and loss.

13. The German Emperor and Empress, after a visit of two days to the

Marquess of Salisbury at Hatfield, took formal leave of the Queen at Windsor, and left London for Edinburgh and Leith, where he embarked on board his yacht.

13 The Privy Council decided in favour of the petition of the two leading London Colleges, King's and University, to grant degrees.

— A well-known trapeze performer, William Hanlon, was killed at Lyons, Iowa, in consequence of the breaking of a bar, by which he fell 80 ft. to the ground, fracturing his spine.

14. At Salt Lake City, the Mormons made a desperate effort to obtain a majority on the Board of Education, but were only able to seat four out of ten members.

— The National fête of the French Republic celebrated at Paris by the opening of the new Boulevard de la République, and the unveiling of the statue of Danton in the Parc Monceaux.

— At the Bisley Meeting of the National Rifle Association in the contest for the *Graphic* Cup, Miss Leale, N.R.A., of Guernsey, scored 59 out of a possible score of 75, her first seven shots (at 200 yds.) having been fired seated in 1 min. 35 secs.

— The most severe floods known since 1868 occurred in the country round Melbourne, six inches of rain falling in 48 hours. The railway embankments were swept away and the lines cleared, and thousands of persons living in the lowlying suburbs rendered homeless.

15. Lord Salisbury presided at the dinner of the United Club, held at St. James's Hall, and in his speech discussed the various issues which candidates would have to place before their constituents at the General Election.

— The 2nd Battalion of the Grenadier Guards embarked from Bermuda on their return to England.

— Castioni, who was charged with killing State Councillor Rossi during the Ticino revolution, found guilty at the Criminal Court of Zürich and sentenced *in contumaciam* to eight years' hard labour. His extradition from England had previously been refused by the Queen's Bench Division. Sixteen persons accused of political conspiracy against the Ticinese Government were acquitted.

— Professor Bergmann and Dr. Hahn of Berlin ordered to answer within twenty-four hours the charge brought against them of having inoculated pauper patients with cancer bacilli.

16. The King of Siam turned the first sod of the first railway in his dominion, intended to be constructed between Bangkok and Pankam.

— In the House of Lords the Free Education Bill was, after debate, read a second time without a division.

17. A serious fire took place at Santiago, Chili, by which an enormous extent of property was destroyed, including the British Legation, with all its archives and the Minister's personal effects.

— A partial strike of shunters, porters, and workmen in the goods stations.

of some of the French railways proclaimed, but after a few days the men, except those arrested for riotous conduct, returned to work.

18. The English Bank of the River Plate established about ten years, with a capital of 1½ millions, half called up, closed its doors in consequence of its commitments in South America.

— A serious accident occurred on the Ince section of the Manchester Canal. An engine and several waggons were, by the carelessness of the pointsman, turned on to a wrong siding, and fell over an embankment, beneath which a party of men were at work. Eleven men were killed and several others seriously injured.

19. The town residence of Lord Howard, of Glossop, in Rutland Gate, very seriously injured by a fire apparently caused by the igniting of a lamp shade in the dining room.

20. In the Divisional Court of the Queen's Bench, Justices Denman and Wills gave judgment in favour of the defendants in the case of Cleaver v. Mutual Reserve Fund Insurance Association on a claim for a policy of 2,000*l.* effected by Mr. James Maybrick, whose wife was convicted of causing his death by poison.

— The House of Lords, sitting as a Court of Appeal, unanimously decided in favour of the Bishop of London against Mr. Allcroft and others in the case of the reredos erected in St. Paul's Cathedral.

— The Prince of Wales laid the memorial of the Battersea Polytechnic, the first of a series of institutes proposed to be erected in London from funds derived from City Parochial Charities.

21. The Prince and Princess of Wales went to Birmingham and formally opened the new Victoria Law Courts, of which the foundation stone had been laid by the Queen in 1887.

— News reached Lisbon that the expedition sent by the French Government in the direction of Lake Tchad, to extend the zone of French influence, had been attacked by the natives, and narrowly escaped total destruction. Most of the French leaders were either killed or wounded.

22. H.M.S. *Endymion* (7,350 tons), the first of the protected cruisers built under the Naval Defence Act, 1889, launched from Earle's shipbuilding yard at Hull, and christened by the Marchioness of Salisbury.

— A baronetcy conferred upon Lord Mayor Savory, a knighthood upon the two Sheriffs, in connection with the State visit of the German Emperor and Empress to the city.

— The Prince of Naples, Crown Prince of Italy, travelling *incognito*, arrived in London, where he was received by the Prince of Wales and conducted to Buckingham Palace.

— The Technical and Recreative Institute erected at New Cross on the site of the Royal Naval School, opened by the Prince of Wales. The entire cost of the buildings, fittings, and endowment, amounting to 280,000*l.*, was defrayed by the Goldsmiths' Company.

23. The polling in the Wisbech Division of Cambridgeshire resulted in the return of the Hon. A. Brand (G.L.), 8,979, against Mr. S. W. Duncan (C.), 8,719 votes.

— The French fleet reached Cronstadt, where it was received with marked attention by the High Admiral, the Grand Duke Alexis, and the authorities, with great marks of popular enthusiasm.

— The Queen conferred upon the Earl Cadogan the Garter vacant by the death of Earl Granville.

— A fire broke out in the Abdur Palace, the residence of the Khedive at Cairo, and destroyed a large portion of the building. The furniture and valuable contents of the private rooms were saved.

— The French Minister of the Interior (M. Constans) and two other high functionaries received through the post from Toulon infernal machines, but being suspicious of the contents of the packages avoided opening them.

24. A tablet to the memory of John Robinson, "the Father of the Independents," unveiled at Leyden, where he had been Pastor of the English Church 1609–1624, and whence, at his prompting, the Pilgrim Fathers went forth to settle in New England in 1620.

— Very serious monetary difficulties reported from Portugal in consequence of the almost total disappearance of gold and silver from the currency.

— The prizes at the Bisley Meeting of the National Rifle Association distributed by the Marchioness of Salisbury. The following is the list of the winners in the principal contests:—

MATCHES.

Matches	Yards	Highest possible score	Total scores
Humphry Cup (any rifle) . . .	800, 900, 1,000	900	{ Cambridge . . . 791
Regular and Volunteers (Metford by Gibbs). . . . }	Do.	1,850	{ Oxford . . . 723
			{ Volunteers . . . 1,661
Elcho Challenge Shield . . .	Do.	1,800	{ Regulars . . . 1,620
			{ England . . . 1,670
United Services	200, 500, 600	840	{ Ireland . . . 1,633
			{ Scotland . . . 1,617
Kolapore Cup	200, 500, 600	840	{ Volunteers . . . 705
			{ Army . . . 653
Chancellor's Plate	200, 500, 600	840	{ Mother Country . . . 679
			{ Canada . . . 672
Ashburton Shield	200, 500	560	{ Cambridge . . . 637
			{ Oxford . . . 625
China Cup	600	500	{ Charterhouse . . . 406
			{ Bradfield . . . 394
Mullen's Cup	Disappng. target	—	{ Lanark . . . 395
			{ 1st V.B. N. Lancashire . . . 95
Mappin's Cup	400, 500	280	{ London R. Bdge. (1st team) . . . 183
			{ Ayrshire Regiment (1st team) . . . 131
Lloyd Lindsay (carbine) . . .	400, 600	—	{ 3rd Lanark R.V. . . 502
Ranelagh Challenge Cup . . .	—	—	

PRIZES.

Prizes	Yards	Highest possible score	Winner
Albert Jewel (any rifle) . . .	800, 900	105	Corp. Foulkes, 3rd Cheshire 99
Alexandra (Martini-Hy.) . . .	500, 600	70	Col.-Sergt. G. Orr, 2nd V.B.A. and S. High. 66
Daily Telegraph Cup . . .	200	35	Pte. Graham, Q.R. V. Bde. 34
Graphic (Martini-Henry) . . .	200, 500	70	Pte. Cox, 1st Scot. Fusilrs. 66
Martin's Cup	600	35	Sergt. Fenwick, 1st V.B. R. High. 34
The M.-H. Association Cup	200, 600	70	Capt. Rouse, 3rd Lanark 66
St. George's Vase	600	35	Sergt. Procter, 3rd V.B. Suffolk Hldrs. 66
Prince of Wales's Prize . . .	200, 600	110	Corp. W. Ritchie, 2nd V.B.A. and S. High. 34
Queen's Prize (Martini-Henry)—1st stage . . .	{ 1st stage } { 200, 500, 600 }	105	Ct. M'Nickins, 44th B. Cda. 97
" 2nd stage	{ 1st stage } { and 500, 600 }	230	Bronze medal, Corpl. Pape, 1st V.B. Border Regiment, 28, 34, 31 . 93
" 3rd stage	{ 1 & 2 stages } { and 800, 900 }	—	Silver medal, Sgt. Milner, 2nd V.B. Derby 600 1st stage 500 600 87 46 67 200
All Comers' Aggregate	—	—	Gold medal, Pte. D. Dear, Queen's Edin. 1st stge. 2nd stge. 800 900 84 104 42 39 269
Volunteers	—	—	Sgt. R. Keating, 1st L'pool. 179
Grand	—	—	Cpl. Roscamp, 3rd Nthd. F. 150 Sergt. Parry, 2nd Cheshire 315

25. The Princess of Wales received at Marlborough House the representatives of the second thousand nurses of the National Pension Fund, which amounted to 100,000*l.*

26. A terrible railway accident occurred at St. Mandé, near Paris, two excursion trains coming into collision, causing the loss of upwards of fifty lives and seriously injuring upwards of 100 others, many of whom were burnt to death, the carriages having been set on fire by the overturned locomotive.

— An accident resulting in the death of seven workmen and great destruction of property occurred at the Friarsgoose Chemical Works, Caterhead, owing to the collapse of three condensers charged with sulphuric acid and salt.

27. In the House of Commons, Mr. H. J. Atkinson, M.P. for Boston, suspended for one week for discourtesy to the Speaker.

— The Albert Medal of the Royal Society of Arts presented by the Prince of Wales to Mr. W. H. Perkins for his discovery of coal tar colours.

28. The stay of the French fleet at Cronstadt, during which they were enthusiastically *fêted* by all classes, culminated in a magnificent banquet at the Peterhof Palace, to which the chief officers of the squadron, the members of the Royal Family, of the Ministry, and of the French and Greek Embassies, were invited. Congratulatory telegrams were interchanged between the Tzar and President Carnot.

— The Grenadier Guards (2nd Battalion) after a year's "exile" to Bermuda, arrived in England, and were disembarked at Dover, where they were temporarily garrisoned.

29. The Lord Mayor entertained the Ministry at a banquet at the Mansion House, at which Lord Salisbury, after taking credit for the pacification of

Ireland, declared that he had never known the aspect of European politics more pacified.

29. After a long period of drought, which threatened famine in many parts of India, heavy rains fell throughout Bombay and the north-west, causing serious floods and much damage to railways and property adjacent to the rivers.

30. Mr. Dillon and Mr. W. O'Brien, released from Galway Gaol, took the first opportunity of declaring against Mr. Parnell.

— H.M.S. *Hood*, 14,150 tons displacement, the largest turret-ship constructed, and one of the eight first-class battleships called for by the Naval Defence Act, launched at Chatham, the christening being performed by Viscountess Hood.

31. At the Goodwood Race Meeting the principal events were thus decided :

Steward's Cup.—Mr. Bordwick Cloete's Unicorn, 3 yrs., 7 st. 9 lbs. (O. Maden). Twenty-four started.

Richmond Stakes.—Duke of Westminster's Orme, 2 yrs., 8 st. 10 lbs. (G. Barrett). Eight started.

Goodwood Stakes.—Mr. G. A. Ralli's White Feather, 3 yrs., 6 st. 10 lbs. (Allsopp). Six started.

Sussex Stakes.—Mr. J. H. Houldsworth's Orvieto, 3 yrs., 8 st. 13 lbs. (T. Cannon). Seven started.

Goodwood Cup.—Mr. J. Gretton's Gonsalvo, 4 yrs., 9 st. 6 lbs. (G. Barrett). Five started.

Chichester Stakes.—Mr. H. Milner's Goodlake, 4 yrs., 7st. 4 lbs. (R. Chaloner). Twelve started.

Chesterfield Cup.—Mr. H. Milner's Shrine, 4 yrs., 6 st. 6 lbs. (Bradford). Nine started.

— The House of Lords, sitting on a Committee for Privileges, gave judgment in favour of the claim of Randal Thomas Berkeley, a descendant of the 4th Earl of Berkeley—to that title—the legitimate descendants of the fifth Earl—the children born after his marriage in 1796 with Mary Cole—having become extinct. This decision was practically in accord with that delivered by Lord Chancellor Eldon in 1811.

— The Legislative Assembly of New South Wales rejected by 57 to 34 votes a motion in favour of Female Suffrage brought in by the Premier, Sir H. Parkes.

AUGUST.

1. The official celebration of the 600th anniversary of the foundation of the Swiss Confederation, lasting over two days, took place at Schwytz. After a religious service, a historical play, representing the chief events of Swiss history, was performed in the open air to an audience of 15,000 persons.

— Frauds on the Deutsche Bank, at Berlin, amounting to more than a million of marks, discovered. An official named Fraube and a broker had speculated with the Bank fund to the extent of twelve millions, chiefly in Russian roubles.

2. At Barcelona, fifteen men, armed with rifles and pistols, presented themselves at the barracks and attempted to surprise the guard, having forced their way into the buildings in the dark. The sentries speedily

alarmed the troops, and after some firing, during which several were wounded on both sides, the aggressors were arrested.

3. The Queen of the Belgians, whilst seated at dinner, at Læken, suddenly struck down by a paralytic seizure, which, for a time, gave much alarm, but the effects passed off rapidly.

— The Bank of Van Diemen's Land, established in 1823, and consequently the oldest in the Colony, suspended payment, with liabilities to the extent of about 250,000*l.* in excess of its assets.

— The Verger of St. Ethelburga's Church, Bishopsgate, in a fit of mental depression, hung himself with the bell rope in the church porch.

4. The Naval manœuvres brought to a close without any very definite result, their chief object having been to illustrate the uses of torpedo boats in naval warfare, and the chances of defending the English coasts from a sudden landing.

— The Queen, at a private Court held at Osborne, conferred the Order of the Garter upon the Prince of Naples.

5. At Bologna a serious affray occurred between the officers of the 50th Regiment and civilians, the former thinking themselves insulted by articles and caricatures in a satirical paper. Hearing the editors were at one of the theatres, the officers awaited their coming out, and being disappointed in consequence of the warnings given by the police, they rushed into the theatre, regardless of the crowd, ransacked the private rooms, and finally drew their swords and revolvers, wounding many persons.

— Parliament having been nearly nine months in session, prorogued by Royal Commission at seven o'clock in the evening.

— A hurricane raged for some hours over Lower Austria, Moravia, and Upper Hungary, and in some lower districts the rain completely destroyed the year's vintage. Several of the larger rivers overflowed their banks and inundated wide tracks of country.

6. Two serious railway accidents occurred in the State of New York, simultaneously, one on the West Shore line near Port Byron, between a passenger and a luggage train, and the other on the Ogdensburg and Lake Champlain Railway, near Champlain, between the mail train and an excursion train filled with Sunday School children. In the former case eleven Italian workmen were killed, and as many more seriously injured. In the latter, four persons were killed and about twenty injured.

7. Admiral Gervais and the officers of the French fleet visited Moscow at the special invitation of the authorities. They received a remarkable ovation from the populace, the Admiral being carried to the Military Club on the shoulders of Russian officers.

— In consequence of the hostile attitude of the Chinese in various parts of the Empire, several warships of the American fleet despatched from San Francisco and the Behring Straits to protect American citizens.

8. Mr. George Reid, R.S.A., of Aberdeen, elected President of the Royal Scottish Academy in the room of Sir William Fettes Douglas, deceased.

— A great fire, which raged for several days, destroyed 5,000 acres of fir trees in the forest of Gallion Tonneron, near Draguignan.

8. An aeronaut named George Higgins, killed at Kirkstall, near Leeds, in consequence of the car catching the telegraph wires and dragging the man from his seat. On the same day a French aeronaut was lost in the English Channel, his balloon having drifted out to sea.

9. A terrific cyclone burst over the island of Martinique, lasting for three hours. All the ships in the harbour of St. Pierre were driven ashore. At Lamentation, Françori, Trinité, and St. Pierre, nearly all the houses were more or less injured. Upwards of 250 lives were lost, and the damage to the crops, shipping, and property almost incalculable. The towns of Morne Rouge and Fort de France were almost completely destroyed.

— King Alexander of Servia made his first visit to Vienna, accompanied by the Regent, M. Ristich, who had also been Regent and guardian of King Milan during the minority of the latter. The boy-king was received with great marks of consideration. The German Emperor arrived at Kiel from his voyage off the coast of Norway, which had been shortened in consequence of his having met with a serious accident to his knee.

10. Mr. Justice Stirling refused the consent of the Court of Chancery to the proposed sale of the Savernake estate, belonging to the Marquess of Ailesbury, to Lord Iveagh for 750,000*l.*

— The Prince of Wales opened the Congress of Hygiene and Demography at St. James's Hall, London.

— Mr. A. J. Balfour addressed a large meeting of Conservatives and Liberal Unionists at Plymouth, reviewing the various measures framed by the Ministry during the previous five years.

— In consequence of charges of corruption brought against several Canadian officials and ministers, Sir Hector Langevin, the Minister for Public Works, placed his resignation in the hands of the Premier.

11. The butter merchants of Tipperary evacuated the William O'Brien Arcade at New Tipperary, resuming business in the old Butter Weigh House on the Smith-Barry Estate, and the monthly cattle fair held in the Fair Green, where it had formerly taken place.

— The first prosecution under the New Public Press Law resulted in the committal for trial of the editor and proprietors of the *Bangabasi* newspaper at Calcutta, for publishing articles intended to stir up religious hatred against the Government. At the trial which followed, the jury were unable to agree and were discharged without giving a verdict.

12. The polling at Walsall resulted in the return of Alderman E. T. Holden (G.L.), 4,899, over Mr. Frank James (C.), 4,361 votes.

— Several accidents, many of them fatal, reported from the bathing resorts on the Adriatic, in consequence of the number of sharks, which, it was supposed, had passed through the Suez Canal from the Red Sea.

— Baron Hirsch, after full investigation of the means to be adopted for relieving the Russian exiles, despatched orders to his Argentine agents to purchase land in that country to the value of two millions sterling.

— A terrible accident happened to an excursion barge laden with 500 passengers off Long Island, New York. A violent squall struck the boat,

causing the collapse of the hurricane deck. Fourteen persons were killed and about thirty others seriously injured.

13. The Senaputty and the Tongal General, found waging war and conspiring against the Empress of India, were hanged at Manipur, the Regent and his brother being sentenced to transportation for life to the Andaman Islands. It was further announced that the States would not be annexed.

— The International Geographical Congress met at Berne under the presidency of Dr. Numa Droz, Swiss Minister of Foreign Affairs. In the course of the proceedings the Congress resolved that the discovery of the river Mississippi in 1881, by Captain Glazier, was unfounded, that honour being due to H. Schoolcraft, Lieutenant Allen, and engineer Nicollet.

14. A bridge over the river St. Mare, near Port-au-Prince, in the island of Hayti, swept away by the river, which had overflowed its banks. Upwards of seventy people were drowned.

— The currency crisis in Portugal reached an acute stage, it becoming almost impossible to obtain change for paper money—gold and silver had practically disappeared from circulation, and the smaller notes of 100 reis (5*d.*) were sold at a high premium.

15. The Irish mail train shortly before reaching Holyhead, went off the rails, opposite Marine Square, tearing up the permanent way and dashing into the embankment. The engine driver and several passengers were severely injured, but no lives were lost.

— At Pontypridd, on the Taff Vale Railway, a passenger train from Merthyr dashed into a train containing a number of volunteers returning from their annual inspection, fifteen of whom were seriously injured.

16. The International Socialist Labour Congress, organised by the Belgian labour party, opened its session at the Maison du Peuple at Brussels, and was attended by 363 delegates, many of them ladies. Russia and Portugal were the only European countries not represented.

17. At Zollikofen, near Berne, the Paris express train dashed into the rear of an excursion train about to be shunted. An empty luggage van at the rear of the latter somewhat staved off the shock, but sixteen excursionists were killed and many others severely injured.

— The seventh centenary of the foundation of Berne, celebrated with imposing fêtes, including a grand historical procession of 1,200 persons, representing the most important incidents in the history of the canton from the foundation of the city by Duke Berthold.

-- An expedition undertaken by the German Colonial troops under Captain von Zalewski against the Native tribes of Waheke, on the south bank of the Ruaba river, was completely broken up, ten German officers and 300 native troops being killed.

18. The Eisach Thal, in South Tyrol, visited by serious floods, which completely carried away the villages of Waidbrück and Kollman during the night, causing the death of upwards of sixty people.

— Heavy and continuous rains caused serious inundations in other parts of the Continent, and in England, especially in East Lancashire, where the Darwen valley from Blackburn to Heapey was completely flooded, inter-

rupting the railway and other traffic, and doing enormous injury to the mills and furnaces.

19. A severe thunderstorm broke over London, causing great damage to property, especially in the northern districts, where several buildings were struck by lightning.

— At the Boulogne Casino, a dispute arose between a French officer and Dr. Tanner, M.P., in consequence of certain expressions used by the latter. The military commandant intervened, and the officer subsequently challenged Dr. Tanner to a duel, which was avoided by his withdrawal of the insulting words.

— The French squadron, consisting of six vessels, under the command of Admiral Gervais, arrived at Spithead from Cronstadt, and were warmly welcomed by the English fleet. A grand review of the fleet was subsequently held by the Queen, and the stay of the French fleet was marked by numerous festivities.

— At the opening meeting of the British Association at Bute Hall, Cardiff, under the chairmanship of the Marquess of Bute, Mayor of the borough, the inaugural address was delivered by the president, Professor Huggins, on the recent progress in astronomical science.

20. The exposition of the Holy Coat of Trèves inaugurated by the Bishop of diocese. Upwards of 40,000 pilgrims arrived in the city for the ceremony, and were succeeded each day by constantly increasing numbers.

— The Canadian Premier (Mr. Abbott) announced the intention of the Government to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the corruption in the Civil Service of the Dominion.

21. The Local Government Board, after a protracted inquiry, decided that the management of the Eastern (London) Fever Hospital was in many respects unsatisfactory in the matter of diet, sanitary arrangements, and discipline, and required the resignation of the superintendent.

— On the conclusion of the review of the French fleet at Portsmouth, the Queen sent a friendly and congratulatory telegram to President Carnot, to which the latter at once responded.

22. In New York a brick and stone building five storeys high, with a frontage of 200 feet, suddenly collapsed, involving the loss of upwards of a hundred lives. The fall also broke the main pipes of the New York Steam Heating Company; and the gas main ignited and set fire to the ruins, amongst which many of the workpeople, men and women, were buried.

23. A Sicilian priest fell dead whilst saying mass in the private chapel of the Villa Mazarino, near Palermo, poison having been placed in the sacramental wine.

24. The German Emperor, at a banquet given in his honour at Merseburg, in the kingdom of Saxony, declared his aim and the purpose of his allies was to uphold the peace of Europe.

— A serious outbreak of smallpox having occurred in Sarragossa and the surrounding district, a royal decree was issued requiring doctors to vaccinate and re-vaccinate all persons gratuitously.

25. The electrical exhibition at Frankfort-on-Main formally opened, the

whole of the lamps being lighted by a current supplied from the Lauffen falls of the river Neckar, 108 miles distant.

25. At the York August race meeting :

Prince of Wales Plate.—Colonel North's El Diablo, 2 yrs., 9 st. 8 lbs. (M. Cannon). Sixteen started.

Ebor Handicap.—Lord Rosslyn's Buccaneer, 3 yrs., 7 st. 5 lbs. (J. Woodburn). Thirteen started.

— Violent gales, accompanied by a deluge of rain, swept over north-western England and western Scotland, causing serious damage and inundations.

— Prince George of Wales, after thirteen years' service, promoted to be commander, R.N.

— A statue of Joan of Arc unveiled at Domremy Church, in the presence of three bishops and 3,000 persons.

26. The polling at Lewisham resulted in the return of Mr. John Penn (C.), 4,585, against Mr. Warmington, Q.C. (G.L.), 2,892 votes.

— The pest known as the mustard bug exhibited itself in various parts of the eastern counties, especially in South Lincolnshire.

— Captain Bade (of Bremen) reached Hammerfest after having explored the whole western coast of Spitzbergen to 80° (lat.), where he was forced to retreat by thick ice.

— A train travelling at a high rate of speed was wrecked whilst crossing a high bridge over the Catawba River, on the North Carolina Railway. Some rails had been removed from the track near the centre of the bridge. The train was at once broken up, and the engine and one of the cars thrown into the river ninety feet below. About twenty-five people were killed instantaneously, and fifty were seriously injured.

27. At a meeting of the shareholders of the *Freeman's Journal* it was decided that the management of the paper should be changed, and that it should in future support the Nationalist and Clerical party against Mr. Parnell's followers.

— Two steamships, the *Gambier* and the *Easby*, came into collision inside Port Phillip Heads during the night, and five-and-twenty persons, passengers and crew of the latter vessel, were drowned.

— A ukase of the Russian Government prohibiting the export of rye, and of wheat and rye after a fixed date, led first to the hurried exportation of large quantities of grain, and subsequently to serious riots in various parts of the country, especially along the valley of the Volga, where the distress from the deficient harvest was most acute, the people objecting to the delay in protecting the Russian crops.

— After three days' preliminary fighting, during which the Congressionists succeeded in establishing themselves in the neighbourhood of Valparaiso, a decisive battle was fought, in which the troops under General Balmaceda were totally routed and dispersed, and Valparaiso surrendered to the victors. Upwards of 5,000 men were estimated to have been killed and wounded. The towns of Santiago and Coquimbo subsequently surrendered.

28. According to the *Times* correspondent at Paris, the chief result of the visit of Admiral Gervais to Cronstadt, was an agreement between the

French and Russian Governments to act together in China; the Russians anticipating an immense invasion of their frontier, whilst a simultaneous movement was threatened against the French in Tonquin.

29. The county cricket season closed, sixty-eight matches having been played, of which fifty-three were played out. Surrey, with ten points out of a possible sixteen, headed the list. Lancashire four, Middlesex three, and Notts. one.

— The result of Mr. Theodore Bent's excavations at Limbabwe, in Mashonaland, showed the existence of a large temple and various specimens of stone carving and Persian cutlery.

31. Notwithstanding the warnings issued from the Meteorological Department as to the dangers resulting from barometric pressure, several colliery explosions were reported, the most serious being at Bedminster, near Bristol, where nine men were killed.

— A serious gale from the south-west, causing great loss of life and damage to shipping, raged over the North Wales, Cheshire, and Lancashire coast, and part of a large hotel at Widnes was blown down.

— The purchase of a large number of Suez Canal bonds by Russia with the Appanage Fund announced.

SEPTEMBER.

1. The winter congress of Orientalists opened at the Inner Temple Hall, under the presidency of the Marquess of Dufferin.

— The free education proposals of the Government generally adopted throughout the country by both Board and Voluntary schools. In some cases fees were continued in order to provide a higher standard of instruction.

— The War Office authorities decide that in future the Household Troops, hitherto exempt from provincial and foreign service, should take their turn with other regiments.

2. According to a report issued by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue the annual value of houses and messuages in the United Kingdom was 139,589,982*l.*, of which 35,155,593*l.* represented the annual value for London.

— An attempt to establish an observatory on Mount Blanc abandoned after cutting a shaft to a depth of 26 metres without finding a rocky foundation. Dr. Jacotet, who had remained for some time at the works, died from exposure, and most of the men employed suffered from *mal de montagne*.

3. The Sultan suddenly dismissed his Grand Vizier, and withdrew their portfolios from six other members of the Cabinet. This act, combined with the recent passage of a Russian armed ship through the Dardanelles, gave rise to much disquiet in Western Europe.

— A terrific thunderstorm, aggravated, according to the opinion of some authorities, by the Eiffel Tower, burst over Paris. A rain cloud of unusual size inundated the city, and flooded the sewers, from which thousands of rats were driven into the streets. A number of lives were lost by lightning and drowning.

4. Further outrages perpetrated by the Chinese at Isang, on the river

Yangtze. Several houses belonging to Europeans, together with the Roman-Catholic church, school, and orphanage, burnt by the natives.

4. The New Zealand House of Representatives passed a Bill granting the suffrage to women, and enabling them to sit in Parliament.

5. The number of electric railways in operation and under contract in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Australia, and Japan, stated to be 825, representing 4,000 cars and 7,000 motors, with 2,000 miles of track.

— A serious outbreak of cholera reported from Eastern Syria and Persia, the deaths, chiefly among the pilgrims, ranging from 2,000 to 2,500 a day.

7. The German Emperor, at the close of the Austrian manœuvres, at which he had assisted with the Emperor of Austria, arrived in Munich, where he was most cordially received by the royal family and populace. This was the first visit paid to the Bavarian capital by a German Emperor since the consolidation of the Empire.

8. The Trades Union Congress met at Newcastle under the presidency of Mr. Thos. Burt, M.P., and was attended by upwards of 600 delegates, representing about two millions of working men. Several days were occupied in the discussion of the Eight Hours' Day question, which was finally adopted as a principle subject to certain exceptions for particular trades.

— At Doncaster, the Great Yorkshire Handicap won by an outsider: Mr. J. H. Houldsworth's Alloway, 4 yrs., 8 st. 11 lbs. (M. Cannon). Fourteen started.

9. The Catholic Congress, attended by about 1,600 priests and others, opened at Maliver under the presidency of the Archbishop, Cardinal Goossens.

— The city of San Salvador, and all the cities within a radius of sixty miles, wrecked by an earthquake. Many lives were lost, and property valued at several millions of dollars destroyed.

— The "St. Leger" won by the favourite, Sir F. Johnstone's Common 9 st. (G. Barrett). Nine ran. The winner, who was jointly owned by Sir F. Johnstone and Lord Alington, thus having won the three great 8 year old races of the year, was sold the next day to Mr. Blundell Maple for 15,000*l.*, the highest price ever paid for a race horse.

10. The Italian mail steamer *Taormina* run down off Cape Sunium (Colonna) by the Greek steamer *Thessalia*, involving a loss of nearly fifty lives.

11. A steam launch on Lough Foyle, through mismanagement, came into collision with a large steamer and immediately sunk, with fifteen out of twenty-five persons on board.

— The committee of the Canadian Senate appointed to investigate the alleged misappropriation of the subsidy of 250,000 dollars voted for the Baie Chaleur Railway, found the company had been illegally deprived of 175,000 dollars of that amount.

12. Severe storms, accompanied by heavy rain, broke over the southern provinces of Spain, causing incalculable damage and loss of life. At Cansulpa, in the province of Toledo, the river suddenly rose and overflowed its banks, carrying away and ruining more than two-thirds of the houses, and upwards of 1,500 persons were supposed to have lost their lives in the towns and

surrounding villages. The railways having been intercepted for a time, it was almost impossible to convey help to the devastated district.

14. Great excitement caused throughout Europe by the announcement that a detachment of British sailors and marines with cannon had landed at Sigri on the coast of Mitylene. The rumour grew out of an exaggerated report of the landing of some men for gun drill and exercise.

— M. Grévy, ex-president of the French Republic, after lying in state for twenty-four hours, interred at the public expense in the cemetery of Mont-sous-Vandrey.

15. The first Hirsch Colony in the United States for the relief of Russian Jews established at Woodbine, Cape May, co. N.Y. The farm consisted of over 5,000 acres of land, pasture and arable, and comprised workshops for various trades.

— Two reports of the Sub-Committee investigating the conduct of certain Canadian officials presented, the majority exonerating Sir Hector Langevin from the charge of corruption, the minority finding that the closest intimacy existed between that Minister and Hon. Thomas M'Greevy, whom both committees found implicated in the charges.

16. The Marlowe memorial, by Mr. Onslow Forde, A.R.A., erected at Canterbury, near the Christ Church gate of the Cathedral, unveiled by Mr. Henry Irving in the presence of a large assemblage of literary admirers.

— The first performance of "Lohengrin" at the Paris Opera attended by a noisy demonstration of the "Patriotic League." The Government had, however, taken strict precautions, and the performance was not interrupted. In the streets upwards of a thousand persons were arrested, of whom all but a few were immediately set at liberty.

17. The Lord Advocate for Scotland, Right Hon. W. P. Bannerman Robertson, M.P., appointed Lord Justice General in succession to Sir John Inglis, deceased.

— The Pope addressed a letter to the Archbishops and Bishops of Germany and Austria-Hungary, condemning the practice of duelling, whether in the army or between civilians, as not only unchristian but contrary to reason and common sense.

— A railway tunnel in course of construction, near Trieste, suddenly collapsed, burying fifty-two workmen, of whom almost all were found dead when extricated.

18. A Swiss Federal postal diligence, whilst traversing the Albula pass in the Grisons, overturned near Bergün, and in falling over the precipice two of the occupants were killed and the other injured.

— The Pope received in the upper vestibule of St. Peter's a party of 2,000 French pilgrims, chiefly working men, who had come to do homage under the guidance of their bishops and clergy.

— The English autumn manœuvres in Hampshire, which had been attended by about 10,000 troops, brought to a close in consequence of the continued bad weather. The French manœuvres in the north-eastern departments, in which 150,000 were under arms, passed off with the greatest success.

19. The Congress of Dominicans met at Lyons for the election of a General of the Order, the choice falling upon Father Fruhwirth, Provincial of

Austria, a comparatively young man. He was the seventy-fifth General elected since the foundation of the Order.

19. The St. Clair tunnel, connecting the Canadian and American lines running to Chicago, formally opened in the presence of representatives of the Dominion and United States Governments. The tunnel, 6,025 feet long, runs under the bed of the St. Clair river, between Point Edward in Ontario, and Port Huron in the State of Michigan.

20. Ex-President Balmaceda, who had taken refuge and remained concealed in the Argentine Legation at Santiago, shot himself, finding escape impossible. The news was received with great rejoicing throughout Chili.

21. Sir James Fergusson, Bart., M.P., Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, appointed Postmaster-General in succession to Mr. Raikes, deceased.

— The Auxiliary Australian Squadron, formed under the Naval Department, consisting of three fast cruisers and a gunboat, arrived at Melbourne, and were received with great enthusiasm.

— An imperial decree, published at Strasburg, relaxing the passport regulations for Alsace-Lorraine.

— Heavy north-westerly gales prevailed over the north of England and south of Scotland, causing serious damage to property, and almost simultaneously a severe hurricane burst over the Bermudas, lasting for thirty-six hours. Berlin was also visited by a terrific thunderstorm, during which traffic was stopped in several streets by the incessant heavy rain.

— The London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway celebrated the jubilee of its opening. It was originally projected in 1825, but not finally carried out by G. & J. Rennie until some years later. The idea of the promoters was to connect London and Paris in fourteen hours, by steamers running from Brighton to Dieppe.

22. A further section of the Indian Territory, at Oklahoma, thrown open at noon, when a rush for allotments was made by about 15,000 persons who had assembled on the borders. The extent thrown open was about 800,000 acres.

— Two passenger trains, travelling at ordinary speed, came into collision on the Russo-German frontier, causing the death of eleven persons and seriously injuring twenty-five. Both engines and eight carriages were completely smashed, the fire of the former setting light to the wreckage.

— The International Congress on Accidents to Working-men, attended by more than 800 delegates, met at Berne, under the presidency of Herr Linder, Inspector-General of Mines, the proceedings being opened by M. Numa Droz, the Swiss Minister of Foreign Affairs.

23. The centenary of the birth of the poet Theodore Körner celebrated with great enthusiasm throughout Germany, especially in Saxony, Dresden having been his birthplace.

— The remains of the French general, Count Lassalle, killed at the battle of Wagram, exhumed from his grave in St. Mark's Cemetery at Vienna, and conveyed to the Invalides at Paris.

— The Leicestershire Royal Handicap, value 6,000*l.*, won by an outsider, Mr. Hamar Bass' Rusticus, 5 yrs., 7 st. (W. Blake). Twelve started.

23. At Liverpool a coroner's inquest returned a verdict of wilful murder against two boys, Shearon and Crawford, aged eight and nine years respectively, for drowning a lad, their companion, in order to steal his clothes.

24. The Bank of England advanced the rate of discount from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent., the reserve standing at 16,758,534*l.*, or $45\frac{3}{4}$ of the liabilities, and the stock of bullion at 25,605,534*l.*

— A frightful railway accident occurred near Burgos, where an express train came into collision with an ordinary train. Twenty-four people were killed outright, including two Englishmen, and twenty-five others were seriously injured, amongst whom was Mr. Seymour Lucas, A.R.A.

— Frau Marie Wilt, or Wilda, a distinguished operatic singer, committed suicide by throwing herself out of the window of her house in Vienna. She had some time before given 100,000 florins for poor students at Graz and Vienna.

25. Extensive forest and prairie fires, caused by the excessive heat of the weather, reported from Wisconsin and Minnesota. Hundreds of homesteads and much cattle were destroyed, and Pittsville and Dexterville, a wood country, were completely surrounded and isolated by the flames and smoke.

— The Chinese populace in the district of Amoy, excited by fiscal abuses, boycotted the Government salt, and killed several mandarins and minor officials. The revolt was not quelled until a large force of troops had been despatched.

26. "General" Booth, after stopping at the Cape, Tasmania, and at Melbourne, reached Sydney, having been most warmly received at all places in the course of his journey.

— At Manchester the Lancashire Plate of 11,000*l.* won by the Chevalier Ginestrelli's Signorina, 4 yrs., 9 st. 13 lb. (F. Webb), defeating the favourite, Duke of Westminster's Orme, 2 yrs., 7 st. 12 lb., by half a length. Nine started.

— An earthquake in the Upper Mississippi Valley was felt throughout Illinois, Iowa, and Central Indiana, and as far north as Cincinnati (Ohio), and as far south as Tennessee. In many towns the inhabitants were violently awakened, and rushed panic-stricken into the streets, but no loss of life was reported.

— The General Chancellor, General von Caprivi, at Osnabrück, and the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, at Bapaume, delivered important pacific speeches intended to reassure the public mind. Both ministers stated that the object of the policy of each country was to maintain peace.

28. A daring robbery committed at the South African Museum, Cape Town, the burglar succeeding in entering the building through one of the ventilators, and in carrying off the collection of rough diamonds and nuggets.

— The Richmond main drainage works, by which the sewage of that town and the neighbouring hamlets was diverted from the Thames, formally opened by the President of the Local Government Board, Mr. Ritchie, M.P.

29. In St. Paul's Cathedral, the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by several assistant bishops, consecrated the Bishops of Lichfield (Rev. the Hon. Aug. Legge), of Truro (Dr. Gott), of Zululand (Rev. W. M. Carter),

and the Suffragan Bishops of Southwark (Rev. H. W. Yeatman), and of Coventry (Rev. H. B. Bowlby).

29. The Pope celebrated Low Mass, with full ceremonial, in the basilica of St. Peter's, in presence of nearly 25,000 pilgrims assembled from all countries.

30. General Boulanger shot himself on the tomb of his mistress, Madame de Bonnemain, in the cemetery of Ixelles, outside Brussels.

— Mr. J. W. Lowther, M.P. for Mid Cumberland, appointed Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in succession to Sir James Fergusson.

— Dr. Pigou, Dean of Chichester, transferred to the Deanery of Bristol.

— Two dynamite bombs exploded under the railway arches at Rosenthal, near Reichenberg, the centre of German industry in Bohemia, a few hours before the Emperor of Austria passed over the line, coming from Prague. No person was injured, and no political motive was assigned to the act.

OCTOBER.

1. At the celebration of the Jubilee of Glenalmond College, Perthshire, of which he was the surviving founder, Mr. Gladstone laid the foundation of a new building, to be called Trinity College, and made a long speech on the history of the school.

— In the Victorian Assembly the Opposition obliged the Government to withdraw their proposal for granting the electoral franchise to women.

— The annual meeting of the National Liberal Federation opened at Newcastle under the presidency of Dr. Spence Watson, the inaugural speeches of the meeting being made by Mr. John Morley, M.P., who vindicated the Irish Home Rule policy of the Liberal party, and by Sir George Trevelyan, who advocated the disestablishment of the Church in Wales as a pressing question.

2. Mr. Gladstone addressed a meeting of nearly 5,000 persons, assembled in the Tyne Theatre, Newcastle, in connection with the annual meeting of the National Liberal Federation. Mr. Gladstone, who spoke for upwards of an hour and a quarter, was enthusiastically received by the audience as well as by the people of Newcastle.

— A disastrous fire, by which ten wharves and thirty-five warehouses and stores were destroyed, occurred at Halifax, Nova Scotia. Fifteen hundred barrels of petroleum and an enormous quantity of fish, sugar, flour, and timber were destroyed, entailing a total loss of half a million of dollars.

— A serious collision between the French pilgrims and the Roman population was averted by the timely intervention of the police and military, in consequence of the insulting cries and acts of some of the pilgrims in front of the tomb of Victor Emmanuel in the Pantheon. The act was regarded as one of sacrilege by the clericals, and for a while the priests refused to reconsecrate the church, but at length consented to do so.

8. The funeral of General Boulanger at Brussels gave rise to disorderly scenes, the police and gendarmerie with difficulty protecting the cortège on its route to the cemetery. Many persons were seriously hurt by the violence of the mob.

3. The freedom of the city of Newcastle-on-Tyne conferred on Mr. Gladstone, who, in acknowledging the compliment paid to him, referred to the benefits of municipal self-government and free trade.

4. A statue of Garibaldi unveiled at Nice, after much postponement. The Italian Ministers declined the invitation sent to them, and the General's family was represented by his son-in-law, General Canzio, and the patriots by General Turr alone. M. Rouvier, the French Minister, made a cautious and conciliatory speech.

5. The strike against the Hermitage and Carron wharves at Wapping, which had been going on for three weeks, assumed an acute form by the decision of the Carmen's Union to "block" the wharves.

— A serious fire, which for a time seemed uncontrollable, totally destroyed a block of buildings in Tooley Street, used as storehouses of a large quantity of colonial produce of all descriptions. The value of the goods destroyed was enormous, and three weeks after its occurrence the fire was still burning.

— The Czar issued a notice countermanding all State balls and similar ceremonials during the ensuing season, and ordering that the money so economised should be devoted to the relief of the famine-stricken districts. Public subscriptions were also opened throughout Russia, and large sums received for the sufferers.

6. The thirty-first annual Church Congress opened at Rhyf, under the presidency of the Bishop of St. Asaph, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and several bishops, being present.

— A fire broke out at Santander, destroying the hospital and several houses, and then, fanned by the high wind, spread over a considerable portion of the town, doing enormous damage.

— Mr. W. H. Smith, First Lord of the Treasury, died very suddenly at Walmer Castle, Mr. Parnell's death at Brighton following in the course of a few hours.

7. The house of Mr. August Belmont, in Fifth Avenue, New York, one of the most imposing private houses in the city, almost completely destroyed by fire, together with a large portion of its valuable contents. The fire was caused by the curtains of a window being blown over a gas-jet.

— Serious rioting took place at Funchal, Madeira, in consequence of the sudden rise in the price of corn, the soldiers having great difficulty in protecting the warehouses of some of the leading corn-factors.

8. The Emperor William arrived at Stuttgart in order to attend the funeral of the late King of Wurtemberg. He was enthusiastically received by the inhabitants.

— The election for Manchester (N.E. Division), consequent upon Sir James Fergusson's acceptance of office, made no change in the representation, Sir James Fergusson (C.) polling 4,058, and Mr. C. P. Scott (G.L.), 3,908 votes.

— A serious conflict took place at Valparaiso between United States sailors and the Chilians, in which the former, unarmed, were savagely attacked, and several severely wounded, with clubs, stones, and knives.

9. As the three French Ministers, MM. Rouvier, Guyot, and Roche were

driving from the Prefecture at Marseilles, a large crowd assembled in the streets, received them with many expressions of ill-will, and at one place a knife was thrown at the carriage in which the Ministers were seated.

9. The funeral of the King of Wurtemberg took place at Stuttgart with very little ceremony, although the people, by their presence in large numbers, testified their regard for the deceased.

— The election for Buteshire resulted in the return of the new Solicitor-General for Scotland, Mr. Graham Murray (C.), who received 1,865 votes against 990 given to his opponent, Mr. J. MacCulloch (G.L.).

— The closing meeting of Methodist Ecumenical Congress at Washington marked by an important resolution in favour of uniting all denominations of Methodists throughout the world. The English delegates cordially accepted the idea, and President Stephenson, of the Wesleyans, announced his readiness to call together the Presidents of the English Methodist bodies, and the American delegates expressed their willingness to join in the movement.

10. A funeral service in memory of Mr. W. H. Smith, held in Westminster Abbey, attended by representatives of most Foreign States, of the Queen and Royal family, and by a large number of members of Parliament, belonging to all political parties. The funeral itself was, at the same time, carried out with the greatest simplicity, at Hambleton, near Henley-on-Thames.

— The city of Sana, in Yemen, after a siege lasting three months, relieved by the Turkish army, which inflicted terrible chastisement on the rebels, numbered at 40,000.

— Professor R. C. Jebb, D.C.L. (L.U.) returned unopposed for Cambridge University, in the room of Mr. Raikes, deceased.

— The Earl of Derby unveiled, at Manchester, a statue of the late Mr. John Bright, by Mr. Bruce Joy; erected by public subscription.

— Two serious railway accidents, one on the London and North-Western at Crewe, and the other on the Great Western at Acton, occurred, but happily unattended by loss of life. In the former an express up train was turned on to a wrong point and came into violent collision with a number of empty trucks. Fifteen persons were more or less injured. At Acton a goods train over running the station came into collision with an empty train, of which some carriages were turned over on to the down line. Into these an excursion train, running at a high rate of speed, dashed, but was not thrown off the line, but all traffic was stopped for several hours.

11. The funeral of Mr. Parnell took place at Glasnevin Cemetery, near Dublin. Enormous crowds were assembled in the streets and round the cemetery, but throughout the proceedings were orderly and solemnly impressive. It was estimated that upwards of 200,000 persons took part in the procession or as spectators.

12. A revolutionary outbreak, organised by the Blanco party, occurred in the suburbs of Monte Video, having for its object the assassination of the President and certain members of the Junta. After a sharp encounter with the Government troops, in which several were killed, the revolutionists were dispersed.

— The attempt to "block" the Carron and Hermitage Wharves, on the Thames, after lasting a fortnight, abandoned as ineffectual, it being found that the supply of "free" labour was fully equal to the demand.

13. An important interview took place at Monza between the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. de Giers, and the Italian Prime Minister, Marchese di Rudini. The meeting was attended by the Russian ambassadors at Paris and Rome, and by two or three leading Italian statesmen.

— A serious gale, which for some days prevailed over the Atlantic, broke upon the southern and south-western coasts of the United Kingdom, and raged with slight intermittence for two days. In Dorsetshire large trees and substantial buildings were blown down; Bristol was cut off from telegraphic communication with London and all western towns; the sea made a clean breach over the Admiralty Pier, Dover. The parks at Windsor, Richmond, and London, suffered serious damage. Gloucester Docks, the town of Cheltenham, and the Vale of Berkeley, were also the centres of much disturbance, whilst round the coast many shipwrecks were reported, with serious loss of life. The Channel steamers were unable to leave for more than twenty-four hours.

14. At Newmarket, the Cesarewitch Stakes won in a canter by two lengths by the Duke of Beaufort's Ragimunde, 3 yrs., 6 st. 10 lb. (R. Chaloner), a complete outsider. Twenty-four ran.

— The German Socialist Congress, which was numerously attended by delegates from all parts of the Empire, met at Erfurt. The President, in his opening speech, congratulated the Congress on the great results achieved by Socialist conferences held in every district, by which Socialistic agitation had been promoted.

15. The new Russian 3 per cent. loan of 80,000,000*l.*, of which the quotation at Berlin has been hotly opposed, subscribed for seven and a half times over in the various capitals of Europe. Over 7,476,000*l.* bonds, 7,182,000*l.*, were applied for in Paris—for French subscribers—but the price drooped from the first, and the loan was really a failure.

— The New South Wales Ministry, under Sir H. Parkes, resigned, having been defeated on the recommittal of the Coal Miners Regulation Bill, and on the refusal to limit to eight hours of labour in mines.

16. A disastrous fire, resulting in the death of five persons—three being quite young children—occurred in the Isle of Dogs, Millwall, near the junction of the East and West Ferry Roads, where a small six-roomed house was completely burned out before aid could be brought.

— General Mitre, notwithstanding the appeal of the more moderate of his partisans, definitely withdrew his candidature for the Presidency of the Argentine Republic.

— After a succession of earthquake shocks, extending over more than a week in the island of Pantellaria, off the coast of Sicily, a volcano, throwing masses of stones and rubbish, appeared at a short distance from the shore.

17. Waterlow Park, consisting of twenty acres of woodland on the west side of Highgate Hill, presented to the London County Council by Sir Sydney Waterlow, was opened to the public by Sir John Lubbock, chairman of that body.

— Mr. A. J. Balfour, M.P., Chief Secretary for Ireland, appointed First Lord of the Treasury and Leader of the House of Commons in succession to Mr. W. H. Smith.

18. A serious collision took place at Kohlfurt, in Silesia, caused by the

express train from Breslau running into a shunting engine. Five persons were killed and several others injured.

19. The intention of the Queen to confer a peerage on Mrs. W. H. Smith announced.

— The gale, which had partially abated, was renewed round the English and Irish coasts, and, combined with an extraordinary high tide, did considerable damage, especially in Ireland. The coast towns from Sandgate to Hastings suffered much from the violence of the storm and the tide.

— In connection with the recent investigations, the Canadian Attorney-General entered a suit against the Superintendent of the Government Printing Bureau at Ottawa, who was subsequently arrested on the charge of fraud.

20. Under an arrangement made with the Sultan of Zanzibar, an English administration, under the presidency of General Mathews, formally installed.

— The London Carpenters' and Builders' strike, in which about 8,000 men were engaged, settled, after lasting six months, by partial concessions on both sides, whilst the Bookbinders' Union succeeded without a strike in obtaining from the masters an eight hours' day without reduction of wages.

— The town of Starodoub, in the province of Tehnerzigoff, for some days the centre of anti-Jewish agitation, was for some hours in the hands of the mob, who plundered the Jewish shopkeepers, and set fire to a number of houses and stores, 40 of which were burned, and property to the value of 4,000,000 of roubles destroyed. The number of Jews killed was stated to be 80, and the injured 250.

21. A Liberal Union Conference, representing the four northern counties of England, assembled at Sunderland under the presidency of Mr. Powell-Williams, M.P. Mr. Chamberlain, addressing a meeting of 8,000 persons in the Victoria Hall, was warmly received.

— The German Socialist Congress at Erfurt separated after having definitively adopted the new labour programme, which, among numerous points, declared in favour of universal suffrage without distinction of sex for all subjects of the Empire over 20; direct election by secret ballot; one man one vote; triennial Parliaments; the popular referendum; free education; free books and free dinners for scholars; free medical assistance; abolition of indirect taxation, and unbroken rest of 36 hours in each week for every working man.

22. Serious floods reported from various places in Southern Europe. In Spain the low-lying districts south of the Sierra Nevada were almost entirely under water, the rivers Llobregat and Cardener rising to an alarming height. In Italy part of the railway between Turin and Aosta was washed away, and elsewhere in the valley of the Po the traffic had to be suspended. In France the districts bordering on the Rhone and Loire suffered severely, enormous quantities of property and cattle being swept away.

23. The Storey Institute at Lancaster, founded by Sir Thomas Storey in commemoration of the Queen's Jubilee, formally opened by the Marquess of Hartington, who spoke in support of technical education.

— In England the continued rains cause the rivers, especially in the

south, to rise to an alarming extent, occasioning serious floods. In Somersetshire the banks of the river Parrett were broken down by the high tides and rain, and upwards of 100,000 acres submerged. In the Kenneth Valley, the Thames Valley above Windsor, and in the districts of the Ouse, the Nene, and Avon above Bath, very serious floods occurred.

23. Rev. Francis Paget, D.D., Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology in the University of Oxford, appointed Dean of Christ Church in succession to Dr. Liddell, resigned.

24. Mr. John Morley, M.P., unveiled at Rochdale a statue of the late John Bright, erected by his fellow townsmen. The statue was executed by Mr. Hamo Thorneycroft, R.A.

— The United States Government decided to take immediate steps to obtain redress from the Chilian Government for outrages committed on the sailors at Valparaiso.

— The Naval Exhibition at Chelsea closed, having attracted over 2,250,000 visitors during the five months it had been open.

25. The town of Meiringen, in the Bernen Oberland, destroyed by fire, caused by an overheated stove pipe in the Commercial Hall. Two hotels on the outskirts of the town alone escaped, the Föhn, which was blowing at the time, fanning the flames, as on the previous occasion in 1879, when the town, then built wholly of wood, was almost completely burnt down.

26. The offices of the *National Press*, an anti-Parnellite newspaper published at Dublin, wrecked by an explosion of dynamite. Considerable damage was done to the surrounding buildings, but no persons were injured.

— A serious accident occurred on the railway between Lyons and Grenoble, a passenger train running off the line on the steep descent near Moiraus. Fifteen of the passengers were killed, and about 50 injured.

27. A murder having been committed in Berlin, under circumstances parallel to those of the eight undiscovered Whitechapel murders, terrible facts were made public relative to the condition of some of the lowest classes of women. The German Emperor, in view of the disclosures, issued a public rescript to the Prussian ministry deploring the state of things revealed.

— The election for the Strand division resulted in the return of Mr. W. F. Smith (C.), who polled 4,952 votes, against 1,946 given to Dr. Gutteridge (G.L.).

— A convention of the Irish Nationalist party, held at Cork, to select a candidate, and to discuss the situation. Large numbers of priests were present to support Messrs. Dillon and W. O'Brien. The proceedings gave rise to much disorder, and the police had to protect the speakers from the violence of the mob.

— The King of Roumania (Prince Charles of Hohenzollern) arrived at Potsdam on a visit to the German Emperor, by whom he was received with marked honour, and by the populace with every sign of welcome.

28. At Newmarket the Cambridgeshire Stakes won by Mr. W. W. Fulton's Comedy, 3 yrs., 7 st. 8 lb. (Ibbett), defeating Duke of Portland's Memoir, 4 yrs., 8 st. 13 lb., and twenty-seven others.

— A serious earthquake visited the southern coast of Nipon, chiefly affecting Nagoya, Osaka, and Kobé, a seaboard of Hiogo, inhabited by

foreigners. A large number of public buildings were destroyed, and upwards of 6,000 persons lost their lives, besides thousands more who were more or less injured, and much damage was done all along the coast, 75,000 houses being reported to have been overthrown.

28. The Hungarian Jockey Club at Buda-Pesth suspended two English jockeys from riding for tampering with their mounts, and conspiring with certain persons to defraud the bookmakers.

— The sittings of the Queen's Bench Division at Guildhall, which had been suspended since 1838, when the Royal Courts of Justice were opened, resumed, and the Court reconstituted for the trial of city jury cases. The Lord Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Willes received with some ceremony by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs.

29. The Royal Mail steamship *Moselle*, on her homeward voyage from the West Indies, struck on a reef off Colon during a violent northerly gale, and became a total loss. All the passengers, crew, and mails were saved.

— The Bank of England raised its rate of discount to 4 per cent., the reserve standing at 18,246,790*l.*, or 88½ per cent. of the liabilities, and the stores of bullion at 22,224,060*l.*

— The "Grace" authorising an inquiry into the compulsory study of Greek at the Cambridge University rejected by the Senate by 625 against 185 votes.

— The Chilian Government replied to Mr. Blaine's demand for indemnity and apology, that the matter was one which concerned the jurisdiction and authority of Chili, and would be duly investigated in Chilian courts.

30. Whilst the gunboat *Plucky* was practising off Plymouth three fishing boats struck by shots, and immediately sank, causing the death of one of the fishermen.

— At the meeting of the General Council of the Edinburgh University, Right Hon. A. J. Balfour unanimously elected Chancellor of the University in succession to Lord President Inglis, deceased.

31. Captain E. M. Shaw, C.B., retired from the post of chief of London Fire Brigade, after thirty years' service, receiving at the same time the honour of K.C.B.

— Lord Coleridge, after a eulogy delivered in the Jerusalem Chamber, unveiled a bust of Mathew Arnold, erected in the Baptistery of Westminster Abbey.

NOVEMBER.

1. A serious fire broke out at Sandringham House, the country residence of the Prince of Wales, originating in one of the upper bedrooms. A large portion of the two top floors was destroyed, the damage by fire and water being estimated at about 12,000*l.* The Prince and his family were absent at the time, but were expected to return in the course of a week.

2. A strike against overtime commenced in some of the engineering and shipbuilding yards on the Tyne and Wear, but was settled before the week ended by the action of the Board of Conciliation and the agreement of the masters to a week's work of 65 hours, and confirmed by ballot—8,511 votes for and 2,920 against the proposal.

2. The municipal elections held throughout England and Wales were in many important places carried on without regard to politics, but on the whole the Liberals gained steadily in the majority of the contested boroughs, especially at Liverpool, Crewe, Salford, Ipswich, Wakefield, and Bury, the Conservatives being most successful at Bradford (Yorkshire), Rochester, Burnley, &c. The net gain of the Liberals was given at 21, the numbers being 79 to 58.

— In the mining districts of Knoxville, Tennessee, upwards of 500 convicts, working round Oliver Springs, liberated by parties of mounted men, who burnt the stockades within which the convicts were working, the warders offering no resistance.

— A terrible cyclone burst over the Bay of Bengal, in the course of which the steamer *Enterprise*, belonging to the Indian Marine Department, foundered, and out of a crew of eighty-three only six were saved. The penal settlement on the Andaman Islands suffered severely, and many of the buildings blown down, sixty convicts being killed and 200 injured by the falling ruins.

3. The first meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Peace Congress, attended by 100 foreign delegates (including twelve British members of Parliament), held at Berne in the great hall of the Capitol, under the presidency of Signor Biancheri. The programme of the Congress was to discuss the means of bringing about the application of the principle of international arbitration.

— Mr. T. Healy "horsewhipped" in the coffee-room of the Four Courts, Dublin, by Mr. Tudor Macdermott, a nephew of the late Mr. Parnell, in consequence of words used by Mr. Healy with reference to Mr. Parnell, but as Mr. Healy at once resumed his work, and appeared a few hours after at a public meeting, the assault was regarded as a bogus one.

— The "fall elections" in various States of the Union resulted in a very slight displacement of power, the Democrats carrying New York, but losing Ohio, where Mr. M'Kinley, the author of the Protective tariff, was elected Governor by a large majority.

4. In consequence of the Brazilian Congress passing over the President's veto, a law regulating the impeachment of the President, that body was at once dissolved by the President, Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca, who declared himself dictator, and proclaimed martial law at Rio.

— The Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, K.P., appointed Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, in succession to Mr. W. H. Smith.

— The old established and highly respected banking firm of Hirschfeld and Wolff, at Berlin, suspended payment, with a deficit of five millions of marks, and the head of the firm, Herr Anton Wolff, was forthwith arrested on the charge of having continued business long after the bank had been insolvent.

5. A serious accident happened to the Bombay mail train on its way to Nagpur. The tyre of one of the engine wheels having broke, the engine was thrown off the line, and two or three carriages running into it, were telescoped. Five British soldiers, the driver and fireman, and one guard were killed, and about thirty-five others were injured—several fatally.

— Wesley's chapel in the City Road, the metropolitan church of the

Methodist Communion, of which the foundation-stone had been laid in 1777 by John Wesley, re-opened, after having been much enlarged, and in great measure rebuilt.

6. The election for Cork City to fill up the seat vacant by Mr. Parnell's death, resulted in the return of the anti-Parnellite candidate, the polling being Mr. M. Flavin (A.-P.), 8,669; Mr. J. Redmond (P.), 2,157; Captain Sarsfield (U.), 1,161.

— The appointment of Mr. J. L. Jackson, Financial Secretary of the Treasury, to be Chief Secretary for Ireland, officially announced. Sir John Gorst, M.P., being transferred from the India Office to the Treasury.

7. A statue of Gambetta, by Bartholdy, unveiled at Jardie, near Sevres, where the statesman passed the later years of his life and where he died. The cottage, which had formerly been occupied by Balzac, was purchased at the time of Gambetta's death by some of his friends. The cost of the statue was defrayed by persons living in Alsace and Lorraine.

— Two more Berlin bankers involved in the financial crisis, the Brothers Sommerfeld, simultaneously attempted suicide by opening the pulse vein and shooting themselves in the head. In one case death was immediate.

8. After four days' of almost continuous snow in Eastern Europe, the railway communication with Turkey through Bulgaria wholly interrupted.

9. The new Lord Mayor (Mr. Alderman David Evans) formally installed, the Marquess of Salisbury and several other ministers attending the banquet at Guildhall.

— The theatre managers of London presented a magnificent gold cigar-box, weighing 100 oz., to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, on the occasion of his 50th birthday.

10. The National Liberal Unionist Conference opened at Manchester, under the presidency of Sir Henry James, M.P., and the principal speeches being delivered by the Duke of Argyll and the Marquess of Hartington.

— The *Gazette* announced that the Queen had conferred upon Mrs. W. H. Smith the title of Viscountess Hambleden.

— At the reassembling of the Supreme Court at Washington, and the resumption of the "*W. P. Sayward*" case, the Attorney-General announced that an agreement had been entered into between the United States and Great Britain regarding the terms on which the difference respecting the Behring Sea Seal Fisheries were to be submitted to arbitration.

11. A furious south-westerly gale, approaching a hurricane, raged over the greater part of England, causing great loss of life on the coasts and much damage to shipping and buildings. Sandgate, Hastings, and Brighton were amongst the places most injured by the violence of the sea, but inland floods were in several places caused by the heavy rain, being held back. In London, where the barometer marked 28.5 inches, several persons were fatally injured by falling chimney-pots and boardings.

— Several provincial garrisons in Rio Grande and elsewhere declared against Marshal Fonseca's dictatorship, and demanded separation from the Brazilian Republic.

12. The midnight train from Chicago to Milwaukee boarded in the open prairie, about twenty-three miles from the latter city, by robbers, who

threatened the lives of the engine driver and guard, burst the door of the bullion car with dynamite, and carried off about \$5,000.

18. The 255th anniversary of the birth of Edward Colston, the great Bristol philanthropist, celebrated in the usual way—the Dolphin (Conservative) Society, having Sir M. Hicks-Beach and Mr. Chaplin, and the Anchor (Liberal) Society, Lord Carrington and Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice as their guests and chief speakers at their banquets.

— A political conspiracy discovered at Moscow, having for its object to agitate for the creation of a territorial assembly, representing all classes of society. Upwards of 60 persons belonging to the literary and upper classes were arrested.

— The election for the South Molton division of Devonshire resulted in the return of Mr. George Lambert (G.L.), who polled 4,222 votes against 3,010 given to Mr. C. Buller (U.).

14. A sharp panic occurred on the Vienna Bourse in consequence of a false rumour having been circulated that the Emperor had declared to a member of the Polish Delegation that the famine in Russia had greatly increased the chances of war. An official denial was given to the rumour as soon as possible, but not before millions had been lost by the depreciation of several stocks.

15. The King and Queen of Italy, attended by their ministers, arrived at Palermo, and formally opened the Italian National Exhibition held in that city.

16. A fire at the cavalry barracks at Canterbury destroyed an extensive range of buildings, occupied as stables and married men's quarters. There was an almost complete absence of water, so that the progress of the flames was unchecked. The damage done was estimated at about 9,000*l*.

— Hon. George N. Curzon appointed Under-Secretary of State for India, in succession to Sir John Gorst.

— Prince George of Wales declared to be suffering from enteric fever, having been removed from Sandringham to London on the first symptoms, the germs of which, it was supposed, were contracted whilst on a visit to his brother in Dublin.

17. A strike of pitmen in the Department of Pas de Calais extended to the neighbouring coal districts, until nearly 85,000 men were out. A deputation was sent to the English unions for support.

— Ex-King Milan of Servia, in return for a lump sum of money in commutation of his Civil List, renounced his military rank and constitutional privileges, including his heirship to the Crown, in the event of the death of his son. Pecuniary embarrassment forced him to this step.

— Information reached Vienna that orders had been issued for reinforcing the Russian army of the Wert by 40,000 men, to be concentrated on the Polish frontier.

— A fire at St. Louis completely destroyed the buildings of the Shoe & Clothing Company, one of the largest stores in the West, with goods valued at a million and a half dollars.

18. The Court of Appeal of the International Tribunals having approved of certain bye-laws *in toto*, and being subsequently asked to approve certain

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modifications (on the demand of the French and Russian consuls), requested the Egyptian Government to be relieved from its quasi-legislative functions.

18. H.M.S. *Blake*, first class protected cruiser, which was to steam from 20 to 22 knots per hour, subjected to a 'contractors' trial; but under the most favourable conditions only 19.28 knots were obtained on seven hours' steaming.

— Admiral Montt unanimously elected President of the Chilian Republic.

19. Mr. Goschen, Lord Rector of the Edinburgh University, delivered an inaugural address on the use of imagination.

— M de Giers, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, arrived in Paris on a short visit, and received with much enthusiasm at the railway station.

— The Archduchess Louisa of Tuscany went through the customary ceremony of "renunciation" at the Hofburg, in anticipation of her marriage with Prince Frederick Augustus of Saxony.

20. The Bishop of London presented by the clergy of his diocese, at Sion College, with a pastoral staff of great beauty of design and workmanship.

— The King and Queen of Portugal visited Oporto, where they were received with the utmost cordiality and enthusiasm by the population.

— The "muezzin" engaged to call to prayers the Mussulman worshippers at the mosque at Liverpool set upon by a mob of roughs and severely maltreated.

— Dr. Clutterbuck, an inspector of workhouse schools, sentenced to four years' penal servitude for obtaining sums of money—upwards of 85,000*l.*—from various persons, on pretence of investing them in a "Government private loan," bearing 10 per cent. interest.

21. The Russian Government issued a ukase prohibiting the exportation of wheat and all its products, allowing three days' grace to ships which had commenced loading cargoes.

— The marriage of Prince Frederick Augustus of Saxony to the Archduchess Louise of Tuscany, celebrated in the private chapel of the Hofburg, Vienna, with great ceremony.

22. The Princess of Wales and her daughters, recalled by the illness of Prince George, arrived at Marlborough House, after six days' continuous travelling from Livadia, where they had been staying with the Czar.

23. An insurrection against the dictatorship of Marshal da Fonseca broke out at Rio de Janeiro, the navy taking the popular side. Finding resistance useless, the Marshal-President resigned, and General Peixoto installed in his place without bloodshed.

— A cyclone and waterspout travelling northwards struck Washington, inflicting serious damage on public buildings and private houses, and causing the loss of 85 lives. All communication between Washington and the rest of the Union was broken off almost immediately after the receipt there of a telegram from Baltimore announcing the approach of the storm.

24. The Archbishop of Aix, Monseigneur Gouthe Souldard, brought before the Court of Appeal at Paris on the charge of having insulted the Minister of Public Worship by his reply to the latter's invitation to the French bishops to promote no more pilgrimages to Rome. After a short hearing, the Archbishop was condemned to a fine of 8,000 francs.

24. Experiments in rain-making at Barzwadar, on the East Coast of Madras, proved a total failure. Twenty bags, each containing 10 lbs. of roburite, were exploded at points averaging 600 ft. above the plain without any results.

— Lord Salisbury attended the Conference of the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations held at Birmingham, and addressed a mass meeting in the Town Hall.

25. Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain spoke at a large meeting held in the Town Hall, Birmingham, and bore witness to the reality of the Unionist programme, supported by the two sections of the party.

— Two Englishmen arrested at St. Etienne as spies, charged with offering 10,000 francs to a man employed in the Government Arms Factory, to obtain a pattern of the French cavalry carbine.

— The Grand Ducal Theatre at Oldenburg totally destroyed by fire, which broke out a short time after the conclusion of the performance.

26. The Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, as Lord Rector of the Glasgow University, delivered his inaugural address on "Progress."

— The London Triennial School Board elections held throughout the Metropolitan district, and resulted in the return of 81 Moderates, 22 Progressists, and 3 Independents. The Moderate, or Diggleite, party won several seats, and in nearly all cases the Progressists polled fewer votes than in previous years.

27. The election in East Dorset, caused by the death of Mr. Bond (C.), resulted in the return of Hon. H. Sturt (C.), who polled 4,421 votes against 4,074 given to Mr. Pascoe Glyn (G.L.).

— The Bishop of North Dakota concluded the visitation of his vast diocese in a "cathedral car," which was conveyed over the various railways. In it he performed services as well as lived, doing with his own hands all the necessary work of clearing and warming it for his wayside congregations.

— Lord Lytton's funeral at Paris made the occasion of sympathetic display on the part of the French Government and the people of Paris. After the service at the English Church the body was conveyed to the Western Railway Station, and thence to England.

28. Mr. Gladstone visited Port Sunlight, near the entrance of the Manchester Ship Canal, and made two speeches in support of the Liberal candidate for the Wirral Division of Cheshire.

— The relief works undertaken in the West of Ireland to aid the inhabitants during the prevalent distress finally closed, there being no further need for their continuance; the total amount expended having been 21,800*l.*, or about 1,600*l.* less than originally estimated.

29. The troopship *Crocodile*, arriving from Bombay during a dense fog, came into collision with the pierhead of the dockyard railway at Portsmouth, carrying away a portion of the line built on piles, and several carriages of an empty train awaiting the disembarking of the passengers.

30. At the anniversary meeting of the Royal Society, the Copley medal was awarded to Signor Stanislas Canizzaro, senator of Italy and Professor of Chemistry in the University of Rome, for his services in molecular chemistry; a royal medal to Professor Charles Lapworth, for his geological discoveries;

a royal medal to Professor Rücker, for his researches in electricity and magnetism; the Davy medal to Professor Victor Meyer, of Heidelberg, for his chemical research.

80. A terrific explosion of gas, due to the leaking of a large underground metre, involving the collapse of a portion of the Crown Hotel and the destruction of an American bazaar, took place at Blackburn. Several persons were buried in the ruins, which subsequently took fire, but five lives were lost from various causes. Two men were subsequently taken into custody for having allowed the gas to escape by the careless removal of a metre.

— News arrived that two serious revolts had broken out on the northern side of the wall of China—one in the north-east of Kinchow, and the other and more serious in the district of Takou, where the rebels, after murdering and pillaging the European and native Christians, about 800 in number, marched in the direction of other European settlements.

DECEMBER.

1. The Borghese family at Rome sold their famous library to a bookseller for 55,000 lire.

— An application for 50,000 francs by the Egyptian Government for the Antiquities Department met by a refusal from the administrators of the Public Debt on the ground of the unsatisfactory condition of the Ghizeh Museum, and other public collections.

2. The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) addressed a meeting of the London Council of Commerce at Merchant Taylors' Hall, on the subject of the metallic reserves of the banks, and intimated his intention of proposing the issue of one-pound notes, from which he anticipated an increase of 20,000,000 to the coin in the banks.

— At the Agecroft Colliery, Lancashire, a party of men engaged in brick-ing off the works were assailed by gas escaping from behind the "packing," and four men, unable to reach the shaft, were suffocated.

— Colonel Durand, the British agent, attacked, and after much desperate fighting, carried the fort of Nilgit on the Hunza river, held by a large force of Hunza and Nagar tribesmen. Colonel Durand was severely wounded, and two other British officers and seven Sepoys were killed.

3. At the first meeting of the Eighth London School Board, Mr. J. Diggle was unanimously re-elected chairman, and General Moberly vice-chairman, by 27 to 25 votes given to Professor Gladstone.

— At the Central Criminal Court, before Mr. Justice Hawkins and a jury, several members of the Salvation Army charged with causing disturbances at Eastbourne, acquitted of the charge of conspiracy, but found guilty of unlawful assembly.

— An extraordinary explosion occurred in the Central Underground Railway of Glasgow, in course of construction. A waterpipe having burst, the foreman of the workmen, attempting to ascertain the cause with a naked lamp, set fire to some escaped gas, and in a moment the main gas-pipe exploded, causing an enormous chasm in the street, and injuring half a dozen persons walking in it, the foreman escaping unhurt.

4. Two men named Wilson and Lord, supposed to be lunatics, called about mid-day at the office in Broadway of Mr. Russell Sage, a well-known millionaire, and demanded \$1,200,000 at once. Mr. Sage attempted to parley with the men, when one of them opened a valise he carried and threw the contents in the air. A terrific explosion ensued, the building was wrecked, the two visitors and other persons were literally blown to pieces, and two others injured fatally, whilst Mr. Sage escaped with some slight contusion.

— After a trial lasting four days before Mr. Justice Butt and a special jury, Earl Russell was declared not to have been guilty of cruelty to his wife. The petition for separation was dismissed.

— At the presentation of prizes to the Hawarden Rifle Volunteers, Mr. Gladstone made a speech of some length on the condition and prospect of military service in this country.

5. The Mongolian rebels defeated with terrible slaughter by the Chinese Imperial troops under General Nieh, who brought about a decisive battle near Chao-Tang.

— The centenary of Mozart's death celebrated in London and in various cities of Germany by a performance of his "Requiem" and other works.

6. By a plebiscitum of 268,000 against 127,000, the Swiss people declined to ratify the convention concluded between the Federal Council and the Directors of the Central Swiss Railroad, to exchange the shares of the latter into a nominally equivalent amount of 8 per cent. Federal Stock.

7. The betrothal of the Duke of Clarence and Avondale to the Princess Mary Victoria of Teck publicly announced.

— A frightful colliery explosion took place at St. Etienne, near Lyons, by which upwards of 80 persons lost their lives.

— A strong feeling showed itself against the establishment of a tobacco *régie* in Persia. The chief priest at Herbela laid an interdict against smoking, and ordered the people to break their pipes, and the Government was forced to exile the chief merchant of Teheran for his opposition to the arrangement.

— A fatal collision occurred on the North-Western Railway of India, about 70 miles from Lahore—two mail trains coming into collision at a high rate of speed. Over 80 persons were killed, and a large number injured.

8. In consequence of the result of the plebiscitum, Herr Welti, President of the Swiss Confederation, resigned his post, as well as his seat as a member of the Federal Council, which he had held for 25 years.

— The old-established banking firm of Messrs. Bawtree, Dawney & Curzon, of Colchester, suspended payment after having been in existence since 1774. The bank had a fixed note issue of 48,704*l.*

— A tariff war between Newfoundland and Canada commenced by the former levying discriminately duties on Canadian produce, on the ground that Canada had imposed a tax upon Newfoundland fish, with the object of insisting upon the more strict observance of the Bait Act.

9. At Louisville, Kentucky, a series of disasters brought business to a standstill. A fire broke out on the premises of the Boone Paper Company, causing the death of sixteen persons. Before it had been got under an explosion of gas

wrecked the adjoining building, which at once took fire, and four firemen were killed. An hour or two later a large candy factory adjoining caught fire, and of forty girls employed on an upper storey, five were burnt to death, and others injured in jumping down.

9. The remains of Dom Pedro, ex-Emperor of Brazil, after an imposing ceremony at the Madeleine, conveyed with great honours to the Orleans Railway Station, whence they were transported to Portugal, to be interred with the members of the Braganza family.

— Heavy south-westerly gale prevailed over the English and Irish Channels, and caused great damage to shipping, and much loss of life.

10. A great conference on rural reform, promoted by the National Liberal Federation, held at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, under the presidency of Dr. Spence Watson, and attended by upwards of 420 rural delegates.

— At a meeting of the Scotch peers held at Holyrood Palace, the Duke of Montrose presiding, the Earl of Leven and Melville was elected by 21 votes to be a representative peer in the room of the Earl of Northesk, deceased.

— M. de Freycinet received at the French Academy, and delivered an *éloge* of his predecessor, Emile Augier.

— At the Liverpool Assizes, Sam. Crawford, aged 9, and Robert Shearon, aged 8, were charged with the murder of a boy named Eccles, aged 8½, whom they had pushed into the water, taken out, and robbed his clothes, and then had thrown him into the water again. They were found guilty, but on the ground of their youth were not responsible, and, therefore, a verdict of not guilty was entered.

— The Bank of England reduced its rate of discount from 4 to 3½ per cent., the reserve standing at 15,168,545*l.*, or 43 per cent. of the liabilities, and the store of bullion at 23,881,405*l.*

11. A breakfast given to the rural delegates at the Holborn Restaurant, at which Mr. Gladstone, who was enthusiastically cheered, made a long speech on the improvement of the position of farm labourers.

— A stormy sitting occurred in the French Chamber of Deputies in consequence of the President, M. Floquet, having interfered with the debate on the relations of Church and State that Pope Pius IX. had been a Freemason.

— Marquess of Dufferin and Ava appointed ambassador at Paris in succession to the Earl of Lytton.

12. Dom Pedro, ex-Emperor of Brazil, interred with great pomp and ceremony in the Royal vault of the Cathedral of St. Vincent, at Lisbon. The King of Portugal and the representatives of all European States attending the service.

— The Court of Appeal reversed Mr. Justice Keating's decision as to the disposal of the Ailesbury "Mansion House," and directed the sale of the Savernake estates for the benefit of the creditors.

13. A serious riot took place at Waterford, during which Mr. Michael Davitt, who had come to speak in support of the Nationalist, was seriously wounded. As a protest he consented to stand against Mr. J. Redmond, the Parnellite candidate. A number of persons on both sides were seriously injured before the two factions could be separated by the police.

14. The French Government ordered its representative at Sofia to break off diplomatic relations in consequence of the forcible expulsion from Bulgarian territory of a newspaper correspondent who had persistently misrepresented the state of affairs in that country.

— A serious south-westerly gale, which greatly interrupted communication in the English and Irish channels, drove a large ship, the *Enterprise*, 1,568 tons, on to the Calloper sands, where she was lost with all hands except three, out of a crew of thirty-one.

— A man in Vienna of weak intellect, having hammered five large nails into his skull, walked to the Central Hospital, where all the nails were with much difficulty extracted, one having penetrated nearly six inches. The patient bore the operation and subsequently recovered, to the astonishment of the medical profession.

15. A conference of Scotch Liberal Unionists, held at Edinburgh under the presidency of the Marquess of Lorne, at which Mr. Chamberlain spoke at length on the position of the party.

— Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone, accompanied by Mr. John Morley, left London for Biarritz.

— A riot occurred in the island of St. Vincent, owing to an attempt of the Government to pass a law reducing the number of judges in the Appeal Court from four to three. The marines of H.M.S. *Buzzard* were landed to protect the Governor, who was hooted and followed by the inhabitants.

— Lord Lingen, Sir J. Lubbock, and Mr. Cohen, resigned their seats on the Finance Committee of the London County Council, in consequence of an amendment being carried by which the repayment of loans was to be made by a system which relieved the present at the expense of future ratepayers.

16. The Bishopsgate Girls' School, forming part of the scheme known as the Central Foundation Schools of London, opened by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen), who referred to the labours of the Rev. W. Rogers, rector of Bishopsgate, in the cause of popular education.

— The Ministry of Lower Canada, of which Mr. Mercier was Premier, dismissed by the Lieut.-Governor in consequence of the report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the Chaleur Bay Railway scandal.

— Father Ohrwalder and two sisters, belonging to the Austrian Mission in the Soudan, arrived at Assouan, having been prisoners for many years at Khartoum, and afterwards at Omdurman.

17. A declaration on the inspiration of all the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, signed by a number of divines, published in order to counteract the speculations so common in the popular literature of the subject.

— Mr. Dunbar Barbour, Q.C. (C.) returned unopposed for Mid Armagh, in the room of Sir J. Corry, deceased.

18. The new commercial treaties between Germany and Austria, Italy and Belgium, having passed the Reichstag by large majorities, the Emperor, on receiving the news, conferred the title of Count upon the Chancellor, General von Caprivi.

— A severe frost, following upon a long continuance of wet and mild weather, set in over the greater part of England and Scotland. Large quan-

tities of snow fell in the North, and in the South a temperature of fifteen degrees below freezing was registered.

18. The Guion Line steamer *Abyssinia*, five days out from New York, laden with cotton, found to be on fire. Shortly after the discovery another steamer hove in sight and took off the passengers and crew, 150 in number, who were about to take to the boats. The *Abyssinia* burnt to the water's edge.

19. The tobacco monopoly in the interior of Persia, granted to the European syndicate, abolished, in consequence of the opposition of the chief priest of the Mollahs.

— In the Chamber of Deputies, on the Factory Labour (Women and Children) Bill, M. Léon Say's amendment to specify Sunday as the weekly day of rest rejected by 311 to 206 votes.

21. The barriers of the old city of Vienna, simultaneously removed, whereby its area was extended to the surrounding suburbs, and would consist of 178 square kilometres instead of 55, and the population of 1,800,000 instead of 400,000 inhabitants.

— The trial of the two Dukes of Vilarosa for the murder of Lieutenant Leone, the suitor of their sister, after lasting three months, resulted in the acquittal of one brother and the sentence of the other to five years' imprisonment. The trial had been removed from Palermo to Naples in consequence of the Dukes' influence at the former, but it was believed that at Naples also the jury had been influenced.

— Dr. J. W. Bardsley, Bishop of Sodor and Man, translated to the see of Carlisle, vacant by the death of Dr. H. Goodwin.

— All Saints' Church, Hertford, a fine old building, with some good memorial windows, totally destroyed by fire, the parish register alone being saved.

22. In the Queen's Bench division the sensational case of *Osborne v. Hargreave* heard before Mr. Justice Denman and a special jury, after four days' trial, suddenly collapsed. The plaintiff, who had brought an action for slander in respect of some jewels alleged to have been stolen, was so identified with the theft that her counsel threw up their briefs.

— Mr. James Sexton Simonds appointed chief officer of the London Fire Brigade in succession to Sir E. M. Shaw, resigned.

— Mr. Alexander Jacob, a Simla jeweller, charged with criminally misappropriating 28 lakhs of rupees deposited with him by the Nizam of Hyderabad for the purchase of a large diamond, acquitted after a prolonged trial. The diamond had been valued at 250,000*l.*

— After the Hunza fort had been gallantly stormed by Captain Colin Mackenzie, the other villages were occupied without resistance, and the Hunzai completely submitted themselves to British rule.

23. A French lugger lying in Antwerp Harbour, laden with dynamite, exploded with terrible consequences. The vessel was blown to pieces, and all on board, as well as a lighter alongside, but all the men, with the exception of two, escaped. The windows of all the neighbouring houses on shore were smashed, and the surrounding ships suffered more or less severely.

— No less than fifteen fires marked the first day of Captain Simonds'

command of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade, of which two were very disastrous in their results, in consequence of the fog which delayed the arrival of the fire engines. One of these destroyed the premises of the Bottle Seal Company, in the Eagle Wharf Road, and the other, originating on Messrs. Shoolbred's premises, did very considerable damage to Messrs. Maple's stables, and the large clothing establishment adjoining.

23. The election at Waterford, caused by the death of Mr. Richard Power, resulted in the return of Mr. W. Redmond (Parnellite), who polled 1,775 votes against 1,229 given to Mr. M. Davitt (Nationalist).

24. Two serious railway collisions, both involving loss of life, took place, one on the Great Eastern Railway, near Lowestoft, where, in consequence of the dense fog, one passenger train ran into another, killing three and injuring twelve people. The other was on the New York Central Railway, where, owing to the carelessness of an official, two express trains came into collision near the town of Hastings, New Jersey, and eleven people were killed on the spot, and forty injured.

— Archdeacon Stratton, Vicar of Wakefield, appointed Bishop of Sodor and Man, in succession to Dr. Bardsley.

25. The fog, which had enveloped London for five days without a break, lifted after nightfall, the frost by which it had been accompanied, also giving out.

— The influenza epidemic reappeared in various parts of Europe and America, but in a slightly less virulent form. The Empress of Russia at St. Petersburg, the Duchess Isabella of Genoa at Turin, the Emperor of Austria at Vienna, were among the sufferers, whilst, in all the larger towns of the Continent of Europe, Canada, the United States, hundreds of persons were temporarily disabled.

— A warrant issued for the apprehension of Mrs. Osborne on the charge of having obtained 550*l.* from Messrs. Spink on false pretences.

26. An alarm of fire having been raised in the Theatre Royal, Gateshead, in consequence of some paper sweepings catching fire, a panic ensued, and in the rush to the doors nine young persons and the check taker, who were attempting to calm the audience, were crushed to death.

— Whilst shooting at Osborne, Prince Christian was accidentally shot in the eye by the Duke of Connaught. The pellet glanced downwards from the tree beneath which the Prince was standing, and entered the eyeball, which had to be removed at once.

— The two Englishmen arrested at St. Etienne, on the charge of espionage, found guilty and condemned to fine and imprisonment, for having attempted to suborn a French workman in order to obtain patterns of the carbine and rifle used in the French army.

— The Japanese Parliament suddenly dissolved in consequence of the persistent opposition of the majority to the Government measures, and its refusal to vote the supplies required for the service of the year.

27. The new tomb of Innocent III., in the basilica of St. John Lateran, solemnly inaugurated by Pope Leo XIII.

28. Gigantic frauds discovered at St. Petersburg in connection with the steps taken to relieve the famine stricken destitute. One entire consignment of barley flour, purchased at Libau, was heavily adulterated with non-farinaeous and positively unwholesome substances.

28. The Seventh Indian National Congress, attended by over 800 delegates and upwards of 4,000 visitors, opened at Nagpur. A Madras Brahmin was elected President of the Congress, and in his inaugural address he paid an eloquent tribute to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, "India's champion." The proceedings throughout were most orderly, and the resolutions passed recognised the benefits of English rule.

29. The ceremony of transferring the remains of the British soldiers who died during the Crimean War from Beicos to the Scutari Memorial Cemetery took place, the Sultan being specially represented, and causing all military honours to be shown to the cortège.

— Five prisoners succeeded in escaping from the prison at Montpellier, after strangling a warder, as well as another prisoner, who presumably had refused to join them. Their escape was not discovered for some hours, but all were subsequently re-captured.

30. Fifty persons, including several students and four women, conveyed to the citadel at Warsaw on the charge of being connected with the Nihilist movement. Three small printing presses were also seized by the police.

— It was announced that Mr. J. Chamberlain, M.P., would in future lead the Liberal Unionists in the House of Commons, the Duke of Devonshire retaining the general direction of the party.

— Sir Robert Morier, G.C.B., transferred from the Embassy of St. Petersburg to that of Rome, and Lord Vivian from the Legation at Brussels to the Embassy at St. Petersburg.

31. A serious explosion of gun cotton or dynamite took place in Dublin Castle, wrecking the offices in the occupation of the Treasury Solicitor, but doing no injury to any one.

— The great cooperage works of the Standard Oil Company at Bergen Point, New Jersey, destroyed by fire, the total loss being estimated at a million and a half of dollars.

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RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1891.

LITERATURE.

ONCE again Professor Gardiner makes an important contribution to the histories of the year, in the third volume of his **History of the Great Civil War** (Longmans). In the present volume he examines in detail the events of the years 1747 and 1748, the former of which he considers to be beyond question "the crucial year of Cromwell's career." Beginning with an exhaustive account of the condition of parties early in 1647, Professor Gardiner goes on to describe the influence of the agitators, the abduction of the King, and the army manifestoes which followed that event, discusses with careful minuteness the attitude, the wishes, and the doubts of Cromwell, and then, passing on to the second civil war, pursues his narrative through the year 1648, to the days of the Newport Treaty, of Pride's Purge, and of the King's trial, and ends with a detailed account of "The Last Days of Charles I." It is very satisfactory to find that the more minutely the record of events is examined, and the more the charges brought against Cromwell are tested and considered, by the help of dates and accurate chronology, the easier it becomes to reconcile the Cromwell depicted by his contemporary opponents with the Cromwell depicted by Carlyle, and the more confidently can Mr. Gardiner assure us that, after all, his hero was "a brave, honourable man, striving, according to his lights, to lead his countrymen into the path of peace and godliness." Besides this important piece of work, Professor Gardiner has also been able to issue this year another portly volume, which contains in its completed form his **Student's History of England** (Longmans), from the earliest times down to 1885. The bulk of the volume is, perhaps, a little inconvenient, but its matter and style have all the high qualities which distinguish the author's work, and the numerous portraits, plans, and architectural designs, which illustrate the book, ought to make it very attractive to students. Another eminent historian, Mr. Froude, reappears on a familiar stage of controversy with a new volume on **The Divorce of Catherine of Aragon** (Longmans). Mr. Froude has not altered his views since first he wrote upon this subject, and the force of his staunch and eloquent partisanship remains undiminished with the lapse of years. In this volume Mr. Froude re-examines, with fresh elaboration, and with all his old eloquence and charm, the charges against Henry, Catherine, and Anne, and tells again the well-known story of the years between 1526 and 1536. But

we do not feel that very much is added to our previous knowledge, and as we read we find it difficult to forget the axiom with which Mr. Froude's new volume opens, that "the mythic element cannot be eliminated out of history." The same period supplies the theme of the interesting volume in which Mr. J. N. Toller has collected the **Correspondence of Edward, Third Earl of Derby, during the Years 24 to 31 Henry VIII.** (Chetham Society). In Tudor days the great family of Stanley were a power in the North-west of England, and the third Earl of Derby seems to have kept up the state of a prince, and in his own country to have possessed the authority of a prince as well. The letters illustrate the life of this nobleman, the manner in which he lived, the part he bore in politics, and the rewards he found there. Some of the documents are political, and deal with the Pilgrimage of Grace, in which this Lord Derby took a prominent share on the King's side, with the death of Anne Boleyn, and with other public topics. But others of the papers refer to private matters only, and are not the less interesting on that account.

Another department of history is treated of in Professor Freeman's two volumes upon **The History of Sicily** (Clarendon Press). In these substantial volumes Professor Freeman gave, always on his colossal scale, the first instalment of a narrative that was to range from the very earliest times, through Greek and Carthaginian, Roman and Byzantine, Moorish, Norman and Teutonic history, down to the death of the famous Emperor Frederick, in the middle of the thirteenth century. To this great labour Professor Freeman brought all his accustomed energy and care, and all his accustomed wealth of digression and detail. The consequence is that the present volumes, in spite of their bulk and their compendious appendices, only bring down the narrative to the date when Athens first began to intervene in the politics of the island. Sir William Muir goes further afield in his volume on **The Caliphate; its Rise, Decline, and Fall** (Religious Tract Society), to continue his researches into a period of history, in regard to which he has already given proof of knowledge. The first part of the book consists of an account of the early Caliphs, skilfully abridged from an earlier work of the author. In his narrative of these early Caliphs, of Abu-Bekr, Omar, Othman, and Aly, of the great house of Omeyya, and of their wonderful career of conquest and aggression in East and West, in India and Spain, Sir William Muir writes with keen and eloquent sympathy, and tells his tale with spirit. But when he comes to deal with the Abassides, and the less ambitious glories of their literary court, Sir William Muir shows less enthusiasm. The second part of the volume brings the story down to the fall of the Caliphate under the attacks of the Mongols; and the book ends with a short chapter on the revival of the Caliphate in Egypt, and the assumption of the title by the Othmanly Sultans. A kindred topic forms the subject of Syed Ameer Ali's important book on **The Life and Teachings of Mohammed** (Allen). This book is interesting because it presents the view of an able and highly educated Mohammedan gentleman, who is also a judge in the High Court of Bengal, upon the Islam of to-day. The author belongs to that advanced type of Moslems which wishes to sweep away all the superstitions, glosses, and accretions which have gathered round his faith, and to revert to the high and simple teaching of the Koran. Syed Ameer Ali writes as an enthusiast for the creed which he owns, and pleads that Mohammed, the apostle of reason, could not have wished to impose on his followers any limited and inelastic dogmas. His narrative of the Prophet's

life, and his description of the religion of the Koran as he reads it, are interesting and clear. But the value of the book is lessened by its constant attacks upon historical Christianity, by the insufficiency of the historical narrative after Mohammed's death, and by some unsatisfactory chapters on the literature and philosophy of Islam.

Mr. H. Morse Stephens has brought out another substantial volume upon the history of **The French Revolution** (Longmans). This volume, the second of Mr. Stephens' history, begins with the opening of the Legislative Assembly in the autumn of 1791, and closes with the end of the year 1798. Like its predecessor, it is distinguished by great care, by a clear and detailed narrative of events, by a good deal of fresh information collected from the newest sources, and by a fair and reasonable attitude of mind. The story of the downfall of the monarchy, of the struggle between Girondists and Jacobins, of the Jacobin Triumph and the institution of the Terror in France, is carefully retold, and the details interspersed of personal and social life are interesting. There are also useful chapters on the Army, the Provinces, and the Colonies. But unfortunately Mr. Stephens continues to interrupt his narrative by perpetual biographies: and neither in style nor in thought has he been able as yet to add much to the subject. An unpretentious little volume on **The French Revolution** has been contributed by Professor Synes of Nottingham to Messrs. Methuen's **University Extension Series**, which also gives—but on a far smaller scale than Mr. Stephens' book—a clear and fair-minded narrative of events. Students beginning to read history will probably find it very helpful. For the same series Mr. L. L. Price has written a small book on **Political Economy in England**, in which he summarises briefly but well the work of all the leading English economists, as far as possible in their own words, and enlivens his pages by some personal details. A rival series, designed like this, for University Extension students, but upon a more ambitious and satisfactory plan, has put forward, under Mr. Murray's auspices, four little books this year. For these **University Extension Manuals**, Dr. Cunningham has written on **The Use and Abuse of Money**, a little work that is valuable and interesting, and within its small compass fairly complete. Mr. Caldecott has written on **English Colonisation and Empire**, a volume full of statistics, of maps, of information, and of some ideas, presented, unfortunately, in a shape most difficult to read. Professor Baldwin Brown has written an excellent essay on **The Fine Arts**. And, lastly, Professor Knight, the editor of the series, has written a book entitled **The Philosophy of the Beautiful. I. Its History**, which is, unhappily, little better than a collection of slight pieces of information about various writers, arranged in an infelicitous form. We trust that the later volumes of this series will maintain more conspicuously than this the high standard at which it aims.

The history of the other hemisphere has also this year found its writers. Mr. Theal issues a new instalment of his large work upon the **History of South Africa** (Sonnenschein), which opens with the surrender of Cape Town in September 1795 to a triumvirate of British officers. The account of the relations of the early Dutch and English settlers, which follows, is perhaps the most interesting portion of the book, and their characteristics are often well described. Mr. Theal then carries his narrative on, and discusses General Craig and Lord Macartney, the first English Governors of the Colony, the brief restoration of Batavian rule between 1803 and 1806, the interesting career of the Dutch governor, Willem Janssens, the re-establish-

ment of British rule, and the undistinguished line of governors which followed it, down to the abolition of slavery in December 1834. The early history of another colony supplies a large part of the theme of Mr. Hodder's book upon **George Fife Angas, Father and Founder of South Australia** (Hodder & Stoughton), although the history of the country is subordinated to the personal career of Mr. Angas. Mr. Angas, a sturdy Puritan, of large fortune and ideas, certainly did much to create and foster the little colony, and played an important part in founding its commercial and religious independence. In the year 1850 he for the first time visited the land which he had helped to create, threw himself fully into its interests, and lived to see it, in his ripe old age, already "in a state of great prosperity." At present, however, the history of India is a more fruitful theme for literary effort, and three more volumes of the **Rulers of India Series** have been issued by the Clarendon Press. General Sir Owen Burne writes a biography of the two distinguished soldiers who were perhaps better known by their own surnames than by their later titles of **Clyde and Strathnairn**. Sir Owen Burne goes pretty fully into the history of the Mutiny and reconstruction of the Indian Army, and gives a bright sketch of the military operations of each of these able generals. The vigour and brilliancy of Sir Hugh Rose's campaigns, and the effective, though less brilliant, operations of Sir Colin Campbell, are on the whole well given, although more personal details about the two men would have been acceptable. For the same series Lord Hardinge has written a life of his father, the first **Viscount Hardinge**, and Sir H. S. Cunningham has written a life of **Earl Canning**. For the first no better biographer could be chosen than the son who was Lord Hardinge's private secretary in India; and the story of that distinguished soldier's career, in the Peninsula, in the Waterloo Campaign, in Parliament, at the War Office, as Governor-General of India, and as Commander-in-Chief, is well and clearly told. Lord Hardinge's Indian experiences at a critical time are of course the most important part of the volume. Sir H. S. Cunningham's excellent little book upon Lord Canning gives a vivid and compact account of the history of two fateful years in India, 1857 and 1858, during which his hero's life "was one unflagging effort to keep pace with the torrential flow of events." The sketch of political history, of the Persian War, of the troubles in Oude, and of the famous Mutiny is plain and sufficient. Lord Canning's calm and strong attitude towards the Mutiny, and the unfair way in which he was attacked, receive ample notice; and the volume closes with some useful chapters on the changes in policy and administration which followed the Mutiny's collapse.

Another series maintains this year the high reputation it has won. Lord Rosebery makes his entrance into literature with a brilliant little volume upon **Pitt**; and among the conspicuous **Twelve English Statesmen** (Macmillan), Mr. J. R. Thursfield, in another volume, rightly claims a place for **Peel**. Both these monographs are admirably done. Lord Rosebery writes with enthusiasm of his subject, and defends with warmth and with some reason Pitt's war administration. The sketch given of Pitt's private life is full of interest, although the correspondence with Lord Wellesley, which Lord Rosebery seems to claim as an important feature of the book, might, without much loss, have been omitted. On Irish history Lord Rosebery enters the lists against Mr. Lecky as Pitt's apologist. In that character he censures Lord Fitzwilliam's administration in terms that to many will seem too severe; and in that character he defends with sense and spirit Pitt's resump-

tion of office in 1804. The comparison at the end of Pitt with Chatham, the one "formed by nature for peace, the other for war," is in the author's happiest style. Mr. Thursfield's little book on Peel deserves similar praise for its clearness, its brightness, its strong interest and good sense. Mr. Thursfield is as much at home in discussing subjects like the Corn Laws and the Bank Acts, as in describing Peel's personal characteristics and all the changes of his great career. Side by side with this little volume stands the first instalment of the papers of **Sir Robert Peel** (Murray), which the trustees of those papers have issued under the able editorship of Mr. C. S. Parker. These letters are well set forth, and are accompanied by a modest and excellent commentary from the editor's pen. They deal with Peel's early life, from 1788 to 1812, and with his experiences as Irish Secretary from 1812 to 1818, and as Secretary of State between 1822 and 1827. As was necessary under these circumstances, the letters comprise a great many upon Irish questions. They give a very clear insight into the workings of Dublin Castle in the years between the Union and the Reform Bill, and into Peel's views and action on the burning questions of the day, and especially upon Catholic emancipation and Irish discontent. Another series, **The Queen's Prime Ministers** (Sampson Low), offers us biographies of **The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone**, by Mr. George Russell, and of **Viscount Palmerston**, by the Marquis of Lorne. Mr. Russell's book on Mr. Gladstone is in many ways excellent, is always very readable, and fills a want which has been felt. The sketch of Mr. Gladstone's early career is very interesting, and is dealt with in some detail; and the picture of his first years in Parliament and of his inevitable rise to the first place in the House of Commons, forms perhaps the best part of the volume. The later incidents of Mr. Gladstone's career are passed over very lightly, and this one is inclined to regret, although for obvious reasons it may be discreet. The concluding chapter, upon Mr. Gladstone's personal characteristics, is one of the most attractive; and in that—as indeed all through the biography—Mr. Russell brings out very clearly the strong religious element in Mr. Gladstone's character. Lord Lorne's book on Palmerston cannot be called so light. It is rather long. It has too many extracts from speeches. And the author gives us too little of his own. But it contains a good deal of new matter; and Mr. Disraeli's letters to Lord Palmerston, written in Paris in 1845, as well as Lord Palmerston's account of his own visit to Paris just after the great war, form interesting passages in it. Lord Lorne brings out for the first time how much in his early days Palmerston was in the habit of refusing even the greatest offices of State. A third distinguished politician of this century forms the subject of Sir Edward Watkin's volume upon **Alderman Cobden of Manchester** (Ward & Lock), which appears as a valuable addition to Mr. Morley's older and longer biography. This volume is founded upon papers and documents of which, owing to accident, Mr. Morley was unable to make use, and gives a clear and interesting account of Cobden's life as a Manchester man. Sir Edward Watkin begins with a chapter upon local history, in which he tells the story of the rise of the young Manchester Corporation, in which Cobden, from the beginning, found a place, and in which, as a steady but cautious reformer, he did such admirable work. On the great Anti-Corn Law Agitation the book is not intended to throw light, but about Cobden's Manchester life, about Manchester history and traditions, and about the friends with whom Cobden corresponded from there, it gives a great deal of useful information, and contains many illustrations which enhance the interest of its tale.

Among the biographies of the year several deal with the lives and ways of military men. Mr. O'Connor Morris writes upon **Great Commanders of Modern Times and the Campaign of 1815** (Allen), a bold book of criticism and history. Selecting certain famous generals, Mr. O'Connor Morris reviews their military history, and measures out freely praise or blame. Perhaps the most interesting parts of the book are those which deal with Frederick the Great, whose claims the author is inclined to disparage, and those which treat of the decisive struggle between Napoleon and Wellington in 1815. Against Wellington, all through his career, in India and in Spain as well as at Waterloo, Mr. O'Connor Morris seems to entertain some prejudice, and on Blücher also his judgments are harsh. On the other hand, his admiration for Napoleon rises to enthusiasm throughout. Major Arthur Griffiths has written a volume entitled **French Revolutionary Generals** (Chapman & Hall), in which it is a little disappointing not to find more about Pichegru and Moreau, as well as about others who might claim a prominent notice. Of Dumouriez and Jourdan, however, and of Hoche and Marceau, he writes fully and gives an interesting account; and his book ought certainly to add something to the general knowledge of the French Revolutionary Wars. The career of another gallant soldier forms the subject of the Rev. H. Craufurd's book on **General Craufurd and his Light Division** (Griffith & Farran). Mr. Craufurd traces the general's early life, in England, in Germany, in India, in Ireland, in South Africa, in South America, and finally in the Peninsula, where Craufurd fell in the attack upon Ciudad Rodrigo in 1812. General Craufurd's energy and courage as a soldier are well brought out in this volume; full justice is done to the great power of organisation which enabled him to bring the Light Division to such perfection; and his character is redeemed from some of the charges of excessive severity which have been brought against it. Craufurd's work in the Peninsular War and particularly his brilliant action on the Coa, form perhaps the most important part of the book; and the letters of Sir John Moore, of the Duke of Wellington, and of other notabilities, which it contains, add to the interest of the memoir. Lord Ronald Gower tells very pleasantly the story of a brilliant, if unsuccessful, leader in his book upon **Rupert of the Rhine** (Kegan Paul). Founding his narrative on Warburton's volumes, to which he confesses his indebtedness, Lord Ronald Gower gives an interesting account of Prince Rupert's striking and erratic life, appreciating his fine spirit and courage, making allowance for the embarrassing conditions under which he fought, and commemorating his struggles in language that is often picturesque. The subsequent wanderings of the sailor Rupert, and the services which he rendered to science and to mezzotint, do not escape the biographer's notice, and the treatment of them makes his sketch complete. To Messrs. Macmillan's **English Men of Action Series** Mr. Julian Corbett has contributed a book upon **Sir Francis Drake**, which in enthusiasm and graphic interest leaves little to be desired. Drake's wonderful career as adventurer, captain, buccaneer, is told with sufficient general accuracy, and the writer certainly does not under-estimate Drake's share in the defeat of the Armada and in other famous episodes of the time. Something of the romance of the age has mingled with Mr. Corbett's pages on his hero. To another series on **The World's Great Explorers** (Philip), two small volumes have been given this year, one by Dr. Guillemard upon **Ferdinand Magellan**, the other by Captain Markham upon **Sir John Franklin**. Of Magellan's early career Dr. Guillemard has little to tell, for little is known, but of Magellan's services

under the Portuguese flag, of the transference of those services to Spain, of his great voyages to the South-Western seas, of the high qualities he showed in them, of his unhappy dealings with the natives, of his death and of the fate of his companions, Dr. Guillemard gives us an interesting account. Captain Albert Markham—himself a distinguished explorer—is equally happy in his account of Sir John Franklin, and the interest of his volume lies, of course, mainly in its record of Arctic exploration, in Franklin's voyages to the far North-West. Of the earlier part of his hero's career, at Copenhagen and at Trafalgar, where he served as a boy, later on under Flinders on the Australian coast, and later still in Greece, and in Van Diemen's Land, where he was Governor for six or seven years, Captain Markham gives a good account, and he illustrates Franklin's private life, and fine, high character by some excellent letters from private friends.

One of the most famous of English sailors, and indeed of all English men of action, has found a new biographer this year. Mr. Stebbing's book on **Sir Walter Raleigh** (Clarendon Press) is marked by conscientious accuracy and care, if it seems in some respects to be a little lacking in the arts which make a light and easy style. With Raleigh's obscure boyhood and youth, Mr. Stebbing deals very fully, and again he gives an ample narrative of the various Virginian expeditions. Of Raleigh's poetry and graceful lyrics Mr. Stebbing has a good deal to say, and his chapter on that point is one of his best. But of Raleigh's career in Ireland, of the beginning of his friendship with Spenser, of Lord Grey's administration, and of the capture of Smerwick, in which Raleigh bore a part, he has not much to tell us. On the whole, the book, though possessing many merits, does not fill a place by itself, or a place which much required filling among the many lives of Sir Walter Raleigh. Another well-known English sailor, **Collingwood** (Methuen), also finds a biographer this year. Mr. Clark Russell complains, however, that the material for Lord Collingwood's life is scanty, and that there is a great lack of "that sort of gossip" about Collingwood which he, as a biographer, loves. Nevertheless, Mr. Russell finds plenty to say, and to say brightly enough, about Collingwood's family and early life at Morpeth; about the beginning of his career at sea, and the famous battle of the 1st of June, where Collingwood served under Lord Howe; and later on about his career under Jervis and Nelson, about the great battles of the Nile and of Trafalgar, about the Admiral's services off Naples, Portugal, France, the Dardanelles, and in all quarters where his duty called him, until the long confinement of his constant life at sea broke down his health in 1810. It is the story of a steady and devoted life. On war, its science and its episodes, many other books deserving notice have appeared this year. Mr. C. F. Keary has written an excellent volume on **The Vikings in Western Christendom** (Fisher Unwin), in which he deals, in a masterly fashion, with the history of that warlike race from A.D. 789 to A.D. 888. Mr. Keary distinguishes clearly the first period of predatory raids from the next period of temporary settlements suggested by the hope of plunder, and expanding into something more, and also from the later period of final settlement and conquest, which falls outside the limits of the present volume. Mr. Keary's scholarship and care are equally noticeable whether he deals with Norse or Norman, and a useful index ends his book. Rear-Admiral Colomb writes on **Naval Warfare** (Allen), and discusses from a wide survey of historic lessons the "ruling principles and practice" of naval war, and specially the science of naval strategy. That science Admiral Colomb believes to be of "modern origin"; and his argument on that point,

with all its wealth of apposite illustration drawn from the history of the last three hundred years, is full of force and interest, and makes a very valuable contribution to the literature of the navy and of war. We hope that the second part which the author promises may, before long, follow and crown the first. **Major Clarke** takes up the other side of warfare in his admirable book upon **Fortification** (Murray), in which he discusses that science in detail, and devotes several chapters to an argument upon its progress and development in the future. Some six or seven chapters are given to the consideration of the lessons taught by the sieges of the past, in which the author deals, in an interesting manner, with the sieges of Marlborough, Eugene, and Wellington, with Vauban, Montalembert, and Carnot, with the Turkish wars of 1828-29, of 1858, and of a later day, with the famous sieges of Sebastopol and Plevna, and with the experience gained from the American Civil War, from the Danish War of 1864, and from the great struggle between Prussia and France. Col. Liddell has collected and arranged **The Memoirs of the Tenth Royal Hussars** (Longmans), and has told us what his regiment did, and why, for the last hundred years, it has been considered the crack light cavalry regiment of the British Army. Raised in 1715, as the 10th Dragoons, that famous regiment has served in the '45, in the Seven Years' War, in the Peninsula both under Sir John Moore and under Wellington, at Waterloo, in Afghanistan, and in the Crimea. In such a history there is much worth telling, and many heroes, as well as some amusing figures, went to make it up. The volume is beautifully got up, and the letters which deal with the Waterloo campaign are specially worth reading. Lastly, the episodes of Waterloo form the topic of a volume of **Waterloo Letters** (Cassell), written by officers who served in the great battle, and edited by Major-General Siborne. The letters recount the operations of June 16, 17, and 18, 1815, and are so arranged as to allow each corps, by the mouth of one of its officers, to narrate the part which it played in those events, and to give in detail the story of various actors and eye-witnesses. As such, these letters should be excellent material for history, although written several years after the events which they detail. Several plans are added to elucidate the story.

A famous soldier of earlier days is dealt with in Mr. C. W. Oman's book upon **Warwick, the King-maker**, in the **English Men of Action** series (Macmillan). And yet, though Mr. Oman deals very fully with Warwick's military career, and carefully describes the battles of Towton and Barnet, he is far from considering Warwick to have been a soldier only, and he pays a very high tribute to the King-maker's abilities as a statesman. "He should be thought of as a forerunner of Wolsey, rather than as a successor of Robert of Belesme." Mr. Oman paints Warwick as a statesman and diplomatist, with an extraordinary power of managing men, with large views upon politics, and seamanship, and war, and with aims which entitle him to the stamp of greatness. Mr. Oman's knowledge is sound and scholarly, and his style popular and good. For another series, that of the **Heroes of the Nations** (Putnam), Mr. Evelyn Abbott, in his book on **Pericles**, recalls another picturesque and memorable figure. The first five chapters contain a rather long introductory sketch upon the country and ancestors of Pericles, and the history of the times. But from that Mr. Abbott passes on to tell, with the critical judgment of a scholar, the story of Pericles' life, to point out the disastrous consequences of his policy, and the mistaken ideal which he set before his countrymen, and to argue that the measures by which the

Athenian leader taught Athens to follow the path of self-aggrandisement and plunged her into the Peloponnesian war, do not deserve the admiration which some historians have paid to them, and "are not the achievements of a great statesman." Dr. Mahaffy's book upon **The Greek World under Roman Sway** (Macmillan), deals with a very different period of Greek history. It covers the period from Polybius to Plutarch, and has much that is interesting to say about the social and literary life of Greek and semi-Greek countries in that day. One of the best parts of the book is that which deals with the philosophical, moral, and social results of the influence of Greek thought upon Rome, an influence in many ways demoralising and unworthy. Another part well worth attention is the chapter upon Greece under the early Empire. And so, too, is Dr. Mahaffy's account of Herod, and of the struggle in Palestine between the Greek and the Jewish spirit. In other sections the author treats, not always with the same success, of other parts of the Hellenic world, and explores the history of the Syrians and Parthians, and of the Greeks in India and Arians. The early Roman Empire also forms the theme of two well-printed volumes to which Archdeacon Farrar has given the title **Darkness and Dawn** (Longmans). These volumes contain a semi-historical romance of the days of Nero, and of the rise of the early Christian community in Rome. Dr. Farrar tells us that throughout his work the fiction is "controlled and dominated by historic fact," and that the purport of his tale is "high and serious." It is at any rate highly sensational. Nero and Agrippina, Galba, Otho and Vespasian, Poppæa and Octavia, Britannicus, Seneca, Onesimus, St. Paul, pass through the writer's pages, accompanied by many other well-known figures, surrounded by the glow of the Archdeacon's highly-coloured fancy, and by an atmosphere of crime, intrigue, and bloodshed such as no fiction could venture to invent. The book is always graphically written. Dr. Farrar is a scholar as well as a popular author; and he unquestionably brings home to the reader's mind the sensational degradation of the period which he has chosen for his theme. It needs, perhaps, an accurate knowledge of the time to separate the elements of history from those of romance; but no doubt these volumes will interest many and will be largely read.

Another group of books offers some useful works of reference. Mr. Leslie Stephen and Mr. Sidney Lee continue their noble work, the **Dictionary of National Biography** (Smith & Elder), and offer us a fresh selection of notable and famous names. Several great lawyers and divines, as well as authors, artists, and politicians, figure in the volumes of this year. Mr. Rigg writes well upon Sir Matthew Hale, Mr. Gordon on John Hales, Canon Overton on Bishop Heber. Miss Clerke contributes an excellent paper on Sir John Herschel, and Dr. Norman Moore another one on William Harvey. Mr. Leslie Stephen reserves for himself, among others, Hazlitt, Hallam, and Sir William Hamilton. Mr. Tout deals thoroughly with Hereward, and with some of the earlier Henries; Mr. Gardiner takes Henry VII. and his august son; Mr. Hunt writes on Harold and some others; while Hengist and Heselrig, the Herberts and the Hutchinsons, Warren Hastings, and a multitude of Hamiltons, appear among the many names we find. We have also to notice the first part of the third volume of **A New English Dictionary** (Clarendon Press), the only work fit to be named with Mr. Leslie Stephen's. This part is edited by Mr. Henry Bradley, and deals entirely with the letter E. The advantage of doubling the editorship, it is no discourtesy to say, is easily apparent; and the length and learning of the articles in this part fully

maintain the character of the work. On a far smaller scale, **The Historic Note-book**, issued by Messrs. Smith & Elder, claims to rank as a dictionary too. It is a bulky volume, edited by Dr. E. C. Brewer, which treats entirely of historical matters, "and explains with the utmost possible brevity allusions to historical events, Acts of Parliament, treaties and customs, terms and phrases, made in books, speeches, and familiar conversation." It seems catholic in its character, and condescends to any trivialities. We find short notes on such historical personages as "Jack the Ripper," and on the sobriquet of "Nosey" given to Wellington. There may be some historical students who value this kind of book.

Among the biographies of the year a large proportion treat of the lives of ecclesiastics and divines. Bishop Charles Wordsworth's **Annals of my Early Life** (Longmans) cover the greater part of the first half of the century. Born in 1806, the Bishop went to school at Harrow, and notwithstanding a good deal of ill-health, soon showed himself a bowler of an exceptionally high order, and helped to win the first Harrow and Eton match at Lord's in 1822. In 1825, again, he played at Lords for Harrow against Winchester, in a match where his own brother, Christopher, played on the other side, and caught out Henry Manning in the field. Of his schooldays and triumphs, of his school quarrel with the future Archbishop Trench, of his life at Oxford, where his bowling and rowing won him fresh honours, where he helped to institute the Boat-race, and, as a college tutor, taught Gladstone, Manning, Lord Lincoln, Lord Canning, and other very distinguished men, the Bishop has a good deal of interest to say; and the part which covers his subsequent career at Winchester bears out the promise of the earlier pages of his book. There is, however, a large amount of Latin verses in it. Another prelate forms the subject of Dr. Goulburn's two volumes on **John William Burgon, late Dean of Chichester** (Murray). The story of Dean Burgon's life includes a good many vicissitudes. Beginning as a clerk in his father's counting-house, Mr. Burgon saw something as a young man of London life, and met several distinguished people at his father's house in Brunswick Square. His father's failure, however, changed his prospects, and going up to Oxford at the age of twenty-eight, he matriculated at Worcester, passed through his time with honour, and won the Newdigate and a fellowship at Oriel. Of Burgon's later life as Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford, and as Dean of Chichester, Dr. Goulburn has much to say; and he deals rather happily with the ecclesiastical and theological controversies in which Dr. Burgon all through life delighted to engage. His opposition to the Revised Version, and to most proposals of reform at Oxford, forms one of the chief points in the Dean's career; but the last, and perhaps the pleasantest of all, was his late literary venture, in which he delighted Oxford and the world with his book upon the "Lives of Twelve Good Men." Another Oxford ecclesiastic of a very different type has, of course, found many biographers this year. Miss Mozley has edited, in two volumes, the **Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman** (Longmans). Mr. Fletcher has written **A Short Life of Cardinal Newman** (Ward & Downey). Mr. Meynell has produced a monograph entitled **John Henry Newman** (Kegan Paul). And Professor F. W. Newman has published an unfortunate volume called **The Early History of the late Cardinal Newman** (Kegan Paul). Of these four books, Miss Mozley's is the fullest and the most interesting. It contains an autobiographical memoir of some seventy or eighty pages, bringing the Cardinal's early history down to 1832, and giving many details.

as to his early life, his college career, and the hopes and fortunes of his secular youth. A large part of the first volume is filled by an account of Newman's tour with the Froudes in 1832-3, and of the Sicilian journey and illness which formed the crisis in his life. The end of the first volume and the whole of the second are occupied with papers and letters relating to the famous Oxford Movement of his day, which are minute and valuable as material for history, but which are not the most readable part of Miss Mozley's work. Mr. Fletcher and Mr. Meynell both deal more fully with Newman's life as a Roman Catholic priest. Mr. Fletcher's book is a simple narrative of the Cardinal's life, based on the "Apologia," and amplified by some details about the years which followed it. Mr. Meynell discusses Newman's life in connection with his different habitations, and has something of interest to say about the Cardinal's literary gifts. Professor Newman, unhappily, has thought it necessary and becoming to defend the extreme Protestant position which he holds, against the Anglican position which his brother once held, and in so doing to imply, not remotely, that the holder of his brother's views must necessarily be intellectually, if not morally, a dishonest man. What he has to say of the Cardinal's early life and character is, of course, written with some authority, but the spirit of theological controversy tends to taint the narrative at its source. More refreshing, and far more interesting, is the late Dean Church's book upon *The Oxford Movement* (Macmillan), which covers the twelve years from 1833 to 1845. Dean Church's book is not a critical history of the movement; he does not attempt to account for it or to judge it; and he deals rather with the men than with the principles or thoughts involved in it. Newman and Pusey are unjudged and undrawn. But of the other heroes of the movement, of Keble, of W. G. Ward, of Hurrell Froude, of Isaac Williams, of Charles Marriott, of Arnold, and of others too, the Dean has much to say; and his portraits are generally sympathetic, are always clear and full, and are drawn with fine literary skill. These character-sketches form about one-third of the book. Of Newman's sermons at St. Mary's, and their extraordinary power, the Dean gives a brilliant account. He dwells strongly also on the peculiar spirit of the movement, and specially upon the way in which it made Gospel teaching real, by concentrating attention on the personality of Christ, and on the way in which it brought out and enforced the constant necessity of reverent self-discipline.

A very different school of revivalists forms the subject of Mr. J. H. Overton's book upon *John Wesley* (Methuen). It is rather a small book, and full of matter; for Wesley's life, in the opinion of its author, was "certainly the truest and in some respects the most important life" in the eighteenth century. Mr. Overton brings out clearly how, all through life, and, in spite of some apparent inconsistency, up to the close, Wesley remained a member of the Church of England, and strongly deprecated any schism. Beside the life of Wesley we have to mention books on two Archbishops, one the *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury* (Macmillan), the other a collection of *Archbishop Porter's Letters* (Burns & Oates). The life of Archbishop Tait has been written by Bishop Randall Davidson and Canon Benham, who have not avoided the curse of the modern biographer, prolixity running to bulk. There are a great many letters and papers printed in these two volumes which one would gladly omit, and the extracts from religious newspapers—things written to perish—might surely have been left out of the book. Apart from that, however, the authors tell

with discretion the story of the Archbishop's life; of his Scotch home and his remarkable nurse; of his education at Edinburgh and Balliol; of his Oxford Undergraduate life, and of the fine imposed on him for disobedience by Robert Lowe, the President of the Union; of his ordination and tutorial life; of his famous protest against Newman and the Tractarian Movement; of his head-mastership at Rugby, as Arnold's successor—a rather singular appointment—and of his subsequent better-known career, with its misfortunes, its fame, its troubles, and successes, at Carlisle, in London, and as Primate. These volumes amply illustrate the vigorous moderation of Archbishop Tait's career, his general tact and wisdom, his endeavours to popularise the Church in London, his uniform discretion in relation to such difficult matters as the Irish Church Bill, the Burials Bill, and others, and his strong sense of personal devotion to the Queen. The volume of Archbishop Porter's letters which we have mentioned here deserves a passing notice only. The letters illustrate the life—principally the life in India—of an energetic Jesuit priest, summoned in 1887 to undertake the difficult and laborious post of Roman Catholic Archbishop of Bombay. Some of the letters will be of interest to his friends, most of them hardly claim the attention of the general public. Another and a very famous Roman Catholic has had his biography written by a priest of his own Church, and in many respects the biography was needed. Father Bridgett's **Life and Writings of Sir Thomas More** (Burns & Oates) is written, of course, from the Catholic standpoint, and is intended to be a defence of More. But it is a defence that is quite justified, for few men have suffered more than the author of the "Utopia" from the ill-regulated criticisms of the extreme Protestant press. Father Bridgett's life is by far the best and fullest on the subject that we have seen, and the picture which it gives of More is probably the truest that has yet been drawn. It brings out More's innate asceticism, the mediæval aspects of his mind and nature, the subtle, humorous, gravely jesting temperament of the man, and the capacity for taking strong and even harsh views which was in him. Father Bridgett sketches More's private life carefully. He vindicates More's second wife against the charge of shrewishness so often brought against her. He explains and exposes successfully the unjust charges of cruelty and persecution made against More. He arranges and discusses More's voluminous writings, although he refrains from saying much on the "Utopia." The book is a good one, valuable and welcome. Yet another Roman Catholic celebrity forms the subject of Mr. Herkless' life of **Cardinal Beaton, Priest and Politician** (Blackwood). Of the Cardinal's career in diplomacy, in national politics, and in the Church, Mr. Herkless has something to say; but his information is sometimes neither exhaustive nor correct. On the important questions connected with the Cardinal's life, the questions relating to his moral character, and to the doubtful and ambitious efforts which he made to secure the regency on James's death, Mr. Herkless speaks with no clear or decisive voice. But, on the other hand, he does justice—perhaps more than justice—to Beaton's patriotism, and sketches an interesting and romantic life.

A very interesting memoir of a different kind will be found in Dr. Smiles' two volumes entitled **A Publisher and his Friends** (Murray). These volumes contain the "Memoir and Correspondence of the late John Murray, with an Account of the Origin and Progress of the House." They date from the start in 1768, when John MacMurray, the Lieutenant of Marines, opened his bookshop and publishing place in Fleet Street, and they come down to

the death of John Murray the second in 1848. They contain a storehouse of interesting information upon literary subjects, and are full of anecdotes of famous literary people. The story of Mr. Murray's early successes, of the publication of the "Quarterly Review," of his dealings with Gifford and Scott, with Canning and Croker, with Constable and Ellis, of the removal to the well-known house in Albemarle Street, of the beginning and rise of his intimacy with Byron, and of the many events and triumphs which marked his subsequent career, is told fully and well, and the matter of the volumes makes them delightful reading. Mr. Murray's genuine love of literature, the magnificent prices he gave for really great books—witness the 3,000*l.* paid for Crabbe's poems—his daring, but not always successful, enterprise—witness the history of that unfortunate daily paper, the "Representative," and the high esteem in which he was held, are frequently illustrated in these volumes. There must have been something great about the publisher who discovered and always valued Byron, and to whom men so diverse as Wellington and Wordsworth, Gladstone and Disraeli, Napier, Hallam, Milman, Mrs. Norton, Leigh Hunt, Coleridge, Frere and Smiles, and many another, brought or offered their work. Very different is Mrs. Oliphant's memoir of her remote and erratic kinsman **Laurence Oliphant** (Blackwood). Though it is written with all the author's well-known charm, and though it contains a picturesque and romantic story, it is difficult to feel that this book gives a satisfactory account of Laurence Oliphant's strange career. That, however, is probably not the writer's fault. The story of Oliphant's early days, of his travels in Italy, Ceylon, and Russia, of his connection with the Bar and politics, of his literary and social success, of his journeys to America, to the Crimea, and to China, is told pleasantly enough. But when we plunge into the semi-religious and semi-mystical part of Oliphant's life, and read of his extraordinary connection with the Prophet Harris—a spell never explained—of the troubles and suffering which that connection brought on those dear to him, and of the collapse of his belief—as sudden and as causeless as its beginning—it is hard to avoid a feeling of impatient disappointment with the man. Nor is this feeling lessened by Oliphant's latest writings and researches, by his life of mysticism in Asia, or by the grotesque tale of his second marriage. The charm of such men it is fair to remember, but it is hardly fair to write their lives. Another Eastern seeker after truth forms the subject of Major-General Alexander's book upon **Confucius, the Great Teacher** (Kegan Paul). But Confucius was no mystic, and his life is far from being picturesque. General Alexander has wisely passed over lightly the details of Confucius's uneventful official life, and has preferred to study, with care and sympathy, the precepts of the sage, his wise efforts at religious and moral reformation, and the deeply-influential wisdom of the doctrines which he put forth. China, her people and her borders, form the subject also of some other books this year. Mr. W. W. Rockhill writes upon **The Land of the Lamas** (Longmans), and Archdeacon Moule upon **New China and Old** (Seeley). Mr. Rockhill travelled South-West from Peking, through Hsian-fu and Lanchow-fu, to the great frontier mart of Sining and the Lake of Koko-Nor; and thence, after visiting the remote hospice of the Lamas there, being unable to reach the sacred capital Lhasa, Mr. Rockhill proceeded to cross Eastern Tibet, and made his way across the Upper Yang-tse, with much toil and difficulty, to Ta-chein-lu, where he was welcomed by the Jesuit Mission. Mr. Rockhill has all the necessary enterprise for a traveller in difficult lands, and his knowledge of the Chinese and Tibetan tongues makes him a valuable

observer. His book is full of interest, and his report upon the districts which he visited ought to be of permanent use. Archdeacon Moule's book is of a different kind. It is based on the "personal recollections and observations of thirty years," and those observations have led the author to think that Chinamen are growing more friendly to the foreigner, and that a sentiment of national unity is beginning to exist among them. The book represents the experience of a busy life in China, and the chapters which deal with the language, the literature, the customs, and superstitions of the people are well written and of considerable value. The descriptions of places also, which the book contains, are excellently done.

Among the important biographies of the year is Mrs. Sutherland Orr's **Life and Letters of Robert Browning** (Smith & Elder). Mrs. Orr has so far respected the well-known wishes of the poet as to give us very little of the intimate side of his private life, and this necessarily somewhat detracts from the interest of the book. Browning's own letters in it are few and mostly formal. But, on the other hand, Mrs. Orr gives fully all the external details of the poet's life. She traces in two chapters his ancestry and parents, and then goes on to speak of his education and of his early essays in writing verse. Then we come to the opening of his literary career, to the publication of "Pauline," to his early dramatic aims, to "Strafford" and Browning's relations with Macready, to "Sordello," "Pippa Passes," and other early poems. From these incidents Mrs. Orr takes us to the story of Browning's courtship and marriage, and to the happy days of the poet's settlement in Italy. Here we have some charming letters quoted from Mrs. Browning to her sister-in-law. Afterwards Mrs. Orr goes on to tell, with the same restraint and discretion, the later history of Browning's life, and describes his literary successes, his friendships, his great sorrow—the death of his wife—the steady rise and increase of his fame, his return to live in England, and his London life, down to the last years of it, which are still so near us, and the publication of "Asolando" in 1889. Two other books deserve a brief notice in this connection, one, **A Primer on Browning** (Macmillan), by Miss F. Mary Wilson; the other, **Browning as a Philosophical and Religious Teacher** (MacLehose), by Professor Henry Jones. Miss Wilson's is a modest little book, but skilful within the limits of its modesty, which divides itself into three parts, and which deals in turn with Browning's literary life, with the "characteristics" of his poetry, and then in detail with the various poems, giving an excellent little analysis of each. Students will find the book most useful; and the general public, who have not time to study, may yet well find time to read Miss Wilson's book. Professor Jones's study is more ambitious. He collects those passages in which Browning expresses the principles on which he regarded life and art, and weaves them adroitly together. From these passages he deduces a system of religious and philosophic teaching, which he illustrates with some felicity, and in particular by a comparison between Browning and Carlyle. Another great poet is recalled to us in Mr. Sidney Colvin's little volume of the **Letters of John Keats** (Macmillan). The object of Mr. Colvin's book is to give in a convenient form, with a few notes and comments, Keats' letters to his family and friends. The editor has prefixed an introduction, short but adequate, and full of enthusiasm, and has taken especial pains to be exact as regards the dates and sequence of the letters. In them we have Keats addressing, in that rare strain of humour, thought, and fancy which was peculiarly his, various well-known friends—Charles Cowden Clarke, Charles Wentworth Dilke, Leigh Hunt, John

Hamilton Reynolds, Benjamin Robert Haydon, Percy Bysshe Shelley, Fanny Keats, George, Thomas, and Georgiana Keats, and many others. The love-letters to Fanny Browns are omitted; but with that exception the editor has omitted little else, only "a few passages of mere crudity, hardly more than two pages in all." Mr. Austin Dobson, also an accomplished critic, gives us this year a memoir of **Horace Walpole** (Osgood & McIlvaine), in which he has selected with great skill the most interesting details of Walpole's life, and has worked them up into a picturesque biography. We hear of the famous Diarist's life in Arlington Street and at Strawberry Hill, and with the latter Mr. Dobson is at pains to make us familiar, even with the help of plans, of the great treasures which he collected there, of his choice of society and friends, of his fondness for all that savoured of Court life—the favourite haunt of scandal—of his intimacy with actresses and other ladies famous or obscure, notorious and witty, and of the letters in which the great gossip loved to record what his acuteness and experience taught him. The volume is got up in a very handsome style, and is eminently readable and satisfactory. The illustrations, however, which accompany it, add little to the merits of the book. Two other familiar eighteenth-century figures reappear in the literature of the year. Mr. Seeley has written a little book on **Mrs. Thrale** (Seeley), and Mr. Percy Fitzgerald has told in two volumes the **Life of James Boswell (of Auchinleck)** (Chatto & Windus). Mr. Seeley deals, in an interesting way, with the story of the fascinating lady who forms his subject, telling successively the history of her ancestry, parentage, and early life, of her first marriage, of her introduction to the great man whose friendship made her famous, of Thrale and his career and end, of the appearance of Piozzi, of Mrs. Thrale's second marriage, and of the vicissitudes which followed that. The story is full of matter which attracts one, and many familiar figures—the Burneys, Boswell, Wilkes, Walpole, Rogers—pass through the pages of the book. Some good illustrations accompany it. Mr. Fitzgerald's two volumes on Boswell are less satisfactory. He has not Boswell's gift of style, and the greatest of biographers deserves a better biography himself. Mr. Fitzgerald, however, tells the tale of Boswell's life, of his marked success in society, of his intimacy with Johnson, of his ambition to enter Parliament, and of the many things he did, and wrote, and said, and gives us a good many of the confessions which make the man so interesting to us. Another eighteenth-century lady, famous, as Mrs. Thrale was, for her connection with an illustrious Englishman, has found a fresh biographer this year. Mrs. Gamlin's book on **Emma, Lady Hamilton** (Howell), is a handsome volume, adorned with portraits and facsimiles, and written with enthusiasm and good taste. The story of that well-known lady's life, of her beauty, rise, marriage, and romance, and of the part she played in Nelson's career and in Italian politics, needs no repeating. Mrs. Gamlin says little of Lady Hamilton's youth, but in her later career she defends her warmly, confessing herself to be a partisan, and perhaps a little under-estimating the habit which distinguished her heroine of inability to tell the truth. A lady of a still earlier day forms the theme of a book entitled **Political and Social Letters of a Lady of the Eighteenth Century**, edited by Emily F. D. Osborn (Griffith & Farran). The introduction to this book explains that the writer of the letters here collected was "a lady of conspicuous ability and vigour of mind, great-niece by marriage of Dorothy Osborne, and nearly related to the unfortunate Admiral Byng." The letters are mostly of personal and domestic interest, although a few of them deal with the Admiral's story. They

are admirably printed and got up, and the picture of their writer, Mrs. Osborn, given at the beginning, is still more charming than her epistolary style. Two other books, concerning two other ladies whose names have become associated with politics, may be mentioned here. The third volume of the **Correspondence of the Princess Lieven and Earl Grey** (Bentley), has now been edited by Mr. Guy Le Strange. The present volume contains the close of the correspondence, "from August of the year 1884, when Prince Lieven was recalled from the Embassy in London . . . down to August of the year 1841, when the correspondence ends." It takes us down to within four years of Lord Grey's death. The letters are sometimes full of political interest, and an adequate index is given at the end. Mrs. Grimwood's account of **My Three Years in Manipur** is published by the same firm, but has no other point of similarity with the book beside which we have placed it. It gives a sketch, slight but readable, of Mr. and Mrs. Grimwood's life before the catastrophe occurred, and a detailed account of the terrible days which followed Mr. Quinton's visit. It is perhaps Mrs. Grimwood's modesty which leads her to place an unheroic aspect on her own conduct. The account of the flight from Manipur closes the story; but the sadness of it is somewhat relieved by the breezy letters from Major Grant, recounting his famous exploits, which are reprinted at the end.

Five books of biography and gossip bring us to that Bohemian atmosphere where literature, the theatre, and reminiscence often meet. Mr. Montagu Williams lightens the labours of the police-court by producing a volume of **Later Leaves** (Macmillan), which is no doubt justified by the success of his first venture in autobiography. The present issue is a bulky volume dealing with Mr. Williams' reminiscences as barrister and magistrate; but the former part is thin and wanting in interest. The latter part, which deals with the author's experience and action on the Bench, is of more value, and we could wish that Mr. Williams had confined himself to that. **The Autobiography of Joseph Jefferson** (Fisher Unwin) is far more readable. It is good-humoured, chatty, full of portraits, and full of valuable recollections of the stage. Mr. Jefferson tells us but little of himself, though his account of his own experiences and troubles as a strolling actor many years ago, and of his subsequent leap to fame as "Rip Van Winkle," is amusing and bright. His sketches of other actors, American and English, and what he has to say and show of Forrest, Sothorn, Charles Kean, Barney Williams, and many others, are, however, excellently done, and his judgments are always lenient. **The Life of Robert Coates**, by J. R. and H. H. Robinson (Sampson Low), is the account of an amateur actor who loved to be called "the celebrated philanthropic amateur," and whose performances upon the regular stage were always ludicrously bad. Born in Antigua in 1772, Coates' money, his diamonds, and his theatrical mania made him, for a time, conspicuous in society at Bath and elsewhere, and have obtained for him the very appreciative notice in which his two present biographers indulge. A more serious piece of theatrical biography is **The Life and Reminiscences of E. L. Blanchard**, which Messrs. Clement Scott and Cecil Howard have written in two volumes (Hutchinson). It describes well the excellent and kindly Bohemianism of Blanchard's life, and his diary gives a somewhat fragmentary but still valuable record of the theatrical doings of the last half-century. The book contains a few illustrations, and also some notes from the diaries of William Blanchard; and, as a whole, it does considerable credit to its authors. Lastly, in this connection, may be noticed Mr. George Moore's **Impressions**

and *Opinions* (Nutt), which consists of a series of reprints of articles which have appeared in magazines. Mr. Moore deals, sometimes with superficiality, but never with hesitation, with a variety of topics, with Balzac, with "Turgueneff," and with "Verlaine," with "Mummer-Worship," "Ghosts," and "Théâtre Libre," with "Art for the Villa," and many other subjects. The attack upon the actor's trade is not without ephemeral force, and the essay on Balzac is decidedly clever and lively. But some of the papers, though always readable, are more dogmatic than persuasive, and we feel that the writer occasionally trifles with his theme.

The literature of the Stanley Expedition is not yet exhausted, as five new books remind us this year. Major G. Casati writes on *Ten Years in Equatoria and the Return with Emin Pasha* (Warne). Mrs. J. S. Jameson edits her husband's *Story of the Rear Column of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition* (Porter); Dr. Parke writes an account of *My Personal Experiences in Equatorial Africa* (Sampson Low); Mr. H. Ward describes *My Life with Stanley's Rear Guard* (Chatto & Windus); and the same publishers issue Mr. H. R. Fox-Bourne's account of *The Other Side of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition*. Major Casati's book is full of information as to the tribes of Equatoria, such as the Zande, Mangbatu, and Wanyoro, but this information is rather disjointed in form. Occasional historical retrospects—not free from inaccuracies—are introduced, and maps, also liable to exception, accompany the two volumes. Casati's account of Emin, whom he first joined in 1888, is by no means favourable to his friend and leader, and, if justifiable, it more than bears out all the harsh criticisms passed by others upon Emin. Mr. Jameson's diary certainly portrays its writer in a kindly and attractive light, and reveals his resources as a naturalist and draftsman. Mr. Ward's story of the Rear Column is by no means free from censures upon Mr. Stanley, whose mistake in placing Major Barttelot at its head the writer very clearly intimates. The book contains an eloquent tribute to the character of Mr. Jameson. Mr. Fox-Bourne examines, in a critical spirit, the whole history of the Expedition, its origin and objects. He finds that it was dictated by the interest of the British East Africa Company; that the promises made to Emin were not kept; that Equatoria was not won to civilisation, and that little more than half of Emin's followers were rescued. The book is not, as it stands, very favourable to Mr. Stanley or to his employers. Dr. Parke had the good fortune of occupying, as medical officer of the Expedition, a somewhat independent position, and the medical notes which he furnishes are full of interest and value. Dr. Parke's work as medical man was no light task, and he seems to have performed its duties singularly well. There are no important revelations made as to the objects of the Expedition, although Dr. Parke shows us that sometimes Mr. Stanley hesitated as to how to deal with Emin. He considers Emin's followers to have been a "worthless set" of men. Of Emin he speaks as a cordial friend, while fully alive to his grave faults as a leader: and of Mr. Stanley he writes, in a tone that carries conviction, in high terms of praise and of respect. Altogether, Dr. Parke's is the most interesting book of the five. Mr. Irving Montagu's *Camp and Studio* (Allen) is a narrative of his experiences as war artist of "The Illustrated London News" during the Russo-Turkish war. It is full of exciting episodes, beginning with a hazardous crossing of the Danube, and going on to tell of the author's journey across Asia Minor, through Anatolia, to Erzerum, and on to Kars, where were the headquarters of Mukhtar Pasha, and the scene of Mr. Montagu's

labours. Of troubles and adventures, of robbers and hospitality, of the famous siege of Kars, and of the far more famous siege of Plevna, to which Mr. Montagu was sent directly he returned from Kars to London, the writer has much of great interest to say; and it is a pity that he has distended his book by putting in so much about his life in London. Another artist, Mr. Hume Nisbet, has published an account of **A Colonial Tramp** (Ward & Downey), which he undertook in search of material for his art. His two volumes are full of illustrations of his wanderings, and the letter-press which accompanies them describes, not always quite so happily as the sketches, the places which the author saw. Of New South Wales and Victoria, Mr. Nisbet has little to say; but when he reaches North Queensland, Torres Straits, and New Guinea, the interest of his account increases. Mr. Nisbet has something to say of the prospects of Australia. He does not think well of the future of the German settlers; but, on the other hand, he praises the missionaries very highly. There is a good deal of anecdote and of adventure in the book. Mr. H. De Windt has visited another part of the world, and describes it in his account of **A Ride to India across Persia and Baluchistan** (Chapman & Hall). Mr. De Windt wished to proceed from the Caucasus across the Caspian, on by the Trans-Caspian Railway to Bokhara, and thence through Afghanistan to India. But he was unable to obtain the desired permission from the Russian authorities, and consequently he had to content himself with going from Tiflis, right across the length of Persia, to Bushire, on the Persian Gulf, and then, after a coasting voyage to Soumiani, by exploring an almost unknown route, to Beyla, Khelat, and Quetta. Mr. De Windt experienced many difficulties in getting to Teheran, but when there he gives us a capital sketch of the Shah and his city. The Khan of Khelat, another potentate whom the writer visited, is also well described, although Mr. De Windt fears lest he should fall under the influence of Russia. The book throughout is interesting and readable.

Two well-known and intrepid lady-travellers contribute to our knowledge of the world this year. Mrs. Bishop gives us two volumes upon her **Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan** (Murray), and Miss C. F. Gordon-Cumming describes in two more volumes **Two Happy Years in Ceylon** (Blackwood). Mrs. Bishop's book is an account of a year's tour. It begins with her start in the early winter from Bushahr, the great starting-point of travellers from India, who desire to go home through Persia by Shiraz and Persepolis. Thence the writer journeyed by water to Baghdad. From Baghdad she travelled by land to Teheran, where she spent three weeks as the guest of Sir H. Drummond Wolff, and saw the sights, and men, and wonders of the Shah's capital, and thence on to the sacred city of Kûm, through Kashan to Ispahan and Julfa; and finally, after some wanderings in various directions by Hamadan, Urmi, Van and Erzerum, to Trebizond, ending in December the long tour begun in the January before. Mrs. Bishop writes as brightly as usual, and gives us a capital account of the difficulties which she overcame, and of the scenery, the people, the missionaries, and the potentates whom she visited and learned to know. Miss Gordon-Cumming's book is based on a diary kept at the time and on a constant correspondence and a course of reading undertaken since. She draws a vivid picture of the beautiful island, and of the occupations and industries of its inhabitants. She has a good deal to say of their history, of their folk-lore, and of their religion, although she does not seem to have a very high opinion of Buddhism in Ceylon. There are accounts, too, of the plants, and birds, and insects which

she saw ; there is a good map of Ceylon ; and among many excellent descriptions there is a very vivid one of Adam's Peak. **The Philippine Islands** (Sampson Low), too, have found a chronicler in the person of Mr. John Foreman. The author of this book explored for nine years all parts of the Philippine Archipelago, and he records his experiences, and much else besides, with taste, vivacity, and judgment. There is a good account of the history of the Archipelago, based partly on records discovered by Mr. Foreman in the monasteries, an excellent chapter upon the character of the natives, and a great deal of ethnographical, social, and commercial interest. The review of the rather corrupt government of the islands, of the fettering policy of the Spaniards, of the influence of the Church and the overwhelming preponderance of the friars, and of the signs and hopes of improvement in all these directions which the author finds, makes his book complete and of value upon many grounds. A very different country forms the theme of Mr. H. W. Wolff's book upon **The Country of the Vosges** (Longmans). It is far more than a guide-book, to the bare details of which it does not stoop. But it has a great deal to say about that part of the East frontier of France which one would be glad to find in guide-books. Mr. Wolff writes on the character of the country, on its legends, and history, and traditions, on its people and their ways and occupations, on its beauty, and its customs, and its sport. From Metz and its neighbourhood he passes to "the Northern Fringe" about Wörth and Saarbrück, to Strassburg, to "the Zorn and the Goethe country," to the valley of the Leber, to "Rappoltweiler and its merry pipers," to Colmar, Münster, Mülhausen, and the valleys of the Moselle and of the Meurthe, and of all he has much to tell in fact and story, and a great deal of interest to relate. Other hills nearer home form the subject of an exceptional and charming book **On Surrey Hills**, "by a Son of the Marshes" (Blackwood). It is a series of country idylls, dealing with the quiet beauties of that lovely neighbourhood, with its scenery, its birds and beasts and fishes, its woodland creatures and delights, in a strain of simple but pure English, and in the manner of a man who has observed and knows the things he writes of. One chapter, "Among the Hills," and another called "No Man's Land," are perhaps among the best of the series. Beside this we may mention a book by another well-known lover of beasts and particularly of fishes, the **Angling Sketches** of Mr. Andrew Lang (Longmans). It is no purely technical book, but one which any lover of the country, specially Scottish country, can enjoy, and which every lover of delicate description, of legend, anecdote, and banter will appreciate. The opening chapter, "The Confessions of a Duffer," is not perhaps so good as some which follow. But as Mr. Lang, who is no piscatorial duffer, gets further into his subject, and writes of all the joys of loch-fishing and of river-fishing in the happy Tweed, the charm of his pages increases. The illustrations of Mr. Burn Murdoch help to make up a very pleasant little volume. Far afield from the waters of Scotland lie the dry wastes of the Holy Land, but these, too, have their visitors and chroniclers this year. Miss E. E. Miller writes a book called **Alone through Syria** (Kegan Paul) ; the Rev. J. Kean writes one **Among the Holy Places** (Fisher Unwin) ; and Mr. George St. Clair discusses **Buried Cities and Bible Countries** (Kegan Paul). Miss Miller started from Egypt and proceeded North to Jaffa and Jerusalem, to Jericho, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea. Thence, passing still further North, she visited Nazareth and the Sea of Galilee, Tyre and Sidon, Beirût and Damascus. She went alone and without a tent, and always managed, despite a little "roughing it," to find tolerable lodgings and

food at night. The book is pleasantly written, and its illustrations are good. Mr. Kean gives us descriptions, not always very vivid, of the well-known places of the Holy Land, and he takes some pains to identify famous spots in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Mr. St. Clair's book is divided into five sections, "Egypt and the Bible," "Palestine Exploration," "Jerusalem," "Gospel History in the Light of Palestine Exploration," and "Mesopotamia and the Bible." There is plenty of interesting information in each, and several maps and diagrams accompany the book. The same country forms the scene of **Dr. Liddon's Tour in Egypt and Palestine**, a little book published by his sister, Mrs. King (Longmans). It consists of a series of letters written from Egypt and Palestine by Mrs. King, during her tour with Dr. Liddon in 1886, to her daughters at home. They "are not intended to rank among works of travel," but they are of real interest to those who like to know all they can about Dr. Liddon, because, as their writer says, "they give a fair daily report of how he passed his time in the one long holiday he allowed himself in his life of serious work."

The name of Canon Liddon ushers in the theology of the year. Two volumes of sermons, one entitled **Sermons on Old Testament Subjects**, the other, **Passiontide Sermons**, have been published by Dr. Liddon's literary executors. The former volume deals with a series of subjects taken out of the Old Testament, beginning with a sermon on the creation, and two upon the history of the Jews in Egypt, and then going on to discuss in sequence such subjects as the death of Aaron, the history of Jael and Samson, of Eli and Saul, of David and Solomon, of the great prophets Elijah and Elisha, of Ahab and Hezekiah, and the narrative of Scripture history down to the days of the captivity in Babylon. The other volume deals with subjects more appropriate to the season of Lent and Easter, and some of the more striking sermons in it are entitled respectively "The sinlessness of Jesus Christ," "The Conqueror of Satan," "Religious Emotion," and "The True Life of Man." Another great Churchman, Dr. Westcott, has published a volume of **Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West** (Macmillan). Dr. Westcott regards "A living appreciation of the spirit of the great Greek Fathers" as "the brightest hope for Christendom." He thus deals very fully with Origen and the beginnings of Christian philosophy in a singularly sympathetic spirit, and in the same spirit, but with less novelty of view, he discusses Plato, Æschylus, Euripides, Dionysius the Areopagite, and many other philosophers; and sometimes he passes to more impersonal subjects, and discusses with earnestness "Christianity as the Absolute Religion." Dr. Westcott's predecessor in his historic See has left two volumes dealing with **The Apostolic Fathers—Part I., S. Clement of Rome** (Macmillan), which reproduce a good deal of matter published by Dr. Lightfoot some years ago. It is an elaborate work, showing deep research and careful scholarship and labour, and constitutes the best edition of the Epistle to the Corinthians, and the Second Epistle, otherwise called "The Homily," "by an unknown author." The volumes contain ample notes and much valuable textual criticism, and also several long dissertations, which have only an indirect bearing on the text of the Epistles, dealing with the history of Clement and Hippolytus, and with some other subjects. We may here also mention **The Hibbert Lectures, 1888** (Williams & Norgate), written by the late Dr. Hatch, in which the writer traced the influence of Greek ideas and Greek philosophy upon Christian dogmas and the teaching of the Church. Contrasting the ethical Christianity of the Sermon on the

Mount with the metaphysical Christianity of the Nicene Creed, Dr. Hatch proceeds to examine in a skilful, scholarly, and exhaustive way the history of the change in the character of the doctrine, owing to the Greek influences under which it came. The Rev. A. J. Harrison, the Vicar of Lightcliffe, has written a volume called *Problems of Christianity and Scepticism* (Longmans), in which he discusses the position of the Sceptic and the Agnostic with an evident desire to treat his opponents fairly, and to convince them by moderate and courteous argument. Mr. Harrison has endeavoured to put forward those points which seem most prominent to him, "not as a student of theology, but as a practical worker in the field of Christian evidence." Science and theology in these days meet, and Mrs. Fisher, better known as Miss Arabella Buckley, brings out a charming little volume called the *Moral Teachings of Science* (Stanford). It consists of six short chapters, dealing with the "scientific aspect of the universe and its laws," with the "bearing of the theory of natural selection upon the question of morality, and suggesting, from analogies in plant and animal life, certain general principles which bear on moral conduct. A more important book has been written by Professor Lloyd Morgan upon *Animal Life and Intelligence* (Arnold), in which he has endeavoured first to consider the subject of animal intelligence from a scientific and philosophical standpoint, and has been led by the necessities of his subject to devote one half of his book to a consideration of organic evolution. Beginning, therefore, with chapters on the nature and process of animal life, and with a rather technical chapter on reproduction and development, Mr. Lloyd Morgan goes on to speak of heredity and natural selection, and so works his way up to the subject of the senses, emotions, instincts, and mental processes with which animals are endowed. The volume ends with a more philosophical chapter on mental evolution, and the text is accompanied by many diagrams and illustrations.

In the field of general literature, which cannot well be arranged under definite headings, there are several books of interest and importance. First of all, there is a volume of *Lectures on the History of Literature*, by Thomas Carlyle, published by Messrs. Curwen & Kane, of Bombay. The history of these lost lectures is very curious. They have lain in MS. for over fifty years, and they owe their production now to the fact that one of the audience, Mr. T. C. Anstey, afterwards well known as a lawyer and politician in Ireland, England, and Bombay, was present, and took down all the lectures except one, as they were delivered in the summer of 1838, preserved his notes carefully for years, and left them to be edited and published in their present form by R. P. Karkaria. They consist of twelve separate lectures—but one, dealing with Voltaire, Rousseau, and other French writers, is lost—and in them Carlyle discusses, under the general heading of "European Literature and Culture," a wide variety of topics. He begins with the origin of literature in Greece, with Homer, Æschylus, Euripides, and Plato, and passes on thence to the Romans, who, in Mr. Carlyle's opinion, require, as authors, "little of our attention," to the Middle Ages, the Troubadours, and the Crusades, and thence along the roll of heroes to Dante and Cervantes, Luther, Erasmus, Shakspeare, Knox, Milton and Dryden, Addison and Johnson, Diderot, Goethe, Schiller and Richter, with whom the lectures close. They are interesting enough, but very slight and "sketchy," and in no way compare with the famous lectures upon Heroes. The editor's notes are generally careful and of use. Two books by Mr. Saintsbury have been published by Percival & Co., one a volume of *Essays in English Literature*,

the other of **Essays on French Novelists**. The former deals with various English writers between the years 1780 and 1860, and on all those of whom he treats Mr. Saintsbury has something sensible to say. The latter is not uninteresting as treating of French authors to whom Mr. Saintsbury has helped to direct the attention of English people. But none of these essays, and certainly not that in which the writer discusses "the present state of the French novel," can lay claim to being strikingly new or profound. Dr. W. W. Story has written a little book called **Excursions in Art and Letters** (Blackwood), in which he deals, pleasantly enough, with various topics mainly of artistic interest. Beginning with an essay on Michael Angelo, the writer goes on to speak of Phidias, the Elgin Marbles, and casting in plaster among the Greeks and Romans, indulges in a "conversation with Marcus Aurelius," which is not without wit and merit, and ends with a discussion of "Macbeth." More solid, and very different, is Professor Sidgwick's bulky volume on **The Elements of Politics** (Macmillan). The Professor's object was to "expound, within a convenient compass, and in as systematic a form as the subject-matter might admit, the chief general considerations that enter into the rational discussion of political questions in modern States." Beginning with an introductory chapter on the scope and method of politics, the author passes to consider the fundamental conceptions of politics and the general principles of legislation, individualism, property, contract, inheritance, the limits of paternal and of Socialistic interference, law and morality in its relation to States, the area of government, and the principles which govern all international relations. The second part of the volume deals mainly with "the structure of Government," examines the functions of the legislative and executive power and their relations to each other; discusses, amid many other subjects which arise in the course of the treatment, party Government and the control of the people over Government, and ends with a very interesting chapter entitled "Sovereignty and Order." Alien to Professor Sidgwick's important volume in their theme, and not dissimilar in their scientific treatment, are two other noticeable books, **Justice: Being Part IV. of the Principles of Ethics** (Williams & Norgate), by Mr. Herbert Spencer, and **A Plea for Liberty** (Murray), edited by Mr. T. Mackay. In his present volume Mr. Spencer returns to ground which he has already covered in social statics, but elaborates more fully "the exclusively naturalistic, that is revolutionary," side of his work, and the biological origin for ethics. Mr. Spencer has added some fresh matter in his appendices, and his method of treatment is not quite the same as of old, but the subject is little different, and Mr. Spencer still remains the pillar of the Individualistic cause. A number of his staunch disciples have put together, in the other volume here mentioned, their protests against "Socialism and Socialistic Legislation," and Mr. Spencer has supplied an introduction to the book. The first essay, by Mr. Robertson, deals in a very general way with "The Impracticability of Socialism;" and the second, by Mr. Donisthorpe, is a more lively paper on "The Limits of Liberty." Others, by Mr. George Howell and Mr. Auberon Herbert, deal with the new unionism and labour legislation, and are certainly the best papers in the book. Others, again, protest against Free Libraries and free education, trade combinations, and the Post Office system, and mourn over the discontent of the working classes, the signs of Socialism in the Antipodes, the problems of investment, and many other topics. We fear that the authors of "A Plea for Liberty" are not likely to make much impression on their age.

Another book by a learned writer will be found in Sir Frederick Pollock's **Oxford Lectures and Other Discourses** (Macmillan). Some of these papers, such as the one on "The Methods of Jurisprudence," were delivered at Oxford as lectures. Another, upon "The English Manor," is the reproduction of several lectures in one. Another, on "Examinations and Education," is an article from a monthly magazine. Others deal with Oxford law studies, with "black-letter," with Alpine literature, with the use of the sword, and with the work of the late Sir Henry Maine. Thus the Professor ranges over a great variety of topics, and finds matter to interest many readers. Another semi-professional book is the volume of **Thirteen Essays on Education**, published by Percival & Co. It is the work of nine writers, all well-known in the scholastic world. Mr. Welldon and Mr. Howson write from Harrow, Mr. Field from Canterbury, Mr. Cookson from St. Paul's, Mr. Lyttelton and Mr. Glazebrook from Haileybury and Clifton, and other contributors come from other places. The great Greek question—on both sides—is treated of in three essays; music and religion form the subject of two others, possibly the two best in the series; while scholarships, and commercial education, the teaching of literature, and the general field of "Principles and Practice," supply other schemes and interesting essays. Four books on economic sources also bear an academic stamp. Professor Marshall offers us a long but deeply interesting volume on the **Principles of Economics** (Macmillan); Mr. J. N. Keynes writes on **The Scope and Method of Political Economy** (Macmillan); Mr. R. W. Cooke Taylor on **The Modern Factory System** (Kegan Paul); and Miss Victorine Jeans upon **Factory Act Legislation** (Fisher Unwin). Professor Marshall's book is not, perhaps, a great original work, but it is a solid contribution, full of sympathy, knowledge, insight, and wisdom, to the perplexing economic problems of the day. Perhaps its highest merit lies in the combination which it offers of clear, scientific accuracy of thought with generous sympathy and large human feeling. One very noticeable feature of the book is its large appreciation of what is good in economic thinkers of every school, its careful and kindly rehabilitation of Ricardo, its open-minded admiration for Adam Smith and Mill, for Bagehot and Jevons, for the economists of Germany and America. In the first book, Professor Marshall deals with the general relation of economics to social and anthropological science; in the second, he mainly confines himself to the work of nomenclature and definition; in the third, he passes on to discuss anew the general question of demand or consumption; and thence he ranges afield to discuss other subjects—production or supply, with the famous laws of diminishing and increasing return, English agriculture, its methods, needs and limitations, "quasi-rent," and the earnings of management, and all the other intricate and interesting subjects which arise in a survey of economic laws. The treatment throughout is lucid, conspicuously able, and as sympathetic as it is broad. Mr. Keyne discusses with care and clearness certain fundamental economic questions, to which young students would do well to give attention; and deals at length with the functions of induction and deduction, and the claims of the purely historical school. Mr. Cooke Taylor has had wide experience as an inspector of factories, and is justified in speaking with authority about them. He discusses the histories of many inventions, such as hand-loom and spinning-jennies, steam-engines, glass and paper making, and from these topics he passes on to consider the factory legislation of the century since 1802, and the effects which that legislation has had on the factories up to this time. His later chapters deal with more controversial

topics, and with the need for further legislation. Miss Jeans' book has the distinction of being the Cobden Prize Essay for 1891. It gives a concise survey of English factory legislation since the year 1850, and discusses the effects, both in the past and in the future, which have been or which may be yet produced thereby.

Bordering upon economic topics, but yet avoiding all their difficulties, is Mr. William Morris's *News from Nowhere* (Reeve & Turner). Mr. Morris, with the vision of a poet, and with all a poet's aloofness from the sordid needs of practice, imagines an Utopia, where there is no education, no law, no marriage, no government, no crime; where the Thames at Hammersmith sparkles with salmon, and socialistic æstheticism, ignorant and happy as in Rousseaun's dreams, pervades the smiling land. And all this is seen, with many adventures and many other sights, in Mr. Morris's dream of the twenty-first century in England. Nearer in relation to actual facts, but equal to Mr. Morris in their appreciation of beauty, are some volumes on art, which we have to mention. Mr. W. J. Linton offers us a magnificent volume, full of magnificent illustrations, prepared by Messrs. Dawson, upon *The Masters of Wood Engraving* (Stevens). Mr. Linton writes as an engraver, and he gives the history of xylography by exhibiting its master works. He divides his subject into three sections. There is one on "knife work," one on "graver work," and one on "chiaroscuro;" and the author gives us examples of each. He tries to establish by much argument the antiquity of what we call engraving, and he follows through all its stages the gradual development of the art out of the simple craft of the mechanic. When he comes to more modern topics, Mr. Linton writes ably of Bewick, Clennell, Nesbit, Branston, and other artists of this type; and all through his work he gives us original views emphatically stated, full of interest, vigour, and discernment. Another artistic work of interest and importance is Mr. J. L. Roget's *History of the "Old Water-Colour" Society* (Longmans). Mr. Roget received the collections and papers of the late Mr. J. J. Jenkins, once the Secretary of the Society, and he has set to work to weave them into a continuous history, by adding and supplying a great deal of matter of his own. Mr. Roget has spared no pains to get together from magazines and personal memoirs a mass of information bearing on his subject, and he supplies list of prices and prints, criticisms passed by contemporary writers, and a vast variety of notes of all kinds to illustrate his theme. Before discussing the history of the society, he has described the condition of water-colour art in England in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and has treated conspicuously of Paul Sandby as its founder, a position open to some criticism and question. Mr. Roget gives prominence to the development under Sandby of aquatint engraving. Equal prominence is given to the influence of Gainsborough on British landscape art, which is excellently treated; and from that Mr. Roget passes to discuss the "Travelling Artists," Webber, W. Alexander, A. Cozens, John Smith, the "teachers" of drawing, draughtsmen proper, and dilettanti; Girtin and his art, which again supplies an admirable chapter; and Turner, whose influence is briefly described. The history and fortunes of the "Old Society" are then considered in careful detail, and sections of considerable interest upon Francis Nicholson, Gilpin and the Varleys, Barret, W. Hunt, S. Prout, C. V. Fielding, De Wint, and many other artists more or less distinguished, bring the chronicle down to the death of Miss M. Naftel, and conclude a valuable and laborious work. In this connection we may mention an interesting memoir of *Richard Redgrave* (Cassell), and a hand-

some volume on **The Engraved Gems of Classical Times** by Professor Middleton (Cambridge University Press). The former is an account—based on Mr. Redgrave's diaries and journals—of a long and prosperous life, which began in 1804 and lasted till 1888. Mr. Redgrave's early life and studies, his success in painting, his many artist friends—Leslie and Turner, Mulready and Landseer, Millais and Grant—his large circle of acquaintances in society, and the many distinctions which rewarded his talent, all find a record in these pages, and the story is told with sufficient brightness and good taste. Professor Middleton has given "a brief account of the engraved gems and other forms of signet which were used by the chief classical races of ancient times," and has added a catalogue of the engraved gems in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge.

Some half-dozen books have to be mentioned dealing with topography and local history. Mr. Loftie writes a sumptuous book on **London City** (Leadenhall Press), which has been well illustrated by Mr. Luker, to whose illustrations, indeed, the text is in some degree subordinate. Mr. Loftie gives us good descriptions of London as it was in 1066, in 1466, and again in 1666, and has something of interest and historical value to say on the many incidents contained in London annals. Mr. O. B. Baker writes on **Ludlow Town and Neighbourhood** (Simpkin & Marshall), another illustrated volume. He does not profess to give us much archaeological information, but he tells us, with sense and accuracy, a good deal about the history and neighbourhood of the old town, famous for its connection with historical names, with Prince Arthur and the Mortimers, with the Yorkists and the Elizabethans, with Sir Harry and Sir Philip Sidney, and with the later wars of King and Parliament. The church, the Friary, and the antiquities around, supply ample matter for historians. For the series of **Historic Towns** (Longmans), Mr. Theodore Roosevelt writes a volume on **New York**, in which he narrates the history of that now famous city. Beginning with the early seventeenth century, he traces the rise of the Dutch settlement, and its passing into English hands, gives a chapter to New York under the Stuarts, another to the usurpation of Leisler in 1689-91, others to the story of the Revolution and the democratic polity founded on it, and brings his history down as far as the year 1890. A volume of **Oxford City Documents**, edited by the late Professor Thorold Rogers, has been published by the Oxford Historical Society. It contains documents bearing on questions of taxation and finance. The former begin with a list of Oxford townsmen assessed for the poll-tax of 1380, and end with a calendar of documents preserved among the Exchequer Rolls containing notices relative to Oxford from the reign of Edward III. to that of Charles II. The judicial part begins with a series of records called "Coroners' Inquests and Inquisitions," and dating mostly from the days of the first two Edwards, and contains a variety of other papers, between 1268 and 1665, bearing on the relations of town and gown. The editing is not always very careful, but the three indexes of Mr. George Parker are admirably done. With this we may mention Mr. Andrew Clark's substantial volume on **The Colleges of Oxford** (Methuen), in which he has induced a variety of distinguished dons to put together in twenty-one chapters a series of notes on the history and antiquities of the different Oxford Colleges, and which, whilst not only attractive in form or substance, has also its historical uses and value. One other work upon local history will be found in the very handsome volume upon **Mayfair and Belgravia** (Truslove & Shirley), which Mr. George Chinch has edited this year. It contains a most

readable account of the antiquities and traditions of the great parish of St. George's, Hanover Square, and is profusely illustrated throughout. *Mayfair and Belgravia* suggest sport and extravagance, fruitful themes nowadays even to the literary man. *The Badminton Library* this year produces a volume on *Riding and Polo* (Longmans), in all respects entitled to rank with its excellent predecessors. Lord Suffolk and Berkshire writes upon *Riding to Hounds*; Mr. Weir and Mr. Watson contribute chapters on horsemanship, and how to ride; Lord Onslow tells us what he has found out in New Zealand about the Colonial Horse; and Mr. J. Moray Brown contributes some chapters on Polo, its history and practice. Sir George Chetwynd, also, offers us two volumes of his *Racing Reminiscences and Experiences of the Turf* (Longmans), and Mr. Robert Black writes a book on *The Jockey Club and its Founders* (Smith & Elder). Sir George Chetwynd's book is the autobiography of a veteran racing-man, who incidentally discusses the ethics of gambling, and has tales to tell or to repeat about the turf. But perhaps the object of his publication is chiefly to secure attention to the appendix, which fills half of the second volume, and in which he endeavours to dispose of charges brought against him some little time ago, and already laid before the public in the course of a lawsuit that is probably not forgotten yet. Mr. Black gives an account of the Jockey Club and its most famous members, collected from a variety of sources, and full of statistics which are no doubt of interest to the audience to whom he appeals. He divides it into three periods, the first from 1760 to 1778, a period which includes chapters under the original headings of "the Dukes," "the Lords," "the Sirs," and "the Misters;" the second from 1778 to 1885, in which the Prince of Wales appears in the company of "the Dukes;" and the third from 1885 to 1891, in which no such alluring titles commend the chapters to our hearts.

Of poetry this year there are several little volumes by authors, not of immortality, but of considerable distinction. Two well-known prose-writers step into the lists. *The Poems of John Ruskin* (Allen), edited by Mr. W. G. Collingwood, fill two sumptuous volumes. Most of them were written in the author's very early years, between 1827 and 1845. They are arranged in chronological order, and Mr. Collingwood has taken great pains to annotate and to explain them. The poems are accompanied by some charming illustrations, and are interesting as being the work of a master of English prose. Mr. Lecky's *Poems* (Longmans) appear in a most modest little volume, which, however, is not very likely to add much to the eminent historian's fame. *Daphne and other Poems* (Macmillan), by Frederick Tennyson, is poetry of a higher kind, and the work in this volume entitles Mr. Tennyson to the rank of a genuine poet. The stories of Daphne, Pygmalion, Psyche, Ariadne, Niobe, and other mythical figures, are here retold in charming lines, in a modern spirit, and in language none the less poetical because it borders on metaphysics. Mr. W. G. Palgrave, a name long associated with poetry, has left behind him, in *A Vision of Life* (Macmillan), a poem of real dignity and beauty, to represent the varied experiences of his life. A man who in turn was soldier, traveller, missionary, and diplomatist, with a poet's fancy and a scholar's training, might well hope to give the world verse worthy of its attention; and this fine epic, with its picturesquely striking views of the world, of modern ideas, and of modern progress, fully proves Mr. Palgrave's claim to rank among the poets. *A Vision of Saturs* (Kegan Paul), not dissimilar in title, is very dissimilar in tone. Mr. Lewis Morris has returned on the path of his earlier ventures, and visits now, and brings before us, some legendary heroes

and heroines, not of Greece, but of the Christian world. His choice is wide, and the saints whom he recalls include many names of many kinds—St. Christopher, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, St. Roch and St. Francis, George Herbert and Elizabeth Fry. Their tales are told us always with taste and sympathy, and in generally graceful verse. **The Light of the World** (Longmans) is, as the title suggests, the work of Sir Edwin Arnold, and it deals obviously with the life of Jesus Christ. Part is in rhyming heroics, part is in blank verse, and much of it is in the form of a dialogue. The familiar incidents which the poem contains are treated with fluency and learning, and the poem will no doubt find readers and admirers. **The Shorter Poems of Robert Bridges** (Bell) compose a delightful volume of lyrics, and are divided into four parts. A few—but a few only—show some stiffness and mannerism of style, but in most cases the measure is easy and the rhymes are sweet. Mr. Bridges is already known as a poet of considerable reputation, and these lyrics, so thoroughly English in their treatment, with their tone of subdued and thoughtful joyousness, will fully maintain the repute of the writer. Lastly, before bidding good-bye to the poetry and to the literature of the year, we may mention the volume which Mr. Farnell has brought out upon **Greek Lyric Poetry** (Longmans). It contains “a complete collection of the surviving passages from the Greek song-writers,” and these fragments Mr. Farnell has arranged and annotated with a plenitude of notes. Some prefatory articles at the beginning deal with the distinctive features of Greek Lyric Poetry, with the different schools, their metres, dialects, and music. The poems of each author are introduced with an excellent notice of the writer, and the illustrations which accompany the volume help to make up a scholarly and admirable book.

ART, DRAMA, AND MUSIC.

I. THE FINE ARTS.

THE effort to establish an "English Luxembourg" on the basis furnished by Mr. Henry Tate, of Park Hill, Streatham Common, resulted in nothing beyond a display of rivalry among certain cliques of Art connoisseurs and of the indifference of the Treasury towards any scheme which might involve the expenditure of public money upon English art. In the first instance, the Trustees of the National Gallery seemed disposed to co-operate with Mr. Tate in his efforts to give prominence to pictures of the modern British School, and the Treasury went so far as to authorise the First Commissioner of Works to ascertain the probable cost of extending the National Gallery for its reception. It, however, soon became evident that the views of the Treasury had undergone a change, and an alternative site at South Kensington was offered—the East and West Picture Galleries, which had been erected for the Exhibition of 1862. From one set of Mr. Tate's friends and advisers there immediately arose the cry that it was intended to make the "British Luxembourg" an annexe of the South Kensington Museum, and Mr. Tate was urged to refuse the dangerous offer. An alternative site was then mooted by a few irresponsible persons, who fancied that Kensington Palace might be advantageously adapted to the requirements of a picture gallery; but this view was not endorsed by any important section of the Art world. Meanwhile, Mr. Tate had added to his original offer of the whole or a selection of his pictures a further promise to give 80,000*l.* for a building if the Government would find the necessary site. After much delay, a block of land near the Imperial Institute was proposed; but the claims of the Science Schools, which required larger workshops and laboratories, were put forward with great force, and the Government hastily receded from its offer to Mr. Tate, and again urged the advantages of the old East and West Galleries. An attempt was further made to obtain a site on the Thames Embankment on land belonging to the Corporation, but the price asked was more than the Treasury was prepared to pay, especially as there was land at South Kensington which would involve no outlay of capital. Mr. Tate, not altogether wisely advised, took up a hostile attitude, and at the close of the year a satisfactory solution of the question seemed as far off as possible; and for want of pliability on one side, and of goodwill and sympathy on the other, it seemed probable that the nation would lose the chance of profiting by Mr. Tate's excellent intention and noble liberality.

The National Gallery.—Under the recent arrangement, the trustees received 5,120*l.* for the purchase of pictures, untrammelled by the condition that any portion of the grant unexpended during the year should be surrendered to the Exchequer. By this means they were enabled to purchase during the year "The Death of Dido," ascribed to Liberale da Verona, two allegorical groups, "Scorn" and "Happy Union," by Paul Veronese, purchased from the

Earl of Darnley for 2,500*l.*, and "Ecce Homo," by Bazzi. "The Adoration of the Shepherds" and the "Nativity of St. John," by Bernhard Fabritius; six Dutch landscapes by R. Roghman, Cornelis Decker, I. de Wet, Ruysdael, Wouverman, Hendrik van Avercamp, and Adrian van de Velde, a "Farm-yard" by Isaak van Ostade, the "Amsterdam Musketeers on Parade," an anonymous work painted about 1650. These eleven pictures of the Dutch and two of the Italian School were purchased at Cassel, in Germany, from Mr. Edward Habisch for 2,887*l.*

The various private bequests administered by the trustees were appropriated as follows:—Lewis Fund, a "Winter Scene," by Jan van Goyen, purchased in London (885*l.*); Wheeler Bequest, "View of Westminster and York Stairs," by S. Scott (70*l.*); Clarke Bequest, "Deposition from the Cross," by G. B. Tiepolo, Cavendish Bentinck sale (187*l.* 10*s.*); "The Fortune Teller," by Pietro Longhi (105*l.*); same source, "Madonna," French School, fifteenth century, by Miss Sorel (50*l.*); Walker Bequest, "A Dutch Interior," by Quiryn Brekelenkam, bought of Mr. H. Buttery for 90*l.*

The bequests and gifts to the Gallery included a portrait of Piero de Medici, by Bronzino, from Sir William Drake, F.S.A.; portraits of Aglonius Voon and Cornelia Remoens, by Cornelis Janson, from Mrs. Zouch Troughton; the "Eve of the Deluge," by W. Bell Scott, from Miss Alice Boyd; "Rupert," an allegorical group, by Paul Veronese, from the Earl of Darnley; a Transfiguration, by Duccio di Buoninsegna, from Mr. Robert H. Wilson; Virgin and Child surrounded by Cherubim, by Bernardino Fungai, from Mr. William Connal, jun.; a supposed portrait of the First Earl of Berkeley, by E. Netscher, from Lord Savile, G.C.B.; and a series of sketches from the "Canterbury Pilgrimage," by Thomas Stothard, R.A., presented by Mr. Henry Vaughan.

The National Portrait Gallery.—The building of the new Gallery in Trafalgar Square was rapidly pushed forward during the year, and at the close it was possible to realise the general plan of the new works, to which the only objection raised was the consequent restriction of the National Gallery. Towards the completion of the new buildings the pictures remained at the Bethnal Green Museum, and the additions made during the year were few and unimportant. The most noteworthy purchases were the portraits of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke and Right Hon. William Pelham (300*l.*); Sir Robert Peel (100*l.*); Henry Boone, R.A. (86*l.* 10*s.*); and Sir John Glanville (10*l.* 10*s.*).

The British Museum.—The opening of the Museum during the evenings was not attended with the success anticipated by the promoters of the movement in Parliament, the average number of evening visitors falling below 200. The re-arrangement of the Greek antiquities was further carried on, and two new rooms especially devoted to the marbles from Lycia, Halicarnassus, &c., were completed. Further space was also devoted to the display of vases and coins, in consequence of the acquisitions made by the Trustees.

Amongst the more important purchases of the year were a set of early Italian prints (140*l.*), Lane's Arabic manuscripts and notes on Egypt (420*l.*), antiquities from the Hailstone sale (180*l.*), Rev. C. R. Manning's manuscripts (250*l.*), for reproducing the Aristotelian papyri and printing the book (450*l.*), a manuscript Bible from Messrs. Sassoon (110*l.*), a collection of gold coins from Mr. S. Montagu (380*l.*), a bronze statuette (356*l.*), Egyptian antiquities (500*l.*), Greek and Roman gold ornaments (1,000*l.*), purchased of Mr. F. R. Cress-

well; a terra cotta panel "Infancy of Leno" (100*l.*), three silver vases found at Roquemaine (216*l.*). These represent but a small portion of the total sum of 20,000*l.* devoted to purchases; but the Trustees, following the recommendation of the heads of the several departments into which the Museum is divided, preferred to expend their grant in completing collections of which the nucleus already existed, to the more adventurous policy of purchasing attractive specimens which might come into the market. This policy was especially applied to the Print Room, of which the keeper was making not only a repository of the best specimens of the works of British and foreign masters, but a complete history of the art of engraving and reproducing works of art.

The exhibition of drawings in one of the new rooms, and of picture books and manuscripts in the King's Library, was in great measure rearranged and largely increased. The new coin and medal room was also completed.

South Kensington Museum.—The most important matter in connection with this Museum was the formal promise of the Government to take in hand the completion of the building and the erection of a façade worthy of the nation. Designs were invited from several leading architects, and after much deliberation, that by Mr. Aston Webb was finally selected, but no progress was made with the work during the year.

In the Art division the scale model of the Chapel of Peter Martyr at Rome, by Signor Consolani, and that of the Villa Madonna were completed under the supervision and at the instigation of the Art director, Mr. Thomas Armstrong. Amongst the more important purchases in the same division were the carved panelling of a room at a border castle near Kendal (1,000*l.*), a collection of Italian art objects purchased from Signor Bardini (8,428*l.*), a Venetian alb (125*l.*), an oak buffet from the Hailstone collection (120*l.*), and four stamped leather knife cases from the same source (92*l.*), a carved wood Italian altar piece of sixteenth century work (1,875*l.*), an old Persian plaque of thirty-six tiles (275*l.*), a Breviarium Romanum illuminated on vellum (100*l.*), a Mosaic by Andrea Orcagna, representing the Birth of the Virgin (1,000*l.*), a painting in water colour of St. John Lateran, Rome, by Andrew Wilson (100*l.*), a Turkish chimney-piece of enamelled earthenware tiles, bearing the names of the Seven Sleepers and the date A.H. 1148 (520*l.*), and the Zouche collection, consisting chiefly of silversmiths' work, Limoges and Rhenish-Byzantine enamels, needlework and useful work, which were purchased (5,000*l.*) from the trustees. Considerable impetus was given to the development of the Cast Museum, to which several important additions were made, and the relations of Art and Industry were more strongly insisted upon in the selection of objects reproduced for exhibition and circulation, whilst in the purchase of works of art only specimens of exceptional value and importance were admitted. Amongst the more important loans to the Exhibition was that of the Deepdene collection, made by the late Mr. Thomas Hope, and lent by Lord Francis P. Clinton-Hope.

The Royal Academy.—The summer exhibition was generally regarded as showing a general improvement on many of its predecessors, the standard of merit, especially in landscapes, being very high. Amongst the most noteworthy works were Mr. L. Fildes's "The Doctor," attending a sick child in a tidy cottage; Mr. Orchardson's "An Enigma," and the portraits of Mr. Walter Gilbey and Sir Andrew Walker; Mr. Waterhouse's "Ulysses and the Syrens;" Mr. Solomon J. Solomon's "Judgment of Paris;" Mr. Sargent's "La Carmencita;" Mr. Arthur Hacker's "Magdalen;" Sir F. Leighton's "Demeter and Persephone;" Mr. Frank Dicksee's "Mountain of the

Winds;" several good works by the members of the Newlyn School, of which Mr. F. Bramley, Mr. Chevallier, Mr. Brangwyn, and Mr. Simmons were the most conspicuous. Some fine portraits by Mr. L. Fildes, Mr. Herkomer, Mr. J. J. Shannon, and Mr. W. B. Richmond. The sculpture was for the most part unimportant; a few busts by Mr. Onslow Ford, and a group by Mr. Brock, the "Genius of Poetry," being the most noteworthy.

The purchases under the Chantrey Bequest excited more than ordinary discussion, the choice of the Council having fallen upon Mr. Calderon's "Renunciation of St. Elizabeth" (1,200*l.*), a work of but mediocre merit, representing the saint and queen in a state of nudity, which shocked the Roman Catholic conscience. Various letters appeared in the newspapers in support of the view that the artist had quite failed to understand the meaning of the Latin words which he cited in support of his treatment of the subject. The matter was even brought before Parliament, but Lord Salisbury stated that the Government was powerless to interfere, and that the offending picture could not be better relegated to seclusion than in the manner proposed. The other purchases of the Council included a marble figure of Pandora (1,000*l.*), by Mr. Harry Bates; a water-colour drawing of a lion and lioness (100*l.*), by Mr. Dixon; and Mr. J. W. North's "Winter Scene in Wild Woodland" (315*l.*); all of them strange specimens of the best obtainable work of the year.

At the Berlin International Art Exhibition, which had aroused such a strong display of splenetic patriotism in France, the large gold medals were (so far as English art was concerned) awarded to Mr. A. Waterhouse, R.A., Mr. J. J. Shannon, and Mr. Stanhope Forbes; the small gold medals to Mr. Pettie, R.A., Mr. Marcus Stone, R.A., Mr. Onslow Ford, A.R.A., and Mr. Colin Hunter, A.R.A. Diplomas of honour to Sir Fred. Leighton and Sir John Gilbert, and a second class medal to Mr. W. B. Richmond, A.R.A.

At Munich medals of the first class were awarded to Mr. Orchardson, R.A., Mr. Arthur Melville; and of the second class to Mr. Alfred East, Mr. Gregory, A., Mr. William Stott, Mr. Hubert Vos, Mr. David Murray, A., Mr. Austin Brown, and Mr. Alexander Roche, a strongly marked recognition of the Scottish School and its Glasgow section.

During the year the deaths of Sir J. E. Boehm, R.A., and Mr. E. Long, R.A., were recorded. Messrs. J. Brock, A. C. Gow, and F. Dicksee, were advanced to be full Academicians, and Mr. David Murray was elected an Associate.

The President's biennial discourse (this being the Gold Medal year) was devoted to the history of the development of Architecture, especially in France, with special reference to its influence upon the national taste. Previous to its delivery, the distribution of prizes to the students in the Academy school was made. The subject of the Historical Prize was "Victory," which was treated in various ways by the several competitors. The Gold Medal and Travelling Studentship was awarded to Mr. Ralph Peacock, for a picture representing an episode in Roman history at the time of the invasion of the Gauls. The Turner Gold Medal and Scholarship for a landscape painting was awarded to Mr. F. J. Mackenzie; the Creswick prize, of which the subject was "An English Lane," to Miss Emily Louisa Long. The Gold Medal and Travelling Studentship were (with several minor prizes for design and drawing) awarded to Mr. Paul Raphaël Montford, for his sculpture composition, "Jacob wrestling with an Angel," and the chief distinctions for Architecture were carried off by Mr. Alfred Henry Hart.

The Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours, the Royal Institute of

Painters in Water Colours, and also in Oil, the Royal Society of British Artists, and numerous other societies, held their annual and half-yearly exhibitions as usual, whilst the number of galleries due to private enterprise and association was still more increased. The new gallery at the early part of the year held the third of its series of Historical exhibitions—the Georgian era having been selected—when a large collection of pictures, miniatures, and relics of all sorts relating to the Royal House of Guelph was brought together by the help of a well chosen committee.

The provincial museums, started by the local magnates, or subsidised by local authorities, continued to extend their sphere of usefulness. Provincial exhibitions of pictures were more general, and attracted a far larger number of visitors, Birmingham, Derby, Bradford, Nottingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Bolton, and Belfast leading the way, and in most cases with free museums.

The principal Art sales of the year were those of the Bolckow, Buller, Matthews, James, Seymour, Haden, and Cavendish Bentinck collections, the last named being specially noteworthy on account of the valuable French furniture and *marqueterie* work which it contained. The largest prices paid for pictures sold by public auction were J. M. W. Turner's "Walton Bridge," 7,455*l.* (Bolckow), which had fetched in the Gillott sale of 1872, 5,000 guineas; Meissonier's "Sign Painter" (Bolckow), 6,772*l.*; Watteau's "L'occupation selon l'âge" (James), 5,460*l.*; Troyon's "Going to Market" (Bolckow), 4,980*l.*; Sir Joshua Reynolds's "Mrs. Buller" (Buller), 4,725*l.*; Sir Edwin Landseer's "The Breeze—Carrigan Range" (Bolckow), 4,821*l.*; Watteau's "L'accord parfait" (James), 3,675*l.*; Holman Hunt's "Finding the Saviour in the Temple" (Matthews), 3,570*l.*; W. Müller's "Island of Rhodes" (Matthews), 3,465*l.*; W. Müller's "Chess Players" (Bolckow), 3,206*l.*; Sir Joshua Reynolds's "Fanny Kemble" (Cavendish Bentinck), 2,960*l.*; Alma Tadema's "Roman Amateur" (Santurce), 2,782*l.*, and his "Audience with Agrippa" (Santurce), 2,672*l.*; Gainsborough's "Mushroom Girl" (Houldsworth), 2,572*l.*; Hogarth's "Gate of Calais" (Bolckow), 2,572*l.*, which had been purchased at the Claremont sale in 1874 for 945*l.*; J. Phillip's, R.A. "The Grape Seller" (Bolckow), 2,415*l.*; Sir F. Leighton's "Music Lesson" (Matthews) 2,467*l.*, and J. Linnell's "Hillside Farm" (Bolckow), 2,100*l.*

The total amount realised at the most important sales were those of H. W. F. Bolckow's (deceased) pictures, 66,487*l.*; of the Cavendish Bentinck, 62,981*l.*, in addition to 6,625*l.* realised by the furniture of his house; Mr. C. P. Matthews's (deceased) pictures, 57,859*l.*; Miss James's (deceased) pictures, 25,840*l.*; pictures, plate, and porcelain of Mr. J. F. Buller (deceased), about 25,000*l.*; the Houldsworth pictures and prints, 16,666*l.*; the Hailstone collection of porcelain and antiquities, 12,751*l.*; the library of Mr. W. H. Cranford, of Cork, 21,255*l.*; Mr. Seymour Haden's prints, etchings, &c., 7,900*l.*; and the Hailstone Library 9,000*l.*, which was sold in two portions, each sale extending over several days.

II. DRAMA.

The year has not been remarkably eventful as regards the production of original plays, for which a future can be confidently predicted. A strong plea was put forward in the Press by Mr. H. A. Jones on behalf of a higher literary quality in stage plays, and an attempt, more vigorous than successful, was made to popularise the work of the Norwegian dramatist, Henrik Ibsen. What success will attend Mr. Jones's well-meant efforts yet remains to be seen. The reception of his play, "The Crusaders," on Nov. 2, at the Avenue

Theatre, which he had leased in order to obtain greater freedom in the ventilation of his views, was at first the reverse of encouraging. The intrinsic merits of the work were, however, undeniable, though its aim was above the heads of the first-night audience; and with the aid of beautiful mounting and a very strong cast, comprising Lady Monckton, Misses Winifred Emery and Olga Brandon, and Messrs. Weedon Grossmith, Kemble, and Arthur Cecil, it lived down its unfavourable reception, and attained at any rate a *succès d'estime*. Mr. Jones's other contribution, "The Dancing Girl," produced at the Haymarket on Jan. 15, was far more successful, and may be recorded as perhaps the strongest play of the year. Original in plot and abounding in dramatic situations, which were for the most part taken full advantage of by the exponents, it secured the favour not only of connoisseurs but of the general public, and kept the stage for the greater part of the year. Mr. Tree's impersonation of the Duke, the leading male character, was strikingly able, and the general interpretation by Misses Norreys, Rose Leclercq, and Horlock, and Messrs. Fernandez, F. Kerr, F. Terry, and others was eminently sympathetic. Mr. Haddon Chambers' four-act play, "The Idler," produced at the St. James's on Feb. 26, also with a very strong company, of which Miss Marion Terry, Miss Maude Millett, and Lady Monckton, and Messrs. Alexander, H. Waring, and an American *débutant*, Mr. John Mason, were the leading members, owed its successful career to a series of dramatic situations rather than to lifelike presentments of character. Mr. Pinero's "Lady Bountiful" (Garrick, March 7) was not one of his most successful efforts; but the clever writing, aided by excellent acting and mounting, procured for it a satisfactory welcome on the first night. The principal parts fell to Miss Kate Rorke, Misses Carlotta Addison, Dolores Drummond, and Marie Linden, and Messrs. Forbes Robertson, Hare, and his son Gilbert Hare, who made a highly promising *début*. Mr. Jerome K. Jerome's three-act comedy, "Woodbarrow Farm," originally produced in 1888 at the Comedy Theatre, was placed on the regular bill at the Vaudeville (Jan. 13), when the brightly written dialogue and the good acting of the cast procured for it favourable comment. "Lady Barter," a comedy in three acts by Mr. C. Coghlan, and the late Sir C. L. Young's five-act play "Linda Grey," which made its first appearance at Margate in 1885, were the chief productions at the Princess's during Mrs. Langtry's management. Neither of these was successful on its merits as a play, such interest as there was being due to Mrs. Langtry herself. The latter piece especially proved weak and unconvincing, and after a short run the theatre was closed. Mr. Bronson Howard's comedy, "The Henrietta," which had been previously seen in New York, came out at the Avenue on March 28, and met with a fairly favourable reception. It dealt with the subject of speculative finance, it contained some strong scenes, and, had the story been but a little better constructed, would no doubt have been a success.

At the Adelphi Messrs. Buchanan and Sims scored a great success with "The Trumpet Call," which appeared on August 1 and ran through the remainder of the year. The effect was gained rather by the presentation of a series of telling scenes than by ingenuity in the construction of the plot, which was, indeed, contrived in the most conventional spirit of melodrama. The authors evidently thoroughly understood the public to which they appealed, and offered the proper mixture of pathos and comedy combined with the attractions of elaborate scenery. Moreover, the story, such as it was, was well told, and the acting, particularly of Miss Elizabeth Robins, a new-comer at this theatre, as the heroine, and of Mr. Leonard Boyne as the hero, was

thoroughly competent. It was, therefore, not surprising that the play caught the taste of the audience. Mr. W. G. Wills's five-act historical play, "A Royal Divorce," produced at the New Olympic Theatre on Sept. 10, was a fanciful treatment of one of the most touching episodes of the first French Empire. The story of the severance for political reasons of the matrimonial tie between Napoleon and Josephine offered dramatic chances of a high order, which, of course, were not thrown away by so experienced a playwright. Nevertheless, owing partly to want of conciseness, partly to the fact that the rôles were not well suited to the exponents, the piece did not grip altogether. Messrs. Hamilton and Quinton's "Lord Anerley," brought out at the St. James's on Nov. 7, proved a somewhat commonplace melodrama, although the fine acting of Mr. Alexander and his colleagues secured a very favourable reception on the opening night. Mr. Pinero's four-act comedy, "The Times," had a successful career at Terry's, when it appeared on Oct. 24. The dialogue was, as usual with this author's work, sparkling and natural, and the cast, comprising Misses F. Brough and A. Hill, and Messrs. Terry, Elliott, and Esmond, was thoroughly efficient, Mr. Terry especially making a great deal of low comedy play in the leading part.

Of lighter pieces, original or adapted, there was a very fair supply. At the Comedy, "Husband and Wife," a farcical comedy by Messrs. F. C. Philips and Percy Fendall, appeared in the regular bill on July 7, having been tentatively played at the Criterion. Miss Vane Featherstone and Miss Lottie Venne, and Messrs. Giddens, Brookfield, and Hawtrey, contributed by their amusing acting to the very fair run which the piece obtained. At the same theatre, on Oct. 22, Messrs. Philips' and Brookfield's "Godpapa," a piece very French in character, won considerable favour, which it kept through the remainder of the year. Miss Lottie Venne and Miss Annie Irish were gracefully comic, Mr. Brookfield was excellent, and Mr. Hawtrey played his part in an original and very taking manner. The three-act farce, "Jane," by Messrs. Nicholls and Lestocq, which came out in the previous December at the Comedy, retained its hold on the public, and proved a highly successful specimen of its class. "A Pantomime Rehearsal," described as a "Comic Sketch," by Mr. Cecil Clay, originally produced at Terry's, was afterwards transferred to the Court, where it continued to draw at the close of the year.

As is usually the case, several of the lighter pieces which appeared in the course of the year were drawn from French sources. M. Albert Valabrègue's farce, "La Sécurité des Familles," which appeared at the Paris Vaudeville in 1888, was adapted by Mr. Burnand under the name "Private Inquiry," and given at the Strand in January, where it furnished Mr. Edouin with a very comic part. Mr. Fred. Horner's farce, "The Late Lamented" (Court, May 6), proved a highly successful version of Bisson's Vaudeville farce "Feu Toupinel." The playing of Mrs. Wood and Messrs. Arthur Cecil and Standing contributed in no small measure to the good run of the piece. It was afterwards carried to the Strand, where it kept the boards at the close of the year.

"La Plantation Thomassin" of Maurice Ordonneau provided Mr. W. Yardley with the material for his farcical comedy "The Planter," which came out at the Prince of Wales's on Oct. 31, though it was considered advisable to supplement the original piece by some extra scenes. MM. Chivot and Duru, in "Le Truc d'Arthur," were understood to admit the debt to Marivaux's comedy "Le Jeu de l'Amour et du Hasard." Mr. Mortimer's English version, "Gloriana" (Globe, Nov. 10), was an "up-to-date" adapta-

tion of the joint production, and consequently a mere travesty of the original play. It was agreeably played by Misses Florence West, Eamond, and Cowell, and Messrs. Vernon, Lestocq, Forbes Dawson, and Paulton, and continued to run until the close of the year. Mr. H. James's dramatic version of his novel, "The American," which came out at the Opera Comique under the same name on Sept. 26, was not entirely satisfactory, the cast finding considerable difficulty with the characters, which, except in the cases of Miss Louise Moodie and Miss Bateman, they did not wholly surmount. Zola's novel, "Thérèse Raquin," one of his earlier works, dramatised and produced at the Théâtre de la Renaissance in Paris several years ago, was translated into English by Teixeira de Mattos, and brought out at the Royalty on Oct. 9, subject to certain expurgations. Interesting psychologically in its original form, it was, in spite of competent interpretation, impossible as a play, and went to point the same moral as many other attempts at adaptation. The effort to acclimatise Ibsen, alluded to at the beginning of this article, must for the present, at all events, whatever the future may bring forth, be chronicled in the same category as a failure, though "A Doll's House" did receive the honour of a revival. The performance of his "Ghosts" at the Royalty in connection with the attempt to found a "Théâtre Libre" in London provoked a vigorous attack in the Press. It was certainly an unhealthy piece, and, what is worse from a stage point of view, absolutely devoid of material susceptible of dramatic treatment. "Hedda Gabler," by the same author, after some *matinées* was put on the regular bills by Mr. Thorne at the Vaudeville. The grim but striking character of the heroine was played with great power by Miss Elizabeth Robins, and the other leading female part, Thea, was artistically filled by Miss Marion Lea. With Messrs. Sugden, Scott Buist, and Elwood, the cast was satisfactory, but in spite of the clever acting the result was but a short run.

Some important revivals of old work took place, notably at the Lyceum. Miss Ellen Terry was an ideal Beatrice in "Much Ado About Nothing," revived at that theatre (Jan. 5), and Mr. Irving's Benedick is one of his cleverest impersonations. Mr. Terriss as Claudio, and Mr. Macklin as Don Pedro, were excellent, and the mounting was of exceptional merit. In the "Lyons Mail" (Feb. 7) Mr. Irving repeated his remarkable creations of Dubosq and Lesurques; and in the "Corsican Brothers," revived on May 12, together with Charles Reade's one-act comedy "Nance Oldfield," he again played the double part of the brothers Dei Franchi. Mr. W. G. Wills's touching dramatic version of the "Vicar of Wakefield," "Olivia," was revived on April 22, Mr. Macklin taking, for the first time, the part of Burchell. In all Mr. Irving's revivals, even for temporary purposes, the careful and artistic mounting was invariably a conspicuous feature. At Drury Lane, Mr. Charles Warner repeated his terribly realistic impersonation of Coupeau in a revival of Charles Reade's version of Zola's "L'Assommoir" "Drink," on June 28. Among other revivals may be mentioned Mr. Wilson Barrett's "Hamlet," at the Olympic (April 18), with Miss Winifred Emery as Ophelia, and of Charles Reade's "Never Too Late to Mend," at Drury Lane (April 11), with Mr. Charles Warner as the hero. Revivals of Boucicault's "Streets of London" (Adelphi, May 7), "Formosa" (Drury Lane, May 26), and "Arrah-na-Pogue" and "After Dark" at the Princess's (Aug. 29 and Nov. 9 respectively), prove that managers still believe in his power to draw. The revivals included also Godfrey's comedy "The Parvenu" (Globe); Messrs. Pettitt and Harris's drama of last year, "A Million of Money" (Grand); "The Silver

King," by Messrs. Jones and Herman (Olympic), at which theatre G. R. Sims's "Lights of London" and Buchanan's version of "Theodora" also re-appeared. Robertson's "School," revived at the Garrick (Sept. 19), was voted somewhat out of date.

In June the Comédie Française returned to the Royalty Theatre, opening the season with Jules Lemaitre's "Mariage Blanc," produced at the Théâtre Français in the previous March. The play is unsympathetic, not to say repulsive; but Mdlle. Reichenberg played the part of the heroine with remarkable skill. In the course of the season MM. Labiche and Delacour's comedy "Les Petits Oiseaux," on which was founded the highly-successful English play, "A Pair of Spectacles," and M. Meilhac's "Margot," were also produced, and a number of well-known old pieces were revived. Among the latter may be mentioned "Le Député de Bombignac," known in English as "The Candidate," "Les Surprises du Divorce," the original of "Mamma," "Le Gendre de M. Poirier," and Erckmann Chatrian's "L'Ami Fritz," of which excellent representations were given. In spite of the powerful caste, the audiences were not, however, as a rule, very large.

Mr. Augustin Daly's company from New York took possession of the Lyceum for a period of ten weeks. The original prospectus foreshadowed a number of revivals, but owing to the great success of "The Last Word," an adaptation by Mr. Daly from the German, in which Miss Ada Rehan made a great hit, the plan was modified, and the only revival was that of "As You Like It," with Miss Rehan in the character of Rosalind, a standard impersonation. It was understood that Mr. Daly was making an effort to procure a theatre in London, and that there was a chance of his excellent company becoming permanently fixed in England.

Among plays which depend chiefly on their musical adjuncts may be mentioned Mr. F. C. Burnand's "Miss Decima," with music by Audran, produced at the Criterion (July 28), and subsequently transferred to the Prince of Wales's, and "L'Enfant Prodigue," a play without words, by Michel Carré the younger (Prince of Wales's, March 31), which achieved a remarkable success, due in great part to the charming music of André Wormser.

III. MUSIC.

So far, at all events, as dramatic music is concerned, the year has been a memorable one, no less than four series of operatic performances being presented to the public. The first and, from a national point of view, the most important was the opening, on January 31, of Mr. D'Oyley Carte's new and sumptuous "Royal English Opera House" at Cambridge Circus. This event had been anxiously awaited as an attempt to establish national lyrical drama on a scale which should satisfy all the requirements of modern grand opera. The work chosen for the inauguration was Sir A. Sullivan's new opera "Ivanhoe," a subject peculiarly suitable to the occasion from the English spirit pervading it. The adaptation of Scott's novel by Mr. Julian Sturgis was marked by considerable literary ability, and, moreover, afforded the composer opportunities for infinite variety of style, of which Sir Arthur Sullivan took full advantage. Critical opinion was by no means unanimous as to the probable position to be permanently held by this latest effort of the gifted English composer, constituting, as it did, a new departure in his work; but that it contained much fine writing, particularly orchestral, was not denied in any quarter. The leading part of Rebecca was played alternately

by Miss Macintyre and Miss Thudichum, both of whom were vocally excellent, though the latter was somewhat deficient in dramatic power. Of the two representatives of the Templar, Mr. Eugène Oudin fully rose to the level of this very exacting *rôle*, while Mr. Noi-jé showed that he had the making of a good artist. The titular *rôle* was shared satisfactorily by Mr. Ben Davies and Mr. O'Mara.* The opera was mounted in very gorgeous and elaborate, but very costly style, and probably from that cause its success as a financial venture had been, it was understood, up to the present, but moderate. The opera had a long run, but when at length withdrawn, the manager was obliged to have recourse to an English version of French "Opera Comique," no second specimen of National Grand Opera being available. However, the work chosen (Nov. 3), M. Albert Carré's "La Basoche," composed by André Messager, was a very graceful example of its class, and being particularly well interpreted by Miss Lucile Hill, Miss Palliser, and Miss Esmé Lee, and Messrs. Ben Davies, Kenningham, Bispham, and others, and splendidly mounted, at once established its hold on popular favour. The regular season of Royal Italian Opera, under Sir Augustus Harris's management, opened at Covent Garden on April 6 with Gluck's "Orfeo," in which Mlle. Giulia Ravogli repeated the remarkable embodiment of the title *rôle* which had taken London by storm in the autumn of last year under Signor Lago. The series was probably the longest on record, embracing between the opening night and the end of July no less than ninety-four performances, in addition to a State performance in honour of the German Emperor. To enable him to carry out the novel plan of nightly representations, the impresario engaged an immense company, which included, besides most of the leading artists of the day, several new comers. Among the most successful of the *débutantes* were Miss Eames, an American soprano, who came with a great reputation from Paris, and, in spite of a certain lack of dramatic intensity, maintained it here, and Mlle. Mravina, a Russian soprano, whose pure vocalisation and agreeable stage presence made her a great acquisition. Mlle. Passama as Siebel, was a welcome addition to the list of contralti. M. Van Dyck, a Belgian tenor, who had greatly distinguished himself at Bayreuth in Wagner's "Parsifal," made considerable impression in "Faust," which was played in French for the occasion; and the Mephistopheles of M. Plançon, of the Opera in Paris, at once established his position both as a vocalist and an actor. Although no actual novelty was produced, the season included some very interesting events. "Fidelio," which was last heard at Her Majesty's Theatre in 1887, was revived (July 8) with Mme. Tavary as Leonora, Signor Ravelli as Florestan, M. Devoyod as Pizarro, and M. Plançon as Rocco. Verdi's "Otello," first produced in London at the Lyceum two years before, was put on the stage, though not till July 15. M. Jean de Reszské's interpretation of the Moor was distinguished from that of the former exponent, Signor Tamagno, by greater tenderness, but less passion and vigour. M. Maurel was still the Iago, and the Desdemona of Madame Albani was recognised as without a rival. Gounod's "Mireille," last played in 1887, and now given for the first time in London with the original French text, suffered much from the weakness of the libretto, for which the graceful beauty of the music did not wholly atone. "Manon" was also played in French for the *début* of Miss Sybil Sanderson, M. Van Dyck playing the part of Des Grieux with considerable success. "Carmen," which continued to draw large audiences, derived fresh interest from the unconventional rendering of the part of the heroine by Mlle. G. Ravogli, of Don José by M. Jean de Reszské,

and of Michaela by Mme. Melba. "Rigoletto," with Mme. Albani and M. Maurel; "Le Prophète," with Mme. Richard and M. Jean de Reszké; and "Mefistofele," with Mme. Albani, M. Montariol, and M. E. de Reszké, may be cited as among the most conspicuous events of the season; while the performances of "Lohengrin," with Miss Eames, Mlle. G. Ravogli, M. Maurel, and the MM. de Reszké; and of "Les Huguenots," with Mme. Albani, Mlles. Giulia Ravogli and Mravina, and MM. Jean and E. de Reszké, Maurel, and Lassalle, must be chronicled as probably unsurpassed in the history of those masterpieces of the respective composers. In the autumn two operatic enterprises were carried on concurrently. At Covent Garden Sir A. Harris engaged a highly competent company from the Paris Opera Comique, ably conducted by M. Jehin, for performances of opera in French. Gounod's "Philon et Baucis," produced unsuccessfully at the Théâtre Lyrique in Paris in 1860, now captivated the London public by its idyllic beauty, admirably expressed by a highly competent caste, which comprised Mlle. Simmonet and MM. Engel, Bouvet, and Lorrain. The other novelty of the series, "Le Rêve," an operatic version of M. Zola's novel by M. Bruneau, was less successful, the evidence of musical ability which it admittedly showed being insufficient to atone for the absence of melodic charm.

While French opera flourished at Covent Garden, Signor Lago was engaged in the task, more enterprising than successful, of reviving *rococo* specimens of Italian operatic work at the Shaftesbury Theatre. The reproductions of Rossini's "Cenerentola," Cimarosa's "Matrimonio Segreto," and Ricci's "Crispino à la Comare," though of interest to a certain class of amateurs, all went to prove that the general public is not now in touch with such work. Signor Lago, however, had a trump card, which he played with brilliant success, in Mascagni's one-act opera "Cavalleria Rusticana." This work, which was the outcome of a prize offered by Signor Sonzogno of Milan, had already been received with the greatest favour at many houses on the Continent. Its reception in London was just as unequivocal, and by its production Signor Lago not only saved his season from very possible failure, but made it memorable. Performances of English opera were given in the provinces by the Carl Rosa Company, while many of the more leisured classes were attracted to Bayreuth by the fine performances of Wagner's operas. The Royal College of Music showed great enterprise by producing Cornelius's "Barber of Bagdad" for the first time in England, and the students of the Royal Academy showed to advantage in Gounod's "Mock Doctor."

The Crystal Palace Orchestra, under Mr. Manns, which resumed on Feb. 14 the thirty-fifth annual series of concerts, fully maintained its high position. In the course of the series several novelties were introduced, including a piano-forte concerto in D minor by Herr Richard Burmeister, a young German composer settled in America, and a ballad for female chorus and orchestra by Berlioz, entitled "La Mort d'Ophélie," both on March 7. The programme on this occasion also included the entire third act of Tannhäuser. Grieg's scenes from Björnsen's drama, "Olaf Trygvason" (Op. 50), a picturesque and characteristic work, found a place in the programme on March 21. Two graceful orchestral pieces, entitled respectively "The Flowing Tide" and "Fairyland," by Mr. J. F. Barnett, were given for the first time at Mr. Manns' benefit concert on April 25. In addition to these absolute novelties, Dr. Mackenzie's "Dream of Jubal," with Mme. Nordica and Mr. Iver McKay in the chief parts, and Mr. Charles Fry as reciter, was given for the first time at Sydenham on April 4. A dramatic overture, by Miss Ellicott and the first of Bizet's two

orchestral suites on airs from his own opera "Carmen," were also added to the Crystal Palace repertory in the course of the series. The thirty-sixth season, which opened on Oct. 10, also presented a fair amount of new work. The list included a choral setting of Browning's poem, "Women and Roses," by Mr. C. A. Lidgely, with orchestral accompaniment (Oct. 31), Mr. Learmont Drysdale's concert overture in B minor, "Tam O'Shanter," for which a prize given by the Glasgow Society of Musicians had been awarded him (Oct. 24), and Herr Hans Sitt's overture to Leschivo's "Don Juan d'Anstria," given under the composer's bâton for the first time in England on Oct. 17. The first appearance at Sydenham of Herr Popper, the renowned violoncellist at the opening concert, Oct. 10, served to introduce his violoncello concerto in E minor (Op. 24), a selection from Gounod's new ballet music for Romeo and Juliette being also comprised in the programme. Mons. Emile Sauret, at the concert of Oct. 24, gave a splendid rendering of Saint Saëns' No. 3 Violin Concerto (Op. 61), and on the same occasion Mme. Giulia Valda introduced, for the first time in England, a scena from Rubinstein's opera "Nero."

The Philharmonic Society gave seven concerts between March 5 and June 27. Mr. Cowen, the conductor, was in command of splendid orchestral forces, which were used to great effect in classical works. Speaking generally, the programmes showed somewhat of a reversion to the more conservative spirit of earlier years; but the first concert afforded a hearing to Rubinstein's new overture to "Antony and Cleopatra," which was well received. Mr. C. E. Stephens' symphony in G minor, brought out successfully at Birmingham last year, was favourably received by its first London audience, under the composer's direction, at the second concert. A third novelty, Signor Sgambati's "Sinfonia Epitalamia," written in 1888 for the marriage of the Duc d'Aosta, was commented on as somewhat unsuitable to the programmes of the Society.

The nineteenth series of the Richter Concerts commenced on May 25, a *quasi* novelty being Bach's concerto for strings in G, modified to meet the requirements of the modern concert. Great prominence was given during the season to the works of Wagner, and one concert was given in conjunction with the Wagner Society; but that did not prevent the inclusion of other interesting items. At the second concert the overture to Cornelius's "Barber of Bagdad," a work which has survived its initial failure, was introduced. Bruckner's symphony in D minor, produced on June 29, was not very favourably criticised; but another novelty, Professor V. Stanford's setting of Campbell's ode, "The Battle of the Baltic," met with kindlier treatment at the hands of the reviewers.

The London Symphony Concerts, under Herr Henschel, emerged from the somewhat critical financial position they at one time occupied. A change of policy in the direction of engaging eminent solo artists, both vocal and instrumental, appeared to bear good fruit in larger audiences. In the course of the series two new items, viz., a Funeral March by Mr. E. German in D minor, and a symphonic poem by Mr. Percy Rideout, were given, in addition to some satisfactory performances of Wagnerian music.

The concerts given in London by Sir Charles Halle's eminent Manchester orchestra, at one time threatened with extinction from lack of support, also revived sufficiently to secure continuance, though the audiences were not on all occasions so full as the excellence of the performance deserved. Senor Sarasate gave a series of concerts, partly orchestral and partly chamber, at one of which, on Oct. 17, Max Bruch's new violin concerto No. 3 in D minor,

dedicated to Dr. Joachim, was introduced. Single orchestral concerts were given by Herr Stavenhagen, Herr Popper, the famous violoncellist, and M. Paderewski, the last named artist performing the phenomenal feat of playing Schumann's pianoforte concerto and Beethoven's E flat concerto on the same occasion, in addition to several smaller items.

Chamber music was presented with unabated excellence at the Monday and Saturday Popular Concerts at St. James's Hall. Although, as heretofore, perfection of interpretation rather than newness of matter was the salient feature of these concerts, there was sufficient of the latter element to make the series memorable. The most important novelty of the season, Brahms' string quintet in G (Op. 111), which appeared at Vienna in the previous autumn, was received with great enthusiasm on March 2. A revised version of the same master's trio in B (Op. 8), some small "Romantic Pieces" for violin and piano by Dvorák (Op. 75), a sonata in C minor by the Hungarian composer Emmanuel Moor (Op. 22), dedicated to Signor Piatti, Piatti's own serenata for two 'cellos and piano, Raff's sonata in A for piano and violin (Op. 78), a pianoforte quartet in G minor by Gabriel Fauré (Op. 45), and some new vocal quartets by Brahms call for notice as among the most interesting events of the season. Mlle. Eibenschütz, a pupil of Madame Schumann, and Mons. Ysäye, a brilliant Belgian violin player, made highly successful appearances. Chamber concerts were also given with success by Señor Albeniz, who introduced a talented Spanish violinist, Señor Arbos; by Messrs. Ludwig and Whitehouse, by Messrs. Hess and Becker, and by the Wind Instrument Chamber Music Society, though the proceedings of the last named were marred by a schism among the artists. "Recitals" by leading artists continue to attract the musical public, those of Mons. Paderewski, Mr. Borwick, and the gifted Belgian boy violoncellist, Jean Gerardy, taking rank with the vocal recitals of Mr. and Mrs. Henschel among the most successful concerts of the year.

Although the number of choral societies in central London has diminished of late years, the quality of the performances of choral works seems to have gained rather than lost by the change. At any rate, the renderings by the Royal Choral Society at the Albert Hall, under Mr. Barnby, of Gounod's "Mors et Vita" (Op. 15), of Mendelssohn's "Lobgesang" and Beethoven's Ninth Symphony (Oct. 28), and of Mr. V. Stanford's Oratorio "Eden" on its introduction to London on Nov. 18 (see Birmingham Festival, below), were, chorally, all that could be desired. Mention should also be made of the splendid centenary performance on Dec. 7 of Mozart's "Requiem." A similar tribute was paid to the memory of Mozart by the Bach Choir on Dec. 15. The programmes on this occasion also included the entire Graal scene from "Parsifal," which, allowing for the absence of stage accessories, was given with very good effect. The concerts of this Society, under Mr. V. Stanford, were generally successful and interesting; and although the works of the master whose name stamps the institution of course occupied the front place, the programmes showed a certain variety, notably in the case of Mr. Arthur Somervell's Mass in C minor (March 10).

The Handel Festival at the Crystal Palace was understood to be as successful financially as it certainly was artistically. The performances of the "Messiah" and "Israel" were on a par with, if not finer than, previous occasions, and a large number of novelties were included in the selection. The overture to "Giustino," and two *bourrées* from the "Water Music" and the "Trios" respectively, were given with matchless effect by Mr. Manns'

colossal orchestra, and the power and beauty of the immense chorus were fully exhibited in a selection from the "Chandos Anthems," notably the final chorus, "Tell it out among the Heathen," and in the "Gloria Patri," written in 1807 for double chorus and double orchestra. The solo parts in the festival were sustained by Mesdames Albani, McIntyre, Nordica, Marian Mackenzie, and Belle Cole, and by Messrs. Lloyd, McGuckin, Brereton, Bridson, and Santley.

The 168th Festival of the Three Choirs, held this year at Hereford, was excellent as regards the scheme, and in the main satisfactory in the matter of execution. Dr. Hubert Parry's new setting of the "De Profundis" for soprano solo, twelve part chorus and orchestra, written for the occasion and conducted by the composer, was admitted by general consent to be a masterly and beautiful work. Dr. Harford Lloyd superintended the first public appearance of his cantata, "A Song of Judgment," a pleasing though immature work, and Dr. H. J. Edwards' motet, "Praise to the Holiest," was a third novelty. The artists engaged comprised Mme. Albani, Miss A. Williams, Miss Hilda Wilson, Miss Hilda Coward, and Messrs. Lloyd, Houghton, Brereton, and Santley, and the general direction was in the hands of the new organist, Mr. G. R. Sinclair.

The Triennial Festival at Birmingham was supported by an excellent array of solo talent, comprising Mesdames McIntyre, A. Williams, Hilda Wilson, Hope Glenn, and Brereton, and Messrs. Lloyd, Iver McKay, Santley, Brereton, and Watkin Mills. An admirable chorus and orchestra, and a highly competent organist, Mr. C. W. Perkins, combined, under the leadership of Herr Richter, to render the Festival a greater success, financially as well as artistically, than its predecessor in 1888. The novelties introduced comprised three very important works, viz., Dr. A. C. Mackenzie's setting of the hymn "Veni Creator Spiritus," Dr. Villiers Stanford's new oratorio "Eden," and Dvorák's new Requiem Mass, supposed to be intended as a tribute to the late Cardinal Newman. The merits of all were recognised generally by the critics, while the last named, though the performance under the composer himself was far from perfect, was admitted to be a work of great originality and power, and in parts characterised by much melodic charm. A Festival at Chester, where Dr. Bridge's cantata "Rudal" was brought out, and a gathering of voices at the Crystal Palace in commemoration of the jubilee of the Tonic Sol Fa, must be chronicled among events in this class.

Some quaint specimens of instrumental music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for viols, lute, harpsichord, or spinet, given at a concert in the spring by Mr. Dolmetsch, created considerable interest among amateurs, and may possibly lead to a revival of viol playing.

Mr. Sims Reeves took farewell of the public on May 11 at a concert at the Albert Hall. He was supported by Mlle. Janotha, Mme. Nordica, and other distinguished artists, chief among them Madame Christine Nilsson, who emerged from her retirement for this occasion.

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

THE past year has been remarkable more from the unusual character of its meteorology than from any important developments in either scientific practice or theory. It has been a year of Congresses; a year in which the first attempt has been seriously made to affect the weather by stimulating the production of rain; and in England a year full of promise for the future technical education of the country. The centenary of the birth of Faraday and the Jubilee of the Chemical Society have both been kept with appropriate honours during the past twelvemonth. An International Congress on Hygiene was held in London early in the year with as fair success as such Congresses can hope to attain. A Geographical Congress was held at Berne, one on Geology at Washington, a third on Statistics at Vienna, while Ornithologists had a Congress of their own at Buda-Pesth. The severe frost existing at the close of 1890 continued through the greater part of the month of January, rendering the winter remarkable for the most prolonged frost experienced during the present century. For seven consecutive periods of five days the mean temperature registered at Greenwich was below the freezing point, and skating on Regent's Park lasted without interruption for forty-three days. During this period the mean barometric pressure in London was about a quarter of an inch above the average, and this was accompanied by nearly double the usual number of foggy days. But though the frost was remarkable for its duration, it was still more interesting from its position. The anticyclonic area within which the low temperature and high barometric pressure were recorded extended from the South of Scotland over the greater part of Europe. In the extreme West of Ireland and in the North of Scotland much milder temperatures were experienced, and the simultaneous readings at Aberdeen or Stornoway were frequently largely in excess of those at Nice or Rome. The rainfall of February was the least ever recorded at Oxford for that month, while conversely August was unusually cold and wet. During a severe gale on November 11 the highest wind pressure yet recorded was registered by the Greenwich anemometers, when between two and three o'clock in the afternoon a pressure of $81\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. per square foot was observed. The present type of anemometer has only been in use since 1882, and no comparison with any earlier date is therefore possible. An almost universal failure of the crops in the centre and south of Russia serves to accentuate the unfavourable meteorological conditions of the past year. It is, perhaps, worthy of remark that Mr. H. F. Blanford's prediction in the early part of the year, that the Indian monsoon rains would be below the average, was amply verified. But not content with the increasing accuracy obtained in weather forecasting, a school of practical meteorologists is springing up with the object of providing suitable rain-showers where Nature is neglecting her duty. It has often been noticed that rain has fallen after heavy artillery firing, and experiments have been carried out in Texas and in India with the

object of producing rain by the agitation communicated to the air from a series of explosions. A moderate share of success was ascribed to the American experiments, but in India promising looking rain-clouds sometimes disappeared after the explosions, while on one occasion the rain came down heavily before the explosion was quite ready for firing. Altogether the first experiments in constructive weather have been interesting, but not productive of any definite results. The earliest known weather journal has been edited by Mr. G. J. Symons. This is the record kept by the Rev. W. Merle, Rector of Driby, Lincolnshire, during the years 1837-44. The rainfall at Cherra Poonjee, in the Khasi Hills of Assam, has been calculated by Mr. H. T. Blandford as a little over 500 inches per annum, an amount that may be considered as near the maximum experienced in any portion of the globe. Among matters of miscellaneous interest may be mentioned the adoption of a whale-back type for grain-carrying vessels, of which the first arrived in this country in July; the formation of copper tubes by electro-deposition, the condemnation of cast-iron girders for railway bridges consequent on the collapse of one at Norwood, and the breaking up of the *Great Eastern*.

ASTRONOMY.

The increase in number and size of sun spots has been very marked during the past year, and, except on a few days, one or more spots have been always present on the sun's disc. In 1890, on more than half the days, no sun spots were observed. The sun spots are also nearer the solar equator than in the previous year, a condition which appears to agree with an increase of frequency and size in the spots themselves. Important prominences were noticed by M. Trouvelot and others about the middle of June, and Professor G. E. Hale has taken some interesting photographs of these prominences at the new observatory at Kenwood. Mr. T. J. J. See, of the University of Berlin, has drawn attention to the high degree of eccentricity in the orbits of double stars. He ascribes this to the influence of tidal friction, basing his theory on the researches of Professor Darwin and of M. Poincaré. Professor H. G. von de Sande Bakhuisen finds from observation of the Pole Star that the latitude of Greenwich is not a constant, but varies from a maximum north latitude about February 9 to a minimum about the same day of the month in August. This is corroborated by similar observations at Berlin, Potsdam, and Prague, from which a maximum variation of about half a second has been deduced. The maxima and minima at these places agree very nearly with those determined by Professor Bakhuisen for Greenwich. This variation of latitude would point to a slight shifting in the axis of the rotation of the earth, and the cause of the variation is ascribed by Dr. N. Herz to the magnetic action of the sun; and Professor Bigelow, in a paper on the "Solar Corona," attempts to fix the direction of the axis of polarisation of the sun from observations on the position and shape of the coronal streamers observed during recent eclipses. The question as to the causes which have led to the periodic return of certain comets, or to their inclusion as members of the solar system, has received considerable study. A careful and highly mathematical investigation by Professor H. A. Newton, of Yale University, leads to the conclusion that these comets have been captured by planets in their course through space, and that their present orbits are the resultant of this planetary attraction and their former motion. Professor Newton has particularly studied the part played by Jupiter in this comet

capture, as, on account of his enormous bulk, his influence would be greater than that of the other planets. M. Schulhof, who has also studied the subject, assigns the orbit of twenty-three out of thirty-eight short period comets to Jupiter, ten to the Earth, and five to Neptune, while he thinks that there is evidence to show that there may be a planet even further from the earth than Neptune which has affected the orbit of some other comets. Three of these short period comets were observed during the year by Mr. Barnard. A number of new minor planets have been discovered chiefly by MM. Palisa and Charlois, and the total is now nearly 830. Many of these are so insignificant that the calculation of their movements is useless labour, and it is proposed to deal mainly with those which, on account of their proximity to Jupiter, will be of use in determining the mass of that planet. Mention was made last year of Professor Schiaparelli's observation that Venus turns always the same face to the sun; *i.e.*, that its periods of solar and axial rotation were the same. This has been confirmed by Dr. Terby, but denied by M. Niesten, of Brussels, who, from photographic evidences, considers the accepted twenty-three hours rotation period as correct. Professor Asaph Hall, as the result of fourteen years' study of Saturn at the Washington Observatory, concludes that many, if not all, of the great changes observed to occur in this planet are due to variations in the earth's atmosphere, and that no abnormal phenomena were ever observed when the air was clear and still. Professor Hall has also recalculated the rotation period from observations on the "white spot," which he gives as ten hours fourteen minutes twenty-four seconds. In the case of Jupiter, Dr. Belopolsky finds that the rotation of the equatorial belt takes places in four minutes less time than the parts farther from the equator. A remarkable outburst of dark spots was noticed on this planet during the past year. The lunar eclipse of November 15 was spoilt in many places, and in the British Isles especially, by bad weather, and the attempt to measure the moon's disc by observation of the occultation of small stars in order to check the error caused by irradiation was therefore a failure.

Great progress has been made in stellar astronomy during the year. The aid rendered by photography has been singularly successful. A part of the Milky Way, which, from its bareness of stars, is known as the Coal Sack, has been found by photographs to be occupied for at least three-fourths of the region by stars. In this connection mention should be made of the photographs taken by Dr. M. Wolf, of Heidelberg, which show an intricate arrangement of connected stars and nebula in Cygnus, and of those taken by Dr. Russell at Sydney of the Great Magellanic Cloud. An interesting new nebula has been discovered by Mr. Barnard near Merope, one of the Pleiades, and this has also been photographed by Professor Pritchard at Oxford, as well as at the Lick Observatory in California. The fourfold division of stars made by the late Fr. Secchi, according to the nature of the spectrum they give, has been amended by the addition of a fifth type of stellar spectra discovered by MM. Wolf and Rayet. Professor Pickering finds that the Milky Way stars are principally of the first type, of which Sirius may be taken as the example. He also finds that eye observations and photographic observations of the spectra do not in all cases agree in referring a star to the same type, owing to the character of the violet end of the spectrum, which the eye does not see. This observation also explains the superior brightness ascribed to certain stars, *e.g.* in the Milky Way, by Dr. Gill, who estimated the amount from photographs, to that ascribed to the same stars from eye observations made by Dr. Gould.

These various types of star spectrum possibly point either to differences of age or mass in the stars themselves, as well as probably to differences in composition.

Dr. Bëddicke, who is the astronomer in charge of Lord Rosse's observatory at Parsonstown, has found that the maximum amount of heat radiated from the moon does not occur, as would be supposed, shortly after full moon, but shortly before that time. When an eclipse occurs, the radiated heat does not return to its former amount till some time after the last contact with the penumbral shadow, thus apparently showing that the earth's atmosphere, with its consequent absorption of heat, must extend to much greater heights than is usually supposed. M. Crova finds from observations of the colour of the sky that the blueness varies according to the season and to the time of day, reaching a daily maximum in the morning and an annual maximum in winter. A new centre for astronomical work has been opened in this country by the completion of a new observatory at Crowborough, one of the highest points in Sussex, for Mr. Roberts.

CHEMISTRY.

The discovery of new binary compounds of nitrogen and hydrogen, of which a brief notice was given in the volume for 1890, has led to a largely increased interest in the study of nitrogen. This gas, which, in the free or uncombined state, has been looked upon as perhaps the least active of the elements, is yearly revealing possibilities of chemical action in entirely unexpected directions. The absorption of nitrogen gas from the atmosphere is now universally admitted to occur at least in the case of many leguminous plants, though the precise mode in which the nitrogen is built up by the plant into the complex bodies known as proteids still remains to be discovered. The direct union of nitrogen with carbon, and possibly with silicon, plays a part previously almost ignored in the chemistry of the blast furnace, and improved knowledge may here be expected to furnish results of direct practical value. But during the past year, if the results obtained by chemists have not been of very great practical value, they have been of high theoretical interest. In azoimide and hydrazine we now possess members of a series of compounds of nitrogen and hydrogen, of which ammonia was, until a short time ago, the only known member. Thanks to the researches of T. Curtius and others, we can trace the gradual change in properties and composition from the highly alkaline, comparatively stable ammonia, with its one nitrogen atom united to three hydrogen atoms, through the slightly basic hydrazine, in which the number of the hydrogen and nitrogen atoms is alike to the acid, highly explosive azoimide, in which one hydrogen atom is linked to a group of three atoms of nitrogen. Many compounds of nitrogen have had an evil reputation for their terribly explosive power, and azoimide ranks high in this respect, the warmth of the hand being often sufficient to cause an explosion. The preparation of azoimide is not altogether an easy one. By suitable reactions the number of nitrogen atoms in some organic body, such as hippuric acid, is gradually increased, and the compound so formed, known as hippuryl hydrazine, when acted on by nitrite of soda forms azoimide, or, as it is also called, hydrogen nitride. Azoimide dissolved in water acts on metals to form salts in a manner similar to hydrochloric acid. Of these salts Curtius has described several, those of ammonia, barium, and silver being the best known. The intermediate member of the series, hydrazine has, perhaps, more affinity with ammonia than with azoimide, but its properties in the free

or uncombined state are still only slightly known. Great advances have been made in synthetical work. New methods for the artificial production of indigo have been brought out by Lederer, Heumann, and others. Citric acid has been obtained by Haller and Held, and also in another way by Dünschmann. Hornblende has been obtained artificially by Chroustchoff, and according to S. Meunier the synthesis of many other minerals can be easily effected by the use of fluoride of aluminium. Fluorine, the isolation of which is one of the triumphs of modern chemistry, has now, according to Becquerel and Moissan, been found existing naturally in the free state occluded in the blue fluor-spar from Quincí, near Villefranche. Professor Roberts-Austen, in the course of his investigation on alloys, has discovered that a mixture of 22 per cent. of aluminium with 78 per cent. of gold gives an alloy of a rich purple colour, which, when polished, reflects light of a brilliant ruby tint. Mr. Carey Lea has prepared new allotropic modifications of silver, in one of which the metal is obtained of a blue colour, while in another it is yellow. Both these forms are, however, very unstable. A new indigo green has been brought out by Sohlet, and a varied series of dyes of the anthraquinone series have been discovered by Schmidt and Gattermann. A long investigation of the terpenes has been carried out by O. Wallach with many good results. This group of bodies is, however, possibly less numerous than usually supposed, since Professor Armstrong, from the study of a terpene from the *Pinus Khasyana* of Burmah, concludes all known terpenes are probably reducible to one of two varieties. On the hypothesis of Van t'Hoff and Le Bel, that the difference in physical properties between two substances of identical chemical composition is due to the configuration in space of the carbon atom—a hypothesis now ten years old—certain organic acids should rotate a beam of polarised light to the left, whereas these organic acids, so far as previously known, had no action on such a beam. Now, however, Dr. P. F. Frankland has prepared, by bacterial cultivation, an optically active glyceric acid, while a new lævo-rotatory acetic acid, also required by the hypothesis, has been prepared by Schardinger. But of more general interest are the volatile compounds of carbonic oxide gas with certain metals. Last year the discovery of nickel carbon oxide was noticed, and now we have a similar compound of iron. This is an amber-coloured liquid boiling at 102° C., and solidifying at 21°. The iron compound is less easy of formation than that of nickel, and is less stable, but in the operations of the blast furnace the carbonic oxide appears from these compounds to play a far more complicated part than previously suspected. The nickel compound is highly poisonous. A matter of great practical interest in regard to the spontaneous ignition which sometimes occurs in cargoes of coal has been cleared up by the discovery that this ignition will not take place at temperatures below 88° C. (100° F.). The series of compounds of hydrogen and of nitrogen with the metals has been increased by the preparation by C. Winkler of hydrides of the metals of the alkaline earth group, and by the nitrides obtained by the action of azoimide on metallic carbonates. Many of the salts of the highly oxidised persulphuric acid discovered by Berthelot have been prepared and their properties determined, and Dr. H. C. Marshall has succeeded in obtaining some well defined members of the cobalt alums, and thus strengthened the relationship of this element to iron. The utilisation of the immense quantities of carbonic acid produced in breweries, by collecting and compressing the gas, has been suggested, as carbonic acid could then be obtained in a state of purity at a cost not exceeding a halfpenny per pound.

In the borderland between chemistry and physics we have to note the determination of the number of atoms in the molecules of phosphorus, iodine, and sulphur by the depression of the freezing point produced when they are dissolved in suitable fluids. By this means the molecule of iodine is found to contain two atoms, that of phosphorus four, and that of sulphur eight. The Van t'Hoff's hypothesis has been extended to nitrogen by Hantzsch and Werner. The atomic weight of the rare element lanthanum has been re-determined by Brauner, with results in accordance with its position according to the periodic law governing the atomic weights of the elements, and the slight solubility of pure zinc in sulphuric acid has been shown by Weeren to be due to the adherence of the evolved hydrogen to the zinc, and to be much increased if the action takes place in vacuo.

PHYSICS.

In the early part of the year an announcement appeared that the great problem of the reproduction of natural colours by photography had been solved. Unfortunately the complete solution is still delayed, but by an ingenious arrangement Lippmann has succeeded in obtaining a photographic film showing some of the spectrum colours. This result is due to a stratification occurring in the deposit in the film of such a depth that it reflects back at appropriate incidence the same wave lengths of light as that which produced it. The reproduction of colour by photography is not, however, entirely new, having already been attained by Abney and others, but Lippmann's method is in many respects of more promising nature than those of his predecessors. A new photographic process of great interest has been brought out by Messrs. A. G. Green, C. F. Cross, and E. J. Bevan, based on the sensitiveness to light of diazo compounds of dyes of the primuline group (dehydrothiolumidene) when in combination with the complex colloids found in animal or vegetable textile fabrics. The fabric is first coloured with the primuline dye, and then diazotised by appropriate treatment. An exposure of from 40 to 180 seconds is sufficient to give a complete positive picture by the decomposition of the diazo compound. Development is produced by any of the various amines or phenols which form a dye with the unaltered diazo compound.

The connection between solar phenomena and the earth's magnetism was well shown during the outburst of solar storms on June 17, when a minute-magnetic disturbance registered at Greenwich coincided with a time of increased activity observed by M. Trouvelot at Meudon. It should, however, be remarked that no disturbance of the daily magnetic range was appreciable when the largest mass of sun spots since 1885 crossed the sun's disc during the period between August 29 and September 10.

Allusion was made last year to the opening of the City and South London Electric Railway. One result of this new venture has been apparent at Greenwich, which is some miles distant from the nearest point of the railway. The instruments used to record earth currents at the Observatory have, since the opening of the line, done little more than record the passage of the trains to and fro along the line. A telephone service between Paris and London was begun in March, this being the first instance of submarine telephone working on a practical scale. A very interesting example of the capability of transmitting power by electricity was afforded at the Electrical Exhibition at Frankfurt. A current of 20,000 volts was generated at Lauffen by power derived from the waterfalls. This high pressure current was transmitted to

Frankfurt, more than 100 miles distant, through three uncovered copper wires placed on poles 16 ft. high. The current was transformed at the Exhibition into one of low pressure, and employed for lighting and for pumping water. As much as 1,000 horse-power was thus obtained. A lifeboat has also been run by an electromotor supplied with current through a cable paid out from the shore, and a similar method has been adopted for a new pattern torpedo. Several new varieties of dynamo have been introduced, among them being Mr. Austen's transformer, and the alternating current dynamo of Mr. Nikola Tesla. With this latter form some wonderful results have been obtained. By a suitable arrangement of magnets and armatures the current is reversed in direction some 2,000,000 times per minute. The electric disturbance set up by this enormously rapid reversal of current produces an entirely new series of phenomena. Thus an ordinary incandescent lamp glows brightly when connected with only one pole, and consequently when not forming part of the circuit. But even more curious results than this can be obtained, for an incandescent lamp of low resistance glows when entirely unconnected with either pole if brought between two metallic plates connected with the dynamo. An ordinary vacuum tube acts equally as well, the illumination being due probably to the motion of the residual molecules of air left in such a tube. A very useful variety of filament for incandescent lamps has been brought out by Mr. Bailey. The filament, instead of being loop-shaped, is bent completely round into a ring or "corona," and two opposite points of this ring are connected with the terminals of the lamp. The current in each lamp is thus divided into two equal parts, giving greater steadiness to the light, and increasing the durability of the lamp. Mr. Shelford Bidwell has utilised the varying resistance of selenium in the construction of an automatic electric lighting switch. The resistance of selenium is least in a strong light, and increases as the light becomes less. A selenium resistance interposed in a circuit is so arranged as to balance a current while daylight lasts, but as darkness sets in, the increase in the resistance can be utilised to bring into action the system of lamps to which the cell is attached. The action of heat on the magnetic properties of iron is, of course, well known. The capability of being attracted by a magnet is reduced in soft iron as the temperature rises till, when white hot, iron is quite unaffected by a magnet. A similar phenomenon at a much lower temperature is noticeable in another metal, nickel. In both cases the attraction increases as the temperature falls. Professor Dewar has shown that this law holds true in the case of oxygen. This is very feebly magnetic as a gas, but if the temperature be sufficiently reduced the oxygen in the liquid condition becomes more readily attracted, and the liquid flies to the poles of a powerful magnet almost as fragments of iron would do. The liquid oxygen, which is blue in colour, boils at -180° C. It seems, therefore, not improbable that magnetic attraction or repulsion depends upon the temperature at which the experiment is tried almost as much as upon the substance experimented upon. A curious instance of abnormal physical state has been studied by Professor O. Lehmann. Certain crystalline solids, of which Iceland spar is one of the best known, have the property of doubly refracting light, but Professor Lehmann has found three organic liquids which possess this power of double refraction, so that these substances, while still liquid, act as if they were crystalline solids. It is difficult to conceive what the physical constitution of such a liquid must be like, but it must be very different from the general type. The simple question of what happens to a salt when dissolved in water still remains un-

solved, in spite of much patient work by Pickering, Gladstone, Ostwald, and others. It, however, appears probable that in many cases the salt is decomposed by the mere act of solution partly or entirely into its constituents. Mr. Crookes has found that under the influence of an electric discharge in a vacuum tube metals can be slowly dissipated or "evaporated," the current causing a slow transference of the metallic molecules from one pole to another. Different metals show different rates of "evaporation," some being readily affected, while others are almost unacted upon. So marked is this difference, that an alloy can sometimes be separated into its constituents by this means; thus, if the purple alloy of gold and aluminium (to which allusion has been already made) is employed, the gold is "evaporated," and the aluminium left behind. By suitable means the evaporated metals can be deposited in films of varying thickness, showing brilliant prismatic colours. Gold, silver, and platinum can be thus volatilised, but magnesium, like aluminium, is unaffected. The phenomenon is clearly not due to an effect of temperature, since magnesium is readily melted and volatilised by heat, while platinum can only be melted with extreme difficulty. Professor Hopkinson has shown that at a temperature of -80° C. the density of a nickel steel containing 22 per cent. of nickel is reduced by nearly 2 per cent., which is equivalent to saying that this alloy expands in falling from 0° to -80° by that amount. As nickel steel is advocated for use in armour-plating, this observation is of great importance. As Professor Roberts Austen has shown, a ship in which such armour plates were used would incur strains sufficient to totally destroy it if it were exposed to the low temperature of the polar regions.

BIOLOGY.

Attention has been drawn in a former year to the modifications that Darwin's theory of coral reefs has undergone, owing to the observations of Murray and others. Recent discoveries by Mr. Bassett Smith are also of importance in this connection. Mr. Smith has found from dredgings on the Macclesfield and Tizard banks in the China Sea, that no less than nineteen species of corals live and grow at depths from thirty-one to forty-five fathoms. As thirty fathoms has been previously considered the maximum depth for these corals, this greater range shows that all the conditions of coral reef building are still unknown. Similarly, five species of madrepora were found at depths varying from twenty to twenty-seven fathoms, though no species of this genus was previously known to live below ten fathoms. It is to Darwin that we owe the recognition of the importance of the work done by earthworms, but the efforts of our English worms appear singularly small when compared with that of some African genera. Thus, Mr. Alvan Millson has estimated that the large earthworm found in Yorubaland brings to the surface over 60,000 tons of subsoil per square mile. The improved fertility of the soil is so clearly marked, that the natives do not attempt to cultivate those spots where no traces of worm action are manifest. The influence of external conditions on development has been strikingly shown by E. Wassmann's experiments on ants. By warming nests of *Formica sanguinea* and *Formica fusca* through successive winters, he has been able to produce parthenogenesis in both species. The eggs laid by these abnormally developed workers did not, however, attain full development, being devoured by the ants. Wassmann agrees with Lubbock, that ants hear, in

opposition to the opinion of Forel and others. The experiments of Dr. Louis Robinson on the grasping power of infants are of great interest. Dr. Robinson finds that extremely young children, even newly born babes, have very great muscular power in the hands. One infant only a few hours old hung by one hand to a stick for nearly three minutes, and this power of holding on is only gradually lost with the increasing weight of the child. Such a power points to an original arboreal existence of the race, a condition which Dr. Robinson has further illustrated by an ingenious explanation of the apparently useless hair patches under the arms. The comparison of the so-called liver of invertebrates with that organ in the vertebrates has shown, as the result of various researches, that while the vertebrate liver is primarily an organ of nutrition for the embryo, altered in post-embryonic life into an organ of excretion, that of the invertebrate is essentially a gland secreting a digestive fluid containing ferments. It has also been shown by Viault and Müntz that the proportion of oxygen in the blood is practically independent of the pressure of the air, and is not appreciably less at high levels than what it is at lower elevations. With greater heights the blood contains more red corpuscles, and is correspondingly richer in hæmoglobin, this greater richness compensating almost completely for the reduced pressure of the air. In the respiration of plants, Aubert has noticed that in a moderate light the cactus exhales both oxygen and carbonic acid, the thin layer of chlorophyll cells not being capable, except in direct sunlight, of decomposing all the carbonic acid gas excreted by the colourless parenchyma. The physiological action of drugs is always a source of interest, more especially when the results of experiment show that the same drug exerts different effects on different animals. Thus, injections of morphine in cats produce a condition of excitement, and not narcotism, as in man. Schöndorff, Genth, and others have found that by drinking large quantities of water, the excretion of nitrogen from the system is increased; and Mr. Dymond has ascribed the sedative action of lettuce to minute traces of the poisonous alkaloid hyoscyamine. If this observation is correct, this is the first instance in which an alkaloid of this kind has been found in any natural order but the solanaceæ. The question of immunity from disease has been studied, as in previous years, by a large number of workers. Mr. E. H. Hankin states that from results obtained in Koch's laboratory it seems to be clearly established that the blood of an animal which is naturally proof against a disease, or has been rendered proof by inoculation, can be used with success to cure the same disease in another animal. This may be in part due to the circumstance that blood serum exerts a distinct germicidal action, a fact which from repeated observations may be accepted as established. Among new germicides an infusion of coffee has been found to possess considerable merits, as the bacilli of erysipelas, typhoid, or cholera can only live in it for a short time. The widespread outbreak of influenza has caused frequent search to be made for the isolation and identification of the microbe which produces the disease, but so far the results obtained have been unimportant. Additions to our knowledge of larger forms of life during the past year have, as some compensation, been more abundant than usual. Chief among these is the discovery of a new member of the scanty family of marsupials. This is the pouched mole, *Noctoryctes typhlops*, which was first observed by Mr. Coulthard on the banks of the Frew river in South Australia, and has been also noticed in certain other places on the overland telegraph route. It inhabits sandy soils, and is able to construct burrows with great rapidity. Several new and interesting forms of animal life have

been described by Emin Pasha from Central Africa, and Dr. Peters also reports the discovery of new mammals belonging to the cetacea from the Albert Nyanza lake. Certain strongly marked affinities have been pointed out by Professor Ray Lankester between the giraffe and ruminants of the Pliocene Age, and thereby some light is thrown on the difficult question of the origin of the widely divergent group to which that animal belongs. The persistency with which even apparently trivial markings in the animal kingdom are retained has been well illustrated by Francis Galton, who finds from a wide series of observations that the lines on the thumb remain so remarkably constant for each individual, that they can be used as a means of identification even after a lapse of years. Some interesting experiments on growing plants have been made by Professor F. Darwin. If a plant is subjected to sudden change of position at regular intervals of time, it acquires a tendency to alter its position rhythmically in adjustment to the movement it has undergone; and when this tendency is established, this rhythmical adjustment continues for some time after the originally exciting cause is removed. Professor S. H. Vines has found, in opposition to the opinion of Wortmann, that many, if not all green leaves, contain traces of a ferment capable of converting starch into sugar, this ferment being probably secreted by the protoplasm of the plant. The curious digestive power possessed by many insect-eating plants is said by some observers to be due to the action of bacteria converting the objects seized into a condition in which absorption by the plant tissues can take place. A curious variation in the period of flowering has been noticed in the hazel by Mr. F. Mehan. In this country both the male and female flowers come to maturity at the same time, but in America, where changes of temperature are greater and more rapid, the male flowers mature first if a sudden spell of heat occurs, but the female flowers appear first if mild and humid weather sets in at the usual season of inflorescence.

Mention has been previously made of Metschnikoff's theory of phagocytosis on the destruction of bacteria by their inclusion and digestion within certain cells known as leucocytes. It is to this process, according to Metschnikoff, that an animal owes its immunity from a disease or its power of recovery from an attack. These views have not, however, been readily accepted, and at the recent International Congress of Hygiene, held in London, the whole question was made the subject of debate, and much new evidence was adduced. Metschnikoff's opponents would ascribe a protective influence against disease not to the action of a leucocyte, but to the presence of some substance in blood serum. This substance Mr. E. H. Hankin says is a ferment like proteid. The fact that serum exercises an unfavourable influence on bacteria is undoubted, but while a moderate warmth (37° C.) facilitates the destruction of bacteria, a heat of 52° C. for six hours, or of 55° C. for half an hour effectually destroys all germicidal power the serum possesses. Fokker has found a similar power in milk. Fresh goat's milk, if unboiled, remains uncoagulated for two or four days, after the addition of a minute quantity of the bacterium, which produces lactic acid fermentation; but if the milk be first boiled, coagulation occurs within twenty-four hours. Freidenreich also observes that fresh milk reduces the number of the micro-organisms typical of typhoid and cholera if these are not present in too overpowering numbers, but if the milk be heated for twenty minutes to 68° or 70° C., this power is reduced or lost. The germicidal property resides in the skim milk and not in the cream. Rats are well known to possess immunity from

attacks of anthrax, but Feser and Hankin find that in wild rats this immunity is lost if the animals be kept on purely vegetable diet; and Dr. Klein has shown that if rats be kept under anaesthetics after inoculation with anthrax they die of the disease. From these observations it would appear that the protective power resides mainly, if not entirely in the blood, and that to develop or maintain the germicidal power of the serum is the surest way to combat disease. In this connection the researches of Dr. Ehrlich on the action of ricin are of great value. Ricin is a highly poisonous alkaloid, but its effect on different animals varies considerably. If doses be given to guinea pigs and to mice in proportion to their body weight, the guinea pigs are by far the most affected. But animals can be rendered capable of bearing very large doses if the proportion of ricin given be gradually increased. Dr. Ehrlich states that when a mouse has been thus rendered proof against a poisonous dose, the immunity continues for six months afterwards, even if no ricin be given in the interval. He was able also to extract from the blood of mice which had been thus artificially fortified, a substance which, on inoculation, prevents ricin poisoning in others.

GEOLOGY.

Attention has frequently been drawn to the occurrence among living species in the South and South-East of Asia of representatives of genera which, though now extinct in Europe, flourished there during the Tertiary epoch. Two more such instances have been lately discovered. Professor Capellini has found at Cagliari the skull of a species of *Tomistoma*, a crocodilian genus to which belongs the living Gharial of Borneo; and Mr. Lyddeker has described a species of *Trionyx* from the Miocene strata of Malta allied to a species now found in India. Several startling discoveries have been announced from the United States. One of the most remarkable is the reported finding of human remains in Tuolumne County, California, with bones of the extinct mastodon and rhinoceros, and Tertiary plant remains in a bed of auriferous gravel under a layer of lava. Such a discovery, if authentic, would carry back the antiquity of man in America to a far earlier period than has been previously admitted. The Lower Silurian strata, near Cañon City, Colorado, have, according to Messrs. Stanton and Wolcote, been found to contain fish remains, thus placing the first appearance of the great vertebrate kingdom in strata below the Upper Silurian, which is the oldest in which such remains have been recognised in this country. A deep well-boring is being carried on at Wheeling, West Virginia, which was begun in hope of tapping natural gas. This boring is to be carried down as deeply as possible in order to learn something of the character of the rocks at great depths below the earth's surface. A depth of 4,000 feet has been already attained, and the future expense will now be borne by the United States Government. The boring at the Channel Tunnel works has shown the existence of six distinct coal seams, with a total thickness of ten feet of coal. The magnetic survey conducted by Professor Thorpe and Rucker, which revealed the existence of a ridge of palæozoic rocks running from Wales to Selsey Bill, has been extended to France, where by the same method M. Mascart has shown that what is probably the same ridge can be traced from the sea coast near Fécamp in a south-easterly direction through Elbœuf and Rambouillet. Another French geologist, M. G. Rolland, has shown by observations on the Sahara that within comparatively recent times small lakes and watercourses must have

existed over much of the present desert area. This has been confirmed by Fischer, who has discovered numerous examples of recent freshwater mollusca. A somewhat similar phenomenon has been noticed by Mr. G. K. Gilbert, of the United States Geological Survey—the Great Salt Lake in Utah Territory being only a shrunken relic of a far larger freshwater inland sea. Mr. Howarth, M.P., has propounded an ingenious theory to account for the presence of the mammoth in Siberia. Large quantities of the remains of this animal are found, so large as to render it difficult to imagine how such herds could have obtained sufficient food in any climate even partly resembling that of Siberia at the present time. Mr. Howarth argues that the greater mildness of the Siberian climate during the mammoth period must have been due to the then continental character of the Arctic Sea, and to the absence or much lower elevation of the mountain ranges on the South and West. In support of this theory he points out that there is a striking absence of marks of glacial action on the Altai and Ural mountains, and that even in the Himalayas there is little or no evidence that the present glaciers were ever larger, as would have been the case had any great glacial epoch occurred since these hills attained their present elevation. It is interesting to note, in considering this question of glaciation, that Professor Bonney calculates that it would require only a fall of average temperature of 18 degrees to again produce a return of the Ice Age in the British Isles. The discovery of bones of the Saiga antelope, by Dr. J. R. Leeson, in the Thames river gravels at Twickenham is of interest, being the first instance of this species being found in this country. It is of frequent occurrence in the caverns of France and Belgium, but has not previously been known to have had a range so far to the North-West. The difficulty sometimes attaching to the determination of fossil remains is shown by the fact that the *Aachenosaurus multidentis*, a supposed dinosaurian reptile from Aix la Chapelle, has been shown by Dr. A. Hovelacque to be of vegetable origin. The study of earthquakes has now become an important item in the investigation of the secular movements of the earth's crust, and for this the past year has afforded abundant opportunities. One of the most disastrous earthquakes of recent times occurred on October 28 in Japan. The loss of life was estimated at 4,000, while the number of houses, bridges, and permanent works which were destroyed was enormous. The shock was attended by all the marks which usually accompany very severe earthquakes. Over large areas subsidence of the ground to the extent of several feet was noticed. Wide, deep fissures opened at many points, and volcanic eruptions increased in intensity. The shock travelled right round the world, being recorded by the instruments at Berlin and culminating in a sharp reflex shock at Athens two days after the first great shock in Japan. Other serious earthquakes occurred during the year, notably in San Salvador in September, and in Italy in June, and in both cases were preceded and accompanied by an increase of volcanic activity. A large mass of meteoric iron discovered in an extinct volcano crater in Arizona has been found to contain minute black diamonds adhering to the surface of a cavity within the mass. This is the first instance in which actual crystals of diamond have been found in a meteorite, though small quantities of carbon are frequently present.

The work done by the Geological Survey during the past year contains several items of the utmost importance in their bearing on the age of the Palæozoic rocks of the North-west of Scotland. Below the Durness limestone, which is probably of Middle or Upper Cambrian Age, has been noticed a band of Serpulite grit, which has yielded, after careful search, fragments of

Olenellus, a small trilobite, and typical of Lower Cambrian strata. Beneath this Serpulite grit lies a quartzite formation, and while the Torridon sandstone is found lying unconformably below the quartzite. Hence this Torridon sandstone, which Sir Roderick Murchison placed among the Cambrian strata, must be of pre-Cambrian Age. Traces of annelids and other organisms found in this group are thus the earliest remains of life in the British Isles of which we have any knowledge. Sedimentary strata of even earlier date than the Torridon sandstones appear to have been found by Mr. C. T. Clough, who has detected bands of graphitic schist lying evenly bedded in layers of an acid mica schist in the West of Ross-shire. An interesting observation has been made by Dr. E. O. Imhof in the course of an investigation into the fauna of the Scandinavian lakes. He finds that some of the deep water forms found in these lakes are either identical with or very similar to forms now existing in the North Sea or the Baltic, so that we have proofs that at a comparatively recent period many of these lakes must have been connected with these larger bodies of water.

Sir Robert Ball has pointed out an inaccuracy in Herschel's "Outlines of Astronomy" which has an important bearing on Croll's theory of the Ice Age. This inaccuracy has reference to the distribution of heat received on a hemisphere from the sun in one year. Sir Robert Ball points out that if 100 represents the total number of heat units received during a year, then sixty-three of these will be received during the summer and thirty-seven during the winter. As owing to the eccentricity of the earth's orbit the duration of either summer or winter varies from a maximum of 199 to a minimum of 166 days, the heat units received either in summer or winter may be crowded into the 166 or spread out over the 199. When the maximum length of summer occurs, a mild genial climate will be experienced, but when the maximum length of winter visits a hemisphere, that hemisphere will experience a long cold winter, producing a glacial condition which the short hot summer is unable to entirely overcome, and this condition, lasting as it would do for centuries, seems to be quite capable of producing all the phenomena of the Great Ice Age.

GEOGRAPHY.

Measurements of the parallel of latitude 52° N., reaching across Europe from Valencia to Orsk, in Siberia, have been in progress for many years. These measurements, although not yet quite completed, some gaps in the line being still unmeasured, yet have been carried sufficiently far to show that the length of the degrees of longitude along this parallel are not the same as would be the case if the section of the earth were a perfect circle. The earth is consequently an irregular spheroid, its surface, even after allowing for the hills, being a constantly varying curve. New determinations of the density of the earth have been made by M. Cornu, who has modified the apparatus of Cavendish so as to enable more accurate results to be obtained. The longitude of many places on the West Coast of Africa has been determined by Commander Pullen, who died at Bonny during the work in October 1890. Geographers have been supplied with a new lake in San Diego, county California, by an overflow from the Colorado river, which has covered several miles of a dry desert area previously almost destitute of water. Surveying work has been carried on during the past year with great energy in many parts of the world. Japan is being mapped on a scale of 1-20,000, and of this more than 300 sheets have been already published. The surveys, conducted

under the control of the Indian Government, have made good progress in Beloochistan, under Sir R. Sandeman, while Eastern and Northern Burmah have engaged the services of three parties under officers of the Royal Engineers. The survey of Siam is being carried out under the supervision of an Indian survey official, Mr. McCarthy, and the Shan States between Siam and Burmah are being explored by Lieutenant Ehlers. A large amount of survey work has been completed in the new British territories in Africa, while in North America the mapping of the continent is being rapidly carried forward by the three Governments interested. The Polar regions have received very little actual attention. Dr. Nanson's projected Antarctic expedition has been postponed, and the exploration of that vast unknown land is to be carried out by a joint arrangement between the Australian colonies, with the munificent help of Baron Dickson and Sir Thomas Elder, each of whom has contributed 5,000*l.* towards the total expense. In the Arctic regions Lieutenant Ryder has been heard of as late as July 26, when he was in latitude 72° 40' N. on the East Coast of Greenland, and Mr. Peary landed at McCormick Bay in the same month for the purpose of visiting the northern parts of Greenland. In Australia another party is to be sent out under Mr. D. Lindsay, who has already had so much experience in exploration work, in order to clear up the geography of the unknown tracts between the central parts of Western and South Australia. In Eastern Asia Mr. A. R. Agassiz has completed an adventurous overland journey from the French territories of Tongking to Canton, and Mr. Pratt has visited the upper reaches of the Yang-tze-kiang. The lofty regions of Central Asia are gradually becoming opened up by the persistent efforts of travellers, and several noteworthy expeditions have been successfully carried out. Among them is a remarkable journey by M. J. Martin. Starting from Su-chow, a town near the Great Wall, on the North-west corner of China, M. Martin passed north-westward by L. Alak across the Great Desert of Gobi to Karashir, in Eastern Turkestan. He then followed the river Tarim southwards to its mouth, and then made his way from Lob Nor, in a south-westerly direction, to Khotan, on the borderland between India and Turkestan. The Russian explorers have also not relaxed their efforts. The passes of Kafiristan are being explored by Captain Bachevski, who is taking up the work relinquished by Colonel Grombchevsky. In this district Russian and British officers have crossed and recrossed each others' tracks in a way which clearly foreshadows the time when the frontiers of these two Powers will meet. An expedition, under Colonel Yanof, actually arrested Captain Davison and took him to Ferghana, on the plea that he was in Russian territory; but this did not prevent Colonel Yanof on his part from trespassing with a military force of Cossacks into land distinctly within the British sphere of influence. Colonel Younghusband has given an account of his travels in the Little Pamir. He describes it as a desolate, cold, and barren region, quite incapable of supporting an armed force, and thus serves an additional confirmation, if such were needed, of Mr. Littledale's wanderings in the same inclement region. But the development of Russian influence in Central Asia has not sufficed to engross the whole of Russia's available energy. Two attempts have been made to gain a footing in Africa. One of these speedily collapsed, but a second, under the command of a Cossack named Mashkof, has started from Obok after a previous journey to the court of King Menelek in Abyssinia. Portugal appears to have fallen behind in the race; but German expeditions have been vigorously at work on both the East and West Coasts. German East Africa is being opened up by a nume-

rons band of explorers, among whom are Rindermann, who is in charge of the meteorological and climatic observations; Hochstetter, who is surveying the Victoria Nyanza; Dr. Lieber, the geologist, and Vogler, a practical agriculturist. In spite of some mishaps, and one or two serious rebuffs in encounters with the natives, much sound exploratory work has been accomplished. On the West Coast Lieutenant Morgen left Kribi in the early summer of 1890, and made his way northwards to the river Benue. French explorers have been active in the region between Lake Tchad and the Congo, but have met with several serious mishaps, Crampel having been assassinated at El Kuti, and Captain Delporte having died on the Congo of fever. In the extreme East of Africa a large amount of entirely fresh country has been visited. The whole Somal territory from Magadoxo in the South to Berbera on the Gulf of Aden has been crossed by Briechetti, and two other explorers, Captain di Vesme and G. Candeo, have reached the upper waters of the Webi Shabeli, having started from Berbera and worked southwards. The opening up of Mashonaland has been the task to which British energy has been chiefly devoted, but with Mr. H. H. Johnston and Mr. Joseph Thomson at work, Northern Zambesia has not been neglected. In Ibea Mrs. French Sheldon made a journey to the foot of Kilimanjaro, and Captain J. R. L. Macdonald has been engaged in surveying the various routes leading from the Victoria Nyanza to the coast. So rapid has been the progress made in opening up South and East Africa, that a railway may soon be in steady operation through lands which only a few years ago were almost utterly unknown.

OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1891.¹

JANUARY.

George Bancroft was born at Worcester, Massachusetts, on Oct. 3, 1800, the son of Rev. Aaron Bancroft, an Unitarian minister. He was educated first at Exeter, New Hampshire, and subsequently at Harvard College, and before he had completed his 17th year he had received his degree of Bachelor of Arts. He next proceeded to the German Universities, and, after two years' study at Göttingen, in 1820 he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Visiting Berlin, Mr. Bancroft enjoyed constant intercourse with Wilhelm von Humboldt, Lappenberg, Savigny, and others. From Berlin he proceeded on a tour through other parts of Europe. At Heidelberg he attended the lectures of the historian Schlosser, and at Jena he became acquainted with Goethe. In Paris he met with Alexander von Humboldt, Cousin, and Benjamin Constant, and at Milan Bancroft enjoyed the friendship of Manzoni, and at Rome that of Bunsen and of Niebuhr. Returning to the United States, he acted for a year as Greek tutor at Harvard, and, as he was destined for the ministry, he also preached occasional sermons; but, his bent being decidedly towards literature, he abandoned the pulpit for the pen in 1823. He issued a volume of poems at Boston, and contributed a great number of articles to the American reviews. In conjunction with Dr. J. G. Cogswell, he founded the Round Hill School at Northampton, Massachusetts—a distinguished nursery of learning, where Motley, the historian, amongst others, was educated. About this time Mr. Bancroft translated Heeren's "Politics of Ancient Greece;" also the same author's histories of "The States of

Antiquity" and of "The Political System of Europe and its Colonies from the Discovery of America to the Successful Termination of the Struggle for Freedom of the British Colonies."

In 1834 appeared the first fruits of Mr. Bancroft's close and laborious study in the initial volume of his "History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent," his greatest and most original work, with which his name will be enduringly associated. Mr. Bancroft was also an active politician, and became a frequent speaker on Democratic platforms. In 1838 he was appointed by President Van Buren collector of the port of Boston, and with the characteristic energy of his nature he effected a revolution in the transaction of the business of his office. During his tenure of this post Mr. Bancroft appointed to an office at Salem the well-known novelist, Nathaniel Hawthorne. In 1837 appeared the second and in 1840 the third volume of Mr. Bancroft's "History," and in 1844 he was nominated by the Democratic party for the Governorship of Massachusetts. Although not elected, he polled more votes than any other candidate ever did on the purely Democratic ticket. The following year he entered the Cabinet of President Polk as Secretary of the Navy. He again showed capacity and vigour in administration and in the introduction of reforms. He founded the Naval School at Annapolis, and greatly extended the Astronomical Observatory at Washington. In 1846 Mr. Bancroft accepted the appointment of Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain, and for three years he resided in this country. During his sojourn he was

¹ These notices are in several cases adapted from the *Times*.

thrown into the society of our most distinguished men, including Peel, Brougham, and others in politics, and Macaulay, Hallam, Grote, Dickens, and others in literature. The Government of the day, of which Lord Aberdeen was the head, greatly aided him in his historical researches by placing at his disposal the records of the State Paper Office, containing a great accumulation of military, civil, legal, and general correspondence. Lord John Russell likewise opened the records of the Treasury Department to him, and he was made free of the archives of the British Museum and of many noble families. The same good fortune attended him in Paris, where he received much practical aid from Guizot, Lamartine, Mignet, and De Tocqueville. Mr. Bancroft signalled his mission at St. James's by many important acts, not the least of which was his successful intervention with the British Ministry for the adoption of more liberal laws of navigation. Before he left England, the University of Oxford conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.C.L.

On his return to the United States, Mr. Bancroft settled down to his historical labours. The fourth and fifth volumes of his great work appeared in 1852; the sixth in 1854; the seventh in 1858, and the eighth, which brought the narrative down to the Declaration of Independence, in 1860. From time to time he delivered addresses upon such subjects as Channing, Prescott, Washington Irving, Andrew Jackson, "The Culture, the Support, and the Object of Art in a Republic," and "The Necessity, the Reality, and the Promise of the Progress of the Human Race." On the assassination of President Lincoln, Mr. Bancroft was specially desired to pronounce a eulogy upon him by the Municipal Government of New York; and shortly afterwards he pronounced a second oration upon the life and services of Lincoln in the House of Representatives at Washington. In 1866 appeared the ninth volume of the "History," embracing the period from the formal establishment of the Confederation in July, 1776, to the alliance of France with America in 1778. Mr. Bancroft was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Berlin in 1867. While at this Court he negotiated a treaty with the North German Confederation, which mutually recognised the right of expatriation and naturalisation. Other treaties with the then separate States of Baden, Bavaria, Württemberg, and Hesse-Darmstadt followed. The degree of

Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by the University of Bonn, at its semi-centennial jubilee in 1868, his name coming next to that of the King, and being followed by those of Grimm, Darwin, Stuart Mill, &c. In 1868 Mr. Bancroft was accredited to the North German Confederation, and in 1871 to the German Empire. On the 50th anniversary of his Göttingen doctorate the German Emperor presented him with his portrait in oil, full size, and bearing the inscription, "The Emperor William I. to his friend George Bancroft, in remembrance of the years 1867-74." The American representative rendered an important service to his country by securing the arbitration and favourable award of the German Emperor in the establishment of the boundary line between Vancouver's Island and Washington territory through the Haro Channel. For this service he received the marked commendation of President Grant in his Message of 1872. The award of Germany secured to the United States the islands of San Juan and the adjacent waters.

Mr. Bancroft resigned the charge at Berlin in 1874; and took up his abode at Washington, concluding in the year of his return the tenth volume of his history, which brought the narrative down to the Treaty of Peace in 1782. The next work he took in hand was, in a measure, supplementary. This was a continuation of the greater narrative, in the shape of a "History of the Formation of the Constitution," which appeared in two volumes early in 1882, being thus written when its author was an octogenarian. With the indefatigable love of labour which distinguished him, the venerable historian had scarcely taken his hand from the concluding page of these last volumes before he turned with impatience to begin the task of a thorough revision of the entire work. This undertaking he pursued with unflagging energy and vigour for one of his advanced years.

In person Mr. Bancroft was strong and muscular. At the age of eighty-three he spent the latter part of each afternoon in the saddle, riding from twenty to thirty-five miles, and managing his steed, mounting and alighting, with the agility of a young man. He took great interest in floriculture, and devoted his hours of relaxation for many years to the enthusiastic culture of the rose. It was stated that his collections, both at Washington and at his summer residence at Newport, Rhode Island, surpassed in number and variety,

and also in perfection, any other private collections in the country.

He died on Jan. 17 at his house in Washington.

James Augustus Sinclair, sixteenth Earl of Caithness, in the peerage of Scotland, died suddenly on Jan. 20 at his residence, 2 Queen's Gardens, Lancaster Gate. He had taken a chill during the severe weather, but no fatal result was expected. He was in his 64th year. He succeeded to the family honours in 1889, on the death of his remote kinsman, George, fifteenth Earl, who died unmarried in his 32nd year, and was buried, according to ancient hereditary custom, in Holyrood Abbey. The sixteenth Earl was the head of a minor branch of the house of Caithness known as the Sinclairs of Durran, and was the son of Colonel John Sutherland Sinclair, R.A. He spent the greater part of his life in Aberdeen, and took a leading part in social and philanthropic work in that city. On leaving Aberdeen in 1890 to take up his residence in London, he was presented with a farewell address by the provost and citizens in recognition of his benevolent life amongst them. He represented in the direct line the family of the Sinclairs, Lords of Roslin and Dukes of Oldenburgh, who settled in Scotland, with other Normans, in the reign of King David I., after remaining about a century in England subsequently to the Norman conquest. The existing earldom of Caithness was created in 1455, but the earldom had been inherited by the Lords of Roslin some generations before, together with the earldom of Orkney and of Strathern, by marriage with the heiress of those independent dignities. On the Isles of Orkney becoming annexed to the Scottish Crown by the marriage of King James III. with Margaret of Denmark, his cousin William Sinclair, third Earl of Orkney, who was, in right of that Principality, independent of the Scottish Kings, was obliged to resign the earldoms of Orkney and Strathern, which thenceforth became Royal dignities. The earldom of Orkney was alienated from the British Crown by William of Orange, who gave it to one of his favourites. The sixteenth Earl of Caithness possessed no land in his own county, as his predecessor left his estates by will to an English friend, Mr. Heathcoat, who assumed the name of Sinclair, but had no connection with the family. Lord Caithness married, 1855, Jessie, daughter of Roderick Macleod.

Hon. William Windom, Secretary of the United States Treasury, was born in Belmont County, Ohio, on May 18, 1827, and, after receiving an academic education, studied law at Mount Vernon, Ohio, and was admitted to the bar in 1850. In 1852 he became prosecuting attorney for Knox County, but in 1855 removed to Minnesota, and was elected to Congress by that State in 1859, and sat until 1869. For two terms he was Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, and was also at the head of a Special Committee to visit the Western tribes in 1865 and again in 1867. In 1870 he was appointed to the Senate to fill the unexpired term of Mr. D. S. Norton, and he was subsequently chosen by the State, and sat until 1881, when he entered President Garfield's Cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury, retiring in the same year on the accession of President Arthurs. The Minnesota Legislature thereupon sent him back to the Senate to serve the remainder of his unexpired term. In the Senate Mr. Windom acted as Chairman of the Committees on Appropriations, Foreign Affairs, and Transportation. On the election of General Harrison as President, Mr. Windom was again summoned to take a seat in the Cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury, and during the debates on the Silver Bill he showed himself to be in complete accord with the President. His tragic death caused a great sensation throughout the United States. He was at a banquet given on Jan. 29 at Delmonico's by the New York Board of Trade and Transportation, at which a distinguished company had assembled. Mr. Windom had made a long speech. A few minutes after resuming his seat, he was seen to have collapsed on his chair, and he was at once removed to an adjoining room. Efforts were made to restore animation by means of repeated electrical shocks but without avail, and he breathed his last a few minutes later.

Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., was born Sept. 26, 1833, at Hoxton. His father was a lawyer's clerk, and at the age of twelve his son Charles was, for a time, employed as errand-boy in the same office as his father. He subsequently acted as a wharf clerk, and in the course of his many employments he was successively a coal merchant and a traveller for a manufacturer of buckskin braces. He gave signs of great intelligence, and at a very early age he was an active Sunday-school teacher under the Rev. Mr. Packer, of St. Peter's, Hackney

Road. He fell under the influence of the friends and disciples of Richard Carlile, the once famous editor of the *Republican and Prompter*, and the hero of half a dozen prosecutions for blasphemy and sedition; and by nineteen Bradlaugh had become known on Hackney Downs and in Victoria Park as a fluent advocate of freethought. He did not prosper in business, and he gladly availed himself for some months of the hospitality of Mrs. Carlile, the widow of Richard Carlile. He took part in the movement in favour of Kossuth and the Hungarians, and about the same time attracted the attention of Mr. J. G. Holyoake, a freethought lecturer of prominence. Bradlaugh's success, however, as a lecturer was not a pecuniary one, and he was forced to look elsewhere for a livelihood. The attractions of the bounty induced him to enlist in the service of the East India Company; but before joining he was, without being consulted, drafted to the 50th Foot. To this course he refused to submit, and ultimately was allowed the choice of the home regiments, and chose the 7th Dragoon Guards. He earned a good character among officers and men, and was a strong advocate of teetotalism and improved educational facilities. In 1849 he was stationed in Ireland, in the county of Cork, and thus had opportunities of seeing the effects of the great famine on the population. His superior attainments led him to be appointed orderly clerk at a very early date, but he disliked soldiering, and he managed to purchase, in 1853, his discharge, taking with him a good character from his colonel. He returned to London, and again got, apparently with some difficulty, employment at Mr. Rogers', a solicitor in Fenchurch Street; first, as an errand-boy, at ten shillings a week, but afterwards as copying clerk. The first of the Common Law Procedure Acts was then coming into operation; in the applications made at Chambers there was an opportunity for adroitness and astuteness; and Bradlaugh, quick to profit by the chance, was entrusted by Mr. Rogers with the management of the Common Law department. In a few years he ceased to be a lawyer's clerk, and as "Iconoclast," the representative of pugnacious, aggressive atheism, he began that career of pamphleteering and lecturing which made his name known throughout the country. From town to town he travelled preaching freethought, and was the chief figure in platform encounters, in which well-meaning, ill-advised advocates of ortho-

doxy were persuaded to take part. His first appearance before the general public was on July 1, 1855, when a large meeting was held in Hyde Park to protest against a Bill introduced by Lord Robert Grosvenor for restricting the open hours of public-houses, &c., on Sunday. The police were ordered to clear the park by force, and a struggle ensued in which many persons were hurt, and for his conduct on this occasion Mr. Bradlaugh was publicly thanked by the Chairman of the Royal Commission, Mr. Stuart-Wortley, the Recorder of London. In 1859 he started his own paper, the *National Reformer*, which attracted less attention from the public than from the Government authorities, who foolishly engaged in a struggle (1868-9) with the editor, attempting to revive for their purpose an obsolete Act calling upon every newspaper proprietor to give heavy securities against seditious writing. The Inland Revenue authorities were completely beaten and withdrew at last from further conflict. In the same year he began his campaign for the purpose of the removal of the disabilities to which freethinkers were subjected in Courts of Law, and the result was the passing of the Evidence Amendment Acts 1869-70.

In 1868 he first contested the borough of Northampton, and he was equally unsuccessful then and on two occasions in 1874; but in 1880 he was returned by a considerable majority; and although his seat was often challenged, he held it against all comers up to his death. On each occasion on being elected he devoted his energies from the first to trying to remove the barrier opposed to his taking his seat by the form of the oath of allegiance. He claimed to be entitled to affirm under the Parliamentary Oaths Act, 1866, and the Evidence Acts, 1869 and 1870. A Select Committee, by a majority of one, reported against his claim. Then, to the amazement of his friends, he claimed on May 21 the right to take the oath. A Select Committee decided against his competence, and the House proceeded to pass a resolution denying his right either to take the oath or to affirm. Refusing to recognise the authority of the House, he was removed by the Sergeant-at-Arms. An action for enormous penalties, for having sat and voted without having first taken the oath, was commenced against him. At last, having exhausted all legal precedents, on Feb. 21, 1882, he suddenly advanced to the table of the House, drew a Testament from his pocket, and administered the

oath to himself. Successively excluded by the House and invariably re-elected by his constituents, he was allowed in 1886 to take the oath, and two Sessions afterwards the principles for which he had contended triumphed by the passing of the Oaths Act. In that interval Mr. Bradlaugh was rarely out of litigation, which he conducted with rare skill. In "The Queen v. Bradlaugh," "Clarke v. Bradlaugh," "Bradlaugh v. Erskine," and "Bradlaugh v. Gosset" he showed remarkable acuteness. The decision of the House of Lords in "Clarke v. Bradlaugh" was that the writs against him were so much waste paper. A scarcely less important victory was that which he achieved in the action which he brought with success against Mr. Newdegate for maintenance.

Since he was permitted to take his seat, Mr. Bradlaugh, especially since his visit to India, sought to become the champion of Hindoo claims for representation; and if his advocacy of this cause showed no great knowledge, it was conducted with no needless acrimony. To one of his last speeches of importance in the House of Commons, on the report of the Select Committee

on Perpetual Pensions, no exception could be reasonably taken. With Socialism he had no sympathy, and he declined to purchase support by flattering it. He showed by his conduct in regard to the Employers' Liability Bill, and, more recently, in regard to the Eight Hours Movement, that he dared risk his popularity. His Parliamentary achievements, in a time unfavourable to the efforts of private members, were considerable, and they were due to the qualities wherein his strength lay—a dogged perseverance and an eminently practical bent of mind—together with the respect which he succeeded in extorting from all parties in the House, and which grew rapidly in the last few years. This feeling culminated in the unopposed motion carried on Jan. 27, whereby the House decided to expunge the resolution of June 22, 1880, which refused him permission to take the oath or to affirm. It was a pathetic circumstance that when the news of this arrived Mr. Bradlaugh had already passed into unconsciousness, and he died, quite peacefully, at his residence in St. John's Wood, on Jan. 27, after a protracted illness.

On the 1st, at Gray's Inn, aged 65, **Right Honourable Richard Arthur St. Leger**, fifth Viscount Doneraile, son of Rev. Richard A. T. St. Leger, for many years clerk in the Paymaster-General's office; succeeded, in 1807, his cousin, whose death was caused by the bite of a pet fox. On the 1st, at Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, aged 72, **Professor John Marshall, F.R.S.**, President of the General Medical Council, Professor of Anatomy at the Royal Academy; born at Ely, studied at University College Hospital, where he became professor of surgery, and had been President of the Royal College of Surgeons, &c. On the 2nd, at Bournemouth, **Marianne Dora Lady Malet**, only daughter of John Spalding, of the Holme, N.B., and step-daughter of the first Lord Brougham. Married, 1834, Sir Alexander Malet, K.C.B., many years Minister at Frankfort and elsewhere. On the 4th, at Hammersmith, aged 67, **Charles Samuel Keene**, a distinguished draughtsman and engraver, the son of a solicitor. Born at Hornsey, educated at Ipswich Grammar School, and originally intended for his father's profession. Apprenticed to Messrs. Whymper, the wood engravers, for whom he designed a series of illustrations for "Robinson Crusoe." Was connected with the *Illustrated London News*, *Once a Week*, and with *Punch* from 1850, until his death. He illustrated, among other works, George Meredith's "Evan Harrington" and Charles Reade's "The Cloister and the Hearth," both of which originally appeared in *Once a Week*. On the 4th, at Richmond, aged 79, **Admiral Robert Fanshawe Stopford**, eldest son of Admiral Sir Robert Stopford, G.C.B.; was present at the bombardment of St. Jean de Acre. Married, first, in 1843, Emily Anne, daughter of Captain W. Wilbraham, R.N.; and second, in 1865, Lucy Hester, daughter of Admiral Sir Phipps Hornby, G.C.B. On the 4th, at Paris, aged 80, **John Maclean Mackenzie Gieves**, of Hutton Hall, Berwickshire, N.B. Entered the Guards, and was one of the officers of the day on the coronation of William IV. In 1840 he went to Paris on a visit, but from that time made it his home. Took an active part in racing matters, and was one of the Committee of the Jockey Club. On the 4th, at Exmouth, aged 75, **Lieutenant-General Richard Buckley-Prettejohn**, C.B. Entered the Army in 1838, served through the South Maharratta and Punjab campaigns, and in the Indian Mutiny was twice wounded. Married a daughter of Charles Smith; appointed, in 1890, Colonel of 13th Hussars. On the 5th, at Crookham, Hants, aged 67, **General Charles Lennox Brownlow Maitland**, C.B., son of General Sir Peregrine Maitland. Entered Grenadier Guards 1841; served as Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General to 4th Division in Crimean War,

and was dangerously wounded at Inkermann; Lieutenant-Governor Chelsea Hospital, 1868-74; Lieutenant of Tower of London, 1876-84. On the 6th, at Camden Square, aged 82, **John Lash Latcy**. Born at Tiverton, was attached to the staff of the *Illustrated London News* on its foundation in 1842, and in 1858 became editor, a post which he held until a week previous to his death. On the 6th, in Paris, aged 47, **Prince Nicholas Romanowski**, Duke of Leuchtenberg, son of Duke Maximilian (son of Prince Eugène de Beauharnais) and Grand Duchess Marie, daughter of the Emperor Nicholas I.; marriedmorganatically Mdlle. Nadine Annenkoff. On the 7th, at Erzeroum, aged 45, **Charles Dalton Clifford Lloyd**. Educated at Sandhurst, and appointed Assistant-Commissioner in Burma, but soon after returned to England and was called to the bar and appointed by Earl Spencer a Resident Magistrate in Ireland. He attracted the hostility of the Land League by his activity, especially in Clare, and a post was found for him in 1883 as Minister of the Interior to the Khedive of Egypt, where he remained for two years, when he was appointed Colonial Secretary of the Mauritius. In consequence of a quarrel with the Governor, Sir J. Pope Hennessy, Mr. Clifford Lloyd was sent on a temporary mission to the Seychelles, whence he was appointed, in 1889, as Consul at Erzeroum. On the 7th, in Paris, aged 47, **Céline Montaland**, of the Comédie Française. Born in Ghent; first appeared on the stage of the Théâtre Français at the age of five in a child's part as "Gabrielle" and as Charlotte Corday; made her regular début in 1850, and was received at the Théâtre Français in 1860. On the 8th, at Prince's Gate, South Kensington, aged 84, **John St. Vincent Saumarez**, third Baron de Saumarez. Born at Guernsey; educated at Harrow and Sandhurst; and entered the army, retiring as Colonel in 1855. Married, first, in 1838, **Caroline**, eldest daughter of William Rhodes, of Bramhope Hall, Yorkshire; and second, **Margaret Antoinette**, daughter of W. R. Northey, of Oving, Bucks; succeeded to the title on the death of his brother in 1863. On the 10th, at Paris, aged 64, **Foucher de Carell**, the head of a wealthy Breton family. In early life he had published several treatises on German philosophy. He was elected a Senator in 1876, and was Ambassador at Vienna 1883-86. On the 10th, in Berkeley Square, aged 77, **Archibald Henry Algernon St. Maur**, thirteenth Duke of Somerset. Married, 1845, **Horatia**, daughter of John Phillip Morier, some time Minister at Dresden; succeeded his brother, 1885. On the 10th, at Cefn Mably, aged 68, **Colonel Charles Kemeys Kemey-Tynte, F.S.A.**, of Cefn Mably, Glamorganshire, and Halswell, Somerset. Educated at Eton; served in 11th Hussars, and Captain Grenadier Guards; and Honorary Colonel 3rd Battalion Prince Albert's Somersetshire Light Infantry. Married, first, in 1848, **Mary**, eldest daughter of Rev. George Frome, of Punccknole; and second, 1873, **Hannah**, widow of Thomas Lewis; and third, 1879, **Elizabeth**, eldest daughter of Richard Fothergill, of Tenby and Lowbridge House, Westmoreland. On the 12th, in Dublin, aged 54, **John O'Connor**. Elected Alderman of Dublin in 1883, and Lord Mayor in 1886; sat as a Home Ruler for South Kerry, 1886-7. On the 14th, at Eaton Square, aged 71, **Francis Charles Hastings Russell**, ninth Duke and Earl of Bedford (eldest son of Major-General Lord George William Russell, son of the sixth Duke); entered the Scots Fusilier Guards in 1838, and retired in 1844; sat as a Liberal for Bedfordshire, 1847-72, when on the death of his cousin he succeeded to the title. Married, 1844, **Lady Elizabeth Sackville West**, eldest daughter of fifth Earl de la Warr. Major in Bedford Militia in 1849, and Colonel of 1st Battalion Bedfordshire Rifle Volunteers, 1860; K.G., 1880; Lord-Lieutenant of Hants, 1884. Worn out by pain he shot himself to end his sufferings, and, in accordance with his wishes, he was cremated at Woking in a private crematory erected by himself for his family. On the 14th, at Arco, South Tyrol, aged 16, the **Archduchess Maria Antonia**, daughter of Archduke Charles Salvator, of Austria. On the 14th, at Madrid, aged 63, **Alonso Martinez**. Born at Burgos; educated for the bar, but took to politics, and in 1855 was appointed Minister of Public Works in Espartero's Cabinet; Civil Governor of Madrid, 1856-63, from which time he held a seat in nearly all the Centralist or Moderate Liberal Cabinets down to 1888, when he was appointed President of the Congress. On the 15th, at Fredley, Dorking, aged 80, **Maria Drummond**. She was the adopted daughter or ward of Richard Sharp, M.P., known as "Conversation Sharp." Married, 1835, Lieutenant Thomas Drummond, R.E., who was afterwards, 1835-40, Under-Secretary for Ireland. On the 15th, at Boodle's Club, aged 54, **Right Honourable Edward Baldwin**, twelfth Earl of Devon. Educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford; Captain 1st Devon Yeomanry; sat as a Conservative for Exeter, 1864-8, and for East Devonshire, 1868-70; succeeded his father, 1888. He was struck down by an apoplectic fit whilst crossing Trafalgar Square, and conveyed to Boodle's Club.

where he lingered for four days. About 1860, he, with Lords Andover and Howard, were known as "The Romeo Lords." Lord Courtenay's career, which might have been a brilliant one, was cut short by the difficulties in which he became involved, and for many years he was forced to live abroad. On the 16th, in London, aged 54, **Colonel Arthur H. Wavell**, 41st Regiment, eldest son of Major-General Wavell. Served in the Crimea, and took part in the assault on the Redan, subsequently in India, West Indies and South Africa during the Zulu War and Boer troubles; on his return was appointed Assistant Adjutant-General of the Dublin District. Married, 1860, Beatrice, daughter of Rev. John Byng, of Boxford, Suffolk. On the 16th, at Wandsworth, aged 77, **Lieutenant-General William Twisleton Layard**; entered the Navy, and was present at the capture of Rangoon and other places during the Burmese War, 1824-5; joined the Army, 1833; held a command during the Ceylon rebellion. On the 16th, at Glan-y-wern, Denbigh, aged 78, **Philip Stapleton Humberston**, D.L. and J.P.; sat as a Conservative for Chester, 1859-65; married, 1840, Elizabeth, daughter of Hugh Robert Hughes, of Kimmel Park, co. Denbigh; Honorary Colonel 2nd Battalion Cheshire Volunteers. On the 17th, at Wimbledon, aged 76, **Surgeon-General T. Graham Balfour**. Born at Edinburgh; entered the Army, 1836, and served with the Grenadier Guards; was the first to issue statistical reports of the Army in 1838; Secretary to the Commission of the Army Medical Department, and head of the Statistical Branch, 1860-73; Honorary Physician to the Queen, 1887; President of the Statistical Society, 1888-90. On the 18th, at Vienna, **Saadoullah Pasha**, the Turkish Ambassador, who in early life had been Secretary to the ill-fated Murad Pasha, and although appointed to high posts, never could obtain permission to return to Constantinople to visit his family. He committed suicide by inhaling gas through a tube he had fixed to a gas-bracket in his room. On the 18th, at Brighton, aged 87, **Sir Matthew Wilson**, first Baronet, son of Matthew Wilson, of Eshton Hall, Skipton. Educated at Harrow and Brasenose College, Oxford; B.A., 1824; an earnest philanthropist and Free Trader; sat for Clitheroe, 1847-52, when he was unseated for bribery by his agents; for the Northern Division of the West Riding, 1874-82; and for the Skipton Division in 1865; but in the year following was defeated by a Liberal Unionist. Married, first, in 1826, Sophia Louisa Emerson, only daughter of Sir Wharton Emerson Amcotes of Kettlethorpe, Lincolnshire; and second, in 1878, Frances Durant, widow of Colonel Pedler; created a baronet in 1874. On the 20th, at San Francisco, U.S.A., aged 54, **David Kalakaua I.**, King of Hawaii, eldest son of Kapaakea and Kekaulonohi, niece of King Kamehameha I., and was elected to the throne by the Hawaiian Parliament in 1874 in succession to King Limalilo I. On the 21st, at Upper Beeding, Sussex, aged 83, **Rev. John Rouse Bloxam, D.D.**, son of Dr. Richard R. Bloxam, Under-Master of Rugby, and Anna, sister of Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A. Educated at Rugby, Worcester and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford, and elected Fellow of Magdalen, 1855; Under-Master of Bromsgrove School, 1833-6; curate of Littlemore, to Rev. J. H. Newman, and continued to reside at Oxford until 1862, serving the various College offices; author of the "Magdalen College Register," of which seven volumes were published at his death, and many other biographical and antiquarian works; Vicar of Upper Beeding since 1862. On the 23rd, at Brussels, aged 22, **Prince Baudoin**, eldest son of H.R.H. Comte de Flandre, and heir-presumptive to the Belgian throne. He died very suddenly, from the effects of a chill followed by pneumonia. On the 23rd, at Gran, aged 76, **Cardinal John Simon**, Archbishop of Gran and Primate of Hungary. The son of a mechanic at Stuhlweissenburg, he made his way by force of talent and character to an ecclesiastical professorship; was appointed Court Chaplain, 1850; Bishop of Raab, 1857; and Archbishop of Gran in 1865; crowned the Emperor and Empress King and Queen of Hungary in 1870; and received the Cardinal's Hat, 1873. On the 24th, at Nice, aged 87, **Harriet Lady Hay**, daughter of Sir Alexander Kinloch, Bart., of Gilmerton. Married, 1833, Rev. Lord Thomas Hay, fifth son of seventh Marquess of Tweeddale, and Rector of Rendlesham. On the 26th, at Blantyre, Dundrum, aged 88, **Sir Edward Grogan**, first Baronet, eldest son of John Grogan, barrister, of Dublin; educated at Winchester and Trinity College, Dublin (B.A., 1835); called to the Irish bar, 1840; represented city of Dublin as a Conservative, 1841-65. Married, 1867, Katherine C., eldest daughter of Sir Beresford B. MacMahon; created a Baronet, 1859. He died from the effects of falling twenty feet from his bedroom window to the pavement. On the 26th, at Torquay, aged 66, **David James Jenkins**. Born at Exeter; began life as an apprentice on board a merchant ship; during the Crimean War commanded one of the Government transports in the Baltic, after which he commenced business as a shipowner of

the "Shire" line, trading between London and Japan; sat as a Liberal for Penryn and Falmouth, 1874-86. Married, first, 1851, Bessie, daughter of Rev. John Howe, of Cork; and second, 1877, Alice, daughter of Goodwin Nash. On the 27th, at South Eaton Place, London, aged 61, General the Hon. Sir Leicester Curson Smyth, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Gibraltar, youngest son of first Earl Howe; educated at Eton; entered the Army 1845; married, 1866, Alicia M., elder daughter of Robert Smyth, of Drumcree, co. Westmeath; served in the Kaffir War, 1852-3; Private Secretary to Lord Raglan and General Simpson during Crimean War, and brought home the despatches announcing the fall of Sebastopol; Commander-in-Chief and Acting Governor of Cape Colony, 1890-5; and High Commissioner of South Africa, 1883-4; appointed Governor of Gibraltar, 1890. On the 29th, at Dublin, aged 84, Thomas Paul Lefroy, Q.C., in succession Chairman of the County Courts of Armagh and Down; married, 1835, Hon. Elizabeth, daughter of third Lord Massy. On the 29th, at Leeds, aged 83, John Wilson, younger son of John Wilson, of Seacroft Hall, Yorkshire; educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Cambridge; Captain 2nd West York Militia; married, 1846, Anna Maria, daughter of Roderick Macleod, of Cadboll, Ross-shire. On the 30th, at Sandy Place, Bedfordshire, aged 89, John Nathaniel Foster, J.P., D.L., son of John Foster, of Biggleswade; married, 1833, Frances Mary, daughter of S. Patterson Wedd. On the 30th, at Eaton Place, aged 60, Lady Caroline Félicie Lindsay, third daughter of Sir Henry Bethune, and sister of Earl of Lindsay; heir-male to Lord Lindsay, 1864. On the 31st, at Hampstead, aged 77, Alexander Johnston, an historical painter of some repute. Born at Edinburgh; the son of an architect; illustrated Allan Ramsay's "Gentle Shepherd;" first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1836, and chiefly historical pictures, one of which, "Lord and Lady Russell receiving the Sacrament in Prison," was bought by Mr. Vernon, and formed part of his bequest to the nation.

FEBRUARY.

Baron Haussmann.—George Eugène Haussmann—by descent an Alsatian of Colmar—was the son of a Commissariat officer created Baron by Napoleon I. Born in 1800 at Versailles, he first studied at the Conservatoire with the idea of becoming a singer, and afterwards for the bar, but soon entered official life as Sous-préfet at Néise, St. Girons and Blaye 1833-48, and in 1850-3 was successively Préfet of the Var, the Yonne, and the Gironde. In 1853 he was made Préfet of the Seine, and during his tenure of office, which extended over the period of the Second Empire until M. Ollivier's shortlived Ministry, he was engaged in transforming old Paris and covering the sites with churches, hospitals, barracks, and boulevards, and in 1857 he was created a Senator. He was finally dismissed in May, 1870, with a pension of 6,000 fr. In 1877 he returned to political life, being returned as a Bonapartist Deputy for Corsica against Prince Napoleon; but in 1881 he was defeated and retired from politics. He survived his wife, the daughter of a Swiss merchant, by a fortnight. Like his Alsatian ancestors, he was a Protestant, and remained attached to that religion through life. He had attended the funeral of the Duc de Leuchtenberg in perfect health, but soon after his return he was seized by

an apoplectic fit on Feb. 11, and died in a few hours at his house in Paris.

General Sherman.—William Temmeseh Sherman was the son of a lawyer of Essex descent, who for five years before his death, in 1829, was Judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio. His sixth son, William, was born Feb. 18, 1820, at Lancaster, Ohio, and at the age of sixteen graduated at West Point, which he left in 1840, and was appointed to an Artillery Regiment and sent with it to Florida to maintain order. In 1841 he was for a time in command at Fort Moultrie, in Charleston Harbour, and in 1846 he was sent round Cape Horn to California, where he acted as Adjutant-General to several commanders employed in the Mexican War, and was promoted to the rank of Captain in 1848. In 1850 he married Ellen Boyle, daughter of the Hon. Thos. Ewing, Secretary of the Interior, and in the same year was sent attached to the Commissary Department to St. Louis, and afterwards to New Orleans. In 1853, finding no prospect of advancement, he abandoned military life, and was successively manager of a bank in San Francisco, which he saved from bankruptcy during the gold fever, and was ultimately transferred, in 1857, to represent the same firm in New York. Shortly afterwards the firm failed, and

Sherman went to Leavenworth, Kansas, and for two years practised as a lawyer. In 1860 he was appointed superintendent of the Louisiana Military Academy, which he held until the breaking out of the War. He did not at first take any part in the struggle, and for two months was President of the Fifth Street Railway, St. Louis, and in April, 1861, was offered the Chief Clerkship of the War Department, with promise of being made Assistant-Secretary of War when Congress met. This he declined, and for a time fell under the suspicion of being lukewarm in the Northern cause, but in May, 1861, he was offered and accepted the colonelcy of the 13th Regular Infantry, and was placed in command of a brigade in General Tyler's division, took part in the Battle of Bull's Run, of which he in some degree retrieved the disgrace by the conduct of his special body of troops. Three months later he was detached from the Army of the Potomac and appointed second in command to General Robert Anderson in Kentucky, whom he succeeded in October, and at once surprised and irritated his superiors by stating at a Council of War that 60,000 men would be required to drive the Confederates out of Kentucky, and 200,000 to put an end to the struggle. When this had become publicly known Sherman was denounced as crazy, and even his military superiors thought his military judgment had been temporarily upset. He was accordingly superseded in November by General Buell, and, after a short leave of absence, granted, or rather pressed upon him by the War Department, "for the benefit of his health," he was placed in command of a camp of instruction at Benton Barracks, near St. Louis. In February, 1862, he was appointed to the Army of Tennessee to take command of the Fifth Division, which bore the brunt of the important battle of two days' duration at Shiloh or Pittsburg Landing, on the Tennessee River, and was properly claimed as a Federal victory. Sherman was wounded in the hand in the first day's engagement, but he never quitted his post, and Grant, in his despatches, attributed the whole success of the engagement to Sherman's skilful dispositions and "individual efforts." In Halleck's campaign against Corinth, which immediately followed the battle of Shiloh, Sherman bore an active and distinguished part, being promoted for his services to the rank of Major-General of Volunteers in May, 1862; and in the following month, Halleck having in the meanwhile been ap-

pointed General-in-Chief and Grant made General in command of the department of Tennessee, Sherman was sent to Memphis, which had recently been captured, and ordered to provide for the defence of the city. The famous campaign on the Mississippi now commenced, which was to have such important results. Sherman bore a brilliant part in the long operations against Vicksburg, being promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General in the Army for his effective services rendered to Grant in his final and victorious assault on that city on July 4, 1863, which, although it cost the Federal army 9,000 men, involved a loss of 56,000 men for the Confederates, of whom 32,000 were taken prisoners. After the fall of Vicksburg Sherman and his troops enjoyed a brief respite from active operations, his troops being encamped along the Big Black River. But in October he was ordered to Chattanooga, on the Tennessee River, where Rosencrans was hardly pressed and beleaguered by Bragg, Burnside being in almost equal difficulties at Knoxville, further to the north-east. Thenceforward until the end of the year Sherman's troops were incessantly and actively engaged marching and fighting until Bragg was completely defeated at Chattanooga, and Burnside relieved by the arrival of Sherman at Knoxville on Dec. 3, when Knox, who was besieging him, was compelled to retire.

In March, 1864, Grant having been made Lieutenant-General in Supreme Command of the Armies of the United States, assigned to Sherman the command of the military division of the Mississippi, including the departments of Ohio, Tennessee, the Cumberland, and Arkansas, with headquarters at Nashville. Sherman had meanwhile received the thanks of Congress for his brilliant services in the Chattanooga campaign. In April Sherman was ordered by Grant to move against Atlanta. He fixed his headquarters at Chattanooga with 90,000 men and 254 guns, his opponent, Johnston, having 41,000 men, subsequently reinforced to 62,000, well supplied and equipped, and protected by intrenchments and natural obstacles. In spite of determined resistance on the part of the Confederate General, Sherman, with consummate strategy, gradually pushed Johnston back upon Atlanta, fought battle after battle, encountered sortie upon sortie, and, failing to capture the place by direct assault, carried five of his corps to attack the enemy's line of communications, 26

miles south of Atlanta, defeated Hood, who had superseded Johnston, at Jonesboro', occupied his sole remaining line of supply, and finally compelled him to evacuate the place on Sept. 1, 1864. This was practically the turning point of the war, for Hood was compelled to leave the whole of the South at Sherman's mercy, and, turning northwards, he moved upon Nashville, where he was defeated by Thomas, whom Sherman had sent thither to resist his advance. Sherman then proposed to the authorities at Washington the plan of his celebrated "March to the Sea," which was to show the hollowness of the Confederacy. General Grant approved of the scheme, and after some opposition the young general was allowed to enter upon the undertaking. Setting out from Atlanta in November with such of his troops as remained after detaching Thomas against Hood, he threatened Augusta and Macon, deliberately deceiving the enemy in regard to his real intentions, and, encountering no serious opposition, he marched steadily onwards across Georgia, and appeared, close to Savannah, before Fort MacAllister, which he captured after a brief engagement on Dec. 13, and compelled Savannah itself to surrender on Dec. 21, being thereby enabled to open communications with the United States fleet on the seaboard. His army had marched 300 miles in 24 days, and had found abundant supplies, while it had encountered no effective resistance in the heart of the enemy's territory. In his despatch to Lincoln announcing his arrival on the coast and his capture of Savannah, Sherman wrote: "I beg to present to you as a Christmas gift the city of Savannah, with 150 heavy guns, plenty of ammunition, and 25,000 bales of cotton." On Jan. 10, 1865, he received the thanks of Congress for his "triumphal march."

Sherman had still two more battles to fight before he occupied Goldsboro', in North Carolina, and it was not until April 26, after the capture of Raleigh, that Johnston finally surrendered upon the same terms as had been accorded to the army of Lee.

With the close of the war Sherman's career in the field was ended, though he continued to serve his country in the highest military capacities. From 1865 to 1869 he was in command of the military division of the Mississippi, with his headquarters at St. Louis. He was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General in 1866, and when Grant was elected President of the United States in 1869,

Sherman was appointed to succeed him as General of the Army. In 1871 and 1872 he visited Europe and travelled in the East, and was received everywhere with the honours due to his high military rank and his distinguished services in the field. He was retired at his own request from active service in 1884 and resigned his command of the army and lived as a simple citizen at St. Louis. He had come to New York on a visit, when he was taken ill with erysipelas, which was followed by an attack of pneumonia, and he died at New York on Feb. 14, the last rites of the Catholic Church having been administered to him at the request of the family, although he was not himself a Catholic.

Earl Beauchamp.—Frederic Lygon, second son of the fourth Earl Beauchamp, was born in 1830, and, after passing through Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, B.A., 1852, he was elected Fellow of All Souls, and was captain in the Worcestershire Yeomanry. He sat as a Conservative for Tewkesbury, 1857-63, and for West Worcestershire, 1863-6, when he succeeded his brother as sixth Earl Beauchamp. He was a Junior Lord of the Admiralty, March to June, 1859; Lord Steward of the Household, 1874-80; Paymaster-General, 1885-6, and again from August, 1886, to June, 1887, when he resigned. He was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Worcestershire in 1876. Married, first, 1868, Lady Mary Catherine, daughter of sixth Earl Stanhope, and, 1878, Lady Emily Annora, daughter of third Earl Mansers. He died suddenly from heart disease on Feb. 19, at Madresfield Court, before medical aid could be obtained. Lord Beauchamp took no prominent part in politics, but for many years he exercised considerable influence in Conservative councils, and he occupied a leading position in his own diocese, and in the House of Lords as a defender of the Anglican Church and its interests.

The Earl of Albemarle.—George Thomas, sixth Earl of Albemarle, second son of the fourth Earl, was born on June 13, 1799, and was educated at Westminster School, which he quitted somewhat abruptly early in 1816, and fought at Waterloo as an ensign in the 14th Foot, and took part in the march to Paris, and soon after his return was appointed Equerry to H.R.H. Duke of Sussex, and subsequently saw service in India, coming home *via* Persia, Baku, Astrakhan, and St. Petersburg. In 1829 he was with the British squadron in the

Archipelago, and visited Constantinople and Adrianople at the time of the Russian war, giving of all that he saw a pleasant account in "Fifty Years of My Life," published in 1875, but only bringing the autobiography down to 1855. He was also the author of "An Overland Journey to India." In 1832, although possessing no property in the division, he contested East Norfolk as a Whig, and was returned by a large majority, and sat for the country until the General Election of 1835, when he retired for a time from Parliamentary life.

In 1838, on the accession of Queen Victoria, he was appointed a Groom-in-waiting, and held the post until his death, and from 1846-7 he was private secretary to Lord John Russell. He sat again in Parliament in 1849-50 for Lymington, and in the following year succeeded to the peerage, and in 1874 became a General in the Army. He married, 1831, Susan, third daughter of Sir Coutts Trotter, who died in 1885; and died at his town residence, Portman Square, on Feb. 22, in full possession of his faculties.

Sir William Kirby Green, K.C.M.G., British Minister to Morocco, died suddenly in Morocco city, on Feb. 25, where he had arrived, at the head of a mission, on Dec. 26, to obtain an indemnity of 50,000*l.* on account of the North-West Africa Company, whose factories at Cape Jubi had been attacked and partially destroyed by a raiding party of Arabs. By his thorough knowledge of their language and his early acquired insight into the character of the Moors, and the tortuous policy of Muley Abba's advisers, he obtained not only a settlement of this claim, but concessions of special value to general trade, and finally persuaded the Sultan to consent to laying a telegraph-cable between Gibraltar and Tangier.

Sir William Kirby Green, who was a member of one of the oldest hereditary Consular families of the Levant, was all

his life in the Consular and Diplomatic services. He was a son of Sir John Green, for many years Consular-General at Bucharest, and was born at Nauplia, in Greece, in 1836. He was educated abroad, and entered the Consular service at the age of 17, becoming, in 1856, private secretary to the Consul-General for Egypt; and in 1859 became secretary to Mr. (Sir) John Drummond Hay, remaining in the public service in Morocco for several years. He was Vice-Consul at Tetuan, Acting-Consul at Tangier, and engaged upon various special missions to the Court of Morocco at various times during the next ten years. In 1863 he married Mary, daughter of Col. Sir Thomas Reade, K.C.B., Agent and Consul-General in Tunis. In 1869 he was transferred to Tunis as Acting-Agent and Consul-General; and thence was moved to Damascus in 1871 and to Beyrout in 1873. In 1876, having served in many different places as "Acting" Consul, he was definitely promoted to be Consul at Scutari; and in 1879 he became Consul-General for Montenegro and the vilayet of Scutari. It was here, during those three eventful years, that he did the work which made his name familiar to the public. All through the period when the Eastern Question was in its active stage Consul Green was one of those who was most consulted by the Government, and his opinions were given in many Blue-books, were quoted in Parliament, and were freely attacked by the anti-Turkish party in the controversy; but he consistently maintained that the Turkish Government, though in urgent need of reforms, was not beyond hope, and that the Christian subjects of the Porte were not faultless. In 1881 he was made a C.M.G. by way of a slight and tardy recognition of considerable services, and in 1886 he was appointed to succeed Sir John Drummond Hay as Envoy to Morocco and Consul-General at Tangier. In 1887, on the occasion of the Jubilee, he was promoted to be a K.C.M.G.

On the 1st, at Daytona, Florida, U.S.A., aged 28, from the bite of a rattlesnake, Eugene Percival Bosanquet, second son of Percival Bosanquet, of Buckskin Hall, Herts. On the 3rd, in Mecklenburg, aged 91, Friedrich Fielder, one of Lützow's corps, and, under Blücher, made the campaign of Silesia in 1813, being only a little more than 14 years old, and having been confirmed at Berlin in his uniform; entered Paris with the Allies 1813-14, and was present at Ligny and at La Belle Alliance, and afterwards entered Paris again as an officer of 16½ years. After some years he quitted the army, and took to teaching, and remained for 66 years a resident tutor in a Mecklenburg squire's family, where he was active, genial, and in full possession of his faculties to the last. On the 5th, at Seville Street, London, S.W., aged 86, Lucretia Dowager Viscountess Gormanston, eldest daughter of William Charles Jermingham; married, 1836, thirteenth Viscount Gormanston. On the 5th, at

Ton-yr-Efail, Cardiff, aged 95, Rev. William Evans, the oldest preacher of the Welch Calvinist Methodist Church. Began preaching in 1813, married in 1814, entered the ministry in 1818, and ordained in 1825, continued to preach until 1889, and had filled all the positions of honour in his Church. On the 7th, at Bovey-Tracey, aged 80, Charles Aldenburgh Bentinck, of Tudno, Devon, and Terrington St. Clement, Norfolk, youngest son of Vice-Admiral William Bentinck. Married, first, 1845, Harriett, daughter of Baldwin Fulford, of Fulford, Devon; and, second, 1858, Frances, daughter of Martin Williams, of Bryn Gwyn, co. Montgomery. On the 7th, at St. John's, Ryde, aged 54, Captain Cecil George Sloane Stanley, R.N. Entered the Navy in 1850, served on board H.M.S. *Albion* at the bombardment of Odessa, and of Fort Constantine, at Sebastopol, and, after her disablement, was transferred to H.M.S. *Queen*; retired, 1873, with rank of Captain. On the 7th, at the Monastery of La Grande Chartreuse, aged 76, Father Dom Jean Louis Nicolai, for twenty years a monk, but previously Baron Nicolai, Lieutenant-General in the Russian Army and Aide-de-Camp to the Czar. He was Governor-General of the Caucasus, and suppressed the rising under Schamyl in 1854. He was converted to Catholicism by Bishop Dupanloup. On the 8th, at Wellington, New Zealand, Sir William Fitzherbert, K.C.M.G., Speaker of the Legislative Council. Born in England, and educated at Queen's College, Cambridge, B.A., 1832, where he obtained a Fellowship, and afterwards studied medicine, and admitted F.R.C.P. In 1842 he emigrated to New Zealand, where, after twenty years, he took to political life. Treasurer, 1864-6; Agent-General, 1867; Speaker of the House of Assembly, 1876-79, when he became Speaker of the Legislative Council; C.M.G., 1872; K.C.M.G., 1877. On the 8th, at Yokohama, aged 58, Charles Wirgman, special artist to the *Illustrated London News* during the Crimean War, and editor of the *Japan Punch*. On the 10th, at Victoria Street, S.W., aged 61, Lady Emily Pepys, eighth child of first Earl Cottenham, Master of the Rolls, and Lord Chancellor. On the 10th, at Allahabad, aged 42, Major Gonville Bromhead, V.C., 2nd South Wales Borderers; distinguished when Lieutenant by his successful defence of Rorke's Drift, Jan. 22-3, 1879, as second in command to Lieutenant Chard, R.E.; served also in Burmah expedition in 1885-8. On the 11th, at Nice, aged 80, Hon. James Butler, fourth son of twenty-second Baron Dunboyne; married, 1836, Emily, daughter of Sir William Fitzgerald, Bart., of Carrygoran, co. Clare. On the 12th, at Constantinople, aged 83, Musurus Pasha; began public life as secretary to Stefanaki Beg Vogorides, Prince of Samos, whose daughter he married; appointed, 1847, Minister to Athens; Vienna, 1848; in 1851, London, where he was promoted, in 1856, to the rank of Ambassador, and remained until 1885. On the 13th, at New York, aged 76, Admiral John Dixon Porter; entered United States Navy, 1829, and distinguished himself in the war against Mexico, and during the Civil War. After five days' bombardment of Fort Jackson, in April, 1862, he enabled Admiral Farragut's fleet to enter the Mississippi, and subsequently to capture New Orleans. He took part in the bombardment of Vicksburg and Mobile and in the operations of the Mississippi flotilla; was appointed Vice-Admiral in 1866, and Admiral of the United States Navy in 1870. On the 13th, at Freeford Hall, Lichfield, aged 82, Colonel Richard Dyott; educated at Westminster and Trinity College, Cambridge; entered the Army, 56th Foot, and Lieutenant-Colonel Staffordshire Militia; sat as Conservative for Lichfield 1865-80; married, 1849, Ellen Catherine, daughter of Charles Smith Forster, of Lysways Hall, co. Stafford. According to the custom of his family, he was buried at midnight in Lichfield Cathedral. On the 13th, at Umballa, aged 50, Brigadier-General W. L. Auchinleck; served as ensign in 53rd Foot (Shropshire) with the Oude Field-Force, 1858-9, and afterwards in Canada; exchanged to 63rd (Manchester) Regiment, which he commanded in Afghanistan campaign in 1878-9, and in Egyptian campaign, 1882; Colonel 35th Regimental District, 1885; and in command of Bengal Presidency Brigade since 1888. On the 16th, at Kirkby Stephen, aged 74, Poet Close, a bookseller at Bowness, Windermere; received a Civil List pension from Lord Palmerston, which was subsequently withdrawn. The King of Bonny created him his Poet Laureate. On the 19th, at Naples, aged 58, Vice-Admiral Ferdinand Acton (third son of Charles Acton, a commodore in the Neapolitan Navy); entered the Neapolitan Navy, and served at the bombardment of Ancona, 1860; subsequently took service under the Italian Government, and became in succession Senator and Minister of Marine; married, 1866, Ninfa, daughter of Marchese Ramirez. On the 20th, at Amsterdam, aged 82, Dr. Thomas Davids, in whose honour the city of Amsterdam struck a gold medal for his services during the cholera in 1830. He was also a Knight of the Lion of the Netherlands and of

the Oaken Crown. His father, a friend of Jenner, was the first to introduce vaccination into the Netherlands in 1808. On the 20th, at Lisbon, **Admiral Carlos Testa**, a Portuguese Senator, who had served upwards of fifty years in the Portuguese navy, and was a firm advocate of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance. On the 21st, at Rome, aged 66, **Signor Magliani**, born at Lanzino; educated at Naples; appointed Minister of Finance in 1877, by Sig. Depretis, and filled the office in four different Cabinets, during which time he abolished the grist tax and the forced paper-currency. On the 23rd, at Wimbledon, aged 79, **Alderman Sir Thomas Gabriel, Bart.**, son of Thomas Gabriel, of Brixton. During his mayoralty, 1866-7, he represented the City of London at the Paris Exhibition, and entertained the Sultan and the Viceroy of Egypt in the City, and was subsequently present at the opening of the Suez Canal. He was created a baronet during his term of office. He was a timber merchant by trade, and married, 1844, Mary Dutton, daughter of Charles Pearson, M.P., solicitor to the City of London. On the 24th, at Stratford Park, Gloucestershire, aged 67, **Joseph Watts Hallewell**, second son of Edmund Gilling Hallewell, of Beauchamps; educated at Rugby and Jesus College, Cambridge. Married, first, 1852, Edith, elder daughter of Robert Berrie; and, second, 1857, Mary Ann, younger daughter of Joseph Cripps, of Farnhills, Gloucester. On the 25th, at Ryde, aged 37, **Sir Richard Francis Sutton**, fifth Baronet; married, 1888, Edith Constance, daughter of Sir Vincent Corbet. He was an ardent yachtsman, and his two boats, the *Genesta* and *Elmina* were well known in most of the races round the coast. On the 25th, in Wimpole Street, aged 77, **Sir Benjamin Chilley Campbell Pine, K.C.M.G.**, son of Mr. Benjamin C. Pine, of Tunbridge Wells; educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; called to the bar at Gray's Inn, 1841; appointed Queen's Advocate in Sierra Leone, 1842; Acting-Governor, 1848; transferred as Lieut.-Governor to Natal, 1849; Governor of the Gold Coast, 1856; St. Christopher, 1859; Antigua, 1866; and Leeward Island, 1869; and Natal, 1873-5, when he retired. Married, first, 1841, Elizabeth, daughter of John Campbell, whose name he assumed; and, second, 1859, Margaretta, daughter of Colonel John Simpson, Bengal Army. On the 26th, in Paris, aged 66, **Fortuné de Boisgobey**, a popular novelist, whose real name was Castille. He was born at Granville, and from 1844-8 served in Algeria as military paymaster, after which he travelled in the East, and in 1868 commenced novel-writing. On the 26th, at Luxor, aged 47, **Charles Lee Lewes**, only surviving son of George Henry Lewes; educated at Hofwyl, Switzerland. For many years in the Secretary's branch of the General Post Office; by his exertions secured Parliament Hill as an addition to Hampstead Heath; was elected member of London County Council; married, 1864, Miss Gertrude Hill, granddaughter of Dr. Southwood Smith. On the 28th, at Johannesburg, South Africa, aged 53, **George Kynoch, M.P.** Born at Peterhead, N.B., he began life as a clerk in the Midland Bank at Birmingham, but afterwards became a gun manufacturer, and established the Lion Ammunition Works at Witton; elected for the Acton Division of Birmingham in 1886.

MARCH.

Dr. Windthorst. — Ludwig Windthorst, "the Black Pearl of Meppen," was born at Osnabrück on Nov. 17, 1812, and was educated at Göttingen and Heidelberg, and subsequently practised at the bar in his native city. In 1849 he was a prominent man, and was chosen to represent Meppen in the Hanoverian Chamber, where he promptly made a reputation as an orator. In 1851 he became Minister of Justice, and marked his influence by the establishment of the Bishopric of Osnabrück, and by his success in surrounding the King with Roman Catholic advisers. He was unable to retain office for any length of time, and in 1852 resigned, and re-

mained for many years in opposition until, in 1863, he entered Count Platen's "anti-constitutional" Cabinet. He strongly supported the alliance of Hanover and Austria, a policy which in 1866 led to the incorporation of Hanover with Prussia, and it fell to his lot to negotiate the terms of King George's abdication. In the first Reichstag of the Northern German Confederation, Dr. Windthorst sat as the leader of the Clerical opposition to Prince Bismarck's policy. Although an opponent of the dogma of Papal Infallibility whilst under discussion by the Vatican Council, he threw himself eagerly into the conflict between Prince Bismarck and the Pope,

and throughout the "Kultuskampf" and the discussion of the Falk Laws showed himself Prince Bismarck's most formidable opponent. In the Reichsrath he organised the Centre party, which became the most united body in the Parliament and upheld as its programme the defence of popular rights as well as of the Catholic Church. Dr. Windthorst moreover obtained further support for his own party by defending the autocracy of other States represented in the Reichsrath, and thereby won the sympathy of the Alsatians, the Danes, the Poles, the Guelphs, and even of the Socialists. His triumph as a party leader was shown in his forcing Prince Bismarck, who had vowed never "to go to Cannossa," to repeal, in 1879, the most oppressive of the Falk Laws, and by degrees he extorted the withdrawal of the disabilities of all except the Jesuits, and shortly before his death he was prominent in bringing about the restoration of the State salaries to recalcitrant bishops and clergy withheld during the Kultuskampf, amounting to 800,000*l.* Dr. Windthorst's popularity and skilful strategy counted for much in the crisis which led to Prince Bismarck's retirement, and the Emperor sent to consult him on that occasion. In private life Dr. Windthorst was simple and unostentatious, and although never anything but a man of moderate means, he managed to give away large sums in charity, and to endow several benevolent undertakings. During his last illness, which terminated on March 14, at Berlin, the Emperor and Empress showed him every possible token of regard and friendly interest.

Prince Napoleon.—Prince Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte, cousin to the Emperor Napoleon III., the second son of Jerome Bonaparte, by his second marriage with the Princess Frederika of Würtemberg, was born at Trieste, Sept. 9, 1822. His youth was passed at Vienna and Trieste, Florence and Rome, occasionally in Switzerland, England, Spain, and in 1845 he obtained permission to visit Paris under the name of the Comte de Montfort, but was soon afterwards compelled to leave on account of his intrigues with the Extreme Democrats. After the revolution of February, 1848, Prince Napoleon returned, and the Corsicans elected him a member of the Constituent Assembly, in which he became leader of the Extreme Republican party, known as the Mountain. His views, however, underwent a change, and in 1849 he was appointed Minister Pleni-

potentiary at Madrid, but was shortly recalled for having quitted his post without authority. He was made a French Prince, with a seat in the Senate and Council of State, Dec. 23, 1853, and at the same time received the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour and the rank of General of Division. In 1854 he was appointed to a command in the expedition to the Crimea, and commanded an infantry division of reserves at the battles of Alma and Inkerman. Sudden retirement from this post, ill-health being the excuse, gave rise to much hostile comment, and about this time the sobriquet of "Plon-plon" was given him by his countrymen. Prince Napoleon is said to have furnished information for a pamphlet reflecting on the conduct of the war, and commenting somewhat too freely on the deliberations of the council of war which decided upon the Crimean expedition. Though it was immediately suppressed by order of the French Government, it was published at Brussels, and was forthwith translated into English. In 1855 he was named President of the Imperial Commission of the Universal Exhibition, and proved himself a zealous and efficient member. In June, 1858, he was placed at the head of the new Ministry for Algiers and the Colonies, but speedily resigned his appointment. He married the Princess Clotilde, daughter of Victor Emmanuel, late King of Italy, Jan. 30, 1859, by whom he had two sons, Napoleon Victor Jerome Frederick, born July 18, 1862; and Napoleon Louis Joseph Jerome, born July 16, 1864; and one daughter, Marie Letitia Eugenie Catherine Adelaide, born Dec. 20, 1866. In the Italian campaign of 1859 he commanded the French Army of Reserve in the north of Italy, but was not engaged in any of the great battles. In the Senate in 1861 he made an attack upon the Orléans family, which was answered with spirit by the Duc d'Aumale. Prince Napoleon, to the disgust of a great portion of the French Army, declined to accept the challenge sent him by the Duke on that occasion. He was President of the French Commission to represent France in the Great Exhibition at London in 1862. In 1865 Prince Napoleon was appointed President of the Commissioners for the Universal Exhibition at Paris in 1867, but resigned the post in consequence of a reprimand which he received from the Emperor for a speech delivered in Corsica at the inauguration of a statue of the Emperor Napoleon I., May 27, 1865. At the same time he gave up his appointments as member and Vice-Presi-

dent of the Privy Council. This disgrace, however, was only of temporary duration, the Prince being soon admitted again into the counsels of the Emperor, and intrusted with important and delicate missions. The Prince, at this time, urged the Emperor to inaugurate a liberal policy, and after the Message of 1869, announcing the *Senatus-Consultum*, which revived Ministerial responsibility and the system of Parliamentary government, he recommended that the Cabinet should be replaced by new men, who would thoroughly carry out the new policy. In his yacht he visited England, Corsica, Algeria, and Italy; and in 1861 he went to America while the Civil War was raging, and formed the acquaintance of President Lincoln, of Mr. Seward, and of several of the Federal and Confederate Generals. In 1868 he visited, it was believed with a political object, Southern Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, the Danubian Principalities, and Turkey in Europe. On war being declared with Prussia, in July, 1870, Prince Napoleon implored his cousin to appoint him to a military command. The Emperor, however, declined to do so, on the plea that he might render more efficient service to France by accepting a confidential mission to Italy, where he could bring his personal influence to bear on his father-in-law, King Victor Emmanuel. Accordingly he proceeded to Florence, but failed to obtain the co-operation of Italy. After the fall of the Empire he spent some months in Brussels and in other Continental cities, for a time fixing his residence in England; but after May 24, 1873, he obtained permission to return to France. On the death of the Emperor, Prince Napoleon had claimed to be the chief representative of his family, and had endeavoured, though without success, to organise a party of his own in opposition to the adherents of the Empress Eugénie and the Prince Imperial. At the general election of Feb. 20, 1876, Prince Napoleon came forward as a candidate in the arrondissement of Ajaccio, against M. Rouher, with a profession of his political faith, in which he said: "The form of government is not in question; it exists; I accept it frankly," and which concluded thus: "Choose between the son of Jerome, nephew of Napoleon I., and a stranger to your island." He was earnestly opposed by the leaders of the Bonapartist party and by the Prince Imperial, who addressed to M. Franceschini Pietro a letter, in which he exhorted his friends to support M. Rouher. Prince Napoleon was defeated on the

second ballot, but the Chamber invalidated the election of his adversary, and on May 14 the Prince was elected. He took his seat on the benches of the Left, though he did not identify himself with any particular group. On Dec. 24, 1876, he delivered a speech in which he made a violent attack on the Clerical party. He was listened to in silence by the Left, while he was violently interrupted by the Bonapartists. After the Act of May 16, 1877, he was one of the 368 Deputies of the re-united sections of the Left who refused a vote of confidence to the Du Broglie Cabinet. At the election of Oct. 14 he was defeated in the arrondissement of Ajaccio by Baron Haussmann. From this period he held aloof from party politics until the unexpected death of the Prince Imperial again brought him into prominence. He was recognised as head of the family of Bonaparte and of the Imperialist party by the majority of the adherents of the party of the "Appeal to the People," though not without opposition on the part of those who accepted his son Prince Victor as head of the party in deference to the last will of the Prince Imperial. Prince Napoleon was present at the funeral of his cousin at Chiselhurst, but he returned to Paris immediately afterwards, without having had an interview with the Empress. Thenceforward he maintained an attitude of absolute reserve until shortly after the promulgation of the decrees of March 29, 1880, respecting the religious congregations, when he published a letter applauding that repressive measure. On Jan. 16, 1883, a manifesto by the Prince appeared in the *Figaro*, and was extensively placarded on the walls of Paris. In this document, which was an indictment against the Republic, he posed as champion of the Church, and advised the nation to have recourse to a "plébiscite." A meeting of the Cabinet was immediately convened, and the Prince was arrested and imprisoned. The *Chambre des Mises en Accusation* unanimously decided, however, that the Prince had in reality committed no offence, and accordingly, after a month's detention, he was set at liberty. He was included in the Expulsion Law of 1886, and left France on its promulgation, residing chiefly in Brussels and Italy. He died at Rome on March 17, after receiving, while unconscious, the rite of Extreme Unction, in the arms of his much-injured wife, from whom for many years he had lived separate. A man of the highest and most varied abilities, by far the cleverest of all the Bonapartes after

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the founder of the family, he summed up his own career during the long agony which preceded his death: "I can succeed in nothing, not even in dying." It may be said of him that he was the most brilliant failure of the century, and that his cleverness more than anything contributed to bring about the misfortunes which drove his family a second time from the French throne.

Earl Granville, K.G.—The Right Hon. Granville George Leveson-Gower, Earl Granville, born May 11, 1815, was the eldest son of Lord Granville Leveson-Gower, youngest son of the Marquis of Stafford, who was raised to the peerage in 1833. His son was educated at Eton and Christ Church, where, having graduated in 1834, he passed at once into the diplomatic service and was appointed an attaché to the Embassy at Paris, where he remained a year, 1835-6. He then returned to England, and forthwith entered Parliamentary life, sitting first for Morpeth, 1836, as a pronounced Free-Trader, and four years later, having lost his seat at Morpeth, he succeeded the Hon. W. G. Fox-Strangways as Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Lord Melbourne's Government, Lord Palmerston being Secretary of State. In 1846, having succeeded to his father's peerage, he was made Master of the Buckhounds—a congenial post for so keen a sportsman; but in 1848 he exchanged it for the Presidency of the Board of Trade in Lord J. Russell's Administration. In 1851, in consequence of the differences of opinion which had arisen between Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston with reference to the *coup d'état* in Paris, the latter resigned office, and Lord Granville was made Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and in this position, and as Vice-President of the Great Exhibition Commission, did much to establish cordial relations between the English and French peoples. In 1855 he succeeded to the leadership of the Liberal party in the House of Lords, and as Lord President of the Council had to defend the Ministry in the conduct of the Crimean campaign. In 1859, on the downfall of the Tory Ministry, Lord Granville was commissioned to undertake the formation of the new Cabinet, the Queen feeling the task of deciding between the claims of Lord J. Russell and Lord Palmerston too invidious. The attempt, however, was not successful, for Lord John Russell, though willing to serve under Lord Palmerston, declined to do so under Lord Granville, who consequently resumed his former post of Lord President.

On the death of Lord Palmerston, in 1865, his name was again put forward as the most fitting successor to the Premiership, but, with the exception of the post of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, he obtained no advancement, and in the following year Earl Russell's Ministry was forced to retire. The chief difficulty which Mr. Gladstone had to face in assuming the Premiership was to find suitable places for the distinguished persons who were anxious to serve under him. The Colonial Office was assigned to Lord Granville, whose administration was marked by the transfer to Canada of the greater portion of the Hudson's Bay Territory, which provoked the Red River revolt, at the same time, as leader of the House of Lords, he had to commend to the favourable notice of hostile lords Mr. Gladstone's Irish measure. His imperturbable good temper never forsook him, and, although he was not a great orator, his power of lucid argument, his quickness and brilliancy of repartee, made him at once a useful ally and a dangerous enemy. By adroitness, self-control, and good temper, he carried not only the Irish Church Bill, 1869, but the still more distasteful (to the landlords) Irish Land Bill in 1870. In this year the death of Lord Clarendon had brought about Lord Granville's transfer to the Foreign Office, where, as he stated, nothing seemed likely to disturb the peace which then reigned in Europe. A few weeks later the two most powerful military nations were locked in a death-struggle. The difficulty of acting with absolute impartiality towards the belligerents, who were equally sensitive to all infractions of neutrality, was admirably discharged by Lord Granville. "The Government," he said, "knew their duty, and were resolved to abide by the position they had taken up." The first result of their attitude was the conclusion of a tripartite treaty between France, Prussia, and England for the maintenance of the neutrality of Belgium in accordance with the terms of the quintuple engagement of 1839. Scarcely was this matter arranged before Russia took advantage of the situation to denounce the "Black Sea clauses" of the Treaty of Paris, judging that France and Prussia being fully occupied, England would not go to war alone to maintain the contract. Mr. Odo Russell was sent to find out Count Bismarck's intentions, but failed to discover how far Russia had secured his previous assent to the step. A Conference of the Powers, by Prince Bismarck's

advice, was held in London, and certain modifications of the Treaty were agreed to, and at Lord Granville's suggestion, a protocol was added, declaring that no State could release itself from engagements without the consent of the parties to which it was pledged. Lord Granville had also to reply to the German Ambassador's (Count Bernstoff) remonstrances against our non-benevolent neutrality, and to meet M. Chaudordy's proposal that England should intervene as mediator on the basis of the neutrality of French territory. This he refused to do, but he endeavoured to bring about a meeting between M. Thiers and Count Bismarck to discuss the terms of an armistice.

In 1872 Lord Granville's courtesy and good temper were sorely tried by the tone adopted by Mr. Sumner and others in pressing the "Alabama" claims, which in the first instance were estimated vaguely at from 300 to 400 million sterling. With firmness and tact he declined to be drawn into any discussion of the indirect claims, but he consented in a conciliatory spirit to the Geneva Arbitration, and discharged with skill the ungrateful task of reconciling the country to the sacrifice for the sake of peace and goodwill. In the following year he was called upon to expostulate with Russia as to her advances in Central Asia. Count Schouvaloff was sent to London on a special mission to assure the British Cabinet that, after chastising the Khivans, the Czar's troops would evacuate the Khanate; and at a later date Prince Gortschakoff gave a similar assurance that Russia would abstain from interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

During the government of Lord Beaconsfield, Lord Granville limited himself to criticising the foreign policy of his opponents, which he regarded as perilous and too independent. In 1880, on the result of the elections being known, he was again sent for by the Queen to form an Administration, but, recognising that the great majority in the House of Commons was Mr. Gladstone's own, he urged that Mr. Gladstone must necessarily be the Premier. He therefore went back to the Foreign Office, where he at once found employment for his skill and forbearance in the settlement of the Tunis question. Of greater importance were the negotiations with the Porte, backed up by a naval demonstration at Dulcigno, by which the Sultan was compelled to fulfil part of the obligations laid upon him by the Treaty of Berlin. His next difficulties were those of the Egyptian ques-

tion, which led to the successive stages (1882-4) of the Joint Note, the bombardment of Alexandria, the campaign of Tel-el-Kebir, the restoration of the Khedive under British tutelage, and Lord Dufferin's famous despatch. These were followed by the Suez Canal controversy and the Soudan campaign, the former ending in a satisfactory arrangement with M. de Lesseps, and the latter culminating in the Nile expedition and the death of General Gordon. It must, we fear, be admitted that Lord Granville's management of the Egyptian question met with criticism at home and opposition abroad. An open breach occurred with France on the subject of a temporary reduction of the interest on the debt; while Prince Bismarck began to cause trouble in Africa, where the British Foreign Office had temporised with German pretensions and evaded a settlement, and had also entered into an unwise agreement giving up the Lower Congo to the Portuguese. The result was that we had to yield to German pressure at Angra Pequena and the Cameroons, and a conference of the Powers was convoked at Berlin to settle the future conditions of the "scramble for Africa." The colonists of Australasia were also much disturbed on discovering that the representatives of the mother country had allowed Germany to establish herself in New Guinea, and France to assert herself in the South Pacific. In 1885 the Foreign Office was taken "quite unprepared" by the Penjdeh surprise, which nearly precipitated a war, and gave Mr. Childers the opportunity of bringing forward his "hundred million" budget, and shortly afterwards the Ministry resigned, and Lord Granville's career as Foreign Minister ended. A short interval ensued, at the end of which, in 1886, Mr. Gladstone returned to office, pledged to Home Rule for Ireland. Lord Granville cordially accepted the new programme of his leader, and in the new Cabinet took, for the second time, the Colonial Office—an easier post for a public man well stricken in years. In the House of Lords thenceforward he found himself, whether as leader of the Ministerialists or of the Opposition, in command of a scanty and depressed following, for the ablest statesmen identified with Liberal policy had ranged themselves on the Unionist side. His spirit never flagged, his temper rarely showed signs of friction, but his task was a hopeless one. He ceased more and more to take a conspicuous part in politics, and for some time past the increasing infirmities of age afforded

too manifest a justification for his silence or his absence.

Lord Granville was twice married—in 1840, to Maria Louisa, only child and heiress of Emeric Joseph, Duc de Dalberg, and widow of Sir Ferdinand Acton, whom he lost in 1860; and again, five years afterwards, to the youngest daughter of Mr. Campbell, of Islay. He had for some time been suffering from repeated attacks of gout which had greatly weakened his constitution, and had come to London from Walmer to undergo an operation, which was performed at his nephew's house in South Audley Street. He, however, failed to rally from the shock, and passed quietly away on the evening of the 31st March.

The following is a complete statement of his services to the State:—Attached to the Embassy at Paris from May, 1835, till August, 1836. M.P. for Morpeth from Feb. 10, 1837, till Feb., 1840, when he accepted the Chiltern Hundreds. Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from March 7, 1840, till Sept. 3, 1841. M.P. for Lichfield from September, 1841, till he succeeded to the Peerage as second Earl, Jan. 8, 1846. Appointed Master of the Buckhounds, July 9, 1846. Sworn a Privy Councillor, Aug. 1, 1846. Appointed one of the Commissioners of Railways, Nov. 4, 1846, and a Deputy Lieutenant of Salop in the same year. Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Paymaster-General, May 7, 1848. Appointed, Jan. 3, 1850, one of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from Dec. 27, 1851, till Feb. 27, 1852. Lord President of the Council, Dec. 28, 1852; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, June 21, 1854; and a Mem-

ber of the Committee of Education, July 3, 1854. Again appointed Lord President of the Council, Feb. 8, 1855; Ambassador Extraordinary to the Emperor of all the Russias (Alexander II.), on the occasion of His Imperial Majesty's Coronation, July 22, 1856; and Chancellor of the University of London, Dec. 26, 1856. Resigned office, Feb. 26, 1858. Again Lord President of the Council, June 18, 1859; was elected K.G., July 6, 1859. One of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1862. Was in attendance on the Queen when Her Majesty proceeded to Germany in the autumn of 1863. Had the Degree of D.C.L. conferred upon him by the University of Oxford in 1863. Resigned office, July 5, 1866. Constable of Dover Castle and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 1865. Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, Dec. 9, 1868; and a Member of the Committee of Council on Education, Dec. 12, 1868. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, July 6, 1870; and was Plenipotentiary at the Conferences respecting the Treaty of March 30, 1856, which met in London from Jan. 17 till March 14, 1871. Resigned, Feb. 21, 1874. Was again appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, April 28, 1880. Plenipotentiary at the Danube Conference in London from Feb. 8 to March 10, 1883; and at the Conference in London on Egyptian Finance from June 28 to Aug. 2, 1884. Royal Commissioner for the Paris Exhibition of 1878, and for the Indian and Colonial Exhibition of 1886. Resigned office, June 24, 1885. Secretary of State for the Colonies from Feb. 6 to Aug. 3, 1886. Royal Commissioner for the Adelaide Exhibition of 1887, Oct. 30, 1886, and for the Melbourne Exhibition, 1888.

On the 1st March, at Milan, aged 72, **Giovanni Morelli**, of a Bergamasque family which had settled in the Engadine. He was trained as a physician, chiefly in German Universities, fought for Italian independence in 1848-9, and sent by the Lombard Government as its representative at the Diet of Frankfort. After the establishment of Italian unity he was elected a Senator, and sat with the Moderate Right. He was, however, best known by his criticisms on art, and his "Italian Art in German Galleries," published in German under the pseudonym of "Pierre Lermolieff," produced a great sensation. He bequeathed several of his choicest pictures to the town of Bergamo. On the 3rd, at Warsaw, aged 79, **Baron Nicholas Paulovich Krüdener**, a Livonian noble, who, in command of the 9th Army Corps, greatly distinguished himself in the Russo-Turkish War, 1876-7, captured Nicopolis, drove the Turks across the Balkans, and occupied Philippopolis. On the 5th, at Ryde, Isle of Wight, aged 68, **Colonel Charles William Fortescue**, of Stephenstown, co. Louth, eldest son of Matthew Fortescue, of same place. Educated at Woolwich Academy; entered Royal Artillery and served through the Crimean campaign; Vice-Lieutenant, co. Louth, 1868-79. Married, 1857, Geraldine, daughter of Rev. Fred. Pare. On the 5th, at Houghton House, Cumberland, aged 78, **Thomas Houghton Hodgson**, eldest son of William Hodgson; appointed Clerk of the Peace for Cumberland, 1839. Married, 1842, Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Robert Gutch, Rector of

Seagrave. On the 5th, in Chester Square, aged 37, **Lionel Charles Drummond**, son of John Drummond, of Redenham, Hants., a banker in the banking firm of Messrs. Drummond. On the 6th, in Grosvenor Crescent, aged 33, **Robert Lindsay Antrobus**, second son of Sir Edward Antrobus, Bart., and a partner in the banking firm of Coutts & Co. On the 11th, at Cambridge, aged 59, **Rev. Robert Herbert Quick**. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and successively a Master at Harrow and Vicar of Sedbergh, he devoted himself almost wholly to the science of pedagogy, and was one of the first lecturers at Cambridge on the "History of Education," which was followed in 1868 by "Essays on Educational Reformers." He resided chiefly at Redhill. On the 12th, at Edinburgh, aged 76, **John Dick Peddie**, son of James Peddie, W.S. Educated at the High School and University of Edinburgh, but left the law to study architecture; elected Academician of Royal Academy of Scotland, 1870; sat as Liberal for Kilmarnock, 1880-5, and took a lead in the movement for the disestablishment of the Scotch Church. Married, 1861, **Euphemia**, daughter of James Stephen More. On the 12th, at Paris, aged 67, **Théodore Fautain de Bainville**, the son of a sea-captain; born at Moulins; distinguished himself as a poet, his "Odes Funambulesques," published in 1857, was his chief work. On the 15th, at Bayswater, aged 97, **General James Clarke Charnock Gray**, third son of Captain James Gray, R.N. Went to Bengal as a military cadet in 1812; his first service was the Nepaul war, 1814-15, and his last at Lucknow, 1857-8, when he commanded 34th and 35th Native Infantry, and was relieved by Havelock and Outram, and by Lord Clyde. He retained full possession of his faculties to the last. On the 15th, at Wimbledon, aged 71, **Sir Joseph William Bazalgette, C.B.**, son of Captain R. Bazalgette, R.N. Educated as a civil engineer; appointed chief engineer to the Metropolitan Board of Works, 1856, and carried out, 1858-65, from his own designs, the system of London main drainage, and, subsequently, the Victoria, Albert, and Chelsea Embankments; the new bridges at Putney, Hammersmith and Battersea; C.B., 1871; knighted, 1874. Married, 1845, **Maria**, daughter of Edward Kough, of New Ross, co. Wexford. On the 16th, at Ajaccio, aged 79, **The Princesses Marianne Bonaparte**, the wife of Prince Lucien Bonaparte, the philologist, from whom she separated in 1850, after eighteen years of married life. She was the daughter of Alessandro Cecchi, a Florentine sculptor. On the 16th, at Thurloe Square, London, aged 66, **Harriet, Dowager Countess of Ranfurly**, daughter of J. Rimington, of Broomhead Hall, co. York. Married, 1848, third Earl of Ranfurly. On the 16th, at Melcombe Bingham, aged 86, **Colonel Richard Hippialey Bingham**, retired Major in the Indian Army; Honorary Colonel, Dorset Militia. Married, 1836, **Harriet G.**, daughter of Rev. M. J. Wynward, of West Rownton. On the 17th, in Portman Square, aged 76, **William**, third Earl of Minto. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge; sat as a Liberal for Hythe, 1837-41; for Greenock, 1847-52, and for Clackmannanshire, 1857-9, when he succeeded to the title. Married, 1844, **Emma**, daughter of General Sir Thomas Hislop, Bart., G.C.B. He was for a short time Chairman of the Board of Survey (Scotland). On the 17th, in Cornwall Gardens, aged 79, **General Sir John St. George, G.C.B.**, eldest son of Lieutenant-Colonel John St. George, of Parkfield, Birkenhead. Entered Royal Artillery, 1828; commanded siege train at fall of Sebastopol; several years Director of Ordnance, and appointed, 1884, Master Commoner of St. James's Park. Married, 1860, **Elizabeth M.**, daughter of Thomas Evans, of Lyminster, Sussex. On the 19th, at Westbourne Terrace, London, aged 76, **Sir Francis Roxburgh, Q.C.**, a County Court Judge. Called to the Bar, 1845; Q.C., 1866; County Court Judge in Suffolk, 1881; Treasurer of Middle Temple, 1882, when he was knighted on the opening of the Royal Courts of Justice. Married, first, 1847, **Mary**, daughter of the Rev. H. Walker, of Great Bromley Hall, Essex; and second, 1888, **Eleanor**, daughter of Sir Thomas Chambers, Q.C. On the 20th, at New York, aged 52, **Laurence Barrett**, an American actor well known in England, where he had performed in many provincial melodramatic *roles*. He served during the Civil War. On the 24th, in Eaton Square, aged 43, **Lord Albert Charles Seymour**, second son of the fourth Marquess of Hertford. Entered Scots Guards, 1867; retired, 1887. Married, 1872, **Sarah**, daughter of Captain John Moore Napier. On the 24th, at Torquay, aged 53, **Right Hon. Henry**, seventh Earl of Milltown, third son of the fourth Earl. Graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, 1858; called to the bar at Dublin, 1860; was Vice-Chamberlain to the Lord-Lieutenant. On the 25th, at Dundee, aged 72, **Gen. Count Georg von Fabrice**. Born at Quesnoy, in France, during the occupation by the Germans; appointed chief of the staff during the Schleswig-Holstein war, 1863-4; and again in Bohemia, 1866; during the Franco-German war commanded 12th Army Corps, and was temporarily Governor-General of

Versailles; Saxon Minister of War, 1871; Prime Minister, 1876; Foreign Affairs, 1882; created Count, 1884. On the 25th, at Manipur, aged 30, W. H. Simpson, Lieutenant 43rd Goorkha Light Infantry, third son of C. T. Simpson, of Lincoln's Inn. Educated at Cheltenham, Rugby, and Sandhurst; appointed to 89th, 1880; transferred to India Staff Corps, 1883; and served against the Akkas and in the Burmese War; treacherously murdered at Manipur. On the 25th, at Manipur, aged 40, William Babbington Melville, Superintendent of Government Telegraphs. Killed on the same occasion. Eldest son of Andrew Melville, of Dumfries. Married, 1875, Percy Sutherland Cameron, daughter of Duncan Grant, of Edinburgh. On the 27th, at Rome, aged 74, Charles Robert Claude, second Baron Truro. Called to the bar, 1842; Junior Clerk of Assize, Oxford Circuit, and Registrar of Middlesex Registry, 1850-2; Lieutenant-Colonel 4th Middlesex Rifle Volunteers, 1861; and Captain Commandant 1st Middlesex Light Horse Volunteers. Married, 1888, Lucy, daughter of Robert Ray, Esq. On the 29th, at Melbourne, aged 82, Sir Francis Murphy, son of F. D. Murphy, head of the Transport Department, Cork. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin; studied medicine; went to New South Wales in 1836, and engaged in pastoral pursuits; returned to first Parliament of Victoria 1851; Speaker of Legislative Assembly, 1856-70. Married, 1839, Agnes, daughter of David Reid, R.N. On the 31st, at Tibberton Court, near Gloucester, aged 74, William Philip Price, a member of a well-known firm of timber merchants. Sat as a Liberal for Gloucester, 1852-9, when he was unseated on petition, and again from 1865-73, when he was appointed a Railway Commissioner, having been for many years previously Chairman of the Midland Railway. He was a leading member of the Unitarian body, and one of the Hibbert Trustees. Married, 1837, Frances Anne, daughter of John Chadborn. On the 31st, at Cornwall Gardens, London, aged 60, John Holms, son of James Holms, of Saucel Bank, Paisley. Represented Hackney as a Liberal, 1868-85; Lord of the Treasury, 1880-2; Secretary of the Board of Trade, 1882-5. Married, 1856, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Lyon, of Kensington.

APRIL.

Mr. Thomas Charles Baring, M.P., managing director of the lately reconstituted firm of Messrs. Baring & Co., died on April 2 at Rome. The eldest son of Charles Baring, Bishop of Durham, and the nephew of the first Lord Northbrook, he was born in 1831, and, passing from Harrow to Oxford, he became a scholar of Wadham and a Fellow of Brasenose. He, however, shortly gave up University life, and for some years was engaged as a banker in New York, while for more than thirty years he was a partner in the firm of Baring Brothers & Co. He first entered Parliament in 1874 for South Essex, as a Conservative, and he retained this seat till 1885. In the general election of that year he was unsuccessful in his candidature for the South-West Division of Essex, but in 1887 was returned unopposed for the City of London in succession to Mr. Hubbard, raised to the peerage. He sat on the Royal Commission on Loss of Life at Sea, which held its sittings between 1885 and 1887, and was the author of several works, including "Pindar in English Rhyme" and "The System of Epicurus." He was princely in his charities and donations, having contributed to the building and restora-

tion of numerous churches in the county of Essex, 110,000*l.* to the Harrow School cricket grounds and 100,000*l.* to the re-founding of Hertford College, Oxford. He married, 1859, Susan Carter, daughter of Mr. Robert B. Minturne, of New York.

The Right Hon. George Augustus Frederick Cavendish-Bentinck, M.P. for Whitehaven, died at Branksea Castle, Brownsea Island, near Poole, on April 9, after a very short illness. Mr. Cavendish-Bentinck, who was the son of the late Major-General Lord Frederick Bentinck, was born in 1821. He was educated at Westminster School and Trinity College, Cambridge, and in 1846 was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn. He unsuccessfully contested Taunton in April, 1859; but was elected in the following August, and continued to represent that borough till July, 1865, when he was returned for Whitehaven. In 1874 he was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, and in 1875 he became Judge-Advocate-General and was sworn of the Privy Council. Mr. Cavendish-Bentinck took a great interest in artistic subjects. He objected to the alterations made in Westminster Hall; criticised severely the

plans for the erection of the new Admiralty offices; and spoke of the new police building on the Embankment as a "monstrosity," and condemned on artistic grounds the reredos in St. Paul's, and much that was done in the decoration of the cathedral. He married, 1850, Prudence Penelope, daughter of Colonel Charles Powell Leslie, of Glaslough Castle, co. Monaghan.

Mrs. Augustus Craven.—Pauline Marie Armande de la Ferronays was the daughter of an *émigré*, Comte de la Ferronays, who was married at Klagenfurth in 1802, and subsequently came to England, where his daughter, Pauline, was born in Manchester Street, London, in 1808. After the Restoration her father returned to France, and became the intimate friend of the Duc de Berri, and his wife a lady-in-waiting to the Duchess. In 1818 he was appointed Ambassador to Russia; and, a warm friend of Greece, he showed himself at the Congresses of Laibach and Verona opposed to the English and Austrian policy. For a short time he was Foreign Minister, under Charles X.; but resigned his portfolio in 1829, when he was sent as Ambassador to Rome, but the year following the fall of the Bourbon Monarchy brought to an end his official career. Meanwhile his daughter had grown up and had profited by the opportunities offered by her father's position, and had formed many friendships which lasted through her life. She had known Sir Walter Scott and Carlyle, Montalembert and Lacordaire, Palmerston and Cavour, with something approaching to intimacy. In 1834 she married Mr. Augustus Craven, the son of Mr. Keppel Craven, the friend of Queen Caroline and the grandson of the Margravine of Anspach. Mr. Augustus had originally been in the army, which he left for the diplomatic service, of which he passed through the successive stages, and was Secretary of Legation at Lisbon, Carlsruhe, Brussels and Naples, and at one time was personally attached to Lord Palmerston when Foreign Secretary. In 1852 he unsuccessfully attempted to enter Parliament and was defeated at Dublin; and from that time took but little part in public affairs, living chiefly at Rome during the winter, and at their villa, "La Cava." In 1870 a sudden loss of fortune befell them, and both husband and wife were forced to find a way to earn their livelihood. Mr. Craven's translation and abridgment of the "Life of the Prince Consort" was the first outcome of this

necessity. Subsequently they obtained from the Bavarian Government a small annuity by way of compromise for a dormant claim of the Margravine of Anspach. Mrs. Craven had already, in 1867, published her most popular work, "Le Récit d'une Sœur," in compliance with the wish of her Swedish sister-in-law, Alexandrine Alopens, and this work, which was originally printed for private circulation, had been crowned by the French Academy. Her first attempt at literature, "Anne Séverin," although written some time before "Le Récit," did not appear until some years later, and then appeared in rapid succession "Fleurange," "Le Mot de l'Enigme," written, as she said, "to redeem the word Love from the profanation which had made it almost unpronounceable in French." This was followed, some years later, by her "Reminiscences," which show the life she had led, and sketched in a kindly tone the characters of the persons with whom she had been brought in contact. In 1884 Mr. Augustus Craven died at the house of the Princess Wittgenstein, near Lausanne, and his widow returned to Paris, and in 1885 published her last novel, "Valbriant," which they had planned together. In the following year she came to England for the last time to collect materials for her life of Lady Georgina Fullerton, a lifelong friend, which appeared in 1890, a few months before she was struck down by paralysis. She partially recovered the use of her speech, but at length died in Paris on April 2, retaining to the last the love and reverence of those whom she had attracted by her more brilliant qualities.

Field-Marshal von Moltke.—Helmuth Karl Bernhard von Moltke, the third son of a Captain in the Prussian service, was born at Parshim in Mecklenburg, on Oct. 26, 1800, but was brought up at Lübeck, where his father's house was pillaged on the storming of that city, after the battle of Jena. Captain Moltke then entered the Danish army and rose to the rank of Lieutenant-General; but his son remained at Lübeck until 1811, when he was admitted as a cadet of the Royal Military Academy at Copenhagen. In 1818 he passed out first of his term, and after a year's service as a royal page was appointed, in March, 1819, Lieutenant of the Oldenburg Regiment, then stationed at Rendsburg. He quickly won the respect and esteem of his commander and his comrades by his careful attention to duty and his modest and kindly disposition. He was

chiefly, however, distinguished by a burning desire for knowledge and an untiring energy for work. His means were small. He had no income beyond his pay, for his father had a large family, and his uncle, after whom he was named, had been killed, as a Mecklenburg captain in the French army, at the passage of the Beresina in 1812.

In view of the reduction effected in the Danish army in consequence of the severance of Norway, Moltke applied for leave to transfer himself to the Prussian service, and after passing a brilliant examination he became, in 1822, second lieutenant in the 8th Infantry Regiment, quartered at Frankfort-on-Main. In the following year he joined the Staff College at Berlin, and after three years of study there passed an excellent examination on leaving. He returned for a short time to his regiment at Frankfort, but in the following year was detached from regimental duty to staff employment, and never did a regimental duty afterwards. Moltke was first appointed to the Topographical Department, and took part in the surveys of Silesia and Posen. Soon after he became also the author of a pamphlet published at Berlin, which bore the title "Holland and Belgium, by H. von Moltke." In this the attention of Europe was called to the Belgian revolution, and the severance, through the support of France, of Belgium from the kingdom of the Netherlands. In 1832 he was appointed to the General Staff; the next year he became a Lieutenant, and devoted his first leave to a visit to Italy, spending much of his time at Genoa. In the following year, 1834, he rose to be a Captain and then, obtaining a longer leave, went on a visit to Turkey, where he passed more than three years, being present at Constantinople in 1839, when the war between Mahmud II. and Mehemet Ali broke out. Moltke and his companion Mühlbach were sent as military advisers to the headquarters of Hafiz Pasha, in the Valley of the Euphrates, near Kharput. In April, 1839, the Turkish army, 70,000 strong, commenced its advance towards Syria. It was divided into three corps, but consisted chiefly of recruits, and was speedily reduced by sickness and desertion. The Egyptian army was at Aleppo, under Ibrahim Pasha. In this advance Moltke commanded the Turkish artillery. In vain Moltke pointed out how unprepared for an active campaign was the Turkish army. The Mollahs insisted on offensive operations. Consequently on the 22nd Moltke resigned his post as counsellor

of the Commander-in-Chief. On the 24th Ibrahim Pasha attacked the Turkish position, the army fled and dispersed, although it had lost only 1,000, and Hafiz Pasha himself only escaped with difficulty. Moltke and his German comrades then returned to Constantinople. There he found the Sultan dead, and his successor, Abdul Medjid, a weak boy of sixteen. Moltke then returned to Berlin, where he was again occupied on the General Staff, and for his services in the Egypto-Turkish campaign received the Prussian order "Pour le Mérite." In the following year, 1840, he was removed from Berlin to the Staff of the 4th Corps d'Armée at Magdeburg. Here, in the following year, he published his well-known work, "Letters from Turkey, 1835-39." He also drew and issued some valuable maps, the materials for which he had collected in the East, of the Bosphorus, Constantinople, and Asia Minor.

The letters from Turkey, when first written, before they were made public, had been addressed to one of his sisters, who was married to an English gentleman named Burt, then resident in Holstein. Mr. Burt had a stepdaughter, on whom this correspondence made an impression, which ripened into affection when Captain Moltke, after his return, was a visitor in her father's house. They were soon engaged, and Moltke was married to his English stepniece in April, 1842, a few days after he had been made a major. The marriage proved most happy, and for a quarter of a century Moltke's domestic life was unruffled by any trouble. While quartered at Magdeburg, Major von Moltke wrote an important critical military work, to which many were much indebted during the campaign of 1877-8 between Russia and Turkey. It was called "The Russo-Turkish Campaign of 1828-9 in European Turkey," and is one of the most careful and most able military criticisms which have ever been written. It was published in 1845, and made a great impression in Germany.

In 1845 Moltke was appointed aide-camp to Prince Henry of Prussia, an invalid uncle of the King, who lived chiefly in Rome. During his residence there he made many valuable plans of the city and the Campagna. In the following year Prince Henry died, six weeks after his friend Pope Gregory XVI., and hardly had Pius IX. assumed the tiara before Moltke left the Eternal City to carry the report of the Prince's death to the King of Prussia. He returned to Rome again for a short time,

and accompanied the body in a Prussian man-of-war as far as Gibraltar, where he left the ship in order to travel to Hamburg by land and prepare for the arrival in Germany. This gave the much-desired opportunity to see Cadiz, Seville, Cordova, Madrid, and France. After his last duties to Prince Henry were accomplished, Moltke was appointed to the Staff of the 8th Corps d'Armée, stationed at Coblenz. Here he remained for two years, then was brought to Berlin as head of a department of the General Staff, but was quickly moved again to be Chief of the Staff of the 4th Corps d'Armée at Magdeburg. Here he remained till 1855, being promoted, in 1850, to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and in the following year to that of full Colonel. Then he was selected to fill the important post of first aide-de-camp to Prince Frederick William of Prussia, afterwards the Emperor Frederick. In 1856 he became a Major-General. Shortly afterwards the Prince undertook a journey to Russia to represent the House of Hohenzollern at the coronation of the Emperor Alexander II. at Moscow. In 1856 Moltke accompanied the Crown Prince to England, and again in 1885, when he was in attendance at the latter's marriage with the Princess Royal. On the occasion of his first visit to this country, he returned by way of France, where he was received with every mark of consideration.

In 1856, Prince Frederick William was appointed Colonel of the 2nd Silesian Regiment, and when not travelling lived with his staff chiefly at Breslau. In the following year the Prince was made Commander of the First Brigade of Guards, and shortly afterwards Moltke, one of the youngest general officers in the service, was first temporarily, and in May, 1859, was made permanent Chief of the Staff, with the rank of Lieutenant-General, the post in the Prussian Army which, under the great Frederick, had been held by Schmettau and Levin; after Jena, by Scharnhorst; and in the war of liberation by Gneisenau, and on his death by Müffling. Under the administration of Moltke the Prussian Army became rapidly more ready for war in every particular. Its mobilisation, which on his accession to office was calculated to require twenty-one days, was ultimately reduced to ten days. Moltke had not long to wait before his services were called into active play. On account of the advance of the French army through Lombardy in 1859 towards German soil the Prussian army was mobilised, and he drew up the

regulations for the advance of the Prussian army and its railway transport to the Rhine. The manner in which he accomplished this then original task showed the Government and the army that a wise step had been taken in placing him in the most responsible military position in the country. The carriage of the Prussian troops to the Rhine was to commence on July 15, 1859, and had no slight effect in causing the somewhat sudden conclusion of the Peace of Villafranca.

The prospect of a war with a maritime Power induced Prussia to create a navy, and to Moltke was entrusted the organisation of a system of defence for the exposed coasts.

About the same time great political changes were pending in Prussia, and after a short regency William, in 1861, succeeded his brother on the throne, and to Moltke, Von Roon, and Bismarck the new King committed the direction of the policy of the country; and in 1863, despite the opposition of Parliament, the reorganisation of the Army was completed. In 1864 war broke out with Denmark on account of the Elbe Duchies, and Moltke drew up the plan of operations for the combined Prussian and Austrian armies. Under Field-Marshal von Wrangel the advance was ordered, and Düppel was stormed, and a few days later the Prussian flag was planted on the northern point of Jutland, although the Danes still held the Island of Alsen, which threatened the allies' lines of communication. Under Moltke's advice the latter crossed the straits and forced the Danish troops in Alsen to capitulate. Further resistance was seen to be useless, and on Oct. 30 peace was signed, and Holstein, Lauenburg, and Schleswig were annexed to Germany.

The newly-acquired provinces soon became the cause or pretext for a quarrel between the two allies. By June, 1866, the Prussian and Austrian armies were concentrating on the frontiers of Bohemia, but Moltke's skilful combinations exposed the Austrian forces to a simultaneous attack in front and rear. Aided by the field-telegraph, Moltke perfected plans by which the army of Prince Frederick Charles, joined with that of Herwarth, burst into Bohemia through Saxony, swept away the detachments left to bar their progress, and threatened the flank and rear of the main force with which Benedek hoped to check the Crown Prince. The latter, fighting hard, pushed his way through the Silesian hills. His breech-loaders swept away the badly-armed Austrian

columns opposed to him, and Benedek, thus assailed and threatened, fell back perforce to a rearward position on the Bistritz. Once through the mountains, the junction of the Crown Prince with Prince Frederick Charles was assured, and on the night of the 1st of July their horsemen communicated with each other near Gitschin. The next day the King, with Moltke, arrived at Gitschin. Prince Frederick Charles left the Austrian army on the Bistritz, and, fearing that it might retreat beyond the Elbe, determined to attack and hold it fast till the Crown Prince could come up within striking distance, and smite it heavily in flank and rear. The consent of the King, by Moltke's advice, was given to this bold but wise view of Prince Frederick Charles. The battle of Königgrätz was the result, where the Austrian army was so utterly defeated that Benedek telegraphed immediately to his Sovereign, "Sire, you must make peace." The war was practically ended, and the unity of North Germany secured. After the battle the bulk of the Prussian armies marched on Vienna, where a fresh Austrian force was being organised out of the remnants of the army of Benedek which escaped from Königgrätz, and some of the troops victorious at Custozza, which were being brought up from Italy. A stout resistance was expected by the Prussian Staff in front of Vienna. Reserve divisions were quickly brought up, and by the 21st of July a Prussian army of 196,000 men stood massed on the left bank of the Danube. The points of passage were already chosen. An armistice was then agreed upon, and the Peace of Prague definitely concluded on the 23rd of August.

The national rejoicing was followed by a sad sorrow for the chief actor. In the middle of a singularly happy married life Madame von Moltke fell ill, and before the dawn of Christmas Day, 1868, she had passed away. She left no children, but the King appointed Lieutenant von Burt, Moltke's nephew, to be his uncle's permanent aide-de-camp till his surviving sister, Madame von Burt, took charge of his house. The great commander, however, cherished a lasting affection for his wife, who was buried on his estate in Silesia, and on each return there his first act was to visit her grave and the simple monument on which he had inscribed "Love is the fulfilment of the law."

Immediately after the war of 1866 Moltke resumed his labours at Berlin. Under his advice the Prussian military organisation was extended to the troops of all the Northern States. The army

which had fought in 1866 was augmented by three corps. The broad principles of its organisation as far as regarded infantry had proved so satisfactory in the field that they were not altered. In the organisation of the cavalry, however, which was largely increased, the experience of the war dictated the necessity of a vital change. Hitherto the Prussian regiments had consisted of four squadrons in time of peace; on the outbreak of war the four squadrons took the field, and a dépôt was formed to supply the necessary reinforcements of men and horses. After the Treaty of Prague the Prussian regiments were increased to five squadrons, of which four take the field and one remains as a dépôt to supply immediately the quick necessities of horses and men. To this change and to the large increase of cavalry was due in no slight degree the wonderful successes of the German armies in the French war; for, as the Emperor of the French himself stated, the Prussian cavalry formed an impenetrable screen, through which it was impossible for the enemy to discover the movements of the main armies, while every movement of French troops was faithfully and accurately reported to the German headquarters. Directly after the war of 1866 all muzzle-loading guns were laid aside and the entire artillery were armed with breech-loaders.

Though the claims of France to German territory, made in 1866, had been withdrawn, they were renewed in 1867 in a form which, though less summary, equally threatened to disturb the peace of Europe. A proposition was made by the King of Holland to sell the fortress of Luxemburg to France. Germany quickly was excited. A Prussian garrison held Luxemburg on behalf of Germany, and the King of Prussia, not anxious for a French war, but feeling that it would be the readiest mode of completing German unity, refused to abandon his charge. A Conference, proposed by the neutral Powers, met in London; the Duchy was declared neutral, and its neutrality guaranteed. Prussia withdrew her garrison, and the fortifications were to be razed. At this juncture, however, the nominal strength of the French army was 600,000 men; but it was practically found that it would have been impossible to place in line of battle, after providing for dépôts and necessary detachments, much more than 150,000 men. It was evident that the military system required reorganisation, and in 1868 the reorganisation elaborated by Marshal Niel became law.

But the result was that, although the reorganisation of 1868 theoretically placed more than 800,000 combatants at the disposal of the Emperor, and raised the military forces of France to more than 1,200,000 men, the army fit to take the field at the commencement of the war mustered scarcely 400,000 soldiers, of whom barely 270,000 could on an emergency be sent towards the Rhine.

The Luxemburg question had raised once more the probability of war between France and Russia. Precautions were taken on the Prussian side, and already in December, 1867, Moltke worked out and laid before the King a plan for the railway transport of the armies of Germany to the Rhine and a plan of campaign against France. So carefully were the details of the transport arranged, that when war broke out more than two years afterwards they had hardly to be altered. For every detachment, the day and hour of its departure from its garrison and arrival near the frontier was laid down. On the tenth day after mobilisation was ordered, the first troops would descend from their railway carriages close by the French frontier, and on the thirteenth day 60,000 combatants would be there in position; and on the eighteenth day this force would be swelled to 300,000 men. He calculated that only on the eighth day, in most favourable circumstances, could the French cross the frontier with 150,000 men, which would allow time for the Prussian staff to stop their railway transport at the Rhine and there disembark their forces. To move from the frontier at Saarlouis to the Rhine the French would require at least six marches, and could only reach the river on the fourteenth day, to find the passages occupied by overwhelming German forces. For on the German side there were ready to take the field, as soon as their rapid mobilisation was complete, the twelve corps of the North German Confederation, mustering at least 360,000 men; and the armies of Bavaria, Württemberg, Darmstadt, Saxony, and Baden, which were under the supreme command of the King of Prussia in virtue of the treaties concluded after the campaign of 1866, raised the field forces of that Sovereign to over 500,000 combatants. These were well sustained by an effective and organised system of depôts and reserves, administered by an elastic and proved machinery, and handled by well-trained officers. Those who looked below the surface saw that France was brooding, and pushing forward armaments and

military organisation. Moltke well knew this. His system of intelligence from France was excellent; every change in armament and every movement of battalions was known to him. The war which he had long foreseen broke out, indeed, suddenly, but found him prepared. In England it caused great surprise, although in the spring of 1870 French agents were abroad in all our southern counties buying corn and forage. The excuses for enormous purchases of this description were that the season had been so dry that no harvest was expected in France. But these excuses were transparent, for had forage been so very scarce in France, French dealers would not have cared, simultaneously with an enormous rise in the price of forage, to largely export horses to France. At the same time a flotilla was secretly collected in the northern French ports, capable of transporting 40,000 men and 12,000 horses. These things were carefully noted by Moltke's agents, but the British Government, against which the arrangements might have been equally directed, remained in happy ignorance of any danger of war, and within a few hours of the outbreak of hostilities Earl Granville, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, as he himself stated in Parliament, "believed that there was not a cloud on the political horizon of Europe."

The celebrated interview between the King of Prussia and the French Ambassador, M. Benedetti, took place at Ems on the 13th of July, 1870. On the 14th a Cabinet Council was held at St. Cloud, and it was determined to call up the French reserves. On the 15th a declaration by the French Ministry was made in the Senate and Corps Législatif simultaneously of war against Prussia. The plans matured in peace by Moltke were now to be tested. Late at night, on the 15th of July, the King of Prussia ordered the mobilisation of the whole German army. The 16th was the first day of mobilisation; on the 26th the mobilisation was complete; and on the 3rd of August three army corps stood formed in order of battle south of the Moselle, between the Saar and the Rhine, and ready to advance into France.

Moltke's plan of the campaign was that the army of the Crown Prince should advance on the east of the Vosges Mountains, on the German left; that of Prince Frederick Charles in the centre; and that of Steinmetz on the right, to the west of the Vosges. Moltke expected to find the united French army on the Moselle between Nancy and

Metz, but his cavalry soon informed him that they were not even concentrated, but in scattered corps. The bloody combats at Weissemburg, Spicheren, and Wörth followed in quick succession, each being witness to the triumph of German organisation.

Reports soon came in which showed that the whole French army contemplated a retreat from the line of the Moselle towards Châlons. Then Moltke conceived the daring plan of throwing the German force between Bazaine and Châlons and cutting off the French retreat. Prince Frederick Charles crossed the Moselle and engaged Bazaine's retreating columns in the bloody battle of Mars-la-Tour. Here he held the French General, who had 180,000 men, with his 90,000; and although he lost heavily, he gripped him tight and prevented his further retreat. Other German corps hurried up in support; and on the 18th the main German army, with its rear to Paris, engaged Bazaine at Gravelotte, and, after a severe fight, drove him back into Metz, where his force was quickly surrounded by Prince Frederick Charles, was shut up from all further participation in the war, and was finally compelled to capitulate in the latter part of October.

By a series of almost faultless combinations Moltke outwitted Bazaine's attempt to cut the German communications by seizing Metz, and, suddenly stopping the march of the third and fourth armies on their way to Paris, directed them to the north, and forced on the battle of Sedan. On Aug. 30 the Crown Prince of Saxony, moving down the right bank of the Meuse, surprised the French advance at Mouzon; for the French army, instead of making forced marches of about twenty miles a day, on account of want of discipline among the new levies and the failure of transport arrangements, was only able to make about six. On the same day the Crown Prince of Prussia also engaged the heads of Marshal MacMahon's columns at Beaumont and Donchéry and drove them in. On Sept. 1 the two armies, under the eyes of the King of Prussia, attacked the position which the French had taken up at Sedan. The Crown Prince threw his left completely round the French army. All day the battle raged. The French fought gallantly, even desperately, but, pressed upon by the better disciplined legions of Germany, they were pushed closer and closer to the ramparts of the fortress, while their adversaries gained a firm footing on all the heights which

command and overlook the basin in which Sedan is situated. At last, hemmed in, surrounded, and exposed to the commanding fire of a numerous and superior artillery, no resource was left to the French army but capitulation. A general of the Emperor's staff was sent to the King of Prussia to propose terms for the army, and at the same time the Emperor wrote a letter to the King and proposed to surrender his sword. The terms were the unconditional surrender of the army and the fortress. These were agreed to, and the whole French army was marched prisoners into Germany.

After the halt of a few days necessary for the completion of arrangements at Sedan, the armies of the Crown Princes marched direct for Paris, where alone the war could be ended. There was no French army worthy of mention now in the field. Bazaine, with the army of the Rhine, was invested in Metz, the Emperor and MacMahon were prisoners on the road to Germany. The German movements were, in Moltke's fashion, at once rapid and deliberate. On Sept. 19 the investment of Paris was, in a sense, completed, and opened a second stage of the war, which for several months was directed from Moltke's quarters at Versailles; but until Toul and Strasbourg fell, and Metz capitulated, his position was a precarious one.

After the fall of Metz Moltke had to deal, on the one side, with the efforts of the besieged to break through his lines, and, on the other hand, with the levying of the new French armies in the south, the north-west, and the east. Generals D'Aurelles, Chanzy, Faidherbe, and Bourbaki collected under their command from 400,000 to 500,000, more or less disciplined; but against them Moltke played his game skilfully, launching against them his subordinate armies, which either checked or dispersed the enemy, but never relaxing the rigour of the investment.

Versailles became thus the scene of the most important part of Moltke's life-work. At Versailles, on Oct. 26, he passed his seventieth birthday, and on that day he was raised by the King of Prussia, upon the reception of the news of the capitulation of Metz, to the rank of Count. From Versailles he had directed for nearly six months the movements which the German armies undertook from the Channel to the Loire to prevent the interruption of the blockade, and guided the complicated operations over this wide theatre of war. On Jan. 27 an armistice was agreed to, and peace was signed at Frankfort in May, 1871.

On his return to Berlin Moltke was raised by his grateful Sovereign to the rank of Field-Marshal, and the Parliament voted him a grant of 45,000*l.* Berlin, Leipsic, Hamburg, Magdeburg made him a freeman, and on the anniversary of the capitulation of Paris he was called for life to the Prussian Upper House; one of the new forts at Strassburg and a corvette built at Dantsic received his name. In 1874 he was elected by the Berlin Academy of Science to fill the knighthood vacant through the death of King John of Hanover. Parchim, his birthplace, erected in his honour a colossal statue, which was unveiled in October, 1876, in the presence of the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg and various military deputations. In 1879 Moltke completed sixty years' service. The Emperor William I. on this occasion sent him a letter of congratulation, signed "Your thankful King," with the Star of the Order of Merit, and the whole of the officers of the German Staff united to raise a monument in his honour in front of his house at Kreisau. Count Moltke represented in the Reichstag, from the time of its formation in 1867, the West Prussian county of Memel-Heydekrug; but still conducted his military duties as Chief of the Staff of the army. Till quite a late date he in person conducted the annual travels of the General Staff, and again reconnoitered the German coast as well as the newly-acquired territories of Alsace and Lorraine, and presided over a commission appointed to investigate improvements in the coast defences. The experiences of the French war with regard to mobilisation were carefully collated under his supervision; the readiness of the army for the field improved, and its strength increased by augmentation of the peace establishments; a better organisation of the reserves and landwehr in case of war was also adopted on his suggestion. Every year Moltke, as Chief of the Staff, accompanied the Emperor to the autumn manœuvres, and acted as chief military adviser, and personally looked through the tactical exercises of officers intended for the Staff.

Moltke lived to see his aged master, the Emperor William I., pass away in the fulness of years and honours, and a few months later, in June, 1888, after the short reign of the Emperor Frederick, he paid his homage, among the other founders of the new German Empire, at the accession of William II. On Aug. 29 in the same year the great "organiser of victory" resigned his office as Chief of the Staff of the German armies, which

he had held during the most eventful and the most splendid period in the history of his country. It was officially announced that he retired because of his advanced age, which no longer allowed him to mount his horse. The Emperor accepted Count Moltke's resignation with eloquent expressions of gratitude and regret, and appointed as his successor Count Waldersee, who had for some time been his assistant. Moltke was then nominated President of the National Defence Commission, a dignified and not wholly honorary office, which had been filled in succession by the Emperor William I., when Prince of Prussia, and by the Emperor Frederick, when Crown Prince of Germany. Down to the day of his death he continued to act as military adviser of the General Staff, and it is understood that he had lately been working actively upon the plans for the fortification of Heligoland. In March, 1889, the seventieth anniversary of his entrance upon the military career was celebrated, and in the succeeding November he received a special badge of honour as having been for half a century a member of the order "Pour le Mérite." Still more striking were the honours paid to the veteran Field-Marshal in October, 1890, when he attained his ninetieth birthday. The Emperor and the Court, the army and the people, joined in showing their affectionate reverence for one of the makers of Germany, whose brilliant achievements had never marred the simplicity of his character or developed a restless ambition.

Moltke's iron constitution, unhurt by unbroken work, long withstood the impress of time. Tall of stature and somewhat lean, he rode well, and was always well mounted. Cool in battle, whenever requisite he freely exposed himself to danger, but with a modest calm devoid of all desire of effect. To observe the disposition of the enemy at Königgrätz he rode among the advanced line of skirmishers in the wood of Sadowa. The motto that he took for his coat of arms when he was made a Count—instead of his old family device of "Candide et caute"—"Erst wägen, dann wagen," "First weigh, then wage," well points his military policy. His plans were well weighed, his warfare was waged boldly, sternly, and decisively. Long and carefully he calculated, but when his decision was once made he rushed straight on his objective point. He was kind and considerate to subordinates, allowed them much freedom of action, and never feared to accept responsibility;

thus he was well served. Loyal to his superiors throughout his life, he regarded duty fulfilled, not fame acquired, as the object of his career. As a politician he belonged to the Conservative party, but was animated by a deep love of his fatherland, of which his Sovereign had described him as the sword.

His private life was marked by simplicity and homeliness; he was a tried friend and a good landlord to his dependents at Kreisau, where his wife was buried, and where, in later years, he

spent his leisure time, ending each day with a game of chess or a rubber of whist. He was busied with his duties to the last. On the afternoon of April 24 he was present at the sitting of the Reichstag, and returned home in apparently his ordinary health. After dinner he played his usual rubber, and then asked for some music. A few minutes afterwards he withdrew to his bedroom, when suddenly the action of the heart ceased, and he passed away without pain.

On the 1st, at Hampstead, aged 74, **John Daniel Morell, M.A., LL.D.**, the son of an Independent minister, born at Little Baddow manse, Essex. Educated at Homerton College and Glasgow University, for many years a minister at Gosport. Was the first Inspector of Dissenting schools, appointed by Lord Lansdowne in 1846. Author of an "Historical and Critical View of Speculative Philosophy in the Nineteenth Century" (1847), "The Philosophy of Religion" (1849), "Introduction to the Inductive Method" (1863), and many other works. On the 2nd, at Rouen, aged 70, **M. Pouyer-Quertier**, a vehement Protectionist. First elected, 1857, for the Seine Inférieure, and opposed the Anglo-French Treaty of Commerce; lost his seat in 1869, but recovered it in 1871, and became Minister of Finance in M. Thiers's first Cabinet, and showed great skill in negotiating the payment of the French Indemnity to Germany. Was forced to resign office in consequence of defending M. Janvier de la Motte for financial irregularities under the Empire. Elected to the Senate, 1876-90, when he was defeated by the Republican candidate. On the 4th, at Manchester, aged 72, **Sir Thomas Sowler**, proprietor of the *Manchester Courier*. Married, 1866, Emily, daughter of James Yates; knighted, 1890, for services to the Conservative party. On the 4th, at Madras, **Sir Madhava Rao, K.C.S.I.**, for many years Dewar of Travancore; a supporter of British rule and of the Indian National Congress. On the 4th, at Tittleshall Rectory, Norfolk, aged 79, **Rev. the Hon. Kenelm Henry Digby**, second son of Admiral Sir Henry Digby, G.C.B. Educated at Christ Church, Oxon.; B.A. 1833. Married, 1835, Caroline, daughter of Edward Sheppard, of The Ridge, Gloucester. Rector of Tittleshall, 1855; hon. Canon of Norwich, 1858. On the 7th, at Winsford Vicarage, Somerset, aged 56, **John Dando Sedding**, an architect of considerable repute, especially for ecclesiastical buildings; did much restoration at Wells Cathedral. Married Rose, daughter of Rev. E. Douglas Tinling, Canon of Gloucester, who survived her husband just a week. On the 7th, at Bridgeport, Connecticut, U.S.A., aged 80, **Phineas Taylor Barnum**, the famous showman, who for 65 years had been before the public as manager, lecturer, author, newspaper editor, and banker. In 1842 he brought out Charles S. Stratton, better known as "General" Tom Thumb. In 1856 he engaged Jenny Lind at the rate of \$1,000 for each concert. In 1865 was elected to the Connecticut Legislature, and was thrice re-elected. He was once bankrupt; thrice his show was destroyed by fire, the last time in 1887; but two years later he brought a fresh show to London, which was quite the largest ever seen in this country. He left a fortune of upwards of five million dollars. On the 8th, at Paris, aged 67, **Edward de Pressensé**, Pastor of the Free Church (Protestant) at Paris, 1847-70, when he gave himself up more particularly to political life, and was returned as a Moderate Republican for Paris. July, 1872, and in 1883 was elected a Life Senator. He wrote in many French and foreign reviews, and in 1858 established *La Revue Chrétienne*. Married, 1846, Mdlle. Plessis-Gourlet, of Yverdon, Vaud, Switzerland. On the 8th, at Castle Bellingham, co. Louth, aged 43, **Lady Constance Julia Bellingham**, wife of Sir Henry Bellingham, fourth Bart., and second daughter of Charles George, second Earl of Gainsborough. On the 10th, at Torquay, aged 55, **Morgan Howard, Q.C.**, Judge of the Cornwall County Courts; unsuccessfully contested Lambeth as a Conservative in 1868, 1874, 1880, but was elected for the Dulwich division in 1886; appointed County Court Judge, 1888. Married, 1857, Anne, daughter of Geo. Bowes, of Homerton. On the 11th, at Bournemouth, aged 81, **Lord Mure**, one of the Lords of Session, 1865-89; youngest son of William Mure, of Caldwell, Renfrewshire; passed as Advocate, 1831; Sheriff of Perthshire, 1853. On the 11th, at Monte Carlo, aged 55, **Charles**

J. T. Hambro, M.P., eldest son of Charles Joachim, Baron Hambro, of Milton Abbey, Dorset. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; called to the Bar, 1860; Colonel of the Queen's Own Dorset Yeomanry and Deputy-Provincial Grand Master of Freemasons; sat as a Conservative for Weymouth, 1868-74, and for South Dorset from 1886. Married, 1857, Susan Amelia, daughter of the Hon. and Very Rev. H. B. Yorke, Archdeacon of Huntingdon. On the 11th, at Gumley Hall, Leicestershire, aged 35, **Thomas Keay Tapling, M.P.** Educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge; head of the firm of Tapling & Co., carpet warehousemen, Gresham Street; returned as a Conservative, 1886, for the Market Harborough Division of Leicestershire. On the 11th, at Paris, aged 59, **Kesley Halswelle, R.A.**, a painter of some eminence. Worked chiefly in Italy, 1869-79, and painted Italian *contadini* and peasants; but after the latter date was chiefly known as a painter of landscapes, Scotch scenery, and the banks of the Thames. His exhibition of pictures, "Six Years in a House-boat," in 1884, was a considerable success. On the 12th, at Kharkoff, aged 51, the **Grand Duchesse Olga Federovna**, daughter of Grand Duke Leopold of Bavaria. Married, 1857, Michael, third son of the Czar Nicholas. She had left St. Petersburg on hearing of her son'smorganatic marriage and consequent disgrace, and died by her own hand on the way to her palace in the South. On the 13th, in Eaton Square, aged 80, **Jane Walter, Dowager Lady Lampson**, daughter of Mr. Gibbs Sibley, of Sutton, Massachusetts. On the 15th, at Nether Hall, Suffolk, aged 75, **Edward Greene, M.P.**, son of Benjamin Greene, a West India planter, born at Bury St. Edmund's, and educated at Grammar School there. Was the head of a large firm of brewers. Sat as a Conservative for Bury St. Edmund's, 1865-85, and for Suffolk N.W. from 1886. Married, first, 1840, Emily, daughter of Rev. Geo. Smythies, of Stanground, Peterborough; and second, 1870, Caroline Dorothea, daughter of Charles Prideaux Brune, of Prideaux Place, Cornwall, and widow of Admiral Sir Wm. Hoste. On the 15th, at Paris, aged 87, **Emile Reuss**, an eminent Biblical critic, born at Strassburg, where he held the Chair of Theology, 1829-38. On the 16th, at Argyll Lodge, Kensington, aged 28, **Lady Alexandra Leveson-Gower**, youngest daughter of third Duke of Sutherland. On the 17th, at Castlewellan, aged 30, **Mabel W. Frances, Countess of Annesley**, eldest daughter of Colonel Markham, of Cufforth Hall, Yorkshire. On the 18th, at Queen's Gate, South Kensington, aged 91, **David Barclay Chapman**, of Downshire House, Roehampton, seventh son of Abel Chapman, of Woodford, Essex. For forty years an active partner of the firm of Overend, Gurney & Co., from which he retired in 1857. Married, first, Anne, daughter of William Short, Bishop of Sodor and Man; and, second, Maria, daughter of Rev. Robt. Chatfield, D.D., Rector of Chatteris. On the 18th, at Hove, Sussex, aged 82, **General Michael Smith, C.B.** Commanded the Osmanli Irregular Cavalry during the Crimean Campaign, and held a high command during the Indian Mutiny. On the 18th, in Harley Street, London, aged 39, **Sir Alfred Wilson Trevelyan**, of Nettlecombe Court, co. Somerset, seventh Bart., only son of Mr. Alfred Wilson Trevelyan. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin. Married, 1860, Fanny, daughter of Right Hon. James Monahan, Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas, Ireland. On the 19th, at Broomhall, Horsell, Surrey, aged 61, **Major-General Thos. W. W. Pierce, C.R.**, son of Colonel F. H. Pierce, R.A., C.B. Served with distinction in India, 1854-59; China, 1860, and Abyssinia, 1867-68. On the 21st, at Heytesbury, Wilts, aged 72, **William Henry Ashe & Court Holmes**, second Baron Heytesbury. Educated at Eton and St. John's, Cambridge; sat as a Conservative for Isle of Wight, 1837-47. Married, 1833, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Leonard Darby Holmes, of Westover, Bart., whose name he assumed. On the 24th, at East Woodhay, Berks, aged 72, **Rev. Philip Antoine Baron de Teissier**, second son of James, first Baron, on whom that title was conferred by Louis XVIII. "in consideration of the kindness shown by his father, Mr. Lewis de Teissier, of Woodcote Park, Epsom, to French subjects during the Revolution." On the 24th, in Ennismore Gardens, aged 65, **Charles Morgan Norwood**, eldest son of Charles Norwood, of Ashford, Kent. Began life in a mercantile house, and became head of large shipping firm; sat as a Liberal for Hull, 1865-85; was twice President of the Hull Chamber of Commerce, and married, 1855, Anna, daughter of John H. Blakeney. On the 25th, in the Crimea, aged 60, the **Grand Duke Nicholas**, son of the Emperor Nicholas I. Directed the defence of the Eastern front of the attack on Sebastopol, and was Commander-in-Chief in the Russo-Turkish War, 1877. Married, 1856, Alexandra, daughter of Prince Peter of Oldenburg. The Grand Duke Nicholas, who was a General-Field-Marshal of the Empire, had been deranged for some months. On the 25th, at Henfield, Sussex, aged 80, the **Rev. Nathaniel Woodard, D.C.L.** Founder and Provost of St. Nicholas College, and in connection

with which were established the colleges of Lancing, Hurstpierpoint and Ardingly. Graduated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, 1839; Curate of Shoreham, 1848; Canon of Manchester, 1870, and Rector of St. Philip's, Salford, 1888. On the 26th, at Athens, aged 76, Professor Constantine Paparrhigopoulos, a distinguished historian. Born at Constantinople. On the murder of his parents by the Turks he escaped to Odessa, where he was educated. On the recognition of Greek independence, he entered the Civil Service of the new Kingdom, and in 1851 was appointed Professor of History at the University of Athens. On the 28th, at Tiflis, aged 80, the Supreme Patriarch Macarius, Catholicos of Armenia, born near Lake Van. Educated at Etchoniadzin; ordained Deacon, 1834, and appointed Member of the Armenian Gregorian Synod, 1838; raised to Episcopal rank in 1851, and became Treasurer of the Monastery Etchoniadzin; held the Bishopric of Georgia in the Caucasus, 1862-74, and that of Nakhitchevan, Bessarabia, 1874-85, when he was elected Supreme Armenian Patriarch and Catholicos. On the 30th, at Hackbridge, aged 71, General Sir Alexander Macdonell, K.C.B., son of Hugh Macdonell, Consul-General at Algiers. Entered the Army, 1837; served through the Kaffir War, 1846-47; aide-de-camp to General Sir Geo. Brown throughout the Crimean Campaign; commanded 3rd Battalion in the Indian Mutiny, and took part in the capture of Lucknow. Married, 1867, Emily Rutson, daughter of Henry Rose Alport. On the 30th, at Stookbridge, Hants, aged 52, Amelia Sophia, Lady Webster, daughter of Ch. Fred. Prosser-Hastings, of Taunton. Married, 1862, Sir Augustus Vassal Webster, seventh Bart. On the 30th, at Richmond, Surrey, aged 71, Lady Mary Augusta Onslow, only daughter of third Earl of Onslow.

MAY.

Lord Edward Cavendish.—Lord Edward Cavendish, who died on May 18, at Devonshire House, London, was the third and youngest surviving son of William, seventh Duke of Devonshire, K.G., by his marriage with the late Lady Blanche Georgiana Howard, fourth daughter of the sixth Earl of Carlisle, K.G., and was born in 1838. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and entered the Rifle Brigade in 1860, retiring in 1865. In that year he was elected M.P. for East Sussex as a Liberal, but was defeated in 1868; in 1873-4 he was private secretary to Lord Spencer, the then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and in 1874, with Sir J. Kay-Shuttleworth, he unsuccessfully contested North-East Lancashire against Mr. J. M. Holt and Mr. J. P. Starkie. He was a magistrate for Sussex and Lancashire, and a Magistrate and D.L. for Derbyshire, Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the 3rd Battalion Sherwood Foresters (Derbyshire Regiment) from 1881 till 1888, and he had been Lieutenant-Colonel of the 1st Volunteer Battalion of the Royal Lancashire Regiment from 1888. He was closely connected with Lancashire industries, being a director of the Barrow Hematite Steel Company and of the Furness Railway Company, and was also on the board of the Alliance Assurance Company. He was elected member for North Derbyshire in 1885 in succession to his uncle, Lord George Henry Cavendish, and was returned for the western

division of the county in November of that year, defeating Mr. F. C. Arkwright. He was returned for the same division without opposition at the general election of the following year as a Unionist. Since that time he had acted as Whip for the Unionist party. Lord Edward Cavendish married, in 1865, the Hon. Emma Elizabeth Lascelles, who was the fourth daughter of the late Right Hon. William S. Lascelles, M.P., and Lady Caroline Lascelles, and was formerly a Maid of Honour to her Majesty and a Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess Christian.

Sir Patrick Colquhoun.—Sir Patrick (Mac Chombaich de) Colquhoun, who died on May 18 at his chambers in King's Bench Walk, Temple, from pneumonia, which was supposed to have ensued upon an attack of influenza, was the eldest son of the late Chevalier James de Colquhoun. He was born in 1815, and educated at Westminster, and St. John's College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1837. He graduated M.A. in 1844, and was subsequently elected an Honorary Fellow of the college. Besides these degrees he received that of Juris Utriusque Doctor at Heidelberg, and in 1852 that of LL.D. at Cambridge. In 1838 he was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, joining the Home Circuit, and soon afterwards was appointed Plenipotentiary by the Hanseatic Republic, of which his father

had been Agent and Consul-General, to conclude commercial treaties with Turkey, Persia, and Greece. In 1857 he became Aulic Councillor to the King of Saxony, and he held the post of Standing Counsel to the Legation of that Sovereign until the abolition of the office in 1866. From the Government of Saxony, as well as from that of Oldenburg, for which he was Councillor of Legation, he received decorations. In 1858 Sir P. Colquhoun was appointed by Sir E. Bulwer Lytton to be a member of the Supreme Court of Justice of the Ionian Islands; he became Chief Justice of the Court in 1861, and in the same year received the honour of knighthood. When the islands were ceded to Greece in 1864 he returned to England.

Four years later he was made a Q.C. and a Master of the Bench of the Inner Temple, to which he was appointed Treasurer in 1888. He was President of the Royal Society of Literature—in succession to Prince Leopold—up to the time of his death, and was President of the committee of a section of the International Orientalist Congress. He wrote various treatises on political and classical subjects. His principal work, published between 1849 and 1860, was "A Summary of the Roman Civil Law, illustrated by Commentaries and Parallels from the Mosaic, Canon, Mahomedan, English, and Foreign Laws." Sir P. Colquhoun married, in 1843, Katherine, daughter of M. de St. Vitalis.

On the 1st May, at Cambridge, aged 65, **Rev. Henry Richards Luard, D.D.**, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Registrar of the University of Cambridge, son of Henry Luard, educated at Cheam and Trinity Colleges, Cambridge, 14th Wrangler, 1847; author of several biographical and historical essays and sketches; elected, 1862, to the Registry, and married, 1863, daughter of Archdeacon Hodson. On the 1st, at Munich, aged 69, **Ferdinand Gregorovius**. Born at Neidenburg, Eastern Prussia; studied at Königsberg; author of "History of Rome in the Middle Ages," "The Times of the Emperor Hadrian"; a book of travels in Corsica in 1832; and several other works in various branches of literature. On the 3rd, at Brighton, aged 66, **Barry Sullivan**, a popular tragedian, born at Birmingham; first appeared at the Royal Theatre, Cork; soon afterwards at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh; came to London in 1852; appeared at the Haymarket, afterwards at Drury Lane. In 1857 he made a successful tour in the United States, and in 1861 sailed for Australia, where he remained six years. On his return to England he played at various London theatres down to 1879, since which time he seldom played except in the provinces. On the 3rd, at Park Lane, aged 84, **Right Hon. Sir Montague Smith**, son of Thomas Smith, of Bideford, Devon, where he was educated; called to the bar, 1835, at the Middle Temple; Q.C., 1852; contested Truro as a Conservative in 1849 and 1852; elected 1859 and sat until 1865, when he was appointed a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas; promoted to be a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, 1871; retired, 1881. On the 3rd, in London, aged 62, **Montem Smith**, a tenor singer and a teacher of music; successively chorister boy at Eton College and St. George's Chapel, Windsor; tenor singer at St. Andrew's, Well Street, and at Westminster Abbey, to which he was attached until his death; a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, St. James, and a Lecturer and Teacher at the Royal College of Music. On the 5th, at the Euston Hotel, London, aged 36, **Lord James Edward Sholto Douglas**, third son of seventh Marquess of Queensberry; married, 1888, Martha Lucy Hennessy, widow of I. Hennessy, of Midgard House, Cavers, Hawick. On the 6th, at Carlyle Mansions, Chelsea, aged 85, **Thomas Hare**, the author of "The Theory of Proportional Representation." Called to the bar, 1833; edited "Reports in Chancery," 1841-53, when he was appointed Assistant Charity Commissioner, and an Inspector of the Charities. In 1858 he published as a pamphlet "The Machinery of Representation," which formed the groundwork of his later and larger treatise on representative government. He married, first, Mary Samson, and, second, Eleanor Bowes Benson, sister of the Archbishop of Canterbury. On the 6th, at Bayswater, aged 48, **Lindsey Middleton Aspland, Q.C., LL.D.**, second son of Rev. Robert Brook Aspland; educated at Hackney; called to the bar, 1868; Q.C., 1886. On the 6th, in London, aged 55, **Colonel Herbert George Deedes**, of Sandbury Park, Kent, Permanent Assistant Secretary for War. Entered 60th Rifles; served during the Indian Mutiny, 1857-9, and was extra Aide-de-camp to Sir A. Wilson at the capture of Lucknow; married, 1870, Rosie Elinor, daughter of Major-General Barrow, C.B. On the 7th, in Berkeley Square, aged 72, **Right Hon. Edward James Herbert**, third Earl of Powis, LL.D., D.C.L.; educated at Eton and St. John's College, Cambridge; first-class Classical Tripos, 1840; sat as a Conservative for North Shrop-

shire, 1845-8; succeeded to title, 1848; High Steward of Cambridge, 1863; Lord Lieutenant, Montgomeryshire, 1877. On the 7th, at Wolverstone Park, Suffolk, aged 89, **Captain Hugh Berners, R.N.**, second son of Ven. H. Denny Berners, Archdeacon of Suffolk; married, 1832, Julia Alice, daughter of John Ashton, of the Grange, Chester. On the 7th, at Sydney, N.S.W., aged 75, **Sir John Robertson, K.C.M.G.**; born at Bow, Essex; went to Australia as a youth, and was engaged in farming. He was a member of every Parliament elected in the colony, and three times a member of the Upper House; from 1858-88 he formed part of nearly every Cabinet, and was three times Premier. Married, 1837, Harriet, daughter of J. J. Davis, of Clovelly, Watson's Bay, N.S.W. On the 8th, at St. John's Wood, aged 60, **Helena Petrovna Blavatsky**, one of the joint founders, in 1875, of the Theosophical Society. Born at Ekaterinoslav, the daughter of Colonel Peter Hahn, she was married at an early age to a man from whom she soon separated, and started upon a long course of travel in Europe, America, and Asia, and interested herself in various forms of spiritualism. In 1858, while riding in the Caucasus, she was thrown from her horse and severely injured her spine, and for eighteen months led a dual existence; but she subsequently recovered, and pursued her studies and researches. In 1876 she published "Iris Unveiled," followed by other works, and in 1887 she established in London *Lucifer the Lightbringer*, the organ of the sect of Theosophists. On the 8th, at Ardmore, co. Dublin, aged 35, **Hon. Thomas Kenelm Digby St. Lawrence**, son of Thomas, third Earl of Howth; captain 5th Dragoon Guards; served in the Egyptian campaign, 1882. On the 9th, at Cowley, Middlesex, aged 80, **General Sir Edward Green, K.C.B.**, son of James Green; educated at Addiscombe; entered Indian Army, 1827; served at Hyderabad, Goojerat, Mooltan, &c.; Adjutant-General Bombay, 1856-60; commanded a division, 1862-5. Married, first, 1845, Emma, daughter of Thomas Ray Eaton, and, second, 1877, Mary, daughter of Thomas Griffiths, of Barnstaple. On the 10th, at Edinburgh, aged 92, **Alexander Beith, D.D.**, the oldest minister of the Free Church of Scotland. A native of Campbelltown, he was educated at the University of Glasgow; after being minister at Oban, Glasgow, Killrandon, &c., he was transferred, in 1839, to Stirling; and was one of the seven ministers who, in 1842, preached in the face of the prohibition of the Civil Courts. After the disruption he became a minister of the Free Church in Stirling, and in 1856 was elected Moderator of the Central Assembly. On the 11th, at Farnborough, aged 49, **Hon. Paulina Mary**, wife of Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Evelyn Wood, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., V.C., and daughter of Colonel Hon. Arthur Southwell. On the 12th, at Leamington, Hastings, Rugby, aged 33, **Sir Peyton Estotewille Skipwith**, tenth Baronet; Captain second Warwick Militia; married, 1879, Alice M., daughter of Colonel Benjamin B. Herrick. On the 12th, at Holy Trinity rectory, Marylebone, aged 62, **Rev. William Cadman**; graduated, 1837, at St. Catharine's College, Cambridge; successively Curate of St. George's, Bloomsbury, 1844; Minister of Park Chapel, Chelsea; Rector of St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark, and of Holy Trinity, Marylebone, 1859; Canon of Canterbury, 1883. On the 12th, at Ford Castle, Northumberland, aged 73, **Louisa Marchioness of Waterford**, daughter of first Baron Stuart de Rothesay; married, 1842, third Marquess of Waterford, who died in 1859. On the 13th, at Brighton, aged 62, **William Boyle Barbour, M.P.**, son of W. Barbour; some time Bailie of Paisley; was head of a house of business in the South American trade; represented Paisley as a Liberal from 1836. On the 14th, in London, aged 44, **Captain Anthony Kingscote, R.N.**, son of Henry Kingscote, of Kingscote, co. Gloucester; entered the Royal Navy, 1860; served in the Zulu War, 1879; formed part of the Ekowe Relief Column, and was mentioned in despatches; also served in Egyptian War, 1882, and commanded H.M.S. *Woodlark* at Suakin, 1884-5. On the 14th, at Hampstead, aged 50, **Thomas Collier, R.I.**, a landscape painter, chiefly in water-colours; born in Derbyshire; educated at Manchester School of Art; nominated at the French Exhibition of 1878 a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. He was distinguished as a colourist and as a follower of David Cox. On the 15th, at Hampstead, aged 51, **Edwin Long, R.A.**, a painter of considerable repute, who chose chiefly Oriental subjects. His most important pictures were "The Babylonian Marriage Market," 1875; "The Egyptian Feast," 1877; elected an Associate, 1876; a Royal Academician, 1881. On the 16th, at Clogrenane, co. Carlow, aged 81, **Horace William Noel Rochfort**, son of Colonel John Stanton Rochfort; High Sheriff for Carlow, 1839, and for Queen's county, 1845. Married, first, in 1837, Frances E., daughter of T. P. Cosby, of Stradbally; and, second, in 1845, Hon. Charlotte Hood, daughter of second Lord Bridport. He represented the branch of the Rochfort family, in which was vested

the extinct earldom of Belvedere. On the 16th, at Bucharest, aged 69, **Joan Brattiano**, "the Cavour of Roumania"; a staunch Republican in his youth, he became Liberal Prime Minister in 1876, and remained, with short interruptions, head of the Government for twelve years, during which he raised the Principality to a Kingdom, and established the independence of Roumania. On the 18th, at Hampstead, aged 66, **Maurice Drummond, C.B.**, second son of Charles Drummond; Private Secretary to Sir G. Cornwall Lewis; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1856-8, and Home Secretary, 1858-9; Receiver of Metropolitan Police, 1860-83. Married, 1847, Hon. Adelaide Lister, daughter of second Baron Ribblesdale. On the 18th, at Lee, Kent, aged 89, **John Wingfield Larking**; for some years in the English Consular service in the Levant, and, by his influence with Mehemet Ali, succeeded in obtaining the surrender of the Turkish fleet, which had gone over to Mehemet Ali, and saved Alexandria from being plundered by the Arabs and Arnauts, who had expelled the Turks. On the 19th, at Fontainebleau, aged 63, **Jean Jacques Weiss**, the son of a Swiss soldier in the French service. He began life as professor in a provincial town. He came to Paris about 1860, when, in conjunction with Prevost-Paradol, he keenly assailed the French Emperor in the papers. In 1870 he became Secretary-General of Fine Arts in the short-lived Ollivier Cabinet; in 1877 Director of Political Affairs in the Gambetta Cabinet, and for many years dramatic critic of the *Débats*. In 1882 he was appointed Librarian at the Palace of Fontainebleau. On the 22nd, in Harley Street, aged 62, **Sir Robert Nicholas Fowler, Bart., M.P.**, of Gastard House, Wilts, and Bruce Grove, Middlesex; only son of Thomas Fowler, of Tottenham. Fellow and M.A. of University College, London; unsuccessfully contested City of London as a Conservative, 1865, and Penrhyn and Falmouth, 1866, for which he was returned, 1868-74; defeated again in 1874; but returned for the City of London, 1886; Alderman of the Cornhill Ward, 1878; Sheriff, 1880; Lord Mayor of London, 1883-4, and again in 1885. Married, 1852, Sarah Charlotte, daughter of Alfred Fox, of Falmouth; was a member of the Society of Friends; a banker and philanthropist. On the 22nd, at Acton Reynold Hall, Shrewsbury, aged 69, **Sir Vincent Rowland Corbet**, of Moreton, Salop, third Baronet; entered Royal Horse Guards; married, 1854, Caroline Agnes, daughter of Hon. Charles O. Bridgeman. On the 23rd, at Egerton Gardens, Brompton, aged 56, from suffocation caused by the upsetting of a lamp, **Right Hon. William**, second Baron Romilly; educated at London University and Trinity College, Cambridge; was Lieutenant 23rd Foot, and subsequently called to the bar at Gray's Inn, 1864, and appointed Clerk of Enrolments in Chancery. Married, first, 1865, Emily Idonea Sophia, daughter of Sir J. Gaspard Le Marchant, and, second, 1872, Helen, daughter of Edward Hanson Denison. On the 24th, at Melford Hall, Suffolk, aged 65, **Sir William Parker**, ninth Baronet, second son of Vice-Admiral Hyde Parker, C.B.; entered the Army, 44th Foot; retired as Captain; married, 1855, Sophia M., daughter of Nathaniel C. Barnardiston, of The Ryes, Sudbury. On the 26th, at Queensborough Terrace, London, aged 88, **General Sir William Wyllie, G.C.B.**, third son of John Wyllie, of Holmhead House, Kilmarnock; entered Indian Army, 1819, as a fellow cadet with Sir James Outram; served under Lord Keane in the Army of the Indus during the Afghan War, 1838-9, and with Sir Charles Napier in the Scinde War. Married, 1831, Amelia, daughter of Richard Hutt, of Appley, Isle of Wight. On the 26th, at Arbutnott House, Kincardineshire, aged 84, **Right Hon. John**, ninth Viscount Arbutnott. Entered the Army; retired as Captain, 1830; married, 1837, Lady Jean Ogilvy, daughter of sixth Earl of Ogilvy. On the 28th, at Ewart Park, Northumberland, aged 78, **Sir Horace St. Paul**, second Baronet; educated at Christ Church, Oxford; a Count of the Holy Roman Empire; sat as a Conservative for East Worcestershire, 1837-41; High Sheriff for Northumberland, 1851. Married, 1867, Jane Eliza, daughter of George Annett Grey, of Millfield, Northumberland. On the 29th, at Eastbourne, aged 64, **William Webb Follett Syngé**; appointed to the Foreign Office, 1846; attached to the Legation at Washington, 1851-3; Secretary to Special Mission to Central America, 1853-9; Commissioner to the Sandwich Islands, 1861-5; Consul-General at Cuba, 1865-8; married, 1852, Emily, daughter of Col. Wainwright, U.S.A.; author of two popular novels, "Olive Raleigh" and "Tom Singleton"; a frequent contributor to *Punch*, and among Thackeray's most intimate friends. On the 29th, at Lennox Gardens, aged 57, **Right Hon. Richard Somerset Le Poer Trench**, fourth Earl of Glancarty; educated at Cheltenham College, and Trinity College, Cambridge; Honorary Colonel Galway Militia; married, 1866, Lady Adeliza Georgiana, eldest daughter of second Marquess of Bristol. On the 30th, at Flensburg, aged 83, the **Duchess Wilhelmina Maria of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg**, daughter of Frederick VI., King of Denmark.

married, 1828, Frederick, Crown Prince of Denmark, afterwards Frederick VII., from whom she was divorced in 1837, and re-married, 1838, Charles Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg. On the 31st, at Montreal, aged 78, Hon. Sir Antoine Aimé Dorion, Chief Justice of Quebec; educated at Nicolet College; called to the Canadian bar, 1842; Q.C., 1863; was M.E.C. of Canada, 1858-64; Attorney-General and co-leader of Government, 1864; P.C. of Canada and Minister of Justice, 1873, and Chief Justice of Queen's Bench, Quebec, 1874. On the 31st, at Victoria Square, London, aged 60, Lieutenant-General Henry Hope Crealock, C.B., C.M.G.; educated at Rugby; entered the Army, and served with 90th Regiment at Balaclava and at the siege of Sebastopol, where, for his gallant conduct, he received brevet rank of Major, and appointed D.A.Q.M.G., which post he also held in the China expeditionary force, 1857; served in the Rohilkund and other campaigns, 1858-9, and as Military Secretary to Lord Elgin during the Chinese War, 1861; Military Attaché at St. Petersburg and Vienna, 1865-9; Q.M.G. in Ireland 1874-7; commanded first division in Zulu War, 1879. He was an accomplished draughtsman, and furnished many interesting sketches of the campaigns in which he took part.]

JUNE.

Sir John Macdonald.—The Right Hon. Sir John Alexander Macdonald, G.C.B., LL.D., D.C.L., whose death took place at Ottawa on June 6, was born at Glasgow Jan. 11, 1815. He was the son of a Sutherlandshire yeoman, Mr. Hugh Macdonald, who had emigrated to Canada in 1820, settling with his family at Kingston, Ontario. Young Macdonald was educated at the Royal Grammar School, Kingston, and adopted the law as his profession, being called to the bar of Upper Canada in 1836. In this profession he rapidly attained eminence, and until the year 1869 he regularly filled the post of Attorney-General in the successive Ministries of which he was a member. He became a Benchler of the Law Society of Ontario, and head of the legal firm of Macdonald and Marsh, Toronto, which had a most extensive practice. He was subsequently made a Q.C. In 1839 he achieved distinction by his memorable defence of Von Schultz, who raided Canada three years before at the head of a small band of marauders. Entering public life in 1844 as the representative of the city of Kingston in the House of Assembly he was no more than three years before attaining to office. In Dec. 1847 he became Commissioner of Crown Lands, an advocate of progressive Conservatism as opposed to Toryism. The Cabinet of which Macdonald was a member was overthrown in 1850, and made way for the Reform Ministry of Lafontaine, Baldwin, and Hincks, which retained power until Sept. 1854. Meanwhile, Mr. Macdonald was gradually becoming remarkable for tact, assiduity, and a mastery of Parliamentary procedure and usage. He took a leading place at once among the de-

baters of the time, and his speeches on the Rebellion Losses Bill and the secularisation of the Clergy Reserves attracted marked attention. On the defeat of the Government, Macdonald joined, as Attorney-General, the new Coalition Cabinet of MacNab-Morin, which was pledged to settle the vexed question at once and for ever. During the sway of the Coalition the Clergy Reserves were secularised on a fair and equitable basis; while seigniorial tenure in Lower Canada was also abolished. In 1856 Macdonald was chosen to succeed Sir Allan MacNab as leader of the Conservative party. This post he continued to hold until his death, and whether in office or out of it he exercised a degree of personal influence over his followers never equalled in the case of any other public man in Canada.

The Ministry sustained a defeat in 1858 on the question of the seat of Government, and Macdonald resigned. The Hon. George Brown was called upon to form a new Administration, and he succeeded in his task; but, being defeated on the first vote in the House of Assembly, he made way for Macdonald, who once more returned to power, taking at first the office of Postmaster-General, but resigning this the next day in order to resume his more congenial office of Attorney-General. His Ministers also changed offices, and this incident in Canadian politics gave rise to the phrase, the "double shuffle." The reorganisation of the Militia having become a "burning question" in 1862, Macdonald took the office of Minister of Militia, with the object of grappling with it. The post was a very difficult one to fill with satisfaction at this juncture, and in spite of the Minister's

strenuous efforts to pass a Militia Bill, the Government were defeated, and resigned. In March, 1864, however, he returned to his old post, with Sir Etienne P. Taché as Premier, and leader of the Lower Canadian contingent. By this time a far different and all-important question was crying for solution—the question of proportionate representation as between Upper and Lower Canada, as Ontario and Quebec were then called. Before a year was out the difficulty was destined to be solved by an expedient that comprehended far more than the respective claims of the French and English Canadas—by Federation. The inhabitants of Upper Canada consisted largely of United Empire loyalists, who remained loyal to British institutions, and who left the United States at the close of the War of Independence; while those of Lower Canada were almost exclusively French Canadians. The representatives from each province in the United Parliament were equal in number. Upper Canada, however, made greater progress than Lower Canada, the population in 1851 being 952,204 and 890,261 respectively, and in 1861, 1,396,061 and 1,111,566. She consequently agitated for an additional number of members and claimed other concessions, but the demands were always opposed by Lower Canada. The result was frequent legislative deadlocks and continual difficulties. The interests of Lower Canada were ably defended by Cartier, a vivacious, astute, and determined politician. In this condition of things a stable Government by either party was impossible. Upper Canada by a double majority demanded her rights, but Lower Canada almost unanimously stood by the written Constitution.

At length a proposition was made to federalise Upper and Lower Canada and the maritime provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. This was received with enthusiasm as a satisfactory solution of the difficulty, and a conference took place between the leaders on both sides, when the question was very fully discussed. In 1864 Macdonald attended as a delegate the conference that had been called at Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, where the smaller confederation of the seaboard provinces was under consideration. Chiefly by the eloquence and tact of Macdonald, he and his associates turned the tide, and succeeded in convincing the other side that the larger union of all the British North American provinces was much the more desirable scheme of the two. Another convention

was held a few months afterwards in the city of Quebec, delegates from all the provinces being present. At this meeting the plan of union was formed. The Canadian Parliament met at Quebec on Feb. 8, 1865, when the resolutions of the Quebec Conference were submitted by Sir E. P. Taché in Legislative Council, and by the Hon. John A. Macdonald in the House of Assembly. The motion of approval was carried by 91 to 33. The political deadlock, combined with severe commercial depression, made confederation absolutely imperative. Moreover, the commercial relations of Canada with the United States had been severed some years before by the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty. Confederation, therefore, now came to a head, and Macdonald took the most active and prominent part in bringing it about. He was chosen one of the delegates appointed to confer with the Imperial Government in London with reference to the terms on which union could be accomplished; and he was elected President of the meetings of the London Colonial Conference. He gave great assistance to the English law officers in drawing up the British North America Act, which was ultimately passed. The provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick were, by the Act of Union passed in 1867, combined under the title of the Dominion of Canada. Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory were added to the Dominion in 1870; Manitoba was created a province of the Dominion in the same year; British Columbia was admitted in 1871; and Prince Edward Island was admitted in 1872.

In 1865, while the Confederation controversy was at its height, Sir E. P. Taché died, and his colleague was asked to take the Premiership; but he declined in favour of Sir Narcisse F. Belleau, retaining the office of Minister of Militia jointly with that of Attorney-General from Jan. to May, 1862, and from Aug. 1865, until the union. On July 1, 1867, the new Constitution came into force in Canada, and Macdonald was sworn as a Privy Councillor and appointed Minister of Justice and Attorney-General. In recognition of his services he was created a Knight Commander of the Bath (Civil Division), and some years later (1884) was advanced to the dignity of Grand Cross of the same Order. The University of Oxford and Trinity College, Toronto, conferred on him the degree of D.C.L., and Queen's University, Kingston, and M'Gill University, Montreal, that of

LL.D. In 1869 Sir John Macdonald assumed the Premiership of Canada, and from this period dated the protective policy which formed so important a feature of his "National" programme. In 1871 Sir John Macdonald was chosen as one of the five British Commissioners appointed to settle the terms of the Washington Treaty. It was generally recognised that Sir John was the ablest diplomatist engaged on the British side in that famous negotiation. Great Britain withdrew the case as to Canada's Fenian claims against the United States, but agreed to guarantee a Canadian loan of a considerable amount for public works in the Dominion. Relaxation of Customs restrictions by a "bonding" system, the free use of the fisheries, and also of certain lakes and rivers, were secured to each nation, and the compensation due to Canada for her fisheries was referred to a joint commission afterwards to sit at Halifax. This Fishery Commission, which did not report till 1877, made an award in favour of Great Britain of \$5,500,000 as representing the value of the fishing privileges granted to the United States, over and above the concessions made to Canada under the Washington Treaty. For his services in connection with the Treaty of Washington in July, 1872, Sir John was called to the Privy Council of Great Britain—an honour seldom conferred upon a colonial statesman.

The second general election for the Dominion of Canada took place in 1872, and the result was to sustain Sir John Macdonald's Ministry. But in the succeeding year the Government had to face a serious difficulty known as the "Pacific scandal." Before the meeting of Parliament a charter had been given to a company to build the Canadian Pacific Railway, that company being the amalgamation of two rivals, one led by Sir Hugh Allan, of Montreal, the other by Senator Macpherson of Toronto. The Opposition moved a vote of want of confidence, which was debated with great heat for a week. Meanwhile public feeling running strongly against the Government, Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues resigned before the vote was taken.

For six years Sir J. Macdonald led the Opposition to the Mackenzie Government, and in face of constantly recurring deficits, urged the adoption of a protective tariff, and it came to be described as the "national policy." Mackenzie, who was unwilling to increase the tariff, was called a "doctrinaire." At the general election of September, 1878, the Conservatives carried all

before them at the polls. Sir John again came into office as Premier, with a majority of eighty-five in a House of 206 members, and from this time he retained power continuously until his death. The new Government was pledged to the higher Customs tariff as a measure of protection against the fiscal policy of the United States and a means of fostering the native industries. The new Canadian tariff discriminated in favour of no nation, the products of all, not even excepting the mother country, Great Britain, being placed upon the same footing. The four years from 1879 to 1882 witnessed a great increase in the home manufactures, a great rebound in the national confidence, following upon the severe depression, and the signature, in 1880, of the contract for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Public opinion ratified the Premier's spirited policy, for in 1882 Sir John's Administration was again sustained by a large majority of the Canadian electors. During his new lease of power Sir John Macdonald found himself confronted with the Red River Rebellion. In the laying out of the North-West Territories the natives who had Indian blood in their veins were not sufficiently considered in the matter of the transfer. The French *metis* especially were in a disturbed state, and were led by a rash and vainglorious youth named Louis Riel. The revolt was finally suppressed in July, 1885, by a force under Major-General Middleton. The total force in the field was about 4,000 men of the Canadian Militia. Riel was captured, tried, condemned to death, and executed. In 1886 the coping-stone was placed upon Sir John Macdonald's "National Policy" by the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway across the entire continent to the Pacific. A general election took place the same year, and although Sir John Macdonald was again successful at the polls, his majority in the House of Commons was considerably reduced, owing to defections from the party on the Riel rebellion question. On the 15th of February, 1888, a treaty for the settlement of the fishery disputes was signed by the British and United States representatives, subject to ratification by the Legislatures of the respective countries. Sir John Macdonald secured some substantial advantages for Canada in connection with this treaty. In April there was a discussion in the Dominion House of Commons on the subject of commercial union between the United

States and Canada. The motion for unrestricted reciprocity was rejected by 124 to 67 votes. Sir John Macdonald's Government were also successful about this time in conciliating the agitation for the abolition of the monopoly clauses in the Canadian Pacific Railway Act by a compromise satisfactory to Manitoba.

Sir J. Macdonald was confronted with a serious religious difficulty in 1889, in consequence of the anti-Jesuit agitation. The Jesuits were incorporated by the Quebec Legislature in 1887, and in 1888 an Act was passed voting \$400,000 as compensation for their confiscated estates held by the Crown. The Federal Government was petitioned to disallow the Act, but declined. A motion for disallowance was thrown out by the Dominion Parliament by a vote of 188 to 13. Lord Stanley of Preston, the Governor-General, was next appealed to, but he refused to veto the measure, which the law officers of the Home Government had pronounced constitutional and within the powers of the Quebec Legislature. The agitation still continued, however. Relations with the United States were also somewhat strained. The rejection of the Fishery Treaty by the United States Senate left that vexed question open, but the Canadian authorities, acting in concert with the Newfoundland Government, agreed to continue the *modus vivendi*, and grant licenses to American fishermen. The continued seizure of Canadian sealing-vessels by United States revenue cutters in Behring Sea roused deep indignation throughout Canada, but an open rupture between the two countries was averted. A vote of censure upon Sir John Macdonald's Government for not submitting the constitutionality of the Jesuits' Estates Act to the Supreme Court of Canada was rejected in Parliament by 130 votes to 32. The Dominion Parliament passed Acts increasing the Customs duties, especially on fruit, flour, plants, and meats, took other steps to protect the country against the results of the McKinley Tariff Bill, and was then dissolved in February of the present year.

The farmers of Ontario and Quebec—the most important provinces of Canada—had suffered severely for some years, and the McKinley tariff made their position almost intolerable, by shutting their produce out of the United States. The Liberals proposed a scheme of unrestricted reciprocity, by which Canada could send her wares into the United States free of duty, and could receive American wares free of

duty in return. The plan was very popular in certain districts, and as the task of Government had become irksome and surrounded by difficulties, the Premier, in enunciating his policy, asked the farmers to agree to a compromise, by which their produce should be allowed free into the United States, while the manufacturers of the United States should not have a perfectly free market in Canada. The American Government, however, let it be clearly known that it would not agree to a scheme in which, as alleged, nearly all the benefit would be on Canada's side. On the other hand, the Canadian Premier and his friends maintained that unrestricted reciprocity must lead to annexation, to which they were resolutely opposed. "A British subject I was born," cried Sir John; "a British subject I will die." The elections were fought out with great bitterness of feeling, charges of treason being brought against the Liberal leaders, Sir Richard Cartwright and Mr. Laurier, which they indignantly repelled. In the end, while the Government lost ground in Ontario and Quebec, it gained in other districts. The Liberals had counted upon a victory; but Sir John Macdonald was for the fourth time in succession at a general election triumphant at the polls. But his majority, which was forty-nine in 1887, was reduced to thirty-four in 1891. Sir John Macdonald continued in office as Prime Minister and Minister of Railways and Canals, but his health was impaired by his great exertions during the contest, and the end came within three months. One of his latest acts of policy was to subsidise a line of Pacific steamers in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway.

As a Parliamentary leader Sir John Macdonald exhibited great abilities in debate, in general affairs, and political tactics. He was very frequently a delegate to England and to other countries on public business, and he always executed his delicate diplomatic missions with singular tact and skill. He bore so strong a facial resemblance to Lord Beaconsfield that he was styled "the Canadian Disraeli," and there was likewise a considerable similarity between their views of statesmanship. An "old Parliamentary hand," unmatched in Dominion politics, he excited among his followers a devotion which was invaluable to the Conservative party in keeping together the various groups of which it was composed. In the course of his long political career he carried to a successful issue many measures of the highest im-

portance, in addition to those already enumerated in this article. Conspicuous amongst these measures may be cited the improvement of the criminal laws of Canada; the consolidation of the statutes; the extension of the municipal system; military organisation; the establishment of a direct steam mail communication with Europe; the inspection of reformatories, prisons, penitentiaries, and asylums; the reorganisation of the Civil Service on a permanent basis; the construction of the Inter-Colonial and the Canadian Pacific Railways; the enlargement of the canals; the enactment of a stringent election law; the exten-

sion of the franchise; the ratification of the Washington Treaty; and the extension and consolidation of the Dominion.

Sir John Macdonald was twice married—first, to Isabella, daughter of Mr. Alexander Clark, of Dalnavert, Inverness-shire, who died in 1856; and, secondly, to Susan Agnes, daughter of the Hon. T. J. Bernard, member of Her Majesty's Privy Council of Jamaica. Amongst the numerous marks of esteem from all sides which were showered upon his widow, the most significant was the peerage under the title of Baroness Earnecliffe, conferred upon her in recognition of her husband's great services to the Empire.

On the 1st, at Hillside, Bracknell, aged 90, **Sir Robert Pigot of Patshull**, fourth Baronet. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge; sat for Bridgenorth, 1832-53. Was the owner of several well-known racehorses. Married, first, in 1826, Mary, daughter of William Bamford, of Bamford, Lancashire, and second, in 1850, Emily, daughter of Samuel Yates Benyon, of Ash Hall, Salop, and Stetchworth Park, Cambridge. On the 1st, at Onslow Gardens, aged 64, **Lieutenant-Colonel Edmund D'Arcey Hunt**, of 6th Inniskilling Dragoons. Served with 9th Lancers at Chillianwallah and Gujerat, and with the Inniskillings at Balaclava, Inkerman, &c. On the 2nd, at Croydon, aged 82, **Admiral Robert Dawes Aldrich**. Entered Royal Navy in 1824, and served for three years on the West African station; was attached to the *Resolute* discovery ship when engaged, 1850-51, in the search for Sir John Franklin, and led the sledge expedition to Somerville and Lowther islands. On the 2nd, at Liverpool, aged 79, **William Cliff**, a West India merchant and shipowner, who had devoted upwards of 100,000*l.* to charitable purposes, and was one of the three persons on whom the Liverpool City Council had conferred the honorary freedom of their city. On the 2nd, at Belgrave Mansions, S.W., aged 80, **Sir John Hawkshaw, F.R.S.**, an eminent civil engineer, son of Henry Hawkshaw, of Leeds. Educated at Leeds Grammar School. Married, 1835, Ann, daughter of Rev. James Jackson, of Green Hammerton, co. York. Knighted, 1873. The great ship canal from Amsterdam to the North Sea, and the Severn Tunnel, were among his most important achievements. On the 3rd, at Barnwood, aged 77, **Rev. William James Kennedy**, youngest son of the Rev. Rann Kennedy, vicar of St. Paul's, Birmingham. Educated at the Grammar School there and at St. John's College, Cambridge; B.A., 1837. Appointed, 1848, one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools in the north-western counties, and held the post for thirty years. On the 4th, at Quetta, aged 53, **Colonel Sir Oliver Beauchamp Coventry St. John, K.C.S.I.**, eldest son of Captain Oliver St. John, of Madras army. Born at Ryde, I.W.; educated at Addiscombe; Lieutenant, R.E., 1856; Superintendent of Persian Telegraphs, 1863-71; Boundary Commissioner of Perso-Kalet frontier, 1873-5; Principal of Mayo College, Ajmir, 1875-8; and subsequently as Political Agent in Afghanistan and elsewhere. Married, 1869, Janette, daughter of James Ormond, of Abingdon, Oxon. On the 4th, at Forest Hill, S.E., aged 76, **General Samuel Netherville Lowder, C.B.** Commanded a detachment of marines on board H.M.S. *Arrogant* in the Baltic, 1854-5; served in Mexico, and commanded at the joint occupation of Vera Cruz, 1861-2; afterwards Aide-de-camp to the Queen, 1863-8. On the 5th, at Ischl, aged 72, **Dr. Leopold Hagner**, one of the promoters of the Liberal movement in Austria in 1860. He subsequently became Prime Minister in 1870, holding the portfolio of Public Instruction, when he passed the Primary Schools Act, endowing Austria with a system of free and undenominational education. On the 6th, at Brighton, aged 83, **Charles Kaye Freshfield**, of Upper Gatton, Redhill, son of James William Freshfield. Educated at the Charterhouse. Admitted solicitor, 1831; and partner in the firm acting for the Bank of England till 1870. Sat as a Conservative for Dover, 1865-8, and 1874-85. Married, 1835, Elizabeth Sims, daughter of Daniel Stephenson. On the 6th, aged 85, **Frederick Calvert, Q.C.**, younger son of General Sir Harry Calvert, G.C.B. Educated at Harrow, where he was head of the school and captain of the eleven, and at Christ Church, Oxford; elected Fellow of Merton; called to the bar, and eventually became one of the leaders of the Parliamentary bar. Sat as a Liberal

for Aylesbury, 1852-7, and for more than twenty years was the most active member of the Board for the Administration of Queen Anne's Bounty. Married, 1864, Lady Lucy Herbert, daughter of second Earl of Powis. On the 7th, at Vitie, aged 53, **Colonel Lebel**, the inventor of the rifle used in the French army. He had been taken prisoner at Sedan during the Franco-Prussian war. On the 9th, at Careggi, near Florence, aged 80, **Padre Curci**, a native of Naples, who in early life joined the Jesuit body, and distinguished himself by his readiness as a speaker and writer, especially in his reply to Gioberti's attack upon the Jesuits. After 1848, and still later after the absorption of Rome by Italy, he endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between the Papacy and the Italian Government; but his pamphlets were placed on the Index of forbidden books. On the 10th, at Waterford, aged 52, **Right Rev. John Egan, D.D.**, Roman Catholic Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. Educated at St. John's College, Waterford, and Maynooth; ordained, 1862; President of the Diocesan College, Ennis, 1876; Coadjutor Bishop of Killaloe; Fellow of the Royal University of Ireland, and a Commissioner of Intermediate Education. On the 10th, at Tetbury, aged 81, **General Sir Archibald Little, G.C.B.**, son of Archibald Little, of Shabden Park, Surrey. Educated at Charterhouse; entered Army, 1831; served with 9th Lancers in Sutlej campaign, 1846, and held command in Indian Mutiny; Colonel of 11th Hussars, 1873-5, and of 9th Lancers since 1875. Married, first, 1854, Jane, daughter of Malcolm Orme, and second, 1870, Elizabeth, daughter of General W. F. Loftus and widow of Captain E. R. C. Shebden. On the 11th, at Robertsbridge, Sussex, aged 64, **Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon**, daughter of Benjamin Smith, many years M.P. for Norwich, and a banker at Hastings. Born at Watlington, Sussex, she started at an early age the *Englishwoman's Journal*. In 1866 she joined in an experiment for extending university education to women, first at Hitchin, and afterwards at Girton College, Cambridge, which was liberally supported by her. She was the author (1869) of "A Brief Summary of the Laws of England concerning Women," and was a watercolour artist of considerable power. She married, in 1857, Dr. Eugène Bodichon, a French physician and philanthropist, and, like herself, a resident in Algiers. On the 11th, at Hammer-smith, aged 62, **James Beal, L.C.C.** By business an auctioneer and estate agent, he took a keen interest in politics. He was a vigorous opponent of the newspaper stamp duty, and was instrumental in securing the passing of the Metropolis Gas Act, and subsequently the London County Council, of which he was elected member for Fulham. He was the first to institute proceedings against the incumbent of St. Barnabas, Pimlico, for Ritualistic services. On the 11th, at Boultonbrook, Presteign, aged 83, **Sir Harford James Jones-Brydges**, second Baronet. Educated at Merton College, Oxford; B.A., 1830. High Sheriff for Radnorshire, 1852. Married, 1850, at Barrie, Canada West, Mary S., daughter of Captain John Moberly, R.N. On the 14th, at Lennox Gardens, London, aged 65, **Mary, Baroness De Lisle and Dudley**, daughter and heir of Sir William Foulis of Ingleby Manor, co. York. Married, 1850. On the 15th, at Great Cumberland Place, W., aged 76, **Morgan Hugh Foster, C.B.**, son of John Foster, of Brickhill, Bedfordshire. Many years Financial Secretary at the Treasury; employed on special missions in Turkey, 1861-3, and India, 1863-6; retired on a pension, and became manager of the Ottoman Bank at Constantinople. Married, 1838, Mary, daughter of George Flint. On the 16th, at Sydney Street, Chelsea, aged 91, **The O'Gorman Mahon**. Colonel James Patrick O'Gorman Mahon, M.P., was educated at the Monastery of Dublin, and subsequently took M.A. in the University of Dublin. Married, 1830, Christina, daughter of John O'Brien. Sat as a Liberal for co. Clare, 1830-1, but was unseated for bribery, his place being taken by Maurice O'Connell; Ennis, 1847-52; Clare co., 1879-85; and as a Nationalist for Carlow since 1886. He was called to the bar, but never practised, and in the intervals of political life served in the Peruvian navy, where he attained the rank of Admiral. On the 16th, at Clifton, aged 65, **Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Gustavus Hume**, son of Rev. Robert Hume, of Dublin. Entered 88th Regiment, 1843; served through the Crimean campaign, 1854-5, and Indian Mutiny, 1857-8; Inspector of Volunteers, 1860-5. Entered the Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms, 1872; Lieutenant, 1878. Married, 1857, Ellen Caroline, daughter of Charles Vernon, of Clifton. On the 17th, at Beningborough Hall, co. York, aged 75, **Hon. Payan Dawnay**, younger son of sixth Viscount Downe. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford; High Sheriff for Yorkshire, 1851. On the 19th, at Elford Hall, Staffordshire, aged 75, **Hon. Alfred W. Bagot**, son of second Lord Bagot. On the 19th, at Horsham, aged 78, **Sir Prescott Gardiner Hewett, F.R.S., F.R.C.S.**, first Baronet, son of W. N. W. Hewett, of Bilham Hall, near Doncaster. Studied medicine at St. George's

Hospital, London, and in Paris; admitted, 1836; became Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, and subsequently President of the Royal College of Surgeons; Serjeant-Surgeon to the Queen, and was a distinguished watercolour artist and an honorary member of the R.W.S. Married, 1849, Sarah E., daughter of Rev. J. Cowell, of Todmorden. Created a Baronet, 1883, on his retirement from active practice. On the 20th, at Malmesbury, Wilts, aged 84, **Isabella Catherine, Dowager Countess of Suffolk and Berkshire**, daughter of Lord Henry Molyneux Howard, and niece of the twelfth Duke of Norfolk. Married, 1829, Charles, seventeenth Earl of Suffolk. On the 20th, at Upper Norwood, aged 49, **Alexander Charles Ewald**, of H.M. Record and State Paper office, and the author of several historical works, including "Life and Times of Algernon Sidney" (1877), "Sir Robert Walpole" (1878), "Studies Restudied" (1885). On the 21st, at St. James's Place, S.W., aged 52, **John Henry**, fourth Earl of Clonmell. 1st Life Guards, 1857-67. Elected a representative peer for Ireland, 1874. On the 23rd, at Berlin, aged 58, **General Bronsart von Schellendorff**, commander of 1st Army Corps. Attached to the Grand General Staff during the Franco-Prussian war, he received the surrender of Sedan. Minister of War, 1881-3. He was of Huguenot descent, and was born at Dantzic. On the 24th, at Mentone, aged 81, **Sir George Macleay, K.C.M.G.**, of Pendell Court, Bletchingly, son of Alexander Macleay, F.R.S., Speaker of the Legislative Council, N.S.W. Educated at Westminster. Returned to Australia, where he became a leading colonist, and the promoter of several expeditions into the interior of the continent. Married, first, 1842, Barbara St. C., daughter of James Innes, of Thrumster, Caithness, and second, 1890, Augusta A., daughter of William Gardner Sams, of Launceston, Tasmania. On the 25th, at Kensington, aged 72, **Richard Henry Major, F.S.A.**, for many years keeper of the department of Magna Charta in the British Museum, and the editor for the Hakluyt Society of numerous works on travels and voyages, for which he was decorated by the Sovereigns of Portugal, Brazil, and Italy. On the 27th, at Derby, aged 81, **Anne Mozley**, daughter of Henry Mozley, of the Friary, Derby, and sister of Canon Mozley, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, with whom she co-operated in his church work, and became his literary executor. Cardinal Newman bequeathed to her the duty of giving his life and letters to the public. On the 30th, at Ditchling, Sussex, aged 99, **Charles Stewart**, second son of Major Philip Stewart, of Brighton. Called to the bar at the Middle Temple, 1838, having contested the borough of Penrhyn at the time of the Reform Bill. He was defeated in 1830, elected in 1831, and defeated in 1832.

JULY.

Hon. Algernon Fulke Egerton, third son of Lord Francis Egerton (created first Earl of Ellesmere), was born in 1825, and educated at Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford; B.A., 1849; Fellow of All Souls, 1851; D.C.L., 1857. Sat as a Conservative for South Lancashire, 1859-68, and for South East Lancashire, 1868-80. Was Secretary to the Admiralty, 1874-80. In 1880 he was defeated in his former constituency, but in 1882 was returned for Wigan, retiring in 1885. In 1890, on the death of his nephew, he contested the Eccles Division of Lancashire against Mr. Roby, but was defeated. He was Honorary Colonel of the Lancashire Yeomanry Cavalry and of the 4th Volunteer Battalion of the Manchester Regiment. He married, 1863, Alice Louise, daughter of Lord George Cavendish, M.P., and died in Belgrave Place on July 14 from a paralytic stroke after ten days' illness.

The Earl of Westmorland.—Francis

William Henry James, the third son of the eleventh Earl of Westmorland, was born 1825, and after some years at Westminster, entered Sandhurst and passed into the Army, serving through the Punjab campaign, 1846. On his return from India he exchanged into the Coldstream Guards, with whom he served with distinction in the Crimea, bringing home the despatches announcing the victory at the Alma. He was appointed Aide-de-camp to H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, 1856-60, when, having succeeded to the peerage, he retired from the Army with the rank of Colonel. Married, 1857, Lady Adelaide Ida Curzon, second daughter of first Earl Howe, G.C.B. In 1860 Lord Westmorland first began to run horses, trained in Goater's stable; but he never won any of the great three-year-old prizes. Marigold, who won the Stewards' Cup at Goodwood, and afterwards became the dam of Doncaster; and Rama, who won the Goodwood Stakes and beat Lord Lyon for the Doncaster

Cup, were among his best horses. He died on July 31.

The Earl of Wicklow.—The Right Hon. Cecil Ralph Howard, Earl of Wicklow, who died at Shelton Castle, co. Wicklow on July 24, was the second son of Rev. the Hon. Francis Howard, Vicar of Swords. He was born in 1842, educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Oxford (B.A., 1867), and entered the 60th Rifles, in which he was Captain when, in 1881, he succeeded his brother as sixth Earl of Wicklow. He married,

first, 1876, Francesca, second daughter of Thomas Chamberlayne, of Cranbury Park, Hants; and second, 1880, Fanny, daughter of Richard R. Wingfield, of Fairy Hill, Bray. In 1881 he was elected a Representative Peer for Ireland. He descended from Dr. Ralph Howard, President of the College of Physicians in Ireland and Regius Professor of Medicine, 1674, attained by James II.'s Parliament, 1688, who purchased the family-seat near Arklow from the Duke of Ormonde.

On the 2nd, at Paris, aged 81, **Prince Vladimir Dolgoroukow**, Aide-de-camp to the Czar. Served with distinction in the Caucasus, and was Governor of Moscow, 1856–90. On the 3rd, at Malvern, aged 88, **Theodosia**, Dowager Baroness Monson, daughter of Major Latham Blacker, of Newent, co. Gloucester. Married, 1832, Frederick, fifth Baron Monson. On the 3rd, at Paris, aged 90, **Janet Macintosh Waddington**, *née* Chisholm, mother of the French Ambassador to England. Born in Scotland. Married Thomas Waddington, son of an English merchant settled in Paris and afterwards a cotton spinner at Rouen. On the 4th, at Kalocsa, aged 75, **Cardinal Louis Haynald**. Created Bishop of Siebenbürgen, 1852; resigned his See in 1862, and went into exile on account of a disagreement with the Austrian Government on Transylvanian affairs; appointed by the Pope Archbishop of Carthage *in partibus*, and an establishment of dualism; returned to Hungary and appointed Archbishop of Kalocsa, spending a large portion of his revenues and private fortune on educational purposes. Pius IX. refused him the Cardinal's hat for having kissed the hand of Victor Emmanuel, but he subsequently received it on the strong representations of the Austro-Hungarian Government. On the 4th, at Berkeley Square, aged 50, **William Henry Gladstone**, eldest son of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. Sat for Chester, 1865–8; for Whitby 1868–80, and for East Worcestershire, 1880–5; Junior Lord of the Treasury, 1869–74. Married, 1875, Hon. Gertrude, daughter of twelfth Lord Blantyre. On the 7th, at Long Ditton, aged 70, **General Sir Orfeur Cavenagh**, K.C.S.I., son of James Gordon Cavenagh. Educated at Addiscombe; served through the Gwalior campaign, where he lost a leg in Sutlej campaign; had political charge of the Nepaulese Embassy to England, 1850; commanded at Calcutta during the Mutiny and frustrated the design of the mutineers to seize Fort William; Governor to the Straits Settlements, 1859–67. Married, 1842, Elizabeth, daughter of James R. Moriarty. On the 9th, in London, aged 53, **Robert Reece**, a writer of numerous popular burlesques produced at the Gaiety Theatre. On the 11th, at Eastbourne, aged 66, **General Sir Charles Cureton**, K.C.B. Served in the Sutlej campaign, 1845–6; Punjab campaign, 1848–9; Indian Mutiny, 1857–9, when he was in charge of the Intelligence Department, and commanded Oude Division, 1879–84. Married Margaret S., daughter of Rev. W. H. Holmes, D.D., of Templemore. On the 14th, at Norwood, aged 79, **John Sutherland**, M.D., a distinguished sanitarian, frequently employed by the Board of Health, the Foreign and Colonial Offices, 1848–55, on commissions and inquiries; was sent to the Crimea to inquire into the sanitary condition of the British troops, 1855, and into that of the Army, 1858, and of the Indian army, 1863, and was a member of the Barracks and Hospital Improvement Commission, 1865–88. On the 17th, at Eastbourne, aged 63, **Willoughby Smith**, chief electrician and manager of the Telegraph Construction and Maintenance Co. Superintended the manufacture of the first submarine cable, 1848; electrician in charge of Atlantic cable on board the *Great Eastern*, 1866, when he also recovered and completed the cable lost in the previous year; President of the Institution of Electrical Engineers, 1883, and a successful inventor. On the 19th, at Hyde Park Gardens, aged 79, **Lewis Loyd**, of Monks Orchard, Surrey, an eminent banker of the firm of Jones Loyd, and brother of Lord Overstone; son of Edward Loyd, of Coombe House, Surrey. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. Married, 1845, Frances H., daughter of Admiral the Hon. Frederick Paul Irby, C.B., of Bayland Hall, Norfolk. On the 20th, at Chideock Manor, Dorset, aged 67, **Sir Frederick Aloysius Weld**, G.C.M.G., second son of Humphry Weld. Educated at Stonyhurst and Freiburg (Switzerland).

Emigrated to New Zealand, 1843; appointed member of Executive Council, 1854; Minister for Native Affairs, 1860; Prime Minister, 1864-5; appointed Governor of Western Australia, 1869; of Tasmania, 1874, and of the Straits Settlements, 1880. Married, 1859, Filomena, daughter of Ambrose Phillippe de Lisle. He was the first to explore some of the uninhabited districts of the Middle Islands, N.Z. On the 20th, at Newburgh, N.B., aged 69, Sir William Fettes Douglas, F.R.S.A., son of James Douglas, accountant. Educated at the Southern Academy and Edinburgh High School; clerk in the Commercial Bank, 1836-46. He first exhibited at the Royal Scottish Academy in 1845, and for ten years devoted himself to landscape painting. Was elected an Associate in 1851 and a Full Member of the Scottish Academy in 1854. He subsequently took to figure-painting, and produced some very successful historical and subject pictures; acted in 1869 as Secretary to the National Gallery, Scotland, and was its Curator from 1877-82, when he was elected President. Married, 1870, Marion, daughter of Baron Grahame of Morphee, Kincardine. On the 24th, at Horsham, aged 37, Sir Harry Hammerton Hewett, second Baronet, only son of Sir Prescote Hewett, the eminent surgeon, whom he survived only a few weeks. On the 26th, at Queen Anne's Gate, aged 75, Sir Charles Forster, Bart., M.P., only son of Charles Smith Forster, of Lysways Hall, Rugeley. Educated at Worcester College, Oxford; joined the Inner Temple and called in 1843; sat as a Liberal for Walsall from 1852 until his death; for many years Chairman of the Committee on Public Petitions. After addressing the House on the Railway Rates Bill he was suddenly taken ill, was conveyed home, and died within forty-eight hours. He married, 1840, Frances C., daughter of John Surtees of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and a niece of Lord Eldon. Was created a Baronet in 1874. On the 26th, at Grenville Place, South Kensington, aged 66, Jasper Wilson Johns, only son of Thomas Evans Johns, of Cardiganshire, an architect and engineer. Married, 1855, Emily Theresa, daughter of James Bird, M.D., of London. Returned as a Liberal for the Nuneaton Division of Warwickshire in 1865, but defeated in the following year. On the 27th, at Richmond, Surrey, aged 64, General Francis Adam Ellis, C.B. Educated at Addiscombe; entered Bombay army, 1844; served through the Punjab campaign, 1848-9; Indian Mutiny, 1857-8, and Abyssinian War; Commandant of the Scinde Frontier Force and Political Resident at Aden, 1877-82. Married, 1861, Catherine Gordon, daughter of Major-General A. T. Reid, C.B. On the 28th, at Berne, aged 40, Miss Jessie Fothergill, the author of "The First Violin," 1878, and several other novels, the first of which ("Healey") was published in 1875. She was born at Cheetham Hill, Manchester, the daughter of Mr. Thomas Fothergill, merchant; related by marriage to the Bright family of Rochdale; educated at Düsseldorf. Her first contributions were to *Temple Bar*, in which most of her subsequent novels, chiefly relating to Lancashire life, appeared. On the 31st, at Baden-Baden, aged 64, Prince Nicolas Borrisvich Goozoooff, Privy Councillor and Marshal of the Russian Court. In 1854 he raised, equipped, and maintained two battalions of infantry for the Crimean campaign. He was a patron of many charitable institutions, a great musical amateur and a distinguished art collector.

AUGUST.

The Earl of Dartmouth.—William Walter Legge, fifth Earl of Dartmouth, was born on Aug. 12, 1823, and educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated B.A., 1844. He sat as a Conservative for South Staffordshire, 1849-53, when he succeeded to the earldom. He married, 1846, Lady Augusta Finch, daughter of fifth Earl of Aylesford, and was appointed, 1887, Lord-Lieutenant of Staffordshire. Lord Dartmouth, although a very keen politician, seldom spoke in the House of Lords; he was a warm supporter of the Established Church and a liberal subscriber to the

leading Church societies. As a magistrate, a landlord, and a neighbour, he was devoted to Staffordshire, and loved and respected by Staffordshire folk of all ages and classes. He warmly supported the middle-class schools of the district, and contributed liberally to the support of those whom, on careful investigation, he discovered to be worthy of help. Lord Beaconsfield on more than one occasion urged him to accept political office, and expressed his regret at his refusal, saying of him, "A man who, as befits his name, can ride well, reason well, and rule well, and his only faults are that he is a little too churchy

and scrupulous, ought to have gone in for politics as a business." He died at his London residence in Grosvenor Square on Aug. 4, within a few days of completing his sixty-eighth year.

M. Henri Litolf died on Aug. 5, at Colombe, near Paris. Throughout a very stormy life he manifested so many of those very eccentric and irresponsible traits of the musical genius that he was continually prejudicing his career in the world, but the judgment of M. Hector Berlioz would be corroborated by all who had real knowledge of the man and his work. Litolf was a native of London, where he was born in 1818, of a French father and an English mother. He became the favourite pupil of Moscheles. At eighteen he followed a young girl, with whom he fell in love, to France, and settled at Melun, where he passed for some years a miserable existence, but began his fame as a pianist. When he came to Paris in 1839, after losing his wife and children, he was heard in many concerts. He then went to Belgium and Germany, where he gained much appreciation, and, in particular, for the overture of "Catherine Howard." The year 1846 found him in England and famous. His wife's family added to his notoriety by bringing against him an action, out of which he came condemned to a heavy fine, which carried him to prison. Escaping about 1850, he turned up in Hamburg, married Mme. Meyer, the widow of a music publisher, and founded the collection of musical works since known throughout the world by his name. Three years later Litolf was ill at Brussels, whither his wife went to find him, and whence she took him convalescent to Brunswick. But again he ran away, and in 1858 he was in Paris. He gave there a series of brilliant and successful concerts. Meanwhile his wife had sued for a divorce. He acquiesced, and in 1860, after his concert at Wiesbaden, he married again, this time the daughter of Count Wilfrid de la Rochefoucauld. During this chequered career Litolf found time to write an oratorio, half-a-dozen operas, of which "Heloise and Abelard" was the most remarkable, and a number of smaller compositions. At one time he directed the orchestra of a *café* concert in the Champs Elysées, but from 1876 to 1886 little was heard of him. In the latter year he reappeared at Brussels with two new operas, which, however, did not attain any great success.

James Russell Lowell, the youngest of the five children of Dr. Charles Lowell, a Unitarian minister, and his wife Harriett Spence, was born February 22, 1819, at Cambridge, Massachusetts. At the age of 16 he entered Harvard University, studied law, took in 1838 the degree of LL.B. In 1840 he was called to the bar at Boston, and opened a lawyer's office there, but did not seriously attempt to practice, but devoted himself to literature, and wrote a story, "My First Client." In 1841 he published a volume of juvenile poems, "A Year's Life," with the motto "*Ich habe gelebt und geliebet*," and next started, in conjunction with Mr. Robert Carter, *The Pioneer*, to which Hawthorne, Whittier, Story, and Mrs. Barrett Browning contributed. In 1844 he published another volume of poems containing "A Legend of Brittany," "Prometheus," &c., and in the same year married Miss Maria White, a poetess of some repute, of Watertown, Mass. In 1848 he took his place in the first rank of verse-writers by the publication of "The Biglow Papers," suggested by the Mexican war, and in the same year he published anonymously "A Fable for Critics," which disturbed the minor poets as much as his other works had vexed many eminent politicians.

In 1855 he was appointed, in succession to Longfellow, to the Chair of Modern Languages and Belles-Lettres at Harvard. He went abroad for two years, to live chiefly in Germany and Italy, there to widen still further his knowledge of modern literature. He returned to Cambridge in 1857, and his work as a professor was varied by lecturing at the Lowell Institute, the publication of "Fireside Travels"—in the opinion of many of his admirers the best of his prose writings—and the task of editing the *Atlantic Monthly*, which, under his skilful guidance, did much for the literature of his country. "Under the Willows," containing more than one charming poem, appeared in 1869. In his Commemoration Ode, "dedicated to the ever sweet and shining memory of the ninety-three sons of Harvard College who have died for their country in the war of nationality," he once more was the chosen spokesmen of the deepest thoughts of his countrymen.

In his early works, entitled "Conversations" and "Life of Keats," Lowell had given the world a taste of his quality as a critic; and, as editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* and the *North American Review*, he wrote many

fine critical essays. His full strength and richness were revealed to us all only in the essays published between 1870 and 1876. "My Study Windows" and "Among my Books" are in all hands—essays which will take rank with the best of Hazlitt's, and scarcely fall short of the masterpieces of Lamb.

Towards the close of 1874 it was proposed to appoint Mr. Lowell Minister of the United States to Russia. He declined the offer, but in 1877 he was persuaded to leave his congenial life in Cambridge to become Minister at Madrid; and in 1880 he succeeded Mr. Welsh as representative of the United States in England. The poet, the critic, and scholar proved himself a skilful diplomatist. He gave offence to politicians who wanted "a fresh deal," and who complained that, in regard to the "American suspects," he did not use the exact sort of language which would have pleased the noisier anti-English party; but the best of his countrymen were confident that their interests were not the less safe in his hands because he acted with the tact of a well-bred man of the world. No foreign representative was ever more respected and admired than Mr. Lowell. Without sacrificing the interests of his country, he was the favourite of all classes, establishing his Embassy on a firm footing of culture and goodwill. He lost no opportunity of showing his sense of the common literary and intellectual property of the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon race, and on such occasions as the unveiling of the busts of Longfellow and Wordsworth in Westminster Abbey, and of Henry Fielding in the Shire Hall, Taunton, he gracefully acknowledged the debt due to the common stock.

In 1885, on the return of the Democratic party to power, Mr. Lowell was recalled, and after his return, passed his life partly at his own home, Elmwood, near Boston, and partly at Deerfort Farm. During his retirement he published a volume of poems and one of political essays, the former marked by delicacy of feeling and perception, and the latter replete with bold criticism and wise counsel. His last published poem, "How I Consulted the Oracle of the Goldfisher," appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* a few months before his death, and about the same time appeared his careful edition of "Izaak Walton," bearing witness to his unchanged love of the English classics; whilst up to almost the close of his life he was occupied with a life of his old

friend Hawthorne. He died on Aug. 12 at his favourite residence, Elmwood, after a prolonged period of broken health. He married, first, in 1844, Maria White, the author of some sonnets and other poems privately published in 1855 at Cambridge (Mass.), about two years after that lady's death. In 1857 he married Miss Frances Dunlop, an accomplished lady who had been governess to his daughter (afterwards Mrs. Edward Burnett). The second Mrs. Lowell died in London in February, 1885, a very short time before her husband's diplomatic career closed.

The Duke of Cleveland, K.G.— Harry George Powlett, Duke of Cleveland, Baron Baby, Earl of Darlington, and Viscount and Baron Barnard, was the youngest son of the first duke by his first wife, the second daughter and co-heir of the sixth and last Duke of Bolton. He was born in 1808, and married, in 1854, Lady Dalmeny, only daughter of the fourth Earl Stanhope, and relict of Archibald, Lord Dalmeny, the father of the Earl of Rosebery. He was educated at Oriel College, Oxford, graduated as B.A. in 1829 and D.C.L. in 1876, and received the hon. D.C.L. of Durham in 1882. In 1829 he was attached to the Embassy at Paris, and was appointed Secretary of the Legation at Stockholm in 1839. As Lord Harry Vane he sat in the House of Commons in the Liberal interest for South Durham from 1841 to 1859, and for Hastings from 1859 to 1864. He was appointed, September, 1849, one of the Commissioners for inquiring into those cases which were investigated and reported on by the Charity Commissioners, but not certified by the Attorney-General. He succeeded his brother as fourth Duke in 1864, and assumed the name of Powlett in lieu of Vane in compliance with the will of his maternal grandmother, the Duchess of Bolton, and in 1865 was created K.G. on the nomination of Palmerston April 10, 1865. He died at his town residence, St. James's Square, on Aug. 21, after an illness of some weeks.

The Duke of Cleveland, although taking no prominent part in politics, was the intimate friend of many of the leading Liberals, especially of Mr. Gladstone, from whom, however, he separated himself politically in 1886, and from that time gave his support to the Liberal-Unionists. He was a liberal and popular landlord, and dispensed his vast wealth with the greatest judgment, developing to the utmost the various estates, of which, by purchase

or inheritance, he had become the possessor. At the time of his death he was probably the only nobleman with great landed property who had the absolute right of testamentary disposal, the entail ending with him and the dukedom becoming extinct. By his will he endowed the barony of Barnard—the only one of his titles which survived—with Raby Castle and a rent-roll of 70,000*l.*, and left the bulk of his large fortune among his three great-nephews.

Lord Justice General Inglis.—The Right Honourable John Inglis, of Glen-corrie, who died at his residence, Loganbank, on Aug. 21, was born in 1810 at Edinburgh, where his father, the Rev. Dr. Inglis, was minister of Old Greyfriars parish. He received his school education at Edinburgh High School, whence he passed to the University of Glasgow. From Glasgow he went, as a Snell Exhibitioner, to Balliol College, Oxford, and there he graduated B.A. in 1834 and M.A. in 1837. In the meantime he had been called to the Scottish bar in 1835, and there he very soon made his mark. His rise was unusually rapid; and while still a young man, comparatively, he took rank as senior counsel and appeared in most of the important cases in the Court of Session. In the short-lived Derby Administration of 1852 he was first Solicitor-General and afterwards Lord Advocate; but he did not at that time enter Parliament. When the Conservatives returned to power in 1858 Mr. Inglis resumed the post of Lord Advocate, and was returned to the House of Commons as member for the borough of Stamford. In the interval his position as head of the bar had been recognised by his brethren electing him to the honourable office of Dean of the Faculty of Advocates; and it was as Dean that he made his memorable defence of Madeline Smith, who was charged with the murder of L'Angelier—a defence which secured her acquittal on a verdict of "Not Proven." Another case by which he added to his reputation was that in which Messrs. W. & A. K. Johnston sued a Western firm for alleged plagiarisms from their maps. The most important legislative achievement of Lord Advocate Inglis was the passing of the Scottish Universities Act of 1858, which gave these Universities a new constitution and started them on a career of unexampled prosperity. The Act, however, deprived the Town Council of Edinburgh of the

patronage of a number of chairs in the University, and this brought on the Lord Advocate a good deal of ill-will from a section of the citizens. His elevation to the Bench as Lord Justice Clerk before the end of the same year gave Mr. Inglis further opportunities of serving the Universities. As chairman of the executive commission appointed under his own Act, he devoted all his leisure during four years to the task of bringing the new system into working order. It is recorded of him that he presided at every meeting of the commission without exception; and not an ordinance was issued which did not bear the impress of his hand and judgment. In 1859 he was made a Privy Councillor, and in the same year he received the honorary degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford.

On the elevation of the Lord Colonsay to the House of Lords in 1867, Lord Justice Clerk Inglis was, with the unanimous approbation of the legal profession, appointed to succeed him as Lord Justice-General and President of the Court of Session. It was in that capacity that his great reputation was acquired. To remarkable insight, firm and tenacious grasp of legal principles, and wide and deep knowledge of law, he added wonderful patience and unflinching courtesy in listening to every view of a case. His urbanity, both towards counsel and towards his brother Judges, was exceptional. He decided a vast number of cases during these twenty-two years, some of them very important. Great value was attached to his decisions, not only in Scotland, but also in England. His judgments had the further merit of being always expressed with singular clearness and force, and in the fittest and most graceful language. He was proud of the Court of Session. In a sense he lived for it and in it: and he was exceedingly jealous of its dignity and its influence.

Outside the Court of Session there were not many interests that engaged the Lord President's attention; but to these few he was much attached. The first of these undoubtedly was the University of Edinburgh, of which he was elected Chancellor for life in 1868, in succession to Lord Brougham. In this capacity he presided with his wonted dignity at the great tercentenary festival of the University in 1884. In Fettes College at the St. Giles's Cathedral, of which he was Chairman of the Managing Board, he also took a warm interest. He was for many years a

member of the Board of Trustees for Manufactures, and in that capacity he presided in July, 1889, at the opening of the new building of the National Portrait Gallery and Antiquarian Museum, presented to Scotland by Mr. J. R. Findlay. The Lord President was made an LL.D. of Glasgow in 1869. Unlike many of his colleagues Lord Justice Inglis did not devote much time to literature, but his historical article on "Montrose" in *Blackwood's Magazine* (November, 1887) was evidence of his literary ability and judgment.

Right Honourable Henry Cecil Raikes.—Mr. Raikes was born at the Deanery, in 1838. He was the son of Mr. Henry Raikes, of Llwynegrin, a country gentleman of some literary distinction. His mother was daughter of Archdeacon Wrangham, and his grandfather was for many years Chancellor of the Diocese of Chester. He was sent to Shrewsbury, then under Dr. Kennedy, whence he proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he became a scholar in 1859. After taking a second class in classics in 1860 he was called to the bar at the Middle Temple in 1863, of which he became a Bencher in 1880. He never, however, entered upon active practice, but aspired at a very early period to Parliamentary honours. Whilst still an undergraduate he unsuccessfully contested Derby in 1859 as a Conservative, when Mr. W. M. James, afterwards Lord Justice James, was also beaten, as a third Liberal candidate, by Mr. M. T. Bass and Mr. Samuel Beale. In 1865 he stood for Chester, but was defeated by Mr. W. H. Gladstone and Lord Grosvenor; and in 1866, in conjunction with the Hon. R. C. Abbot, he contested Devonport, but was again unsuccessful. He was at last victorious at Chester in 1868, and retained his seat until the General Election of 1880. In that year, however, he and Major Sandys were badly defeated by Mr. Dodson, Lord Monk Bretton, and Mr. Beilby Lawley, now Lord Wenlock; but on the promotion by Mr. Gladstone in 1882 of the ex-Attorney-General of Lord Beaconsfield's Government, Sir J. Holker, to a Lord Justiceship, Mr. Raikes succeeded to the representation of Preston. He vacated that seat, however, in 1882 on the retirement of the Right Hon. S. H. Walpole in order to contest his University. He was opposed by Professor Stuart; but Mr. Raikes was returned

by 3,491 against 1,308 votes given to his opponent.

At a comparatively early period of his political career Mr. Raikes was chosen, in 1874, to fill the responsible position of Chairman of Ways and Means, and he had to contend with the elementary stage of the system of obstruction as foreshadowed in the long debates in Committee on the Army Discipline and Regulation Bill in the last two Sessions of Lord Beaconsfield's Government. In the debates on the new system of Procedure, introduced by Mr. Gladstone in 1882, Mr. Raikes took an active part, and on March 20 of that year he made a vigorous protest against the closure rule in its original form. Throughout the debates on Procedure, which occupied so much both of the earlier and later sittings of the Session of 1882, Mr. Raikes adopted an independent course, and not infrequently differed from his former colleagues, as, for example, on the question of Grand Committees. His criticisms of the rules were often to the point, especially when he protested against the employment of such vague language in the proposed rules as "the evident sense of the House."

Since he became Postmaster-General he rarely spoke outside of his own department, to which his devotion was unflagging. But he made a very interesting speech in defence of the representation of Universities on Mr. E. Robertson's motion on May 10, 1889; and a few days later he made a vigorous speech in defence of the Church Establishment in Wales. In the administration of his own office it was not Mr. Raikes's good fortune to introduce any startling reform; but he made many minor improvements in our postal system, and some of considerable magnitude, under the pressure of public opinion led by Mr. Henniker Heaton, M.P. for Canterbury, for he at length forced the Treasury to consent to a large reduction of the rates of postage to India and the Colonies. In like manner Mr. Raikes brought about a reduction in the cost of foreign telegrams and in the price of post-cards, but he cannot be said to have initiated any important reform, for the system of telegraphic money orders was an adaptation of a foreign method.

In the administration of the Department Mr. Raikes was said to have been somewhat despotic in his dealings with the permanent officials, and to have asserted his right to be the real

and not merely the nominal head of the department. He was essentially an official, but there could be no doubt that he did his best to improve the position and prospects of Post Office servants. There was some difficulty in the introduction of the seven hours system, but the difficulty was pretty satisfactorily overcome, and in the strike of the Savings' Bank clerks he displayed kindness as well as firmness when once the strikers had appealed to his mercy. In 1861 he married Charlotte Blanche, daughter of Mr. C. B. Trevor-Roper, of Plas-Teg. His death at a comparatively early age was wholly unexpected, although he had long been a martyr to gout. Shortly before the close of the session he had been slightly struck by lightning whilst riding in Hyde Park, but he entirely got over the effects of the shock, and had gone to his country house at Llwynegrin, Flintshire, for the recess apparently in his usual spirits. A few days later he complained of severe headache, and was compelled to take to his bed. Symptoms of inflammation of the brain rapidly supervened, and on Aug. 24 he died from prostration and collapse, due primarily to the pressure of official duties.

General Whichcote.—George Whichcote, the fourth son of Sir Thomas Whichcote, of Aswarby Park, Lincolnshire, by Diana, daughter of Mr. Edmund Turner, of Stoke Rockfort, near Grant-ham, was born on December 21, 1794. When only eight years old he entered Rugby School, where for several terms the future soldier "fagged" for the future actor, Macready. He always distinctly recollected the arrival of the news of the Battle of Trafalgar, and the four successive holidays which, during his stay there, were given to the school to commemorate the victory. On leaving Rugby, in 1810, George Whichcote volunteered into the Army, joining the 52nd Oxfordshire Regiment of Light Infantry as a subaltern in December, 1810, but his commission is dated Jan. 10, 1811. He was almost immediately sent to the Peninsula, embarking at Southampton on board the 74-gun ship *Pompey*, an old French line-of-battle ship which had been captured. He took part with his regiment in the long series of sternly-fought battles in which Wellington and the allied forces succeeded in driving the French from Spanish soil. The young soldier had his full share of fighting, for he was present at the actions of Sabugal, El Bodon, and Alfayates,

the siege and storm of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, the battles of Salamanca, Vera, Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Orthes, Tarbes, and Toulouse. At Toulouse he was the first English soldier to enter the city after its evacuation by the French. He was in command of an advance-picket, and, noticing the retreat of the French, sent word back to the main force of what was taking place, and boldly pushed on with his handful of soldiers into the city. As he entered Toulouse, young Whichcote was startled to hear the roll of a drum, and for a moment was surprised into believing that he had been entrapped into the city by a mere feint on the part of the French. He was speedily reassured, however, by the turning out of the Civil Guard to welcome the allied forces. After the campaign in the Peninsula he was in garrison with his regiment for some time at Castel Sarassin, on the Garonne, and subsequently at Plymouth and in Ireland. A few days before the news arrived of Napoleon's escape from Elba, he sailed with his regiment for New Orleans; but the vessel was overtaken at sea by a fast cutter, carrying instructions for the 52nd to proceed to Ostend to take part in the renewed hostilities. At Waterloo Lieutenant Whichcote had charge of a company of the 52nd Regiment, which played an important part on the great day, throwing into confusion the French Guards, who had been ordered to make a general advance. After the battle he marched with the allied forces to Paris, and was encamped in that city from July 7 to Nov. 2, 1815. He was on guard at the Palace of the Louvre during its dismantling of the many artistic treasures taken by Napoleon from various European capitals, and saw Rubens's famous picture, "The Descent from the Cross," the four bronze horses of Venice, and other priceless treasures, returned to their former owners. The regiment, on returning home after the war, was ordered to Botany Bay, and Whichcote exchanged into the Buffs. In 1822 he again exchanged into the 4th Dragoon Guards, purchasing his troop from the afterwards famous Colonel Sibthorpe. He had got his captaincy on Jan. 22, 1818, and was made major in 1825, in which year he was placed on half-pay, lieutenant-colonel in 1838, colonel in 1851, major-general in 1857, lieutenant-general in 1864, and general in 1871. In addition to gaining the Waterloo Medal and the Peninsular Medal with nine clasps, General Whichcote received a graceful recognition of his services

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from the Queen, who sent him her Jubilee Medal, accompanied by an autograph letter.

He married Charlotte Sophia, daughter of Mr. Philip Monckton, of the East India Service, who died without issue in

1880. Since 1848 General Whichcote has passed a life of uneventful retirement at Meriden, near Coventry, where he died on Aug. 26—perhaps the last survivor of the English officers engaged at Waterloo.

On the 1st, at Holland Street, Kensington, aged 70, **Scott Nasmyth Stokes**, Roman Catholic Inspector of Schools, son of Charles Scott Stokes, solicitor. Educated at St. Paul's School and Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1844. Called to the bar, 1852, and having been converted to the Roman Church was appointed, 1853, first Inspector of Roman Catholic schools. He was one of the founders of the Cambridge Camden Society. Married, 1846, Emma L., daughter of Benjamin Walsh, of Lower Wick House, Worcester. On the 4th, at Hawthornden, N.B., aged 74, Lieutenant-General **Francis Walker Drummond**, second son of Sir F. W. Drummond, second Baronet. Entered the Indian army, and was appointed to 5th Bengal Light Cavalry. Served through the Bundelcund campaign, 1842-3, the Sutlej campaign, 1845-6, and the Punjab campaign, 1848-9. Married, 1839, Pauline I. C., daughter of Charles Mackenzie, B.C.S. On the 5th, at Paris, aged 68, **Auguste Vitu**, a distinguished French critic and author, born at Meudon, and began life as a compositor. On the 8th, at Hornsey Rise, aged 59, **George Lock**, one of the founders of the publishing firm of Ward & Lock. Born at Dorchester; educated at Southampton. After serving his articles with an agricultural chemist he came to London in 1854, and entered into partnership with Mr. E. Ward as a publisher, and, recognising the demands of the time for educational works and popular literature, promptly established a flourishing business in England, Australia, and the United States. On the 5th, at Arcachon, aged 50, **Captain Charles James Herbert**, second son of Right Hon. H. A. Herbert, of Muckross. Served with Grenadier Guards in Canada. Married, first, Middle, de Morny, daughter of the well-known Duc de Morny, of the Second Empire, and second, in 1874, Helen, daughter of Colonel Andrew Spottiswoode. On the 9th, in London, aged 37, **Hon. Harry Tyrwhitt Wilson**, eldest son of Sir Henry Tyrwhitt, Bart., of Ashwellthorpe Hall, co. Norfolk, and the Baroness Berners. Entered Grenadier Guards, 1875; appointed, 1881, Equerry to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. Assumed in 1876 the name of Wilson. On the 11th, at Clifton, aged 91, **Gilbert Elliot, D.D.**, Dean of Bristol, fifth son of Right Hon. Hugh Elliot, Governor of Madras and the Leeward Islands. Educated at St. John's College, Cambridge; B.A., 1822; Rector of Holy Trinity, Newington Butts, 1824-33; of Kirkby Thorpe, Westmorland, 1833-45; of Wivenhoe, Essex, 1845-6; and of Holy Trinity, Marylebone, 1846-51, when he was made Dean of Bristol. During his occupancy he restored the Cathedral at the cost of upwards of 80,000*l.* Married, first, 1825, Williamina, daughter of Patrick Brydone, of Berwick, and second, 1863, Frances, daughter of Charles Dickinson, of Farley Hill, Berks, and widow of John E. Geils, of Dumbuck, Dumbartonshire. On the 11th, at Slaugham, Sussex, aged 85, **Rev. John Oliver Willeys**, son of Dr. Thomas Hawsis, of Aldwinckle, a distinguished preacher in early life, and the author of "Sketches of the Reformation." On the 12th, at Brambridge House, Bishopstoke, aged 68, **Sir Thomas Fairbairn**, second Baronet, eldest surviving son of Sir William Fairbairn. Chairman of the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition, 1857, &c. Married, 1848, Allison, daughter of Thomas Callaway, of Chislehurst. On the 17th, at Yokohama, aged 83, **Shibata Zeshin**, the greatest worker in Japanese lacquer. Born of humble parents, he began as a painter of fans, which by their excellence of work soon attracted notice. He had numerous pupils of all classes, and large sums were paid for his works. On the 18th, at Wear House, Exeter, aged 82, **Admiral Sir George St. Vincent Duckworth-King**, fourth Bart., K.C.B., second son of Admiral Sir Richard King, G.C.B. Educated at Royal Naval College, Portsmouth. Entered the Navy, 1824; was captain of H.M.S. *Leander* at the defence of Eupatoria, 1854, and of H.M.S. *Rodney* at the siege of Sebastopol, and was second in command of the Naval Brigade; Commander-in-chief in China and the East Indies, 1863-7. Married, 1847, Lady Caroline Mary Dawson-Damer, sister of the third Earl of Portarlington. Created C.B., 1855; K.C.B., 1873. Succeeded to his brother's baronetcy in 1887, when he assumed the name of Duckworth. On the 19th, at Stanmore, aged 94, **John Pritchard**. Educated for the law, but was not called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn until 1841. Sat as a Liberal for Bridgewater, 1853-68. Married, 1845, Jane, daughter of G. O. Gordon. On the 20th, at London, aged 65, **John Lord Bowes**, of

Villabella, Grasse, on whom the Queen wished to confer the honour of knighthood in recognition of his services to the English visitors to Grasse. On the 20th, at Hamilton Terrace, St. John's Wood, aged 64, **Leonard Charles Wyon**, modeller and engraver to the Royal Mint, where he was born, the son of William Wyon, R.A. Educated at Merchant Taylors' School. Silver medallist at the Royal Academy. Appointed assistant engraver to the Mint, 1843, and in 1851 succeeded his father as modeller and chief engraver. He designed the present British bronze coinage, the original florin, and the coinage of several colonies and numerous war and other commemorative medals. On the 20th, at Hay Lodge, Peebles, aged 81, **James Johnston Grieve**, a leading colonial merchant. Represented Greenock as a Liberal 1868-78. Provost of Greenock, 1870. Married, first, Margaret Ellen, daughter of A. Richardson; and second, Anne, daughter of Colonel Charles J. Hill, of Halifax, Nova Scotia. On the 21st, at Cyfronydd, Welshpool, aged 71, **Robert Davies Pryce**, Lord-Lieutenant of Merionethshire. Educated at Rugby and St. John's College, Cambridge; B.A., 1842. Sometime Captain in the Montgomery Yeomanry, and Chairman of the Cambrian Railways Co. He was the eldest son of Pryce Jones, of Cyfronydd, and assumed the name of Pryce in 1858. Married, 1849, Jane S., daughter of Sir John Chiverton Charlton, of Apley Castle, Salop. On the 22nd, in London, aged 68, **Sir Simeon Henry Stuart**, of Hartley Mauditt, sixth Baronet, Lieutenant 71st Highlanders, and Captain 7th Lancashire Militia. Married, first, 1846, Julia Maria, daughter of Hon. J. Cuthbert, of Canada East; and second, 1850, Catherine Henrietta, daughter of Lieutenant-General Lechmere Worrall. He was senior representative of the extinct peerage of Carhampton and Waltham. On the 23rd, at Melbourne, Australia, aged 67, **Sir Charles Macmahon**, youngest son of Sir William Macmahon, first Baronet. Entered the Army, and was Captain 10th Hussars. Appointed Chief Commissioner of Police at Melbourne. Speaker of Legislative Assembly, Victoria, 1871-72. On the 25th, at Douglas, co. Cork, aged 78, **General Henry Hamilton, C.B.**, of 78th Highlanders, youngest son of Rev. Sackville Robert Hamilton, Rector of Mallow, Hon. Colonel Prince of Wales's Leinster Regiment. Entered the Army, 1829; commanded his regiment at siege of Lucknow, and was mentioned in despatches. On the 27th, at Bournemouth, aged 87, **Rev. William Carus**, a distinguished divine of the evangelical party. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge (seventh wrangler, 1826). Incumbent of Christchurch, Winchester, 1860-70, and Canon of Winchester, 1851-85. Author of "Memoirs of Charles Simeon," "Memorials of Bishop M'Ilvaine," and other works. On the 27th, at Vienna, aged 57, **Princess Marie Windischgratz**, a niece of the celebrated dancer Marie Taglioni (Comtesse de Voisin), and herself at one time the première danseuse at the Berlin opera. On the 27th, at Honolulu, **John Owen Dominis**, consort of Liliuokalani. On the 30th, at Moorside, Halifax, aged 49, **Louis John Crossley**, son of John Crossley, the great carpet manufacturer, and himself in the business. He was also distinguished as a man of science, especially as an electrician. Introduced electric lighting and the telephone into Halifax. Married, 1866, Emily, daughter of Thomas Birks, of Sheffield.

SEPTEMBER.

Hon. Robert Baillie-Hamilton, second son of tenth Earl of Haddington, died at Langton House, Berwickshire, on Sept. 5. He entered the Army in 1847, and served with the Rifle Brigade through the Kaffir war, and afterwards with 44th Foot in the Crimean campaign, and subsequently he served on the Staff of General Sir Hope Grant in the Chinese campaign 1860, and on that of Sir Hugh Rose in India 1862-3. He sat as a Conservative for Berwickshire 1874-80; he was defeated at the general election of that year. He was a successful agriculturist and a distinguished breeder of cattle and sheep, and for many years

was master of foxhounds. He married, 1861, Mary Gavin, eldest daughter of Sir John Pringle, of Stockill and New Hall.

William Theed, an eminent sculptor, who died on Sept. 9, at Campden Lodge, Kensington, was born in 1804. His father, William Theed, R.A., was also a sculptor. Young Theed received his general education at Ealing, and for some years was a pupil of E. H. Baily, R.A., the sculptor of the Nelson statue in Trafalgar Square. At the age of twenty-two he began a course of study at Rome under Thorwaldsen, John Gibson, Wyatt, and Tenerani. Notwithstanding an ardent

devotion to his profession he did not acquire a high reputation until 1844, when Prince Albert requested Gibson to send him designs by English artists in Rome for ten marble statues to be placed at Osborne. Theed took part in the competition with "Narcissus at the Fountain," and "Psyche lamenting the loss of Cupid," both of which were adopted. To the same period belong his "Ruth Gleaning," "The Prodigal's Return," and "Rebecca at the Well." In 1848 he returned to London, where his work had already begun to attract attention. On the death of the Prince Consort Mr. Theed was asked by the Queen to execute a life-sized group of herself and his Royal Highness in Early English dress, "The Parting." His most important works were the statues of the Prince Consort for Coburg and Balmoral, of Musidora for Marlborough House, of Sir Isaac Newton for Grant-ham, of the Duchess of Kent for Frogmore, of Henry Hallam for St. Paul's Cathedral, of the late Lord Derby for Liverpool, and of Sir Robert Peel for Huddersfield. He also designed the twelve bronze alto-reliefs from English history in the Prince's Chamber, House of Lords, and the colossal group representing Africa on the Albert Memorial in Hyde Park.

Jules Grévy.—Jules Grévy was born in 1807 at Mont-sous-Vaudrey, in the Jura, in which village, after an eventful life, he died on Sept. 9, in complete retirement, and almost forgotten by his chief supporters of a few years previous. After passing through a course of education at the Colleges of l'Arc, Poligny and Besançon, he came to Paris in 1837, and was enrolled on the list of advocates practising in the courts there. By birth and from early life he had always been strongly Republican in his political opinions, and in a short time after his arrival in Paris he was recognised as the advocate of the Republican opposition, and in 1839 he formally gave his adhesion to his party. He was known for years in France as the type of the honest *bourgeois* politician. He never said a foolish thing. Tall, erect, smooth-shaven, silent at most times, but sententious whenever he did speak, he early persuaded the population of his department, the Jura, that there was something in him. When the revolution that dethroned Louis Philippe suddenly occurred, in 1848, he offered himself as a candidate to the New National Assembly, but before polling day he was appointed Prefect (or Com-

missioner-General, as the official was then called) for his native department. During his brief tenure of office he won golden opinions, by persecuting nobody and endeavouring in a quiet way to persuade the people of the Jura that they must become tolerant religiously and politically. He stopped several riots by simply going among the people, and telling them that in vindication of their grievances they must argue and not fight. The Jura sent him to the Constituent Assembly, where his slow, reflective, and serious character, a little heavy perhaps, before long placed him at the head of the party, so sincerely Republican, which strengthened this Chamber. His countryman's sense did not deceive him for long. He understood that, in allowing the President to be appointed by universal suffrage, the way was being opened for Cæsarism, and, although not yet clearly seeing who would be the Cæsar, he anticipated that the man chosen by universal suffrage—that is to say, having for himself alone as many votes as the entire Assembly—would try to make himself master of the Assembly, and would make the Republic bow to the exigencies of his own personal ambition. His proposition, too radical for the Constituent Assembly, was rejected, and the Legislative Assembly of 1849 was elected. There, of course, with the same instinct which carried him to the defence of the Republic, he made absolute opposition to the policy of Louis Napoleon, combated all the measures proposed by the future author of the *coup d'État*, and, by his accomplices, voted that sterile proposition authorising the questors to summon directly armed forces (a ridiculous vote when one remembers how things went at the *coup d'État*), passed a short time in prison after Sept. 2, and defended the Liberal cause and pleaded many a case for sixteen years until 1868, when, at a time when opposition began to become very serious, he got himself elected. In 1869, at the general election, he was returned unopposed. He opposed himself to the *plébiscite* of 1870, which deceived everybody except the Germans, to whom it revealed the exact figure of the French army, and on Sept. 4 he found himself in the Chamber invaded by the Revolution. He refused to form part of the Government of National Defence—owing either to hatred of revolutions, or in order not to disappear with the workers of the first moment, or else not to vie with Gambetta, Jules Simon, and Jules Favre.

He came back as Deputy of the Jura to the National Assembly of 1871. He had gone through the war in silence, his age preventing him from taking any active part. He had kept himself outside with great discretion. He understood that M. Thiers had the right to the first place. He proposed to offer it to him. The second came to him naturally. It was that of President of the Assembly, and he was chosen to it. He remained there until February, 1873.

Then the Conservatives conspired to overturn M. Thiers. They affected to understand the grounds of the authority of M. Jules Grévy, whose Presidency troubled their designs. His friends begged him to remain in any circumstances. But M. Grévy gave in his resignation. Some weeks later on, M. Buffet having succeeded M. Jules Grévy, the Conservative majority began their assault on M. Thiers. It is not known if M. Jules Grévy regretted greatly having hastened the fall of M. Thiers. But the Duc de Broglie, the strongest Ambassador that a Government ever had, left London, returned to France, ascended the tribune, and there attacked with violence M. Thiers, whom he represented in London. On May 24, owing to the conspiracy of M. Buffet, M. Thiers was overthrown. In 1876, in the new elections, the majority became Republican, and M. Jules Grévy went with it. He ascended naturally to the chair. The 16th of May, 1877, sent him back to the Presidency of the Chamber. The day when M. Thiers died M. Grévy, who for seven years had played the second rôle in the Republic, found himself without effort invested with the first, and at the fall of Marshal MacMahon he was appointed President of the Republic. It has been said that this post was offered to M. Dufaure; but this was not the case, and M. Grévy, as President of the Republic, brought to his position his natural qualities and his natural faults. His nature, which did not love effort, accommodated itself rather to the effaced rôle assigned to it by the Constitution because he wished it so, and he acquitted himself of this rôle as head of the State within the narrowest limits possible, not from avarice, as was said of him, but because at the time it was easier and more advantageous. However, when he had triumphed over his adversaries, he feared only Gambetta, and he pretended to regard him as inoffensive.

When, in 1887, the question was

raised of the selling of decorations, in which M. Wilson was implicated, the egoism of the grandfather who adored his grandchildren and would not be separated from them overrode all other considerations, and, not wishing to leave them, it was only force that obliged him thereto. But those who were present on Dec. 1, 1887, in the *couloirs* of the Chamber were permitted to see the strange spectacle of an Assembly which desired to overthrow an old man, and which trembled before him because they supposed him capable of treason against the law, a rumour as ridiculous as it was false. The eagerness with which M. Grévy clung to the Presidency, after it had been made clear to him that no party was prepared to maintain him to the full, was an unexpected blemish in a career devoted to patriotism and the public good. His fall, however, was inevitable, and when he left the Elysée and once more resumed his private life, he was almost immediately lost to observation. For a short time he continued to reside at Paris, but each year his stay at his country house became prolonged, as he found himself more and more neglected by his old associates and supporters. He had lived perhaps too long, for none of the new Republican schools seemed anxious to secure his services. He was in no sense a great man, but he was eminently an honest one.

General Sir John Bloomfield Gough, G.C.B., who died at his residence, Knockeevan, Clonmel, on Sept. 22, was the second son of the Very Rev. Thomas Bunbury Gough, Dean of Derry, and nephew of Hugh Field-Marshal Viscount Gough, and Benjamin, Lord Bloomfield, a well-known diplomat. He was born in 1804, and entered the Army through the Royal Military College in 1820; served in the 22nd Foot and the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, and exchanged as Captain into the 3rd Light Dragoons. He proceeded to India with his uncle, Sir Hugh Gough, serving on his Staff throughout every battle in his campaigns in China, Gwalior, Sutlej, and the Punjab. He commanded a cavalry brigade at the battles of Moodkee and Ferozeshah, and was very severely wounded whilst accompanying Sir Robert Dick's Division, which led the assault on the Sikh entrenchments at Sobraon. For these services he was promoted through the various grades to the rank of Colonel, and was appointed an Aide-de-Camp to the Queen and Companion of the Bath. In 1867 he was made a K.C.B., and in

1876 G.C.B. He was appointed Colonel of the Royal Scots Greys in 1864. He married, first, in 1846, Margaret, daughter of Major-General Sir John M'Caskill, K.C.B.; and, secondly, 1850, Elizabeth Agnew, daughter of George Arbuthnot, of Elderslie, N.B.

Grand Duchess Paul, Princess Alexandra, the eldest daughter but third child of George I., King of the Hellenes, was born at Corfu Aug. 18-30, 1870, and was married June 17, 1889, to the Grand Duke Paul, youngest son of Czar Alexander II. In April, 1890, she had given birth to her first child, the Grand Duchess Marie Paulovna. On Sept. 15 a son was born to her, but she never rallied, and died on Sept. 24 after some days of terrible suffering. The family party at Copenhagen was at once broken up, the Czar and Czarina hastening back at once to St. Petersburg, and all projected rejoicings on account of their silver wedding were postponed, the Grand Duchess Alexandra being especially beloved in her own family.

General Boulanger.—Georges Ernest Marie Boulanger was born on April 29, 1837, at Rennes, where his father practised as an *avocat*, and afterwards became the agent of an insurance company. His mother was Welsh by birth, a Miss Griffith, whose family had for some time resided in France. Their son, who had been destined for a military career, was admitted, after examination in 1855, as a pupil at the *École Militaire de St. Cyr*, and in the following year received his first commission as a *Sous-Lieutenant* in an Algerian regiment of Turcos, and before many months he had succeeded in attracting the favourable notice of his superior officers by his coolness under heavy fire in an expedition against the Kabyles. In 1859 he received a severe wound at the battle of Turbigo, for which he was rewarded by the Cross of the Legion of Honour, and in 1861 he found himself in Cochin China, where he was again wounded, this time by a lance thrust in the leg. In 1862 he was promoted to the rank of Captain, and from 1866 to 1870 held the post of Military Instructor at the *École St. Cyr*. When the war with Prussia broke out, he was appointed *chef de bataillon* formed out of the *débris* of the Army of Sedan which had struggled back to Paris, and throughout the first part of the siege of Paris he showed great energy in reorganising his men. At the battle of Champigny he held the grade of Lieutenant-Colonel and

was seriously wounded, a ball fracturing his shoulder whilst leading a charge. He recovered in time to take part in the second siege of Paris, and again was wounded, a ball striking him on the elbow at one of the last barricades. He became Colonel in 1874 and Brigadier-General in 1880; and, as is not uncommon in the French army, he applied for a command in an arm that was new to him, the cavalry, and exercised it for some months with much distinction.

In 1881 he was selected to be the chief of the mission sent by France to congratulate the Americans on the centenary of Yorktown; and there, it is said, that charm of manner which afterwards counted for so much towards his brief success as the head of a party was generally acknowledged. When he returned he went back to his cavalry command, but on May 16, 1882, he was nominated Director of Infantry at the War Office in Paris. This important appointment brought him to the centre of things, and gave him scope for the exercise of his very real energy, which at that time was directed to reforms that were generally applauded, some of which were subsequently attributed to the General's cousin, M. Clémenceau, afterwards his persistent opponent. He made himself almost indispensable at the War Office, and was retained at his post by successive and very dissimilar Ministers of War—Generals Thibaudin and Campenon.

In 1884 Boulanger was made General of Division, and went to command the army occupying Tunis. Here his energy was remarkable, and, not for the first time, he gave signs of that disposition to ignore the civil power which afterwards led to such serious results. An Italian who had struck a French officer was, as he thought, insufficiently punished; and Boulanger issued a fiery Order of the Day. M. Cambon, the French agent, protested, and General Boulanger soon afterwards resigned. But his retirement was brief, for on Jan. 7, 1886, he was appointed Minister of War in M. de Freycinet's new Cabinet, one of his colleagues, the Minister of Finance, being the M. Sadi Carnot who in 1888 was elected President to combat Boulangism.

Very soon his personality began to make itself felt. The Extreme Left were working in its favour, influenced in part by the relationship and friendship of M. Clémenceau towards the new Minister; and the reforms which the General was carrying out secured him a certain backing among neutral

people, who merely wished to see the French army strong. But what especially brought Boulanger to the fore was his conduct with regard to the expulsion of the Orleans Princes—conduct which made the subsequent behaviour of the Comte de Paris one of the almost incredible facts of contemporary history. General Boulanger was relentless in his action towards the Princes; and he fought a duel with Baron Lareinty in consequence of the strong language he used on this occasion. The discovery of some letters in which, years before, he had covered the Duc d'Aumale with fulsome praise only seemed to make him all the more popular with the mob; and his denial of the letters (which he was afterwards compelled to retract) made him the hero of the hour. He came—especially after the Schnaebele incident—to be regarded as at once the General of *la revanche* and the organiser of democratic military reforms, and the music-halls re-echoed with songs in his honour. The law for imposing a universal term of three years' military service, instead of five, with exceptions, was also favourably received by the public; and when first the Freycinet Cabinet and then the Goblet Cabinet fell, there were loud and threatening demands for him to remain at the Ministry of War. When M. Rouvier became Premier, at Midsummer, Boulanger was not included in the new Cabinet; and the return of the General to the War Office became a question of street politics. Everywhere were seen pictures of him and his famous black horse; everywhere the song, "Il reviendra" was heard. It was soon after this that M. Jules Ferry, in a speech, called Boulanger "Un Saint-Arnaud de café-concert"—a mortal affront, which Boulanger was determined, if possible, to wipe out in the blood of a man whose destruction would have endeared him more than ever to the Parisian mob. The conditions of the duel which he insisted upon were so barbarous that M. Ferry's seconds broke off the affair.

By this time it was evident that Boulanger was ready for any kind of unconstitutional opposition to the existing state of things. Several groups of people began to regard him as a useful instrument for their schemes, avowed or unavowed; M. Déroulède and his "Ligue des Patriotes"; M. Rochefort and his miscellaneous "Intransigeants," and, behind, the more important elements of the Royalists and the money of their Prince. The struggle between M. Grévy's Ministers and the General

began by the latter being promptly ordered under close arrest at Clermont-Ferrand for thirty days. This gave strength and time to his friends, and "manifestations" became frequent. His return to Paris was dreaded by the authorities; but nothing happened, and the Presidential election took place without disturbance of the public peace. In February, 1888, came some partial elections, the country being then under the system of *scrutin de liste*. The Boulangists, reinforced with money from the Duchese d'Uzès and from the Comte de Paris himself, started their man in many constituencies. He was largely voted for, and in the Dordogne—an old Bonapartist department—was returned by 59,000 votes. Worse followed when, in April, a vacancy occurred in the busy manufacturing department of the Nord, and when, after great efforts and great excitement, the General, with a "Revisionist" and "National" programme, carried the seat by 172,528 votes against a much smaller number for his antagonist. Three months of exciting intrigue and "demonstrations" followed, and then, in July, the career of the General was very nearly brought to an end. In the Chamber, on July 12, he used an "unparliamentary expression" to M. Floquet and a duel followed. One of M. Floquet's seconds was M. Clémenceau; the civilian got the better of the fight and dealt his adversary a dangerous wound in the neck, between the carotid artery and the jugular vein. For a moment his reputation in the eyes of the populace seemed also damaged. But he recovered from both wounds, the physical and the moral, and during the last months of the year his position became stronger than ever. At length, in January, 1889, came the vacancy in the representation of Paris. It was Boulanger's great chance, and he accepted it, but he did not know what use to make of fortune's favours. His opponent was M. Jacques, a Republican of the normal kind. The efforts made on both sides were prodigious. The whole of Paris was covered with posters; there were meetings everywhere. It was said, probably with truth, that 80,000*l.* of the Boulangist money was spent in this election alone. He polled 245,236 votes, against 162,875 for M. Jacques and 27,000 for other candidates. Why did he not at once march upon the Elysée? A little more of the money spent upon the guard would have secured his success. But the General did nothing. His friends shouted, and exulted, and conferred; but he had not the brains

and they had not the singleness of purpose to make their victory effectual.

The only result of the Paris election was the overthrow of M. Floquet's Government and the succession of M. Tirard, with the tacitly acknowledged programme of putting down Boulangism. M. Tirard had a strong colleague in M. Constans, the Minister of the Interior, who undertook the task. He began by suppressing the League of Patriots and prosecuting M. Déroulède and his friends. He followed up this successful stroke by another. He frightened Boulanger with the threat, very cleverly conveyed to him, of arrest, and perhaps of worse; and, to the bewilderment and disgust of all the party, on the night of April 2, 1889, the General disappeared. He had fled, some said in disguise, to Brussels. Almost at once the Senate was constituted into a High Court of Justice for the trial of General Boulanger, M. Rochefort, and others for high crimes and misdemeanours. The Procureur-General, M. Quesnay de Beaurepaire, presented a tremendous indictment, charging embezzlement, conspiracy, breaches of discipline, and many other crimes; and in due time the sentence was pronounced—imprisonment for life in a fortress. It was, in a sense, a *brutum fulmen*, for the General was safe in London, Jersey, or Brussels, among which harbours of refuge he passed his time and spent the relics of his friends' subscriptions. But the whole affair of the trial, the crushing demonstration of the prosecutor, and the wretchedly lame replies

that were offered by the General's friends had their effect, and the general election in the autumn of the year gave an overwhelming majority to the Republicans over the Boulangists and the Reactionaries combined. Later on the inevitable "revelations" came from within the camp of the conspirators, when a young Boulangist Deputy, M. Mermeix, published in the *Figaro* a series of articles called "Les Coulisses du Boulangisme." It was a miserable raising of the veil; and none of the revelations were seriously disputed. It involved the Bonapartists and the Royalists as deeply as the extreme Radicals; it showed the cynicism of Prince Napoleon in an only less unpleasant light than it showed the unscrupulousness of the Comte de Paris, who had advanced and rendered the return of the Orleans almost impossible. After leaving London in the early part of the year he retired to Jersey, in company with Mlle. de Bonnemaine, and thence went to Brussels, where she died rather suddenly. General Boulanger's mind seemed to have been completely unhinged by this loss coming so soon after the downfall of his hopes. He continued to live at Brussels in some style, but his spirits and his means of gratifying his love of luxury failed simultaneously, and on Sept. 29 he managed to elude the watchfulness of his friends, whose anxieties had been aroused, and shot himself on his mistress's grave, in the cemetery of Ixelles, near Brussels, where he was himself interred without religious ceremony or political manifestation.

On the 1st, at Blackheath, aged 74, **Edward Sydney Williams**, a publisher and foreign bookseller. Born at Beeston, Notts. Educated at Hamburg. Established in London the well-known firm of Williams & Norgate, and for many years was the agent in this country of Baron Tauchnitz in his dealings with English authors. On the 1st, at Richmond, aged 70, **Hon. Adolphus E. F. Graves**, third son of second Lord Graves. Captain 59th Regiment. Page of Honour to William IV. Married, 1858, Caroline, daughter of Captain Wreford, R.N. On the 1st, at Ashford Hall, Ludlow, aged 50, **Robert Melville**, County Court Judge. On the 2nd, in Bruton Street, London, aged 75, **Lady Caroline Charteris**, youngest daughter of Francis, seventh Earl of Wemyss. On the 2nd, in London, aged 58, **Sir Philip Le Belward Grey-Egerton**, eleventh Bart. Educated at Eton. Entered the Coldstream Guards; served with the Rifle Brigade in the Crimean campaign, 1854–55. Married, 1861, Hon. Henrietta E., daughter of first Earl of Londesborough. On the 2nd, at Shepherd's Bush, London, aged 76, **Ferdinand Praeger**, an eminent musician, born at Leipzig. He was the son of Heinrich Aloysius Praeger, a violinist and composer of merit; studied at Lübeck, and for a short time under Hummel. Came to London in 1834, and was the author of numerous works on music, and a composer of sonatas, symphonies, &c. On the 3rd, at Grittleton House, Chippenham, aged 86, **Sir John Neeld**, first Baronet, son of Joseph Neeld, of Fulham and Hendon. Educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge. Represented Cricklade as a Conservative 1835–59, and Chippenham, 1865–68. Married, 1842, Harriet, daughter of Major-General William Dickson. On the 3rd, at Brighton, aged 74, **Captain Arthur John Loftus**, only son of Captain Arthur Loftus, R.N. Served with 10th Hussars in the Crimea, and with 18th Hussars throughout the Indian Mutiny. Appointed, 1878, Gentleman Usher to the Queen, and in 1888 Keeper of the Crown Jewels.

Married, 1863, Lady Catherine, daughter of second Marquess of Ely. On the 5th, in Paris, aged 63, **Elie Delaunay**, a distinguished painter, born at Nantes. Studied under Lamothe and Hippolyte Flandrin. Decorated numerous churches and public buildings. Carried off first Prix de Rome, 1856. On the 5th, at Barnes, aged 87, **Sir Hugh Owen Owen**, second Baronet. Sat as a Liberal for Pembroke Borough, 1826-38, and from 1861-8. Colonel of Pembroke Artillery Militia, 1872-75. Aide-de-Camp to the Queen, 1872-89. Married, first, 1825, Angelina, daughter of Sir C. Gould Morgan, 2nd Baronet; and, second, 1845, Henrietta, daughter of Captain the Hon. E. Rodney, R.N. On the 5th, at Badenweiler, aged 55, **William Maxwell Alexander**, son of Boyd Alexander, of Ballochmyle, Ayrshire. Educated at Harrow and Haileybury. One of the Indian civilians who endeavoured to hold the Indian mutineers in check at Fort Agra until the arrival of the British troops. Married, 1871, Emma, daughter of Rev. William Thorp. On the 6th, at Bow, aged 76, **Charles Jamrach**, a well-known naturalist and dealer in wild animals, birds, &c., which he bred and exported for the supply of menageries, &c. He was born at Memel, and greatly extended the business founded by his father in London and Antwerp. On the 7th, at Munich, aged 73, **Professor Heinrich Graetz**, of Breslau, born at Xions, Posen. After completing his studies in Hebrew, he was sent to the Gymnasium at Oldenburg, and in 1840 to the University of Breslau. Was appointed teacher of Biblical exegesis at the Jewish seminary in 1853, and Extra Professor of History in the University of that place, 1870; at the expense of the State he visited Asia Minor and Egypt. He was author of "Gnosticism and Judaism" (1846), a "History of the Jews" (1875), &c., and the editor of a Jewish literary magazine. On the 8th, at Antello, aged 70, **Signor Ubaldino Peruzzo**, a distinguished Italian and a member of an old Tuscan family. Educated at the Ecole des Mines at Paris, and in Germany. Elected a member of the Tuscan Assembly in 1859, after the flight of the Grand Duke. Minister of Public Works in Cavour's Cabinet, 1861, and Minister of the Interior, 1862-64, under Farini, representing Florence in the Italian Assembly, and largely contributing to the foundation of the Kingdom of Italy. On the 9th, at Douglas, Isle of Man, aged 73, **Vice-Admiral Arthur Wilmshurst, C.B.** Entered the navy in 1839; served in the Black Sea during the Russian war as lieutenant on H.M.S. *Trafalgar*, and held a command in China in 1857. On the 9th, at Penzance, aged 65, **Sir George Abercrombie Robinson**, third Bart., eldest son of Sir George Bert Robinson. Educated at Sandhurst. Entered 22nd Regiment. Served in India and North-West Frontier, 1853-54. Married, 1873, Harriet Rose, widow of Lieut.-General Young and daughter of Lawrence Gwynne. On the 9th, at Longwood, Hants, aged 48, **Right Honourable George Carnegie**, ninth Earl of Northesk. Served in the Scots Guards 1862-74. Succeeded to his father's title, 1878. Elected a representative peer for Scotland, 1885. Married, 1865, Elizabeth, daughter of Admiral Sir George Elliot, K.C.B. He was a well-known antiquary, and had formed a valuable collection of prehistoric weapons. On the 10th, at Rutland Gardens, S.W., aged 77, **Henrietta Eliza, Dowager Viscountess Galway**, daughter of Robert Pemberton Milnes, of Fryston Hall, co. York. Married, 1838, her cousin, George, sixth Viscount Galway. One of the few peeresses present at the Queen's coronation, and also at the public ceremony. On the 10th, at the Grange, Uxbridge Road, aged 73, **William Partridge, J.P.**, one of the metropolitan police magistrates. Educated at Winchester and Christchurch, Oxford. Called to the bar at the Middle Temple, 1834. For some time sat on the Brighton Borough bench; appointed stipendiary magistrate at Wolverhampton, 1860; transferred to the metropolis, 1863, and sat until within ten days of his death, which happened on the day after his formal retirement from the bench. On the 11th, at Colombo, aged 69, **Augustin Théodule Ribot**, born at the Department of the Eure. Studied under the elder Glaiize. First exhibited in the Salon, 1861, "The Cuisiniers," and several pictures now in the Luxembourg. He was known as the French Ribera. On the 11th, at Hampstead, aged 69, **Rev. Thomas Sadler, Ph.D.**, a prominent Unitarian preacher and divine, and the editor of "Crabb Robinson's Diaries." On the 12th, at Cusworth Park, Doncaster, aged 91, **Richard Heber Wrightson, J.P.**, third son of William Wrightson, M.P. Called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1824. Married, 1832, Hon. Eliza Augusta de Grey, eldest daughter of Thomas, fourth Lord Walsingham. The last survivor of an ancient family. On the 13th, at Strawberry Hill, aged 75, **Paul Jacob Naftel**, a distinguished water-colour painter, and one of the oldest members of the Royal Water Colour Society. He married a daughter of Mr. O. Oakley, a member of the Society, and herself an accomplished artist, as was also their daughter, Miss Maude Naftel, who predeceased them. On the 13th, at

the Manor House, Ealing, aged 87, **Louise Perceval**, one of the three daughters of the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, who was shot in the House of Commons in 1812. On the 14th, at Heidelberg, aged 69, **Dr. Franz Friedrich Ernst Brünnow**, a distinguished astronomer, trained at Berlin under Encke. Appointed Director of the Observatory at Ann Arbor, Mich., U.S.A., 1854; and in 1865 succeeded Sir W. Rowan Hamilton as Andrews Professor of Astronomy at Dublin and Director of Dunkirk Observatory. Resigned, 1874. On the 15th, at Finchley, aged 75, **John Joseph Powell, Q.C.**, Judge of County Courts. Born at Gloucester, which city he represented as a Liberal, 1862-65. Called to the bar at Middle Temple, 1847; Q.C., 1863; Recorder of Wolverhampton, 1864; County Court Judge, 1884. On the 15th, at Edinburgh, aged 87, **Sir John Steell, B.S.A.**, sculptor to the Queen in Scotland. Born at Aberdeen. Studied at Edinburgh and afterwards at Rome; was the author of the statue of Sir Walter Scott, for the Scott monument; of Burns at New York, the Duke of Wellington at Edinburgh, and many others, of which the most important was the Scottish national monument to the Prince Consort in Charlotte Square, Edinburgh. Married, 1826, Elizabeth, daughter of John Graham, of Edinburgh. On the 18th, at Ilkley, aged 83, **John Darlington, K.L., K.C.I.**, son of William Darlington, of Marbury, Cheshire. Practised for many years as a solicitor at Bradford, where he was also Consul for the King of the Belgians and the King of Servia. He was Knight of the Order of Leopold and of the Royal Crown of Italy. He obtained (but never used) Royal licence to assume the name of De Dutton, as twentieth in direct descent from Ode, first Lord of Dutton, and twenty-sixth from Rollo, Duke of Normandy. On the 23rd, at Kansas City, U.S.A., aged 74, **William Ferrel**, a distinguished meteorologist. Born at Philadelphia; graduated at Bethany College, 1844, and held various appointments in connection with the United States Coast Survey; invented the *maxima* and *minima* tide-predicting machine, and was the author of several important scientific works. On the 24th, at Stockholm, aged 71, **His Excellency Count Piper**, Swedish Minister Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London, 1877-89, having entered the diplomatic service in 1853, and held many important posts. On the 24th, at Blair Drummond, aged 75, **Charles Stirling-Home-Drummond-Moray**, second son of Henry Home Drummond. Was for some time in 15th Hussars and 2nd Life Guards. Married, 1877, Lady Georgina E. L., third daughter of Francis, fifth Marquess of Hertford. On the 26th, at Hornblotton Rectory, Somerset, aged 101, **Sarah Thring**, daughter of Rev. J. Jenkyns, vicar of Evercreach and Prebendary of Wells; sister of Dr. Jenkyns, Master of Balliol and Dean of Wells, and of Dr. F. C. Jenkyns, Canon of Durham and Professor of Greek and Theology at Durham University. Married, 1811, Rev. John Gale Dalton Thring, of Alford House, Somerset, and was mother of Lord Thring (for many years Sir Henry Thring, and Parliamentary draughtsman to the Government), and Rev. Edward Thring, long head master of Eppingham School. She enjoyed the use of her faculties to the last. On the 26th, at Corsham Court, Wilts, aged 73, the **Right Honourable Frederick Henry Paul**, second **Baron Methuen**. Cornet, Royal Horse Guards, and subsequently Ensign, 71st Foot; Colonel, Wilts Militia, 1854-88; Lord-in-Waiting to the Queen, 1859-66, 1868-75, 1880-85, and again in 1886. Married, 1844, Anna Horatia, only daughter of Rev. John Sanford of Nynhead, Somerset. On the 27th, at St. Petersburg, aged 80, **Ivan Alexandrovitch Goutscharoff**, a popular Russian novelist, who had made the voyage round the world in 1852, as secretary to Admiral Putiatin. He was the author of "Oblomoff" and "Obreev," and other works, and was for many years, down to 1873, editor in chief of the Russian official *Gazette*. On the 28th, at Alford House, Castle Cary, Somerset, aged 75 (two days after his mother), **Theodore Thring**, eldest son of Rev. John G. D. Thring. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1839. Called to the Bar at the Middle Temple, 1843; many years Commissioner in Bankruptcy at Liverpool; deputy chairman of Quarter Sessions, Somerset. Married, 1852, Julia Jane, daughter of William Mills, of Saxham Hall, Suffolk. On the 30th, at the Hurst, Bournemouth, aged 87, **General Sir Robert Percy Douglas**, fourth **Bart.**, third son of General Sir Howard Douglas, of Carr, Perthshire. Entered the Army, 1820; Colonel 98th Regiment, 1864; General, 1874; Assistant Adjutant-General, 1853; Lieutenant-Governor of Jersey, 1858-63; Commander-in-chief, Cape of Good Hope, 1863-68; retired, 1877. Married, first, 1840, Ann, only daughter of Lieut.-Colonel G. H. Duckworth; and second, 1856, Louisa, youngest daughter of Robert Lang, of Moor Park, Farnham, Surrey.

OCTOBER.

Lord Cheylesmore.—Henry William Eaton, first Baron Cheylesmore, was the son of a London merchant, and was born in 1816. He was educated at Enfield and at the College Rollin, Paris. After serving an apprenticeship in a commercial house in the City, he embarked in the silk business, and raised the firm of H. W. Eaton & Son to a foremost position in the silk trade. In 1839 he married Charlotte Graham Harman, daughter and heiress of Mr. Thomas Leader Harman, of New Orleans, by whom he had three sons and two daughters. Mr. Eaton's business brought him into close connection with Coventry, which he represented in Parliament for about a quarter of a century. The commercial treaty between this country and France caused a serious disturbance in the silk riband weaving trade of Coventry and other centres, and this, combined with other causes, threw thousands of operatives at Coventry out of employment. A fund was started to alleviate the general distress, with Lord Leigh at the head of the committee. A deputation was sent by this committee to London to seek subscriptions from merchants and others connected with the silk trade, and found an invaluable helper in Mr. Eaton. The Queen and Prince of Wales became subscribers to the fund, which ultimately amounted to over 40,000*l.* Of this no less than 3,000*l.* was contributed by Mr. Eaton. On the death of Mr. Edward Ellice in 1863 a joint requisition of Conservatives and Liberals of Coventry was presented to Mr. Eaton, asking him to become candidate for the vacancy. He issued an address to the constituency, but did not on this occasion persevere with his candidature, as it was considered that Mr. Treherne, who had been before the constituency thirty years, had prior claims. Mr. Treherne was elected, the defeated Liberal candidate being Mr. A. W. Peel, the present Speaker of the House of Commons. The death of Sir Joseph Paxton in June 1865 again brought Mr. Eaton before the electors of Coventry, who returned him by a majority of 309 over Mr. Mason Jones, a Liberal labour candidate. Mr. Eaton retained his seat as member for Coventry from 1865 to 1880, being returned at each subsequent election at the head of the poll. In the great Liberal reaction of 1880 Mr. Eaton lost his seat by the

narrow majority of 97, on a poll of 8,000. In March 1881, on the elevation of Sir Henry Jackson to the Judicial Bench, Mr. Eaton regained his place as member for Coventry, defeating Sir U. Kay-Shuttleworth by 443 votes on a much smaller poll. Mr. Eaton retained his seat until June, 1887, the occasion of the Queen's jubilee, when he was raised to the peerage under the title of Baron Cheylesmore, Cheylesmore being the name of the ancient manor of Coventry Park. The manor of Cheylesmore has most interesting historic associations, having been held by, among others, Edward the Black Prince, the Earl of Warwick, and the Duke of Northumberland. It was purchased by Mr. Eaton from the late Marquess of Hertford. Lord Cheylesmore was for many years one of the best-known figures of the Four-in-Hand Club, at whose meetings his four bays and brown coach were a prominent feature. He was Junior Grand Master of Freemasons of England, Deputy-Lieutenant for the Tower Hamlets and for one of the divisions of Suffolk, and a Fellow of the Royal Geographical, Horticultural, and Botanical Societies. He was a liberal and discriminating patron of the fine arts, and was the possessor of several of the most famous Landseer paintings. Shortly after the close of the Session he left England for a tour in Russia. After visiting St. Petersburg and Moscow he was returning homewards, but was detained by what appeared at first a slight attack of cold. He, however, rapidly became worse, and succumbed quite unexpectedly on Oct. 2 at Warsaw.

The King of Wurtemberg.—Charles I., King of Wurtemberg (his full name being Charles Frederick Alexander), son of William I., was born at Stuttgart, March 6, 1823, and succeeded his father to the throne in 1864. In the struggles for the leadership of Germany which followed his accession, the King of Wurtemberg, who thoroughly disliked everything connected with military life, sided with Austria against Prussia. After the defeat of his troops, and the consequent "ransom" of eight million florins he was called upon to pay, he made his peace with the King of Prussia, and during the Franco-Prussian war his troops cordially and effectively co-

operated with the German army. In 1846 he married the Grand Duchess Olga, daughter of the Czar Nicholas I., and to her influence was ascribed much of the policy of his reign. He was for many years a valetudinarian, taking but small interest in politics, but unfortunately he fell under the influence of some American "spiritualists," who obtained considerable influence over his mind, and large sums of money and other grants from his purse. One of them was created a baron, with a fine residence and estate, and the other substantially rewarded. By the influence of the Queen these adventurers were exposed and forced to quit the country, but the King's influence and popularity alike suffered, and there was some talk of his abdicating. Latterly he showed considerable interest in art, and did much towards improving the resources and attractions of his capital, Stuttgart, where he died on Oct. 6, after a short illness.

Right Hon. W. H. Smith.—William Henry Smith, M.P., D.C.L., who, on his death on October 6, was First Lord of the Treasury and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, was born in Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, and on June 24, 1825, after a short stay at the Tavistock Grammar School, started in life as a newspaper-folder in the business of his father, the founder of the great news-agency business which was subsequently identified with his name. Having made himself master of each branch of the business by taking an active share in it, he became his father's partner, and, by his energy and sagacity, contributed largely to the enormous success of the firm, and obtained a practical monopoly of the railway bookstall business throughout England; adding thereto, in 1860, a circulating library, which placed provincial readers on an equal footing with those who hitherto had the special advantages of the London libraries. In 1865 Mr. W. H. Smith was first invited to take part in political life, and at the general election, which happened shortly before the death of Lord Palmerston, he was induced to come forward as the Conservative candidate for Westminster, in opposition to the Whig and Radical candidates—Hon. R. W. Grosvenor and Mr. John Stuart Mill—who represented the unbroken traditions of the constituency since the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832. The result of the poll was: Grosvenor, 4,584; J. S. Mill, 4,525; and W. H. Smith, 3,824. Three years later another general election reversed the

order completely, giving Mr. W. H. Smith 7,648, Hon. R. W. Grosvenor 6,584, J. S. Mill 6,284 votes, and with that Mr. John Stuart Mill's career as a politician closed and Mr. W. H. Smith's commenced, and from that time, at each succeeding election for Westminster, Mr. Smith's name stood at the head of the poll, and he was returned unopposed. In 1870, on the establishment of the School Board for London, he was returned as one of the members for the Westminster division, and again at the second election in 1873; but he was forced to resign his seat on the Board shortly afterwards in consequence of his having been appointed Financial Secretary to the Treasury in February 1874 by Mr. Disraeli, on the formation of his administration; and, on the death of Mr. Ward Hunt in 1877, he was, to the surprise of many, selected to succeed him as First Lord of the Admiralty. At the head of one of the great spending departments Mr. Smith's business experience and his financial knowledge were of the utmost use, but it cannot be claimed for him that he was able to reorganise his department on a satisfactory basis of personal responsibility, or that he achieved much in placing the navy upon a more stable footing, although he may have left it stronger than he found it. At the general election of 1880 he and his colleague, Sir C. Russell, successfully held their seat against Mr. John Morley and Sir A. Hobhouse, and during the five years of opposition which followed he spoke only occasionally upon matters with which he was fully conversant, such as Admiralty administration and the necessity of increasing the force of the navy. On Mr. Gladstone's resignation in 1885, Mr. W. H. Smith, who had been elected for the newly constituted Strand Division, was selected by Lord Salisbury for the post of Secretary for War; but in the few months he held the office he was unable to leave any mark of his power of reorganising a department of which the state was little short of chaotic. At the close of the year Lord Carnarvon resigned the Viceroyalty of Ireland, necessitating the withdrawal of Sir W. Hart Dyke from the Chief Secretaryship; Mr. Smith undertook the task; he held the office for less than a week, long enough to go to Dublin, when the Conservative Government was defeated on the Allotments Question, and Mr. Gladstone came into office pledged to Home Rule for Ireland. On the dissolution which followed the rejection of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, Mr. W. H.

Smith was again elected for the Strand Division, and by an increased majority; and on the formation of Lord Salisbury's second administration he returned to the War Office; but a few months later, on Lord Randolph Churchill's resignation, he became First Lord of the Treasury, and Leader of the House of Commons.

Mr. Smith's promotion was at first viewed with doubt, and even with hostility, by a section of the Conservative party; but in the five Parliamentary Sessions during which he held the leadership, he completely conquered the confidence of the House of Commons. Making no pretence to eloquence, but speaking on all occasions with a simple plainness that had a dignity of its own, Mr. Smith showed always so much honesty of purpose, so entire an absence of bitter partisanship, such temperance of language and such suavity of manner, that, perhaps, no leader of the House since the days of Lord Althorpe enjoyed a larger measure of universal respect. He led the House during an anxious period, through the heated debates on the Crimes Act and the Special Commission, and the prolonged discussions on such complicated measures as the Local Government Bill (England) and the Land Purchase Bill (Ireland), and on the reformed rules of the House. Nor was Mr. Smith found wanting when he had to deal with subjects of a different kind, like the Royal grants, and to give expression officially to the sympathies of the House of Commons on occasions of public sorrow or rejoicing. He was not a consummate orator like Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Bright, but he could speak, on behalf of Englishmen, the language of a plain Englishman both forcibly and to the purpose. It was, however, the moral side of Mr. Smith's character that impressed and won over his colleagues, his unaffected kindness and his strong sense of duty; and when it was known that his health had been seriously affected by an attack of the influenza epidemic, there was a feeling of more than regret amongst his colleagues that he should be unable to continue to lead the House. During the last few weeks of the Session he was, however, unable to attend its sittings, but it was hoped that a few months' rest at Walmer Castle, where, as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, he had taken up his residence after the death of Earl Granville, would restore his health. He was, however, unable to withstand the repeated attacks of gout which followed upon his convalescence from the influenza; and, after many fluctuations, the gout reached the heart,

and he succumbed very suddenly on Oct. 6, the result of a chill taken on board his yacht *Pandora*, on which he had taken a short cruise a few days before. In addition to his political appointments Mr. Smith was a member of the Council of King's College, London, and had received the honorary degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford in 1879. In 1889 the Ministerialists of the House of Commons presented him with an address expressing their gratitude for his services; and, on the completion of the twenty-first year of his Parliamentary career, he was entertained at a banquet by his old constituents. In private life and as an employer Mr. Smith was at once generous and discriminating, and there were few charities in London or in the counties where he possessed estates—Oxfordshire, Devon, and Essex—where he did not contribute liberally. He married, in 1858, Emily, eldest daughter of Frederick Dawes Danvers, of the Duchy of Lancaster Office, who was subsequently raised to the peerage under the title of Viscountess Hambleden, her husband's residence near Henley-on-Thames.

Mr. Parnell.—Charles Stewart Parnell, who had won and for many years deserved the title of the "Uncrowned King of Ireland," was the second son of John Henry Parnell, who married Delia Tudor, daughter of Commodore Charles Stewart, U.S.A. On his father's side Mr. Parnell could claim a descent from Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, the Kingmaker; but less remote was his connection with Sir John Parnell, second baronet, who was the Chancellor of Ireland in 1787, and a Lord of the Treasury in 1793, and resigned in 1795 rather than consent to the Union. Charles Stewart Parnell, his great grandchild, was born in Avondale, co. Wicklow, June 1846, but his early childhood was passed in England, first at a school at Yeovil, Somerset, to which he was sent at the age of six; next he was placed under the charge of Rev. Mr. Barton, of Kirk-Langley, Derbyshire; and afterwards of Rev. Mr. Wishaw, in Oxfordshire; and then matriculated as a Commoner at Magdalene College. Here his stay was not long, and although he took an interest in mechanics and applied mathematics, his reading was too desultory to be of academic use. On leaving Cambridge he spent some time in travelling in America, but in 1871 returned to Avondale, and took up the duties of an Irish

landlord. He hunted and shot like those around him, but he also did much to develop his estate. He set up a saw-mill and brush factory, and soon afterwards began sinking shafts in search of minerals, a search in which he persisted throughout his life, notwithstanding the failure of all his efforts. It was said that the execution of the "Manchester Martyrs," Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien, was the determining cause of Mr. Parnell's entry into political life. At the dissolution of 1874, he wished to stand for his native county, Wicklow, but as he was that year its High Sheriff, he was thereby disqualified; but a few months later, on Colonel Taylor's acceptance of a subordinate office in Lord Derby's administration, he contested the seat for Dublin co., and was defeated by 2,183 to 1,235 votes. But he was more successful a little more than a year later, when a vacancy was created in the representation of Meath by the death of John Martin, one of the "Young Ireland" party, and a convict of 1848, like his brother-in-law, John Mitchel. When Mr. Parnell entered the House of Commons in April 1875, the Liberal Opposition was disorganised, the Conservative Government was both positively and negatively strong, and the Home Rule party, under Mr. Butt's leadership, was of little account. Mr. Parnell immediately allied himself with Mr. Biggar, who had struck out his own line of "obstruction," in which he was partially supported by Mr. F. O'Donnell and Mr. O'Connor Power. They persisted in a method of bringing an intolerable pressure to bear upon Parliament by creating disturbances, and by delaying public business, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Mr. Butt and the rank and file of the Irish Nationalists. In 1877 the whole scheme of Parliamentary obstruction was disclosed, and put in practice during the debates on the Prison Bill, the Army Bill, and the South Africa Bill; and on one occasion Mr. Parnell and a small body of followers kept the House sitting for twenty-six hours. At the close of the Session Mr. Butt, after a vain effort to stem the current of Irish politics, was deposed by the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain, and although in the Parliamentary party no ostensible change was made, in the following Session Mr. Butt practically resigned his lead, and to mark his severance from the extreme Irish party both spoke and voted in favour of the Government. On his death in the following year, Mr. Shaw

was chosen to fill his place as Sessional chairman of the party. Meanwhile, Mr. Parnell had been establishing friendly relations with some of the English and Scotch Radical members; and as first president of the newly established Land League, started at Irish-town, co. Mayo, he found himself at the head of the Reception Committee which presented an address of welcome to Mr. Davitt and his fellow-prisoners on their return from the United States.

He quickly entered into the policy that Mr. Davitt had devised in America in co-operation with Devoy and others, after taking counsel with the leaders of the Clan-na-Gael and of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. That policy had been originally sketched by Fintan Lalor, one of the '48 men, and was intended to work upon the land-hunger of the Irish peasantry in order to get rid of the British connection. This "new departure" involved Mr. Parnell's adoption of a more decided line on the Land Question. In June 1879, a few weeks after the establishment of the Land League, and in the teeth of the denunciations of Archbishop MacHale, Mr. Parnell, accompanied by Mr. Davitt, addressed a League meeting at Westport, told the tenantry that they could not pay their rents in presence of the agricultural crisis, but that they should let the landlords know they intended in any case to "hold a firm grip on their homesteads and lands."

In Oct. 1879, Mr. Parnell started with Mr. Dillon for the United States, where he was cordially welcomed by most of the extreme faction, and told them that the land question must be acted upon in "some extraordinary and unusual way" to secure any good result, and that "the great cause could not be won without shedding a drop of blood." He went even beyond this point in the famous speech at Cincinnati, when he said that the "ultimate goal" at which Irishmen aimed, was "to destroy the last link which kept Ireland bound to England."

Mr. Parnell's speeches during the electoral campaign of 1880, showed how far he was prepared to go in company with the Fenians; and his remark that he was little inclined "to fix the boundary of the march of a nation," was enthusiastically adopted on Land League platforms. The leading organisers of the League were either Fenians or men who had used language scarcely distinguishable from that of Fenianism, and the chief outcome of their policy was the adoption of the system of boycotting. Mr. Parnell's personal

supremacy was undoubted. He was returned for three constituencies, Meath, Mayo, and the city of Cork, and decided to sit for the last-named. On the overthrow of the Beaconsfield Government, and the return of Mr. Gladstone to office, Mr. Parnell succeeded Mr. Shaw as chairman of the Irish party, and an open separation of the two sections ensued. The Parnellites took their seats on the Opposition benches, the moderate Home Rulers on the Ministerial side below the gangway. A proposal to make Mr. Shaw one of the Chief Commissioners under the Land Act fell through, but it indicated the bias of Mr. Gladstone's sympathies; and, although the Peace Preservation Bill was dropped, he showed no disposition to reopen the Land Question, except in the shape of the hastily introduced Compensation for Disturbance Bill, which was rejected by the House of Lords.

A period of distress, arising from bad harvests, favoured the operations of the Land League; and the system of boycotting spread over the country. Mr. Parnell, in a speech at Ennis, had urged upon his hearers that if any man among them took an evicted farm, to push the offender "into a moral Coventry by isolating him from the rest of his kind as if he were a moral leper." The terrorism thus established soon took such alarming proportions that Mr. Parnell and his colleagues were prosecuted for conspiracy in Dublin, but the jury had been unable to agree, and Mr. Gladstone's Government decided to take no further steps in the matter; but as soon as the Session of 1881 opened, the Chief Secretary, Mr. W. E. Forster, introduced two Bills, one for the protection of persons and property, by which the Executive was empowered to arrest and detain without trial persons reasonably suspected of crime; and an Arms Bill, which was more stringent in its provisions and rights of search than any of its predecessors. Both Bills were resisted to the utmost by the Irish Nationalists, led by Mr. Parnell, who were again and again suspended, and only silenced by the extreme authority of the Speaker; and finally both Bills were passed. In conformity with his promise, Mr. Gladstone supplemented the two coercive measures by a new Land Bill, which, whilst securing great pecuniary advantages to the Irish tenants did not satisfy their leaders. Word therefore went forth from the offices of the Land League that tenants were not to avail themselves of it generally,

but that some test cases would be put forward. Meanwhile, any infraction after this order would, it was well known, call forth a display of the unseen powers of the League. Mr. Gladstone, indignant at the rejection of his message of peace, denounced Mr. Parnell at Leeds, and declared that "the resources of civilisation against its enemies were not yet exhausted." Mr. Parnell replied that Mr. Gladstone had before eaten all his old words, and predicted that these brave words would be scattered as chaff before the determination of the Irish to regain legislative independence. A few days later Mr. Parnell was arrested and imprisoned in Kilmainham gaol, together with Mr. Sexton, Mr. W. O'Brien, and others, and with the disappearance of Mr. Egan, Mr. Ford, and the books of the Land League, and of the leaders of the Executive, that organisation closed its existence. The struggle, however, was carried on with little change during Mr. Parnell's imprisonment. The Ladies' League nominally took up the work; boycotting was rigidly enforced, and in many instances was followed by crime. The *Irish World* and *United Ireland* were chiefly instrumental in spreading Mr. Parnell's extreme views on the Land Act; but at length the *Freeman's Journal*, and the priesthood, which had never loved him as a Protestant and as a suspected Fenian, found their influence waning, and gave in their adherence. Mr. Parnell's imprisonment, however, was not prolonged. Both the Government and the Parnellites were anxious for compromise; the English Radicals objected as much to coercion as the patriots did to restraint. Negotiations were carried on through Captain O'Shea, Mr. Parnell promising to tranquillise Ireland through the agency of the League. Mr. Forster, however, refusing to become a party to this sort of bargain with those who had organised a system of lawless terrorism, resigned; Lord Spencer and Lord Frederick Cavendish went to Ireland as envoys of a policy of concession, including a Bill for wiping out arrears of rent. A few days after the ratification of what became known as the Kilmainham Treaty, Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke were murdered in the Phoenix Park by persons then unknown. Mr. Parnell expressed his horror of the crime in the House of Commons, but refused to admit that it was a reason for the Coercion Bill immediately introduced by Sir William Harcourt. This change of policy was forced upon Mr. Gladstone

by the imperious demands of public opinion. The Coercion Act became law, and was at the outset vigorously administered by Lord Spencer and Mr. Trevelyan. The authors of several wicked crimes were brought to justice in Ireland in spite of the clamour of the Parnellites against judges and jurymen, and early in 1885 the Invincible conspiracy, which had compassed the deaths of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke, was exposed by the evidence of the informer, James Carey. Mr. Forster made this the occasion of a powerful attack on Mr. Parnell in the House of Commons, telling the story of the Kilmainham negotiations in the light of later disclosures, and pointing out that the language used without rebuke in Mr. Parnell's organs and by his followers plainly sowed the seed of crime. Mr. Parnell's callous defiance of the voice of public opinion shocked many who sympathised with his national aspirations, but his hold on his own party was unshaken; from time to time there were movements of revolt; but he swept all opposition away, and reduced his critics to subjection or drove them out of public life. The Land League was allowed to revive under the name of the National League, and, operating more cautiously on the old lines, secured Mr. Parnell's power. It was evident that the extension of the franchise would give Mr. Parnell the power of nominating the representatives of three-fourths of Ireland. But he was unable to induce the Government either to repeal the Coercion Act or to tamper with the Land Question. It was when the Franchise Bill was introduced that Mr. Parnell's influence over the Government was first manifested. He insisted that Ireland should be included in the Bill, and that the number of the Irish representatives should not be diminished, and on both points he prevailed. As soon as the passage of the Franchise Bill had been made sure the Parnellites joined with the Conservatives to defeat Mr. Gladstone. Towards the weak Salisbury Administration that followed, Mr. Parnell showed, during the electoral period, a benevolent neutrality. He judged that he would be thus more likely to hold the balance of power in the new Parliament, and Mr. Gladstone held the same opinion when he asked for a Liberal majority strong enough to vote down Conservatives and Parnellites together. In an address to the Irish electors on the eve of the struggle the Parnellites fiercely denounced the Liberal party and its leader.

The issue of the contest left Mr. Gladstone's forces just balanced by those of the Conservatives and Parnellites combined. He at once resolved to secure the latter by an offer of Home Rule. His overtures were, of course, welcomed, though without a too trustful effusiveness, by Mr. Parnell; the Conservative Government was overthrown on a side issue; Mr. Gladstone came into power and introduced his Home Rule Bill. Mr. Parnell's temporary forbearance, however, did not save the Bill. In the Parliament of 1886 his numerical forces were nearly the same as those he previously commanded, but he was now allied with a greatly enfeebled Gladstonian Opposition. It was necessary to affect the most scrupulous constitutionalism, and for a time Mr. Parnell played the part well. Dynamite outrages ceased, but boycotting and its attendant incidents increased, and, during Mr. Parnell's temporary withdrawal from active politics, Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien committed the party to the Plan of Campaign, which involved a pitched battle with the Executive and the law. The introduction of the Crimes Bill was the direct result of this policy, which Mr. Parnell privately condemned. His opposition to the Bill was of the familiar kind. But the tactics of obstruction which were then pursued were overshadowed in the public eye by the controversy on "Parnellism and Crime" that arose in the columns of the *Times*. Mr. Parnell gave a comprehensive denial to all the charges and inferences, including the alleged letter apologising to some extremist ally for denouncing the Phoenix Park murders in the House of Commons. He did not, however, bring an action against the *Times*, nor was it till more than a year later, after Mr. O'Donnell had raised the question by some futile proceedings, that he demanded a Parliamentary inquiry into the statements made by the Attorney-General. Then followed the appointment of the Special Commission. The evidence of Richard Pigott broke down, and with it the letters on which the *Times* in part relied, and Mr. Parnell's political allies claimed for him a complete acquittal. But the Report of the Commissioners showed that, though some other charges against Mr. Parnell were dismissed as unproved, the most important contentions of the *Times* were fully established. Nevertheless, the Gladstonians went out of their way to affirm their unshaken belief in the stainless honour of Mr. Parnell, to ac-

cept him as the model of a Constitutional statesman, and to base upon his assurances their confidence that a Home Rule settlement would be a safe and lasting one. Mr. Parnell received the honorary freedom of the city of Edinburgh. He was entertained at dinner by the Eighty Club; Mr. Gladstone appeared on the same platform with him; his speeches were welcomed at Gladstonian gatherings in the provinces; and, finally, he was received as a guest at Hawarden Castle, where the details of the revised Home Rule scheme were discussed confidentially.

At this moment Mr. O'Shea, whose intervention had brought about the Kilmainham Treaty, instituted proceedings against Mr. Parnell in the Divorce Court. It was denied up to the last that there was any ground for these proceedings; it was predicted that they would never come to an issue. But when, after protracted and intentional delays, the case came on in November 1890, it was found that there was no defence. The adultery was formally proved and was not denied, nor was it possible to explain away its treachery and grossness. The public mind was shocked at the disclosure; but those who were best entitled to speak were strangely silent. On the opening day of the Session Mr. Parnell was re-elected leader. Meanwhile the Nonconformist conscience had awakened, and Mr. Gladstone responded to its remonstrances. His letter turned the majority round, and, after a violent conflict in Committee Room No. 15, Mr. Parnell was deposed by the very men who had elected him. He refused to recognise his deposition, and fought a daring but a losing battle in Ireland to the day of his death. The declaration of the Roman Catholic hierarchy against him, however, sealed his doom. The clergy worked against him. His nominees were defeated in North Kilkenny, North Sligo, and Carlow, and though he battled fiercely to the last, the ground was visibly slipping away from him. Even his marriage with Mrs. O'Shea, the only reparation for his sin, was turned against him in a Roman Catholic country, and was the excuse for the defection of the *Freeman's Journal*.

Under this load of obloquy and disappointment he still maintained a bold face. Week after week he attended meetings in various parts of Ireland, denouncing his opponents and his former allies. His constitution, never robust, broke down under the strain, but he would take no rest, and continued

his campaign to the last. From one of these meetings he returned to England in a prostrate condition, and without warning he succumbed a day or two later—Oct. 6, at Brighton—leaving the work to which he had devoted his life and talents unachieved.

Sir John Pope Hennessy, M.P., K.C.M.G.—The son of a Kerry landowner, he was born at Cork in 1834, educated at Queen's College in that city, and in 1854 obtained by public competition the post of Temporary Clerk in the Education Department, Whitehall. During his stay in the public service he qualified as a barrister, and was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1861, whilst he had also attracted the notice of his official chief, Lord Salisbury (second Marquess), who was Lord President 1858-9, and by whom he was encouraged to take to political life, and in 1859 he was returned for the King's County in the novel character of a Catholic Conservative. An Irish Catholic and a Conservative, he was at once patriotic and politic; and, moreover, he made sundry valuable contributions to the cause of practical philanthropy. The young member received a flattering compliment when he was formally thanked by the Roman Catholic Committee of England for his successful exertions in the Prison Ministers Act. He was thanked likewise by the Association of British Miners for useful amendments introduced in the Mines Regulation Bill, which showed he had carefully studied the subject. He was less practical when he urged upon the Government the propriety of making Irish paupers comfortable at home by reclaiming the swamps and the bottomless bogs. Generally he supported the Government on questions relating to the English Church Establishment; but, on the other hand, he took strong exception to the denominational system of education they had introduced in Ireland under what he declared to be the misnomer of a "national" system. At the General Election of 1865 he was defeated by Mr. King, his former colleague, Sir P. O'Brien retaining his seat, and in 1867 he accepted from the Duke of Buckingham the Governorship of Labuan, whence he was transferred to the West African settlements in 1872, became Governor of the Bahamas in 1873, of the Windward Islands in 1875, of Hong Kong in 1877, and of Mauritius in 1882. In nearly every place to which he was sent he succeeded in stirring up strife between the colonists and the

natives, and in attracting to the rights and wrongs of the latter more attention than they otherwise would have received. The sympathiser with the oppressed Catholics of West Ireland was also enthusiastic for the equal rights of all men, irrespective of creed or colour, and he involved himself in endless quarrels and disputes with the dominant classes in the various colonies where he represented the Queen's authority. His last dispute was at the Mauritius, with Mr. Clifford Lloyd, an Irishman like himself, but strongly imbued with the feelings of Dublin Castle, who was made secretary to the Colonial Government. The contention between the two officials and their respective partisans became so serious, that the Secretary of State was at last forced to order Sir Hercules Robinson, the Governor of the Cape, to proceed to Mauritius to arbitrate between the disputants. The final decision, though with some reservations, was given in Sir J. P. Hennessy's favour, and he was subsequently congratulated by the Secretary of State (Lord Knutsford) on his successful administration, when, in the course of 1890, he finally retired on a pension from the Colonial service, and took up his residence at Rostellan Castle, Raleigh's House, near

Youghal, the picturesque mansion given to Sir Walter Raleigh by his "Gloriana," a character who had special attractions for Sir J. Hennessy, who was the author of a valuable book, "Raleigh in Ireland." In the beginning of the present year, and at a critical moment in the history of the Irish national movement, he was brought forward as a candidate for North Kilkenny, and on that occasion received the undivided support of the clergy against Mr. Parnell's candidate, Mr. Vincent Scully. Sir J. Hennessy carried the seat by a large majority, and thus showed the waning influence of Mr. Parnell. At the same time he severed his connection with the Carlton Club, of which since his entry into politics he had been a member; but in the House of Commons he appeared very seldom, and took no prominent part even in Irish debates. He married, 1868, Catherine, daughter of Sir Hugh Low, K.C.M.G., British Resident at Perak; was created C.M.G., 1872; K.C.M.G., 1880; and died on Oct. 7 at his residence, after a comparatively short illness, induced by his long residence in tropical climates, surviving his opponents Major Clifford Lloyd by a few months, and Mr. Parnell by a few hours.

On the 1st, at Coombe Vicarage, Woodstock, aged 62, **Rev. John Hoskyns Abraham**; educated at Balliol College, Oxford; B.A., 1852; gained the Chancellor's Prize for Latin poem, 1856; elected Fellow of Lincoln College, 1858-7; Vicar of Coombe Longa, 1861; author of several volumes of verses and essays. On the 4th, at Eggerford House, North Devon, aged 66, **Isaac Newton Wallop**, fifth Earl of Portsmouth; educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Cambridge; married Lady Eveline Herbert, eldest daughter of Henry, third Earl of Carnarvon. On the 3rd, at Eaglescarnie, aged 82, **Admiral Hon. George Grey**, of Moreton Pinkney, Northants, fourth son of Charles, second Earl Grey, the Whig statesman; entered the Royal Navy, 1822, and was present as a midshipman in H.M.S. *Talbot* at the battle of Navarino in 1827; held various naval appointments at home and abroad, and in 1858 was appointed Admiral-Superintendent at Portsmouth; married, 1845, Jane Frances, second daughter of Hon. Sir Patrick Stuart, Governor of Malta. On the 4th, at Watford, aged 64, **Sir James Robert Longden**, G.C.M.G., youngest son of John R. Longden, of Doctors' Commons; appointed Government Clerk at the Falkland Islands, 1844; Acting Colonial Secretary, 1845; confirmed as such, 1857; President of the Virgin Islands, 1861; Lieutenant-Governor of Dominica, 1865; of British Honduras, 1867; Governor of Trinidad, 1870; of British Guiana, 1874; and of Ceylon, 1877-88; Alderman and J.P. for county of Herts; married, 1864, Alice Emily, daughter of James Berridge, President of St. Kitts. On the 5th, in Victoria Street, aged 69, **Alexander Andrew Knox**, for many years one of the Metropolitan Police Magistrates; educated at Tiverton School and Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1845; afterwards for a long time one of the principal leader writers on the *Times*. On the 5th, at Lea Hall, Lincolnshire, aged 86, **Sir Charles Henry J. Anderson**, ninth Baronet of Broughton; educated at Oriol College, Oxford; B.A., 1826; High Sheriff for Lincolnshire, 1851; married, 1832, Emma, daughter of John Savile Foljambe, of Osberton, Notts; with him the title conferred in 1660 on Edmund Anderson became extinct. On the 6th, at New York, aged 72, **Herman Melville**, author of "Typee," 1845, and "Omoo," 1847, the narrative of his adventures when a captive on the Marquesas Islands. He originally went to sea as a common sailor; and, after visiting England, joined, in 1841, a whaler for the sperm fishery in the Pacific. He wrote other novels and some

volumes of poetry. On the 6th, at Hallingbury, Essex, aged 88, **John Archer Houblon**, of Hallingbury, and Culverthorpe, Lincolnshire, J.P. and D.L.; married, first, 1829, Ann, daughter of Admiral Sir J. W. Deans Dundas, G.C.B.; and, second, 1848, Georgina, daughter of General Sir John Oswald, G.C.B. On the 8th, at Norham-on-Tweed, aged 44, **Mary Townshend**, widow of Lord Ernest M. Vane-Tempest (died 1885), and daughter of Thomas Hutchinson, of Stockton-on-Tees; married, 1869, Lord E. Vane-Tempest, third son of third Marquess of Londonderry. On the 15th, at London, aged 54, **Gilbert Arthur à Beckett**, eldest son of Gilbert Abbott à Beckett, a metropolitan police magistrate and author. His son was educated at Westminster School, whence he gained a studentship at Christ Church, Oxford; B.A., 1857; and, though entered at the Bar, accepted a clerkship in the Treasury, which he held for some years, and then devoted himself wholly to literature, writing numerous plays and librettos. He was for twelve years on the staff of *Punch*, and an accomplished musician. On the 16th, at Beddington, aged 80, **Rev. Alexander Henry Bridger**, canon of Winchester, and rector of Beddington, Surrey; only surviving son of Sir Henry Bridger; educated at Winchester and Oriol College, Oxford; B.A., 1835; married, 1848, Caroline Matilda, daughter of Christi Hodgson, of Dean's Yard, Westminster. On the 16th, at Biarritz, aged 77, **Louisa, Dowager Marchioness of Ailesbury**, daughter of second Lord Decies; married, 1834, third Marquess of Ailesbury; for many years representative for Marlborough as Lord Ernest Bruce. On the 16th, at Beaumont Street, London, W., aged 58, **Rev. Frederick Arnold, B.A.**, Christ Church, Oxford; ordained, 1860; curate of St. Gabriel, Pimlico, 1860-2; Chaplain at Worthing, 1868-71; Burgess Hill, 1877-84; author "Life of Lord Macaulay," 1862, "Memorials of Oxford and Cambridge," "Our Bishops and Deans," and other works. On the 17th, in New Mexico, aged 58, **Captain Thomas Wright Blakiston**, who, after passing through Woolwich Academy, served in the Artillery in the Crimea and in China, whence he made a bold effort to pass into India, ascending the Yangtze to beyond Chungking, and in 1862 received the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society. For two years he conducted a magnetic survey of Hudson's Bay for the Government, and, retiring from the army, settled at Hakodate, in Northern Japan, where he devoted himself to the study of ornithology. In 1883 he left Japan, and settled in the United States. On the 18th, at Clifton, aged 63, **Major-General Gronow Davis, V.C., R.A.**; served with distinction in the Crimean campaign, where he gained the Victoria Cross and a brevet majority for his gallant conduct; married, 1866, Anna W., daughter of Henry Cooper Reade. On the 19th, at Mere Hall, Knutsford, aged 74, **Admiral the Hon. George Disney Keane, C.B.**, second son of second Baron Keane; born at Dieppe; entered the Royal Navy, 1831; Captain, 1855; Rear-Admiral, 1873; served in the Syrian War, 1840; Kafir War, 1851-2; China, 1854; married, 1881, Catherine M., widow of Thomas Langford Brooke, of Mere Hall, Cheshire, and daughter of Major Alexander Macleod. On the 19th, at Beeston Hall, Norfolk, aged 79, **Sir Jacob Henry Preston**, second Baronet; educated at Westminster and Trinity College, Cambridge; M.A., 1832; married, 1846, Amelia, daughter of William Willoughby Prescott, of Hendon; High Sheriff for Norfolk, 1847. His father, Sir Thomas Hulton, first Baronet, assumed the name of Preston. On the 20th, at Maida Vale, W., aged 82, **Colonel Sir Stephen John Hill, K.C.M.G., C.B.**, son of Major William Hill; entered the army, 1823, and saw much service in Gambia and Western Africa, 1849; was Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Gold Coast, 1851-4; Captain-General of Sierra Leone, 1854-62; Governor of Antigua, 1862-69; and of Newfoundland, 1869-76; married, first, 1829, Sarah, daughter of William Manning, Chief Justice of the Bahamas; and, second, 1871, Louisa, daughter of Chief Justice Shiell, of Antigua. On the 23rd, at Prince's Gate, S.W., aged 57, **William Cubitt**, of Fallspit, Devon, second son of Thomas Cubitt, of Denbies, Surrey; served in 60th Rifles. On the 24th, at Wimbledon, aged 80, **George Wallis, F.S.A.**; born at Wolverhampton; practised as an artist at Manchester, 1832-7; joined the Government School of Designs at Somerset House, 1841; appointed head-master of the Spitalfields Schools, 1843; and Manchester, 1843-8; superintended British Textiles Department in the Exhibition of 1851; and was subsequently appointed head-master of Birmingham School of Design, which post he held until 1858, when he was appointed to the South Kensington Museum, where he held the post of senior keeper of the Art collections until within a few weeks of his death. On the 25th, at Cape Town, aged 69, **Rev. A. E. M. Wilsheer**, the "South African Father Damien"; educated at Pembroke College, Oxford; Army Chaplain during Crimean War; after which went to the Cape, and was rector of Claremont, and afterwards chaplain to the lepers at Robben Island. On the 25th,

at Caterham, aged 67, **George Sibley, C.I.E.**; educated at University College, London; employed under Mr. Brunel on the Great Western Railway, 1845, and on the East India Railway in 1851; appointed chief engineer of the line in 1868, and, amongst other works, constructed the Jumna Bridge. On the 26th, at Wootton House, Hants, aged 67, **Colonel James Frederick Crichton Stuart**, eldest son of Lord Patrick James Stuart, M.P.; educated at Eton, and Trinity College, Cambridge; entered the army, and served in the Grenadier Guards; sat in Parliament as a Liberal for Cardiff District Burghs, 1857-80; Lord-Lieutenant of Bute-shire; married, 1864, Gertrude Frances, daughter of Sir George Hamilton Seymour, G.C.B. On the 26th, at Southampton, aged 96, **Lieutenant-Colonel William Hewett**, third son of Right Hon. Sir George Hewett, G.C.B., of Freemantle, Southampton; received his commission in 1811; was present at the battle of Waterloo as junior captain of 3rd battalion 14th Foot, and afterwards of the Rifle Brigade; the last surviving officer present at Waterloo. On the 27th, at Giessen, aged 72, **Dr. Heinrich K. H. Hoffmann**, a most eminent German botanist; born at Rödelsheim, near Frankfurt; studied medicine at Giessen and Berlin, and physiological chemistry in Paris and London; appointed, 1853, Professor of Botany at Giessen, and was also director of the Botanical Gardens there until his death. On the 28th, at Lyme Regis, aged 78, **William Morgan Bennett**, of Fritham, Lyndhurst, eldest son of Captain Charles Cowper Bennett, R.N. (senior male representative of the Bennetts of Pythouse, Wilts); master in Chancery for many years; married, 1848, Barbara, daughter of Captain Waring, R.N., of Lyme Regis. On the 29th, at Southsea, aged 60, **Vice-Admiral William Samuel Grieve**, of Holland House, Southsea, and Orde Hall, Northumberland; entered the Royal Navy, 1845; present as lieutenant at siege of Bomarsund, 1854; commodore of the West India Station, 1876-81. On the 30th, at Ivy House, Ore, Sussex, aged 101 years and 356 days, **Ann Catherine Eliot**, daughter of Francis Percival Eliot, of Elmhurst Hall, Staffordshire, lieutenant-colonel of the Staffordshire Militia, and a Commissioner of Audit. On the 30th, at Hendon, Middlesex, aged 78, **Rev. Frederick H. A. Scrivener, D.D., D.C.L. (Ox.)**, and **L.L.D. (Camb.)**; born at Bermondsey; educated at St. Olave's, Southwark; graduated at Trinity College, Cambridge; Junior Optime, 1835; assistant master Sherborne School, 1835-46; head-master of Falmouth School, 1846-56; rector of St. Germans, 1861-75, when he was appointed vicar of Hendon. One of the revisers of the New Testament; edited a "Collection of Twenty Greek MSS. of the Holy Gospels," the "Codex Augiensis," and a "Collection of the Codex Sinaiticus and Bezae Codex Cantab," &c. On the 31st, at Chillingham, Northumberland, aged 99 years and ten months, **Rev. Joseph Hudson, M.A.**; Senior Opt., 1816; Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge; Chaplain to the Forces in Canada, 1826-36; perpetual curate of Hexham, 1845-66; vicar of Chillingham. Said to be the oldest beneficed clergyman in England. He had performed duty to within a very short time of his death. On the 31st, at Brighton, aged 76, **Ann, Dowager Viscountess Hill**, only surviving daughter and heir of Joseph Clegg, of Peplow Hall, Salop; married, 1831, Rowland, second Viscount Hill. On the 31st, at Tunbridge Wells, aged 69, **Lady Alicia Diana Young**, third daughter of twelfth Earl of Buchan; married, first, 1853, Rev. Hon. Somerville Hay, son of fifteenth Earl of Erroll; and, second, 1858, James Young, of Weybridge. On the 31st, at Lyndhurst, aged 72, **Lady Margaret Julia Lushington**, daughter of sixteenth Earl of Erroll; married, 1846, Frederick Astell Lushington, B.C.S., fourth son of Sir Henry Lushington, second Baronet.

NOVEMBER.

Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who had left London for Italy a short time previously, died on Nov. 3, from failure of the action of the heart, at the house of his niece, the Countess Bracci, at Fano, on the coast of the Adriatic. The Prince, who had been ailing for some time, had proceeded to Italy by easy stages, under the care of his physician, Dr. Isambard Owen. Born in England on Jan. 4, 1813, and, after his early childhood at Urbino, he spent a considerable part of his life in this country, at Loughton

and in London. He was the elder son of Prince Lucien Bonaparte, Prince de Canino, brother to the Emperor Napoleon I. and Mdle. Alexandrine de Bleschamp. In 1832 he married Marianne Cecchi, an Italian, from whom he separated after a short union, and who became keeper of Napoleon's house at Ajaccio. Though better known as a *savant* than as a politician, Prince Louis did not entirely abandon political life. In 1848, after the February Revolution, he appeared in France, and

was elected in Corsica as a member of the Constituante, but the election was annulled. A few months later he was returned to the Legislative Assembly. He supported the policy of the Elysée, but took no part in the *Coup d'Etat*. On the establishment of the Empire he was named a senator, and received the titles of Prince and Highness, but in his senatorial capacity his name never came prominently before the public. His tastes led him to literature, philology, and chemistry, rather than to politics. More or less acquainted with a large number of languages, he devoted especial attention to Basque, and published a Basque grammar which had a certain reputation among philologists. He published also the Parable of the Sower in seventy-two languages and dialects—a volume which must be regarded as a bibliographical curiosity rather than as a work of great scientific value. He was held in high esteem by the Queen and English Royal Family, and upon Mr. Gladstone's recommendation, in consideration of his philological researches, he received from the British Government, in 1883, a Civil List pension of 250*l.* During his long residence in England he had formed a large circle of acquaintances, especially in the world of literature and science, and a small group of devoted friends, who frequently gathered round him at his modest house in Norfolk Terrace, Bayswater. In 1891, immediately after the death of his first wife, Prince Lucien married an English lady, Mrs. Ricardo, by whom he had a son, Louis Clavering Clovis, who was formally legitimised, and who assumed, on his father's death, the title of Prince Louis Clovis Bonaparte, and married, Oct. 14, 1891, Laura Elizabeth, daughter of Frank Walter Scott, of Burgess Hill, London.

The Rev. R. Rodolph Suffield, whose secession from the Church of Rome in August 1870 excited some interest, expired on Nov. 13 at his residence in Craven Road, Reading, after some months of painful illness. He was born on Oct. 5, 1821, at Vevey, in Switzerland, his father being a Roman Catholic and his mother (Susan Tulley Bowen) an Anglican. He was educated by private tutors, and he went to St. Peter's College, Cambridge, in 1842 and 1843. He there won a classical and also a mathematical scholarship; obtained a first class in each subject, and was bracketed with the present Professor Sir William Thomson. In 1846 he became a regular communicant of the

Roman Catholic Church, and afterwards entered the Sulpician Seminary at Issy. Thence he went to the Grand Séminaire, Paris. He left Paris in the Revolution of 1848, and went to Ireland, and in 1850 he was ordained a priest by Bishop Hogarth. With two other priests he was subsequently entrusted with the formation of a community of priests for retreats, missions, and directions of convents, which was instituted at St. Ninian's, Wooler, Northumberland. All his worldly possessions Mr. Suffield handed over for Roman Catholic purposes. A beautiful church was built at St. Ninian's. Eventually, his two coadjutors retiring from ill-health, Mr. Suffield took sole charge of the work. For two years out of that period Mr. Suffield resided at St. Andrew's, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and, at the same time, took charge of a parish and built a church at Walker. While at Newcastle he introduced the custom of collecting Peter's Pence. Subsequently, with the consent of the Pope, Mr. Suffield made over the charge of St. Ninian's to the Dominicans, determining to enter that order. As a Dominican he held various offices in Woodchester Priory. In the October following his secession from the Church of Rome Mr. Suffield became minister of the Unitarian Church at Croydon, which he relinquished in 1887, in consequence of failing health. In 1879 he accepted the ministry of the Reading Unitarian Church. He resigned his pastoral duties in 1888, but continued to reside in Reading. He interested himself in lecturing and preaching occasionally in different parts of the country, and in literary and political work, and took an active part in promoting many useful local movements. His retirement from the Roman Catholic Church was much regretted by those of that community who knew him. A work which he compiled at Newcastle, the "Crown of Jesus," published without his name, had a very large circulation. When the authorship became known some time after his secession, the sale was greatly affected, and when the publisher died it ceased to be reprinted. By the deceased's special wish he was cremated at Woking.

The Earl of Lytton.—Edward Robert Bulwer Lytton, first Earl of Lytton, G.C.B., the only son of Lord Lytton, the novelist and statesman, was born in Hertford Street in 1831, and, after spending some years at Harrow, was sent to Bonn to study modern languages, and, in 1849, was appointed attaché to his uncle Sir

Henry Bulwer (afterwards Lord Dalling), then Minister at Washington. After two years' absence he returned to Europe, and filled subordinate diplomatic posts at all the principal European capitals. During this period he brought himself before the world as a man of letters, and under the pseudonym of "Owen Meredith" published "Clytemnestra and other Poems" (1855), "Lucile" (1860), and "Tannhäuser" (1861), in collaboration with the Hon. Julian Fane, at that time secretary to the Embassy at Vienna; the "Ring of Amasis" (1868), and "Fables in Song" (1874). In all of these works he displayed an appreciation of poetry rather than original genius. In 1864 he married Edith, younger twin daughter of Hon. Edward Villiers, and a niece of the fourth Earl of Clarendon, and in 1873, when he succeeded his father as Lord Lytton, he was secretary to the Embassy at Paris. In 1874 he was appointed Minister at Lisbon, whence, in 1876, he was unexpectedly recalled, and appointed by Mr. Disraeli to be Viceroy of India, for which post his love of pageantry and his sympathy with a forward Imperial policy seemed his chief recommendations. His taste for the former found a magnificent opportunity in the grand Durbar of Jan. 1, 1877, at Delhi, where the Queen was formally proclaimed to the assembled princes Empress of India. The Russian advance towards the north-east frontier, and her intrigues in Afghanistan, furnished occasion for a display of his other qualities. Shere Ali, embittered by his failure to obtain a British guarantee for his sovereignty and family succession, turned to Russia, and received General Stolietof at Cabul with great honour, whilst Sir Neville Chamberlain's mission was turned back at the frontier. Lord Lytton at once declared war, and in a few weeks the Ameer had fled from Cabul with the Russian mission, and in six months the Treaty of Gandamak was signed (May 1879), and by it the foreign relations of Afghanistan were subjected to British control. Four months later the British Resident, Sir Louis Cavagnari, and his escort were murdered in Cabul, and war was at once recommenced. Sir Frederick Roberts was commissioned first to command the Cabul field force, and subsequently to relieve the Candahar garrison, which had been severely pressed after the disastrous battle of Maiwand, where the defeat of the British troops seriously compromised for a moment our prestige in India. Lord Lytton, who was in a

great measure responsible for the frontier policy of that time, was not, however, recalled until, on the change of Ministry, Lord Ripon was sent by Mr. Gladstone to reverse his predecessor's policy. Lord Lytton was raised to an earldom.

For some years he remained in comparative obscurity, speaking in the House of Lords at rare intervals and with considerable fluency and polish. In 1885 he published a long poem in six books, "Glenaveril," in the style of "Don Juan," dealing with some of the leading politicians of the day, which, whilst adding little to his literary reputation, threw some light upon his aims and thoughts, and in the following year appeared the translation of some tales by Erdmann Edler. In 1887, on the death of Lord Lyons, he was, to general surprise, appointed to the much coveted post of Ambassador at Paris, where his avowed French proclivities, as well as his keen appreciation of artistic and literary distinction, made him a most popular representative of this country, and his tact as well as his sympathies did much to preserve friendly relations between the two countries during a period of considerable tension. In 1887 he published another volume of Byronic verses, "After Paradise, or Legends of Exile," and in 1890 re-wrote in great part the "Ring of Amasis." In 1888 he was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University, and in his rectorial address discussed at great length the contrast between public and private morals. He had been for some time in a weak state of health, and had undergone at least one operation, but no idea of his being in any danger existed in the minds of his friends. He had transacted business during the morning of the day of his death (Nov. 24), although confined to bed, and had been writing verses, of which the ink was not dry when he succumbed to a sudden cessation of the action of the heart. In no sense a great statesman, and scarcely even a distinguished diplomatist, he left behind the reputation of a man who might have risen to the first rank had he added persistence and laboriousness to his other qualities. By some he was thought to have modelled himself too much after his father's "Pelham," and had cultivated accomplishments rather than acquired knowledge.

The Bishop of Carlisle.—The Right Rev. Harvey Goodwin, Bishop of Carlisle, was born at King's Lynn, Norfolk, in 1818, and, after studying with private

tutors, entered at Caius College, Cambridge, where he graduated as Second Wrangler and Smith's Prizeman in 1840. Elected to a Fellowship and Tutorship of his college, he held at the same time (1848-58) the living of St. Edward's, Cambridge, and at one period was Hulsean Lecturer. In 1858 he was appointed Dean of Ely, whence, in 1865, he was promoted to the Bishopric of Carlisle, on the death of Bishop Waldegrave. In early life he was the author of various mathematical treatises and text-books, and a "Life of Bishop Mackenzie," who had charge of the Universities' Mission in Africa, and, at a later period, of several religious works, amongst which were "Walks in the Region of Science and Faith" (1883), "The Foundations of the Creed" (1889), &c. He at one time showed a leaning towards the school of muscular Christianity, but he never identified himself with either Church party, and consequently preserved peace in his diocese. He was the original proposer and strong supporter of the Church House to be

erected in commemoration of her Majesty's Jubilee. In the House of Lords he was a frequent speaker on all ecclesiastical and cognate subjects, he was one of the few bishops who supported the Oaths Bill of 1888, and in many other questions he showed wide sympathies, as on the Lords Committee on Intemperance, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and even on the legalisation of marriage with a deceased wife's sister, holding, in opposition to the other bishops, that if the Bill became law the children of such marriages should be legitimated. He married, 1845, Ellen, daughter of George King, of Higher Bebington, Chester, and sister of Rev. Bryan King, a High Church incumbent, whose extreme views created great disturbances at St. George's-in-the-East, London. His death, which was very sudden, took place at Bishopscotthorpe on Nov. 25, whilst on a visit to the Archbishop of York, having left Carlisle two days before in his usual health.

On the 2nd, at Heavitree, Exeter, aged 85, **Jane**, widow of Edward Fox Fitzgerald, daughter of Sir John Dean Paul, Baronet; married, 1827, Captain Edward Fox Fitzgerald, son of the ill-fated Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and his wife, "Pamela," the reputed daughter of Philippe Egalité and Madame de Genlis. On the 4th, at Hopwood Hall, Lancashire, aged 81, **Edward John Gregge-Hopwood**, eldest son of Robert Gregge-Hopwood; educated at Eton; some time captain in the Guards; married, 1839, Susan Fanny, daughter of John Baskerville-Glegg, of Withington Hall, Cheshire. On the 4th, at Talbot Square, Bayswater, aged 66, **Dame Elizabeth Helen Grant**, widow of General Sir Hope Grant, G.C.B., and daughter of Benjamin Taylor, H.E.I.C.S. On the 4th, at Ealing, aged 76, **John Thornhill Harrison**, Engineering Inspector of the Local Government Board; he had worked under Brunel in the construction of the Great Western Railway, and was a member of the first Rivers Pollution Commission. On the 5th, at Creech Grange, Wareham, aged 45, **George Hawkesworth Bond, M.P.**, son of Rev. Nathaniel Bond, rector of Steeple, Dorset; born at Holme Priory; educated at Oriel College, Oxford; contested East Dorset as a Conservative in 1885, when he was defeated, but was returned in 1886 against Hon. P. C. Glyn, the sitting member. On the 9th, in South London, aged 69, **George H. Haydon**; born at Exeter; educated as an architect; emigrated to Australia, 1840; and on his return in 1846 published "Five Years in Australia Felix"; appointed, 1853, Steward of Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals; resigned 1889. On the 9th, at Castle Lyons, co. Kildare, aged 31, **Hon. Rose Lawless**, daughter of third Lord Cloncurry; accidentally drowned in a pond in the park. On the 10th, at Clevedon, Somerset, aged 46, **Professor Henry Nottidge Moseley, LL.D., F.R.S.**, son of Rev. Henry Moseley, F.R.S., Canon of Bristol; born at Wandsworth; educated at Harrow and Exeter College, Oxford, where he obtained a Radcliffe Travelling Fellowship, and studied medicine in London, Vienna and Leipzig; appointed to the English Eclipse Expedition to Southern India, 1871, and naturalist on board H.M.S. *Challenger*, 1872-6, of which expedition he published "Notes of a Naturalist" (1879); elected Fellow of Exeter College, 1876; Fellow of the Royal Society, 1877; Assistant Registrar of University of London, 1879-81; and Linacre Professor of Anatomy at Oxford, 1881. He married, 1881, Annabel, youngest daughter of J. Gwyn Jeffreys, F.R.S., a well-known conchologist, and was the author of several important papers on natural history subjects. On the 11th, at Belgrave Place, aged 62, **Lady Lyveden—Lady Albretha Elizabeth**, daughter of third Earl Fitzwilliam; married, 1853, second Lord Lyveden. On the 12th, at Inwood, Blandford, aged 94, **Elizabeth Mary, Marchioness of Westminster**, second daughter of first Duke of Sutherland;

married, 1819, the second Marquess of Westminster, K.G. On the 12th, in Montague Place, W.C., aged 49, **Hon. Lewis Strange Wingfield**, younger son of sixth Viscount Powerscourt; educated at Eton and Bonn; and was by turns artist, actor, author, surgeon, critic and war correspondent; he was one of the earliest Englishmen who obtained permission to travel in the interior of China. In the Franco-German war and during the Commune he worked incessantly in the Ambulance Department, and of recent years superintended the stage presentation of various Shakespearian plays, his knowledge of costume and archaeological detail being very wide. He married, 1868, **Hon. Cecilia**, daughter of first Baron Castle-town. On the 12th, at Kingston-on-Thames, aged 78, **Thomas Curson Hansard**; called to the Bar 1843, and for upwards of fifty years was engaged in conjunction with Mr. Cornelius Buck in the editing of the Parliamentary Debates, first started by his father in 1804. On the 12th, at Woodford, Essex, aged 65, **Henry Ford Barclay**, banker; married, 1848, **Richenda Louisa**, daughter of Samuel Gurney, of Upton House, Essex. On the 15th, in Paris, aged 49, **Emma Mary, Dowager Duchesse de Gramont**, daughter of William Alexander Mackinnon, of Acryse Park, Kent. On the 15th, at Coldenrick, aged 60, **Vice-Admiral Charles Tralawney Jago**; entered the Royal Navy in 1843; served as lieutenant on board *H.M. Enterprise* 1850-4 in the search for Sir John Franklin, spending the winter on the ice. On the 16th, in Ebury Street, aged 72, **Hon. Robert Neville Lawley**, second son of first Lord Wenlock; served in 2nd Life Guards; retired as captain in 1853; married, 1852, **Georgina**, youngest daughter of General Lord Edward Somerset. On the 16th, at Vienna, aged 60, **General Baron Joseph Doepfner**, President of the Supreme Court of Military Justice, a distinguished officer who had taken part in all campaigns since 1849. He was regarded as the arbiter of all affairs of honour between Austrian officers. On the 16th, at Bath, aged 100 years and 4 months, **Lieutenant Frederick Bayley**, "the father of the British Army," appointed to the Royal Artillery in 1809; served in the Peninsular War, 1809-14; American War, 1814; attached to Prussian army in France as Commissioner, 1815-17; retired on half-pay in 1829. On the 18th, at Cambridge, aged 62, **Professor Joseph Wolstenholme**; educated at St. John's College, Cambridge; Third Wrangler, 1850; Fellow of St. John's and afterwards of Christ's College; Professor of Mathematics at Cooper's Hill College, 1869-89; the author of numerous mathematical works of great originality and research. On the 19th, at Edgbaston, aged 64, **Ralph Heaton**, Chairman of the Birmingham Mint Company. Having purchased the coining apparatus of Matthew Boulton's mint at Soho, he began by improving the manufacture of copper "blanks" for the Royal Mint, and afterwards supplied coinage for nearly every European country, as well as India, China, Canada, Brazil, and the South American Republic. On the 20th, at Pau, aged 88, **Sir Victor Alexander Brooke**, third Baronet; educated at Harrow; married, 1864, **Alice S.**, daughter of Sir A. E. Bellingham. He was a keen sportsman, and well known in India and various parts of Europe. On the 20th, in St. James's Square, London, aged 69, **Dowager Viscountess Falmouth**, **May Frances**, only child of **Hon. Thomas Stapleton**; succeeded, 1831, her grandfather as twenty-third Baroness Le-Despencer; married, 1845, **Evelyn**, sixth Viscount Falmouth. On the 21st, in Park Street, Grosvenor Square, aged 84, **Lady Ebury**, **Lady Charlotte Arbuthnot Wellesley**, eldest daughter of Earl Cowley; married, 1831, **Robert Grosvenor**, youngest son of first Marquess of Westminster; created Lord Ebury, 1857. On the 23rd, at his lodgings, Oxford, aged 77, **Rev. Evan Evans, D.D.**, Master of Pembroke College, where as a scholar he obtained a Second Class in Classics, 1835; ordained, 1837; Fellow and Tutor, 1843-64, when he was elected Master and appointed Canon of Gloucester. On the 23rd, at Charles Street, Berkeley Square, aged 62, **Charles Magniac**, of Colworth, Bedfordshire, eldest son of **Hollingworth Magniac**; educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, and became a partner in the firm of Matheson & Co. of Lombard Street. He sat in Parliament as a Liberal for St. Ives, Cornwall, 1868-74; for the borough of Bedford, 1880-5; and for North Bedfordshire, 1885; but was defeated at the General Election of 1886, and was recommended by Mr. Gladstone for a peerage, which, however, was not obtained for him. He was a keen sportsman, a practical agriculturist, and a first-rate landlord, devoting much time and energy to improve the farmers and farming of his county. He purchased Chesterfield House, South Audley Street, and erected a number of houses on its grounds. Married, 1857, **Augusta**, daughter of first Baron Castletown of Upper Ossory, and widow of Colonel the **Hon. T. Vesey Dawson**. On the 25th, in an omnibus, near Charing Cross, aged 57, **Alfred Haggis**, Deputy-Chairman of the London County Council, to which post he had been elected on the equally

sudden death of Mr. J. B. Firth in 1889. He was an owner of extensive sawmills at Blackfriars and King's Cross. On the 26th, at Reigate, aged 88, Richard Carte, a distinguished flute-player and composer; married, 1840, Eliza, eldest daughter of Rev. Thomas Jones, of Chapel Royal, Whitehall. On the 27th, at Edinburgh, aged 71, James S. Fraser-Tytler, second son of James Tytler of Woodhouselee; educated at Edinburgh University; admitted W.S.; and for many years was Professor of Conveyancing in the University of Edinburgh; married, 1850, May Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Blair. On the 27th, at Cheltenham, aged 66, General Sir George W. G. Green, K.C.B., son of Rev. G. W. Green, of Court Henry, Carmarthenshire; educated at Bridgnorth; entered Indian army, 1841; served in Scinde and Goojerat; commanded Punjab Infantry throughout the Mutiny; wounded at the siege of Delhi, and present at the relief of Lucknow; married, 1859, Ellen, daughter of W. Carter, of Troy, Jamaica. On the 27th, at Copenhagen, aged 62, Christian Berg, the son of a peasant living near Lemvig, for many years a teacher in schools; elected, in 1865, deputy for Kolding, and since 1870 the leader of the Radical opposition in the Folkething, of which he was elected President in 1883. He was also editor of the *Morgenbladet*, 1877-81, and in 1886 was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for his hostile attacks upon the Estrup Ministry. On the 28th, at Melbourne, aged 52, John Baptist Lesbini, a musician known by the cognomen "Cherubini." He was an accomplished performer on all stringed instruments, but especially on the tenor violin. On the 28th, at Dunraven, Belfast, aged 64, Sir James P. Corry, first Baronet, son of Robert Corry, a merchant and shipowner of Belfast; succeeded to his father's business; represented Belfast as a Conservative, 1874-85; unsuccessfully contested East Belfast in 1885; was elected for Mid Armagh, 1886; married, 1849, Margaret, daughter of William Service, of Glasgow. On the 29th, in London, aged 40, Richard Power, M.P., born at Tramore; educated at Carlow and Old Hall, Herts; sat as a Home Ruler for Waterford since 1874, and acted as Whip to the Parnellite party. Ten days before his death he married Miss O'Donnell, and died quite suddenly from the effects of a chill. On the 29th, at Bakewell Vicarage, Derbyshire, aged 74, Edward Balston, D.D., son of William Balston, of Springfield, Kent; educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge; B.A., 1840; Fellow of King's, 1841; Fellow of Eton, 1860-2; head-master, 1862-8; rector of Hitcham, Berks, 1869; vicar of Bakewell, 1870; and Archdeacon of Derby, 1878. On the 30th, at Vienna, aged 63, Archduke Henry of Austria, youngest son of Archduke Rainer, last Viceroy of Lombardo-Venetia; a distinguished cavalry officer who held high commands and was Governor of the Tyrol until his death; married, morganatically (1868), Léopoldine Hoffman, an actress, who was subsequently created Baroness von Waldeck, and died a few hours before her husband in the same hotel. Archduke Henry and his wife resided first at Graz and afterwards at Botzen, where they devoted themselves to the welfare of the poor, and were held in high esteem by the Imperial family. On the 30th, at St. George's Square, aged 83, Sir T. W. Clinton Murdoch, K.C.M.G., son of Thomas Murdoch, F.R.S., of Portland Place; educated at the Charterhouse; appointed clerk in Colonial Office, 1826; whence promoted to Chief Secretary in Canada, 1839; returned to Colonial Office, 1842; and was Chairman of the Colonial Land and Emigration Board, 1847-76; married, 1836, Isabella, daughter of Robert Lukin, of War Office. On the 30th, at Mount Merrion, Dublin, aged 37, William H. H. White, fourth Earl of Bantry; educated at Eton; lieutenant Longford Militia; married, 1886, Rosamond, daughter of Hon. Edward E. Petre, and, leaving no issue, the title became extinct.

DECEMBER.

Right Rev. Charles Perry, D.D., for many years Bishop of Melbourne (Victoria). He was the son of Mr. John Perry, an eminent shipowner; was educated at Harrow, where he was the contemporary of Bishop Charles Wordsworth and Cardinal Manning, and later passed to Trinity College, Cambridge, and took his degree in 1828, before he was 21, as Senior Wrangler, and he was also First Smith's Prizeman. He

was placed seventh in the first class of the Classical Tripos in the same year, and was shortly afterwards elected a Fellow of his college. He was tutor of Trinity for several years concurrently with Dr. Whewell. While in residence at Cambridge he purchased the advowson of the living of Barnwell, and vested the patronage in the hands of trustees, and he used the opportunity to break up that large parish into three.

districts, and secured the erection of two new churches, of one of which (St. Paul's) he was the first vicar. He remained five years at St. Paul's, and in 1847 was consecrated Bishop of Melbourne, Victoria, Australia. He found Victoria a pastoral colony with only three clergymen. In 1876 he left the Church in his diocese well developed, and no fewer than 90 clergy. After his retirement, in 1878, he was made Canon of Llandaff by his old friend and colleague at Trinity, Bishop Ollivant, and after his return home he was, on the recommendation of the Earl of Beaconsfield, appointed by her Majesty Prelate of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. He devoted the remainder of his life to taking as active a part as his years would allow in Church work, giving his constant attendance at the committees of the two great Church Missionary Societies and of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. He was also one of the founders of the Theological Colleges—Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, and Ridley Hall, Cambridge—and took an active part in the management of the latter. He belonged to what is known as the Evangelical party of the Church of England, but his loving and generous spirit secured him the attachment of many friends and all schools of thought in the Church. He continued in active work to within a week of his death, which took place on Dec. 2, at Avenue Road, Regent's Park, aged 84; a few months previously he had celebrated his golden wedding.

The ex-Emperor of Brazil, Pedro II., De Alcantara—his Majesty had thirteen other Christian names—Emperor of Brazil for nearly sixty years, from 1831 to 1889, was born on Dec. 2, 1825. His father was Dom Pedro I., of Braganza and Bourbon, and his mother Leopoldina Carolina Josephine of Austria; he was consequently the legitimate descendant of three of the most ancient Royal houses of Europe—Braganza, Bourbon, and Hapsburg. Dom Pedro I., son of John VI., abdicated the throne of Portugal in favour of his daughter, Donna Maria, on May 2, 1826; and subsequently (April 1831), after a prolonged and hopeless struggle against a resolute and ever-increasing opposition, he abdicated the throne of Brazil in favour of his son, who was then only in his sixth year.

The young Emperor's youth was passed amid the almost ceaseless turmoils which followed the declaration of Brazilian independence, and from his accession until 1833 the Government

was administered by a single Regent, Bonifacio José de Andrada e Silva, formerly a leader of the Democratic party. A Council of Regency was then appointed, which continued until 1840, when Dom Pedro II., still under age, was declared by the Chambers to have attained his majority. He accordingly assumed the reins of government on July 23 of that year, and the ceremony of his coronation was solemnised on July 18, 1841.

He had scarcely assumed supreme power when, in 1841 and 1842, a determined effort was made to establish a federal government; but the conspiracy was promptly frustrated, and by the end of 1842 the whole Republican party was reduced to submission. Various Ministries governed the country till 1848; and during this period, chiefly by skilful negotiation, the rebellious province of Rio Grande was pacified. A serious quarrel with Great Britain, however, arose in 1848, owing to the neglect shown by the Brazilians in putting in force a treaty for the abolition of the slave trade, which had been concluded as far back as 1826. Yellow fever, hitherto unknown in Brazil, broke out in 1849, and it was attributed to the importation of slaves. The traffic was condemned by public opinion, and severe laws being passed against it, these were so firmly enforced that in the course of a few years not a single disembarkation took place. In 1849 the Emperor, through the Ministry of Visconde de Olinda, entered into alliances with the Governors of Montevideo, Paraguay, and the States of Entre Rios and Corrientes for the purpose of maintaining the integrity of the Republics of Paraguay and Uruguay, which Rosas, the Dictator of Buenos Ayres, intended to reunite to his own Government, but his troops besieging Montevideo were compelled to capitulate. Rosas then formally declared war against Brazil; but an army of Correntine, Uruguayan, and Brazilian troops, under General Urquiza, assisted by a Brazilian naval squadron, advanced on Buenos Ayres, completely routed the forces of Rosas, and crushed for ever the power of that dictator. By this intervention Brazil gained an acquisition of territory and the free navigation of the River Plate and its tributaries. Subsequently for many years Brazil was almost entirely free from intestine commotions, public works and education advanced, and the finances reached a degree of development previously unknown.

In 1855 the Emperor despatched a squadron up the Paraná to adjust several questions pending between the Empire and the Republic of Paraguay, the most important of which was that of the right of way by the Paraguay River to the interior Brazilian province of Matto Grosso. The expedition was unsuccessful, but a few years later a treaty was grudgingly signed conceding under many restrictions the right of navigation. The Emperor's firm and judicious attitude in 1862, when a dispute arose between the Brazilian Government and that of Great Britain respecting the arrest of some British officers at Rio de Janeiro, tended greatly to consolidate his power. The matter was referred to the arbitration of the King of the Belgians, who decided in the Emperor's favour.

In 1864 Lopez, the ambitious Dictator of Paraguay, seized without previous declaration of war a Brazilian vessel on the Paraguay, and rapidly followed up this outrage by an armed invasion of the provinces of Matto Grosso and Rio Grande in Brazil, and that of Corrientes in the Argentine Republic. The invaded States thereupon entered into an alliance with Uruguay, and the war which ensued was soon changed from an offensive one on the part of Paraguay into a defensive struggle within that Republic against the superior numbers of the allies. Paraguay enjoyed such natural advantages, however, and Lopez had gained such ascendancy over the people, that it was not until the year 1870, after the country had been completely drained of its manhood and its resources, that the protracted war was terminated by the capture and death of Lopez.

The greatest social reform of the late Emperor's reign was the abolition of slavery. By the first abolition law, passed in September 1871, it was enacted that from the date of the measure every child born of slave parents should be free, and all the slaves belonging to the State or to the Imperial household were declared to be free from the same period. The Act also provided for an emancipation fund, to be annually applied to the ransom of a certain number of slaves owned by private individuals. From the passing of the Abolition Act the emancipation of slaves proceeded at a rapid rate, the work being largely promoted by the slave-owners themselves and by private philanthropy. It was estimated that from the cessation of the importing of slaves in 1853, and especially after the enactment of 1871, not less than a

million slaves had obtained their freedom by the year 1876; and the total extinction of slavery within the Empire was confidently predicted at no distant date. In 1884 it was found that private generosity had liberated 90,000 slaves and 19,000 more had been set free under the Rio Branco law at a cost of 80*l.* a head; but even at this rate of progress it was seen that many years must elapse before the emancipation of the black was completed. The Prime Minister, Senhor Dantas, acting upon the wishes of the Emperor, therefore brought in a Bill which would bring about the total abolition of slavery within ten or twelve years. The Bill was defeated by 59 to 52 votes, whereupon the Emperor dissolved the Chamber, and the country was called upon to decide between the "abolitionists" and the "emancipators." The result gave a majority to the Ministry, and a Bill was introduced to give effect to its programme. The hostility of many Liberals, however, prevented the progress of the Bill, and the Ministry at length resigned.

A Conservative Ministry, under Senhor Saraiva, was formed, and the new Premier brought in a modified emancipation measure, which was ultimately passed, under the auspices of Saraiva's successor, the Baron de Cote-gipe, by a coalition of Conservatives and Liberals. Although the Act provided that in seventeen years all slaves were to be free, it was anticipated that under the new scheme slavery would cease in seven years. At the close of 1886 there were about 1,000,000 slaves in the Brazils, as compared with 2,500,000 in 1850.

The general elections in 1886 gave a majority for the Conservatives. The Emperor opened Parliament in person, and Senhor Dantas introduced a measure for the complete emancipation of the slaves at the end of five years. The Bill was thrown out by the Chamber, but the abolitionists succeeded in getting a measure passed which put an end to the official flogging of slaves. Finally, in the session of 1888, the question was set at rest by the Chamber of Deputies voting the immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery. As one immediate result of the emancipation laws in Brazil, considerable difficulty was experienced in procuring a sufficient supply of labour for the Brazilian plantations; but the general effect of the legislation was to give new directions for the employment of capital and the construction of railroads and telegraphs. The improvement of

internal communication by roads and rivers was likewise largely promoted, and attention was strongly directed towards the further development of the provinces by the increase of European immigration. Enterprises of a social and commercial character greatly multiplied, and public instruction received a vigorous impulse.

In 1871 Dom Pedro made the tour of Europe, visiting London, Paris, Rome, Florence, Brussels, and other capitals. In 1876 he went through the most interesting portions of the United States, and was present at the Centennial Festival at Philadelphia. He again visited Europe in the succeeding year. During his reign he had also made several extended tours through his own dominions, and in 1867 had opened the navigation of the Amazon to the vessels of all nations.

In November of the year 1889 the apparently firm edifice of Imperial power fell. Dom Pedro's power was supposed to be secure, although the emancipation of the slaves might have weakened his hold on the Conservative classes of the nation. The Imperial system in Brazil did not, as in other countries, rest upon the army. The army, indeed, was by some of the Emperor's advisers dreaded rather than trusted, and the immediate cause of the revolution was the refusal of the 7th Infantry Battalion to leave Rio. The army leaders had for some time been prepared to resist the further dispersal of the military forces, and the Republicans were ready to take advantage of the situation. When this 7th Battalion mutinied an endeavour was made by the War Department to coerce them. On the morning of Nov. 15 the whole Cabinet met at the War Office to compel the departure of the recalcitrant troops. Marshal Manuel Deodoro da Fonseca appeared on the scene, and was loudly cheered by the troops, who cried, "Down with the Ministry." Fonseca's movements were prompt and effective. He entered the room in which the Cabinet were sitting, and simply stated that he deposed them in the name of the army. While the Ministers were detained at the War Office for a few hours, the Republic was proclaimed in the streets. The Emperor arrived at the City Palace in the course of the afternoon, and spent an hour or two in endeavouring to form a new and more popular Ministry. At half-past five Fonseca issued a proclamation in the name of the army, the navy, and the people, announcing the abolition of the Monarchical Constitution and the

establishment of a Provisional Government. The next morning the Emperor was a prisoner in his palace; and on the 17th he was, with all his family, on board the packet *Alagoas*, which the Provisional Government had chartered to carry him to Lisbon.

At Lisbon a trial of a domestic and of a severer character befell him, for he had not resided there more than a month when the Empress died. In his distress Dom Pedro left Lisbon and removed to Cannes, where, with the exception of a recent visit to Paris, he subsequently lived in retirement.

The ex-Emperor married, Sept. 4, 1843, Donna Theresa Christina Maria, daughter of the late Francis I., King of the Two Sicilies. The Empress, who was a woman of great personal charm, only survived her husband's deposition six weeks, dying on Dec. 28, 1889. By her Dom Pedro had four children, two sons and two daughters, but both sons died in infancy. The elder daughter, Isabel, who now becomes the representative of the claims of the House of Braganza to the throne of Brazil, was born in 1846, and married in 1864 Prince Louis of Orleans, Comte d'Eu. The Emperor's second daughter, Leopoldina, born in 1847, was married in 1864 to Prince Augustus of Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha, but she died on Feb. 7, 1871.

The Emperor and his consort were alike distinguished for their intellectual and moral endowments and their affectionate interest in the welfare of their subjects. The Emperor was of a most active disposition, an excellent horseman, and assiduous in athletic exercises. When in Rio de Janeiro he was constantly to be seen in public; and twice in each week he received his subjects as well as foreign travellers, invariably captivating both by his courteous manners. He wrote and spoke the English, French, German, Spanish, and Italian languages with fluency and elegance. He was a liberal patron of letters, the arts and sciences, and of every branch of industry and commerce; and it was with the view of conferring no empty honour upon him that he was elected a member of the Geographical Society of Paris in 1868, and corresponding member of the French Academy of Sciences in 1875; and, further, he was an ardent student of botany.

He had come to Paris at the end of the autumn, and was staying at the Hôtel Bedford, and for some time had been under medical care. Serious symptoms suddenly developed themselves after a few hours, and Dom Pedro died

soon after midnight on Dec. 4-5, having been unconscious when the last Sacraments were administered.

W. G. Wills.—William Gorman Wills was born in Kilkenny in 1824, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he did not take a degree, but entered the Royal Irish Academy, and for some time followed the study of art, afterwards meeting with some encouragement as a portrait painter. It was not until 1859 that he turned towards dramatic authorship, in which year he wrote "The Man o' Airlie" for Mr. Hermann Vezin. He wrote one or two other plays, but none attracted much notice until in 1872 his "Charles I." was brought out by Mr. Henry Irving at the Lyceum Theatre. This curious distortion of history to serve dramatic purposes was followed by numerous historical and story-adapted plays, of which "Mary Queen of Scots" (1874), "Jane Shore" (1876), "Olivia" (1878), from the "Vicar of Wakefield"; "William and Susan" (1880), an adaptation of Douglas Jerrold's nautical drama; "Faust" (1885), were the best received. Mr. Wills did not altogether abandon painting in his later years, portraits of the Princess Louise and other members of the Royal family having been executed by him, and, in addition, he wrote several novels, such as "Notice to Quit," "The Wife's Evidence," &c. He died on Dec. 13, at Guy's Hospital, where he had recently undergone a serious operation.

Bishop Harold Browne.—Edward Harold Browne, the youngest son of Colonel Robert Browne, of Morton House, Bucks, was born in 1811; and, after passing some years at Eton and Emmanuel College, Cambridge, he took his degree (1832) as 24th Wrangler, carrying off subsequently the Crosse Theological and Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholarships and the Norrisian Prize. Having been elected a Fellow and Tutor of his College, he remained at Cambridge for a few years, but having been ordained in 1836, he was appointed curate of Stroud, Gloucestershire, in 1840, and in the following year incumbent of St. James's, and afterwards to St. Sidwell's, Exeter, 1841-3; Vice-Principal and Professor of Hebrew at St. David's College, Lampeter, 1843-9. In this year (1849) he left Wales and returned to the diocese of Exeter as vicar of Kenwyn, Cornwall, where he remained until 1857, having meanwhile (1854) been elected Norrisian Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, a post which he held for ten

years (having resigned the vicarage of Heavitree to which he had been appointed, in conjunction with a canonry of Exeter, in 1857). In 1864, on the death of Bishop Turton, Dr. Harold Browne was appointed by Lord Palmerston Bishop of Ely almost immediately after his reply to Bishop Colenso's work on the Pentateuch and the Elohistic Psalms. His most important literary work, however, was an "Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles" (1850-3), which continued to be a text-book for theological students throughout the author's life. In 1873 Mr. Gladstone offered Dr. Browne the see of Winchester, in succession to Bishop Wilberforce; and, on the death of Archbishop Tait, his calm, cautious temperament, combined with his wide theological learning, marked him as the natural successor to the see of Canterbury. Age and declining health induced him to decline the proffered honour, and he remained at Winchester until about a year before his death, when, taking advantage of the Retiring Act, he withdrew from active work, and, after some months of protracted illness, died on Dec. 17 at Shales House, Bitterne, near Southampton.

Dr. Browne took a deep interest in the "Old Catholic" movement in Germany, and attended the Cologne (1872) and Bonn (1874) Congresses. He was also Chairman of the Old Testament Revision Committee and *ex-officio* Prelate of the Order of the Garter. He married, 1840, Elizabeth, daughter of Clement Carlyon, M.D., of Truro.

The Duke of Devonshire, K.G.—Sir William Cavendish, seventh Duke of Devonshire, was the eldest son of Mr. William Cavendish, M.P., whose father, Lord George Augustus Cavendish, was, in 1831, created Earl of Burlington. He was born in 1808, and, after some years of private study, was entered at Trinity College, Cambridge, where, in 1829, he graduated as Second Wrangler (Dr. Philpott, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, being Senior) and eighth Classic, as well as First Smith's Prize-man, and in the same year he was returned to Parliament as one of the members for the University, his colleague being Viscount Palmerston; but in consequence of their support of the Reform Bill they lost their seats in 1831, and were replaced by Mr. Goulbourn and Mr. Yates Peel; but Mr. Cavendish was returned, first, for Malton, and, a few months later, for North Derbyshire, which he continued to re-

present until 1834, when he succeeded his grandfather as second Earl of Burlington.

After his removal to the Upper House he took but little part in active political life, but devoted himself to the development of the estates to which he succeeded, and which he found considerably encumbered. In 1836 he was elected Chancellor of the recently established University of London, and remained so until 1856, and in 1862 succeeded the Prince Consort as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. He was Lord-Lieutenant of Lancashire, 1855-8, when he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Derbyshire. When he entered into possession of the ducal estates, which were heavily mortgaged, he found that the work of managing them kept his hands quite full. According to the modern Domesday Book, the estates amounted to 12,500 acres in Lancashire, nearly 84,000 in Derbyshire, and over 36,000 in the south of Ireland, to say nothing of more than 11,000 acres in Sussex, including a very large portion of the rising town of Eastbourne. He soon found scope for his energies in the management and administration of these, showing himself a most kind and considerate landlord, especially in Ireland, where he could boast that, at all events, he had contributed no less than 200,000*l.* towards the extension of railways in the counties of Cork and of Waterford, in the latter of which is situated his magnificent demesne of Lismore Castle. At Chatsworth, too, he found that he had inherited from his predecessor a magnificent library, full of curious and valuable early printed books. Among these the Duke was always "at home," and he liked to place the contents of his library at the disposal of intelligent strangers who cared to consult its volumes. To his friends who rallied him on his apathy to political interests he would say, "My library to me is kingdom large enough."

In no district of England was the Duke of Devonshire better known than in Furness and Cartmel, and particularly in the latter, in which was Holker Hall, where the Duke loved to spend so much of his time. It was in Furness that some of his greatest commercial enterprises were undertaken. It would be impossible to give anything like an adequate idea of the enormous sums of money sunk by the Duke in some of the gigantic commercial enterprises in that quarter. The district was always famous for its veins of pure hematite iron ore, but so late as the beginning of the

present century the annual export was only about 1,000 tons, while the population so recently as 1847 only numbered 325. The railway was the first great aid to development, and in 1857, by the carrying of the line over Morecambe Sands, through communication was established between Barrow and Carnforth. In five years from this date the consignments of iron ore by ship and rail had risen to 250,000 tons per annum, and in five years more the amount had increased to 450,000 tons. Two companies of iron and steel works were established in 1859 and 1864, and in 1866 they were united under the name of the Barrow Hematite Steel Company (Limited). In September 1867 there were opened the Devonshire and Bucleuch Docks, constructed at a comparatively small cost, by the enclosure of the channel between the mainland and a small island, on which shipbuilding works have since been erected.

The Duke was one of the original members of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, which he joined, as the Earl of Burlington, in 1838. He was elected President of the Society for the year 1870, in succession to the Prince of Wales, and occupied the chair at the country meeting held at Oxford that year. As an agriculturist, the name of the Duke of Devonshire will be long associated with the celebrated herd of shorthorn cattle which made Holker famous throughout the world.

To the Duke of Devonshire, more than to any other individual or institution, Buxton is indebted for its remarkable development during the last thirty-five years. Besides other gifts to the town it may be mentioned that in 1859 he set apart a place for the accommodation of the Buxton Bath Charity, an institution for the relief and cure of rheumatic patients. This, however, was only the prelude to a larger act of liberality, for in 1868 he handed over to trustees two acres of land and the pile of buildings now known as Devonshire Hospital. Three or four years ago he gave to the town what is known as the Serpentine Walk, several acres of well-wooded grounds, through which the river Wye flows. More recently he gave the Sylvan Park, at the bottom of the Spring Gardens, which is now being laid out by the local board as a pleasure ground. He also gave land for the new town hall, and only two months before his death he made overtures to settle a long-standing difficulty by offering to build, at a cost of 4,000*l.* or 5,000*l.*, a pump-room in front of the Crescent in

which to drink the mineral waters, provided the local board would promote a Bill in Parliament authorising them to accept the gift, and to carry out other improvements. As a landlord his Grace was popular in Derbyshire, and his property in Buxton was the lowest rented in the place.

In the south of England also his Grace effected a work of considerable value in the development of the fashionable watering-place of Eastbourne. Its progress owed much to his activity and capital. It once consisted of three small straggling villages; but these distinctions have been obliterated, and numerous handsome terraces and detached houses have more or less united the three old hamlets into one town. A pier was erected in 1868, and the population, which is constantly increasing, was 35,000 at the recent census. Compton Place, Eastbourne, was a favourite residence of the Duke.

The Duke's interest in scientific and technical training never flagged. He acted as chairman of the Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction and the Advancement of Science, of which the valuable report was the starting-point of scientific teaching at the Universities. He set a noble example by the gift of the Cavendish Laboratory at Cambridge for the advancement of the study of physical science. He was also first president of the Iron and Steel Institute, and took an active interest in Owen's College, Manchester, of which, as president, he delivered the inaugural address on the opening of the new buildings in 1873.

The Duke's appearances as a speaker in the House of Lords were very infrequent; but he was a consistent supporter by his vote of all the great measures brought forward by the Liberal party. With the exception of occasional observations on University measures and cognate subjects, he only departed from Carlyle's golden rule of silence on one occasion, and that was when he spoke in favour of Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church Bill in the session of 1869. His Grace cordially and strongly supported that measure. He referred in his speech, made on the second reading, to the few occasions on which he had addressed the House, and to the importance of the crisis which had made him interpose then. He considered the word "anomaly" a very mild and inadequate one to describe the condition of the Established Church in Ireland. He should rather characterise it as a scandal to the Parliament and Government of the country

in having so long retained such an institution, in defiance of the religious feelings of the great majority of the Irish people. The Established Church in Ireland could in no sense of the word be called the National Church.

The Duke separated himself subsequently from Mr. Gladstone on the Irish Home Rule policy, and accepted the position of chairman of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, for which, by his position as a large Irish landlord, whose estates were admirably managed, he was eminently qualified.

He married, in 1829, Lady Blanche Georgiana Howard, daughter of the sixth Earl of Carlisle, but was left a widower in 1840. Of his three sons by her only one, the eldest, survived him, Lord Frederick Cavendish, M.P., having been murdered in Phoenix Park, Dublin, in 1882, and Lord Edward Cavendish, M.P., having died in the spring of 1891. For some time the Duke's health had been in a precarious state, and he finally succumbed on Dec. 21, at Holker Hall, his favourite residence, near Grange, in Lancashire. He received the Order of the Garter in 1858, and was made a Privy Councillor in 1878. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and an honorary D.C.L. of Oxford.

Sir William Arthur White, G.C.M.G., C.B., was born, in 1824, in Poland, where his father, Arthur, held a subordinate position in the Consular and Colonial Service, and in this way he became familiar at an early date with the Polish and Russian languages. He was educated at King William's College, in the Isle of Man, and subsequently graduated at Trinity College, Cambridge. It was not until 1857 that he was appointed a clerk in the Consulate at Warsaw, but a few months later, and at various intervals down to 1865, he was acting Consul-General in the absence of his chief, having been appointed also Consul at Danzig in 1864, where he represented the French interests during the Franco-German War, 1870-1. In 1875 he was promoted to be Agent and Consul-General in Servia, then a vassal State; but he at length had obtained a place where he could display his exceptional knowledge of the politics of Eastern Europe and his diplomatic abilities. In the Conference of Constantinople, 1876-7, which followed on the "Bulgarian atrocities" and Servian campaign, Mr. White was brought in contact with the English representative, Lord Salisbury, upon whom his rare qualities made a great impression; and having

obtained the decoration of C.B., Mr. White was transferred to Bucharest, 1878, and in the following year was promoted to Minister Plenipotentiary in Bulgaria, where he remained to watch over the development of the new principality, which soon became the centre of Austrian and Russian intrigues. Having been promoted to be K.C.M.G. in 1885, a few months later he was sent to act as Ambassador at Constantinople during the absence of Sir Edward Thornton. Whilst discharging this duty Eastern Roumelia, by a revolutionary movement, was annexed to Bulgaria, and there was at first a consensus amongst the Great Powers that this infraction of the Treaty of Berlin should not be tolerated. Sir William White took a different view, and succeeded in persuading his own Government and that of Austria that their interest was to acquiesce in the step, and to recognise officially the *fait accompli*. In 1886 he was appointed special Ambassador to the Porte—the first Roman Catholic raised to that grade since the Reformation—and on Jan. 1, 1887, he was definitely confirmed in the post. He married, 1867, Katherine, daughter of Lewis Kendzier, of Danzig; was made G.C.M.G., 1886, and a Privy Councillor, and in the same year received the honorary degree of LL.D. from the University of Cambridge. His death, which took place at a hotel in Berlin, was quite unexpected. He had arrived there to spend Christmas with his daughter, who was married to a member of the Swedish Legation, and was attacked by the influenza then raging in Berlin. After making a partial recovery, his heart showed symptoms of failing action, and he died on Dec. 28 at the Kaiserhof Hotel in that city.

Count Gleichen.—His Serene Highness Prince Victor of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, second son of Prince Ernest of Langenburg and Princess Feodora, daughter of Prince Charles of Leiningen, and consequently nephew to Queen Victoria, was born at Langenburg, Nov. 11, 1833, and after being educated in Germany and England, entered the British Navy in September 1848, and obtained his commission as a lieutenant on Dec. 18, 1854. He had previously served in the *Powerful*, 84, during the blockade of Athens in 1849–50, and in the *Cumberland*, 70, in the Baltic. The captain of the *Cumberland* at that time was Captain George Henry Seymour, who subsequently became Prince Victor's brother-in-law. Prince

Victor was landed with the field-pieces at the capture of Bomarsund in 1854, and was wounded. After his promotion he went to the Black Sea, where he was present in 1855 at the operations against Anapa and Kertch, landed before Sebastopol, and was made aide-de-camp to the captain commanding the Naval brigade; took part in the battle on the Techernaya on Aug. 15, and was again wounded at the battle of Sebastopol in September. On his return he commanded the gunboat *Traveller*, 4, at the great review at Spithead on April 28, 1856. In the same year he was appointed to the *Raleigh*, 50, which carried the broad pennant of Commodore the Hon. Henry Keppel to the East Indies and China. He was present at the operations in the Canton River, and on June 1, 1857, at the destruction of Chinese war junks in Fatsan Creek. Being promoted on Aug. 10, 1857, to the rank of commander, Prince Victor came home. In June, 1858, he obtained command of the paddle-vessel *Scourge*, 6, in the Mediterranean, but surrendered it upon his further promotion to the rank of captain on Dec. 13, 1859, and went for about three years upon half-pay. At the beginning of 1863 he was appointed to the screw corvette *Raccoon*, which was employed upon particular service, and in which the Duke of Edinburgh served as junior lieutenant. Ten years later Prince Victor retired, on April 1, 1873. He became a retired rear-admiral on Dec. 31, 1876, a retired vice-admiral on Nov. 23, 1881, and a retired admiral on May 24, 1887. His various naval services procured him the Baltic medal, the Crimean medal with Sebastopol clasp, the Turkish medal, the Medjidieh (fifth class), and the China medal with Fatsan clasp. On June 21, 1887, on the occasion of the Jubilee, he was made a G.C.B., additional member, Civil Division. On his marriage, Jan. 26, 1861, with Laura, youngest daughter of Admiral Sir George Seymour, he assumed the title of Count Gleichen, after one of his fiefs of the principality. On his quitting the navy Count Gleichen turned his attention to sculpture, and placed himself under the guidance of Mr. William Theed, a sculptor highly esteemed by the Prince Consort, and much employed on Court work. Count Gleichen also attended the evening classes at Mr. Heatherley's school in Newman Street, and devoted himself unremittingly to work, and by the help of his connections he was soon able to obtain commissions. One of his earliest

works which attracted attention was the colossal statue of Alfred the Great erected at Wantage. He also executed the monumental figure which marks his mother's grave at Baden, that of the Prince Imperial at Woolwich, of Lord Beaconsfield at the Constitutional Club, of the Princess of Wales as a Doctor of Music at Egham College, and of many others distinguished in all walks of public life. He was also the author of various ideal works, amongst which the "Sleeping Hebe" and "Memento Mori," "A Musselburgh Fishwife" and "A Burly Blacksmith," exhibited at the Royal Academy, and a nude figure of

"Hero," exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery, were among the most successful. He had for some time before his death suffered from an affection of the eyes, for which he was about to proceed to Wiesbaden for treatment, when he was struck down by the disease, cancer, with which he had been long threatened, and after several weeks of alternate recovery and relapse he died on Dec. 31, at St. James's Palace, where he had resided constantly since leaving the navy. He held, in addition, the appointments of Constable and Governor of Windsor Castle, posts more honorary than lucrative.

On the 1st, at Harlow, Essex, aged 84, **Charles Ferry, D.D.**; educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge; Senior Wrangler, 1828; First Smith's Prize-man and First Class in Classics; Fellow of Trinity College; consecrated, 1847, first Bishop of Melbourne; retired, 1876, and made canon of Llandaff, 1878. On the 1st, at Guiseley, Bradford, Yorkshire, aged 71, **Sir Matthew William Thompson**, first Baronet; sat as a Conservative for Bradford in 1867, when he defeated Mr. E. Miall, by whom he was defeated in 1869; was Chairman of the Midland Railway, 1879-90, when, on the opening of the Forth Bridge, he was created a Baronet. On the 1st, at 33 St. James's Place, aged 78, from the effects of a cab accident, **Wellington Stapleton**, second Viscount Combermere; born in Barbados; educated at Eton; entered the army in 1837; Captain 1st Life Guards, 1846; Major 7th Dragoon Guards, 1846; married, 1846, Susan Alice, daughter of Sir George Sitwell, Bart.; sat in Parliament for Carrickfergus, 1847-57, as a Conservative. On the 2nd, at Dulwich, aged 41, **George T. Bethany**; a voluminous writer of scientific handbooks, "Life of C. Darwin," and "Admer on Botany;" born at Penzance; educated at Guy's Hospital and Caius College, Cambridge, where he was Tancred Student in medicine, and graduated London University; B. Sc., 1871; and Cambridge Natural Science Tripos, 1873. On the 3rd, at Slains Castle, Aberdeen, aged 68, **William H. H.**, seventeenth Earl of Erroll, a maternal grandson of William IV.; educated at Eton, and entered the army; was a Major of the Rifle Brigade during the Crimean campaign, and wounded at the battle of the Alma; married, 1848, Eliza A., eldest daughter of General the Hon. Sir Charles Gore, G.C.B., who followed her husband to the Crimea, and was one of the three ladies who spent the winter 1854-5 before Sebastopol. On the 4th, at Auckland, New Zealand, aged 79, **Sir Frederick Whitaker, K.C.M.G.**, son of Frederick Whitaker; J.P. for Oxfordshire; called to the Bar, 1837; emigrated to New Zealand, 1840; appointed Senior M.L.C., 1845, and Attorney-General and Speaker of Council, 1855, and from 1856-61, and again in 1862; Prime Minister, 1863; Superintendent of the Province of Auckland, 1863-76; returned to parliamentary life and was Attorney-General, 1876-7, 1879, and Premier, 1822-3; married, 1843, Augustus, step-daughter of Alexander Shephard, Colonial Treasurer, New Zealand; created K.C.M.G., 1884. On the 6th, at Dresden, aged 28, **Wolcott Balestier**, a young novelist of great promise. On the 6th, at Dublin, aged 74, **Right Hon. Stephen Wolfe Flanagan, P.C.**, second son of Terence Flanagan, of Clogher; called to the Bar of Ireland, 1838; Q.C., 1859; Judge of Landed Estates Court, 1869-77; Land Judge, Court of Chancery, Ireland, 1877-85; married, 1851, Mary, daughter of John R. Corballis, Q.C. On the 6th at Arley Hall, Cheshire, aged 87, **Rowland Eyles Egerton-Warburton**, eldest son of Rev. Rowland Egerton; educated at Eton and Christ Church College, Oxford; assumed in 1813 the name of Warburton on succeeding to the estates of his great-uncle, Sir Peter Warburton; married, 1831, Mary, eldest daughter of Sir Richard Brooke, of Norton, Cheshire. On the 7th, at Kensington, aged 68, **Sir Arthur Blyth, K.C.M.G., C.B.**; born at Birmingham; educated at the Grammar School there; emigrated with his parents to Adelaide, 1839, and for sixteen years engaged in commerce, and helped to form the constitution for South Australia, which came into operation in 1856; Minister of Public Works, 1857; between 1857-77 he was five times Treasurer, twice Commissioner of Public Works and of Crown Lands, and three times Chief Secretary and Prime Minister of South Australia; appointed Agent-General in London, 1877, which post he held till his death; married,

1850, Jessie, daughter of Edward Forrest, of Birmingham. On the 7th, in Great Cumberland Place, W., aged 85, Lady Lilford, Mary Elizabeth, only daughter third Lord Holland, and last survivor of the Holland House branch of the Fox family; married, 1830, Thomas Atherton Powys, third Baron Lilford. On the 8th, at Amalfi, aged 86, Don Matteo Camera, the historian of the City and Duchy of Amalfi. On the 9th, at South Kensington, aged 78, Captain John Jennings Ball, R.N.; entered the navy, 1826; took an important part in the Baltic campaign, 1854-6; was the inventor of the jury-tiller. On the 9th, at Bath, aged 77, Catherine Charlotte, Lady Jackson, daughter of Thomas Elliott, of Wakefield; married, 1856, at St. Helena, Sir George Jackson, K.C.B. (died 1861), a distinguished member of the diplomatic service, who was employed at the Treaty of Amiens. His widow edited several volumes of his diaries, &c., and was the author of numerous historical works on France. On the 9th, at Beaumaris, aged 77, Sir Andrew Crombie Ramsay, Kt., LL.D., F.R.S., son of William Ramsay, of Glasgow; educated at University there; joined Geological Survey, 1841; appointed Professor of Geology, School of Mines, 1851, and Director-General of Geological Survey of the United Kingdom, 1863-81; author of "The Geology of North Wales" and other works; married, 1852, Louisa, daughter of Rev. Chancellor Williams, of Bangor Cathedral; knighted in 1881. On the 10th, at Leyden, aged 63, Dr. Abraham Kuenen, the author of several works on Biblical criticism; born at Haarlem; appointed Professor of Divinity at Leyden, 1852. On the 12th, at Bishops Tachbrook, near Leamington, aged 77, Fanny Kingsley, widow of the Rev. Charles Kingsley, the author, some time rector of Eversley and canon of Westminster, and the youngest daughter of Pascoe Grenfell; married, 1844. On the 14th, in Cavendish Square, aged 82, Sir James Risdon Bennett, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.; eldest son of James Bennett, D.D., an eminent Nonconformist divine; studied medicine at Edinburgh (M.D., 1833); travelled for some time with Lords Beverley and Aberdeen; and subsequently lecturer at Charing Cross Hospital, and afterwards at St. Thomas's; held in succession the chief appointments of this profession; elected President of the Royal College of Physicians, 1876-81; married, 1841, Ellen Selfe, daughter of Rev. Henry Page, Rose Hill, Worcester. On the 15th, at Vienna, aged 65, Archduke Sigismund, of Austria, third son of Archduke Rainer, Viceroy of Lombardo-Venetia; born at Milan, Jan. 1826; served under Radetzky in the Italian War, 1848-9; resided chiefly at Gmunden, and was unmarried. On the 15th, at Caterham Asylum, aged 101, Samuel Gibson; enlisted in 1803 in the 27th Foot, and was present with his regiment at the battle of Waterloo. On the 16th, at Eaton Place, S.W., aged 96, Georgiana, Lady de Ros, daughter of fourth Duke of Richmond; married, 1824, twentieth Baron de Ros. She had danced at the ball given at Brussels on the eve of the battle of Waterloo, of which she wrote an account, with other reminiscences, shortly before her death. On the 18th, at Madryn, Pwllheli, aged 59, Sir Thomas Love Duncombe Jones-Parry, first Baronet, son of Lieutenant-General Sir Love Parry Jones-Parry; educated at Rugby and University College, Oxford; Captain Royal Anglesea Militia; sat as Liberal for Carnarvon County, 1868-74, for Carnarvon District, 1882-86; married, 1866, Charlotte, daughter of H. Arnott, of Rushington Manor, and widow of F. A. Elliot. On the 19th, at Nuneham Park, Oxford, aged 66, Edward William Harcourt, eldest son of Rev. W. Harcourt, canon of York, and great-great-grandson (maternally) of first Lord Harcourt, whose estates he inherited. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford; married, 1849, Lady Susan Harriet Holroyd, daughter of second Earl of Sheffield; sat as Conservative for Oxfordshire, 1878-85, and for South Oxfordshire, 1885-6. He was the elder brother of Sir William Vernon Harcourt, M.P. On the 19th, at Charterhouse, aged 80, Maddison Morton, the author of "Box and Cox," "Lend me Five Shillings," and several other popular farces. He was the son of Thomas Morton, the author of "Speed the Plough" and other pieces; was educated in France and Germany, and subsequently at Islington. In 1832 he was appointed to a clerkship in Chelsea Hospital, and in 1835 produced his earliest piece, "A First Fit of the Gout." For fifty years he was almost incessantly employed by various theatre managers to write short plays, many of which had considerable success. His last piece, "Going It," was a three-act farce written for Mr. J. L. Toole in 1885. In 1881 he was elected a poor brother of the Charterhouse, where he passed the remainder of his life. On the 20th, at Eaton Place, Brighton, aged 72, Peter Alfred Taylor, a silk merchant by profession, an active member of the Anti-Corn Law League, and one of Mazzini's most intimate friends during his stay in England. After unsuccessfully contesting Newcastle-on-Tyne and Leicester, he was returned for the latter town in 1882 as an advanced Liberal, representing it

uninterruptedly until 1884, when he retired in consequence of failing health. He was a liberal subscriber to all movements of public and social improvement, a strong opponent of class privilege, and one of the earliest supporters in Parliament of the Women's Suffrage movement, and of the Abolition of Flogging in the Army and Navy; and in all his efforts he was ably assisted by his wife (married, 1842) Clementina, daughter of John Doughty, of Brockdish, Norfolk. For some years Mr. Taylor was proprietor of the *Examiner* newspaper. On the 21st, at Maida Hill, W., aged 66, Sir John Frederick Dickson, K.C.M.G., son of Robert Dickson, M.D., of Harmondsworth; educated at Westminster and Christ Church, Oxford; entered Ceylon Civil Service 1859, where he held various appointments; appointed Colonial Secretary for the Straits Settlements, 1885; married, first, 1859, Annie, daughter of Rev. R. J. Waters, D.D.; and, second, 1875, Emily, daughter of George Lee. On the 22nd, at Angers, aged 64, Monsignor Freppel, Bishop of Angers, and a member of the Chamber of Deputies; born at Obernai, Alsace, and educated at Strasbourg, where he became the head of the Catholic College; was appointed Professor of Theology at the Sorbonne in 1856, and assisted the Pope in the preparatory steps for the Infallibility Dogma; appointed Bishop of Angers, 1870, and in 1880 returned as Royalist Deputy to the Chambers by a Breton constituency. On the 22nd, at Paris, aged 64, Albert Wolff, a distinguished journalist and art critic; born near Cologne, and educated at Bonn; went to Paris in 1857 as correspondent of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, but soon after became secretary to Alexander Dumas. In 1871 he was naturalised in France, and held a high place among contemporary journalists. On the 24th, at Gloucester Place, W., aged 77, Sir Thomas Chambers, Q.C., Recorder of London, son of Thomas Chambers, of Hertford; educated at Clare College, Cambridge; B.A., 1840; called to the Bar at the Middle Temple, 1840; sat as a Liberal for Hertford, 1852-7, and for Marylebone, 1865-85; Common Serjeant of London in 1857-78, when he succeeded to the Recordership; married, 1851, Diana, daughter of R. White, and niece and adopted daughter of John Green, of Hertford. On the 24th, in London, aged 60, Major-General H. P. Close, son of Dean Close, of Carlisle; joined the Indian army in 1850, and served with distinction throughout the Umbeyla campaign, 1863-4, and in the attack of the Black Mountain tribes, 1867-8. On the 25th, at Upper Norwood aged 55, Colonel Shadwell Henry Clerke, Grand Secretary of the Masonic Grand Lodge, youngest son of General St. John A. Clerke, K.H.; entered 21st Foot, carried the colours at the battle of the Alma, and served through the Crimean campaign with distinction; was afterwards Secretary to the General commanding in the West Indies; in 1875 appointed one of Her Majesty's Body Guard of the Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms. On the 25th, at South Kensington, aged 64, Thomas Henry Weist Hill, Principal of the Guildhall School of Music; a violin pupil of M. Sain-ton; first appeared in public, 1847; was a member of Signor Costa's band at the Royal Italian Opera, and was appointed, 1874, musical conductor at the Alexandra Palace. On the 25th, at Campden Grove, Kensington, aged 75, John Stapleton, of Berwick Hill, Northumberland, fifth son of Thomas Stapleton, of Carlton Hall, York; called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1840; sat for Berwick as a Liberal, 1852, 1857-8, 1868-74; married Frances Dorothea, daughter of E. Bolton King, of Chadshunt, co. Warwick. On the 26th, in Brittany, aged 82, Madame de Charette, daughter of the Duc de Berri and Amy Brown, of Maidstone. On the Duke's assassination in 1820, Amy Brown and her two daughters were committed to the charge of the Duchess; and the elder, created Comtesse d'Issoudun, was married to the Prince de Faucigny-Lucinge; and the other to Baron de Charette, nephew of the Vendéan leader. On the 28th, at Cheltenham, aged 69, Major-General Edward Bray, C.B., eldest son of Colonel Edward Bray, C.B.; was one of the few survivors of the *Kent* East Indiaman, burnt at sea in 1825; entered the army, 1859; served with 31st Regiment through the Afghan campaign of 1842-3; commanded at Nottingham during the election riots, 1865; served with 4th King's Own through the Abyssinian campaign, and commanded 2nd Battalion of the same regiment throughout the Zulu War, 1879; married, 1860, Ann, daughter of Colonel P. C. Mair. On the 28th, in Torrington Square, W.C., aged 47, Alfred Cellier; born at Hackney, of French parents; educated at the Grammar School there; entered the Chapel Royal, St. James's, 1855; from 1862 to 1870 was organist in various churches in or near London, finally at St. Alban's, Holborn. He then became conductor at the Prince's Theatre, Manchester, 1871-5, and the Opera Comique, London, 1877-79, and wrote the music for several operas, of which the most successful were the "Sultan of Mocha," 1874; "Dorothy," 1886; "Doris," 1889. He was engaged at the time of his death on "The Mountebanks," of which

the libretto was written by Mr. W. S. Gilbert, and within two hours of his death he had put the finishing stroke to the score. On the 29th, at Bristol, aged 68, John Pilkington Norris, D.D.; educated at Rugby under Dr. Arnold; Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1846; first-class in classics with H. Hallam and F. Lushington; Inspector of Schools, 1849-64; Curate of Lewknor and of Hatchford, 1865-70; Vicar of St. George, Brandon Hill, Bristol, 1870-6, and of St. Mary Redcliffe, 1877-82, which he was instrumental in restoring; Canon of Bristol, 1881-5, and Archdeacon, 1881. He was offered and accepted the Deanery of Chichester a week before his death, but the official notification only preceded that event by one day. He married, 1871, Edith, daughter of Dr. Lushington. On the 30th, at Wimbledon, aged 68, W. M. Davenport Adams, a popular author and journalist. On the 31st, at Lukoja, aged 81, Samuel Adjai Crowther, Bishop of the Niger Territory; born in an African town in the Yomba country; taken prisoner by some Mahomedans, he was repeatedly sold as a slave, and at length fell to a Portuguese slaveholder, who, on quitting Lagos in 1882, was captured by an English cruiser, and taken to Sierra Leone. Here Adjai was educated by the Church Missionary Society, was baptised in 1825, and, after being here employed as a teacher, was ordained in 1843, and sent to Yomba country as a missionary. In 1857 he was appointed leader of the New Niger Mission, and in 1864 was consecrated in Canterbury Cathedral the first Bishop of the Niger.

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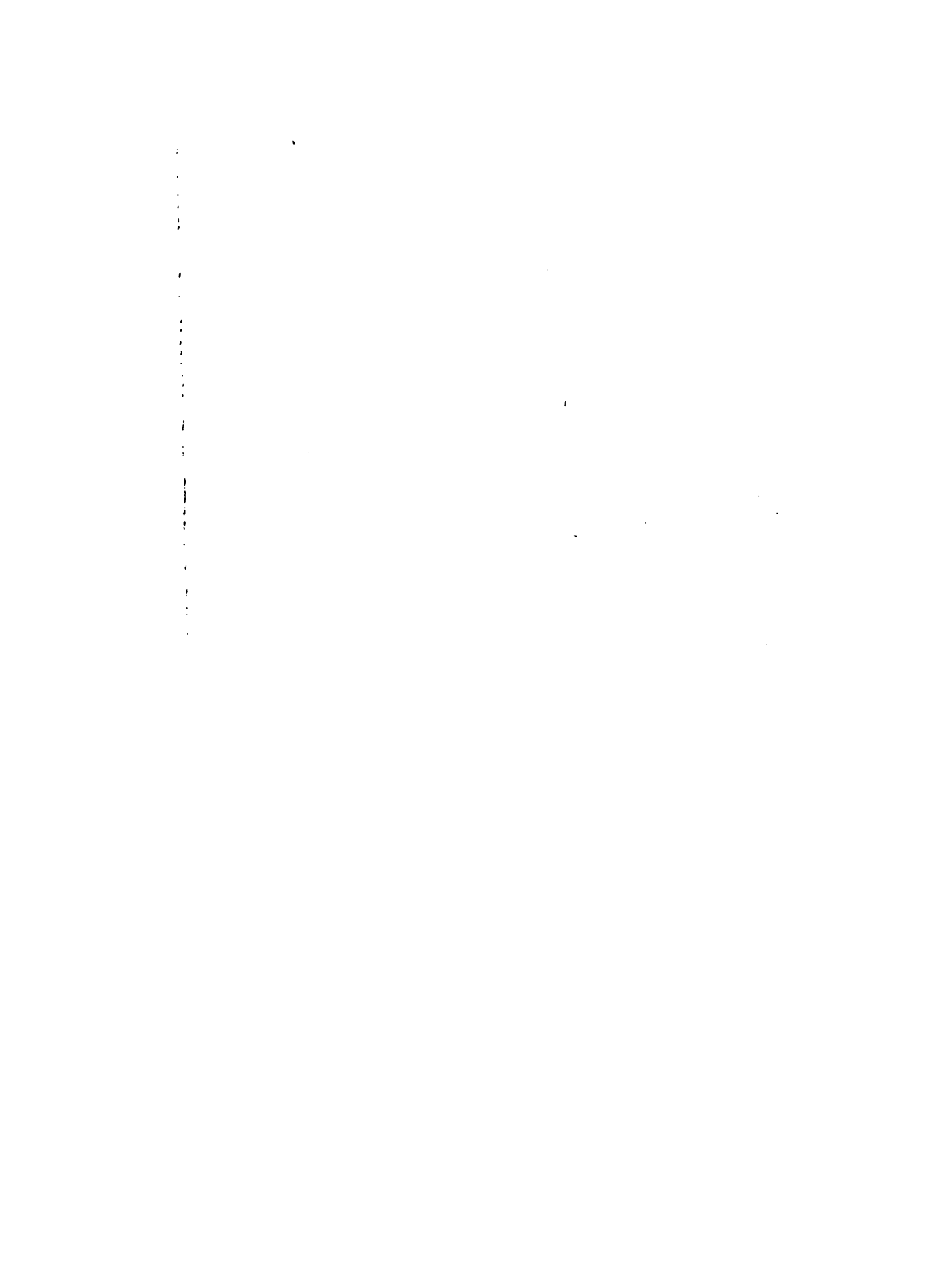
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