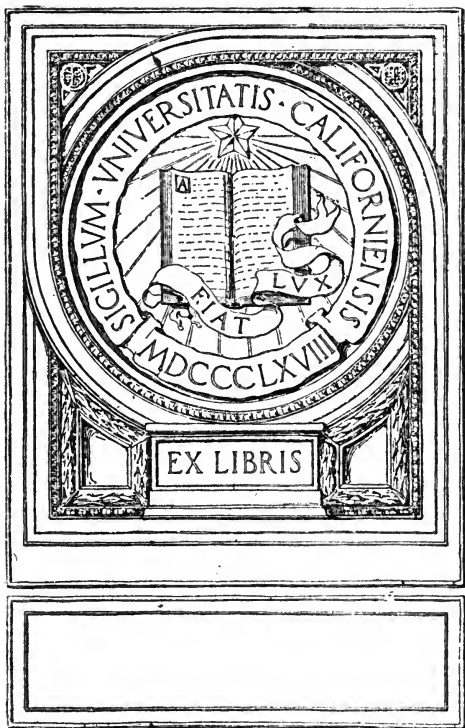
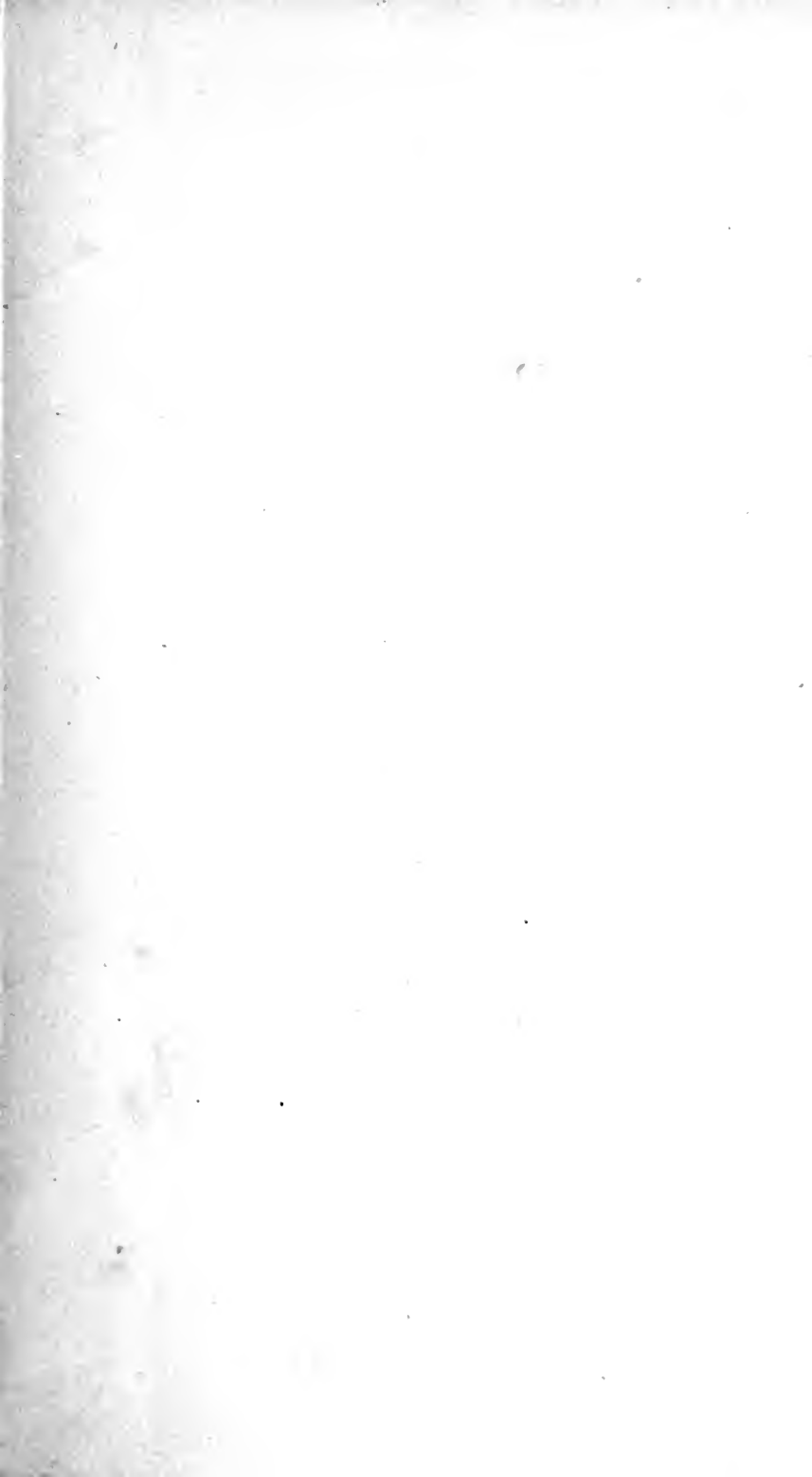


MALCOLM MACCOLL



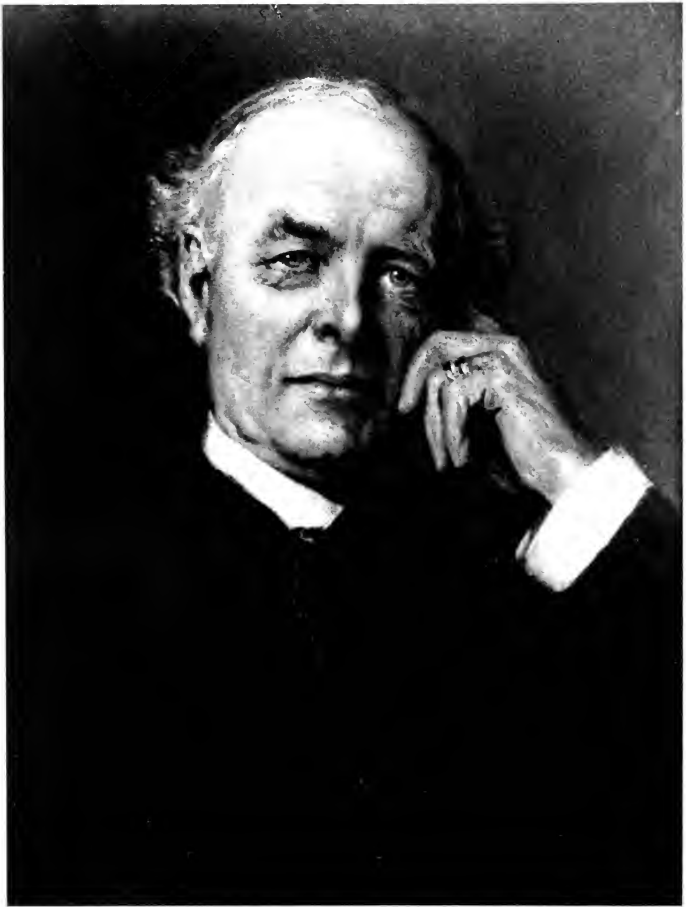




MALCOLM MACCOLL

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Malcolm Macdonald.

MALCOLM MACCOLL

MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE

EDITED BY
THE RIGHT HON.
GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL

*The greatest trust between man and man is the trust of
giving counsel.—BACON.*

WITH A PORTRAIT

LONDON
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1914

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NOTE

THE task of writing this book was undertaken at Mrs. MacColl's request ; and it has been a pleasure to me thus to place on record the character and work of an old and valued friend. For the last thirty years of his life Canon MacColl honoured me with a share of his regard, and in all the principal controversies of that eventful time he and I found ourselves on the same side.

My cordial thanks are due to all those who have been kind enough to supply me with material, and more especially to Lord Salisbury, Lord Bath, Mr. Gladstone's Trustees, and the Literary Executors of Cardinal Newman and Mr. R. H. Hutton.

G. W. E. R.

March 14, 1914.

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MALCOLM MACCOLL

CHAPTER I

BEGINNINGS

I am a member of the suffering and Episcopal Church of Scotland—the shadow of a shade now, and fortunately so—but I love to pray where my fathers prayed before me.—SIR WALTER SCOTT.

MALCOLM MACCOLL was born at Glenfinnan, in the county of Inverness, on March 27, 1831. His father was John MacColl, and, according to a tradition preserved in the family, he was descended from a Jacobite who lost his life and his property for his loyalty to the young Pretender. John MacColl married Martha, daughter of Malcolm Macrae, of Letterfearn in Kintail, a lineal descendant of Malcolm Macrae, who was Constable of Ellandona Castle about the beginning of the sixteenth century. 'The Macraes, who were retainers of the Earl of Seaforth, were a small but warlike clan, who added to their fighting qualities a capacity for learning which greatly increased their importance in the civil and ecclesiastical history of their native county of Ross.'

John and Martha MacColl had, besides two daughters, four sons, of whom Malcolm, or 'Callum,' as he was called in the family, was the third. All were able men, and, in spite of disadvantageous beginnings, attained to creditable positions at home or in the colonies; but it is only with Malcolm that we are here concerned. John MacColl was a tenant-farmer, but sufficiently well educated to teach his four boys elementary Latin, Greek, and mathematics. He died

when the eldest was only fourteen, and the care of the family devolved on the mother, a stern, brave, and religious woman, who spoke only Gaelic. John MacColl, like his fathers before him, belonged to the Episcopal Church, in which his children were baptized and educated; but Mrs. MacColl had been brought up a Presbyterian, and, though she joined the Episcopal Church on her marriage, she 'retained to the end her belief in the Calvinists' doctrine of Predestination, and held rather extreme Presbyterian views about the observance of the Sabbath.' From Glenfinnan Mrs. MacColl moved with her children to the little fishing-port of Kintail, where the children learned to speak English, and from Kintail to Ballachulish. There Malcolm MacColl acquitted himself so well at school that he attracted the favourable regard of a wealthy lady, who sent him to a seminary at Dalkeith where schoolmasters were trained. Having qualified at Dalkeith, he taught successively at Callander, Stonehaven, and Perth. At Callander he was permitted by the Bishop to act as lay-reader at a mission-chapel; and at Perth the Provost of the Cathedral, E. B. K. Fortescue, recognizing his abilities and vocation, encouraged him to enter Trinity College, Glenalmond, as a student in the Divinity Department.¹ 'He walked from Perth to Glenalmond, conning his Greek Testament as he rested on the milestones by the way.' After a preliminary examination, and a further period of study at home, he was admitted to 'the Senior Department' on September 14, 1854, and obtained the assistance of a 'Houblon Exhibition,' given for knowledge of Gaelic. The first Warden of Glenalmond was Charles Wordsworth, who became Bishop of St. Andrews in 1852. He was succeeded in 1854 by John Hannah, afterwards Vicar of Brighton and Archdeacon of Chichester. Among the tutors were George Forrest Browne, afterwards Bishop of Bristol; William Bright, afterwards Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford; and Alfred

¹ Trinity College, Glenalmond, was designed to serve both as a Public School and as a Theological Seminary. Mr. Gladstone and his friend J. R. Hope-Scott were its principal founders. It was opened in September 1847.

Barry, afterwards Bishop of Sydney. To these distinguished men and their colleagues MacColl always expressed lifelong obligation. A note in the College Register illustrates his line of study, by enumerating the following books: the Greek Testament, with Burton's notes; Mant's 'Commentary on the Bible'; Eusebius; Hooker; Pearson on the Creed; Wheatly on the Common Prayer; the Thirty-nine Articles, in Latin and English, with Welchman's notes; Wordsworth's 'Theophilus Anglicanus'; Bates's Lectures on Church History; Russell's 'History of the Church of Scotland'; Whewell's 'Moral Philosophy'; and Trench's 'Synonyms of the New Testament.'

MacColl's personal characteristics seem to have made a vivid impression upon his contemporaries, from whose recollections it is quite easy to construct his portrait. Physically, he was much below the middle size, but well formed, with a massive head and an intellectual brow. He was extremely active and vigorous, a strong swimmer, a keen fisherman, a daring waterman,¹ and a strenuous wrestler. In a friendly encounter with some fellow-students, he 'threw three like ninepins,' but by craft rather than force. 'Being of short stature, he clasped his antagonist low down, hoisted him off his feet so that he had no *point d'appui* beneath him, and then dropped him flat, sideways.' The love of combat, whether physical or mental, was a part of his nature. Argument, or 'controversee' as he pronounced it, for he had not lost his Gaelic accent, was his chief delight. He founded a Debating Society, and there enjoyed himself to the top of his bent, 'quickly getting most of his opponents into tight corners.' Wearying of this experience, the other members of the society passed a resolution that the debate should be conducted in Latin, in which tongue they believed MacColl to be only moderately proficient. But this device 'gave them relief only for a time, because he soon qualified himself to argue in a kind of Latin, probably nearly as good as they could speak themselves.' Even the authorities of the College were not secure from MacColl's argumentative

¹ 'He steered erratically and wildly, so as to make rowing dangerous and landing impossible.'

assaults. He used to interrupt the lectures of Hannah and Bright with puzzling, though not irrelevant, questions, and never was content with an answer which did not satisfy the logical necessities of the case. We are told that his teachers, even when most tenacious of their own opinions, 'recognized his versatility and readiness in eluding a trap or recovering from a slip.' An even more daring venture of controversy is recorded by a contemporary :

'In Perth in 1853 there was a spitfire priest of the Papal persuasion. He gave the clergy of St. Ninian's Cathedral no end of annoyance by provocative pamphlets and spouting. MacColl wrote a reply, characteristic of course; arranged with Masters for its publication, and advertised the fact in the *Guardian*.

"Who is the Malcolm MacColl that advertises a reply in this week's *Guardian*?" said Professor Bright one day at luncheon in the Glenalmond Dining-Hall.

"He is at the table," said the student at Bright's right hand. Bright's face assumed a stony stare. An ominous silence followed, and shortly afterwards MacColl was called before the Warden, who pointed out to him the impropriety of one in his position championing the learned staff of the Cathedral, and the audacity of entering the lists in his half-fledged state against an experienced, unscrupulous, and coarse controversialist, and advised him not to proceed with the publication. MacColl mentioned the financial difficulty he would be in with the publisher. The Warden said he would settle that liability, and so MacColl's reply to the spitfire was still-born. But the Warden, who had read the proofs, said that it was very clever.'

One of MacColl's fellow-students at Glenalmond supplies this interesting comment on the Scottish, as opposed to the English, system of instruction :

'In England the budding mind is so cabined, cribbed, confined, that it buds rarely and shoots sparsely. No expression of independent thinking is allowed. In examinations, the contents of lectures must not be deviated from,

nor questioned, however open to attack. To be *in statu pupillari* is to be in a cage, acting the part of parrot. The result is a plentiful crop of minds without imagination, initiation, or go, holding opinions *minus* premisses—tame minds, that cumber the ground. MacColl went through the two years' course untouched by such taming, and it is doubtful if he, a thoroughbred Kelt, could ever have been tamed into insignificance like a plastic Saxon. The *status pupillaris* may not be thus misused now. I speak of it only as I saw it in my early days under some Double Firsts, who often, as the Irrepressibles grew in intellectual stature, had to sing smaller.'

This early encouragement to the free use of the independent intellect may have accounted for much in the character and career of Malcolm MacColl.

With his fellow-students, as in earlier days with his schoolfellows, MacColl seems to have been generally popular, in spite of some resemblance to Diotrephes in the matter of pre-eminence. They admired his pluck and energy; his conversational gifts, especially in the art of telling ghost-stories; his 'enthusiasm over fine passages' which he encountered in his reading; his manly virtue and earnest piety. One who made a walking-tour with him, and shared his bedroom, said in after years that he 'remembered being impressed by the length of time he took to say his prayers.' Another wrote: 'In all, and through all, his life was white.'

During this period of preparation MacColl had eked out his narrow means by taking private tutorships, but his heart had always been set on Holy Orders, and now the time drew near for his ordination. It had been expected at Glenalmond that he would seek a post where he could minister to Gaelic-speaking Highlanders; but he decided otherwise.

The Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway, from 1848 to 1859, was Walter John Trower, and the following notes are extracted from his Episcopal Journal:

'August 17, 1855.—After much correspondence with members of the Church at Castle Douglas in Galloway, it was about this time resolved to set on foot a Mission at this place.'

'*October 7, 1855.*—Preached at Castle Douglas. First Church in Galloway.'

'*April 28, 1856.*—Ordained. . . . Deacons : . . . Malcolm MacColl, Castle Douglas. . . .'

On this the present Bishop of Glasgow remarks :

'Curiously enough there is no mention of MacColl having been licensed to Castle Douglas. It was, however, not altogether without precedent in former days, when we were short of clergy, to give a Deacon charge of an infant Mission, though afterwards it was forbidden.'

Bishop Trower's Journal continues :

'*September 10, 1856.*—Laid the foundation-stone of the new church (St. Ninian's) at Castle Douglas. The services attended by Provost and Council; and a large number of Presbyterians as well as Church-people. They seemed to be interested and impressed.'

'*August 25, 1857.*—Ordained in St. Mary's, Glasgow : Priests . . . Rev. M. MacColl of Castle Douglas.'

The history of MacColl's early days at Castle Douglas may best be given in his own words written in 1858 :

'I found a congregation composed of some eight or nine county families, who had just then commenced building a church, which promises to be very handsome. There were no poor at all in the congregation; but I am happy to say that the half are now composed of the poor. For a clergyman who should wish to live at ease and enjoy himself I know no place preferable to Castle Douglas. The country is beautiful, and a kinder and more hospitable people than the gentry all round I never met. But to a young clergyman, just commencing his clerical life, Castle Douglas has its dangers. The lightness of his parochial duties, and the pleasant society all round him, have a tendency to make a young man too secular and fond of pleasure. At all events, I felt reluctant to expose myself too much to the temptation; and besides, I was anxious,

if possible, to serve a year or two as curate under an older and more experienced clergyman. Actuated by these considerations, I wrote to the Bishop three months after I had been there, resigning my charge in Castle Douglas, and recommending him to send an older man to succeed me. He replied, in a very kind letter, that he would consult the members of my congregation, and let me know the result; but that, if I should leave Castle Douglas, he hoped I would not leave his diocese, as he could give me another charge. The congregation begged me to stay, and, the Bishop uniting his solicitation with theirs, I consented. However, I still retained my own opinion that an older man would do better for Castle Douglas, and that a charge where I might have more work and less pleasure, would be better for me. So strongly was I impressed with this, that I resigned a second time; but my congregation again persuaded me to withdraw my resignation.

'Things remained in this state till September 1857, when the Bishop was there. The subject was then revived between us; and we parted with the understanding that if the Bishop should hear of a man likely to suit Castle Douglas and of a charge likely to suit me, he would let me know. He volunteered a pledge that my leaving Castle Douglas should be optional with myself, and that he would propose no change *till* he had a charge to offer me equivalent in value to Castle Douglas. The next time I heard from him was in the middle of March 1858, when I had a short note from him, saying that recent circumstances had induced him to think that I had better seek another charge, and that therefore I must consider my licence withdrawn at the end of three months.'

MacColl had been unfortunate in the time and place of his ordination. In 1857 and 1858 the Episcopal Church of Scotland was agitated by a furious controversy, and it was difficult for a young and ardent ecclesiastic to keep quite clear of the theological storm.

In August 1857 the Bishop of Brechin, Alexander Penrose Forbes, delivered to his Diocesan Synod a

long and learned Charge on the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. In this Charge he affirmed the Real Objective Presence and the Eucharistic Sacrifice; he justified Eucharistic Adoration; and he vindicated the Scottish Communion Office, which at that time had in many places been ousted by the English Office. This outspoken utterance alarmed not only the Puritan element in the Church, but also that moderate Anglicanism which had all along been out of sympathy with the higher tradition of Scottish Episcopacy. At the close of 1857 a Declaration (which had been rejected by the College of Bishops) was issued on their own authority by the Bishops of Edinburgh, Argyll, and Glasgow, who strongly controverted the theological position of the Bishop of Brechin. With the later stages of the controversy and the vindication of Eucharistic doctrine in which it issued, we are not here concerned. What concerns us is its bearing on MacColl's position and prospects. The admirers of the three protesting Bishops started Addresses of Thanks to them, and these addresses were circulated for signature alike among clergy and laity. MacColl refused to sign the address, and had the courage to sign a Remonstrance against the three Bishops' declaration. As a result he found himself under his diocesan's displeasure. The Bishop dismissed him from his charge at Castle Douglas, and he felt himself, in his own phrase, 'snuffed out.' At this juncture, with his means of subsistence summarily cut off, and a younger brother dependent on him, he bethought himself of a course which, however little he may have foreseen it at the moment, changed his whole subsequent life. Mr. Gladstone, then M.P. for the University of Oxford, and recently Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Aberdeen's Administration, was known to all men as a zealous and munificent supporter of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. He had been one of the founders of the College of Glenalmond, was a member of its Council, and had maintained a constant interest in its fortunes. To him, by a happy inspiration, MacColl turned in his perplexity, and wrote the following letter:

Castle Douglas, March 26, 1858.

‘SIR,—I will state as briefly as I can the reasons which induce me to obtrude myself on the notice of an eminent statesman, whose time must be much occupied, but whose well-known benevolence encourages me to hope that he will pardon the liberty I take with him.

‘I am a young clergyman in the diocese of Glasgow, and an alumnus of Trinity College, Glenalmond. I have disapproved all along of the agitation against the Bishop of Brechin. I have thought, and still think, that the condemnation, in a published declaration, by the Bishops of Edinburgh, Argyll, and Glasgow, of a case which is to come before them in their judicial capacity, is a violation of every principle of justice and fair play. I have, therefore, in common with fifteen of my brethren, declined to give my signature to an Address of Thanks to the Bishop for his declaration. For doing this the Bishop has availed himself of my not being instituted to the charge of Castle Douglas, and has dismissed me from his diocese. All the members of my congregation, except one lady and one gentleman, have approved of my conduct; and I am sure they would make a demonstration in my favour, if I told them of the Bishop’s summary dismissal of me. But that would not be advisable; and I wish to leave in peace.

‘The effect of the Bishop’s dismissal of me is, in fact, to deprive me of my daily bread; for I am on the unpopular side, and there is no likelihood of my getting a situation in the Scottish Church; while my Scotch Orders shut me out from England.¹ What makes it all the more distressing to me is that I have a young brother who is very talented, and whom I meant to have assisted to an Oxford education. We were both left orphans in early youth, with very little to depend upon.

‘It has just crossed my mind that you might, perhaps, without trouble or inconvenience to yourself, put me in the way of getting a Naval Chaplaincy, or a Tutorship or

¹ By the then existing law a clergyman in Scotch Orders was not eligible for preferment in the Church of England (see p. 20).

Chaplaincy in a family. I have been Private Tutor in the families of Mr. Grant of Kilgraston, Lord Charles Kerr, Sir John Richardson of Pitfour, and Mr. Graham of Gartmore, from all of whom, as well as from my congregation, I can produce the highest testimonials. If you could favour me in this respect, I can only say that my gratitude would be deeper than words can express.

‘As your time has of late been so much occupied by literary pursuits, as well as parliamentary duties, you have probably not had time to read the Bishop of Brechin’s Charge, which was published last June, and of which the laity knew nothing till the unfortunate Declaration of the three Bishops in December appealing to the private judgment of the laity on one of the most mysterious points of our religion. The Bishop’s Charge is a short exposition of what is so ably and devotionally treated in Keble’s beautiful treatise on Eucharistical Adoration. The Bishop had been accused of teaching Transubstantiation, and the Romish worship of the Host; but those who so accuse him cannot have read his Charge, or I don’t very much admire their honesty; for he distinctly protests against those tenets, and even expresses his disapproval of the custom of carrying about the Host in processions. He takes his stand upon the Church of England doctrine, and that of the primitive Church, that Christ is present in the Eucharist really and objectively, though not materially or carnally; and that to Christ so present—not to the elements of bread and wine—adoration (*λατρεία*) is due. Now, if it be allowed that Christ is present in the Eucharist really and Personally, though mysteriously and transcendently, surely no mortal man has a right to say that He is not to be adored. It seems to me that we cannot deny Eucharistical adoration without denying the Objective Presence in the Eucharist, and falling back on the mere subjective theory, or on that of the old Scotch Non-jurors, that Christ is present only by virtue and efficacy. Dean Ramsay’s theory, published lately in a sermon, seems a sort of conglomeration of these two. But, when we speak of Christ’s Real Presence in the Eucharist, surely we mean

something different from a mere affluence; surely the expression itself proves that the Presence of Christ in the Eucharist is different from the grace of Baptism not only in degree, but in kind. But we never speak of the Real Presence of Christ in Baptism.

‘Again, the Bishop says that the Eucharistic Sacrifice is “substantially the same” with the Sacrifice on the Cross. The expression is an unfortunate one; for it is liable to misconception, and has been misconceived, though the Bishop uses it in a sense which, I am sure, must appear orthodox to any sound Churchman. What the Bishop means is simply this: that in the Eucharistic Sacrifice the benefits purchased once for all on the Cross are applied and extended to Christians. The Sacrifice of Christ on the Cross was “a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world” considered in the abstract. But men are not only one by their unity of nature: they are also individuals by the gift of personality and free will. The Incarnation and Death of Christ elevated and reconstructed *humanity*, but they did not affect the individuals of that race, except in so far as they affected the nature common to all. It seemed good to God, however, to appoint a sacramental organization for conveying to individual members of mankind the benefits purchased for the whole race on Calvary. Those benefits are peculiarly bestowed on the Eucharist, through which flows mystically “for the healing of the nations” the Precious Blood shed once for all in agony on Calvary. Christ is perpetually offering himself, as “a Lamb as it had been slain,” in the inner shrine above; and, by His own appointment, His priests on earth are offering the “image,” as Keble expresses it, of what He is offering above in the actual verity of His manhood. This, and nothing else, is what the Bishop of Brechin means by saying that the Sacrifice of the Eucharist is “substantially the same” with the Sacrifice on the Cross. And yet he has been stigmatized as a “Jesuit in disguise,” and a “traitor within the camp”; and three of his own brethren—who are hereafter to sit in judgment upon him—have heralded the cry! I know from the Bishop himself

that the explanation which I have given of his Charge is the correct one.

‘Of course I would not have presumed to give this explanation of the Bishop of Brechin’s Charge to one who has added a deep knowledge of theology to his other accomplishments, if I had thought that you had read the Charge. There are few books from which I have derived more instruction than from your treatise on “Church Principles considered in their Results.”’

‘I have written very frankly, and I fear too boldly, to one so immeasurably my superior in every way; but I think you will not take it amiss. I use no words of adulation when I say that I should look upon it as a very great calamity if I were inadvertently to offend a man whom I admire so much. . . .

‘MALCOLM MACCOLL.’

To this letter Gladstone sent a remarkably kind reply, sympathizing with MacColl’s difficulties and offering to help him in the matter of his younger brother’s education.¹ MacColl conveyed his thanks in the following words :

‘I cannot sufficiently express in words the debt of gratitude I owe you for what you kindly say with respect to my brother’s education. It is my privilege to have some friends among several good families in Scotland; but I am afraid I should make but a sorry mendicant. I don’t think I should ever sum up courage to ask any of my friends for pecuniary assistance towards my brother’s education. It was my intention to try and save out of my own income a sum sufficient to keep my brother at Oxford; and if God should give me a situation, perhaps I may be able to do so still. At any rate, I shall always remember with gratitude your kind offer to interest yourself in the matter.’

On May 30, 1858, he wrote as follows :

‘I find that I am tabooed by the Bishops for signing the clerical remonstrance to them, and I am sorry to say

¹ Hugh MacColl, afterwards Master at the Collège Communal, Boulogne-sur-Mer, author of *Algebraical Exercises and Problems*, &c.

the door of the Scottish Episcopal Church is closed against me. It is very hard to be thus excluded from a Church which I love, and to which I am convinced I am as loyal, in my own humble sphere, as any of the Bishops in their exalted stations. But we have all our crosses, and I must not repine. I hardly know what to do.'

On leaving Castle Douglas, MacColl spent some time with his friends, the Grants of Kilgraston; and then, seeing no prospect of clerical employment in Scotland, he betook himself to London. On November 4, 1858, he wrote to Gladstone: 'I cannot help feeling melancholy, and somewhat wretched, at being, as I am, forcibly expatriated from my native country.' But, though expatriated, he was not friendless. The Rev. John Charles Chambers (1817-1874) had been head of the seminary where MacColl was trained for a schoolmaster, and was now Incumbent of St. Mary-the-Virgin, Soho. He welcomed his former pupil with open arms, and assigned to him a work which MacColl thus described:

'I accepted, without salary, the Principalship of an establishment in Carlisle Street, Soho. I believe that a large majority of the young men who go astray in London do so, not from any love of sin for its own sake, but from the dreariness of a solitary lodging. They go forth to seek in forbidden haunts the counterfeits of those innocent recreations and that cheerful society which they left behind them at home. It is very sad to see a young man who possesses, it may be, the elements of real greatness of mind, morally, if not temporally, ruined for lack of the external *χορηγία* which might have kept him on the true road to happiness. Carlisle House is intended to supply this want. . . . It offers, as far as may be, a substitute for home.'

But, although this work was both interesting and congenial, it was impossible for MacColl to continue long in an unpaid office. At this moment his difficulties were great and pressing. On March 5, 1859, he wrote to Gladstone that he was convinced that the Scottish Bishops would

refuse to employ a man who rejected the Protestant doctrine of the Eucharist, and said that he 'would rather break stones on the road all his life' than accept their ruling on the point:

'I only hope the unwise conduct of the Bishops will not have the effect of driving any of our communion to Rome. When one is told that the doctrine which he holds cannot be held without treason, except in the Church of Rome, and that if he is consistent he will join that Church, there is a strong temptation to put one's fingers in one's ears, and shut one's eyes, and make a blind leap across to Rome, with a sort of confused hope that it *may* be better, and cannot be worse, than the communion one is leaving. I have felt that temptation; but I pray God I may not, in a fit of impatient vexation, do that which I should probably repent of all my life afterwards.

'And now, dear Mr. Gladstone, good-bye, and believe that, wherever Providence may cast my future lot, I shall never forget your kindness.'

He applied unsuccessfully for various tutorships, for a naval chaplaincy, an army chaplaincy, and an Indian chaplaincy. He offered himself for the Mission-field. He secured an appointment under the Bishop of Nelson, which failed him when he made all his arrangements for starting. At every turn he found himself, on account of his part in the Scottish controversy, a marked man. All the doors of ecclesiastical employment seemed closed to him; and, in his despair, he thought of undertaking some secular employment. On July 18, 1859, he wrote:

'All I want is to gain an honest livelihood, and I am not too proud to accept any respectable situation. Under the circumstances, I do not think there would be anything wrong in my employing myself in a secular capacity. Bishop Wordsworth distinctly told me, at our interview, that I had only two courses before me—"either to accept the decision of the Bishops, or to retire into lay communion." I have twice been promised an Indian Chaplaincy, and been

twice disappointed; and now I see nothing for it, but to embrace Bishop Wordsworth's second alternative. I certainly will not acquiesce in the Bishops' decision, come what will. . . .

'Well, it cannot be helped. I would do all over again what I have already done. I have obeyed my conscience, and, I hope, it shall never be said of me that I deserted a party with whom I sympathized, because they were unpopular and persecuted. If God sees it good for me to suffer distress and loss of friends, I must try not to repine.'

During the autumn of 1859 he spent some weeks at the college founded by Mr. G. F. Boyle (afterwards Lord Glasgow), in the Isle of Cumbrae. In the winter of that year he visited Italy, and studied for a while at the University of Naples. In 1860 he established himself in Aberdeen, officiating, under the Bishop's licence, at St. John's Church; but his active participation in the Eucharistic controversy, which was still raging, made it likely that he would soon be deprived of even that modest office. The Incumbent of St. John's, Aberdeen, was the Rev. Patrick Cheyne, who was suspended by the Bishop from his sacerdotal functions for teaching a doctrine of the Eucharist similar to that taught by Bishop Forbes. MacColl boldly flung himself into the fighting line. In 1860 he preached, and published, an Eucharistic sermon called 'Christ's Presence no Blessing to the Unworthy'; and in the same year addressed an open letter to Mr. Gladstone, called 'Mr. Cheyne and the Bishop of Brechin.' In a private letter dated March 14, 1860, he expressed a conviction that he would soon be put out of his 'Stewardship,' adding these characteristic words:

'I am not in quite so bad a case as the Unjust Steward. God has given me youth and health; and if matters come to the worst, I *can* "dig." After all, £100 a year—the maximum income of most of our clergy—is not so great an inducement that one should play the coward, and sacrifice his self-respect for the sake of it. I do not wish, however, to judge others harshly. If I had a wife and children

—as, unfortunately, most of our poor clergy have—I should probably be as cautious and timid as any of them. A better feeling than remorse or self-interest often “makes cowards of us all.” I know that many have shrunk back in this controversy, who are much better Christians than I; and therefore it would be very wrong of me to find fault with them.’

CHAPTER II

TRANSITION

The more I look into the Church of England, the more do I recognize the marks of a true Apostolical Church.—EDWARD IRVING.

THE moment had now arrived for MacColl's transition from the service of the Scottish Episcopal Church to that of the Church of England. His engagement at Aberdeen had come to an end, and, despairing of fair play north of the Tweed, he determined to seek clerical employment in England. The Church of St. Barnabas, Pimlico, then under the incumbency of the Rev. George Cosby White,¹ was one of the strongholds of Catholicism in London, and thither MacColl turned his steps. Mr. White thus records the incident: 'Mr. Humble, who was at that time on the staff of St. Ninian's, Perth, sent Mr. MacColl to call upon me, with a request that I would do what I could to find work for him in London. He expressed a wish to be connected with St. Barnabas. At that time clergy who had received Scottish Orders were under a disability, and not allowed to minister in England beyond a fixed period. (I think not more than a fortnight.) I was in want of help at the time, and advised MacColl to see Bishop Tait and find whether he was disposed to grant him a temporary licence. The two Scotsmen arranged a *concordat*, and MacColl joined the staff at St. Barnabas *pro tem.*'²

¹ Still (1914) spared to the Church which he has so long served.

² It may interest some readers of this book to know that one of the most diligent workers in MacColl's 'district' was a young bride, Mrs. Pascoe Glyn.

On Easter Tuesday, April 2, 1861, MacColl wrote to Mr. Gladstone :

‘I have been officiating as one of the curates of St. Barnabas for the last six weeks with the Bishop of London’s Licence. I became acquainted with him through the Grants of Kilgraston. My Licence has to be renewed every fortnight; and the Bishop has kindly offered to renew it as often as I wish. He told me that a Bill would soon be introduced into Parliament for the repeal of the Disabilities.’

Then, turning from his own affairs, MacColl referred to current reports that Gladstone intended to retire from the representation of the University of Oxford, and expressed an earnest hope that they were unfounded.

‘For my own part, if you will pardon me for saying so, I believe it would be a great calamity for the cause of Religion in England if you were at this time to resign your seat. As regards personal influence, I believe that Mr. Jowett occupies, to a certain extent, the place which Newman left vacant. A distinguished man at Oxford told me that “the young intellect of Oxford was at Jowett’s feet.” Surely, then, it is very important that Oxford should be represented by a man in whom the most varied learning and the highest gifts of intellect are united with the fullest belief in the truths which the “*Essays and Reviews*” impugn.¹ Young men are, on the whole, rather feeling, than reasoning, animals. One example will do more to convince them than a thousand arguments.

‘Did the Essayists really see the abyss to which their speculations tend, surely they would feel that, before attempting to sift facts, they ought to make sure that they have a firm hold of true and eternal principles. To unsettle the minds of a generation, when you give them no land-marks and no causeway across the morass, is to undertake a great responsibility; and this the Essayists have done.’

¹ *Essays and Reviews* was published in February 1860.

On August 28 he wrote to Mr. Gladstone :

‘ I am still at St. Barnabas by the kind permission of the Bishop of London. If the Disabilities are removed, I should like no better situation ; but, as it is, I am allowed no salary. However, I think I can manage to hang on till next Session, when I hope something will be done to remove the Disabilities.’

St. Barnabas was a daughter-church of St. Paul’s, Knightsbridge, and MacColl was now transferred to St. Paul’s. On June 23, 1862, he wrote to Mr. Gladstone :

‘ Many thanks for your kind note about the Disabilities. The Bishop still consents to my officiating at St. Paul’s ; but of course I am at the mercy of Mr. Westerton.’¹

Early in the following year, MacColl, who was always desirous to see the world, accepted an engagement as Domestic Chaplain to the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg,² and tutor to his sons. His impressions of religion in Russia are given in a letter of April 5, 1863 :

‘ I am very much disappointed in the Russian Church. The Parish Priests, or White Clergy, as they are called, are ignorant and indolent. They never visit the poor, and they are despised by the upper classes. How, indeed, can it be otherwise, so long as the priesthood is a degraded caste ? As a rule, a Russian priest must bring up his sons as priests ; and, if a nobleman enters the ranks of the White Clergy, he forfeits his nobility and all his privileges for himself and his family for ever. You never meet a priest in the upper grades of society. Yet outwardly the Russians pay the most obsequious respect to their priests. If, on some formal occasion, a priest *should* find his way into the house of a nobleman, the lady of the house kisses his hand with every demonstration of respect, and he leads the way into the dining-room. But this theoretical reverence is coupled with practical contempt. Whatever religion there

¹ The Protestant churchwarden of St. Paul’s, Knightsbridge.

² Lord Napier and Ettrick.

is, is confined to the lower classes. They are certainly very religious; but they are very ignorant. The monks are called Black Clergy; but it is a case where black is white. They are far superior to the secular Clergy. Their ranks are occasionally recruited from the upper classes; because, as they are under a vow of celibacy, it does not matter to a nobleman whether he loses his nobility or not, by becoming a monk. The Bishops are chosen from the Black Clergy. A number of Russians communicate in the English Church here at Easter. Every Russian who holds a public appointment, in the army or elsewhere, must, at every Easter, produce a certificate of having communicated *somewhere*. So many of them—to avoid Confession in their own Church, I fear—communicate in the English Church. The late Count Nesselrode went to Church one day, and only one day, in the year; and that was to receive the Holy Communion in the English Church at Easter.’

While acting as chaplain to Lord Napier, MacColl was offered the incumbency of the English Congregation at St. Petersburg; but this he declined, and by February 1864 was back in England, and again officiating at St. Barnabas, Pimlico; whence, on July 12, he wrote as follows to Mr. George Moffatt, M.P. for Honiton:

‘May I remind you, as you kindly asked me, that the Bill for the removal of the Disabilities¹ of the Scottish Episcopal Clergy comes on for the Second Reading to-morrow? I hear that those two arch-bigots, Mr. Arthur Kinnaird and Mr. Newdegate, intend to oppose it, and I hope you will do your best to defeat their attempt. Is it not absurd, and “a disgrace to the Statute-Book,” as Sir G. C. Lewis once said in the House of Commons, that I should still be punished because my ancestors a century or more ago were Jacobites, and would not pray for the Hanoverian Dynasty? For that is literally the ground upon which the Disabilities were imposed.’

¹ These disabilities were removed by Act of Parliament at the end of the Session of 1864.

From St. Barnabas MacColl again transferred himself to St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, receiving the Lambeth Degree of M.A. from Archbishop Longley in October 1864. One of his clerical colleagues writes :

' We were for three years together curates of St. Paul's, and, as we lived next door to one another in Lyall Place, we had breakfast at each other's lodgings alternately. He was a hot-blooded Highlander, with a bull-dog tenacity; very loyal and affectionate to friends, but a merciless opponent.'

The mercilessness here attributed to MacColl pertained exclusively to his character as a public controversialist. In private life he was the most peaceable and placable of men. But when he took his pen in hand to defend some cause in which he believed, or to attack wrong-doing, or even to expose what he esteemed fallacious reasoning, he smote and spared not. We have already seen that, even in his student-days, he essayed a theological controversy with an unscrupulous foe; and, when he had reached the maturity of his powers, Gladstone pronounced him the best pamphleteer in England. The Catalogue of the British Museum reveals him as the author of twenty-three books and tracts, besides prefaces, introductions, and the like; and of these at least seventeen are clearly controversial. Over and above the works avowed with his name, he wrote a great deal under the signature of 'Scrutator,' while his anonymous contributions to the daily, weekly, monthly, and quarterly Press were incessant and innumerable. He was leader-writer, reviewer, special commissioner, and purveyor of exclusive information. His correspondence proves him to have been on confidential terms with the Editors of the *Times*, the *Daily News*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Daily Chronicle*, the *Guardian*, the *Spectator*, and the *Saturday Review*; and he seems to have never been so happy as when he was working these various oracles in the interests of the men and the causes that he held dear.

CHAPTER III

GLADSTONIANISM

What is Romance? The world well lost for an idea—is not that the essence of it?—CHARLES BIGG.

By this time MacColl had become a devoted follower of Mr. Gladstone; alike in politics, in theology, and in the mixed sphere where religion and citizenship meet.¹ The General Election of 1865 was at hand, and everyone knew that Gladstone's seat at Oxford was seriously imperilled by the strenuous attack of Gathorne Hardy, afterwards Lord Cranbrook. MacColl, having no connexion with Oxford, could only have an indirect influence on the affairs of the University; but what influence he had he used with unsparing diligence. The following letter to Gladstone is an amusing illustration of his methods:

'May 6, 1865.—A Political Biography of you by a Mr. Masheder,² a Cambridge man, and one of the principal writers on the staff of the *Standard* newspaper, has been sent to me for review. It is, of course, written with the view of damaging your prospects at the next Oxford Election; but it will certainly have the very opposite effect; for Mr. Masheder's object is to prove—and I think he does it very successfully—that you have been a consistent High Churchman all your life, and a consistent Liberal since 1842-3, when you found

¹ In later years he sometimes used the signature of 'Ex-Tory.'

² *The Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone, M.P. etc.: A political review.* By R. Masheder.

that the idea of the Church developed in your book on Church and State was utterly repudiated by the Tories. He admits, on behalf of the Tories, that they know nothing of the Church of England, except as a "Protestant Establishment"; and he rejects with scorn the notion of the Church having any existence or reality apart from the State. He scolds the University of Oxford, in no measured terms, for having repeatedly elected so consistent a Liberal and so "Tractarian" a Churchman as yourself. At the same time, Mr. Masheder is not a Low Churchman. He abuses, with impartial vituperation, the Tractarians, Evangelicals, and Broad Church School—every school, in fact, which would stir up, independently of political considerations, the spiritual energies of the Church. His idea evidently is, that the Church of England is a political institution ordained by Providence to help the Tories against the Whigs. It must have been in a fit of judicial insanity that the Tories were induced to put forward such a champion at this moment to fight their battle at Oxford. The book has fallen like a shell among your High Church opponents. It has only been out a few days, and it has already to my knowledge, converted several of your opponents.

'My object, however, in writing this note, is to obtain information on the two following points :

'Were you not rejected by the Borough of Newark in 1845, because you were too Liberal? And did not the Tories oppose your election for Oxford in 1847 on the same ground? I cannot obtain any certain information on the subject, though I have asked several persons. Will you, therefore, kindly pardon me for applying to yourself directly?

'You will be amused to hear that Mr. Masheder solemnly decides that you have no claim whatever to the title of an orator; and just as little to that of a financier. He thinks that, if the Tories had been in power for the last six years, the finances of the nation would now be in a very different condition; and I am inclined to agree with him. His book, however, is valuable in one respect: he has proved

to demonstration, from *Hansard*, that every argument which is urged against your election in 1865 was equally valid at every previous election.'

In reply, Gladstone gave the required information, which MacColl promptly embodied in a vigorous pamphlet called 'Mr. Gladstone and Oxford,' by 'Scrutator.' It appears from this pamphlet that there were six grounds on which Gladstone's opponents had attacked him with special vigour. First, that he had maintained the 'natural rights of man' as the basis of the Franchise; that he had voted for a Dissenters' Burial Bill; that he favoured the Abolition of Tests; that he had threatened the Irish Church; that he supported the 'Conscience Clause' in schools; and that Professor Jowett was on his committee. MacColl took these charges point by point, denying some, extenuating others, justifying Gladstone's conduct in all; and urging the supremacy of his claims as a representative of churchmanship and learning. The pamphlet is cogently argued, vigorously worded, and full of those recriminating allusions which politicians love. It was certainly a very remarkable production for a London curate, educated in Scotland, and hitherto unversed in political warfare.

On July 8, 1865, the Rev. J. G. Cazenove wrote from the College at Cumbrae (of which he was Canon, and afterwards Provost):

'I am very much obliged to you for the copy of your pamphlet, which seems to me very cogent and masterly. . . .

'Mr. Gladstone's second son¹ is reading with me here, and a very nice, modest, unassuming person he seems to be.'

However, Mr. Masheder and his friends carried the day. Gladstone lost the seat, but was returned 'unmuzzled,' as he said, for South Lancashire. On Lord Palmerston's death in the following October, Lord Russell became Prime Minister, with Gladstone as Leader of the House of Commons.

¹ Stephen Edward Gladstone, afterwards Rector of Hawarden.

In February 1866 the Government introduced a very moderate Reform Bill, which was defeated in the House of Commons by the discontented Liberals whom Bright likened to the dwellers in the Cave of Adullam. Gladstone, set free from office, spent the autumn and winter of 1866 in Italy, and on the eve of his departure received the following letter from MacColl, who was staying in Ireland with Colonel Greville-Nugent, afterwards Lord Greville :

‘ Clonyn Castle, Delvin, September 19, 1866.—I am very glad to hear that your speeches are in the press, and so is Colonel Greville-Nugent. I suppose we shall see them advertised soon, and then I shall be able to get a copy ; for I do not know at present the name of your publisher. Colonel Nugent sends his best regards, and trusts that you will, while abroad, lay in a store of good health for the conduct of the next Liberal Campaign, which, he feels sure, will lead to victory. He is very anxious to see a cordial union and co-operation between the English and Irish Liberals ; but he is somewhat doubtful whether the Dublin banquet to Mr. Bright will contribute to that desirable result. A great deal will depend on the character of Mr. Bright’s speech.

‘ I went to the Parish Church here last Sunday, and a more melancholy sight I never beheld. The congregation consisted of five county families, who spend the season in London ; so that the congregation must consist in the summer of the Incumbent’s family. There were no poor, and I never saw so undevotional a congregation. During the prayers no one knelt. Some stood, with their backs to the altar and the officiating clergyman, and one knee resting on the seat ; some sat ; and others reclined in the half empty pews, nursing one leg stretched at full length on the cushioned seat. During the singing not more than half the congregation stood up, and the same during the reading of the Gospel. The more I see of the Irish Church, the more I feel that there is no life in it, and that it is simply cumbering the ground.

‘What a pity that a race so gifted and so genial as the Irish cannot be conciliated and turned into friends! The racy sprightliness of the peasantry is charming. It is impossible to converse with an Irish peasant for half an hour without hearing some sparkling wit. He plays even with his own sorrows, and gilds them over with his rich imagination. I had an instance of this the other day. A poor Irishman was complaining, with a rueful countenance, that he was very hungry, and he summed up by declaring that he was “as empty as a lantern, wid the divil a bit of anything inside of him but the light of his own conscience.” Certainly the most poetical description of an empty stomach I ever saw or heard of.’

The chief event of 1867 was the Tory Reform Bill, by which Lord Derby and Disraeli, having in the previous summer defeated the much more modest proposals of the Liberal Government, created Household Suffrage in the towns. MacColl was duly indignant at this remarkable tergiversation, and felt certain that many of the Scottish Tories, who gave Disraeli a triumphal banquet in Edinburgh on October 29, in their hearts disliked this ‘glorification of successful treachery and unparalleled hypocrisy.’ However, he could bear no active part in the controversies of the autumn and winter, for, having failed in his application for an Inspectorship of Schools, he had been selected to travel for a year with a son of Mr. J. G. Hubbard, afterwards Lord Addington, whose wife was a sister of Lord Napier and Ettrick. He spent the winter in Italy, and, when he returned to England, he found the country in great excitement over the prospects of the Established Church in Ireland. Gladstone had succeeded Lord Russell as Leader of the Liberal party at Christmas 1867, and on March 16, 1868, he announced his determination—for his speech amounted to this—to disestablish the Irish Church. He had foreshadowed something of the kind in a speech in Parliament in 1865 and in a letter to Dr. Hannah; but he was then hampered by official responsibilities, and by

membership of a Cabinet in which he was not paramount. Now he was his own master, and he soon made his intentions clear. Here was an opportunity after MacColl's own heart, and he jumped at it. On May 30, 1868, he wrote to Gladstone in the following words :

‘ I am anxious to write something on the present state of affairs, and especially with the view of showing how thoroughly consistent your present conduct is with your previous utterances on Ecclesiastical questions. I also wish to show, from my recent experience in Italy, that the policy of our Bishops with respect to the Irish Church is the counterpart of the policy of the Court of Rome in Italy—a policy which is driving the whole Italian nation into infidelity. And above all, I wish to do my best to pay Disraeli out for his ridiculous, but really wicked, cry of a conspiracy between Ritualists and Irish Romanists. The plain truth is, as I know well, that all the hot-headed fools among the Ritualists, the men who have done all the mischief, have been all along, and are now, ardent supporters of Mr. Disraeli. Their organs, the *Church Times*, and the *Church News*, and the extinct *Union* newspaper, are ever crying him up and running you down. The *Church Times* and *Church News* are still fighting his battle, and the Editor of the latter, the Rev. F. G. Lee, is an intimate friend of Mr. Disraeli, and his confidential adviser on Church matters. I shall take care to let the public know this in time for the General Election.

‘ I paid a visit last week to my friend Mr. Bright¹ at Oxford, and to my great joy found him and several other leading men who were on Mr. G. Hardy's Committee at the Oxford Election in 1865, now enthusiastic in your favour generally, as well as on the Irish Church. In fact, Mr. Disraeli has made Liberals of them; they are so utterly disgusted with himself and his wretched government, and have lost all confidence in Mr. Hardy and his “ great swelling words.” ’

¹ Afterwards Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History.

Parliament was dissolved in November 1868. The result of the General Election was a majority of 100 pledged to Irish Disestablishment, and Gladstone became for the first time Prime Minister. On March 1 he introduced his Irish Church Bill, of which the cardinal principles were that the Irish Church should cease to be established; that its property, subject to certain just reservations, should be applied to purposes of secular beneficence; and that there should be no 'Concurrent Endowment' of competing sects, although in some important quarters this device was highly favoured. MacColl immediately came forward with a strong plea for the Bill, under the title 'Is there not a Cause?'

The Irish Church Bill, substantially unaltered, received the Royal Assent on July 26, 1869; and, only three months later, Gladstone created what Bishop Wilberforce called 'a very unwholesome and threatening excitement' by nominating Dr. Temple, Head Master of Rugby (and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), for the See of Exeter. People who remembered and resented Temple's connexion with 'Essays and Reviews,' flooded the papers with protests; and none protested so vehemently as Dr. Pusey. MacColl flew to the support of his leader.

'October 16, 1869.—Mr. Cazenove¹ knows Dr. Temple well; and, being himself a very able man, as well as a thorough Churchman, I think his opinion is important. I have quoted it in a letter to next week's *Guardian*, but without mentioning his name. I hope to induce him to write to the *Guardian* himself.

'I am simply shocked by Dr. Pusey's letter. It is so un-Christian and so unreasoning, as well as inaccurate in one or two facts. I thought he was capable of taking a more enlarged view of such a question. He will not carry the High Church party with him. The *Church Times* of yesterday goes clean against him, and the *Church Review* supports him but lamely; and I hope to make its support still lamer next week.

¹ See p. 24.

‘I do not know whether you would like the *Guardian* to say anything in particular next week. If so, there will be time, if you will kindly write by return of post.’

The principal business of the Session of 1870 was Gladstone’s Irish Land Bill, and MacColl was soon at work in the Press, but found himself not seldom hampered by editorial interference. On March 3 he wrote to Gladstone:

‘On reflection, I feel pretty certain that it must have been Delane¹ himself who polished up my article. After seeing Mr. Glyn² and talking with him on the subject, I came home and jotted down the heads of the sort of article I thought would answer. I then called on the Editor in the afternoon, after 3, and talked the matter over with him. He said it was a matter that required consideration, but that if I would write such an article as I thought would do, he would think about it. I came home, after calling on the Editor of the *Guardian* in my way, and could not have reached here before 5. I then sat down and wrote the article very hurriedly; and, having another article on hand that evening, I sent off the former without looking it over, and with a note, saying that if the Editor thought it would do, and would send it me back, I would polish it up for publication. He made up his mind, however, to publish it the following day; and therefore he could not have had time to send it to anybody else, as he had not time to send it to myself. He must therefore have done it himself.’

A great event of this year was the decennial performance of the Passion Play at Ober-Ammergau. That solemnity was then little known to English people, and MacColl, who had been struck by an account of it in the Baroness Tautphoeus’s novel, ‘Quits,’ thought that it would furnish good material for some papers in the *Times*. In reply to his suggestion, Delane wrote:

‘I don’t think we can offer you a mission to report the Passion Play, but if you are going to make a holiday trip

¹ J. T. Delane, Editor of the *Times* from 1841 to 1877.

² George Glyn, the Liberal Whip, afterwards Lord Wolverton.

and will send a few letters to the value of, say, £20, we should be very glad to have them.'

MacColl thus describes the journey :

' I started with a friend, taking picturesque Nuremberg by the way. The first day of the Passion Play that year was Whit-Sunday, and we arrived at Ober-Ammergau early the previous Saturday. The village contained no hotel or inn or restaurant of any sort. The visitors were distributed among the inhabitants, or encamped in the fields. Before leaving England we had bespoken lodgings at the house of the schoolmaster, who was the conductor of the Passion Play that year.

' At that time, and probably still, people were known during the period of the Play by their dramatic names. You lodged at the house of Caiaphas or Peter, or Judas, or a Pharisee, as the case might be. The days preceding began with Mass in the parish church. The Play opened at night. There was then no permanent theatre as now. It was a wooden structure open to the sky, except a small part of the stage and of the gallery in the auditorium. In the front row of this covered part was a stately chair intended for the King of Bavaria. But he was not able to be present at a first representation, and the seat of honour was given to me, for it became known that I was to send a report to the *Times*. The audience consisted of some four thousand people ; all except a very small sprinkling were natives of the hills and valleys of Bavaria, who came to fulfil an ancestral vow, not to witness a spectacle : and they behaved throughout as worshippers, not as spectators. The weather consisted of alternations of sunshine and thunderstorms, but the audience, or rather congregation, sat through it all drenched to the skin. No notes were allowed to be taken visibly. But, favoured by the amplitude of my seat, I was able to write down hurriedly the leading features and incidents of the play. After it was over, I returned to Munich and wrote my report of the whole performance to Delane. . . . The greater part of my report appeared the

following day, and filled a whole page of the *Times*. The remainder, which filled nearly half a page, appeared two days afterwards. It was published as "from an Occasional Correspondent," and I received a cheque for £35 instead of the £20 which Delane had promised me. Very few people in England at that time knew anything about the Ober-Ammergau Play, and my report of it took the public by surprise. Delane forwarded to me many letters which were addressed to him, expressing the hope that my anonymous report might be published separately; so I asked Delane's permission to publish it. He consented, and I republished my report accordingly in the form of a small book, with an Introduction on Miracle Plays and Passion Plays, longer than the report itself. The book went rapidly through many editions, and, the *Times* being read by everybody, crowds immediately started for Ober-Ammergau, and other newspapers sent special reporters. I have sometimes regretted since then that I ever published a report of the Play. For, although I am told that the villagers still retain their simple habits and religious character, it is scarcely in human nature not to have some of the fervour taken out of their enthusiasm. But doubtless the interval of ten years helps to prevent the representation being vulgarized or made commonplace: it will ever live in my memory as the most wonderful combination of reverence and splendid dramatic acting of the most sublime scenes in the history of mankind. It would seem impossible beforehand—it certainly seemed to me—to act the part of the Christus especially, without shocking one's feelings of reverence and religious propriety. But that part was so wonderfully acted as not to grate even upon the most sensitive mind. I suppose the explanation of this is that the *dramatis personæ* acted their various parts with an entire absence of self-consciousness. They were not acting a play but performing a series of acts of devotion.

'The Franco-German War broke out two months before the Play was to have been finished, and it had thus to be stopped in the middle, for the men liable for service had

to join the army; the Christus, in consideration of the part he played, was sent to attend the wounded in the hospitals. Certain local charities are supported by the profits of the Play, and on this account the performance was allowed to be repeated the following year. I went to see it a second time; and I may express my feeling of the difference between the two representations by the difference between a worshipping congregation and a well-behaved and decorous audience of spectators. Most of the audience on the second occasion were foreigners from many lands, while on the first occasion they were native to the soil.'

On July 16, 1870, MacColl wrote thus to Gladstone:

'I saw a good deal of Dr. Döllinger during the four days I spent in Munich on my way to Ober-Ammergau. . . .

'Dr. Döllinger wished me to send his kind regards to you, and I rather gathered from what he said that a letter of sympathy from you would be very gratifying to him. He is at present busily engaged on a work on the Papacy. He showed me the plan of the book, and I should think it will make a sensation when it appears. The work is to appear in parts, and in the form of historical letters, so as to enable him to deal with a great variety of subjects while aiming at a certain degree of unity. Dr. Döllinger is confident that his cause will triumph in the end, though probably long after he has left the scene.

'I was much impressed while in Germany with the way in which the people, soldiers and civilians alike, bear their triumph over France. I saw everywhere a feeling of quiet satisfaction that the unity of Germany was secured. But there was no bravado and no thirst for military glory or foreign aggression. Through the parts of the country which I have traversed the yearning everywhere was for an enduring peace. As far as I could judge, Bismarck is admired, but not loved, and I have heard the old King's pious despatches more than once severely criticized. The praises of the Crown Prince, on the other hand, are in everyone's mouth.'

MacColl to Gladstone

‘September 9, 1871.—The enclosed extract from the *Rock* may amuse you. I never knew before that I was presented to my present living for having written the famous article in the *Edinburgh Review*. Indeed, it was new to me that I was even suspected of having written it; but I am now told that I am generally credited with the authorship!’

This letter requires a word of comment. In April 1871 MacColl was presented by Gladstone to the benefice of St. George’s, Botolph Lane, in the City of London. The ‘famous article’ to which the *Rock* attributed his preferment was really written by Gladstone. It appeared in October 1870, under the title of ‘Germany, France, and England’; and Gladstone said subsequently that he had intended it to be really, as well as formally, anonymous. But it was not odd that MacColl should have got the credit of it, for he had published, as ‘Scrutator,’ a pamphlet on the same subject, called ‘Who is Responsible for the War?’

It seems, in the retrospect, that in accepting St. George’s, MacColl acted unwisely. He was not well fitted for the position of a parish priest. He was an eloquent and forcible preacher, and, though he always disclaimed the title of ‘ritualist,’ he had a keen sense for beauty and propriety in the services of the Church. But his disposition was not pastoral. He shrank from that personal dealing with individual souls which is the most vital portion of the pastor’s work. His feeling on this point may best be given in his own words:

‘Perhaps I may, without impertinence, give my own experience. I have never invited anyone to confess to me, except in the ordinary course of reading the Exhortation in the Communion Service, and I have, in the whole course of my ministerial career, received the confessions of just three persons. These I received reluctantly and unavoidably. But many persons have asked me to receive their confessions. It is a task from which I have always shrank,

and, as nearly the whole of my ministerial life has been spent in London, I have been able to avail myself of the alternative offered in the Prayer Book, by sending those who come to me "to some other discreet and learned minister of God's Word." But, if I had been an incumbent where this alternative was not possible, I should certainly feel bound to hear the confessions of all who came to me, much as I should dislike it.'

Apart from these considerations, MacColl's incessant absorption in journalism and controversy left him little leisure for clerical work on weekdays, and he was not inclined to reside in the City. His own account of his work at St. George's is dismal enough. On March 1, 1875, he wrote to Gladstone for counsel :

'The utter hopelessness of being able to do any good in my parish has been weighing on my mind for some time, and I have been debating with myself whether I ought not to resign my living. I feel, however, that I ought not to take any step of that sort without consulting you, as it is to your kindness that I owe my present position. What do you think? I have hardly got any resident population, and the few there are, are becoming steadily fewer. The consequence is that I have no parish work at all; and the position of my little church—in an obscure narrow lane—renders it useless for weekday services. I have tried to turn it to use in a variety of ways, but without success. Is it right for me to draw pay from a parish where I am really doing no work? In the event of my resigning my living, I have some idea of joining the Central African Mission, as there would seem to be no particular work for me to do at home.'

But in the following year a new and unlooked-for work presented itself, which must be described in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER IV

ECCLESIASTICA

Next to a sound rule of faith, there is nothing of so much consequence as a sober standard of feeling in matters of practical religion.—JOHN KEBLE.

BETWEEN the years 1870 and 1877 a great portion of MacColl's activity was absorbed by ecclesiastical business. In 1871 Archbishop Tait, co-operating with Dean Stanley, began a campaign against the public use of the Athanasian Creed. Pusey and Liddon were the protagonists of those who resisted the Archbishop, and MacColl fought strenuously on the same side. In 1872 he published a Letter, addressed to Gladstone, on 'The Damnatory Clauses of the Athanasian Creed Rationally Explained'; and at the beginning of 1873 he took an active part in organizing a Public Meeting in defence of the Creed. He was justly complimented on the success of an effort which united theologians so diverse as Lord Salisbury and Charles Kingsley, and the protest proved victorious.

On February 21, 1873, he wrote to Gladstone :

'I am astounded at Dean Stanley's speeches on the Athanasian Creed, reported in this week's *Guardian*. The tone of them is abominable, and it is very difficult to acquit him of deliberate dishonesty. I am very sorry to say this, for I like him personally. But he appears to me to be utterly unscrupulous on this question.'

But even the excitement of the Athanasian battle did not distract his attention from the fortunes of the

Church in Oxford. The Regius Professorship of Pastoral Theology became vacant on February 17. Next day MacColl wrote to Gladstone, enclosing a letter from his former tutor, Dr. Bright, who strongly urged the merits of Edward King, then Principal of Cuddesdon Theological College, and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln :

‘ I feel that I ought to let you read the enclosed letter, though I hardly like to take the liberty of doing so.

‘ I can corroborate all that Dr. Bright says about Canon King. His power over young men is, as Dr. Bright says, really “ magnetic.” Am I not right in thinking that your son, the Rector of Hawarden, was at Cuddesdon ? If so, I have no doubt that he felt the spell of Canon King’s influence. There never was a time, I think, when the power of personal influence was more needed at Oxford than now. But Pusey will soon go, and, anyhow, his work is done. The doctors tell Liddon that Oxford is killing him, and that his stay there is at the risk of his life. When Liddon goes there will be no one left to supply his place in the way of personal influence. King could do so.

‘ I feel that I am taking a great liberty in thus writing to you. But I do feel so keenly the influence for good that a man like Canon King might exercise on the rising generation from the position of an Oxford Professor.’

‘ *February 19.*—The enclosed was not intended for your eye ; but I hope you will not object to my sending it to you. Dr. Bright’s long experience at Oxford, first as a College tutor, and then as a Professor, must have given him a good insight into the needs of the undergraduate mind. His reference to Mr. Plumptre¹ is in answer to a letter I wrote to him yesterday, in which I said that I had heard Mr. Plumptre’s name mentioned for the Chair of Pastoral Theology, and that I thought him a most unfit man. The contrast between Mr. Plumptre and Mr. King at the Leeds Congress was most striking. The former set everybody by the ears. The Low Church party fairly hooted him

¹ E. H. Plumptre, afterwards Dean of Wells.

down, and refused to hear him out. The latter (Mr. King) had not spoken five minutes when he had the whole audience, of five thousand people, bending under the spell of his moral power like a field of corn before the wind. He seemed to me to realize, if it is not profane to make the comparison, the saying of the Gospel, that "Virtue had gone out of him" to calm the excited passions of the multitude.

'Dr. Bright's reference to your Liverpool speech¹ is very genuine. This is the second time he has written to me about it.'

King was appointed to the vacant chair, and on February 25 MacColl wrote to the Prime Minister :

'I feel that I ought to add my own most sincere thanks to those of Dr. Bright for the invaluable service you have done to the Church of England by the appointment of Mr. King to the Chair of Pastoral Theology.'

During the winter of 1873-4 MacColl spent some time in Italy, and returned to find Gladstone dislodged from the Premiership by the General Election of February 1874. On April 20 Archbishop Tait, acting in conjunction with Archbishop Thomson of York, introduced into the House of Lords his ill-starred 'Public Worship Regulation Bill.' Objectionable in itself, it was rendered much more offensive, during its passage through the House of Lords, by Lord Shaftesbury and Lord Cairns. Disraeli, who was now Prime Minister, welcomed it with effusion, because he thought it popular. 'This,' he said, 'is a Bill to put down Ritualism.'

On June 11 MacColl wrote thus to his leader :

'The Dean of York² declares that, if a General Election took place now, not a single Conservative candidate would have the least chance throughout Yorkshire ; so indignant are the clergy at the conduct of the Government in helping forward this Bill of the two Archbishops.

'What fools the managers of the Liberal Press are !

¹ On Rationalism, delivered at Liverpool College, December 21, 1872.

² The Hon. Augustus Duncombe.

Whenever the clergy threaten a revolt against their traditional party, the Liberal Press whips them back. If, instead of reviling the clergy and abusing Convocation, the *Telegraph* had at this moment claimed justice for the clergy—such justice as is freely accorded to Dissenting sects and to the Established Kirk in Scotland—the breach between the Tories and a large section of the clergy would become irreparable. But the effect of the articles in the *Telegraph* is to convince men like Dr. Bright that you are the only Liberal leader who would do them justice. As it is, your leadership of the Liberal party has detached a large portion of the High Church party from the Tories. Many a High Church Clergyman, who never gave a Liberal vote before, voted for the Liberals at the last Election. The Ritualists as a body did so. And if it had not been for the Education League¹ many more High Churchmen would have voted to keep you in office.’

‘*August 4, 1874.*—I am surprised that Sir William Harcourt’s portentous ignorance as to the Canon Law has been allowed to pass unnoticed. Was there no lawyer in the House of Commons with sufficient respect for his profession to save it from the stigma cast upon it by Sir William Harcourt’s speech? ²

‘With regard to the Bill itself, I believe that it has brought the disestablishment of the Church of England to our doors; unless indeed, like the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, it remains a dead letter. Another result of the Bill will, I believe and trust, be the separation of the great body of the High Church clergy from the Tory party. I believe also that the wisdom of your policy will be recognized by the country when the real bearings of the Bill come to be understood.’

The Bill became law on August 7, but MacColl carried his ecclesiastical interests with him to Scotland, where he spent his autumn holiday.

¹ Started in 1871 to promote Secular Education in Elementary Schools.

² A speech in support of the P.W.R. Bill and in opposition to Gladstone’s amendments.

‘ *Glamis Castle, Forfarshire, September 14.*—I think it would be of great importance, in more respects than one, that Dr. Döllinger should come over to England after the Bonn Conference. If he would attend the Brighton Church Congress, so much the better. He half promised me to do so when I saw him in Munich last April.

‘ If you agree with me that some personal intercourse between Dr. Döllinger and some of our Bishops would be useful to both parties at the present moment, perhaps you would not mind writing to Dr. Döllinger to that effect. A letter from you would have much influence with him.

‘ Have you seen a book called “Supernatural Religion” ? Both its arguments against miracles and against the authenticity of the Gospels do not strike me as at all strong. I was surprised to see the *Spectator* praise it so highly.

‘ Mr. Motley the historian is here just now. He looks very much broken in health. He is forbidden to read anything but light novels, and he is not allowed to write at all, and is somewhat depressed in consequence. But he is most agreeable notwithstanding.’

By October 1 MacColl was back again in London.

‘ *November 14, 1874.*—They told me at the Vatican that your pamphlet on the Neapolitan prisons had destroyed the Bourbon *régime* and in fact established Italian unity. I shall not be surprised to learn by and by that your pamphlet on the Vatican Decrees¹ has given the Ultramontane Philoctetes his fatal wound. It has disclosed, and will disclose more and more, the hollowness of that superficial unity of which Manning boasts. The fact of the Council having been only *adjourned* leaves a loop-hole for reconsidering the Decrees. Manning has denied the possibility of this, of course. But several Italian ecclesiastics, to say nothing of others, welcome it as a means of escape after the death of the present Pope. I wrote a very hurried notice of your pamphlet in

¹ *The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance: a political expostulation*, published November 1874.

the *Guardian*, and a few misprints have made it even more crude than when it left my hands. . . .

‘How amusing the rage of the *Pall Mall Gazette* is! But it is very intelligible. The *Pall Mall* wishes to root up the very foundations of Christianity, and the Vatican Decrees are useful auxiliaries to it in that enterprise.

‘*December 17, 1874.*—I heard a very bad account of Disraeli’s health the other day at Mr. Beresford-Hope’s. Those who are obliged to see a good deal of him seem to think that he is breaking up. What a singular career his has been! I have no wish to say anything uncharitable of him; but I confess I could not conscientiously help regarding his death as the removal of a sinister influence from English politics and from English life. He has done much to debauch the minds of our youth by making mere success, without the least regard to principle, the sole aim of life. I know no figure in English politics who inspires me with more genuine aversion.

‘I do not believe that this Government is destined to be long-lived. I have always thought that they would not survive their third year of office.’

‘*January 24, 1875.*—Your resignation of the leadership of the Liberal party¹ was at first a great shock to me; but now I am glad of it. The Liberals have been very ungrateful for what you have done for them, and now they will find what it is to be without you. I confess that it is with a feeling of malicious pleasure that I observe their dismay. The nation at large, too, will see with clearer vision all that you have done for it, when you stand aside from the heat and dust of party warfare; and when a crisis takes place, or any great question requires to be settled, I believe that the country will again call upon you to take the management of affairs, however reluctant you may be to do so. I suppose that Sir Robert Peel, if he had lived, would have been Prime Minister in 1852 instead of Lord Aberdeen.

¹ Announced in a letter to Lord Granville on January 13, 1875.

‘The *Guardian* contradicted, on what appeared to the Editor internal evidence, an assertion in the *Athenæum* that you were the author of the article on Bishop Patteson in the *Quarterly*. The *Athenæum*, however, repeats its assertion.’¹

‘*March 3, 1875.*—I have just read the *Guardian’s* review of your pamphlet,² and I think it miserable. It does not bring out your points at all. Your argument from the Council of Constance, for example, is to my mind one of the most telling things I ever read.

‘I intended to have reviewed the pamphlet myself. But I have to deliver four lectures at St. Paul’s Cathedral this week, beginning with to-night, and I did not like to undertake your pamphlet for fear of not doing it justice from want of time. But I think I could have done more justice to it than this meagre review. Liddon is delighted with it, and thinks it will be of immense service in our controversy with Rome.’

In August 1875 MacColl, accompanying Liddon, attended the second Conference on Reunion at Bonn. He had been prevented by illness from attending the Conference of 1874.

On the 13th he wrote to Gladstone :

‘Dr. Döllinger read yesterday, in one of the public sittings of the Conference, a very good letter from the Bishop of Winchester,³ and then he handed me your letter, and asked me to read it, as he said that I could read your handwriting with greater ease than he could. I had told him, the day before, that though you did not object to the publication of your letter among the transactions of the Conference, you thought it better that it should not be published just now in the newspapers. Before reading it, therefore, I stated, for the information of the reporters, that it was not to be published. The *Times* reporter promised me afterwards that he should not report it. But I had no access

¹ And it was true. The article appeared in October 1874.

² *Faticanism: an answer to replies and reproofs*, published February 1875.

³ E. Harold Browne.

to any other reporters, and I fear that they may report your letter, and perhaps not accurately. Would it not be better therefore under the circumstances to let your letter appear in the *Guardian's* report of the Conference? It was listened to with marked attention, and Liddon thinks that it covers the ground so completely that, unless you see some serious objection, it ought to be published at once. If you agree, will you kindly drop me a note addressed to 12 Chester Terrace, S.W.? I shall be back in town, I hope, next Tuesday. There are twenty Orientals here, including two Bishops; and some of them are very able and learned. They have been here since Saturday, and have employed the time in diligently discussing the question, partly among themselves, and partly with the Old Catholics. Yesterday morning was the first public Session of the Conference. Döllinger presided, and opened the discussion with a masterly review of the whole question in a speech (entirely *ex tempore*) occupying an hour and a half. He was followed by Professor Ossinine from St. Petersburg, who expounded the Oriental view in a speech of considerable subtlety. In the afternoon the discussion was in English, and we did little more than clear the ground for serious argument. Döllinger has drawn up a most able statement of the Western view in a series of propositions in language extracted from the writing of the principal Greek Fathers. This paper is to form the subject of discussion to-day, and I think it will place the Orientals in a dilemma. The Germans and English have agreed to accept it, and even to admit one important concession to the Greeks, who, on the other hand, will find it difficult to reject as heterodox a confession of faith framed in the *ipsissima verba* of their own Fathers. The Greeks have declared that if we agree on the subject of the *Filioque*, they see nothing else which need divide us. It is a great gain to have Liddon here. But I wish we had one of the English Bishops for the look of the thing.'

The Public Worship Regulation Act came into operation on July 1, 1875, and the Puritan party, eagerly availing themselves of the new weapon which the Archbishops had

placed in their hands, began that scandalous series of religious prosecutions which lasted for the next ten years. The Liberal Press, being partly engineered by Puritans and partly by Agnostics, forsook the faith of religious liberty, and backed the persecuting party. On January 8, 1877, MacColl wrote thus to the editor of the *Daily News* :

‘ I am not a Ritualist myself, and I dislike much of what goes on under the name of Ritualism. But the question in this case is not, to my mind, a question of Ritualism at all, but of equality before the law. What I am looking at now is the political aspect of this question. The Public Worship Regulation Act has detached from the Tory party a larger section of Conservatives, lay and clerical, than probably you are at all aware of. Some of them have become enthusiastic Disestablishmentarians ; and others would support a Liberal candidate, and let him take his own line as to Disestablishment. Many of them are now being driven back into the ranks of the Conservative party by the conduct of the Liberal Press. Let me give you an example : A peer of old title and large estate told me not long ago that he would not walk across the street to save the Establishment at the next Election. Yet he is an hereditary Tory and was made Lord-Lieutenant of his County by Disraeli. He is a moderate High Churchman. Now he tells me that the conduct of the Liberal Press on the Ritualistic question has convinced him that the evils of State-connexion are less than the tyranny promoted by the Liberal Press.

‘ Surely the line for the Liberal Press to take would be to admit the justice of the Ritualistic case when it is just, and then take any line it pleased. But this determination to single them out as special reprobates among a multitude of greater reprobates (if Lawlessness be the test) is killing their nascent Liberalism, and injuring most seriously the Liberal cause in the next General Election. The Ritualists and their sympathizers are strong enough to turn the scales, as they did the other day at Frome.¹ But, if the

¹ H. B. Samuelson, Liberal, defeated Sir James Fergusson, Conservative, at a by-election for Frome, November 1876.

Liberal Press will persist in treating them with Turkish justice, they are not unlikely to make peace with the authorities of the Establishment by curtailing their ritual, rather than face the tender mercies of such Liberalism as they are now experiencing.

‘ I regret this sincerely ; for I wish to see the Liberals back in power almost at any cost. I think Dizzy’s *régime* so insufferably demoralizing all round.’

CHAPTER V

THE EASTERN QUESTION

Not merely armed men, but young women and girls and babes, counted by hundreds, counted by thousands, subjected to the most refined cruelties, subjected to the last indignities, have been the victims of the Turk.—
H. P. LIDDON.

IN the autumn of 1875 an insurrection broke out in Bulgaria, and the Turkish Government despatched a large force to suppress it. This was soon done, and the suppression was followed by a hideous orgy of massacre and outrage. In 1876 a rumour of these horrors reached England, and public indignation spontaneously awoke. Disraeli (who now became Lord Beaconsfield) sneered at the rumour as 'Coffee-house babble,' and made odious jokes about the Oriental way of executing malefactors. But Christian England was not to be pacified with these Asiatic pleasantries; and some of those who sympathized most keenly with the persecuted worshippers of Christ in Eastern Europe, determined to test the horrible reports by personal investigation. Among these was Dr. Liddon (who preached at St. Paul's, on August 13, a splendid sermon on our national duty at this crisis), and he chose for his travelling companion Malcolm MacColl. At such a moment MacColl of course communicated with his leader.

'Dr. Liddon and myself have some intention of going as near as we can to the seat of war in the East next September, in order to sift for ourselves the stories of Turkish atrocities. I believe that they are substantially accurate, and the shameful efforts of Dizzy and Lord Derby to palliate them are intolerable. Lord Derby's assertion that the British

fleet was sent to Besika Bay merely to protect British subjects and calm the fears of excited Ambassadors, looks to me like a cynical exhibition of scarcely disguised mendacity.'

'August 21, 1876.—Dr. Liddon and myself intend to start for Servia at the end of the month. . . . We intend to write our experiences to some organs in the London Press. Do you think you could kindly give us any introductions in Vienna or Belgrade? or to any members of the Austrian or Russian Legation in London?

'Disraeli (I wish he was a prisoner in the hands of the Bashi-Bazouks) seems to me to have played, and to be playing still, the game of Russia with extraordinary dexterity. For my own part, I would rather see Russia in possession of Constantinople than the continuance of the *status quo* in European Turkey. But, putting considerations of humanity out of the question, surely the true English policy would be to encourage the gradual formation of a belt of Christian States between Russia and Constantinople. But that is the policy which Disraeli is doing his very best to render impossible.

'How little of an Englishman that clever charlatan is, after all! I believe that his power was on the wane in any case. But he has thrown away whatever chance he had by becoming Earl of Beaconsfield. I feel indignant that a title which Burke had chosen should be appropriated by such a man as Disraeli; and I can remember nothing more humiliating than the chorus of adulation with which the Press has greeted his elevation to what I trust will prove his political extinction. I don't believe for a moment that he has any intention of resigning the Premiership. Those who think so misread the character of the man. He wishes to go down to posterity as having led both Houses of Parliament. I doubt whether the peers will appreciate his leadership. For myself, I hope he will not give up the Premiership. If he is Premier at the next General Election, it will be worth a great deal to the Liberal cause. A very large portion of the Clergy and of lay Churchmen (till now Conservatives) have vowed vengeance upon him; and his pro-Turkish sympathies have alienated a great many more.'

'September 1, 1876.—Dr. Liddon and I sleep at the Lord Warden Hotel, Dover, on Sunday night, and cross on Monday morning. I suppose a letter would catch me at the Lord Warden Hotel. If not, my next address will be the Four Seasons Hotel, Munich. We go by Munich because we are anxious to have a chat with Döllinger. We intend to be in Munich on Wednesday night, and leave for Vienna on Friday. After Vienna our plans are not fixed. We are anxious to go to Belgrade and also to pay a visit to Strossmayer. We shall probably do both if we have time. If we must make a choice between the two, Dean Church thinks that a visit to Strossmayer would pay us better—I mean that we should probably get more information in respect to the Eastern Question.

'You have doubtless noticed the short but pregnant letter of Lord Odo Russell to Lord Derby, given on page 6 of the "Further Correspondence." Yet, with that letter before him, Dizzy had the audacity to talk of the atrocities as "Coffee-house babble." I would give a great deal for the defeat of his nominee in Bucks. There seems to be good stuff in this Mr. Rupert Carington.¹ He plants his blows with skill and effect.

'I do hope you will make a speech on the Eastern Question. The country is evidently thoroughly roused; but it wants guidance. Its aspirations are all in the right direction, and all it requires is to have its ideas and wishes put into shape and order. I think immense capital might be made against Dizzy just now, not only on account of the atrocities, but also on account of the extraordinary way in which he has played Russia's game, assuming that she is engaged in a bad game. He has done his best to throw the Christian populations of Turkey into the embraces of Russia, and he has at the same time gone far to educate our own country into the conviction that, if the alternative is forced upon us, it would, on the whole, be better to have Russia rather than the Turk at Constantinople.'

¹ The Hon. Rupert Carington, Liberal candidate for Bucks at the vacancy created by Disraeli's elevation to the peerage.

At this point, I turn to MacColl's narrative of the journey :

'The Save skirts Bosnia until it reaches Servia. On the left-hand side is Slavonia, which is flat most of the way. On the right is Bosnia, which is generally hilly and picturesque. The insurrection in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as the reader will remember, was going on at the time. The river forms the boundary between Austrian territory and Bosnia, which was then under the direct rule of the Sultan. There was thus a constant flow of insurgents passing to and fro across the river. To prevent this, a number of Turkish block-houses were established on the Turkish side of the river ; and to prevent surprise, the wood was cut down within a radius of some two hundred yards of each block-house. In many parts the country was wild, uncultivated and uninhabited. In front of one of those block-houses we passed in sight of an incident which caused a great deal of controversy at the time. This was, a man impaled on a stake.¹ We arrived at Semlin, on the Austrian side of the Danube, on the evening of the second day of our voyage. On the opposite side of the river is Belgrade, for which we were bound. It stands high over the river, and the town and country round about is dominated by the fort. We took a boat across the river, and were met on landing by our host, Mr. Cristich, a prominent politician in Belgrade, and afterwards Servian Minister in London. We remained his guests for ten days, and met while there the well-known Dr. Sandwith, of Kars fame, who was ministering, medically and otherwise, to the Servian sick and wounded, on behalf of the Grosvenor House Committee, of which I was Honorary Secretary. Dr. Sandwith took us over the hospital in Belgrade, where we witnessed the horrible mutilations committed by the Turkish soldiers on the Servian soldiers and innocent persons of both sexes who had fallen into their hands. The day after our arrival, we attended a religious service in the Cathedral of Belgrade, and saw there, among

¹ See pp. 339, 366, and 377.

others, King Milan, who was then only Prince of Servia. His son, who was afterwards assassinated, had been born a week before, and this service was in thanksgiving for his birth. The Prime Minister was Ristitch, with whom we had several interviews. He struck us as a very able and strong man. We made several excursions into the country, and it was our intention to pass on to the Crimea, and return home through Northern Russia. But the war between Turkey and Servia and Montenegro, and the disturbances in Bulgaria, upset our plans. So we determined to return home by the Danube, paying our promised visit to Strossmayer by the way.

‘Vukovar is a picturesque little town on the banks of the river, consisting of straggling houses, with gardens in front of several of them. We arrived at dusk, so could not see much of the town till the following morning. Diakovar, Strossmayer’s residence, was eighteen miles distant by carriage. We intended to start for it after breakfast on the morrow, and made inquiries at the hotel as to the possibility of getting a good carriage. During dinner, our waiter told Liddon that the only carriage in Vukovar belonged to his brother ; and as there was naturally a great demand for it, we should engage it at once. It was, he said, a beautiful carriage, with excellent springs—so Liddon engaged it. It was to be at the hotel, or rather, small inn, where we lodged, at ten o’clock the following morning. At the hour appointed, we had our luggage deposited at the door, and we walked in the little square in front of the inn till the carriage arrived. Half an hour passed, yet no sign of the carriage. We waited another half-hour, and began to get rather impatient ; still no sign of our carriage. I suggested jocosely to Liddon that our carriage was standing near the inn, pointing at the same time to a little wooden cart, drawn by a shaggy little pony, with a dirty and mangy-looking lad sitting in front, and a wooden plank, with an iron rail across it for a back, in the middle of the cart. Liddon laughed at the idea ; but after waiting another quarter of an hour, we went up to the inn, and asked about our carriage. The waiter pointed

to this cart. We asked the boy who he was, and he told us that this was our carriage to Diakovar. We could hardly believe that this was our beautiful carriage, with excellent springs; but being assured that there was no other vehicle available in Vukovar, we had to make the best of it. So we had our portmanteaus squeezed into the cart, while ourselves took our seats on the wooden plank, without any cushion, behind the driver—with a bar of round iron, about half an inch in diameter, fitting into the small of our backs. So we started for Diakovar. There had been a good deal of rain before our arrival, and the streets consisted of greasy mud, with ruts varying from six inches to a foot in depth. We jolted along out of the town, passing several good victorias and other carriages; in fact, Liddon, who seldom suspected evil of his fellow-creatures, had been completely swindled by the waiter. Every jolt of the cart jarred our spines. The wheels were very unsteady, and we had not gone more than two miles when one of them came off. We dismounted, and by dint of pushing the cart while the driver led the pony and pushed the other wheel, we arrived at a smithy a quarter of a mile distant, where we waited till the smith managed to patch and fix the wheel. The driver, after this experience, drove warily and slowly; and it took us seven hours to cover the eighteen miles. When at last we entered the Bishop's park at Diakovar, and came in sight of the palace, we felt too much ashamed of the appearance of our equipage and driver; so we ordered him to drive to the back door while we walked to the front door, where we found a tame crane stalking up and down as if acting the part of a sentinel.'

From the palace, thus painfully reached, MacColl wrote to Gladstone as follows:

'September 25, 1876.—I have delayed so long to thank you for the kind gift of your pamphlet¹ that I am now quite ashamed to write to you. I received it at Vienna, and you do not need to be told with what delight I read it. Since then Dr. Liddon and myself have passed

¹ *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East.*

through Croatia and Slavonia into Servia, and we are now paying a visit of two days to Bishop Strossmayer on our way to England. I have written three letters to the *Spectator*, and have asked Hutton to send you a copy of the numbers which contain them; for your time is too precious to be taken up with long letters in manuscript. Otherwise I could give you volumes on all that I have heard and seen since I left England three weeks ago. I have written a short letter to the *Times* and a longer one to the *Spectator* on the Turkish atrocities, and I may possibly write one or two more letters before I reach England. Dr. Liddon gives his impressions to the *Guardian*.

‘One cardinal mistake which people at home make is to think that the Bulgarian horrors are rare and isolated outbreaks of Turkish fanaticism. On the contrary, they are only a specimen in tableau of what goes on regularly in the Christian provinces of Turkey. The property, the honour, and the life of every Christian in the Ottoman Empire are daily exposed to the lusts and passions of the Turks. And there is no redress. A husband who remonstrates against the violation of his wife, a brother who complains of the violation of his sister, is exposed to the unbridled will of his Mussulman master; and it depends on the caprice of his oppressor whether he is killed on the spot or put to a lingering death. He has no help, no one to appeal to but God, no one who will succour him. I shall never forget the melancholy face and sad voice with which a Bosnian peasant, the other day, after a vivid description of the sufferings of his people, added: “And England will not let us be free.”

‘Your pamphlet and speech¹ have done a world of good already. They have been translated into the Servian papers, and I believe that the thanks of the Servian people have reached you ere now. Bishop Strossmayer is also delighted both with your speech and pamphlet, and he has asked Dr. Liddon and me to assure you how much he admires your eloquent championship of humanity, and how grateful he feels for the service you have rendered

¹ At Blackheath, on the Bulgarian Atrocities.

to "a just and holy cause" (they are his words). He is all on fire in his sympathy for the Christians in Turkey, and has had some thoughts of going to England to do his best to enlighten public opinion there. But he fears that Austria, which at present means Hungary, would come down upon him and put obstacles in the way of whatever good he is now able to do for the Slav populations. I have taken the liberty of saying to him that I would ask you to write to him on the Eastern Question, and he expressed the delight which he would have in corresponding with you. I am sure you would like him, and he would, of course, like you. He is one of the most charming and interesting men I ever met, and I wish you could afford the time to pay him a visit. I suppose there is hardly another man living who has gone more thoroughly than he has done into all the ramifications of the Eastern Question. He is, as you know, Bishop of Sirmium and *Bosnia*. So that his official duties take him often into Bosnia, and he is also intimately acquainted with Serbia and Herzegovina. I wish you could hear his torrents of eloquence on the question. Dr. Liddon and I have listened to him with rapt attention for an hour at a time. He agrees entirely with your views on the subject. He says that to hope for any improvement in the Turk is a mischievous delusion, and he dwells emphatically, with a large personal experience to enforce his opinion, on the radical difference between the Turks and other Mohammedans. He says the Bosnian Mussulmans are nothing like so cruel as the Turks, and he thinks that there is good hope of their becoming Christians if they were under a Christian administration. What he himself would prefer is that Bosnia should be given to Serbia, and Herzegovina to Montenegro. He has the highest possible opinion of the Servians. He says—and I can confirm it—that they are about the most tolerant people in the world, and are possessed of great political and administrative capacity. Ristitch, the Servian Foreign Minister, he regards as one of the ablest politicians of the day. And certainly that is the impression which Liddon and I carried away from a long conversation with Ristitch. "I am a Catholic," said Strossmayer, "and

the Servians are Orthodox ; but it is only a difference of unimportant details, and I should be well content to be under the political administration of Servia." Russia, he thinks, would be opposed to the cession of Bosnia to Servia ; for Russia knows that Servia, like Sardinia, might become the nucleus of a great Christian State in the East. England, instead of checkmating Russia, by encouraging the autonomy of the Christian populations of Turkey, has been playing Russia's game. Still it is not too late. England, "the first Christian Power in the world," has the ball at her feet. Let her be prompt to carry out your policy, and she will easily win. Russia will not dare to oppose her ; Italy will act cordially with her ; neither France nor Germany will oppose her ; and Austria, standing alone, would have to give way.

'Bishop Strossmayer is building a grand Cathedral close to his palace, chiefly out of his own income. The foundation-stone was laid ten years ago, and he hopes to have it ready for consecration in five years. A pupil of Overbeck's is covering the walls with frescoes, the subjects being all out of the New Testament. It is a most striking and beautiful building, and quite on a par, as to size, with an ordinary English Cathedral. It is roofed, and looks quite finished from the outside, and some progress has been made with the frescoes in the Chancel. When the Cathedral is finished the Bishop intends to build residences for a Dean and Chapter. He has already built a seminary for the training of clergy for Bosnia. In addition to all this his hand is ever open to help any good work in his diocese and beyond it. There was some money required lately for the endowment of the University of Agram. Strossmayer gave £2000, and also contributed largely to the formation of a picture-gallery in Agram. This we were told in Agram by several persons, who added, somewhat bitterly, that the Archbishop of Agram, though his income was £80,000 a year, did not give a farthing. Strossmayer keeps open house. Twenty-five guests sat down at his table to dinner yesterday, and forty poor persons—sometimes many more—dine in the servants' hall every day. One curious relic

of the rule of the Turks in this region still remains in the household of the Bishop. The headman in the servants' hall, a picturesque person, dressed in semi-Oriental fashion, is called *Harem-Pasha*. Strossmayer gave the Servians £3000 at the beginning of the war. He is a man who overflows with charity, and hopes for the reunion of Christendom in spite of the Vatican Council. He has no scruples about our Orders or Sacraments. If only he were Pope! He has a weak chest, I am sorry to say, and talks sometimes in the tone of a man who does not expect to live long. The Cathedral, when finished, cannot cost much less than £400,000; yet this man is frowned upon at the Vatican, while men like Manning are advanced to the highest dignities. The Vatican does not dare to do more than frown; for a man who is adored by some six millions of Croats and Slavs cannot safely be treated like Döllinger—for whom, by the way, Strossmayer expresses the highest esteem and regard.

'Dr. Liddon sends his respects. We start to-day for Vienna by way of Pesth, and I must try to get to London by Monday, as I am down to speak on the Bonn Conference at the Church Congress at Plymouth on October 3.

'Bishop Strossmayer says he will write you a short letter. I am so glad, as it will make an opening for a correspondence. He confirms the account of the impalings in Bosnia which I have sent to the *Times* and *Spectator*, and adds some horrible details, e.g. that a woman was impaled on the eve of her confinement. These tortures are an amusement to the Turks.'

On October 9 a meeting to protest against the Bulgarian atrocities was held in St. James's Hall, and MacColl thus reported it to his chief:

'Nothing could have been more enthusiastic. The hearts of the working men are evidently still in the right place, as Dizzy would speedily find out if he were to appeal to them. Delane has come back from Dunrobin Castle with the notion that there is not very much in the agitation,

after all. He requires to have strong proofs of his error. I hope the meetings will go on, for there is much danger that the Government will betray the country. Forster's rambling and vacillating speech has done much harm. I saw him in Vienna and I travelled part of the way home with him. His view then was that a military occupation of Turkey would be necessary. I think he greatly exaggerates the difficulties. Let the Christians be armed, and the Mohammedans will think twice before they attack them. Strossmayer has no doubt that the Bosnian Mohammedans, for example, would soon become reconciled to Servian administration. The threats of a Mussulman rising are all moonshine. The Mohammedans will not rise if they are once given to understand that no European Power will protect them from the consequences of their own misdeeds. At present they rely on England.'

'*October 13, 1876.*—I trust most sincerely that Servia will reject a five months' armistice. The proposal is a clever dodge on the part of Turkey. Six weeks will enable the Powers to settle the affair peacefully or to see that it cannot be peacefully settled. An armistice at all, at this season, is a great boon to Turkey, and a loss to Servia, in a military point of view.

Strangford

'I quite agree with you about Lady ——'s Fund. She is a thorough Turk, and I don't trust her at all. She was staying for two days at the same hotel as Liddon and myself at Vienna. Her sympathy for the Bulgarians is artificial and for a purpose. Her sympathy for the Turks and the Turkish cause is thoroughly genuine. Of course I shall regard what you have said on that point as private.

'I am sorry Lord Hartington has not gone into the Christian provinces of Turkey. He will hear nothing at Constantinople, especially in the society in which he appears to be moving, but what is false and bad.'

All through 1876 and 1877 the great conflict raged, and MacColl followed it indefatigably through all its phases, which he embodied in a vigorous pamphlet called 'The

Eastern Question : its facts and fallacies.' On December 4, 1876, he wrote to Gladstone :

'I saw Count Schouvaloff yesterday at Madame Novikoff's. He agrees with Bismarck that war is inevitable. The Turks, he says, encouraged by Dizzy, will make no concessions of any importance. He thinks that Dizzy will send the fleet up the Dardanelles, which under the circumstances he would regard as an indirect alliance with Turkey. . . . There lies our danger. He may gradually get the country into such a fix that we may find ourselves at war with Russia before we know where we are. All things are possible with such an unprincipled gambler as he is.'

On August 8, 1877, MacColl wrote to Gladstone :

'I returned last week from a three weeks' tour in Ireland with Dr. Liddon, and I think you will be pleased to hear that the Irish people, as far as Dr. Liddon and I could learn, are all right on the Eastern Question. We made that a point of inquiry wherever we went and always with the same result. I am convinced that, if the Vatican had not pronounced in favour of the Turks, the Irish would have given as loud a vent to their feelings as the English did. The paper taken in by all the priests is the *Freeman's Journal*. I read it diligently while I was in Ireland, and I found that its articles on the Eastern Question were all on the right side. Even in its occasional articles against Russia there was no violence and there was always a dig at the hated Turk. The country people were enthusiastically against the Turks, and thought they ought to be driven clean out of Europe.

'Another thing which pleased, and certainly surprised me, was your popularity with the Irish. They seem to have repented of the folly of 1874. I do not mean that they have given up the craze of Home Rule;¹ but they have recovered their faith in you personally. If any chance took you to Ireland now, you would, I am sure, be received with enthusiasm everywhere—at least by the Roman Catholic population. I saw a good deal of a most liberal

¹ In view of what was to come in 1885, 'the craze of Home Rule' is a noteworthy expression.

and charming man, Dr. Moriarty. He told me, among other things, that the Roman Catholic hierarchy had pretty well come to the conclusion that they had made a great mistake in rejecting your Irish University Bill in 1873.'

The 'Bulgarian Atrocities' of 1875 bore fruit in the Russo-Turkish War, which, beginning in April 1877, raged with amazing ferocity to March 1878. It seemed morally certain that Lord Beaconsfield wished to intervene on the Turkish side, and Gladstone devoted all his energies to the task of 'counter-working,' as he said, 'the purposes of Lord Beaconsfield.' Day by day we seemed to be drawing nearer the edge of a second and even more criminal Crimea, and our danger became manifest to all men when, on March 28, 1878, Lord Derby¹ resigned the office of Foreign Secretary because he could not sanction the military preparations which Lord Beaconsfield professed to think necessary in view of the disturbed state of Eastern Europe. On March 30 MacColl wrote privately to the Editor of the *Daily News* :

'I have ascertained at the Russian Embassy that it was not the calling out of the Reserves, merely or chiefly, that made Lord Derby resign, but a *coup* upon which the Government had determined. They do not know at the Embassy what this *coup* is—whether the seizure of Gallipoli or Mitylene, or some other strategic point on Turkish territory. They only know—I believe from Lord Derby—that the Government have decided on some action behind the calling out of the Reserves. The danger of course is that, if English troops are sent into the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles, the Russians will, as a matter of precaution, seize Gallipoli. The Russians have made up their minds that it is useless to attempt further negotiations with our Government. They feel certain that Lord Beaconsfield is determined on war, and that he is only prolonging negotiations till he is ready to strike.

'The only hope now—and it is a slender one—is in a bold and vital front on the part of the Opposition.

¹ Edward Henry, 15th Earl of Derby.

‘ My little book ¹ will be out next week. I wish there were time to make it better. But my facts are so strong that I think I have made out one of the most damning cases ever made out against a Government.

‘ Perhaps it will be well to allude to the intended Congress. They tell me at the Russian Embassy that the Government are a little uneasy at the possible effect of Lord Derby’s resignation, and that they are vacillating again. Lord Hartington could, by one speech, stop the whole mischief and compel the Government to go into Congress.’

By an overruling Providence war was averted, and the Government ‘ went into Congress ’ at Berlin in July 1878— with what results to Christian freedom in the East of Europe we all know. In the following month MacColl was staying with Lord and Lady Bath at Longleat, and thence he wrote to Gladstone on August 28 :

‘ I send with this a proof-copy of a Report on the Berlin Treaty drawn up by a Sub-Committee of the Eastern Question Association, and which it is intended to issue in a few days. It has been approved by a meeting of the General Committee of the Association : but the Sub-Committee can still make alterations of no great importance, for they have been authorized to do so by the General Committee. I have marked the names of the persons to whom the different parts have been assigned. My main object has been to show what I think is borne out by facts—namely, that Russia, which our Government have claimed to have vanquished, is a very large gainer by the operations of our Plenipotentiaries, and the only gainer.

‘ There are several Tories staying here, and they are anything but jubilant on the state of affairs.’

From Longleat MacColl went north to stay with Lord and Lady Strathmore at Glamis, whence he wrote on September 28 :

‘ Sir Stafford Northcote has been staying here for some days. Of course I could not expect him to discuss the

¹ *Three Years of the Eastern Question.*

Eastern Question with me. I found him, however, very friendly. He confessed his uneasiness about Eastern Affairs, though the repulse of our Mission to Cabul was not then known. He also confessed that he had no opinion of Midhat Pasha, whom he described as "a commonplace if not stupid man." This opinion he formed after an interview with the Pasha.

'One thing surprised me. Sir Stafford learnt from the papers, while he was here, the elevation of Lord Cairns to an Earldom. He was inclined to doubt it at first, as he could see no reason for it.

'I am surprised that the country takes the Afghan imbroglio so quietly. I suppose the public mind has become so used to Dizzy's theatrical surprises that nothing but a disaster will rouse it from its lethargy. I believe, however, that a dissolution would be fatal to the Government. Mr. Baxter (M.P. for Montrose), who dined here the other evening, told me that the Political Committee of the Reform Club are inundated with applications for Liberal candidates—many of the applications coming from places where, six months ago, no Liberal would dream of appearing.

'Lord Beaconsfield's Secretary, Mr. Algernon Turnor, is here. He, too, is anything but jubilant. He tells me that France has been very troublesome about Egypt; insisting not merely on having a Frenchman in the new Government of Nubar Pasha, but on nominating him direct. France, of course, would not hear of an English protectorate in Egypt.

'My host, though a Tory, is, and has been all along, against the Government's Eastern policy. So that Sir Stafford Northcote and Mr. Algernon Turnor have not talked as freely as they would have done among sympathizers.'

'October 12, 1878.—Lord Bath is in town till Monday. I had a long conversation with him yesterday on the present aspect of political affairs. The more I see of him, the abler I think him. I have seldom found his judgment at fault, and therefore I attach much weight to his opinion

on political questions ; on home questions more especially, for he has been an active party man. He was, as you know, the Tory Whip in the Lords for some time, and he has bestowed much pains on the organization of his party in Somerset and Wiltshire.

‘ At present he is in some perplexity. He has taken no interest in the organization of his party for three years in the two counties I have named, and he says that they are going to pieces. Unless he bestirs himself at once, four seats, he believes, will inevitably be lost to the party. This he would not mind much if it were only for the next Election. But once gone, they may never be recovered. It is therefore a question with him of breaking altogether with his party ; and, with his antecedents, that is a result which he could hardly face without a great wrench. Yet so utterly does he loathe their tactics and policy on the Eastern Question that I almost think it will be a greater wrench to do anything to keep them in power. He agrees with you that the reaction against the Government has set in strongly ; and he is very glad that you have not spoken on the Afghan business ; so that the Tories cannot possibly lay any share of their misfortunes on you. He also hopes that when the Liberal leaders do speak, they will confine themselves to destructive criticism, and not give the Government the advantage of having a counter policy to attack.

‘ Now I am going to make what I hope you will not consider an impertinent suggestion, though I feel that it really is impertinent. I see from the papers that the Duke of Argyll is going to pay you a visit. Would it not be worth while to get Lord Bath, in his present frame of mind, to visit you at the same time ? I have no idea whether he has any engagements which would prevent it. But when I was at Longleat some time ago he said, half jocosely but more in earnest, that he wished you would ask Lady Bath and himself to Hawarden.’

MacColl was always in deadly earnest about the controversy of the moment, and this earnestness as a rule prevented him from indulging in political pleasantry. But

for once he was induced to hazard a gibe at Lord Beaconsfield's expense, and his prompter was the gravest of all Whig statesmen—the second Lord Northbrook. The Lord Mayor's Banquet was approaching, and the following skit on the Disraelian manner appeared in the *Echo* of November 9, 1878 :

‘ TO-NIGHT'S SPEECH ANTICIPATED

‘ (*From our Clairvoyant Correspondent*)

‘ A clairvoyant correspondent has sent us the following report of what struck him as the most important part of the Prime Minister's speech this evening at the Lord Mayor's banquet. It will be understood, of course, that we do not make ourselves responsible for the strict accuracy of our correspondent's report. We print it just as we have received it. “ After some preliminary skirmishing and intermediate platitudes,” writes our correspondent, “ the orator, who wore a glittering star upon his breast, launched into what seemed to be the heart of his subject as follows :

“ I am told, my Lord Mayor, that trade is bad, and I am not here to rebut that allegation. But to admit that trade is not in a flourishing condition is one thing ; to argue that England is less able than of old to bear the responsibilities and burdens of Empire is quite another. (Cheers.) Look at America ; look at France. When the United States emerged out of that gigantic struggle which threatened to rend them asunder, there were croakers here and elsewhere who prophesied the ruin of that great Republic. Superficial observers and hungry place-hunters—(laughter)—pointed to a stagnant trade, a high taxation, and an exchequer filled with greenbacks, and from those indisputable facts they drew the false conclusion that the great American Union was on the verge of bankruptcy, and was about to crumble to pieces. But what do we behold ? Why, that the United States—that wondrous polity sprung from the loins of an Imperial race—(tremendous cheering)—is at this moment mightier and wealthier than it was before.

(Cheers.) And how have the United States achieved that grand result? By recognizing their destiny, by resolving not to lag behind in the irrepressible struggle for empire. (Cheers.) And I must say that they had one great advantage which I am sometimes tempted to envy them. They had among them no unpatriotic aspirants to office—(cheers)—no politician soured by failure and jaundiced by the noxious humours of a distempered ambition—(cheers and laughter)—no craven Cassandra gloating in foreign magazines over the eclipsed glory and superannuated destiny of his country. (Tremendous cheering.) Thus, unfettered and untrammelled, our American kinsmen confronted their troubles with a hope and courage worthy of the Imperial stock which gave them birth. (Cheers.) And the result is before our eyes in a revived trade, decreased taxation, and a prosperous and contented people. (Cheers.) Nor is the case of France less instructive. Struck down from her pride of place, more through her own intestine divisions than by the sword of a conquering army, she has learnt wisdom in the school of adversity. . . . Let us therefore prove ourselves worthy of our ancestors. (Cheers.) Let us not be weary in well-doing. We have inherited a great and glorious Empire. (Cheers.) Let us guard our heritage—let us bequeath it to our children, not merely undiminished, but widened. (Loud applause.) . . . We enjoy the favour of our Empress-Queen. We have the confidence of a great and understanding people. (Loud cheers.) . . . The occasion is urgent, and Her Majesty's Government feel that they may confidently rely on the wisdom and patriotism of a united nation. (Loud and continued applause.) ” ”

And now the great controversy was drawing towards its close, and MacColl's spirits were cheered by a strong prescience of approaching victory. On April 16, 1879, he wrote :

‘Nemesis is at last, I am happy to think, close upon the heels of Dizzy's Government; and I believe that when the day of reckoning comes the criminal follies of the last

three years will be avenged by not merely a defeat, but a disastrous rout, at the polls.'

'*November 5, 1879.*—I have a greater horror of Disraeli than you appear to have. I believe him to be utterly and entirely uncontrolled by anything like conscience. Another six years of his rule might push this country on an incline which would soon reduce it to the political level of Spain. But I have no doubt that the next Election will give a Liberal victory. What I long to see, however, is not simply a Tory defeat, but a Tory rout. And there is only one thing wanting to secure a victory as complete as that of 1868. That one thing is that the Liberal host should go into battle under the leader who won that victory.'

Gladstone had abdicated the Liberal leadership in January 1875, and had often used language pointing to retirement from politics. But now he said good-bye to his constituents at Greenwich, and entered upon that famous 'Midlothian Campaign' which, whether he wished it or not, was destined to replace him in power. This time it was to Mrs. Gladstone that MacColl poured forth his soul:

'*November 27, 1879.*—Mr. Gladstone's tour, or rather royal progress, in the North, has clearly settled the question of leadership for him. Whatever his own private opinion may be, the country will have no refusal. That, as far as I can learn, is the universal opinion in London. The extraordinary spell of his name and eloquence ought not to have surprised people, yet it has come upon London society as a new revelation. He never was more powerful than he is at this moment—perhaps never as powerful. It is the reaction caused by three years of calumny, aided by the conviction that he is the one man who had a policy to propound and the courage to propound it.'

On March 9, 1880, it was announced that Parliament would immediately be dissolved; on the 11th Sir Stafford Northcote introduced his Budget; and the dissolution

actually took place on the 24th. On the 11th MacColl wrote thus to Gladstone :

‘The motive of the Government in dissolving *after* producing their Budget puzzles me a little. I suppose they have been *cooking* their finance. I see that you are to make a speech in Marylebone to-morrow. I think you ought to look at the first two letters in yesterday’s *Guardian* (Correspondence column) on your last speech. The first letter is by a Tory M.P. ; the second, signed “Ex-Tory,” is from me. I enclose also a letter from the same M.P. in last week’s *Church Times*, with the proof of a reply which I have sent, and which will appear to-morrow. You need not return it. I believe a very large section of the High Church party, and most of the Ritualists, will vote for the Liberals. You have vexed some of them by seeming to say that sympathy with the Eastern Christians has been almost entirely confined to the Nonconformists. I know you have not said so ; but busy men, who have not time to follow the details of a long controversy, are apt to be misled by what you are represented to have said. I think you might to-morrow night say a few words which would gain the Liberal party many votes without alienating any others.

‘The Ritualists can turn the scale in several constituencies. They did so in Bristol at the last Election. The Tories are trying desperately to win them.’

Gladstone was now in the thick of the fight, contesting Midlothian, nominally against Lord Dalkeith, but really against all the Conservative forces of Scotland. At the same time, for security’s sake, he was nominated for Leeds, where a Liberal victory was assured ; and his youngest son¹ contested Middlesex.

MacColl wrote thus to his chief :

‘This note must take its chance of being opened by you. I write it to tell you that I forward by the same post to you a copy of Lord Bath’s book on Bulgaria.² He is first cousin

¹ Afterwards Lord Gladstone.

² *Observations on Bulgarian Affairs.*

to Lord Dalkeith, and perhaps you might quote what he says on the conduct of our Government towards the end of the volume; also his exposure of Austria. It might possibly be effective to quote a man of his position and independence as entirely on your side.

'You asked me some time ago how Lord Bath was going to act in the General Election. He is very modest, and thinks it would be arrogant for him to write such a letter as Lord Derby's to Lord Sefton.¹ At the same time he makes no secret at all of his desire to see the Liberals beat the Government. I know that he has told the Duchess of Buccleuch that he sincerely wishes you success in Midlothian. He has prevented a contest at Frome. But he says that it will take him about five years to undo his work for the Tories in Wiltshire and Somerset. If *you* return to power as Premier he will sit behind Lord Granville. He has told me so.

'I hear golden opinions everywhere of your son's candidature in Middlesex. . . .

'I sent you the other day a pamphlet of mine of which I am somewhat ashamed.² The fact is, I found your son in possession of a Tory political catechism full of lies and sophisms; and, knowing how busy he was, I sat down last Tuesday evening and jotted down some replies to the Tory fallacies. I got interested in my work, and determined to write a pamphlet. I sat down at 7 P.M. on Tuesday, and never left my chair till eleven the following morning, except to put coals on the fire. The pamphlet was in the printer's hands at 11.30 on Wednesday, and was out at 7 P.M. on Thursday. I called myself "Clericus"; but my publisher, who is a sterling Liberal, thought a Rector was a "Dignitary," and so he substituted "A Church Dignitary" for "Clericus," thinking it would draw more attention to the pamphlet. It has done so, I find. For people are wondering "Who the Bishop is." My pamphlet is very roughly executed; for I sent it to the printer without reading over what I had written.'

¹ On March 15 Lord Derby announced in a public letter to Lord Sefton his separation from the Conservative party.

² *The Liberal Reason Why*, explained in a letter to the Marquess of Hartington, M.P., by a Church Dignitary.

April 3, 1880.—You have, no doubt, heard from others of the wonderful enthusiasm created by your son Herbert wherever he appears. I now wish to tell you, from my own personal observation, that no report that has reached you has at all exaggerated the impression which your son has made and is making. I went to his meeting last night at Hounslow, and heard him speak. It was an admirable speech, admirably delivered, without a single note or a single hesitation. He spoke for about three-quarters of an hour. There were some Jingoës; but he subdued them with his good humour, self-possession, mastery of his subject, and great readiness of repartee. As an example of the latter, your son chanced to drop the remark that the Tories had an innings of six years. “And we will give them a second innings,” shouted a Jingo. “My friend,” retorted Herbert, “if you apply the rules of cricket to political life, I admit that there is something in your observation; for such is the egregious mess which the Government have made of their first innings that, by the rules of cricket, they ought to follow on.” This sally was received with shouts of laughter, and the obstreperous Jingo was silenced for the rest of the evening. The meeting was a crowded one, and full of enthusiasm.

‘This morning I went with Herbert to a crowded and most enthusiastic meeting in the town-hall, Holborn—a large room, quite filled. Your son spoke for an hour splendidly, and did not repeat his speech of last evening. The odds are so fearfully against him, owing to his coming so late into the field, that I am afraid to hope for his success. But such is the effect he has produced that his Committee really think he may come in. If he had only a fortnight more, I would back him against any odds. But, in any case, he has made his career. Whether he sits for Middlesex or not in a few days, it is now the belief of everybody that some place must be found for him in the House of Commons. I intend to go with him to all his meetings to-morrow. Some of the Committee tell me that my presence as a clergyman of the Established Church is useful. I did think that I might be of some use to your son in supplying him occasionally

with facts in matters of foreign policy. But I find that he is as well up in that subject as I am, and requires no prompting.

'We are in great excitement at this Club¹ over the glorious news of continuous victory. Rounds of cheers were elicited an hour ago by the announcement of your splendid majority at Leeds. I should think, on the spur of the moment, that the numbers you have polled are the largest ever given to a Member of Parliament. A subsequent telegram from Leeds says that they expected to place you at the head of the poll, but not by half the majority actually polled for you. I hope Midlothian will follow the good example. A majority of 100 for you in Midlothian would be considered in London a good majority and a great victory; for the jubilant confidence expressed by the Tories has made Liberals nervous as to your winning at all. They fear the faggots may overwhelm the genuine voters.'

Having been returned for Leeds, Gladstone was, on April 5, returned also for Midlothian. He decided to sit for the Scottish constituency which he had won by such superhuman exertions, and his son Herbert, defeated in Middlesex, was popped into the vacant seat at Leeds.

The result of the General Election was an overwhelming victory for Liberalism, and it became evident that Lord Beaconsfield must resign. But who was to succeed him? Since Gladstone's abdication in 1875, the Liberal party in the House of Lords had been led by Lord Granville, and in the Commons by Lord Hartington. It seemed therefore that, according to constitutional usage, the Queen must turn to one of these two, as being the titular leader of the victorious party; but the party wanted Gladstone, and would be satisfied with no one else. This sentiment was shared by all except some half-hearted Whigs, and was thus conveyed by MacColl to Gladstone on April 12:

'I do pray and trust that you will not refuse the Premiership—at least for a time. Every post brings me letters full

¹ The Devonshire.

of anxiety on that subject, some of them from persons whose names would never occur to you—strong Tories, whose consciences have been stirred by you against the immoral policy of the Government and who have worked hard on the right side. May I say, without impertinence, that you do not belong altogether to yourself ?

‘ 1. To be Premier once more in this Parliament of reparation for the wrong and folly of 1874 is necessary to the historical and artistic completeness of your political career. This Parliament is *your* parliament in a more personal sense even than that of 1868.

‘ 2. Your resumption of the Premiership is necessary to complete the lesson administered by the country, or rather by Providence, to the shallow, pampered society of the Metropolis. Forgive my presumption, but I shall really think that you will be flying against Providence if you do not wield the power which He now offers to you. I am sure that His hand is in all this. This sudden collapse of a policy of iniquitous vainglory looks like a divine judgment hurling the proud from their seats of abused power.

‘ 3. *You* must initiate the new policy in the East as well as the great questions of home legislation.

‘ I always expected a majority, but not such a majority as this. I calculated on 50 or 60. I knew London did not represent the country. You always said so, and I had many proofs of it. In my capacity of secretary to the Russian Sick and Wounded Fund I was brought in contact with most parts of England and Scotland, and I knew the fierce wrath which was welling up against the Government, and which only wanted an opportunity to exhibit its power and volume. I knew the Liberals would work fanatically against the Government, and I have piles of letters from Tories, lay and clerical, vowing vengeance when the day of reckoning came. Many causes have, no doubt, concurred to produce the catastrophe, but the predominant cause is the immorality of the Government’s foreign policy. That which the Government thought its strength was in fact its weakness. Never did any set of men live more completely in a fool’s paradise. Lord Beaconsfield, I know, told the representa-

tives of Foreign Powers in London that the country would return him his majority intact, if not increased.

‘Thank God, *his* career is closed. The verdict of the country has registered “the catastrophe of a sinister career”—to quote his own phrase in the debate which sealed the fate of Sir Robert Peel’s last Administration. I have read everything Lord Beaconsfield ever wrote and every speech he ever delivered, and the impression left upon my mind is one of unmitigated loathing for the man. I do not know in English history any character of such unalloyed selfishness as his. His whole life has been one prolonged lie, and an evil influence has been going out of him which has done much to demoralize Society generally, and the upper strata of it particularly.’

Lord Beaconsfield resigned on April 18. On the 22nd Lord Hartington had an audience of the Queen at Windsor, and another, at which he was accompanied by Lord Granville, on the following day. On the evening of that day—Friday, April 23, 1880—Gladstone kissed hands as Prime Minister for the second time, and the ‘Eastern Question,’ which had stirred such violent passions, some noble and some base, was closed by a rightful triumph.

The foregoing episode in MacColl’s life has been narrated at full—some may think disproportionate—length, because it was the most important of all the many controversies in which, from first to last, he was engaged. That this was so was his own conviction, and in 1884 he wrote :

‘I consider my part in the Eastern Question controversy the best work of my life, and I will never do anything which implies that I require any whitewashing for that work. I am proud of it, and would do it all over again if the opportunity recurred.’

Note to Chapter V

The story of the years covered by the preceding chapter would be incomplete without some reference to the part

played by Malcolm MacColl in calling public attention to the iniquities of the Afghan War. For the following estimate of his work in that direction I am indebted to the kindness of Lord Bryce, O.M. :

' The Afghan question as it emerged in 1878 was one of those in which MacColl worked hardest and did the most effective service. A Committee was formed under the Presidency of Lord Lawrence, then a very old man, but with powers still unimpaired, to point out the evils and dangers of the impending war ; and MacColl got up the facts of the case with amazing diligence and accuracy, ploughing through the numerous Blue Books and extracting from them all that was most significant. The result was a book called " The Causes of the Afghan War," of which he was the chief author, and which was then deemed to be a very effective statement of the case. It was widely circulated, and had, I think, a considerable effect on public opinion. In going over the ground with him, I was profoundly impressed by the thoroughness with which he investigated the whole matter and the skill with which he handled the facts. He was a splendid worker ; and that it was not anti-Mussulman feeling which moved him (as was alleged against him and the rest of us who opposed Disraeli's policy on the Eastern Question in 1876-78) was proved by the fact that here he was stating the case for a Mussulman ruler who was, as we held, being unfairly treated by the then Government of India, or really perhaps rather by the Beaconsfield Government at home.'

CHAPTER VI

SOME FRUITS OF VICTORY

You were always sanguine that the country had 'found out' Lord Beaconsfield. But here in London people had not found him out. . . . I don't wonder at your remembering the Song of Miriam.—R. W. CHURCH.

THE Liberal victory of Easter 1880 was all that the most ardent partizan could desire ; but its fruits were bitterly disappointing. The return of an avowed atheist for Northampton created difficulties about the Parliamentary oath. The Tories made the most of those difficulties ; the Speaker and the Government alike were unprepared to deal with them ; and even Liberals forgot religious liberty in their dislike of Bradlaugh. Incapable government in Ireland produced a hideous reign of outrage and murder. Vacillating counsels in Egypt plunged us into a needless and discreditable war. Through all these troubles MacColl stuck, with touching loyalty, to his chief, and was indefatigable in negotiating, suggesting, and manipulating the Press. These matters will be narrated in due course, but before we come to them a word must be said about MacColl's personal position. His incumbency was a source of constant distress to him, and on November 9, 1881, he wrote to the Premier's Private Secretary :

' Suppose I were to resign my living, do you suppose that Mr. Gladstone would be likely to present Mr. Hutton to it ? Pray do not imagine that I am so very unselfish as to wish to give up my living merely for the purpose of getting Mr. Hutton (whom I have never seen) to succeed

me. It is true, indeed, that I think the brother of the Editor of the *Spectator*, being otherwise eligible, deserves the small recognition of a living of £300 or £400 a year. Mr. Baxter, on my suggestion, applied to Mr. Bright on behalf of Mr. Hutton; but Mr. Bright refused to entertain the idea. I do think the Liberal party owe a debt of gratitude to the *Spectator* which they are slow to acknowledge. When such a fervent Jingo and so thorough-going an admirer of Disraeli as Mr. Rowsell gets a Westminster Canonry, a small living to the brother of Hutton of the *Spectator* does not appear to me to be an extravagant claim. I at least can never forget the brave service of the *Spectator* to the cause of justice and freedom during the tyranny of Jingo domination.

‘Still, I do not propose to resign my living with a view to get Mr. Hutton to succeed me. The fact is, I have thought of resigning my living for some time past. My church is one of those that is scheduled to come down eventually, and this fact has smitten my parish with paralysis. I had intended to utilize it, out-of-the-way and hidden as it is, for week-day services. But in order to do so I should have to get a surpliced choir; and that is impossible without alterations which require a faculty; and the Bishop and parishioners oppose the faculty on the plea that it would be useless as the church is doomed. As it is, I get no congregation, and my Sunday is a day of unspeakable dreariness to me. I am seriously thinking, therefore, of looking out for an eligible curacy where, I am sure, I should be happier than I am in my present living.’

On March 30, 1883, he wrote to Gladstone with reference to a deserving friend whose claims he had pressed:

‘If it is quite impossible for you to give Mr. G—— the living I mentioned, I should not much mind resigning my living in his favour. I shall resign it by-and-by in any case, for I cannot endure the dreariness of having no congregation. Probably Mr. G—— would not mind that as much as I do; for I am fonder of preaching than he is.’

I should not be making a great sacrifice ; for I can make more by my pen than my living is worth ; and I much prefer being a curate to being a rector with no congregation. Moreover, I feel that it is morally bad for me to go on drawing an income for which I am doing nothing.'

Taking MacColl at his word, Gladstone offered him the choice of two livings in the country. He declined them both, but after the second refusal he wrote as follows to the Private Secretary :

' *April 22, 1883.*—After leaving you yesterday afternoon I bethought me that I had possibly done wrong in rejecting Mr. Gladstone's suggestion so hastily. One's own inclination is not always the best monitor in matters of duty. So I went straight to the Dean of St. Paul's (whom I consider a man of singularly sound and clear judgment), and laid the whole case before him, determined, if he thought that I ought to accept, that I would go back to Downing Street and recall all that I had said to you.

'The Dean, however, thought that the following reasons more than justified me in deciding as I did :

'1. The population is 16,000 and the income £600 ; and the population is a scattered one—not concentrated within narrow geographical limits like a London parish. To work such a parish even decently would require a staff of at least six curates at an aggregate cost of £800 a year—that is, £200 more than the whole value of the living. There would of course be offertories ; but to work the parish properly the whole income would certainly go before the incumbent could pocket a farthing of it.

'2. My parochial experience is confined to towns—I may say to London : the slums of Soho, Pimlico, and St. Paul's, Knightsbridge. I understand how to deal with Londoners ; but I have no experience of the country.

'3. I don't wish to give up theological studies altogether ; and it would be necessary to do so in such a huge parish. For as the ordinary expenses of the parish would eat up all the income, I should have to devote whatever spare time I might have to writing for the Press for an

income. I would much rather go back to a London curacy again ; and indeed it may possibly come to that. I feel that I have wasted twelve years of my ministerial life in my present parish, and, after one last despairing effort to gather a congregation from outside my parish, I mean to resign my living and take a West End curacy.

‘ But I don’t know why I should inflict all this on you ; for my only object in writing to you is to ask you if you will mind telling Mr. Gladstone that I consulted Dean Church after seeing you yesterday, and that he thought that I had come to a right decision for the reasons which I have stated.’

In the following summer a Canonry of Worcester fell vacant, and on August 7 MacColl, having been sounded by Gladstone, wrote as follows :

‘ The Dean of St. Paul’s advises me strongly to accept your kind offer of the Worcester canonry, if you find yourself able to make the offer formally. The truth is, when I determined to throw myself heart and soul into the Eastern Question controversy I pretty well made up my mind to decline any offer of promotion, should such be made to me, by the Crown : partly to safeguard the purity of my own motives ; and partly to put it out of the power of anybody to say that I was influenced by selfish considerations. And if I only had a congregation in my parish, I should be quite happy as I am, and I should at once decline your most generous kindness without consulting anyone. But the desolation of my Sundays has become intolerable to me. I will therefore take Dean Church’s advice, though leaving London will be to me like tearing up my life by the roots.

‘ Your offer took me so much by surprise to-day that I am afraid I forgot to thank you. If I did, pray put it down to the true cause, and believe that I am really most grateful.’

It will be observed that this gratitude was felt for a contingent and hypothetical offer. Another was chosen for Worcester, and MacColl was left in the seclusion of Botolph Lane. But not for long. In the following summer, Gladstone

offered him a Canonry at Ripon ; and on July 2, 1884, he replied as follows :

‘ I am sincerely grateful for your kindness in thinking of me. It is not the emoluments of the post, but the composition of the Chapter, that makes me hesitate. The Dean is a good man ; but he is a member of the Church Association, and I believe that the rest of the Chapter are of the same way of thinking. Mine is a stupid brain which becomes stagnant when I am unhappy ; and I am afraid I should be unhappy at Ripon. I am not afraid of not being able to get on with the Dean and Chapter, for I can generally get on with most people. What I fear is my not being able to do any good there. The unfruitfulness of my City incumbency so weighs on my conscience that I dread to begin any fresh work at the age of fifty unless I see my way to the prospect of doing some good in it before I die.

‘ There is, however, as much responsibility in the rejection of such an offer as you have kindly made to me, as in its acceptance. Can you give me time to place the matter in the hands of the Dean of St. Paul’s, and let him decide for me ? He made me promise, two years ago, not to reject an offer of that kind without previous communication with him ; and I have such great confidence in his judgment. The Dean is in Northern Italy, and I suppose it would take four or five days to hear from him.

‘ Meanwhile will you kindly look at the enclosed note ? ¹ It is a specimen of several similar letters which I have received since I mentioned your book in the *Guardian*. I wish you could see your way to a new edition. I would gladly take the labour of seeing it through the press off your hands.’

‘ July 5, 1884.—I have just come from St. Paul’s Deanery. The Dean returns for certain on Monday, but not before. There is thus no object in delaying my decision till to-morrow. I therefore give it to you at once. After the best consideration that I can, unaided, give to all the

¹ The letter was from the Rev. R. R. Whytehead, suggesting that Gladstone’s *Church Principles considered in their Results* ought to be reprinted.

circumstances, I have decided to accept. It is quite true that the promise I made to the Dean was limited to the question of *refusal*. I am not afraid of getting on with the Dean and Chapter, for I have never found any difficulty in getting on with anybody, however different from myself in opinions. And I am sure that I shall get on with the Bishop.

‘I will take and abide by the Dean’s advice in regard to my City living. The difficulty about it is the heavy bill for dilapidations for which I am liable.

‘I will add no more, except to thank you for your very great kindness to me, now as always. I shall strive, with God’s help, to prove myself not altogether unworthy of it.’¹

The foregoing letter shows that, at this juncture, MacColl had some thoughts of resigning St. George’s. However, other counsels prevailed; and, instead of resigning, he made the ‘one last despairing effort’ which he had foreshadowed, and set himself to the task of renewing and decorating his church. The work was carried out with great success, and he began to see prospects of usefulness even in the City. The church was to be reopened on Thursday, October 30, 1884, and he sought to gather his friends around him. On the 28th he wrote as follows to Gladstone :

‘I am sorry Lord Bath cannot come to my Parochial Luncheon. Sir Stafford Northcote is coming, and Lord Salisbury and Lord Cranbrook would have come if they had not been summoned on that day to attend meetings of Royal Commissions of which they are members. But they allow me, as does also Mr. Goschen, to read the letters of sympathy and good wishes which they have written to me.

‘I do hope you will be able to come. I think you would be interested. You would find the meeting an excellent illustration of your very wise and useful letter to the Bishop of St. Asaph.² The leading Nonconformists in my parish

¹ He was installed August 16, 1884; and was chosen to represent the Chapter in the Convocation of York October 1, 1900.

² On Disestablishment.

will be present, and one of them will respond to the toast of the Nonconformists, which I intend to propose myself. One of my four churchwardens (who are all elected by the rate-payers) is a Jew. He also is a cordial supporter of the improvements which I have made in the service, and will be present at the Luncheon and speak for himself. Luncheon is at 1 P.M. in Fishmongers' Hall, preceded by Mattins in my church at 11, with sermon by the Dean of St. Paul's. If you could manage to come in for the sermon (about a quarter before 12) I think I can let you hear fair congregational singing. I have had evening services last evening and to-night, which have been very well attended by City people. I really believe that I can now fill my church to the door every Sunday. If you will kindly come on Thursday, it will make my success absolutely certain, and will, I believe, do good far beyond the limits of my parish. The presence and sympathy of both political parties would, moreover, be of immense service to me in any improvements which I may attempt at Ripon during my term of residence.'

On November 2, 1884, MacColl's close friend, R. H. Hutton, Editor of the *Spectator*, who had been present at the reopening, thus described it :

'Canon MacColl has achieved a remarkable success in the City by uniting with him the Nonconformists of his parish in an earnest effort to enlarge the usefulness of his church in Botolph Lane. On Thursday the Dean of St. Paul's preached in that church a sermon of rare beauty and power on the constant struggle between the downward and the upward forces at work in our world—the steady decay and the steady renovation. After the service a luncheon was given in Fishmongers' Hall, under the auspices of the Fishmongers themselves, in which the unique feature presented itself that High Churchmen and Dissenters appeared together in hearty co-operation for the spiritual good of the parish whose church had just been restored and beautified.

'There were able statesmen present. Lord Napier and Ettrick spoke with an ability which made men wonder

at his habitual silence in the House of Lords; but, after all, the feature of the festival was the striking mutual respect and goodwill between Canon MacColl and his Nonconformist ex-Churchwarden, whose speech on the charity which there ought to be amongst Christians of different Churches struck a far deeper note than is usual on such occasions.'

On December 9, 1884, MacColl thus reported progress :

'I am glad to say that my experiment in the City is answering admirably. I continue to get fair congregations of City people, chiefly men, both morning and evening. I have no doubt that I shall ere long have my church quite full. It is rather unfortunate that I am obliged to go away three months consecutively just as I am getting things into shape. I hope, however, to get a judicious man and good preacher (two essential conditions) as curate. I have received several offers of co-operation from influential City merchants, some of them strangers to me personally. I am sure there is a great work to be done in the City: and I have come to the conclusion that all the City churches may be filled. I trust that Scott Holland will eventually make St. Paul's his headquarters. He might be a great power among City men. They are eager to learn and very ready to make themselves useful. On the whole, I doubt if the prospects of the Church of England have been so bright at any period since the Reformation as they are now, if she will only recognize "the time of her visitation."'

All this was cheerful enough; but at first MacColl was not very comfortable at Ripon. Before a year was out, he had placed his resignation in the Bishop's hands.¹ On July 15, 1885, he wrote thus to Gladstone :

'I consulted Dean Church and Dr. Liddon before resigning, and they approved. Even apart from the question of my successor, I was thoroughly out of my element and

¹ The canonries of Ripon are normally in the gift of the Bishop; but Bishop Bickersteth died on April 15, 1884, and, *vacante sede*, the right of appointing to the canonry fell to the Crown. Bishop Carpenter succeeded Bickersteth, and it was therefore to him that MacColl resigned.

unhappy at Ripon. I was received with the utmost kindness by everybody, and got on excellently with my colleagues in the Chapter. But the town and Cathedral are dominated by a type of Puritanism of which I have read in books, but which I never came across in real life before. The Deans and Canons are good pious men ; but their idea of the Church and of Divine worship is to me a new religion. Their great dread is that people should think too much of Church ordinances. They think it dangerous to have the Holy Communion celebrated oftener than once on Sunday, and it is never celebrated on any other festival except Christmas—not even on Epiphany or Ascension Day. Of course persons who take this view of the Holy Communion cannot be reverent in administering it, though they do not mean to be irreverent. But the slovenliness and irreverence and coldness of the whole thing always made my Sunday to me a day of misery ; and no schoolboy ever longed for the holidays more than I longed for the termination of my three months' residence.

'I could not tell you this while you were in office for fear my motive might be misunderstood ; but I don't mind telling it now.¹

'Moreover, the Cathedral is the parish church of Ripon ; and while this fact adds greatly to the difficulty of improving matters in the Cathedral, it imposes so much extra-Cathedral work on the Canon in Residence that he has no time at all for private reading.

'So you see I am really making no sacrifice in giving up the Canonry. I should be sorry to obtain any credit which I do not deserve. Nothing could have been pleasanter than my life at Ripon socially. But "man doth not live by bread alone." I was told down there that the state of Church matters in Ripon had much to do with Lord Ripon becoming a Roman Catholic.

'Kindly consider all this as private. The Dean and Chapter of Ripon are very good and religious men in their own way, and have been most kind to me ; and I do not wish to say anything at all to their prejudice personally.

¹ The Liberal Government had resigned June 24, 1885.

They act according to their lights, and the system in which they were brought up is responsible.'

But on July 3 he wrote thus from Munich :

'I am perplexed about Ripon. The Bishop declines, in most kind terms, to accept my resignation. But I really wish to leave. The state of things there chills and depresses me beyond measure ; and, moreover, the fact of the Cathedral being the parish church throws so much parochial work on me that I have no time for private reading. I am not, indeed, *obliged* to do any work outside the Cathedral. But my only opportunity of doing any good there is outside the Cathedral, and I could not let it slip. During my residence there I started some work in the parish, especially services and addresses to working men on weekdays, which were well attended, not only by working men, but by other classes. One of the reasons which the Bishop gives for refusing to accept my resignation is the good which he is good enough to think my addresses did. The fact is, the people down there are utterly untaught, and they are hungering for knowledge. I could not endure my residence there at all except for my extra-Cathedral work. But the result is that between my work at Ripon and in the City, my time for private study and writing is much abridged.

'I am afraid I must leave Munich for London next Thursday. There is to be a Chapter Meeting at Ripon on the 14th, and as my resignation is not yet accepted, I am anxious to attend the meeting. I have been trying to get up a Choir School for the Cathedral, and the matter is now under the Chapter's consideration. I have also been trying to separate the Cathedral from the parish. The connexion does harm to both. But I fear the separation of the Cathedral from the parish is a more difficult matter than the getting up of a Choir School.'

Eventually all scruples and difficulties were removed, and MacColl retained his stall. One of his colleagues in the Chapter writes as follows :

'Great expectations had been aroused locally by the

introduction of so animated a soul as Canon MacColl into the strictly Evangelical and "quietist" Chapter and pulpit of Ripon Cathedral. It was well known that he had strong political affinities at home and abroad, and also that his views on doctrine and his practice in ritual were of the school designated "High." There seemed to be a prospect of stirring sermons and marked innovations. The former were forthcoming and, with them, large congregations, who, both on Sundays and on special weekday occasions, gathered to hear the new Canon. He was not an orator, like the contemporaneous Bishop, but he had stores of theological and liturgical learning, upon which he drew, notably for a course of lectures on the Nicene Creed, afterwards published and largely circulated. Of new departures, however, in worship, there were none, while the Chapter remained as constituted on his arrival. Then the early Celebrations were on alternate Sundays, as were those at midday; and in the summer months the Sunday evening services were suspended, though the Cathedral was and is the Parish Church. Time, however, has brought the changes in these respects which Canon MacColl much desired. On the public life of the city, except from the pulpit, he did not much impress himself. During his three months of annual residence, he kept mainly to the Cathedral and to his study. He held that a canonry is not so much for active service in a locality, as for literary contributions to the Church at large. He gave evidence before the Ritual Commission, and he claimed to have determined a vote in the House of Commons by a book on the subject, written as one of the said contributions, and sent at the opportune moment to every Member.

'Personally, in social life, he is well remembered as most genial host and most welcome guest. At the Residence were to be met all sorts and conditions of men, from Lord (then Mr. Herbert) Gladstone, the serious politician, to Bret Harte the American humorist. He had many friends and not a single enemy—unless it were the "Unspeakable Turk."'

But it is time to return from MacColl's personal fortunes to his political activities.

As soon as the Parliament which had been elected at Easter 1880 assembled for its first Session, it became apparent that the Front Opposition Bench, of which the presiding spirit was Sir Stafford Northcote, was remarkably weak, and that the fighting elements were gathered below the gangway. 'The Fourth Party' became the recognized nickname of a group consisting of Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir John Gorst, Sir Henry Drummond-Wolff, and Mr. Arthur Balfour. The history of this small but most effective party may be read in the 'Life of Lord Randolph Churchill' and the writings of Mr. Harold Gorst. A well-meant but hastily drawn Bill, to provide compensation to Irish tenants arbitrarily evicted, passed the House of Commons and was wrecked in the Lords. There was an immediate outbreak of agrarian outrage in Ireland, and the Tories began to demand some strong measures of repression. 'The Fourth Party' was busy, and MacColl heard from his friend Lord Bath of some designs to hold a Public Meeting at which the sentiments of that party should be expressed. Hence the following letters to Gladstone:

'*November 18, 1880.*—The designs mentioned by Lord Bath seem to me, I confess, too wild even for the "Fourth Party." But the Tories have done so many wild things of late that almost anything is credible.'

'*November 19, 1880.*—I have just received a note from Lord Bath in which he says that he has ascertained "that whatever the Fourth Party may desire, the bulk of the Conservative party wish for the present to remain quiet." He is therefore anxious that what he told me about a meeting in London should be kept strictly confidential.

'If there was any doubt before, surely there can be none now, that the Government could not, if they tried, carry a coercion Bill on this side of Christmas. Lord Randolph Churchill plainly avowed in his speech at Portsmouth yesterday that not only the "Fourth Party," but Sir Stafford Northcote also, would resist any attempt to limit the arts of Obstruction.

'Gavan Duffy reminds us that it took Sir Robert Peel

three months to carry his Irish Arms Bill in 1843. Yet the art of Obstruction was then in its infancy as compared with its recent development.'

The contemplated insurrection of the Fourth Party came, for the moment, to naught ; and MacColl transferred his activities to the ecclesiastical sphere. Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, for eighteen years the much-loved Dean of Westminster, died on July 18, 1881. On August 3 MacColl wrote thus to Gladstone :

'How would it do to translate Dean Church from St. Paul's to the Abbey ? Hutton of the *Spectator* thinks it would be an admirable appointment, and would be generally recognized as such. It would be keeping up the literary tradition of the Abbey and putting at its head at the same time a man who, I believe, has no enemy, and who would make the Abbey as great a power at the West End as St. Paul's is in the East. No man in England is so well fitted for the place as Church ; not even Liddon.

'Would he accept it ? He is so good a man that I believe he would do exactly what he thought best for the Church.

'I apologize for venturing to make the suggestion. I thought it might be worth while sending it to you as it came from an orthodox Broad Churchman like Mr. Hutton. I think it probable that he will give expression to it in the *Spectator*.'

The following letter, dated January 16, 1882, has an interest of a different kind :

'Three of my guests this evening you know, namely Lord Rosebery, Sir Henry James, and Sir William Harcourt. The rest of my guests are Mr. Johnstone Bevan, an able and learned country squire and High Churchman ; erewhile a strong Tory, but now an ardent Liberal through your exertions on the Eastern Question. Mr. Case, a distinguished Oxford man, once a curate at All Saints', Margaret Street ; then a 'vert ; studied three years in Rome in the Jesuit College, where he was Passaglia's favourite pupil ; took his degree there in high honours, and then attended

Passaglia's lectures for two years more ; then joined the Jesuits, but left them after a year's novitiate, and became "Canon" Case in charge of a Roman Catholic congregation at Gloucester. Vaticanism upset him, and he is now a theist unattached. Mr. Cassels, unknown to the world at large, but a remarkable man. He is the author of "Supernatural Religion." But this is a secret which even his publisher does not know. I discovered it from my intimacy with him and from our having often discussed questions together. He is one of those men whom Calvinism (the religion of their unreflecting years) has driven into infidelity. He is very cultivated and one of the best and most self-sacrificing men I ever knew ; unmarried, wealthy, fond of sport, and an Agnostic ; yet so pure and unselfish. Is not the goodness of such men more noble than that of most Christians ? And must we not believe, in the words of the "Wise Woman" of Tekoah, that in the case of men who, like my friend, do good without seeking a reward here or hereafter, God "doth devise means that His banished be not expelled from Him" ?

' October 28, 1882.—Did you read the article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* which I enclose ? ¹ I suppose it is Morley's ; and yet I am surprised that he should betray such fear of honest inquiry. But the fact is that some of the most eminent men in the ranks of scepticism are themselves guilty of some of the worst faults which they charge against theologians. Apropos of the *Pall Mall* article, I have written an article on "Ghost-Stories" in to-day's *Spectator*, chiefly for the purpose of publishing a remarkable dream which was told at Glamis Castle one evening lately, when I was there, by a Major Egerton, whom you may chance to know. He is equerry to the Duke of Connaught, and his wife is lady-in-waiting to the Duchess. The story is as well authenticated as it is curious, and I cannot imagine how Morley would account for it.'

Parliament had reassembled, after two months' adjournment, on October 24, 1882. The new Rules of Procedure,

rendered necessary by obstruction, were under discussion, and on November 2 MacColl wrote to Gladstone :

‘I really believe that Lord Randolph Churchill is the coming leader of the Tory party. His last night’s speech strikes me as far and away ahead of any of his previous efforts.’

Gladstone was unwell in the Christmas recess of 1882-3, and went to Cannes on a visit to Lord Wolverton, formerly Liberal Whip. MacColl was ready with wise counsel.

February 5, 1883.

‘DEAR LORD WOLVERTON,—The *Daily News* of to-day says that it is not yet settled when Mr. Gladstone is to leave Cannes. Could you not manage to keep him, if not till the end of this month, at least for a week after Parliament opens. It would be a blessing if he could be away till after the Bradlaugh row at the opening of Parliament, and also after the (I fear) long debate on the Address.

‘I know that there is a strong feeling in the Liberal party that, for the sake of the party, he should prolong his holiday till Easter ; for it is not expected that any extraordinary leadership will be required before then. The truth is, Mr. Gladstone’s recent exhaustion has opened people’s eyes to the calamity of his possible retirement, and there is a strong feeling that he should husband his strength as much as possible. But if he stayed away even only to the end of February there would be general satisfaction.

‘Yours sincerely,

‘MALCOLM MACCOLL.’

Before long, Gladstone was back again in renewed health, and was preparing a Bill to substitute an Affirmation for the Oath required of Members of Parliament. MacColl wrote to him on April 18, 1883 :

‘The writer of the enclosed letter is Head Master of Woodard’s Middle Class Schools, and is in his way a representative man.¹ Is it impossible for the Government to

¹ The Rev. E. G. Lowe.

restrict the Bill to future elections? The retrospective character of the Affirmation Bill does not touch the merits of the question, and therefore does not affect my opinion. But it does influence a number of people, and much of the opposition to the Bill would, I am confident, vanish if its retrospective action were struck out. Nor could Mr. Bradlaugh object; for he has, more than once, offered to resign and stand again, if an Affirmation Bill were passed.

‘I am sorry and surprised to see names like Mr. Wilkinson’s (the Bishop-elect of Truro), Dr. Hannah, and Dr. Stubbs attached to the petition against the Affirmation Bill. I cannot understand intelligent clergymen taking so suicidal a line.

‘I think the enclosed letter will interest you.¹ I felt sure that Newman would not take Manning’s line on the Parliamentary oath. For no writer has insisted so often and so earnestly as Newman that half-truths, set forth as whole truths, are the most mischievous forms of error. I wrote to him accordingly to ask him whether he did not think that the Parliamentary oath belonged to the mischievous category of half-truths; and if so, whether he would let me publish his opinion. Assuming that he knew the aim and object of the Affirmation Bill, I merely enclosed a copy of my second letter to the *Guardian* on the subject. His curious mistake makes his opinion all the more valuable; for it shows that he thinks the Government would act rightly even if it went so far as to insist on the entire abolition of the oath.

‘I have written to Cardinal Newman again, and ventured to urge reasons why he ought to allow his opinion to be made public. But in any case, if Manning should carry out his intention of publishing a Protest against the Affirmation Bill, in his own name and in the names of the English Roman Catholic bishops, it will be safe to call emphatic attention to the absence of Newman’s name from the Protest.

‘I have received showers of letters from clergymen all over the country urging me to circulate a petition in the

¹ See p. 305.

sense of my letters to the *Guardian*. But I cannot afford either the time or the money that would be necessary to work such a petition properly ; and, besides, it would now be too late.

‘ If you speak on the Affirmation Bill, may I take the liberty of suggesting that it would be well to lay stress on the present oath being too vague to offer a safeguard for belief even in a personal God, much less in the God of Christianity since the expulsion of the words “ on the true faith of a Christian.” I know that this aspect of the question tells with many. Some of those who signed the Petition against the Bill have written to tell me that they would not have signed if they had read my letters previously. The clergy are, for the most part, like a flock of sheep, following blindly a few leaders.’

Gladstone’s speech on the Affirmation Bill, delivered on April 26, was, by common consent, one of his finest performances. Some of those who were favourable to the Bill printed this speech, and sent a copy to every beneficed clergyman in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The following acknowledgment was returned by an unconvinced divine :

‘ MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your recommendation to read carefully the speech of Mr. Gladstone in favour of admitting the infidel Bradlaugh into Parliament. I did so when it was delivered, and I must say that the strength of argument rests with the Opposition. I fully expect in the event of a dissolution the Government will lose between fifty and sixty seats. Any conclusion can be arrived at, according to the premises laid down. Mr. G. avoided the Scriptural lines and followed his own. All parties knew the feeling of the country on the subject, and, notwithstanding the bullying and majority of Gladstone, he was defeated.

‘ Before the Irish Church was robbed, I was nominated to the Deanery of Tuam, but Mr. Disraeli resigning, I was defrauded of my just right by Mr. Gladstone, and my wife, Lady Z, the only surviving child of an Earl.

was sadly disappointed ; but there is a just Judge above. The letter of nomination is still in my possession.

‘ I am, dear sir,

‘ Yours faithfully,

‘ X. Y. Z.’

It is highly characteristic of Gladstone that, when this letter was shown to him by its recipient as a specimen of epistolary oddity, he read it, not with a smile, but with a portentous frown, and, handing it back, sternly asked, ‘ What does the fellow mean by quoting an engagement entered into by my predecessor as binding on me ? ’

On November 5, 1883, MacColl wrote privily from Hawarden to the Editor of the *Daily News* : ‘ As far as I can make out, nothing is settled about the Speakership, or any rearrangement of Government offices.¹ If I hear more, I will drop you a line. . . . I shall have more opportunity of talking alone with Mr. G. after most of the visitors are gone, and, if I hear any news, I will let you know.’

By the 23rd he was back in London, and wrote again to the Editor : ‘ I am writing to you just now to tell you in confidence what may interest you. I was calling at Mr. Gladstone’s yesterday evening, just as the Cabinet Council began to meet. Mr. Gladstone came into the drawing-room. Mrs. G. said : “ What a dreadful piece of news this is from the Soudan ! ” “ Yes—for the Egyptian Government,” said Mr. G. “ But,” said she, “ will it not affect our position ? ” “ Not in the least,” said he. “ It is a piece of folly on the part of the Egyptian Government to attempt to exercise dominion in that region.” ’

The chief event of 1884 was the admission of the Agricultural Labourers to the Parliamentary Franchise. Gladstone introduced the Franchise Bill on February 2 ; it passed the House of Commons by large majorities, but when, at the beginning of July, it reached the House of

¹ In the following February Mr. Speaker Brand was succeeded by Mr. Speaker Peel.

Lords, the Lords demurred to passing it until they knew the details of the redistribution of seats which must necessarily accompany an extension of the suffrage.

At this juncture, MacColl thought that he might intervene with good effect, and he wrote as follows to the leader of the Conservative party :

July 7, 1884.

‘DEAR LORD SALISBURY,—I am going to take a very great liberty—a liberty which may justly merit the imputation of presumption and impertinence. I can only throw myself on your kindness for forgiveness, begging you to believe at least in my sincerity and in the goodness of my intentions.

‘It has for a long time been a dream of mine to see you at the head of a great party (when Mr. Gladstone retired) combining the best elements in Conservatism and Liberalism. The controversy on the Eastern Question was the first check which my hopes received. The bitterness and antipathies caused by that controversy have now, I am glad to think, nearly vanished ; and, if the question of the franchise could be settled without an exciting agitation, I see no reason why my dream should not be fulfilled. May I venture to put down, as briefly as I can, what I think on that subject ? I know how insignificant I am ; but the mouse in the fable was able to nibble away the meshes of the net which had defied the strength of the lion. Men occupying a humble position may sometimes have opportunities of observation which are not equally in the reach of those above them.

‘I quite understand your Lordship’s objection to a Franchise Bill apart from a Redistribution scheme. The question is whether the danger you apprehend is likely to be diminished by the summary rejection of the Bill on the Second Reading. Let us look at the probabilities.

‘If the Bill is now rejected it will unquestionably be sent again to the Lords ; whether this year or next is, I believe, still a moot question with the Cabinet. Meanwhile there will be a great agitation, marked, I fear, by great

bitterness against the Lords and the Conservative party generally.

‘It will be difficult for the Lords to yield without loss of credit if the Bill is sent up to them (as it will be) after a strong agitation. I will therefore assume that they will reject it a second time. That would of course compel a Dissolution on the present Franchise. And then? I believe the Conservatives would gain considerably in the Counties and lose considerably in the Boroughs. Let us assume that the losses and gains of the two parties would then be pretty evenly balanced. In Ireland the Conservatives would lose much more than the Liberals because they have much more to lose. On the whole I believe that the Conservatives would return from the contest with diminished numbers. So would the Liberals. The great gainer would be Parnell. He would come back with a following large enough to make him master of the situation. How would he use his majority? Undoubtedly I believe in favour of the Liberals *until the question of both Franchise and Redistribution was settled*. Then he would probably avail himself of the first opportunity to turn the Government out. A Redistribution Bill proposed under such circumstances would be certain to be a great deal more extreme than any likely to be proposed next Session.

‘The Lords would then be powerless, for the Bill would be the response to the appeal which they had themselves forced.

‘But suppose the Lords were to pass the Franchise Bill this Session? The Government would of course introduce their Redistribution Bill next Session. My own belief is that a Redistribution Bill passed next Session by the present Government would be more moderate than any which the Government can ever propose again, and also more moderate than any which a Conservative Government would be able to pass. The Conservative would have many allies on the Liberal side to make the Bill a moderate one before it reached the Lords; while the Lords would, in virtue of their forbearance *now*, have established a right to have a good deal to say on the question of Redistribution,

I believe, too, that Mr. Gladstone's own views on the question of Redistribution are moderate. When the secrets of his administration are disclosed, I believe it will be found that his has been the most Conservative influence in his own Cabinet. It was certainly so on the question of the Irish Land Act. He was one of the last men to give way, for example, on the question of the "Three F's."¹

'Then consider this. Mr. Gladstone is weary of official life and longs to retire. His intention when he took office this time was to retire in two years. That intention was frustrated by the Phœnix Park murders. The troubles in Egypt kept him in office the following year and then (under pressure) he determined to remain till the Franchise Bill was passed.

'But, if a Dissolution is forced on that question, Mr. Gladstone will be obliged to lead his party in the General Election. I verily believe that that will mean a gain of at least twenty seats to the Liberals.

'Moreover I doubt whether the new voters will be so generally Liberal or Radical as many people imagine, if the Bill is passed now. If it is rejected now, the new voters are certain to revenge themselves on the Conservative party as soon as they get the chance. I spent part of the Whitsuntide vacation at Hawarden, and in the course of conversation one day with Mr. Gladstone I said, with the view of drawing him out: "I suppose you would be rather glad if the Lords threw out the Franchise Bill." "Glad!" he said. "Why should I be glad?" "Because," I answered, "there would probably be such an agitation that you would be able to carry both the Franchise and the Redistribution next Session." "Yes," he said, "but something else might be carried besides. The Dissolution would necessarily turn on the House of Lords, and who can tell where the agitation would end? Few men relish a revolution at my time of life."

'If the Lords reject the Bill and a disaster ensue to the Conservative party, they will all make you their scapegoat,

¹ 'The Three F's' was a short way of expressing Fair Rents, Fixity of Tenure, and Free Sale.

and my dreams about you will never be realized. You have even now many enemies in your own camp. So had Gladstone for a long time ; but he is now too firmly seated in the saddle to be upset till he chooses to dismount. Your Lordship has had no time or opportunity yet to establish your authority.

‘ I ask pardon for my impertinence, and I beg you to believe that I am very grateful for the kindness and forbearance which I have received from Lady Salisbury and yourself. I have written this letter without the knowledge of any one, and I hope your Lordship will regard it as confidential.

‘ I remain with much respect, dear Lord Salisbury,

‘ Yours very gratefully and sincerely,

‘ MALCOLM MACCOLL.’

The amendment, postponing the Franchise Bill till the scheme of Redistribution was known, was carried in the House of Lords on July 8. On the 11th Lord Salisbury wrote as follows :

‘ DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—The extreme pressure of correspondence during the last few days has compelled me to postpone answering your letter, till the issue to which it referred has been some time decided.

‘ I was not the less obliged to you for the kindness of its tone to me, though, on reflection, I felt obliged to take a different view of my duty from that which you had formed.

‘ On the personal question to which you give a good deal of prominence, I look at the matter from a wholly distinct point of view. The position which you, too indulgently, contemplate for me is one for which I am in no way fit. To be the leader of a large party—still more to be the leader of anything resembling a coalition—requires in a large measure the gifts of pliancy and optimism ; and I, unfortunately, am very poorly endowed in either respect.

‘ Nor again can I imagine any motive for action in the fear that my party, as you rather prognosticate, will throw me over. I do not think such an issue by any means impossible. But the idea is not deterrent : on the contrary, it is a soothing prospect to dwell upon—like the mirage

in the desert. English politics keep hold of those who are in them, because the framework of modern life is so tight that men find it hard to change their pursuits. But to those who know English politics well, they are not attractive—their highest rewards confer no real power. The strongest men—you give me an instance in Mr. Gladstone and the “Three F’s”—have to carry out ideas that are not their own. And they fill life up with an incessant labour, which to those who are not blessed with optimism leaves behind it the feeling of an almost unmingled waste of time. As to the more political portion of the question, the case is very simple. I quite recognise the danger of defeat which attends the course we have selected. Various men will variously estimate the extent of that danger; but its existence no one can doubt. But the alternative which Mr. Gladstone presented to us was the absolute effacement of the Conservative party. It would not have re-appeared, as a political force, for thirty years.

‘This conviction, to which, after careful study, I came, greatly simplified for me the computation of risks. An element of popularity, more or less, in our “platform” was wholly immaterial, if the constituencies were to be so arranged, but our platform had not the slightest chance of being received.

‘ Believe me,

‘ Yours very truly,

‘ SALISBURY.’

Unsuccessful but undefeated, MacColl returned to the charge :

‘ DEAR LORD SALISBURY,—I am deeply touched by your letter; first, by your kindness in writing me at all, a kindness which I hardly expected, for I felt that my letter to you was presumptuous and impertinent, however little I intended it to be so; secondly, by your writing to me so frankly and at the same time so fully. I perceive from your letter that I have laid myself open to misconception on one or two points and should like to put myself straight.

‘I wrote hurriedly, and I cannot recall distinctly all I said. But I did not mean to say that “your party would throw you over” in any case; and for the simple reason that I don’t think your party can do anything of the kind, except with your own consent. How could they? They have nobody of your intellectual stature to put in your place.

‘As I am writing to you confidentially, I may tell you that that is also Mr. Gladstone’s opinion. I was with him at Hawarden when Lord Beaconsfield died. Forster spent a day there at the same time, and I remember a conversation between him and Mr. Gladstone on the subject of the Conservative leadership. Forster expressed himself strongly in favour of Sir Stafford Northcote. Mr. Gladstone, who likes Sir Stafford personally, differed from Forster. He said, “The strongest man in the party is Salisbury, and I think a party should always be led by its strongest man. No doubt, it is a great disadvantage to Lord Salisbury to be in the House of Lords. Still, if he cares for the leadership he must have it; his party cannot afford to throw him over.”

‘May I tell you another anecdote? In the year 1879 (I think) I chanced to dine at Mr. Gladstone’s in Harley Street. It was a mixed party; there were several Liberals, two Conservatives, our foreign Diplomatist. During dinner poor Hayward (who had a biting tongue) attacked you somewhat bitterly for taking office under Lord Beaconsfield after all you had said against him. Some others joined in the attack. Then Mr. Gladstone broke in and said: “I don’t agree with you at all. I think it was Lord Salisbury’s duty to take office under Lord Beaconsfield, and I remember saying as much to Lady Salisbury at the time. Lord Salisbury was not likely to become a Liberal; as an independent member of the House of Lords he would have been powerless; and the only way in which he would serve his country was by taking office in the only possible Conservative Ministry. Nobody can dislike Lord Salisbury’s present foreign policy more than I do, but I do not despair of him, *and I regard his reputation as part of the heritage of England.*” I do not profess to tell you what he said with verbal accuracy,

though I am sure I have given it with substantial correctness. But the words which I have italicized are Mr. Gladstone's actual words. I remember them distinctly, for they made a vivid impression upon me.

'It is pleasant to recall these things in the midst of so much controversy. I have often heard Mr. Gladstone speak kindly of you in private, never bitterly. Only two months ago I dined in his company when one of those present tried to get a "rise" out of him in connexion with your name! He passed over the question lightly, merely saying: "I can't help feeling a sneaking kindness for Lord Salisbury. He has always interested me. He did the very first time I met him long ago, when he was a bright little fellow not yet in his teens."

'I hope I am not impertinent in repeating this. But the truth is that yourself and Mr. Gladstone are the only living statesmen who interest me in any marked degree. I am an impulsive Highlander, given, like the rest of my race, to hero-worship; and I am disposed to believe in men more than in parties. Mr. Gladstone and your Lordship (if I may presume to say so) have more in common in your characters than perhaps either of you imagine; and one of the gifts which you appear to me to have in common is an extraordinary faculty for giving ludicrously false impressions of yourselves to multitudes of people who do not know you. I suppose it is part of the penalty which genius must pay for its splendid prerogatives.

'I don't remember what I said to lead you to suppose that I believed your party "would throw you over." What I meant was that, if any disaster befell the party through the rejection of the Franchise Bill, they would hold your Lordship responsible and yield you a grudging allegiance. I don't think it is within their power to throw you over; but they might thwart and desert you on occasions, while still professing their general loyalty; and I doubt whether you would brook that. For my own part, I do not see what a man occupying your position has to gain by leading a political party. I do not refer to your rank and wealth only, but also to those varied intellectual

resources from which you would probably derive more real pleasure than from the worrying pursuits of political life.

‘I hope the amendment proposed by Lord Wemyss offers a compromise.¹ Would there be anything derogatory to the Conservative party in accepting it? One thing I can tell your Lordship for certain. The Radicals are in a panic lest Mr. Gladstone will accept it; and the advanced spirits among them are very angry with him for having left the door of compromise still open on Friday night. They believe that they have now the ball at their feet. No doubt you would be attacked by that portion of the Press if you were to make any concession now; but the bitterness of this attack would be the measure of their disappointment. A leading Radical said to me yesterday, “I hope to God Gladstone is not going to be so foolish as to give the peers another chance, we shall never have so good a cry again.”

‘I have known Mr. Gladstone since I was a boy, and my experience of him is that he is exceedingly accessible on the generous side of his nature. If you were to find some way of passing the Franchise Bill now, and then put Mr. Gladstone on his honour to deal fairly with the question of Redistribution, I believe that he would meet you half way, and would run the risk of seriously offending some of his own party in order to pass a fair Redistribution Bill. I believe that a more moderate Bill may be passed now than can ever be passed again, even by the Conservatives. I am sure that Mr. Gladstone would like to retire into private life with the goodwill of both parties. He is the only Liberal leader who can compel the Radicals to accept a moderate Bill. Lord Hartington would be obliged to be more extreme than Mr. Gladstone. In no other way could he secure the obedience of the Radical wing, and I am not sure that he is himself by any means so Conservative as Mr. Gladstone. What is old, venerable, and picturesque does not appeal to his imagination half so powerfully as it does to Mr. Gladstone’s. Moreover, Mr. Gladstone has now no motive

¹ In favour of passing the Franchise Bill at once, and dealing with Redistribution in the autumn Session.

to be extreme. His earnest longing is to be allowed to retire from public life. Political strife is no longer an exciting pleasure to him ; it is a bore. . . .

‘ Yours very truly,

‘ MALCOLM MACCOLL.’

July 21, 1884.

‘ DEAR LORD SALISBURY,—Your letter to me the other day was so noble that I felt strongly tempted to show it to Mr. Gladstone.

‘ I felt sure that it would appeal to the best instincts and feelings of his nature, and it always pains me to see you two whom I admire so much opposed to each other. My first impulse was to write to you to ask your permission to let me show your letter to Mr. Gladstone, but on reflection I felt that I would thereby be placing you in a false position.

‘ At last, after considering the matter carefully and reading your letter over several times to see if it contained anything that you could object to Mr. Gladstone seeing, and arriving at the conclusion that it did not, I made up my mind to show it to him ; so that he might see that you were not influenced by any personal considerations. I put your letter inside an envelope with a note from myself begging him to read it, but to let no eye but his own see it, and to send it back to me direct from himself. I took the letter myself so that it might not pass through the hands of a secretary. Mr. Gladstone took it with him into the country last Saturday week, and returned it to me from the country with a letter which you may like to see, and which I therefore beg to enclose.¹

July 13, 1884.

¹ ‘ MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I have read Lord Salisbury’s letter with a great deal of interest and with considerable sympathy on important points. I have always believed, and expressed the belief, that he is not governed by personal ambition: and I agree strongly with him as to the unsatisfying character of political life. There is something to which every heart must answer sympathetically in his remarks on his own qualities.

‘ It has repeatedly occurred to my mind of late that his judgment on a Redistribution Bill may be (in my view) warped from his using the lights of his personal experience in the House of Commons with the very natural assumption that they are a safe guide to the present situation. But the fact is that, since he carried his brilliant gifts to the House of Peers, a change which may

‘I hope you do not think that I have acted dishonourably. It is my earnest wish that Mr. Gladstone and your Lordship should appreciate each other’s virtues at the beginning of a controversy into which I fear others will infuse bitterness enough. I know that Mr. Gladstone is very anxious to keep the controversy within moderate limits; he deprecates attacks on the House of Lords. His letter (which I enclose) gives, I think, a somewhat different complexion to that sentence in his Foreign Office speech,¹ on which your Lordship has more than once commented—quite fairly in my opinion. I have more than once heard Mr. Gladstone lament his own defect in not being able always to say precisely what he means; neither more nor less; a faculty in which he thinks Lord Palmerston and Mr. Parnell excel more than any public speakers of whom he has any experience. The truth is, Mr. Gladstone takes a desponding view of the future of the House of Commons as a legislative machine, unless some large changes are made in its procedure. He believes that it will be extremely difficult for any Government, whether Liberal or Tory, to pass any Bill giving wide scope for discussion, if it is opposed by a few men on the Opposition side in combination with the Irish. He has often wished you back in the House of Commons, especially since Disraeli left that House. He believes it would be much easier to conduct public business if you were sitting opposite him.

‘I apologize most humbly for the great liberty which I have taken, and I hope your Lordship will at least believe that my intentions have been honourable. I have no selfish feeling in this matter. I am not a strong political partisan. The only political questions in which I have taken an active part have been the Irish Question and the Eastern,

be called fundamental has come in among us through the growth of business in a measure, but mainly through the arts of obstruction. These arts it is not required for the leaders to practise. The vain and obstreperous, or ambitious men, under a silent permission, and with the fine teaching and intermittent help of the Irish, do it all for them. The consequence of this state of things is that no very wide and complex Bill can now be passed in defiance of the Opposition. Hence flows my doctrine that we have not a chance for a Redistribution Bill unless the Opposition has some motive for treating it with mercy.

‘Yours sincerely,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

¹ At a meeting of the Liberal party on May 29.

and both have always seemed to me to have to do with morals and religion as much as with politics.

‘I remain, dear Lord Salisbury, with many apologies and much respect,

‘Yours sincerely and faithfully,

‘MALCOLM MACCOLL.’

July 24, 1884.

‘DEAR LORD SALISBURY,—I was present at the dinner¹ last evening at which Mr. Chamberlain spoke, and I took some pains to learn what the prevailing opinion was about your present political attitude. I was gratified to find that it was one of sincere respect. Two Radical members of the House of Commons told me that they respected you a great deal more than the Conservative M.P.’s in the House of Commons, since you had the courage of your convictions. I know your conduct also contrasted favourably with that of Mr. Disraeli in 1867. Your courage was admired and your conduct was considered thoroughly honourable.

‘I have often been struck with the rapid recovery of popularity which public men sometimes make in this country, so long as their personal character is respected; and it would not surprise me to see your Lordship very popular one of these days. Your opposition to the Reform Bill, 1867, extorted the respect of all England, and, when you went to Constantinople, you divided with Mr. Gladstone the confidence of the British public. I have never forgiven Lord Derby and Lord Beaconsfield for having caused, as I believe they did, the failure of your mission.

‘I breakfasted with Mr. Gladstone this morning and told him what I heard said about you last evening. “It does not surprise me at all,” he said, “Lord Salisbury is a man who is capable of making sacrifices for the sake of his convictions, and such a man will always be respected in England.”

‘I told him that I had sent his letter to you. “You should have asked my leave first,” he said. But I reminded him that I had sent your Lordship’s letters to him

¹ At the Devonshire Club.

without asking your leave, and for the same reason which induced me to send his—namely, that I might not commit your Lordship in any way. With much respect,

‘I remain,

‘Yours very sincerely,

‘MALCOLM MACCOLL.’

Lord Salisbury replied on July 26 :

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I have been so pressed with correspondence that I have not been able earlier to thank you for your letters. They concern myself too much to admit of any comment on my part other than that some of the observations made are as much on one side of the balance, as I trust the views of me current in the newspapers are upon the other.

‘I return your enclosure¹ with many thanks. I do not in the least disguise from myself the force of the considerations adverted to in the last part of it. The difficulty of legislating in a satisfactory manner is stupendous. I am not of course prepared to admit that the mode in which it was sought to overcome that difficulty was permissible. I am not sanguine that the difficulty—in our present phase of national existence—can be overcome. It is symptomatic of a struggle between the various elements of our society which it will take many decades to fight out : and, till it is fought out, the legislative machine will not work.

‘Yours very truly,

‘SALISBURY.’

Parliament was prorogued on August 14. The recess was occupied by a vehement debate, on the platform and in the Press, concerning the claim of the Lords to see the details of Restitution before they conceded the Franchise. Throughout the autumn MacColl was exceedingly busy, trying, as ever, to negotiate between the two statesmen in whom alone he believed. On October 5 he wrote to Gladstone from Aboyne Castle :

¹ Gladstone's letter to MacColl on p. 97.

'I hope the salmon which I sent to you yesterday morning arrived in good condition. I caught it the previous evening and, like the one which I sent last year, it hooked itself on the outside of the mouth, and consequently gave me two hours' hard work before I landed it, and a mile's walk down the river; when a fish hooks itself in that way it can keep its mouth shut, so that it is impossible to drown it, and if it is a fresh fish it takes a long time to exhaust it.

'I am going to the Seabury Commemoration this week in Aberdeen,¹ and then home, taking Ripon on my way to attend a Chapter Meeting.

'I am glad that Lord Strathmore has left so favourable an impression on you. Lady Strathmore also is charming. They were delighted with your visit; and so were the Hoods. I had several conversations with Lord Hood on the Franchise crisis. He is in favour of the Lords giving way if they can do it with honour. But he said—and Lord Strathmore confirms it—that the Tories in the House of Commons are rather more to blame than the Tory peers. At the Carlton meeting several peers were in favour of giving way, but a number of Tory M.P.'s declared that they would not stand again unless the Lords remained firm. Lord Hood seemed to think that it would be easier for the Lords to give way, if you did not saddle them with the entire responsibility of what they had done.

'I have received an interesting letter from Lord Bath on the subject, which I will send you to look at when I have answered it.

'How reckless Lord Salisbury becomes whenever he gets on his legs to make a political speech! I scarcely think that he will advance his cause by his Glasgow speeches.

'The Prince of Wales lunched here yesterday, and dropped a few cautious observations which seemed to show that he disapproved of the action of the Lords. He was very gracious to me.'

The new Session of Parliament was opened on October 23, and on November 6 Gladstone re-introduced the Franchise

¹ The centenary of the consecration of Samuel Seabury to be Bishop of Connecticut.

Bill, which passed the Second Reading by a majority of 140. MacColl now returned to Lord Salisbury, and sought a private interview, of which he made the following record :

INTERVIEW OF M. M. WITH LORD S.

November 13, 1884.

‘*M.*—I think it very kind of you to let me come and speak my mind to you quite frankly. What I have to say may be of no value or importance whatever. Still I think that I may possibly be able to place a few facts before you of which you may not be aware, or direct your attention to some aspects of the controversy which may not have presented themselves to your mind.

‘*S.*—That is very likely. I shall be glad to hear what you have to say.

‘*M.*—I know how valuable your time is, and I hope you will stop me when you think that I am saying anything irrelevant or useless. I have come entirely “on my own hook,” without consultation with anybody; so that you must consider whatever I say strictly on its merits. The first point to which I wish to call your attention is the fact, which not a few Conservatives now admit, that the great Conservative force in the Liberal party at this moment is Mr. Gladstone. He stands between the Peers and the deluge. He told Lord Strathmore at Glamis Castle, with the earnestness of sincere conviction, that, if a dissolution were forced on the Franchise Question, the question of the Franchise would pass into the shade and the House of Lords would inevitably come to the front. He is opposed to a dissolution on this question therefore, not because he anticipates defeat, but because he fears a disastrous victory—disastrous to the House of Lords and the Conservative party. You tell me that the effect of the Government’s manipulation of the question of Redistribution would be to “efface the Conservative party for thirty years.” That would be a disaster which, I am sure, Mr. Gladstone would deplore as sincerely as yourself; and it is just because he wishes to avert it that he is so anxious to settle the question while he remains

at the head of the Liberal party. What possible motive could he have, at his age, in wishing to ruin your party for a generation ?

‘*S.*—I have never attributed any evil motive to him. He might not wish to injure us himself. But, powerful as he is, he might be obliged to yield to the exigencies of party considerations.

‘*M.*—And do you think that those considerations are likely to be less powerful when the Liberal party is no longer controlled and guided by Mr. Gladstone ? He wishes the question settled now in the interests of true Conservatism. There is a powerful and growing section of Liberals who wish it *not* to be settled till Mr. Gladstone has passed off the scene.

‘*S.*—I am quite aware of that.

‘*M.*—But are you not playing the game of that party ? Mr. Chamberlain certainly thinks so, for he has said so publicly, and not longer ago than in his speech at the laying of the foundation-stone of the National Liberal Club. Mr. John Morley has been equally frank. Besides, if you succeed in forcing a dissolution, the House of Lords will not be the only question for which a drastic solution will be clamorously demanded. You may have a Land question for England and Scotland, more formidable than that of Ireland ; and behind that again the Church Establishment.

‘*S.*—I am aware of all the risks you point out ; but I am not sure that it would not be better to face them at once instead of postponing them. They are sure to come to the front by and by.

‘*M.*—But are they sure to come in an acute form if we leave them to the natural evolution of events ? For my part, I do not see that Disestablishment need come at all if the Church continue to advance in the next twenty years as she has done during the last twenty. And it is in the spread of Church principles among the masses that I should be disposed to look for Conservative safeguards (I do not mean in any party sense) rather than in any artificial distribution of votes. I do not believe that the democracy of this country, taking it in the mass, is hostile,

like that of the Continent, either to the Church or to a territorial aristocracy. The House of Lords is unpopular as an institution; but I do not believe that the peerage is at all unpopular apart from its legislative functions. Therefore I do not see why you should be so much afraid of the new voters in whatsoever way they may be distributed.

‘*S.*—Perhaps you are right in a general way. But at present there is a large urban population, including a considerable number of miners, who are Radical in sentiment and not much under the control of Church principles. If these are thrown into the rural constituencies as at present constituted, the Conservative element would be swamped, and might never be able to recover itself.

‘*M.*—But what will the effect of your throwing out the Franchise Bill a second time have on the rural population? Is it not likely to make them, too, Radicals? And will they not take their revenge upon you when they get their votes?

‘*S.*—I doubt it. That class of voters don’t appear to be much influenced by motives of gratitude or resentment. They did not show much gratitude to Mr. Disraeli in the General Election after he gave them Household Suffrage in the Boroughs.

‘*M.*—That was because they knew that the Bill was not Disraeli’s at all. And nobody did more to enlighten them on that point than your Lordship. You remember also the late Duke of Buccleuch’s laconic summing-up of the matter, just after Mr. Disraeli’s Bill became law: that when the Bill received the Royal Assent “nothing remained of its original shape but the first word, ‘Whereas.’”

‘*S.*—At all events, you must not allow your knowledge of Borough voters to influence you unduly as regards the rural labourers. In general, they are dull, unenlightened, slow to receive new impressions, conservative in the sense of being indisposed to change their traditional habits and customs. After one or two General Elections they may come to take in their newly-acquired power and act accordingly. At present they will, I believe, follow the dominant influence in their neighbourhood. I am not much afraid

therefore of the effect of our policy on the Agricultural Labourers.

‘*M.*—I have no experience to entitle me to have an opinion of my own on that subject. But your Lordship’s opinion is not shared by all Conservatives. Lord Bath has studied this question carefully, and I know that he, for one, is apprehensive of the effect of a second rejection of the Franchise Bill on the minds of the Agricultural Labourers. However that may be, I understand that you wish to have a dissolution before the question of Redistribution is settled.

‘*S.*—I would rather put it this way, that I do not see how we can let the Franchise Bill pass, while our eyes are blindfolded as to Redistribution.

‘*M.*—But why are you blindfolded? The Government have offered to show you their scheme, at least in its general principles.

‘*S.*—But that is not a sufficient security. I do not see how we can go back from our claim to keep the Franchise Bill under our control till such a Redistribution Bill as we may approve of is secured.

‘*M.*—Very well; let us see what the probable result is likely to be of your dealing with the Franchise Bill in a way that the Government would regard as equivalent to its rejection. The Government is in possession, and has a variety of courses to choose from. It may create peers—a course which seemed to be indicated by Lord Hartington in his speech in the beginning of October. You remember the passage?

‘*S.*—Oh, yes. It was a mere *brutum fulmen* for the purpose of frightening us.

‘*M.*—I doubt whether it is prudent to dismiss it in that way. But let us consider the next alternative—Dissolution. Mr. Gladstone is too much committed against a Dissolution forced by the peers. So we may go to the third alternative—Resignation. But a Minister who has the confidence of the House of Commons by an overwhelming majority would be justified in choosing his own time for resigning; and you could hardly expect Mr. Gladstone to choose the time most convenient to you.

‘*S.*—Certainly not.

‘*M.*—Suppose, then, that the Franchise Bill comes to an untimely end in the House of Lords. What is to prevent the Government meeting Parliament next spring with some other Bills, including a County Government Bill which would, let us assume, among other things divide the rates between landlords and tenants. I fancy that such a Bill would be more likely to win the farmers than Mr. Chaplin’s 5 per cent. duty on corn. Meanwhile an agitation has been already started in favour of a general reduction of rents. That agitation will be worked against Messrs. Chaplin and Co. by several Liberal candidates. I know one County candidate who has got all the particulars of the frequent rises in Mr. ——’s rents, and who will use it with great effect. It will not be difficult to persuade the farmers that any profit from a duty on corn will find its way into the landlord’s pockets. I doubt whether a resignation even now would be very advantageous to you in the counties.

‘*S.*—What do you say to South Warwickshire? ¹ The great victory there has been quite as great a surprise to us as it has been to the Liberals.

‘*M.*—From what I can learn I do not gather that South Warwickshire is by any means a typical election. The inference I draw from it is precisely the opposite to that drawn from it by Mr. Chaplin in a speech a day or two ago. South Warwickshire has been the chief theatre of Arch’s propaganda; and the result is that the farmers’ fear of, and anger against, the labourers have driven them into the Tory camp. Mr. Chaplin drew the extraordinary inference that the victory proved that the labourers of South Warwickshire are in sympathy with the action of the House of Lords on the Franchise Question.

‘*S.*—I saw that. He must have been misreported. He could hardly have said anything so foolish.

‘*M.*—Well, let us suppose a Dissolution next session on the Franchise Question, a County Government Bill, and the House of Lords. I assume that, on Mr. Gladstone’s resignation, you would form a Government which would certainly

¹ At a by-election caused by the death of Mr. Gilbert Leigh, a Liberal, the seat was won by Mr. Sampson Lloyd, a Conservative.

include Lord Randolph Churchill and Mr. Chaplin, and perhaps Mr. Lowther. You would either dissolve at once, or would be forced to do so. Instead of the safe field of aggressive criticism, you would find yourself on the defensive all round, and would be confronted by such questions as the following: Would you renew the Coercion Act in Ireland? If yes, you would have the Irish vote against you, everywhere. If no, you would lose all the moderate Liberals, and probably some Tories. What would you do in Egypt? Annexation? Protectorate? Retention of the Sudan? Would you put a duty on corn? If yes, you might win some Counties, but you would lose more Boroughs. If you merely promised an enquiry, the farmers would consider that an evasion, and the public in general would conclude that you were playing with a great question for mere party purposes. You would fall between the two stools of Free Trade and Protection for corn. You can hardly expect that you would get a working majority. Even on the most hopeful assumption you could only retain power by the support of the Parnellites; and that support would be given on terms which I am sure you would not accept. You would have to give place to a Liberal Government; and you have meanwhile pledged yourself to abide by the decision of the country after a General Election. You would therefore be bound to pass the Franchise Bill and Redistribution Bill offered you by a resentful party flushed with victory. Can you persuade yourself that you could then get such good terms as you may get now?

‘*S.*—I see all the dangers. Still it is a choice of evils, and I do not see how we can pass the Franchise Bill without some security as to Redistribution.

‘*M.*—What security do you require?

‘*S.*—It is for the Government to make the next move.

‘*M.*—Is that so? Has not Lord John Manners, with the apparent concurrence of the Opposition, scornfully rejected the offer of the Government to take the leaders of the Opposition into their confidence?

‘*S.*—I do not understand that such an offer was made.

‘*M.*—I thought it had been. Is it impossible for yourself

and Mr. Gladstone to come together on this question? I was in hopes you might have been brought together at Glamis Castle last September.

‘*S.*—That, I fear, was impossible. I might have got there *incognito*; but not Mr. Gladstone. His face is known at every railway station in the kingdom. And if our meeting had got into the papers it would have done more harm than good.

‘*M.*—But why not meet now and talk the matter over?

‘*S.*—It is impossible to meet privately, and to meet publicly would breed suspicions and resentments on both sides.

‘*M.*—But can nothing at all be done?

‘*S.*—I am sorry; but I really do not see how we can give way.

‘*M.*—May I tell Mr. Gladstone of our conversation?

‘*S.*—On no account. You must not even tell him that you have been with me. Not that I should mind his knowing all about it. But if it came out that you had been to see me first, and then Mr. Gladstone, it would do mischief. And these things always do come out. In this matter I can keep a secret better than Mr. Gladstone, because I need not tell it to anybody; but he has his Cabinet to deal with; and a secret imparted to a dozen or more men is certain to ooze out.

‘*M.*—If I have an opportunity, may I at least give Mr. Gladstone to understand, without quoting you or saying that I have seen you, that nothing short of your seeing the Government scheme, and satisfying yourself that the Government will deal fairly with your party, will satisfy you?

‘*S.*—Yes. I have no objection to your saying so much as that.¹

‘*M.*—It is very kind of you to listen so patiently to all that I have been saying, I hardly like to trespass any longer on your patience.

‘*S.*—Pray go on if you have anything more to say.

¹ I went accordingly that afternoon and told Mr. Gladstone's Secretary, E. W. Hamilton, all that I was allowed to say.—M. M.

‘ *M.*—I am afraid I may be taking a liberty. Yet I think I ought to tell you that I have very good reason to believe that a number of Conservative peers only want a decent excuse to back out of the opposition to the Franchise Bill. There are others—I could name two friends of your own—whose chivalrous loyalty to you may induce them to follow you if you decide to reject the Franchise Bill a second time, but they will follow you with sore hearts, and with a feeling that you have used them ungenerously. It seems to me that Providence has now given you a great chance to retrieve your political reputation. When you went to Constantinople I believe you stood only second to Mr. Gladstone in the confidence of the public. I am not expressing any opinion of my own ; but you must be aware that after your return you were believed by many, not all Liberals, to have sacrificed some of your convictions to political ambition. Mr. Gladstone has declared in public and in private that he does not believe that you are influenced by political ambition. So far, your conduct on the Franchise question has, I believe, done you good. I have heard some Radicals say—I may mention Mr. H. Fowler and Mr. Caine—that they respected the consistency and honesty of your conduct. You have shown that you are willing to risk your political future, and that of your order, in defence of your convictions. Show in addition that you can rise superior to party and play the part of a statesman, and I believe that you will at once occupy a position in public estimation higher than you have ever done yet. Nothing has more struck me in English political life than the generosity with which the public forget a public man’s conscientious errors the moment he has turned over a new leaf. My great desire from the beginning of this controversy has been that Mr. Gladstone and yourself should understand each other. I know that he has lately said some severe things of you.

‘ *S.*—Yes, he has.

‘ *M.*—And you have said severe things of him. Mr. Gladstone has this excuse, that you have crossed him in love.

‘ *S.*—How ? I don’t understand you.

‘*M.*—I believe that at one time Mr. Gladstone set his heart upon you as the man destined to regenerate the Conservative party from the bastard conservatism invented by Lord Beaconsfield. And you have disappointed him.

‘*S.*—I have never thought Mr. Gladstone had any personal feeling against me. I have never doubted his conscientiousness.

‘*M.*—I don’t mind saying to you that I did not like Mr. Gladstone contrasting your leadership of the Lords unfavourably with Lord Beaconsfield’s. I dare say I am prejudiced; but I have no opinion of Lord Beaconsfield’s sagacity as a leader. You could not, if you tried, act more foolishly than Lord Beaconsfield did when he persuaded the Lords to reject the Compensation for Disturbance Bill.

‘*S.*—(Smiling.) That of course is a matter of opinion.

‘*M.*—On the other hand, how could you contrast Mr. Gladstone’s leadership of the Liberal party unfavourably with Lord Palmerston’s? I regard Lord Palmerston as a political charlatan, in spite of his ability. He was a man of no convictions. It is from men of his type that revolutions generally come.

‘*S.*—That sounds a paradox. Lord Palmerston is generally regarded as the type of an astute and moderate leader.

‘*M.*—I know he is. But what proof did he ever give of constructive statesmanship? His moderation consisted in trifling with great questions which he ought to have settled. What could have been more abjectly shallow than his dismissal of the Irish Land question with the flippant epigram that “Tenant Right is Landlord Wrong”? He might have settled the question of Parliamentary Reform and of the Irish land on moderate lines; and it is because he threw away his opportunities that you have had a revolutionary Land Act for Ireland, and that you are now in the midst of a political crisis on the question of Reform in England. It is in reversing the hand-to-mouth statesmanship of Lord Palmerston that Mr. Gladstone shows how much more moderate and conservative a statesman he is; I mean in using his authority with the nation in settling questions on conservative lines, which if left unsettled by

him, would have to be settled on revolutionary lines by his successors. But I must not waste more of your time. I cannot tell you how grateful I am to you for your kindness in having allowed me to speak to you so frankly and at such length. I do hope that matters may be settled amicably.

‘S.—I hope so too. I am very glad to have had this conversation with you, and I shall always be glad to see you or hear from you.’

On November 17 MacColl wrote as follows :

‘DEAR LORD SALISBURY,—I hope that I am not abusing your patience and good nature in venturing to write to you once more.

‘I have been to Downing Street since I saw you ; but, as I did not feel at liberty to say anything which might possibly imply that I had had any communication with you, I could not say more than that I felt convinced that, if you only got a guarantee against a Dissolution on the new County Franchise before a Redistribution Bill was passed, you would hold out no longer. Have you not got your guarantee now ? I was not in the House of Commons this evening ; but I understand that Mr. Gladstone declared that he would stake the existence of the Government on the Redistribution Bill even after it reached the Lords. The Lords will then have it in their power, if they are so minded, to force a Dissolution on the present Franchise early next year, to say nothing of any chance that may turn up against the Government in the interval in the House of Commons.

‘I do hope your Lordship will think this a sufficient security. I hope it most of all for the sake of your own future. So far, my belief is that you have done yourself good rather than harm in public estimation. Your opponents respect your conscientiousness. Mr. Henry Fowler, a Radical M.P. and Nonconformist to boot, spoke in that sense to me the other day. You have gained much.

‘The Government have practically conceded your demand. You can afford to accept the olive branch with dignity, security and grace ; and you will belie all the talk

about your rashness. I know that several Conservative peers are only waiting for a decent excuse to go back from their vote of last July ; and, even among those whose chivalrous loyalty to you will forbid them to desert you if you call upon them to follow you in rejecting the Ministerial offer, there will be some—I know two—who will follow you with a sore feeling that they have been ungraciously used.

‘ I am afraid I am impertinent, but I think you will at least kindly appreciate my motives.

‘ With sincere respect,

‘ I remain,

‘ Yours very truly,

‘ MALCOLM MACCOLL.’

On the very day on which this letter was written Gladstone suddenly gave way, and announced in the House of Commons that he would be prepared to settle the details of Redistribution in private conference with Lord Salisbury, if the Lords would agree to pass the Franchise Bill before the Session ended. So the Tories gained their point and the Radicals murmured. The Redistribution Bill, arranged in its main principles between the leaders of the two parties, was read a second time in the House of Commons on December 4, and the Franchise Bill received the Royal Assent on the 6th.¹

When all was settled, MacColl sent the record of his interview with Lord Salisbury to Gladstone’s Private Secretary, who replied as follows : ‘ I return you with many thanks this interesting memorandum of your conversation with Lord Salisbury. . . . I admire your pluck in tackling so big a man as Lord S. unquestionably is. Mr. Gladstone found him most pleasant to deal with ; and one of the good results likely to ensue from this historic incident is that it will, I am sure, tend to both great men understanding each other better.’

¹ Twelve years later, Gladstone described this as ‘ one of the most important and delicate crises in which I ever was concerned.’

CHAPTER VII

THE IRISH QUESTION

The moment the very name of Ireland is mentioned, the English seem to bid adieu to common feeling, common prudence, and common sense.

SYDNEY SMITH.

At the beginning of 1885 it was apparent to all dispassionate beholders that Gladstone and his Government were declining in popularity. They had alienated the Irish, who now made common cause with the Tories, both in the House and in the constituencies. They had disgusted some of their most zealous supporters by their surrender to the Lords. They had perpetrated a series of blunders in Egypt which rightly incurred constant Votes of Censure in Parliament, and those votes were only defeated by ever-decreasing majorities. The Tory party, ostensibly led by Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote, but really animated by Lord Randolph Churchill, was hungering for office.¹ All round there were signs of impending disaster.

On May 3, 1885, MacColl wrote thus to Lord Salisbury :

‘ If I may take the liberty of saying so, I find evidence circulating from all quarters that your Lordship has vastly strengthened your position throughout the country, as I always believed you would, by your management of the Franchise Question. I wish you were in the House of Commons.’

¹ ‘ When Lord Beaconsfield died, Dr. Littledale suggested the following motto (from the opening of Gluck’s opera, *Orfeo*) for the Conservative party under the “dual control” of Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote: “Dove andrò senza il mio Ben?”—M. M.’

On June 8 Sir Michael Hicks-Beach¹ carried an amendment to the Budget, and some complicated negotiations between the leaders on both sides ensued. While these were proceeding, MacColl wrote to Lord Salisbury as follows :

‘ I take the liberty of sending you, quite confidentially, the following information :

‘ 1. I believe that in Ministerial circles, and among the Liberals generally, the defeat of the Government is considered the best thing that could happen to the party under the present circumstances, for the following reasons :

‘ (a) The defeat is not understood to mean a revolt of any considerable number of Liberals. There was no urgent whip ; not the five-line whip on large paper that is sent out when there is serious danger ; but an ordinary four-line on ordinary paper. And this was not sent out until Saturday night. So that many members did not have it at all. (I give you the explanation given to me.) Moreover, members were allowed by the Liberal Whips to absent themselves. Certainly this is true in some cases to my knowledge. Mr. Barran was allowed on Monday forenoon to go to Leeds. A Liberal member told me yesterday that he left the House at 10 P.M. on Monday “ because he felt out of sorts,” not anticipating any danger. I have heard of several other similar cases. So much is this the case that it is thought in some quarters that the Government, as Mr. John Morley put it to an acquaintance of mine yesterday, “ rode for a fall.”

‘ That is not my own belief. I am sure Mr. Gladstone did not expect danger (though I believe he is rather glad at the result). In fact a member of the Government told me as late as Monday afternoon that there was no danger. He said a number of Conservatives would support the Government, and he mentioned Mr. Hubbard as one of the Conservatives who intended to do so. He said Mr. Hubbard told him so. The result is that the Government feel that they can rely on the continued loyalty of their party in any action they may take in opposition ; the bulk of the absentees being eager to recover their character with their constituents.

¹ Afterwards Lord St. Aldwyn.

‘(b) My own conviction is that, if the Session had died a natural death, Mr. Gladstone would have retired. It is believed now that he will not leave the party in the lurch, but will lead in the dissolution, and perhaps for the first session of the new Parliament.

‘A Liberal told me yesterday that this would make a difference of over a hundred seats to the Liberals. I am not sure that this is an exaggeration.

‘I was astonished down at Ripon at the failure of even the fall of Khartoum and the death of Gordon to affect Mr. Gladstone’s popularity. The fact is, that any mistake of the Government is put down either to bad luck, Tory obstruction, or too much yielding to Tory advice, or to Mr. Gladstone not having his own way in the Cabinet.

‘He personally is acquitted. I don’t remember anything like this in English politics.

‘(c) The news from Ireland has grown bad within the last few days, it is thought in anticipation of the Crimes Act lapsing. (This is authentic. I had it yesterday from Mr. Gladstone’s Private Secretary.)

‘The Liberal party is so little committed to the renewal of the Crimes Act that they may take advantage of any mistake a Conservative Government might make on that subject.

‘The defeat came just in the nick of time for them on that question.

‘(d) It is generally felt that the Liberals will have a great advantage in being the attacking party in the General Election under Mr. Gladstone’s leadership ; whereas fighting on the defensive without Mr. Gladstone might be disastrous to them, largely through internal dissensions.

‘Please kindly consider all this quite confidential, and burn my letter.’

Undaunted by these prognostications, Lord Salisbury accepted the Premiership, and the new Government took office on June 24. On July 3 MacColl wrote to his dethroned chief from Munich :

‘I have found Dr. Döllinger in wonderfully good health and spirits, and not looking very much older than he did when I last saw him eight years ago. His hair has

grown somewhat more grey ; that is almost the only change I notice. His mind seems as clear as ever. He enjoys excellent sleep, he says, and has an excellent appetite, and has had no occasion to consult a doctor for twenty years. He is greatly interested in the political situation in England, and asked me a crowd of questions with great eagerness. He expressed great satisfaction with your letter,¹ admired its "dignity"; and thought its generosity "worthy of your high position." He is also glad to conclude that you do not contemplate a very early retirement from political life, and sees no reason for it on account of your age, as you are more than ten years his junior. He has passed his seventy-sixth. He assured me that your visit to Denmark² was believed throughout Germany, and entirely by Bismarck, to have had a political object, namely an understanding with Russia to the prejudice of Germany. This is very absurd ; but Continental publicists and statesmen are sometimes capable of the wildest absurdities in respect to English politics.'

When the Session of 1885 came to an end, it was generally understood that the General Election would take place in November, the Register having been specially accelerated for that purpose. In September MacColl was staying with Lord Huntly at Aboyne, and on the 16th he wrote thus to the Editor of the *Daily News* :

' You may take the following for gospel :

' The Government has had under consideration for the last week the question of postponing the Dissolution till the New Year. The reason given will be the difficulty of getting the registers ready. The real reason is that the Tories have come to the conclusion that they will be beaten, and the hungry officials among them insist on two or three months more of the spoils of office. My information is unquestionable ; but it is confidential, and I cannot give my authority. You may use it publicly, however, but of course without the least allusion to your informant.'

¹ Addressed to a meeting of the Midlothian Liberal Association, June 30, 1885.

² In September 1883.

In what was called the 'Unauthorized Programme' for the Radical party, Mr. Chamberlain had most inopportunately raised the question of Disestablishment, and the clergy were up in arms. On November 11 MacColl expressed his discontent in a letter to Lord Salisbury :

' Perhaps I may take the liberty of sending a few observations to your Lordship next week on some aspects of the political situation. Meanwhile I will only say three things :

' 1. Mr. Chamberlain's extraordinary stupidity as a tactician has damaged him enormously, even among Radicals. He seems to possess a positive genius for blundering in tactics. A man of ordinary common sense and humour would have seen that the delicious story about his screws which he told at Birmingham last evening, if it makes a good point in favour of Free Trade, shows also that Mr. Chamberlain has more regard for his own interest than for the welfare of the working classes.

' 2. I wish the clergy could be stopped from preaching political sermons and denouncing Dissenters as infidels, for I could give your Lordship several instances when such sermons have injured not the Church merely but the Conservative party as well. One of the most surprising things in this controversy to me is the large number of Nonconformists who are opposed to Disestablishment. Indiscriminate attacks on Dissenters therefore are, to take no other ground, extremely bad tactics.

' 3. I beg to tender my thanks to your Lordship for what, as far as I can learn from the papers, is your wise policy in regard to the Bulgarian imbroglio. I have never doubted that if you had held the seals of the Foreign Office in 1876-7 instead of that owl Lord Derby, that controversy would have had a very different history.

' Serbia seems to me to be behaving infamously. Her Government offered no opposition to the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878, demanded no compensation. Yet the Treaty of San Stefano, if I remember rightly, made a larger Bulgaria than that against which Serbia is now protesting.'

Parliament, in spite of the rumours of Aboyne, was dissolved on November 18. When the Election closed, the number of Liberals returned was just equal to that of the Tories combined with the Irish. Lord Salisbury therefore remained in power, but his tenure of office was manifestly insecure. The Irish members could at any moment displace him. On December 9 he was thus addressed by MacColl :

‘ I wonder if you would mind taking the trouble to run your eye on the enclosed memorandum on the present political situation, before I have the honour of seeing you on Monday. I may possibly have something more to say by that time.

‘ I verily believe that the Irish Question can be settled on some such lines as I venture thus hurriedly and roughly to sketch ; and I do not believe that it can be settled on any other. I am no statesman, however, and my ideas may be as foolish as they are crude.

‘ No scheme of Local Government will satisfy the Irish—I mean County Government. They long to present themselves before the world as a Nation capable of self-government, and nothing that falls short of satisfying that unquenchable craving will appease them.’

On December 19 the world was astonished by an anonymous paragraph in the *Standard* to the effect that if Gladstone should regain the Premiership, he would be prepared to ‘ deal in a liberal spirit with the demand for Home Rule.’ This wholly unexpected announcement created an indescribable confusion, perplexity, and excitement, alike in political circles and outside them. Gladstone held his peace, and would neither confirm nor deny the change of front attributed to him. It was exactly the sort of crisis which suited MacColl, and his public-spirited activities may be collected from the following correspondence :

MacColl to Salisbury

‘ December 19, 1885.—I am quite sure that all the versions published to-day in regard to Mr. Gladstone’s intentions are

pure speculation. They are probably based on a letter from Mr. Herbert Gladstone to a friend in Leeds in which he throws out suggestions of his own (so I am told) as to the settlement of the Irish Question. It is a great mistake, however, to suppose that Mr. Herbert Gladstone consults his father before he speaks or writes on public questions. My impression is this, that Mr. Gladstone has not as yet formulated any cut-and-dried scheme. His mind, I know, has been engaged on the subject at intervals from the year 1871; and with closer and more detailed attention during the last few years. He has lately been working out and testing every scheme within the limits which I told your Lordship on Monday;¹ but I doubt whether he has yet finally made up his mind as to the details of any scheme in particular. When I was there last week he was deep in Burke, a writer whom he venerates as a great master of political wisdom on all constitutional subjects. I regret the tone of the *Standard* article on the subject. I am quite sure that Mr. Gladstone has no wish to obtain a party triumph on your Lordship on this subject. I am convinced that what he wishes above all things just now is cordial relations between yourself and him on this subject. I have not the smallest doubt of his sincerity when he assured me that a scheme of Home Rule proposed by you on the lines which he indicated "should have his hearty support"; and that he believed that a Tory Government had advantages for that purpose which a Liberal Government would not enjoy. He feels strongly and solemnly that the Irish Question has arrived at a crisis, and that the safest plan is to put aside mere tinkering and temporary experiments and to face the question boldly and generously. Another thing which I am profoundly convinced is that the last thing he wishes is to lessen your political influence or injure your political future. He is very much afraid of Lord Randolph Churchill and the Tory democrats, and he has never abandoned the hope of a restoration of the Tory party, under your guidance, to the general principles of policy which guided it under Sir Robert Peel. My belief is that as Mr. Gladstone approaches

¹ At a private interview.

the close of his career his mind goes back to his old Conservative position with considerable longing. I was struck with a speech of his some years ago, when he was riding on the crest of a wave of Liberal triumph. The predominant feeling of his mind, he said, was a feeling of distress and solitariness when he looked back and saw "the long procession of the figures of the dead," such as Sidney Herbert, Lord Cardwell, the Duke of Newcastle, and others. He spoke of you to me the other day in terms of great cordiality ; praised very highly your great quickness, grasp and fairness in your conferences with him on the Redistribution Bill ; and declared that he had never had a pleasanter man to work with. My honest belief is that you and he have at bottom more in common than either of you have with any other public men ; and it is one of the most unfortunate events of our time that you should be in opposition to each other instead of in the same Cabinet. Your Lordship may have remarked how Mr. Gladstone went a little out of his way in Midlothian to single you out from the rest of your party for special praise, first, on the Bulgarian Question ; secondly, for your implied rebuke of the speeches of Lord Randolph Churchill and Sir M. Hicks-Beach on the Irish Question.

' Mr. Gladstone and yourself stand out, head and shoulders, above the rest of your parties respectively, and can afford to take your own lines, with the certainty that the party in each case *must* follow. You may depend upon it that, whatever line Mr. Gladstone adopts on the Irish Question, he will carry his whole party with him. He will certainly secure Lord Spencer, Lord Hartington, and Goschen ; and the extreme wing will not dare to revolt even if they were inclined. Is it impossible for your Lordship and Mr. Gladstone to come to some understanding on this question ? You are a necessity to your party. Your position is now so well established that there can be no move against you. There is nobody among them who can approach you even as a respectable leader, and you have gained immensely in the country. You have a great future before you, but much will depend on your attitude just now on the Irish Question. If you will only trust to your own inspirations

all will be well. You know how much I longed to bring yourself and Mr. Gladstone together on the Franchise Question ; and I think I contributed a little towards that happy result. Believe me, what Mr. Gladstone most desires just now is to leave moderate men behind him to lead the democracy. May I come to see your Lordship some day next week, after Monday, if you should chance to be in town ? ’

Salisbury to MacColl

‘ *December 19, 1885.*—I am very much obliged to you for your letter which I have read with very great interest.

‘ I am not in a position to discuss the momentous subjects with which it deals, because I am not free to express my own individual opinions alone. I must only express such of them as can be properly put forward as the opinions of the Cabinet at large, and even to that extent I have no knowledge that the Cabinet would desire me to do so. I will therefore content myself with acknowledging your kind letter.’

MacColl to Salisbury

‘ *December 21, 1885.*—Thank you for your very courteous and kind letter. I quite understand your position.

‘ Do you see any objection to my addressing you publicly on the subject of Ireland, in the form of a short pamphlet ? I should write to you personally as First Minister of the Crown, and should embody substantially the views which I have always taken the liberty of laying before you ; but of course without the slightest instruction that I have had any communication upon the subject with you.’

Salisbury to MacColl

‘ *December 22, 1885.*—I am very much obliged to you for the flattering proposal that your forthcoming pamphlet on the subject of Ireland should take the form of a letter to me ; but on the whole I think it better, in order to avoid possible misconstruction, that it should take some other

form. Of course I do not know what in detail your opinions might be, and I might find it difficult to persuade some of my friends that the fact of your addressing them to me in that form did not indicate a certain concurrence on my part.'

MacColl to Gladstone

'December 22, 1885.—I have been intending to write to you every day since my return from Hawarden; but I really have found no time. . . . What I wish to tell you is my impression as to Lord Salisbury's mind on the question of Ireland. I saw him by appointment on the evening of the day on which I returned from Hawarden. Assuming your assent, I told him what you said to me on Monday morning: namely, that you believed the Irish Question to be urgent, and must be dealt with without delay (to which he assented); that you were in favour of dealing with it subject to the conditions of:

'1. Impunity for the integrity and interests of the Empire.

'2. Ireland to bear her fair share of taxation.

'3. Adequate security for the minority; that if he saw his way of proposing legislation on those lines he should have your hearty support; otherwise that you would consider your hands free. He listened most attentively, and then said: "I consider your scheme the most logical and complete of any that I have seen." He meant a Memorandum which I took the liberty of sending to him on the Irish Question before I went to Hawarden. I am not going to trouble you with a detailed account of that Memorandum further than to say that it embraced a Parliament in Dublin as part of a scheme of General Federation, beginning with Ireland and gradually extending to the rest of the Empire. It also embraced a radical reform of the House of Lords. I feel strongly that most of the objections to a large scheme of Home Rule for Ireland would vanish if it formed part of a wider scheme to follow.

'I found Lord Salisbury, as I gathered, prepared to go as far probably as yourself on the question of Home Rule; but he seemed hopeless as to the prospect of carrying his

party with him. In the course of our conversation I said to him : " If you propose a large scheme of Home Rule, I am sure that Mr. Gladstone will help you to carry it, provided of course that it is up to and within the limits which he thinks necessary and safe. At the same time your party would be in this dilemma. They would feel that no scheme short of yours could ever again be proposed ; and they would say to themselves : ' After all, is it not better, since we can never now expect a smaller scheme, to help our own party to pass it ? ' Would not your followers and colleagues be likely to reason in that manner ? " I asked. " Perhaps they would," he replied, " but they would devour me." He spoke in the most friendly way about you, and I left him with the impression that he quite realized the gravity of the Irish Question ; that personally he would not shrink from grappling with it in a bold and liberal spirit ; but that he despaired of carrying his party with him.

' After the publication of the scheme of Home Rule attributed to you, I wrote to Lord Salisbury to express my belief that you had not as yet formulated any detailed scheme, still less authorized the publication of any scheme as yours, however clear you might be in your own mind as to the general lines on which any scheme that promised success should go. I also expressed the strongest conviction that it was of capital importance in this crisis that you and he should act cordially together with a single eye to interests of the Empire. I also took the liberty of expressing a very strong opinion that it would be far better to offer the Irish nothing at all than anything short of a Parliament in Dublin ; and stated reasons (with which I will not trouble you) to show that the safest concession would be a Parliament in Dublin ; any smaller concession like County Boards or Provincial Councils being certain to prove facile tools in Parnell's hands, while a Parliament in Dublin would speedily develop an Opposition party and compel Parnell to become leader of a party of law and order.

' I enclose Lord Salisbury's reply, not because it contains any information, but because it shows a friendly disposition towards a liberal discussion of the question of Home Rule,

and also because it shows, ^fas I think, that he is himself in advance of his Cabinet.

‘Kindly consider all this confidential. What an inert mass of transmitted prejudices on this question lies like an incubus on the minds of most educated people in England! Even my good friends at the *Spectator* office are impervious to reasoning. But I don’t despair. The constituencies are less prejudiced and more open to the reception of light.’

MacColl to Salisbury

‘December 24, 1885.—To prevent mistake or mischief in the present state of influenced feeling I thought it right to let Mr. Gladstone know, two days ago, that I had put your Lordship in possession of his views on the Irish Question as far as I knew them. I have heard from him to-day. . . . In his letter he says: “I am only anxious it should be clearly understood that, while you stated to him.” (i.e. to your Lordship) “what you conceived to be the manifest purport of my conversation with you, you had no authority, and conveyed no message from me. Unless you are quite sure that Lord S. clearly understands this, I beg you to convey it to him. I say nothing adverse to the accuracy of your account. It was an account given on your responsibility of what you conceived to be my present view.” He goes on to add that he “has given no human being” any authority to put forth any intentions of his on the Irish Question.

‘I suppose that Mr. Gladstone is sensitive about his being supposed to move in this matter without consultation with his colleagues. I never believed that he had anything to do with the schemes published as his. I did not intend to convey any message from him to your Lordship, and I hope I did not give you the impression that I did. I am sorry to trouble you, but I am nervously anxious not to do mischief at this grave crisis.’

Salisbury to MacColl

‘December 25, 1885.—I quite agree with you that it is very difficult to say anything at this juncture without risk

of being misunderstood. But I did not in the least misunderstand the purport of your observations on Monday.

‘You told me more than once that you were speaking entirely on your own authority.’

MacColl to Gladstone

‘December 28, 1885.—I received the enclosed letter from Lord Salisbury this morning. I was very careful not to commit you to anything; all I told Lord Salisbury—indeed all I knew—hardly went beyond your public utterances on the subject of Ireland. The impression you left on my mind was that you were *not* in favour of a Parliament in Dublin; but you said nothing to justify me in drawing any positive conclusion either way. On the other hand, I have an impression that Lord Salisbury would not absolutely refuse to consider the question of a Parliament in Dublin on certain conditions; but my impression may be wrong, and I have no right to commit him either way.

‘How slow the English mind, especially in educated society, is to turn itself to a fresh point of view on political questions! Yet it sometimes undergoes a rapid conversion, and I should not wonder if it did on this question of Home Rule. The mass of people are very ignorant of Irish matters.

‘I wish you, with all my heart, many happy returns of your birthday, and I still live in hope that you will crown your great political career by settling the Irish Question on a durable and happy basis.’

MacColl to Salisbury

‘December 28, 1885.—I am very much obliged to you for your kindness in taking the trouble to write to me; and I am very glad to find that I have done no mischief.

‘There is a sentence in Mr. Gladstone’s letter to me, from which I made a quotation in my last letter to your Lordship, which I think I ought to send you. After saying that he had authorized nobody to put forth any views of his on the Irish Question, he adds that he has never given

even any "indication" of views or intentions that could commit him to anything beyond *this*: "If the Government take up the question, my desire is to give them the best aid that with reasonable freedom of judgment I may."

'My own fear, I confess, is, and has always been, that Mr. Gladstone will not go far enough in the direction of Home Rule. Certainly the impression which I brought away with me from Hawarden was that Mr. Gladstone was not in favour of a Parliament in Dublin. I inferred this from his rejecting the Canadian scheme; from his objection (as I understood him) to any form of Grattan's Parliament; and above all, from the anecdote he told me of Sir Robert Peel bidding him to "put away" his grand schemes of financial reconstruction, and "work on the materials at hand." The two points on which he seemed to feel most strongly were that an honest attempt to settle the question in this Parliament—or rather to deal with it in this Parliament—could not be avoided without danger: and the most hopeful way of dealing with it would be that your Government should take it up on lines which he could support as Leader of the Opposition. This would enable you to deal with it more independently than if you were obliged to rely on the Irish vote.'

The new Parliament assembled on January 21, 1886, in an atmosphere electrical with excitement and conjecture. On the 24th MacColl wrote from Ripon to his chief:

'I asked my publisher to send you a pamphlet which I have written on the Irish Question.¹ It is very crude; for, among other reasons, it was published in a desperate hurry in the course of a week, and while I was busy making preparations for coming down here.

'If I may say so, I thought your speech on the Address perfect. I wish I had known the Government were going to make the Queen speak that nonsense about the "fundamental law" of the Act of Union, and I would have quoted Lord Salisbury's own demolition of that absurd idea when the late Lord Derby propounded it on the Second Reading

¹ *Arguments for and against Home Rule.*

of your Irish Church Disestablishment Bill. The speech is worth looking at.

‘I am much pleased with the tone of the Irish members. It is hopeful. If they continue like that they will immensely facilitate the settlement of the Irish Question.

‘I am so sorry the *Spectator* has gone so completely wrong in this matter. Hutton has got a twist on the question. He has some Irish blood in him, and there seems to be some malign influence in Irish Protestantism which blinds the eyes even of good men on Irish questions. There is a hateful caste-feeling, like that of the Moslem towards the Rayah.

‘I hope Lord Hartington is all right. If he is, your task will be easy, in spite of the insolent bluster of the *Times* and the grotesque impertinences of Albert Grey and Arthur Elliot. Why should not the American State Legislatures answer in Ireland?’

After the General Election of 1880 the great Lord Shaftesbury wrote in his diary: ‘When Gladstone runs down a steep place, his huge majority, like the pigs in Scripture, but hoping for a better issue, will go with him, roaring in grunts of exultation.’ This prophecy took for granted the unalterable docility of the Liberal party; but that docility, sorely tried by the events of the last five years, had now reached its limit. On February 1, 1886, Gladstone, having displaced Lord Salisbury’s Government on an amendment to the Address, kissed hands as Prime Minister, at the head of an administration pledged to Home Rule. Some of his former colleagues had refused to join his Government; others subsequently retired from it. The Liberals who objected to Home Rule formed themselves into a compact and vigorous party, under the leadership of Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain. On February 4 MacColl wrote thus to Gladstone:

‘I am so glad that Lord Rosebery is to be at the Foreign Office, and hardly less glad that the Government is free from the incubus of Lord Derby’s paralysing presence.

‘I received this morning a long and most kind letter from Lord Hartington about my pamphlet, in which I have

taken the liberty of making some criticism on himself in connexion with Ireland. He says that he "sincerely trusts that you may succeed" in settling the Irish Question, "though he has felt that he is too deeply committed to co-operate with you."

'What a fine noble fellow he is ; so true, and leal, and self-forgetting !

'Wishing you God speed in your great task, and anticipating the complete success of your policy.'

This bright anticipation was not fulfilled. The Home Rule Bill was defeated on the Second Reading on June 8. Gladstone appealed to the country, and the country rejected Home Rule. The Liberal Government retired from office without waiting to meet the new Parliament. A resigning Premier usually scatters honours as he goes, and MacColl was anxious that deserving Gladstonians should not be ignored. On July 15 he wrote to Gladstone's Private Secretary :

'*July 15, 1886.*—May I venture to put the following facts before you in case you think it well to speak to Mr. Gladstone on the subject ?

'It has come to my knowledge that Mr. Gladstone is likely to be asked to confer a baronetcy on Mr. Pulley, late M.P. for Hereford. I have known Mr. Pulley since he has been in Parliament. Mr. Gladstone has had no more devoted follower. He was offered a walk-over for Hereford this time if he went against Mr. Gladstone's policy and proclaimed himself a "Unionist." He replied that he would rather be beaten as a follower of Mr. Gladstone than win any number of victories as his opponent. I went to speak for him, and found him very popular. But the combination was too strong for him.

'Mr. Pulley is very well off and has a pretty property near Hereford. He is a great cattle-breeder and is most popular among the farmers. I am rather sorry he did not stand for one of the Divisions of the County. He is also a man of tastes and accomplishments. He and Lord Chesterfield are almost the only representatives of Liberalism

among the gentry in that part of Hereford, and all Liberals thereabouts would be gratified by any honour bestowed on Mr. Pulley. The Chesterfield family are all fond of him, and would, I am sure, speak as highly of him as I do. Mr. Pulley is going to look carefully after the registration of Herefordshire in order to win back the county, and a baronetcy would be useful to the cause. But it is Pulley's great loyalty to Mr. Gladstone that I chiefly value.'

On August 6, 1886, he wrote to Gladstone :

'Of course you have read all about the magnificent demonstration in Dublin.¹ Lord and Lady Aberdeen have shown how easily the Irish can be governed and how loyal they can be made if approached in the right way. The demonstration was doubtless meant in large part for you ; but it would not have been so successful but for the wonderful hold the Aberdeens got of the Irish people of all classes, creeds, and parties. I could tell you some interesting incidents but I must not trouble you. I may write on it in the *Pall Mall*. Hutton would only let me write a paragraph in "Current Events" and even that in leading-strings.'

On August 19, 1886, the new Parliament assembled for the transaction of business, with Lord Salisbury comfortably installed in office, at the head of a party composed of Tories and Liberal Unionists. During the next five years, MacColl attended Gladstone's varying fortunes with touching fidelity. The letters of this period may be left to tell their own tale. Except where otherwise indicated, they are addressed by MacColl to Gladstone.

'December 7, 1886.—I have just been reading the speeches at the Liberal Unionist meeting this afternoon. My impression is that they will help the cause of Home Rule. These men have no policy except Coercion. They have gone back from their former professions at the last two General Elections. Their only policy is to say ditto, ditto, to a Tory Government, provided that Government will act a little more despotically. No power of sophistry

¹ At the departure of the Viceroy and Lady Aberdeen.

will make their position defensible, or even intelligible, at the next dissolution. Those who may think it desirable to keep a Tory Government in office will vote for a Tory. Those who think it desirable to have a Liberal Government in office will vote for a Gladstonian Liberal.

‘I think Lord Hartington’s reproach against you for your silence on the “Plan of Campaign” is cool, and Bright’s language is impudent. Where was he when you were supporting in September a policy which would have made the “Plan of Campaign” impossible? He had no advice to give then. He did not take the trouble even to hear the pleading of the Irish representatives, in most moderate language, to the British Parliament in favour of a legal tribunal to try the complaints of Irish tenants.

‘I hope you will not for the present be induced to break your silence. The “Liberal Unionists” are content, so far as the complaints of the Irish people are concerned, to wait the pleasure of the Government; and they deny you the right to wait for the production of the Government’s policy. I hope you will disappoint them.

‘But I wish you could find means of warning the Irish against the most imprudent language attributed to Dillon as to “a policy of revenge.” Is it not the fact that there is nothing in the British Constitution to prevent the Crown from ceding by treaty the whole of Ireland to a foreign Power? And is not this a legitimate *reductio ad absurdum* of Dicey’s chief argument against your Bill?’

‘*January 6, 1887.*—I met at dinner this evening Colonel Hozier, Secretary of the “Liberal Unionists.” We had a long talk on the Irish Question. He told me that Lord Hartington really longed for the reunion of the Liberal party, and was still most loyal to you. And Colonel Hozier suggested that I should go and have a talk on the Irish Question with Lord Hartington. I objected that I had nothing particular to say. But he seemed to think that if I expressed a wish to see Lord Hartington, and said that I had seen you and that you were disposed to discuss the Irish Question in a friendly way, some good might come of it.

‘Do you advise me to ask to see Lord Hartington, of course without committing you? I told Colonel Hozier that a Statutory Parliament in Dublin, under whatever limitations, must be the starting-point of any discussion.’

‘*February 11, 1887.*—I met Chamberlain at dinner a few days ago. He is evidently anxious to rejoin the party, without appearing to surrender. But he is furious at Labouchere’s attacks, and indignant that the rank and file of the party, and some of the leaders, do not separate themselves from those attacks. He said that of course he did not expect you to do it, but that some of the minor leaders might have done it.

‘I have asked him to dine with me, and I said that I would ask you, and Lord Spencer, and Trevelyan and John Morley. He said he should be delighted, and has given me my choice of February 21 and 22, and March 4. I have an engagement for February 22. I hope you are able and will not mind coming on either of the other days. If you could give me my choice of the two days, it would give a better chance of securing the other gentlemen whom I have named.’

‘*February 15, 1887.*—I have seen Sir George Trevelyan several times lately, and I believe that he is in a very hopeful mood. He is most friendly in his attitude towards Home Rule Liberals, and towards you personally. My belief is that he is sincerely anxious for the reunion of the party as soon as possible; and that believing Home Rule to be inevitable, he wishes to remain out of Parliament till it is settled, and for that reason, among others, wishes it to be settled soon. That, at all events, is the impression which he has given me.

‘On Chamberlain’s suggestion the House-dinners of this Club, which have been suspended since the split in the party, are to be resumed, not on a sectional basis, but on the basis of a party seeking to heal differences. Trevelyan is to preside at the first, and Campbell-Bannerman at the second. I know that it is Trevelyan’s intention to preside in an attitude of peace-maker, and if he should meet you beforehand his purpose will be strengthened.’

‘*March 17, 1887.*—The Liberal Unionist “Knights of the Round Table”¹ appear to have coolly come to the conclusion that it is your business to cast aside your own Bills *in toto* and set to work on drafting their ideas into a Bill. They have both declared that they do not abate a jot of their ideas. The concession is to be all on your side. And what do they mean by accepting your “principle”? Courtney last night repudiated all idea of anything like an Irish Parliament and Executive, and he claimed, as on his side, not only Lord Hartington and Sir Henry James, but also Chamberlain and Sir George Trevelyan, who was present, and tacitly accepted the position assigned to him by Courtney.

‘I hope there will be no more Round Table Conferences. The only result will be to confuse the people. Any idea that you are going back from the main principles of your Bill will take the heart out of the Liberal party. Of course you are doing nothing of the kind. But I can see already that some very good Liberals are getting bewildered.’

‘*May 11, 1887.*—I have just been having an interesting conversation with Sir George Trevelyan. He has just returned from the country where he has been feeling the pulse of people about the Coercion Bill. The only point on which he feels at all uneasy is the danger of giving a plausible excuse for a charge of obstruction against the Liberal party. Except on that point he thinks the Liberals are making no mistake. He is anxious that you should have a consultation with some of the leaders—e.g. Lord Herschell, Harcourt, and Morley and Spencer—and decide what amendments are really important; make a good, but not prolonged, fight on those; and then let the Government pass their odious Bill after a final protest from you. He thinks this would damage the Government much more than prolonged debates which may give a handle to the Tories and Dissident Liberals. And if the Irish would fall in with this policy, Trevelyan

¹ Early in 1887 Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Herschell, Sir George Trevelyan, and Mr. John Morley met ‘round a table’ at Sir William Harcourt’s house to consider the Irish Question. After prolonged discussion, they separated without arriving at an agreement.

thinks that it would help the cause immensely. He does not think that the leaders and the majority of the Dissentients will ever come back to the party, and is of opinion that the party had better act on that assumption.

‘I told Trevelyan that I would communicate to you what he said.’

‘*July 4, 1887.*—I am delighted that you have at last taken off the gloves and hit out at Lord Hartington and the “Liberal Unionists” so-called.¹ You have been too gentle with them hitherto, and they have mistaken your gentleness for conscious appreciation of the waning popularity of yourself and your cause. The country, too, was getting a little bewildered. It did not know how far your concessions were to go. I think you have gone to the utmost limit of conciliation and concession. It is now for the other side to produce their plan. They are in office and in power, and it is nothing less than impudent to call upon you, as leader of the Opposition, to produce in opposition another Home Rule Bill. That would be very convenient for them; for they know that they will all go to pieces the moment they begin their constructive policy. I am deeply disappointed in Lord Hartington. I still believe in his honesty and personal unselfishness; but he has ceased to be a Liberal. I have never known a case where “evil communications” have more rapidly corrupted good principles.

‘The Dissident Liberals are playing the life of this Parliament against your leadership. They intend to support this Government *in anything* to keep you out of office. It is better therefore to recognize facts and treat the Dissident Liberals as deserters to the enemy’s camp. I am sure that policy is the best in point of tactics for the constituencies.

‘Hutton breakfasted with me here on Saturday. I am very sorry for him. It is real agony to him to be writing against you, and he is now especially distressed because a letter you wrote to him correcting a misreport of a speech of yours lay for six weeks in this Club without being

¹ In a speech to the Liberal M.P.’s for Durham.

forwarded to him, and he was thus prevented from making the correction. He has made it, however, in an article in last Saturday's *Spectator*. He thinks, somewhat amusingly, that the Club-porter, a vehement Home Ruler, kept back your letter on purpose in order to spite him; and your not having acknowledged his letter of explanation makes him half believe that you don't believe him.'

MacColl to Salisbury

'April 6, 1889.—You have always been so kind and indulgent to me that I am going to take the liberty of writing a few words to you on the political situation. I have never been much of a party man; and since your Lordship has taken the lead of the Conservative party I have kept aloof from politics except one or two articles on Home Rule. I venture to enclose a copy of my last interposition in politics—an article in the *Review* of last July.

'I have returned from three months' residence at Ripon, and after careful inquiry my conviction is that there are no Liberal Unionists now in that Parliamentary Division of Yorkshire. In 1886 the Liberal member became a Liberal Unionist and retired in favour of Mr. Wharton. Last January he was at his own request re-elected a member of the Liberal Association. I believe that what has taken place at Ripon has been taking place all over the country. The Liberal Unionists have practically ceased to exist as a political force outside the House of Commons. Therefore when the Dissolution comes the fight will be between the Conservative party and the Home Rulers; and my belief is that the Home Rulers will have a considerable and probably a large majority. That is not a prospect which I regard, Home Ruler as I am, with unmixed satisfaction. It was my hope that on the retirement of Mr. Gladstone your Lordship might be able to lead a moderate party, avoiding all extremes.

'I do not think that even now my dream is an impossibility, provided only the Tory party saw its way to go in for Home Rule on a large scale, embracing the whole Empire. My reasons for that view are given in the article of which I enclose a copy. I have talked the matter over

with many Conservatives all over the country, and I have not met one Conservative who did not say that he would rejoice in such a scheme. My belief is that it would be the most conservative policy that can be imagined. Extreme measures in Church and State have their fulcrum and lever-power in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. Let these be allowed to manage their own affairs and leave England to manage hers.

‘I want Home Rule for England, which has been for a long time governed by votes which are not English. The Liberals are not yet prepared for such a measure of Home Rule as I want.

‘Many of them, especially among the Radical party, would oppose it just because of its conservative tendency. I believe that the country would greatly, even enthusiastically, accept such a scheme. What is the alternative? A Land Purchase scheme, to be followed by a Local Government scheme? A Land Purchase scheme must rest on Imperial guarantee, or on Chamberlain’s system of local banks. I believe that no Government can carry the former. The Tories and Liberal Unionists at the last Election denounced the idea of any Imperial guarantee so vigorously that they could not now propose it; and Chamberlain is too deeply pledged against it to retreat. Besides, Chamberlain’s great ambition is to settle the Irish Question on his own lines. He still hopes to lead the Liberal party, and he thinks that his best chance of doing so will be to gain the credit of having settled the Irish Question. Depend upon it, he will support no proposal which will exclude his own pet schemes of Land Purchase and Local Government. How would his schemes act? Let us suppose a Land Purchase Bill passed of which local banks would furnish the guarantee. How would Irish landlords regard such a guarantee? It would be perfectly safe, says Mr. Chamberlain, because the Land Bill will be followed by a Local Government Bill, the financial operations of which would collapse in the event of failure as to the Land Bill guarantee. But what would the Nationalists care about that? Such a failure is precisely what they would most desire. The credit of the Government and of the Conservative

party would be involved in the crash, and the Home Rulers would be triumphant along the whole line. The more the question is looked at, the more inevitable seems to me the conclusion that there are only two alternatives; the indefinite countenance of things as they are, which is impossible, or Home Rule in the sense of a subordinate Parliament including an Executive, to be followed by the establishment of similar bodies in Scotland, Wales, and England, all under the control of a great paramount Imperial Parliament. Under such a scheme the Irish would submit to checks and safeguards which were imposed on the other Nationalists and not on them alone. And surely it is not beyond the resources of British statesmanship to give the Colonies some voice under such a scheme as I have ventured to suggest.'

MacColl to Salisbury

'April 11, 1889.—I feel that I did not sufficiently apologize for the liberty I took the other day in writing to you, so I venture to send one word of explanation.

'The plain truth is that I have never been much of a political partisan. My natural tendency—due, I presume, to my Celtic nature—is to regard persons more than parties. In my early boyhood, I made Mr. Gladstone a hero, and I hate to see my idols broken. So that I have sometimes defended him even when I did not altogether like some things he had said. I still believe in his Churchmanship; and as to Home Rule, I was a Home Ruler before Mr. Gladstone, and the man who had the most to do with my conversion to that policy, as well as to the disestablishment of the Irish Church, was the late Lord Greville, whom I used to visit in Ireland. My hope has always been that, when Mr. Gladstone passed away, your Lordship would lead a moderate party which might command the confidence of Churchmen generally, and I have not quite resigned that hope now. But I feel that it all depends on the policy with which your Lordship will go to the country at the next Dissolution.

'I may be quite wrong; but I feel nearly certain that Home Rule will carry the day whether Mr. Gladstone be

still leader of the Opposition or not. On the other hand, the Liberals are not agreed upon the large Home Rule policy which I advocate, and the Conservatives are not, as far as I know, committed against it. Home Rule for Ireland alone is a very different thing from the policy which I desire, and would be so regarded by the country. Is this policy impossible for the Conservative party? I do not see why it should be.'

Salisbury to MacColl

'April 12, 1889.—I am much obliged to you for your letters, and the two printed papers.

'As to Home Rule in your sense—which is Federation—I do not see in it any elements of practicability. Nations do not change their political nature like that, except through blood. It would require a subordination of all ordinary motives, a renunciation of traditions and prepossessions, a far-reaching and disciplined resolve, which is never engendered by mere persuasion, and only comes after conflict and under the pressure of military force. To ask the British nation in its present moral and political condition to execute such a transformation would be like asking the Rector's cob to win the Derby. The forces are not there. I express no opinion as to the advantage of the change—if it were possible.'

MacColl to Gladstone

'August 15, 1891.—Politics are going beautifully. I predict a Liberal majority next year of 60 for a minimum; but I expect at least 100.'

'November 29, 1891.—I hope you will deal trenchantly with the revolutionary doctrine propounded by Lord Hartington in his speech in Manchester this autumn,¹ namely that the Opposition would first obstruct your Home Rule Bill in the Commons, no matter what majority you got, and then throw it out in the House of Lords. This seems to me more revolutionary than Lord Salisbury's

¹ November 10, 1891.

declaration¹ the other day, that, if you passed your Bill, the Opposition, without giving it a fair trial, would immediately start an agitation for its repeal. But Lord Salisbury has estopped himself from acting on Lord Hartington's revolutionary advice, as you will see from the enclosed extract which I have made from his speech in favour of your Irish Disestablishment Bill. That Bill had never been before the country except in Parliament; and the whole question had only been before the country about a year. The Home Rule Question, on the other hand, was debated through most of a Session in the House of Commons; there was a dissolution upon it; it is the one parliamentary subject before the nation since the beginning of 1886, and the next dissolution will take place upon it. For the Lords to throw it out in the face of a majority in the Commons—a good majority at all events—is surely a most revolutionary doctrine. Moreover, the Home Rule Bill is a far smaller invasion of the Act of Union than the Irish Church Bill. Leave the Irish members at Westminster, and your 1886 Bill is not in conflict with a single clause of the Act of Union. I have compared them. I think Lord Salisbury's most statesmanlike doctrine in 1869 ought to be quoted.'

MacColl was always the most sanguine of Gladstonians. His constant and confident anticipations of the overthrow of the Unionist Government betray his incurable hopefulness. As the General Election drew near, he shared Gladstone's belief that the majority for Home Rule could not be less than a hundred. Parliament was dissolved on June 28, 1892, and, when the Election was over, the majority was only forty, all told. Gladstone became Prime Minister for the fourth time, and in 1893 brought in his second Home Rule Bill, which scrambled through the House of Commons but was defeated in the Lords by 419 to 41. Thus ignominiously collapsed the movement which had started in December 1885, and for twenty years the Irish Question slumbered.

¹ At Birmingham, November 24, 1891.

CHAPTER VIII

ARMENIA

The Armenian Massacres, judiciously interspersed with intervals of breathing-time, have surpassed in their scale, and in the intensity and diversity of their wickedness, all modern, if not all historical, experience.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

It was a marked characteristic of MacColl's nature that, when once he had convinced himself that a cause was righteous, he followed it through evil report and good report, in season and out of season. This was pre-eminently true with regard to the cause of the Christian populations in Eastern Europe, and their resistance to the age-long persecution which they have endured at the hands of their Turkish oppressors. In a former chapter we have seen MacColl's untired activity in the Eastern Question of 1876-9, and at the point which we have now reached he found himself imperatively recalled to his earlier battle-field.

Gladstone resigned the Premiership in March 1894, being succeeded by Lord Rosebery, and ceased to be a Member of Parliament at the dissolution of 1895. Meanwhile, distressing reports had reached England of atrocities committed by the Turks on the Christians of Armenia, and MacColl's chivalrous spirit was stirred within him. In this, as in other controversies, he was in the closest sympathy with Gladstone, to whom he wrote on November 22, 1894 :

' You have probably seen in the *Times* and *Daily News* the accounts of the massacres in Armenia. They are on much the same scale and of the same character as the Bulgarian atrocities. The real truth is that they were,

like the Bulgarian atrocities, organized in Constantinople to terrorize and "diminish" the population. The Porte has appointed a Commission, as it did in Bulgaria, and the report of that Commission will doubtless follow the Bulgarian precedent. What is needed is an independent enquiry, to be followed by such action as the circumstances may require. It must be remembered that England is under a double obligation in this matter: first, by the 61st Clause of the Treaty of Berlin; secondly, by the Anglo-Turkish Convention, which engages England to resist Russian aggression in Armenia by force of arms.

'A word from you at this moment would have a mighty effect. If the Government follow the example of Lord Beaconsfield's Government, the General Election will as surely prove their ruin as that of 1880 proved the ruin of Lord Beaconsfield's administration. Already I am receiving communications from Liberals in various places to organize an agitation.

'I am writing in haste to catch this morning's post. Of course I don't mean my letter for publication; but I hope you will write me a line or two in reply which I may publish. The thing to be insisted on just now—is it not?—is first, that a Turkish Commission of enquiry is a farce; secondly, that the Government ought to order an independent enquiry. Even Lord Beaconsfield's Government did that in Bulgaria.'

When MacColl's spirit was roused, his pen was never idle. On May 9, 1895, he wrote to Gladstone:

'By the God Who made me, and in Whose strength I stand, I mean to do my level best to set the heather on fire on this question, cost me what it may, and cost the Government what it may.'

On May 20 he wrote thus to Lord Salisbury:

'I am taking the liberty of sending you a pamphlet which I hope you will find time to read.¹ My belief is that

¹ *England's Responsibility towards Armenia.* ✓

both political parties are failing to recognize the significance and importance of this Armenian Question, as they did that of the Bulgarian business in its early stages. The country is getting roused on the question, unknown to the wire-pullers or political managers. There is always in the country a large section of those who take but a languid interest in ordinary Party politics, but who are roused ✓ to fever heat by a question like this, which appeals to their emotions, their humanity, their Christianity, and their passion for justice. I was in touch with these in 1877-80, through committees which I had formed all over the country, quite apart from political organizations. So that when Adam, the Liberal Whip, asked me, on the eve of the Election of 1880, what I thought of the probabilities, I said I gave the Liberals a majority of 60 for a minimum and anything over 100 for a maximum. He thought I was mad, his calculation being that on the most sanguine view the utmost the Liberals could do would be to reduce the Tory majority to about 20. Gladstone, who is always in magnetic touch with the country on a question of this sort, agreed with me, as he does now. I have renewed ✓ my organization and am again in touch with that ordinarily inert mass, which can be roused to enthusiasm by a question of this sort. The first edition of my pamphlet (1000 copies) was sold out in five days, almost all being orders from the country; and within the last fortnight I have received 1000 letters from different parts of the country, all on fire on this question. But of that state of feeling political wire-pullers know nothing. Yet it is this margin of votes which will decide the next Election. Will you kindly read my pamphlet, and then let me have a talk with you? The Government have made a mess of the business and are past praying for.'

MacColl to Gladstone

'May 24, 1895.—I am very glad you are in town. You may be able, I trust, to save the Government and the Liberal party from a most serious disaster on the Armenian Question.

Their scheme of reforms will be their ruin unless the Sultan is such an ass as to reject it. I will give you my reasons for that opinion, and I think you will consider them good reasons. I will call with this ; but probably you will not be able to see me to-day.

‘ I enclose a copy of the second edition of my pamphlet. The first edition (1000 copies) was sold out in five days, and the pamphlet was out of print for five days because the publishers were not prepared for so rapid a sale. It has been very well reviewed, and the sale has been almost entirely in the country.

‘ I enclose also a copy of some criticisms of mine on the scheme of reforms for Armenia, part of which the *Times* quoted to-day. I wrote it hurriedly, partly for the Grosvenor House Committee, of which I am Honorary Secretary, and partly as a cue to the provincial Press, from the editors of which I have received shoals of letters asking my opinion.’

On June 21 the Government was beaten in a snap-division on the Army Estimates ; and Lord Rosebery, instead of challenging the judgment of the country by dissolution, meekly toddled out of office. Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister, and dissolved Parliament on July 8. The General Election gave him a majority which lasted unbroken till 1906.

MacColl to Salisbury

‘ *July 18, 1895.*—I have shed no tears on the Liberal collapse. I expected it whenever Mr. Gladstone retired, though his retirement is not the only cause of disaster. I gave them up a year ago and have done my best to damage them throughout the country for their feeble diplomacy on the Armenian Question. I managed to turn a number of Liberal papers against them on that question, and got “cut” for my pains by a leading member of the Cabinet. I hope your Lordship will be able to secure European control, as in the Lebanon, for Armenia. That is much more important than any scheme of paper reforms. My belief is that, if the late Government

had given Sir Philip Currie a free hand, he would have secured European control for Armenia.'

MacColl to Gladstone

'July 22, 1895.—Information has reached me to the effect that, if nothing is done for the Armenians within a reasonable time, they will turn on their oppressors, preferring death at once by a general massacre to the slow torture which they are made to endure.

'I have just seen the Duke of Westminster, who is very earnest in the matter. But he thinks that a meeting in Chester would do no good unless you could be persuaded to speak. He will write to you to that effect, and he would himself preside at the meeting. Do you not think that you could speak under such circumstances? There could be no Party character suspected in a meeting called by and presided over by the Duke of Westminster. Moreover, I wrote my *Quarterly* article with a view of committing the Tory party to a policy of coercion in Armenia. The *Quarterly* will be out next Wednesday with my article in it, and a speech from you would therefore be only backing up the recommendation of the leading Tory organ. I don't want my name to get known as the writer of the article. I believe the Conservatives, as a party, would welcome a speech from you just now on the Eastern Question. Several Tories have said as much to me. You can save the Armenians from extinction.'

The Same to the Same

'July 30, 1895.—A thousand thanks. A speech from you just now is just what is needed. It will rouse the country as nothing else can. I think Lord Salisbury is well inclined; but he is timid. If he feels that he has the nation at his back, I think he may be induced to take a strong line both in Armenia and Macedonia. Russia also will suspect nothing sinister from you. What she fears is the creation of an Armenian Principality on her frontiers. Reassured on that point, I think she would support the appointment of a European Commission, or Governor under

the control of the Powers. Without such security reforms are of no use, as you have often said. Pressed into a corner, the Sultan will promise anything.'

MacColl to Salisbury

' July 31, 1895.—I hope the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *St. James's Gazette* of to-day will not mislead you as to Mr. Gladstone's intention in consenting to address a public meeting at Chester on the Armenian Question. The facts are in brief as follows: About a fortnight ago a Chester clergyman wrote to me to say that he had read my pamphlet with horror, and that he was so roused that he had consulted a number of Churchmen in Chester, and they all agreed to get up a public meeting if I would go and deliver an address. I went to consult the Duke of Westminster and he agreed to take the Chair, but suggested that it would be well to get Mr. Gladstone to speak if possible. I said that I did not think there was any chance, as Mr. Gladstone had repeatedly declined to write or speak on the subject of Armenia for fear of giving some people an opportunity of turning his action to Party purposes. However, the Duke said he would write to Mr. Gladstone and offer to preside at the meeting, and he advised me to write too. I did, and Mr. Gladstone was very reluctant to agree. He told me that he had been urged by many persons, including supporters of your Lordship's Government, to speak, but had declined for fear of doing harm rather than good; but he would consult friends. He has at last consented to speak, but with the intention of supporting your Lordship's diplomacy by showing the Sultan and the Great Powers that you have all England at your back. Between ourselves, he was, to put it mildly, puzzled by the diplomacy of the late Government on this question. He has always believed in your Lordship's sympathy for the rayahs of Turkey as well as your thorough comprehension of the whole question; and the *Quarterly Review* article on Islam convinced him that he would be helping the Government by speaking just now.

That is the whole truth. If there is any point which your Lordship would wish Mr. Gladstone to make or to avoid and will tell me confidentially, either by letter or by letting me come to see you, I will take care that Mr. Gladstone shall attend to it without letting him know that I have had communication with your Lordship. From information—trustworthy, I believe—which has reached me, I am afraid the Sultan means to settle the Armenian Question by the extermination of the Armenians. I should be troubling at too great length if I were to give my reasons. I have summarized them in the preface of a cheap edition of my pamphlet which will be out to-morrow and of which I will take the liberty to send a copy to your Lordship. I have great confidence in your Lordship's management of this question, which is more than I had in the late Government. They had not got a back-bone among them.'

Salisbury to MacColl

'August 1, 1895.—I am much obliged to you for your letter of July 31.

'I am so little disposed to look upon Mr. Gladstone's proposed action as being in any way likely to be an impediment, that I have already telegraphed the news of it to Sir Philip Currie, in case he should not hear of it from other quarters, and in case the mention of it may be useful for the purposes he has in hand.

'The peculiarity of my predecessors' policy, which of course I am bound to carry out, is that they have acted in strict harmony with the Governments of France and Russia; and that co-operation, while it gives solemnity and force to our intervention, carries with it necessarily many limiting conditions, which will make our conjoint action different in some respects, which may be important, from the action which this country would probably have pursued alone. This all-important character in the present intervention must be remembered both in attempting to forecast what the action taken will be, and in judging of it when it has been taken.'

MacColl to Gladstone

' August 2, 1895.—When it was announced that you were to speak at Chester the *Pall Mall Gazette*, *St. James's Gazette*, and *Globe* attacked you, and the *Pall Mall* attacked me as well. They said that you were going to embarrass the Government. Therefore I wrote to Lord Salisbury and explained how the Chester meeting came about, and your reluctance to do anything that might even seem to embarrass his diplomacy. To-day I have received a reply which is marked "private," but of which I venture to send you a copy in confidence, for I venture to think it important. I think you will help him and encourage him to act more energetically if you admit in your speech that his hands are somewhat tied by the action of his predecessors. I think the late Government threw away a great opportunity by their feeble and dilatory action on the Armenian Question.'

MacColl to Salisbury

' August 28, 1895.—I apologize for trespassing so much on your time and patience. But I am anxious to do nothing and to advise nothing which might tend in any way to embarrass your Lordship in your efforts on behalf of the Armenians. I have a bundle of unanswered letters received during my illness, from persons all over the kingdom, on the subject of public meetings in connexion with Armenia. I advised my correspondents to rest satisfied with the Chester meeting,¹ adding that I knew that your Lordship was doing all you could, but a number of letters suggest public meetings in aid of the Relief Fund on behalf of the Armenians. I enclose a specimen. The writer is a strong Conservative, and therefore most friendly to the Government. The question is whether it will be wise to have such meetings; for, although the advertised purpose will be to express sympathy with the Armenians and to collect money for them, it will, I believe,

¹ Gladstone addressed a public meeting at Chester on August 6, 1895.

be difficult to prevent such meetings from having the character of Indignation Meetings; not of course against the Government but against the Porte. And I have a strong feeling that supplementary meetings would be likely to weaken the moral effect of the Chester meeting. That meeting must have shown the Sultan that your Lordship has the whole nation at your back. The calm which has succeeded must have impressed him, I should think, more than any number of noisy meetings would have done.'

Salisbury to MacColl

'August 29, 1895.—I think on the whole that it would not be desirable that I should offer you any advice as to the question whether you should hold meetings upon the Armenian matter or not.

'I have already been accused, most unjustly, of having got up the Demonstration at which you spoke.'¹

MacColl to Salisbury

'November 2, 1895.—I have ordered a copy of the current number of the *Contemporary Review* to be sent to your Lordship. In an article on the Armenian Question I have, while condemning the settlement, laid the entire responsibility of it on the late Government. The moment a summary of the scheme was published last May, I read a paper on it at a meeting of the Grosvenor House Committee, of which the Duke of Westminster is President, and the Duke of Portland, Lord Bute, and Lord Strathmore are members. I criticized it in detail, and showed as I think the utter futility and even mischief of it without European control. The Duke of Westminster, by the wish of the Committee, sent my criticisms to the papers, much to the disgust of Lord Rosebery and his Government who have never forgiven me; for I raised the Liberal Press against them. The Liberal papers are now disposed to forget this and to throw the whole blame of the failure on your Lordship. I have no doubt that I shall be

¹ At St. James's Hall, on May 7, 1895.

anathematized in Liberal circles for my article, but I can't help that. I regard their diplomacy on this question as fatuous in the extreme. If the Liberal Government had, last May, presented the Sultan with a workable scheme, with an alternative menace of the fleet going to Smyrna, I have no doubt they would have won. Russia and France had not then made up their minds, and would have been obliged to co-operate, but Lord Rosebery threw away his opportunity. I believe he was anxious to help the Armenians, but he was not master of the question; Lord Kimberley was weak and timid, and Sir W. Harcourt bullied both, thinking only of what could win the Election, as he thought—his pet Veto Bill.'

MacColl to Gladstone

'November 5, 1895.—I am in private correspondence with Lord Salisbury on the Eastern Question, and find him most friendly. I suspect that he is not well backed up in the Cabinet. I am afraid Chamberlain is too much bent on making a name for himself in the Colonial Department to care a button for the Armenians; and of course the Duke of Devonshire will put on his caution-drag.'

All through the spring and summer of 1896 things went from bad to worse in Armenia. MacColl incessantly plied his vigorous pen, and used whatever influence he could bring to bear on his friends, and more particularly on Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone—the only statesmen in whom he had confidence. When reviewing a book by the Duke of Argyll on 'Our Responsibilities for Turkey,' he wrote: 'I am glad of any opportunity to have a fling at the Unspeakable One.' His personal relations with Lord Rosebery were friendly enough, but he despised the pusillanimous policy of inaction which Lord Rosebery's Cabinet had maintained; and, as the summer declined into the autumn, he encouraged Gladstone to come forward yet once again on behalf of the persecuted Christians. From this point his correspondence may be left to tell its own tale.

MacColl to Salisbury

'September 9, 1896.—I have been for some days the recipient of letters from all parts of the United Kingdom, urging the duty of holding public meetings in London and elsewhere. Since the meeting at Chester at which Mr. Gladstone spoke, soon after your Lordship's accession to office, I have used whatever influence I possess against the policy of agitation, and I have taken every opportunity of declaring publicly that your Lordship has been handicapped by the imbecile diplomacy of your predecessors. I know for a fact that on the collapse of China the Russian Government invoked a friendly understanding with Lord Rosebery's Government both in the far East and near. Lord Rosebery declined, and British policy has been thwarted ever since. Lord Rosebery's Government mismanaged the Armenian Question from the beginning. I can never forgive them for the appointment of the Turkish Commission on the Armenian massacres, which was appointed by their advice, for no other reason that I can think of but that of hoodwinking public opinion in England. And as they began, so they proceeded, from one feeble proposal to another. The truth, I believe, is, that Lord Rosebery's Government was paralysed by internal discords. I think Lord Rosebery's own feelings were in favour of a more vigorous policy and an understanding with Russia. Sir W. Harcourt, on the other hand—besides delighting in thwarting Lord Rosebery—thought that he would win the election by his Budget and his Veto Bill and thus return to power with a personal prestige which would force his supersession of Lord Rosebery. That is only my private opinion. What I do know is that Harcourt opposed the line in foreign policy that Lord Rosebery was at one time disposed to adopt. I don't know how many of the Cabinet supported him; but I believe that Mr. John Morley certainly did. Lord Kimberley, on the other hand, was too lethargic to take a strong line.

'I have troubled your Lordship with these remarks

in order to show that I, for one, should be very sorry to see our Foreign policy again entrusted to the custody of the late ministry, and that I am therefore very unlikely to do anything which might have a tendency to embarrass your Lordship. But public feeling is getting so hot and wild on the question, that I am disposed to think that public meetings will be held with or without the co-operation of the Grosvenor House Committee. In the former case the Committee would be able to exercise some control. I should probably (as Honorary Secretary) have a voice in the drafting of Resolutions, the choice of speakers, and the line of policy to be adopted. There are as many Conservatives as Liberals on the Grosvenor House Committee, including a member of your Lordship's Government, the Duke of Portland; and I should of course do nothing without consultation with the Committee.

'I should be greatly obliged if your Lordship would tell me quite privately which you think more advisable: that the Grosvenor House Committee—if we find that public meetings are inevitable—should do our best to guide and control them; or simply let them take their course. I am glad to see the *Daily Chronicle*, which is prone to take an independent line, while urging further meetings, gives your Lordship credit (in its yesterday's leader) for doing your best, but throws over Lord Rosebery and the Liberal leaders as hopelessly indifferent to the moral obligations of the situation. My opinion, if I may venture to say so, is that it would be wiser to guide the indignation of the public than to leave it to run riot.'

Salisbury to MacColl

'September 9, 1896.—Of Armenia I have little to say, for you know almost as much as I do about it. My last news is not good. I have heard from more than one good authority that, at the recent interview in Vienna, Lobanoff and Goluchowski agreed that it was perfectly possible to put off the dissolution of the Turkish Empire for a great number of years; and mutually pledged each

other to work together for that purpose to the best of their power. Of course, Austria carries Germany and Russia carries France. Yet there are things which the most powerful combinations cannot do.'

MacColl to Salisbury

'[*Hawarden*], *September* 12, 1896.—Instead of going straight to London from Curraghmore, without seeing Mr. Gladstone, as I had intended, I have just arrived here, for two reasons: first, because I found that it was no longer a question of meetings or no meetings, but only of guiding the meetings. Three weeks ago I thought the nation had settled down into a state of apathy as regards the horrors in Turkey. Now I find that the indignation of the people must have a vent; and I am glad of it, for I believe it can be kept within reasonable bounds. My second reason for coming here is that I learnt that Mr. Gladstone has been and is being strongly urged to speak at a meeting to be held at Chester, and he is considering the matter. I know that his disposition is to help your Lordship in any action which you may think it wise to take; and I believe there is no action, however drastic, in which the nation would not joyfully support you. I came to talk the matter over with Mr. Gladstone. But I have not yet seen him, for I have only just arrived from Ireland; and I am going to take the liberty of putting my own views before your Lordship as to the policy to be advocated at public meetings as the most feasible and least violent:

'(1) The deposition of the Sultan by the united action of the Great Powers, or by one or more of them with the acquiescence of the rest.

'(2) If a majority of the Powers oppose this solution, that your Lordship should lay your policy before the Powers, namely that, in consequence of their refusal to act, you should break off diplomatic relations with the Sultan, recalling the British Ambassador at Constantinople and giving the Turkish Ambassador his passport.

‘I have not a doubt that the mere threat of your Lordship’s determination to take this course would force the Powers to accept the alternative of the Sultan’s deposition, or to propose some efficacious alternative of their own. See how your refusal to agree to their cruel policy in regard to Crete compelled them to follow your lead. Their nervous dread of a general war is the very lever to work upon. To disarm any suspicion of your intention or desire to gain any special advantage for England, would it not be possible to propose a self-denying ordinance by which the Powers would bind themselves to respect the territorial *status quo* in Turkey? This would show the world that, if there is any Power which is cloaking selfish designs under a mask of zeal for the prosecuted Christians, it is not England. The very fear of opening out the whole Eastern Question will make the other Powers go with your Lordship instead of thwarting you, once they see that you are determined to get the Sultan deposed, or throw upon them, before the civilized world and their own Christian subjects, the responsibility of leaving this criminal lunatic to go on playing his mad pranks.

‘I believe that just now the Power which plays the boldest game will win, and win peacefully. Your Lordship has proved this in the case of Crete! I am certain that you have now an opportunity, such as does not often fall to the lot of a statesman, of forcing the Great Powers to follow you in pacifying Turkey and thereby establishing a great name in history and earning the gratitude of your country and the benediction of Christendom.

‘And there is another reason why I wish your Lordship to achieve a great success in this matter. Now that Mr. Gladstone has retired, your Lordship, as far as I can see, is the only statesman among us who is capable of infusing moral force into politics, whenever you give yourself fair play. And moral force is sadly needed in politics just now. For the Governments of Europe seem to me to be falling under the dominion of the Stock Exchange and financial gamblers. God is being dethroned in favour of Mammon. Your Lordship can now strike a note that will touch the best and

noblest elements in the British character, and you will find the whole nation at your back. I am not going to degrade so sacred a subject by suggesting that you would do your party as well as your Government a great service by taking a bold lead on this question. And it would be no new departure on your part, as I am prepared to prove, and shall prove, from your speech in the House of Commons in 1858 down to the present time. Lord Carnarvon told me in 1878 that it was due to your influence in Lord Beaconsfield's Government that this country was saved from the great crime and blunder of going to war on behalf of Turkey. I am sure that in this crisis your own wishes have been thwarted by obstacles and influences not known in their entirety to me, although I know some of those and guess more. One thing I can certainly prevent, and will—namely, any attempt of the Liberal leaders to make any Party capital out of the situation. I apologize for the untidiness of this letter as well as for its audacity. I have written it *currente calamo* to catch the post before seeing Mr. Gladstone. I will write and tell you his view privately.'

Salisbury to MacColl

September 12, 1896.

'DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—I do not think I ought to offer any advice with respect to the agitation of which you speak.

'But there is one circumstance which has I think been overlooked and to which I ought to draw your attention.

'Mr. Gladstone and others speak as if the present situation was similar, or at least analogous, to the situation of 1876. This seems to me a serious mistake. In 1876 Mr. Gladstone supported one policy—to co-operate with Russia against Turkey; Lord Beaconsfield supported the opposite policy—to maintain Turkey against Russia. Mr. Gladstone was unable to persuade the Parliament of that day to accept his policy. But, whether wise or not, it was a perfectly practicable policy. If he had succeeded, he

could have taken office, and carried out his policy at once. He would have had Russia on his side; and no other State, except Turkey, would have gone against him.

‘But the policy which is now advocated—the policy of taking the rule over Armenia, and the rest of Asiatic Turkey, away from the Sultan—is in a very different position.

‘Since the recent massacres, Austria, Russia and Germany have agreed to do their utmost to maintain the *status quo* as long as they can. As far as I know France has not spoken; but she would undoubtedly have taken the same side. The policy, therefore, which the Armenian sympathizers would advocate is *not* possible: and therein differs vitally from Mr. Gladstone’s policy of 1876. You might turn this Government out, and ten other Governments after it, but you would not be able to accomplish a result which Austria, Russia, Germany, France and Turkey are determined to prevent.

‘Under these circumstances, I doubt whether any practicable result can come from any loud outcry here.

‘Ever yours truly,

‘SALISBURY.’

MacColl to Salisbury

‘[Hawarden], September 13, 1896.—Your most kind letter has just reached me here. I must apologize for the very hurriedly written and unconscionably long letter which I wrote your Lordship on my arrival here yesterday. I had not time to read it over, and I am afraid that I may have failed to convey my meaning clearly. I have not said a word to Mr. Gladstone about it, nor shall I till I hear again from your Lordship. I will tell him to-day, without hinting at my authority, that I have good reason to believe in the existence of such a compact between Russia and Austria as your Lordship mentions. How dramatic—I believe providential—that the leading partner in that iniquitous compact should have been summoned to his account immediately afterwards! I think

the probability now is that Mr. Gladstone will speak at Chester; but I know that his strong desire is to enlist popular sympathy in support of any action which your Lordship may find it possible to take. Between ourselves, I believe that he has very little faith in the Liberal leaders, though he does not say much. When told yesterday that Asquith had published a strongly-worded letter in the *Daily Chronicle*, he said at once "I hope he has not attacked the Government." I asked his opinion about some such policy as I took the great liberty of suggesting in my letter to your Lordship yesterday. He answered, "I dare say you are right. If nothing else can be done, probably the recall of our Ambassador and the dismissal of the Sultan would be the best alternative. But I would not urge that on Lord Salisbury publicly; it would have the appearance of dictating a policy, and would make it difficult for him to adopt it, even if he were inclined beforehand to do so. Stick to Coercion, leaving him the choice of the means; or insist on the futility of mere discussion and 'Representations.' That can't hamper him, for it is only what he has said himself more than once." I assume that this indicates the line which he will himself take at Chester. But I have had no opportunity of any private talk with him yet. I mean to put the following case before him: "Suppose Lord Salisbury has information that there is a combination of Powers—Austria, Germany, Russia, and France—to oppose any action on the part of England which might, in their opinion, endanger the stability of the Turkish Empire, how could Coercion be applied to the Sultan? In such a contingency, could England do anything more than protest and throw the responsibility of the consequences on the Powers?" I will tell your Lordship what his answer is. But I shall probably have no opportunity of any private talk with Mr. Gladstone till after the Sunday post is gone. So I send this letter beforehand. I shall go to London to-morrow to arrange a meeting of the Grosvenor House Committee. We can certainly, I think, keep public feeling in London under control, and to some extent in the provinces. It would be a great help to me if I could know privately

your Lordship's mind as to the policy of public meetings. The *Standard*, I see, calls for public meetings of a non-party character to strengthen your Lordship's hands. I do not think that public meetings can be prevented now; but they may be controlled; and I think I could certainly, as Honorary Secretary of the Grosvenor House Committee, postpone any large public meetings in London if your Lordship thinks this advisable.

'The most telling thing of course would be to call public meetings in support of any action which you might find it possible to take. I cannot help thinking that, in the event of your Lordship being thwarted by the combination which you mention, a review of the situation, with the literary skill which you have so readily at your command, coupled with warning as to the consequences of letting things slide, and the withdrawal of the British Ambassador at Constantinople, would have an electrical effect all over the world and would cow the pro-Turkish coalition. Even in despotic countries Governments cannot afford to defy public opinion. There are indeed occasions in which autocrats are more amenable to the pressure of public opinion than constitutional sovereigns; for under a despotism there is no barrier between the monarch and the multitude. I believe it was the pressure of public opinion in Russia that compelled the Government of the Czar to declare war against Turkey in 1877. A lucid review of the situation by your Lordship, leading up to a warning as to the consequences of inaction and the *coup* of withdrawing the Ambassador, could, I believe, make it impossible for the Powers to hold back; especially if your Lordship were to prove the unselfishness of England by proposing a self-denying ordinance by which all the Powers pledged themselves to respect the territorial integrity of the Turkish Empire on terms compatible with civilized existence for the Christian subjects of the Sultan. Even such negative action on the part of your Lordship as I humbly venture to suggest would terrify the Powers in their present state of nervous anxiety. The withdrawal of England from the European Concert might encourage a rising in Macedonia, possibly in Arabia, which is always in veiled

rebellion. I believe the Powers would shirk the responsibility of facing such risks after your Lordship had clearly saddled them with the responsibility. And you would have all England at your back. As it is, the *Daily Chronicle* has been for some time appealing to your Lordship to champion the national honour and conscience, which it has been accusing the Liberal leaders of having betrayed. I have no doubt that they will now try to ride into popular favour on the crest of the rising tide. But they will try in vain. The most powerful organ of the Liberal party now is the *Daily Chronicle*. I know the editor, a strong Radical, but a thoroughly honest, manly fellow who takes his own line and has but a small opinion of the leaders of his party. I shall see him to-morrow, and I think I can keep him straight without committing any indiscretion. I should like to secure some good Conservative speakers if we have a large meeting in London; and it has occurred to me that your Lordship's son, Lord Hugh, would be a good man to have if he would agree. His speech on the Education Bill in the House of Commons made a great impression even on those who differed from him. Mr. Mundella characterized it as far and away the best maiden speech he had ever heard; and a shrewd Radical M.P., a Scotchman, told me that the speech "fairly carried him off his legs." I owe many apologies for troubling your Lordship. My excuse is that this question haunts and oppresses me day and night, and that I believe your Lordship has now an opportunity of checkmating the cynical selfishness of the Powers and of establishing yourself firmly and permanently in the admiration and confidence of the nation.'

MacColl to Salisbury

'September 14, 1896.—I have just returned from Hawarden and have read your most kind and interesting letter. I quite see the distinction your Lordship draws between the cases of Bulgaria and Armenia, and I am sure you will need no assurance from me that, so far from desiring to damage the Government, I am most

anxious to do what little I can to support it. I did what I could against Lord Rosebery's Government in the last General Election, and I do all in my power to prevent its return to office. I think its mismanagement of the Armenian Question has been the *fons et origo malorum*. I will also add in strict confidence, that Mr. Gladstone has no wish to help the late Government back to power. I discussed the whole question with him this morning. On Saturday he was all in favour of Coercion, and thought that England's treaty-rights gave her a *locus standi* for interfering alone in case the other Powers held back. Finding him this morning incredulous as to my suggestion of a combination of the four Great Powers to support the Sultan against isolated action on the part of England, I read him in confidence that part of your Lordship's letter which was returned to me from Curraghmore. He promised to regard it as most entirely confidential. He was greatly impressed, and saw your Lordship's difficulty. I think he now realizes the impossibility of your attempting any policy of Coercion in the strict sense of the word, and falls back on my suggestion of withdrawing the British Ambassador from Constantinople in order to separate England from complicity with the criminal inaction of the other Powers. He thought the Sultan's last insolent rebuff might offer your Lordship a good opportunity for declining all further diplomatic intercourse with the Sultan until he gave satisfaction; and he cited Crete as a proof of the success of your separate action, and an augury of the success of similar action in Armenia. He did not like Lord Rosebery's letter. He is flooded with appeals to speak from different places; and I think he will decide to speak either in Chester or Liverpool. But his earnest desire is to avoid doing or saying anything which might tend to embarrass you. He has asked me to send him some extracts from your Lordship's speeches on this question which would enable him to take the line of supporting you. I have seen also this evening the editor of the *Daily Chronicle*. I wrote to him from Hawarden on Saturday evening to suggest that he should trounce Lord Rosebery, and he has done it, as

you will see in his first leader to-day, which I enclose. At present I think I can keep the *Daily Chronicle* and the *Observer* and the *Sunday Times* and the *Guardian* and *Spectator* straight. But the tide of indignation is rising fast, and I don't think it will be possible to stem it, though it may be guided along moderate and safe channels. It will be hard, yet I think I can prevent any public meetings of any importance in London before the middle of October. But if the Grosvenor House Committee do nothing at all the agitation will fall into the hands of Dr. Guinness Rogers and the Nonconformists in the interest of Lord Rosebery. At present the Grosvenor House Committee is a power in the country, and we can help the Government up to a certain point. Beyond a certain point we cannot go without losing all our influence. May I run down to see your Lordship for an hour, to lay all the facts, as I know them, before you, and especially Mr. Gladstone's views? I am afraid of troubling you with too long a letter; but will write again if your Lordship cannot see me. Nobody knows me thereabouts, and I could say all I have to say, and have your Lordship's views in reply in half an hour, and nobody would be the wiser. I will hold myself in readiness to come at a moment's notice. Mr. Gladstone told me to-day that he believed your heart was much more in the matter than Lord Rosebery's, and his earnest wish is to support you. But he seems to have quite made up his mind that further diplomatic representations to the Sultan are positively mischievous.'

MacColl to Salisbury

'September 15, 1896.—You must hate the look of my handwriting, overwhelmed as you are with correspondence. But I was anxious not to let a post go without writing to say that a very short summary of a sermon of mine at Hawarden last Sunday, which has appeared in to-day's paper, is inaccurate. The *Standard* account is most accurate. I have sent a correction to the papers. I refused to preach in the morning or to take any part in the service, hoping to escape notice,

as I was told that a reporter always came in from Chester for the morning service, but not for the evening service. I have just been to the *Spectator* office. Hutton is away for his holiday, and his colleague Townsend is in charge. Townsend's policy is to invite the Czar to take Constantinople, if he wants it, and come to terms with England as to the best means for settling the Eastern Question. He is bent on that policy and will have an article in that sense in this week's *Spectator*. I prefer the policy of deposing the Sultan, coupled with a self-denying ordinance on the part of the Great Powers; and in case of failure, cessation of diplomatic intercourse with the Sultan. I believe it to be quite impossible to stop the agitation, but that it may be guided on lines of prudence. I should like to give your Lordship my reasons for this opinion if you could spare me half-an-hour's conversation. It is so easy, when one is imperfectly informed, to make a mistake without intending it. . . . I enclose the *Daily Chronicle's* articles to-day. The first was partly suggested by me—I mean in so far as it recognizes in a general way your Lordship's difficulties, and gives you credit for the Cretan settlement.'

Salisbury to MacColl

September 15, 1896.

'DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—I am much obliged to you for your interesting letters and also for your very kind offer to come down here¹ to confer with me.

'But I am afraid that I cannot encourage you to carry out your considerate design. You carry a flag—and your coming would give an occasion to many unfounded inferences. Though I fully appreciate the kind spirit in which you are dealing with this agitation, I, of course, am far from urging or backing it, and must avoid where I can the appearance of doing so. I see the foreign newspapers, in their queer view of things English, are already suggesting that the agitation is got up by the Government.

'Yours very truly,

'SALISBURY.'

¹ Walmer Castle.

MacColl to Salisbury

'September 16, 1896.—I quite see the difficulty. I thought I might run down to see you without anyone knowing it, just as I thought I would preach in the evening at Hawarden Church without anyone knowing it. I was obliged to touch on Armenia, for I wanted money for our Relief Fund. The agitation cannot be stopped, but may be guided, I think. I believe I can keep London quiet for the present by a little Fabian policy, letting off steam in harmless meetings on the subject, but preventing any large demonstration. Your Lordship may have seen something about the "Byron Society." It is, in fact, the Grosvenor House Committee under an alias. We manage it, and between the two we occupy the field, and it is impossible, for the present, to get up any demonstration outside of us. But the heather is on fire all over the country. I have got a letter from the Bishop of Ripon saying that there is to be a great meeting in Bradford next Monday at which he is to speak. He asks me what line he should take. The *Times* is foolish in trying to stop the agitation, instead of giving it a lead and a policy. I hope to have time to-day to write a signed article for to-morrow's *Daily Chronicle* to scotch the furtive attempts of the *Daily News* and National Liberal Federation to reap any Party advantage from the agitation. If the Conservatives are only prudent and don't oppose the agitation, it may turn to the great advantage of the Government.'

MacColl to Salisbury

'September 19, 1896.—The enclosed letter from Mr. Gladstone¹ missed me owing to my temporary absence in the country. It is in reply to a letter from me urging the reasons which your Lordship gave me for the difference between the circumstances of 1876 and 1896. I think you ought to see

¹ In the enclosed letter Gladstone described the apprehension of war with the Northern Powers as 'speculative' (see p. 261).

the letter at once without my waiting to ask Mr. Gladstone's permission. But the original is not very legible, and, as your Lordship's time is very precious, I am having a clear literal copy made. As I am writing this, I will try to tell you Mr. Gladstone's mind exactly as he told it to me. His earnest desire is to support your Lordship, and his difficulty hitherto in yielding to entreaties that he would speak has been the fear of embarrassing you. Now that some organs of the foreign Press are accusing your Government of fomenting agitation, he thinks that an expression of his opinion in favour of strong action would help you abroad. He believes that some such proposal as he suggests would avoid all danger of war. It would commit the Government to nothing. He does not believe that the Northern Powers would threaten to resist; on the contrary it would bring the Powers to their senses and make them act with you; if not in the way he proposes, then in some other way that would be effective; and that, if they really threatened to oppose, it would throw on them the whole responsibility and make England's position in the eyes of the world a grand one. He will support you through thick and thin in any action to separate England from any further complicity in the guilt by a continuance of the method of "representations to the Sultan." My own position is an extremely difficult one. I have hardly stopped for some days answering the piles of letters which reached me daily. The country is in a highly inflammable condition. For instance, I have received a letter from an indignant Conservative gentleman (a wealthy merchant) suggesting that, if the Government cannot move, private persons should follow the example of English sympathizers with Italian and Spanish freedom, and help the victims of Turkey in Europe and Asia with arms, and in other ways. He suggests the chartering of a ship to land arms, and he says that he will gladly contribute £5000.

'My advice in regard to public meetings is to give the Government a free hand, and resolve to support it in any effective action for relieving the national conscience from

any further complicity with the policy of mere argument and persuasion addressed to the Sultan. Hot remonstrances are addressed to me for not getting the Grosvenor House Committee to call a meeting in London, and I am writing some signed articles in the *Daily Chronicle*, partly to gain time by thrashing the subject out and partly to test the trend of public opinion ; partly also to vindicate your Lordship's whole position so far on the Eastern Question. I shall deal with that subject on Monday. I hope your Lordship may be able to influence the Czar to join himself with your policy now that Prince Lobanoff is gone ; but you are regarded in Russia as a political enemy ; and I think I can show that Russia has good reason to be grateful to you ; and the Christians of Turkey also. I shall found my argument on official evidence.

'Lord Rosebery and the *Daily News* put out feelers to see how far they could go in making this a Party question. I think I have quashed that attempt in the *Daily Chronicle*. Harcourt is lying low to see how the cat is going to jump. I have a rod in pickle for him also if he tries to do mischief, and I shall not hesitate to use it if necessary. He was largely instrumental in preventing Lord Rosebery's Government from doing anything for the Armenians. I don't think we can avoid having a meeting in St. James's Hall soon, else a meeting will be held without us. My plan is to get a Bishop or an Archbishop to preside, so as to make the meeting more Christian than political. Some members of Lord Rosebery's Government wish to speak ; but we shall not allow them ; first, because they could hardly avoid giving the meeting a Party character ; secondly, because they made such a mess of the Armenian Question when they might easily have settled it. May I presume to give an opinion of my own on the question ? I am sure from all correspondence that reaches me that the wish of the whole country is to back you up in anything that separates England from acquiescence in a policy of inaction. Make a distinct proposal to the Powers, and, if they reject it, throw the risk of all that may follow on them, and withdraw our

Ambassador. I am sure the Powers would not dare to take the responsibility, and you would spring at a bound into the position of the first statesman in Europe. In any case the country would be satisfied with your having done your best. It would be a fatal mistake for Conservatives to abstain from attending public meetings. The more of them take the chair, the better. It is also, I think, a mistake to say we *cannot* fight. It is to invite insolence. We need not fight, but we ought not to say that we cannot. I venture to send in a separate envelope some articles from the *Daily Chronicle*. I am doing my best for the Government as well as for the Armenians; but if your Lordship thinks that I am doing mischief, I will retire.

‘I can only help to quench the agitation by swimming some way with the stream. The *Daily Chronicle* is a great power, and I want to lend to its support of your Lordship as much help as I can.’

MacColl to Gladstone

‘September 19, 1896.—As your letter was not marked “private” it occurred to me that you might think your opinion might help Lord Salisbury by showing the Northern Powers that you were ready to back him up even if he acted alone. But of course I should not publish it without your permission, or without Lord Salisbury’s. In my article in to-day’s *Chronicle* I have committed you to nothing beyond what you have already published. It was just because you had made your view so plain that I think it so disloyal or stupid on Lord Rosebery’s part to put a spoke in the wheel of your policy. How is it that he never speaks on a critical occasion without some damaging indiscretion? His nonsense about “the Predominant Partner” gave a fatal stab to Home Rule for the time being. And how can a leader expect to carry his policy when he says, as Lord Rosebery has said more than once, “I am not an enthusiastic Home Ruler; I don’t expect much from it”; or “I am not enthusiastic for Disestablishment,” and then goes on to express a preference for Erastianism? I expected so much

from him, and am dreadfully disappointed. He has now done the same kind of mischief that Forster did on his return from Turkey in 1876. The *Morning Post*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Globe*, *St. James's Gazette*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, etc., are all patting him on the back to-day.'

MacColl to Gladstone

'September 19, 1896.—I have not received your letter back from Lord Salisbury, probably owing to his being from home. . . . Ought it not to be published? And shall I publish it? It puts the case so very clearly and forcibly. I wonder what Lord Salisbury will say to it. He is sure to tell me. When I have your answer I will see the editors of the *Times*, *Standard*, and *Daily Telegraph* privately, to get them, if possible, to take the right line, and to impress upon them the danger to the Government of its organs going against you.

'Lord Salisbury, I understand, has difficulties in his Cabinet: Duke of Devonshire, Hicks-Beach, Cross, Lansdowne, Goschen, being opposed to action, and now Lord Rosebery comes out with a manifesto in favour of inaction and a continuance of the tomfoolery of the Concert of the Powers. . . . Of course the papers which counsel inaction are jubilant over Rosebery's letter. I suppose he will advise the Prince of Wales to use his influence with the Czar in that sense. I hope you have written to the Prince to impress him with your point of view. Lord Rosebery is hopeless as a leader, I fear. . . . He could have settled the Armenian Question with the greatest ease after the Massacre of Sassun. But he refused to publish the reports from his own Consuls, and then, when the truth came out in spite of him, he tried to hoodwink the public by urging the Sultan—the author of the massacres—to appoint a purely Turkish Commission of Enquiry! And now he tries to put a spoke in your wheel.

'I have been writing signed articles in the *Chronicle* in favour of your policy.

'If you let me publish your letter, may I say in a note

accompanying it, that your earnest desire is to support *any* measure by means of which Lord Salisbury may be enabled to sever England from all complicity in the continued impunity which the other Powers grant the Sultan in his work of massacre and extermination ?

‘ God bless you for all that you are doing in this matter. I will tell you what Lord Salisbury says.’

MacColl to Gladstone

‘ *September 20, 1896.*—The Italian Green Book is most damning to Lord Rosebery’s Government as far as Armenia is concerned. They are exhibited as a pack of idiots who had no policy at all, and whose diplomacy was singularly well calculated to encourage the Sultan. My own impression is that Harcourt thought he was going to win the elections by his Budget and Local Veto Bill, and did not want the Armenian Question to divert public attention from his great achievements, and Rosebery was too weak to take a line of his own ; while Lord Kimberley was too phlegmatic to interest himself in the Armenians. Only four months ago he calmly told me that he believed the stories of massacres and outrages to be greatly exaggerated. It hardly lies in Lord Rosebery’s mouth now to accuse Lord Salisbury’s policy of being “neither spirited nor skilful.” Anything more imbecile than *his* policy cannot well be imagined. And now he has gone dead against your policy and encourages yesterday’s *Scotsman* (at least by his letter) to make a violent attack on the agitation. “Lord Rosebery,” says the article, “is a much safer guide for the Liberal party than Mr. Gladstone.” God save us from such guides ! I have much more confidence in Lord Salisbury. He told me a year ago that he found his hands tied by the policy and diplomacy of his predecessors. Your letter suggesting the method of a material guarantee has much impressed him. He has written in a very friendly way about it, and I think he is considering it together with other plans. The thing now is to encourage him, and give him a free hand. I doubt whether he has not at this moment a majority of the Cabinet

against such a strong measure as you suggest ; and I wish I felt sure that the Queen was with him. He was a little hurt by your accusing him of being " a dupe or a victim." Perhaps you could say something at Liverpool in another sense.'

MacColl to Gladstone

' *September 20, 1896.*—I am very sorry I forgot to send you the extracts from Lord Salisbury's speeches on which you might found your speech: the speech in which he said that mere " representations " to the Sultan were futile ; and the speech (quite lately) in which he called the Turkish Empire " a gangrene " which might necessitate drastic treatment. They shall be sent to-morrow.

' Lord Rosebery's letter in yesterday's papers is doing a world of mischief, and will strengthen the party in the Government which is opposed to action. I am writing a series of signed articles on the subject in the *Daily Chronicle*, and I have taken upon me to say—as there was no time to lose—that Lord Rosebery's policy is not your policy, and that if Lord Salisbury will take " separate action," as you did in 1880, you will back him up.¹ I have also given a dig to Sir Charles Dilke, whose lead Lord Rosebery has followed. Dilke was continually doing mischief in 1876-7, throwing cold water, as much as he dared, on your policy.

' I will send you to-morrow morning an article of mine in which you will find Austria's policy exposed out of the Blue Books. It is worse than Russia's, and Goluchowski is a greater sinner than Lobanoff. I know nothing more cynically brutal than Goluchowski's policy, as expounded by himself in the passages which I have quoted. It is a calm confession that the extermination of the Armenians, " appalling " as he confesses it to be, must be permitted rather than incur any risk to Austrian interests. That is what it comes to. I hope you will pillory it at Liverpool.

¹ Letters from Lord Rosebery, respecting the Armenian agitation, were published on September 19, 24, and 26, 1896. MacColl's strictures appeared in the *Daily Chronicle* on the 17th, 18th, 19th, 21st, 23rd, 25th, 26th, 28th, and 29th of the same month.

But may I venture to express humbly my opinion that it would be prudent to say nothing about Lobanoff till it is certain that the Tsar is hopeless? I am inclined to hope much from the Tsar's and Tsarina's visit to this country.

'Does history record a single act of generosity on the part of Austria, or any blow ever struck by her in the cause of any freedom but her own?'

Salisbury to MacColl

September 21, 1896.

'DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—I am much obliged to you for your letter and its enclosure. I understand from Lady Salisbury that you are expecting a comment on the latter from me. I do not think it would be right for me to enter upon any matter of controversy, for I could hardly make myself fully understood. The letter is exceedingly interesting, and raises several points on which a long discussion might be taken. What in certain contingencies would the Porte do?—what in certain contingencies would the three Emperors do? These are questions of great moment, to which it is true that only a "speculative" answer can be given. Unfortunately that is the case with most endeavours to form a forecast in things political. In such matters men may well differ in the opinions which they may form as to the probable result of certain lines of conduct. My only plea for leaning to the cautious side is that any unnecessary hazard might lead to such appalling consequences.

'Yours very truly,

'SALISBURY.'

MacColl to Gladstone

'September 26, 1896.—How very good of you to write to me when you have so much to do, and so soon after your great speech at Liverpool.¹ I wanted to have gone to Liverpool, to hear you, but could not get away. I think your speech quite splendid, so comprehensive and luminous and judicious, as well as eloquent. It is sure to have a great effect. It has raised the

¹ Delivered in Hengler's Circus, September 24, 1896.

whole question to a higher level, and will compel all Europe to think. Yes, the Clubs are detestable, and the *Times* and *Telegraph* imbecile; the *Standard* is much better. All the papers treat you with great admiration and respect. I believe they received a hint beforehand that Lord Salisbury regarded your intervention from a friendly point of view.

‘I have just written a hurried article for to-morrow’s *Observer* in reply to the *Times* and other critics of your speech. I have tried to put the true points of your speech succinctly as regards Coercion, and I have corrected a gross misrepresentation by the *Times* of the agreement between Lobanoff and Goluchowski. The *Times* doubtless got the information about the agreement which Lord Salisbury told me, and has perverted it.

‘In sending your letter about material guarantees to Lord Salisbury, I asked him if he objected to its publication if you did not. His letter in reply is very friendly, though he does not commit himself; and he makes no objection to the publication of your letter. So I have felt free to write more plainly in to-morrow’s *Observer* in explaining your speech, though I have hardly gone beyond the speech itself.

‘Rosebery’s letter is deplorable, and he has the *Scotsman* backing him up enthusiastically. That will hardly help him to keep his hold on his party. But “he that will to *Cooper* maun to *Cooper*.”¹ The *Scotsman* has honoured me with two leading articles, attacking me.

‘The agitation is going on apace. I get heaps of applications every day to speak at public meetings. Mr. E. Lyttelton² has made me promise to speak at Hertford next Friday. You have now given the meetings a policy, which is a great matter. Lord Hugh Cecil is going to speak at a meeting at Greenwich, his mother tells me. Yes, Rosebery is lagging behind Lord Salisbury. Thus far *Bury* is decidedly better than *Bery*.

‘I hope you have not suffered from your grand effort. God bless you for it.’

¹ The editor of the *Scotsman* was C. A. Cooper.

² Head Master of Haileybury.

MacColl to Gladstone

'September 28, 1896.—I could not get a copy of the *Observer* yesterday. I now enclose my article on your speech. It is badly written, for I had to write it in a desperate hurry. I hope I have not transgressed the legitimate limits of "economical" language (in the theological sense) in saying that the information was from Vienna. It is strictly true, for Lord Salisbury told me that he had *his* information from Vienna.

'You see your speech has had a great effect on European opinion. The German Press, and Bismarck's organ in particular, are cursing and swearing at you—the highest compliment which they could pay you. In case you may not have seen them elsewhere, I enclose some extracts from the Russian papers which used to be most hostile to England. It is a significant change, and I have no doubt that your speech has been the principal factor in their conversion. My revelations in the *Chronicle* have, I believe, helped. My last two articles were telegraphed to St. Petersburg. There can be no permanent combination between Russia on the one hand, and Germany and Austria on the other.

'What a fool Greenwood is, with all his cleverness! He has given me just the opportunity which I wanted for separating Lord Salisbury's policy from Lord Beaconsfield's. I could not very well have done it till he gave me an opening.

'I cannot understand Lord Rosebery. He has apparently lost his temper, and seems to be resolved to show that he can hold his own against you. . . . But he has done mischief in Scotland, and the *Daily Telegraph* to-day has a leader praising his wise statesmanship. I wonder if you could drop a note to the *Speaker* (privately) to warn Rosebery of the damage he is doing to his leadership. The Editor¹ is a great friend of his.'

¹ Sir Wemyss Reid.

MacColl to Gladstone

‘September 29, 1896.—It never occurred to me to quote or in any way make use of anything in any of your letters to me. In my hurriedly written article in last Sunday’s *Observer* I founded myself entirely on your speech, and I hope I said nothing indiscreet.

‘The Philistines are upon me now. In a leading article last Friday the *Daily Telegraph* called me “an amateur politician,” and accused me of preaching “a crusade against the Crescent.” I wrote a letter, which they put in a prominent place, indignantly denying the accusation. Then they fell back, in another leader, on “the trend of my innumerable essays for twenty years.” I wrote them another letter yesterday challenging them to prove their assertion out of any essay of mine, and stating the distinction which I have always made between Islam as a religious creed and Islam as a political system. That letter they have also put in large type on the front page, and Lawson has privately written me a handsome letter of apology. An amusing letter from an Indian Mussulman from Lincoln’s Inn appears in the same paper undertaking to prove the “D.T.’s” original charge by a quotation from my speech at St. James’s Hall last year. The fool has fathered on me a passage from the speech of Dr. Story, then Moderator of the General Assembly!

‘To-day that bumptious charlatan, —, has written an attack on me in the *Times* for my criticism of Rosebery’s letters, and the *Times* back him up in a leader in which it praises Lord Rosebery to the skies, and calls me “a reverend amateur in statecraft.” I have defended myself in a letter which they are bound to put in. I have also written another signed article for the *Daily Chronicle* of to-morrow; and if you find time to run your eye through it I should be much obliged if you could let me know in a line whether you think I have overstated my case. Rosebery has done immense mischief. . . .

‘Your speech has roused Europe; and, if the idiotic *Times* had backed you up, the Sultan would have caved in, I believe.’

MacColl to Salisbury

' October 4, 1896.—After the Bishop of Rochester¹ undertook to preside at the London Meeting on the 19th, I left the choice of speakers to him, and I am sorry that he appears to have asked Lord Rosebery, who has fortunately refused. I don't know the Bishop of Rochester's address, but I have written to beg Mr. Gladstone to tell the Bishop that no member of our late Government must be asked to speak unless some member of the present Government speaks.

' Lord Rosebery's letters clearly show that he is afraid of your achieving a personal triumph in the matter. He is like the fox that lost its tail. His own management of the question was such a deplorable fiasco that he is jealous of your Lordship taking any initiative which might lead to the settlement of the question, and thereby expose his failure more conspicuously by the contrast. Now I want not only to see the question settled, but to see it settled *by you*; and that not only for the sake of the Armenians, but for the sake of England also. I look upon our future with some apprehension. Everything depends upon our Church retaining and extending her hold on the nation; and that again depends on the fair settlement of the Education Question. Now if your Lordship were *by your initiative* to carry the Powers or some of them with you, or failing to do so were to decline to act with them as in Crete, you would at a bound obtain a moral and parliamentary authority in this country which would enable you to carry almost any measures you pleased in Parliament. At present you occupy a unique position such as no Minister has occupied during this century. There is no Opposition. I believe the agitation, if properly managed, would strengthen the hands of the Government immensely, especially on the Continent. Foreign Governments and the Sultan now see that the agitation is spontaneous and disinterested, and that the country is ready to back you up *in any measure* you may think

¹ E. S. Talbot.

necessary. I know the feeling of the country, I believe, as well as most persons, and I am convinced that the country would back you up enthusiastically even if you were to declare your intention to force the Dardanelles. That is a very different thing from urging or recommending you to do it, but surely it will strengthen your diplomacy if foreign Governments see that the country gives you *carte blanche*, without any kind of restriction, for action, separate or in concert with the other Powers. My own hope is that you may be able to come to an understanding with Russia and France, which would probably carry Italy also. But of all things I feel morally certain that, in the present state of Austrian nervousness, fighting against England is the very last thing she dreams of.

‘The Power that shows the boldest front and the strongest determination will carry the day. Your Lordship need have no apprehension as to any attack from the Liberal side. I am a person of small consequence; but on this question I believe I have a good deal of influence. I have let it be known at Liberal headquarters that, if any attempt were made to embarrass you or make Party capital out of the Armenian Question, I could and would make a terrible exposure of the late Government out of the Blue Books and other sources. I was also able to say that Mr. Gladstone would oppose any attack on the Government.

‘The fact is that he has been so very busy with Butler¹ and other non-political questions, that he had not followed the diplomatic history of the Armenian Question. I gave him a summary of it out of the Blue Books when I was at Hawarden. So that he saw that the Rosebery Government was to blame. Your Lordship may have noticed that he drew a sharp line in his Liverpool speech between Rosebery’s Government and yours. He expressed his hope and expectation that, when the facts became known, it would be found that . . . the Government had done nothing to be complained of either by omission or

¹ Gladstone brought out an edition of the works of Bishop Butler in 1896.

commission; and since then he has been saying that he has more confidence in you than in Rosebery. He said so last week to Lady Grosvenor who is his guest now. And, in a letter to me the day of the Liverpool meeting, he says "As far as I can see, Salisbury has been much better than Rosebery; so that I ought to prefer *Bury* to *Bery* in this great matter." Would your Lordship object to a member of the Government—say Mr. Ritchie—speaking at the London meeting on the 19th? I should like to know before asking him. And if Lord Hugh is not, as I hear, to speak at Greenwich, would there be any objection to his speaking at the London meeting?'

MacColl to Gladstone

'October 4, 1896.—Thank you so much for your most kind letter. The Mayor of Harrogate came to London to press me to address a public meeting at Harrogate, which he said would be a crowded one. I agreed because Harrogate is rather a Tory place. I have promised to address some other meetings in the North, and also a meeting at Warminster on the 14th, when young Lord Bath, following the traditions of his father, will preside.

'I have been inundated, and so has the editor of the *Chronicle*, with letters suggesting that my articles should be published in booklet form, and I am going to republish them. It has been suggested to me from various quarters that I should ask you if you would mind kindly writing a Preface for the republished articles. I hardly like doing it; but, if you saw your way to write a Preface, of course it would ensure a large circulation and immediate attention. Of course I need not say that I would make alterations of any kind which you might suggest on reading the proof. Two more articles are to come: one on the traditional policy of Russia, and the last on Islam as a political system, with a view of showing that there *can* be no reform in Turkey, and never has been (except on paper) without coercion.

‘Wemyss Reid is doing his best (which is very lame) to bolster up Rosebery in the *Speaker*. His account of the events of 1877–80 is a travesty of the facts, and I mean to write a letter for next week’s *Speaker* to point that out. I don’t suppose he will refuse to publish it. John Morley told Massingham (of the *Daily Chronicle*) a few days ago that he meant to support you against Rosebery. Harcourt will probably do the same. . . .

‘My last article but one (on Russia’s traditional policy) was sent to the *Chronicle* on Friday, and will, I hope, appear to-morrow. I shall write the last article of the series to-morrow.

‘I am sorry that the Bishop of Rochester asked (as I gather from the papers) Lord Rosebery to speak at the meeting at which he is to preside. It was a great mistake after Rosebery’s pronouncements on this question. Moreover, I have promised Lord Salisbury privately that no member of the late Government shall speak at the meeting unless a member of the present Government speaks; and that Rosebery shall not speak on any condition. Can you kindly let the Bishop of Rochester know this? I should like the Bishop to consult with me before he fixes on any speakers. A mistake in that matter might be ruinous.

‘A thousand thanks for your noble service, which is already bearing victorious fruit.’

MacColl to Gladstone

‘October 11, 1896.—Rosebery has passed all bounds.¹ I am going to speak at Harrogate to-morrow, and I intend to “deal faithfully” with Rosebery, as they say in Scotland. I can make out such a damning case against him out of the Blue Books, which he left Lord Salisbury to publish, that I can afford, and mean, to be very mild in my language. The facts will speak for themselves.

‘On my return to London I am going to write a Preface to my republished articles, in which I undertake to make

¹ Lord Rosebery resigned the Liberal leadership in a letter published on October 8, and on the following day he made a speech at Edinburgh, proclaiming his dissent from Gladstone’s policy.

mincemeat of Rosebery's speech, while very civil to himself. I will send you the proof; and if you think you can write anything that I may publish I should be so grateful. I want the reply to Rosebery to be as widely circulated as possible. I have spared him hitherto, and I mean to be very polite to him now. But *the facts* are terrible; I shall give chapter and verse.

'I do hope you will not give — another article on the Armenian Question. He is really a skunk, going about London running you down and exalting Rosebery. The *Fortnightly* and *Contemporary Reviews* are friendly and sympathetic.

'I have asked Lord Salisbury if he objects to a member of the Government speaking at the St. James's Hall meeting. He does *not* object, though he thinks it will be a difficult speech to make, as Europe will really be the audience.¹ I have asked Ritchie. Salisbury is worth a score of Roseberys.

'I return to London on Tuesday, and speak at Warminster on Thursday, Lord Bath in the chair.'

MacColl to Salisbury

'October 17, 1896.—Lord Rosebery's attack on Mr. Gladstone, followed by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's unfriendly criticism and Mr. George Curzon's sneering reference to Mr. Gladstone, has roused an intense feeling of indignation and resentment which may end in an explosion unless some means are taken to soothe it. I am a little anxious about the meeting to-morrow evening. Hitherto I have been enabled to keep the whole Liberal party behind the Government, in spite of one or two

October 7, 1896.

¹'DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—It would not be for me to object to any member of the Government speaking on this question: but as a matter of fact it does not seem to me objectionable in itself. But it would be a very difficult speech to make, because the most important portion of the audience will be the governments of other countries.

'Believe me,

'Yours very truly,

'SALISBURY.'

attempts on the part of the *Daily News* and a few other papers to make Party capital out of the agitation. But the attacks that have now begun to be made on the agitation, and on Mr. Gladstone, from the Ministerial side will provoke the other side to retaliate. The questions will then become a Party one, as in 1876-7, and the Liberals will be glad to unite on a policy of opposition to the Government. To prevent this I have written the enclosed letter. If your Lordship thinks that I have taken a judicious line, perhaps you would not mind sending me a reply which might be read at to-morrow's meeting, together with my letter. It would have a calming effect.¹

'The publication of my letter, moreover, would show foreign nations that there is no sort of attempt or wish to force your Lordship's hands or press any particular policy upon you. *Pace* Mr. George Curzon, I think the agitation is calculated to strengthen your hands, not by any influence of yourself, but by showing the nations of the Continent that you have a free hand and a united nation behind you. . . .

'I am dead tired, and have scarcely had any sleep for a fortnight.'

MacColl to Salisbury

'October 19, 1896.—I am afraid you will hate the sight of my handwriting, but I should like to tell you that the meeting to-night was, I hope, all that your Lordship could desire. It gave the Government its entire confidence. Your name was constantly cheered. Even Dr. Clifford became enthusiastic about you. The only jarring note was a little gibe by Sir Walter Phillimore, of all men, against the Treaty of Berlin and Anglo-Turkish Convention. But it fell flat. The meeting was the most enthusiastic I ever attended and the most representative. There was a warlike note in it, to this extent that, if the Government should think even war

¹ This request was refused as 'entirely at variance with usage.'

necessary, the country would back it. That will not injure the Government in the Concert of Europe, but rather the reverse, I think, as showing that you have a perfectly free hand and a united nation behind you. The fact is that Lord Rosebery's speech has deeply wounded the self-respect and manly courage of the nation. People feel humiliated by his gratuitous proclamation of our impotence, and the British Lion wants to show that he is not afraid. Lord Rosebery's name was received with hisses. I have never known so striking a difference between the feeling of official and unofficial Liberalism as that between the official and semi-official organ of the Opposition and the feeling of the general body of Liberalism. My feeling is that if the Liberals were to go to the country now on the policy of Lord Rosebery's speech, scarcely a hundred of them would return. It is so kind of you to be so patient with me. Of course I see that you could not write me a letter to be read at the meeting, but would it be possible for you to write me something that I might publish to express your Lordship's satisfaction with my explanation of the origin and aims of the agitation? I mean, of course, if you really are satisfied. It would show to foreign Governments :

'(1) That this Government had nothing to do with the agitation.

'(2) That its aims are not so wild as they have been represented.'

MacColl to Gladstone

'October 19, 1896.—The enclosed newspaper cuttings may possibly interest you as indicating the reaction against the Rosebery speech. One is an article which I wrote in yesterday's *Observer*. It was written in desperate hurry, and I had not time to see a proof. The other cutting is a summarized report of a speech of mine at Harrogate on Monday evening last week. Ten days ago the Mayor of Harrogate came to London to ask me if I

would speak on the Armenian Question at a great meeting which they proposed to have. If I did, he said, I could have all the speaking to myself. He was deputed to tell me so. I agreed. I received the report of Rosebery's speech on Saturday evening in Derbyshire, and I determined to reply to it on Monday at Harrogate. The meeting was a representative one. The Mayor, a Radical, was in the chair, and he was supported by leading Conservatives. The town hall, which holds 1800, was crowded, and numbers had to go back for want of room. The majority of the audience were Liberals, the Mayor told me. I spoke for an hour and a half. The first part of my speech I devoted to the Armenian Question, till I fairly got hold of the audience. Then I began to dissect Lord Rosebery's speech, and every point I made against him was received with cheers. Only one man in the meeting, a paid Liberal agent, tried to interrupt me ; and the audience suppressed him summarily. The Mr. Williams on the platform, who tried in vain to get the chairman to rule me out of order, is the editor of the *Leeds Mercury*. The audience was very impatient with him, and, when he got up again to support the resolution which I had moved, the meeting would not hear him till I begged them to do so. He quite changed his tone ; and the meeting passed a unanimous vote of thanks to me. I think the meeting has had a sobering effect on the *Leeds Mercury*. It begins to see that the Rosebery ticket will not do. But a still more instructive experience was a meeting last Thursday at Warminster. I agreed to address the meeting if Lord Bath would preside, which he did very gladly, and made an excellent speech in the right key. It was a crowded meeting, and I again criticized Rosebery's speech and received the hearty cheers of the audience. But the most remarkable fact was that I was followed by the Congregational minister of Warminster, who has a large congregation, I was told. He not only backed up my criticism of Rosebery's speech ; he went far beyond me. He denounced the speech as a manifesto of gross political immorality, disqualifying Lord Rosebery for ever again occupying the leadership of the Liberal party.

He was cheered all through. Not a solitary voice was raised for Rosebery, while your name, as at Harrogate, evoked loud cheers.'

Salisbury to MacColl

'October 20, 1896.—I think it would be imprudent to write publicly any letter with respect to the agitation, because our only chance of exerting any influence over the Powers is by persuading that agitation is not our doing. It is almost impossible to persuade people either at Vienna or Berlin that the whole movement is not a got-up thing designed to serve some wily purpose. They think this, because they know that in their own countries no such movement could possibly be raised except by Government machinery.'

MacColl to Salisbury

'November 7, 1896.—The enclosed circular¹ is from a member of the late Government. I shall go to the meeting for the purpose of opposing the proposal, and I think I shall succeed. But some members of your Government have made my task more difficult than it need have been by their most ungenerous and ungrateful attacks on Mr. Gladstone and their laudation of Lord Rosebery at Mr. Gladstone's expense. As soon as I had put Mr. Gladstone in possession of the facts, showing the mismanagement of the question by the late Government, he cheerfully acted on my suggestion to rally the Liberal party behind your Lordship; and with his aid I have hitherto been able to prevent any Party action against the Government. My own belief is that Lord Rosebery's resignation was mainly due to Mr. Gladstone's rally of the Liberal party in support of the Government, and it is rather trying to find member after member of the Government attacking Mr. Gladstone and praising Lord Rosebery. I venture to think that it is a short-sighted policy, too. I have spoken at several meetings in different parts of the

¹ Inciting Liberals to attack the Tory Government for its inaction about Armenia.

country, and Lord Rosebery's name cannot be mentioned without hisses. I never knew a case where the London Press and political wire-pullers were so completely out of touch with the feeling of the country. I addressed a crowded meeting at Eastbourne a while ago at the request of the Mayor (a strong Conservative) who was in the chair. The member, Admiral Field, also addressed the meeting. He praised Lord Rosebery's speech and condemned Mr. Gladstone's, and the agitation. He could hardly get a hearing; and my host, a Conservative and a leading doctor in the place, told me afterwards that the speech would probably cost the Admiral his seat.

'Your Lordship can help me if you can manage on Monday¹ to say something kind about Mr. Gladstone and sympathetic about the agitation without at all committing the Government. Any more attacks on Mr. Gladstone and the agitation will paralyse my efforts to prevent efficient Liberalism from making this a Party question.'

MacColl to Gladstone

'November 17, 1896.—I observe that Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, in a speech delivered yesterday, says that he "has always been opposed to isolated action." Lord Rosebery has succeeded in propagating an entirely false impression of your speech, and the other Liberal leaders go about like parrots, saying ditto, ditto to him. I have done my best to undo the mischief; but my influence is so small. A Preface by you to my book, succinctly restating your position, would be read by everybody, and would bring back the question to its true position. I have reason to believe that Lord Salisbury proposed to the Powers some weeks ago some action on the lines of your policy . . . just about the time that Rosebery made his most mischievous speech. That speech, backed up by all Lord Rosebery's late colleagues who have spoken on the subject, and by the *Daily News* and *Westminster Gazette*, together with powerful opponents in his own Cabinet,

¹ At the Lord Mayor's Banquet.

has discouraged Lord Salisbury. But he reserved the possible use of "isolated action" in his Guildhall speech; and I believe that some pronouncement from you now in the sense of the Liverpool speech would be of immense service to the cause. The country is entirely with you, and vehemently against Rosebery. Of this I have had abundant proof at large public meetings at which I have spoken. The great thing is to keep public feeling alive on the subject, and something from your pen would do it, as nothing else can, and would at the same time give you an opportunity indirectly of undoing the mischief which Rosebery has done.

'I believe that Russia, too, is now in a sympathetic mood—largely due to your Liverpool speech—and some friendly words from you would go a long way towards enlisting the sympathy of Russia on the right side.

'I think George Russell's move unwise, especially after the exhibition of Lord Rosebery and his colleagues.¹ I will be no party to attacking Lord Salisbury, and glorifying Rosebery and Co.'

MacColl to Gladstone

'November 30, 1896.—Am I not right in saying that no expedition could have saved Gordon under the circumstances? I am sick of the Gordon *culte*, and if my time were not so much occupied I should like to give the public the other side of Gordon's character. His character was a strange mixture: disinterested as regards money; but self-willed, arrogant, impulsive, bad-tempered, full of spiritual pride, and willing to sacrifice everything to what he called his "honour," which he identified with the honour of his country. I don't think it exaggerated or unjust to apply to him Tennyson's—"His honour rooted in dishonour stood," etc.

'I think you will receive from Longmans on Wednesday a copy of my book on "The Sultan and the Powers." The first twelve chapters are a reprint, revised and enlarged, of

¹ This 'move' was an attempt to impress the gravity of the Armenian Question on the conscience of the Liberal Party.

my articles in the *Daily Chronicle*. I left the references to the agitation as a record of the aim and purpose of those who encouraged and took part in it. I wonder what you think of what I said about the origin of the Crimean War. I am afraid you will not like what I have said about Egypt. But I really cannot see any alternative to the British occupation, except making Egypt autonomous under a non-Mussulman ruler. Under Mussulman rule everything would relapse to the old corruption and cruelty. All the same, I should like to see us out of Egypt, for I believe that our presence there is a danger to the Empire. At the same time the French seem to me to have behaved very badly. Our promises to leave Egypt are not nearly as explicit as the French promises to leave Tunis and not to fortify Biserta; yet they have practically annexed Tunis and fortified Biserta.

‘I thought Herbert’s speech at Leeds last week quite admirable both from an oratorical and political point of view: quite worthy of his father’s son.’

MacColl to Salisbury

‘November 30, 1896.—I am taking the liberty of sending you a book on the Eastern Question; very imperfect and crude I am well aware, for I wrote it in a hurry. The first twelve chapters are a reprint, revised and enlarged, of signed articles which appeared in the *Daily Chronicle*. I left all references to the agitation just as they appeared in the *Chronicle*, as a record of the aim and intention of those who had most to do with the agitation. Two of the articles were telegraphed to St. Petersburg when they appeared—those in which I have described two great services, as I think, which your Lordship has rendered to Russia. My object in writing them was to help to do away with the strong prejudice which has existed against you in Russia since 1877, and thus perhaps make it easier for you to bring about an understanding with the Russian Government.

‘I think I have made it quite impossible for the Liberal party to make an attack on your Lordship with regard to

Armenia. But the attempt is to be made. And the attack is to be opened by Mr. P. W. Clayden, one of the George Russell Committee, who is also political leader-writer and assistant editor of the *Daily News*. He is in the press with a book attacking your Lordship's whole policy on the Eastern Question since 1877. I think my exposure of the miserable mess which the late Government made of the Armenian Question will neutralize Mr. Clayden's attack. I hear also that there is to be a meeting in London on December 9 to protest against the inaction of the Government in regard to Armenia. The policy of the Liberal leaders apparently is to lie low till they see the effect of George Russell's movement, and act accordingly. It is too bad of the *Times* to insinuate, and of other papers to assert, that George Russell has been inspired by Mr. Gladstone during a recent visit to Hawarden. Mr. Gladstone has had nothing to do with the matter, and George Russell has not been to Hawarden for months. I wonder who invents these lies.

'The country, I believe, is getting restive at the continued inaction of the Powers. Lord Rosebery's Edinburgh and Colchester speeches have been deeply resented in the country. His sudden panic has wounded people's pride, and his glorification of the gospel of "British interests" *versus* moral obligations has revolted their consciences, as it did when Lord Beaconsfield made the same appeal in a less offensive form than Lord Rosebery. The *Chronicle* still supports your Lordship, as against the Liberals, on the Armenian Question. But it too is getting impatient. I wonder if your Lordship could tell me privately anything of an encouraging nature of which I might make judicious use.'

Salisbury to MacColl

December 4, 1896.

'DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—I am much obliged to you for the book you have sent me and which I hope to have an early opportunity of reading.

‘ I do not think people will impute the inaction to her Majesty’s Government when they see the papers. But by the force of circumstances the deciding voice lies with Russia. The fact that she is the only Power that can march into Turkey without crossing the sea is conclusive of itself. Of her I can only say that her tone is much more satisfactory than it was ; but I will make no attempt at prophecy. .

‘ Yours very truly,
‘ SALISBURY.’

MacColl to Gladstone

‘ December 4, 1896.—I am horrified at having wasted an hour of your time reading my letter. I will try to be brief now.

‘ I want us to leave Egypt for the reasons which you give. I think that a Mohammedan Government may govern *Mohammedans* with a rough kind of justice ; though even so the tendency is always towards misrule, corruption, and cruelty. But a Mohammedan Government *cannot* govern *Christian* subjects justly, for the Christian lies under irrepealable disabilities which make him really an outlaw. He can never become a citizen. Is there a single exception in the history of Mohammedanism ? I don’t know one. Our reforms in Egypt are, in many particulars, opposed to the immutable theocratic law of Islam, and would certainly not survive the British occupation for a year. There are, I believe, some 700,000 native Christians in Egypt, whose only protection is foreign occupation. But let Egypt be severed from Turkey and be made into an independent Principality under a Christian, and then we may leave it. Everything depends on the ruler not being a Mohammedan. A Mohammedan ruler must enforce the Sacred Law which governs the status of the non-Mussulman subject.’

MacColl to Salisbury

‘ December 6, 1896.—I am exceedingly obliged by your kind letter, which at least gives some little hope of a change for the better on the part of Russia. But what

pleases me best is your Lordship's assurance as to the efforts of her Majesty's Government.

'One of my main reasons for writing my book was to make it easier for your Lordship, if I could, to come to a friendly understanding with Russia, by proving that you were by no means unfriendly to her. F. Greenwood's indiscreet revelations¹ enabled me to do this on one particular point without compromising your Lordship. Next, I have been for a long time anxious to tell the true story of your failure at Constantinople. As you were away, you can have no idea of the campaign of calumny which the jingo Press in London kept up against you. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, then under Greenwood, was the worst. Even Lady Salisbury was not spared. It was plain that Greenwood was regularly in receipt of Cabinet secrets, and now he has avowed it in his *Cornhill* article. I could never bring myself to trust Lord Beaconsfield; but I did not believe him capable of such treachery as that.

'I enclose a pamphlet issued by the George Russell Committee. The writer is assistant-editor of the *Daily News*, and one of its principal political leader-writers. The pamphlet probably indicates the line of attack when Parliament meets. I think I have by anticipation destroyed that line of attack in my book.

'I don't understand Lord Rosebery. His Edinburgh speech was a flat contradiction of his previous attitude. And now he seems to have turned his back on his Edinburgh speech, for he told a gentleman of my acquaintance last week in Edinburgh that "he was afraid that the Liberal party would not go sufficiently strongly against Lord Salisbury." That goes to confirm my suspicion that his real quarrel with Mr. Gladstone was caused by G.'s expression of confidence in the Government. Certainly, until the Edinburgh speech, Lord Rosebery complained bitterly to his friends that Harcourt's opposition prevented him from taking, while in office, a stronger line on the Armenian Question. I have ventured to make one or two mild

¹ 'Characteristics of Lord Beaconsfield,' in the *Cornhill Magazine* for November 1896.

criticisms on your Lordship in my book, partly in order to enhance the effect of my defence of you. Indiscriminating praise is bad advocacy. I wonder if I could send through the Foreign Office a copy of my book to a rich Russian Armenian whom I know in St. Petersburg. I want to get a few hundred pounds out of him for the Armenian Relief Fund. The censorship is so stupid and capricious that my book might not reach its destination if sent by post. I once sent a book to St. Petersburg by post. It was an innocent book on astronomy, entitled "The Revolution of the Heavens." The word "Revolution" caught the censor's eye and he read no more but confiscated the book. ✓

MacColl to Salisbury

' December 27, 1896.—When I took the liberty of sending your Lordship a copy of my last book, I had never read it right through. I wrote it in a great hurry, in the midst of other work, and sent it to the printers day by day as I was writing it. Having read it as a whole I am sorry I sent your Lordship a copy. It is crude in parts, and badly arranged, and in some places violent in language. I should not, however, think of troubling your Lordship with this superfluous information. I write for another reason. I had a long conversation last week with M. de Staal on the Eastern Question generally, which led to his talking about my book, which he has read. He spoke favourably of it, and thought that a translation of it into Russian would do good. He did not know, he said, that the traditional attitude of Russia and England towards each other had been so friendly as I had shown it to be in my two chapters on that subject, and he was sure that it was not generally known in Russia. He said also that, although he never thought himself that you had any hostile feeling towards Russia, he did not know that you had been so well disposed towards his country as appeared from my book; and he believed that this fact also was not known in Russia. The book is therefore to be translated into Russian; and is in course of translation into French. But I intend to cut out a great deal in both translations, and to make

alterations in what remains, leaving out everything calculated to give offence.

‘My object in writing to your Lordship is to ask if I have unintentionally misrepresented you in any way, so that I may correct it, if I have. I have ventured to criticize you mildly in one or two places, partly because I believed what I said, but chiefly because I wished to prevent foreign critics thinking I was writing as a partizan of the Government, and perhaps inspired by it.’

MacColl to Gladstone

‘December 29, 1896.¹—I did not forget the day, but I have waited till the crowd of telegrams and letters were out of the way before writing to tell you how heartily I wish you every good thing for the coming year. I am so glad to learn from the papers that yourself and Mrs. Gladstone are in the enjoyment of good health. God grant that that may continue to the end, and that the end may be distant.

‘I met Lord Rosebery twice last week, and he was very cordial in spite of my attack on his speech.

‘The Russian Ambassador has expressed strong approval of my book, and a copy has been sent to Russia for translation into Russian. He said he believed that Lobanoff would have changed his policy if he had lived a little longer; and he agreed with me that Austria (with Germany behind her) was now the chief obstacle. But he was hopeful.’

MacColl to Salisbury

‘January 2, 1897.—I am much obliged by your Lordship’s kind letter. It is a relief to me, for I found that in the great hurry of writing the book, I might have committed some indiscretions. I am toning down the book generally for the foreign translations, and cutting out excrescences. I am glad to infer from the newspapers that matters are in a more hopeful state at Constantinople, and I trust that the issue will silence those who insist that your Lordship’s record

¹ Gladstone was born December 29, 1809.

on the Eastern Question unfits you to conduct negotiations on behalf of England. Part of my object in writing on this subject was (1) to show that your record, on the contrary, qualified you in a special degree to deal with the question ; (2) that the responsibility of your failure at Constantinople in 1877 rests entirely on others. In that respect my book, hurriedly put together as it is, has been a revelation to people in this country and abroad. In addition to what M. de Staal told me, I have had letters from Russia in this sense, and also from people of some influence in France, among others from the Duc de Broglie. M. de Staal said to me that if Prince Lobanoff was now alive, he believed that he would support your Lordship's policy, or words to that effect. The letter from the Dean of Durham¹ in the enclosed envelope is a sample of several letters of the same kind which I have received from Liberals of some position in England, and also some Conservative Churchmen. A diplomatic success on the Eastern Question would strengthen your Lordship's hands enormously on domestic questions, and help you to command a large following among Liberals, to whom Christianity and morality are of more consequence than party manœuvres. I think my dream of long ago may be realized yet—the dream of seeing you lead what is best in both the Liberal and Conservative parties.'

MacColl to Gladstone

'*January 25, 1897.*—You are probably too busy to have read the last batch of Parliamentary Papers. Those that relate to the Sultan and his doings are horrible enough. But I think Lord Salisbury deserves all the confidence which you and I placed in him ; and I think it is a little ungenerous of the *Daily News*, *Westminster Gazette*, and *Speaker* to taunt him with his "recantation" and "repentance," seeing that he has done so much better than his predecessor. It is silly, too, to say that Lord Salisbury's success proves the wisdom of Lord Rosebery's speech. It is your policy,

¹ G. W. Kitchin.

not Lord Rosebery's, that Lord Salisbury has adopted. He has declined, in effect, to act any longer with the Concert of the Powers unless they adopt a policy of coercion. Thinking the taunts of the Liberal papers (except the *Chronicle*) unfair to Lord Salisbury, I wrote an article in yesterday's *Observer*, which I enclose. . . .

'The Emperor of Russia has accepted a copy of my book, and has sent me his thanks in very kind terms through the Russian Ambassador. The book is being translated into Russian.'

MacColl to Gladstone

'*January 27, 1897.*—Thank you for so fully explaining your view. I do not disagree at all; but I overlooked your points, except the first—sole action; which I rather think is implied in Lord Salisbury's despatches, at least so far as this, that he will not act with the Concert except on the principle of coercion. In his last Mansion House speech, he said that, while he thought separate action would *then* be unwise, "he did not debar separate action: he would be a very imprudent man who did so." And I cannot help thinking that the extraordinary *volte face* of Austria was due to some hint from Lord Salisbury as to separate action. He has a craze that an army is necessary, and he has been trying to get Russia to cross the frontier.'

MacColl to Gladstone

'*January 28, 1897.*—I received your letter as I was leaving London. So I wrote very hurriedly. Before the receipt of your letter I had written to the *Daily Chronicle*, and my letter has appeared to-day. I think it is more in accord with your view than the article which I sent you on Sunday. I have on purpose put as much meaning into Lord Salisbury's despatches as they can possibly bear. I have tried to show that he is on your side, not on Lord Rosebery's. And I think he is. Certainly he has not committed himself, as Lord Rosebery has done, against solitary action. He reserved it explicitly in his Mansion House speech, though

it does not show in his despatches. If he stands firm on his despatches, I believe that he will win. I believe that France is now the obstacle. It is a question of finance with her. She has a hundred millions sterling in Turkish speculations, and she will agree to nothing which will not secure her against loss. She has told Russia that there might be a financial crisis in Paris which might imperil the Dual Alliance.'

MacColl to Salisbury

'*March* 11, 1897.—I would not trespass on your Lordship's valuable time did not I believe that the communication which I am about to make is of some importance. I have known the King of Greece for more than twenty years, and have occasionally corresponded with him during this crisis. Last night I received a letter from him in reply to one from me counselling prudence. His letter is marked *Confidential* and is evidently intended for my eyes alone. For that reason he probably shows his mind more fully than he would be likely to do in any official communication, or in any letter likely to be read by anybody but myself. He does not know that I have any acquaintance with your Lordship or with any members of the Government.

'I do not feel at liberty to show your Lordship his Majesty's letter, or reveal its contents, but I think I may tell you in confidence two or three points which evidently weigh very heavily on the King's mind.

'(1) He feels certain that the withdrawal of the Greek troops would lead to anarchy and carnage in the interior of Crete . . . and would induce the Mussulman natives and Bashi-Bazouks to provoke the insurgents into conflict which would make the ultimate settlement of the island under an autonomous Government most difficult, and which would meanwhile require a foreign army of occupation to restore order. Moreover, it is evidently the King's conviction that the Greek troops in Crete would refuse to leave, though their officers might obey the King's summons.

‘(2) I ventured to suggest in my last letter that a *plébiscite* now would be far from decision in favour of Greece—I mean of annexation to Greece. The King assures me that I am in error. He says that the Mussulmans of Crete would much prefer annexation to Greece to autonomy, if that alternative is offered them. In Crete they are in a minority, and have the same objection to autonomy that the Protestants of Ulster have to Home Rule—fear of oppression by the majority, now in a state of exasperation against the Mussulmans. They believe, on the other hand, that Greece would see justice done to them. And they are encouraged in this belief by messages from the Mussulmans in Thessaly strongly advising annexation to Greece as the true policy for the Cretan Mussulman. Probably the Mussulmans of Thessaly would like a considerable increase in the Mussulman element in the kingdom, as adding to their own importance.

‘My belief is that the King would use all his influence in favour of a pacific compromise. Suppose the Powers were to take over the Greek troops, place them under the supreme command of an officer from one of the Powers, and use them for police purposes during the period of transition. This would give confidence to Christians and Mussulmans alike: to the Christians because they would see that they were not to be delivered over to the Turks; to the Mussulmans because the Greeks would be under the control and order of the Powers and co-operating with the foreign troops. The first consideration surely is to restore confidence on both sides. If to this were added either an offer to Prince George, or one of the Danube Princes, of the Governorship of the island during the autonomous *régime*; or permission to the Cretans to elect their own Prince, as in Bulgaria; I believe the whole question would be settled peacefully. I doubt whether anything short of that will settle it. Beyond a certain point the King is not his own master. There will be a revolution in Greece if the Powers insist on their pound of flesh, and the Balkans will be in a blaze.

‘As to public feeling at home, my own strong conviction is that it contains the elements of an agitation fiercer and more widespread than the Bulgarian agitation. A manifesto

or a speech from Mr. Gladstone against the coercion of Greece would set the heather on fire; and I am not sure that he will not do something of the kind if extreme measures are taken against Greece. For he feels acutely on the subject. And believe me, if the Opposition leaders see their chance of damaging the Government, they will not hesitate. Their present moderation will then serve them in good stead. Personally I have used whatever influence I may possess in favour of moderation. I have refused all invitations to public meetings and kept the Grosvenor Committee so far out of the agitation. But I know from the communications which reach me from all parts of the country that the popular mind is deeply stirred and will explode if coercive action is taken against Greece after the inaction of the Powers in presence of the Sultan's massacres. I know, of course, that your Lordship is working hard in the interests of both Crete and Greece; but the multitude are slow to make nice distinctions, and what they will see is the practically free hand given to the Sultan in all his massacres, as contrasted with the coercion and ruin of Greece for going to the help of the Christians of Crete, when threatened with similar massacres. No amount of explanations will expel from the minds of the masses the conviction that the British Government has once more taken the part of the Turks against the Christians. In this matter it is of the last importance that the Government should not only be right, but should appear right. When the public mind is profoundly moved on a question that appeals to its moral sense and chivalry, parliamentary majorities are generally a false index. In 1876-80 the normal majority of the Government was about 60. Its majorities on the Bulgarian Question ranged from 90 to 134. Yet the country was all the while with Mr. Gladstone. London Society is always wrong on such a question as this. I apologize for troubling your Lordship when your time is so precious. My excuse is that I am doing it with the sincere desire to serve the Government generally and your Lordship in particular. I have always regarded you as the statesman whom I should like to follow when Mr. Gladstone was out of the arena.

I believe that you have now an opportunity which seldom falls to the lot of statesmen ; an opportunity of preserving peace and at the same time pacifying Greece and Crete, and also of establishing a great name in history, although the last consideration is probably one which does not influence you at all. I have done my very best to serve you—poor as that best may have been—and alienated friends in doing it. May I venture without presumption to say that your Lordship seems to me to underrate your own influence in the Concert ? You are the dominant influence. The Powers, like the Sultan, have accepted your proposal of an autonomy only in principle, and it surely would be consistent with your conditions that coercion should not be applied to Greece till, at least, the outline of the scheme has been agreed upon. If, in the meanwhile, an arrangement can be made to utilize the Greek troops as forces *employed by the Powers* to help to keep order during the period of interregnum, the crisis will, I believe, be at an end. If this cannot be done, I fear greatly that the too probable alternative will be war. And if war broke out while our forces are engaged, in alliance with the three Powers, against Greece, will it not be very difficult to avoid being drawn into it ?

‘ God forbid that we should have a repetition of the experience of the Crimean War—drifting into the vortex through the very means adopted to avoid it. The Greek King is very despondent and evidently fears the worst. . . .

‘ I shall not write to the King till to-morrow evening. If your Lordship would like to make any communication to him privately, I am of course at your service.’

MacColl to Gladstone

‘ *March* 18, 1897.—Mr. Murray has kindly sent me an early copy of your rousing letter to the Duke of Westminster, which I have just read with the greatest interest and admiration.¹ God grant it may arrest the downward

¹ *The Eastern Crisis ; A Letter to the Duke of Westminster, K.G.*

course of the Government. Salisbury has tried (1) to get the Powers to agree to the annexation of Crete to Greece; (2) to utilize the Greek troops under foreign command; (3) to expel Turkish troops from Crete if the Greeks are to be expelled. My belief is that he would have forced the Powers to adopt his policy if he had stood firm. But, angry as I am with him, I hold that the man who has done the mischief is Rosebery. Your Liverpool speech united Liberals and Tories in favour of your policy. Then came the Edinburgh speech to smash that union and divide the Liberal party. Ever since then the *Daily News*, *Westminster Gazette*, and *Speaker* have preached the duty of acting with the Concert with all the zeal of renegades. They are now preaching the coercion of Greece. Lord Salisbury is a timid man and has shrunk from enforcing a policy against the majority of his Cabinet and the inertia of his party, when he receives no assurance of support from the Liberal party, while their reputed organs in the Press are hounding him on to act with the Concert at any cost. Doubtless Rosebery inspires those papers. His *amour propre* is engaged in proving the soundness of his own policy, namely, that nothing can be done apart from the Concert, and that a great war would ensue if England left it. I am afraid that he would rather that Crete should remain enslaved than prove himself a false prophet.

‘I have been writing in my humble way on the subject, and am glad to find myself in agreement with your line of argument. I enclose an article which I wrote for last Sunday’s *Observer*, which is a useful paper, because people read it on Sunday without the distraction of other papers. I have also written an article for the next *Fortnightly Review*. I have said a good word for Salisbury in the *Observer* article, because I knew that he was then pressing the Powers to employ the Greek troops to restore order in the interior of Crete.’

MacColl to Gladstone

‘[Athens], April 6, 1897.—I have seen the King several times since I have been here, and have had long conversations

with him. He has begged me to send his warmest thanks for your great service to Greece and Crete by your splendid letter to the Duke of Westminster. The Powers have so mismanaged matters that they have now forced the King to the alternative of war or revolution. He cannot draw back now, he says, except on one of two conditions : (1) Crete must be united with Greece ; or (2) he must administer it after the manner of Austria in Bosnia. If the Powers were really anxious to settle matters honourably all round, they could save their own *amour propre* by encouraging direct negotiations between the Porte and Greece. The Sultan made overtures to that effect some three weeks ago, and Greece responded in a friendly way. But Russia stopped the negotiations. The King says that experience has proved absolutely that it is impossible to govern Greece without Crete. He is indignant at the accusation that he has been getting up an agitation in Crete for the sake of having a plausible excuse for intervening, the fact being that he has been for a year urging the Powers to force the Sultan to fulfil his promises towards the Cretans. The agitation was caused by the crowds of Cretan refugees whom the Powers landed or caused to be landed in Greece. Some of these had been mutilated by the Turks. Among other horrors the King told me that he had seen some young children whose parents had been murdered before their eyes. The Turks seized the parents, laid them on a table and cut their heads off, the blood spurting on the clothes of the children. The King saw the stains, and had the story from the poor children themselves. There was a group of children whose parents were murdered like that—some half-dozen couples of parents. Some of these atrocities were perpetrated on the King's subjects, of whom there are thirty thousand in Crete.

‘The King believes that the Cretans would not have accepted autonomy in any case ; but, even if there had been any chance of their doing so, the Powers have destroyed that chance by their cruel treatment of the insurgents and their open and even ostentatious alliance with the Turks. The Admirals exercise a strict censorship, and I am afraid

the British public does not know a tithe of the brutalities that are being perpetrated on the Cretans. Some of the non-combatants in the interior, the King told me, have been reduced to the necessity of feeding on roots and grasses. Boats are seized, and in some cases smashed, for trying to carry provisions from one part of the island to the other. And some peasants' boats have been destroyed to prevent their fishing. I enclose a cutting from last Sunday's *Asty*, of Athens, which will show you the kind of devilry that is being done under the British flag. The British ships are distinguishing themselves beyond others in this work. If you should see your way to do anything in the matter, please don't mention my name, as my conversations with the King have been private. He does not object to the facts themselves being known. . . .

'The Powers appear to be hesitating to blockade Greece. And they may indeed well hesitate. For the King assured me that within an hour of hearing of the blockade of Greece, he would order his army to cross the frontier. And then? My own belief is that there will in that case be a general rising of the Greek race, of whom there are more than six millions in the Turkish Empire. Greek volunteers are every day streaming into Athens from all parts of the Turkish Empire. Last Wednesday 700 arrived from different Greek islands; on Thursday 500 from the Caucasus; on Friday 300 from Rumelia; on Saturday a contingent from Macedonia; on Sunday 100, and yesterday 200, from Cyprus. And they all come at their own cost. The enthusiasm is extraordinary. The Assassin has denuded the rest of his Empire of troops in order to meet Greece and watch the Balkan States. A rising in the Greek islands, aided by the Greek fleet, would probably succeed, and even Smyrna might be wrested from the Sultan. If Greece could only open the campaign with a success, the whole Turkish Empire might collapse; for there would probably be insurrections not only in the Greek islands, but in Macedonia, Arabia, and Syria. And for all that the Powers will be responsible. I believe that Chamberlain is largely responsible for Lord Salisbury's policy in Crete. He is evidently preparing for a *casus belli* in the

Transvaal, and is probably urging Salisbury to keep in with the Concert, and especially with Germany, in view of a war with the Transvaal.'

MacColl to Salisbury

' May 12, 1897.—There are two or three facts which your Lordship may not know, but which I think you ought to know before the conditions of peace between Greece and Turkey are settled. During my visit to Greece I received information which I consider of great importance, and which I intend to use as far as I am permitted to do so, without indicating the sources of my information, in an article in the forthcoming *Fortnightly Review*. I had a long conversation with the King and Crown Princess, and Mr. Dimitroff, the Bulgarian Agent in Athens, whom your Lordship knows is a very able man, and singularly well-informed on the Eastern Question. But my information is not derived from the above. The Armenian Minister in Athens gave me a good deal of information on condition that I would not mention his name. The fact of his being an Armenian, and therefore not mixed up in the Eastern Question, opened sources of information to him which are generally closed to European diplomatists. I need not add that I had conversations with Greeks of all sorts, official and non-official; and I got also some valuable information from the late Turkish Minister in Athens, a man of moderate views and far from unfriendly to Greece. I believe your Lordship may rely on the accuracy of the following. Dimitroff was sent to Athens to bring about an understanding between Greece and Bulgaria, in which it was hoped that Servia would eventually be included. The proposal made by the Bulgarian Government to the Greek was that they should combine to draw up a scheme of reforms for Macedonia and other parts of European Turkey, chiefly inhabited by Christians; that they should then endeavour to get the sanction of the Great Powers for this scheme, and afterwards present it to the Sultan. Greece declined on the ground that it would be useless. Probably the Powers would not accept it; and whether they did or

not, the Sultan would reject it. It would therefore be useless. Bulgaria answered: "We quite agree that it would be useless for the ostensible purpose. But the real purpose of Bulgaria is to come to an understanding with Greece, to work together for the liberation of the Christians of European Turkey, postponing for the present our rival claims; but appearing before the world as the two Powers most interested in the question, and thus gradually shutting out the intervention of Russia and Austria, whose aims are fatal alike to the development of Greece and of Bulgaria. Servia would gradually see that it was her interest to join us. She has nothing to gain, and much to fear, like the rest of us, from Austria and Russia." But Greece would not agree to the proposal; very unwisely as I think. Had she agreed, Bulgaria could and would have managed to prevent the Sultan from declaring war on Greece. She could, on short notice, have put 120,000 excellent troops thoroughly equipped in the field, with a strong line of reserves behind them. Without giving legitimate ground of complaint, Bulgaria could thus have made such a demonstration on the frontier of Macedonia as would have prevented the Sultan from massing an army on the frontier of Thessaly; the more so, as the Sultan was anxious to find a plausible excuse for not going to war. From the moment it was announced that Crete was to have an autonomy that would abolish his authority, he was anxious to come to terms with Greece, and made overtures on the subject, which Greece received amicably. But Russia stopped the negotiations. I believe the Sultan would have come to terms with Greece on one of two conditions: (1) The sale of the island outright, a number of wealthy Greeks abroad being willing to find the money; or (2) allowing King George to administer the island under his sovereignty and on payment of a tribute. Greece would have agreed to either condition if the negotiations had been allowed to proceed. Your Lordship may depend upon it that, if it really comes to an effective autonomy for Crete, both the Sultan and the Cretan Mussulmans will much prefer annexation to Greece in either of the ways which I have named, for it will be much better for both of them. Russia

sounded King George, before the Greek troops went to Crete, as to whether he would agree to let Russia have Suda Bay in return for being allowed to annex Crete to Greece. The King refused. . . . My belief is that the promised autonomy will be a stepping-stone to the annexation of the island by one of the Great Powers other than England. A pretext will be found in the need of foreign occupation when the Turkish troops are withdrawn ; but the occupation will be as permanent as that of Austria in Bosnia. If Russia be allowed to occupy it, it will be on the understanding that the other Powers shall have compensation elsewhere ; France, in combined action against us by Russia and Germany and possibly Austria, in Egypt ; Germany, in obtaining a combined veto on British aggression in the Transvaal ; Austria, in getting a free hand to Salonica. But however the parts may be distributed, I have good reason for believing that such a scheme has been broached. As a member of the Concert, England labours under this serious disadvantage, that she has no separate agreement with any of her colleagues, while they have all separate agreements among themselves. Your Lordship is thus working with a band of conspirators, and will, I fear, share the same fate which an honest man meets in such company. It is, I hope, not too late to defeat this conspiracy. It may be too late very soon. Bulgaria is most anxious that England should help Greece and Bulgaria to a mutual friendly understanding. Bulgaria is willing to recede, in the interest of Greece, from the frontier of the San Stefano Treaty ; and she is willing to make concessions to Servia. She would gladly see Greece in possession of Crete at once, and also of the frontier promised to Greece by the Berlin Congress. And eventually she would willingly see Greece in possession of Salonica and of a fair share of Macedonia. But Bulgaria will insist—very justly I think—on an outlet to the Ægean. That is the point of difference at present. Greece claims an unbroken littoral in that direction. If Greece will agree to the terms of Bulgaria, then Bulgaria will be only too glad to make an alliance with Greece, which would be greatly to their mutual advantage commercially and otherwise.

Such an agreement, too, would open out most valuable markets for British trade. On the other hand, Germany and Austria are determined to monopolize the trade of Bulgaria, Servia, and Roumania, Russia being taken into partnership ; an arrangement fatal to British trade in the Levant. Germany and Russia will now, I suppose, hypocritically play the part of false friends to Greece. When I was in Athens they were representing England as the real enemy of Greece, and aiming at the annexation of Crete. The King asked me if I thought there was any truth in it. It would not surprise me to find a crowd of German officers presently arriving at Athens to reorganize the Greek Army, which supplies the raw material of a splendid force. If the Balkan States and Greece once make up their minds that England has thrown them over, they will be forced to come to terms with the Northern Powers, whose aim is to foster their mutual jealousies to prevent their combining, and thus make them severely dependent on their big neighbours. Stambouloff formed the audacious project of a union with Roumania, and sent a secret agent to King Charles with that offer. The two States were to come to a secret understanding, unite themselves when their plans were complete, under the Roumanian Crown, thus forming a powerful Kingdom, which could put 500,000 fine troops into the field ; then on the first favourable opportunity they were to seize Constantinople and make it the capital of the New Kingdom. King Charles jumped at the idea, and eagerly accepted the offer, but said that he must consult Russia. He did, and Russia put her veto on the scheme. The great desire of the three autocrats now is to sow distrust among the various nationalities and prevent their combination. Is it not the interest of England to defeat the policy of the Emperors and make friends of the Balkan States and Greece ? If they are enclosed within the circle of hostile treaties by which the Northern Powers intend to exclude our trade, as they have already excluded it largely, the loss will damage us more seriously than anything that may happen in the Transvaal. In settling the terms of peace between Turkey and Greece your Lordship will have an

opportunity of showing Greece and the Balkan States that England is, after all, their best friend, and, by means of private diplomacy, Greece and Bulgaria, and afterwards Servia, may be brought together to their great benefit and ours as well. But if this opportunity is let slip, it will probably be our last chance. All the Great Powers, except Italy, would be delighted to see us damaged, and our commercial and naval supremacy destroyed; and Italy is bound by the Triple Alliance. I ask your Lordship's pardon for troubling you with this long letter.'

MacColl to Gladstone

'May 22, 1897.—I asked Herbert to forward to you in confidence a proof of an article by me on Greece in the next *Fortnightly Review*. I told Mr. J. Morley the substance of it privately, for I have not put my name to it. My argument is based on authentic facts which I obtained from unquestionable sources, not all Greek, while I was in Athens. I will tell you them in strictest confidence. They are the King of Greece, the Crown Princess (sister to the German Emperor), and the Bulgarian Agent at Athens, a singularly able man, and very much behind the scenes. There was another, an important diplomatist, whose name I will give you when I see you.

'I observe that the Constantinople correspondent of yesterday's *Speaker*—Dr. Washburn, the head of Roberts College, who has private sources of information through former pupils now in official life—has also an inkling of the Imperial plot to crush Greece. And our Government, and France and Italy, have lent themselves to it!

'I now enclose a copy of an article by me in to-day's *London Observer*. What are the Liberal leaders about, remaining dumb till the mischief has been done by the imposition of conditions of peace on Greece which will destroy her independence? Better a hundred times the cession of Thessaly to Turkey for the present than a war indemnity which would place Greece as completely under

the control of one of the Great Powers as Egypt is under ours. But there is no case for a war indemnity.

'Rosebery's fanatical glorification, in his Edinburgh speech, of the Concert, and his denunciation of your policy, have much to answer for. He is even now backing up Lord Salisbury's policy, both privately and through the *Daily News*, *Westminster Gazette*, and *Speaker*.

'The people are dumb because there is no one to enlighten them or give voice to their indignation.'

MacColl to Gladstone

'May 26, 1897.—Thank you for your postcard. For at least the last six years there has been a staff of German officers at Constantinople engaged in organizing the Turkish army. Their chief, General Goltz, is one of the ablest generals in the German army. When war broke out he went with his staff to join the Turkish headquarters, and he and a Turkish general were the first officers of the Sultan's army to enter Larissa. So far, what I have stated is a matter of notoriety.

'1. It is undisputed that German officers have been organizing the Turkish army for years; and all the newspaper correspondents have stated that Goltz and his German officers have been at the Turkish headquarters all through the fighting.

'2. A German officer at the Turkish headquarters published a letter in a German paper, in which he said that Edhem Pasha's staff was so thoroughly German that German was the language spoken at headquarters, and that the Germans managed everything. That letter was quoted by the *Daily News* and *Daily Chronicle*.

'3. Hanotaux, the French Foreign Minister, declared last Saturday "Turkey had soldiers of tried valour, but no officers and no cohesion. These Germany has given her, and among the officers Edhem Pasha" (*Times*, May 24). (See letter from Paris Correspondent giving a report of Hanotaux's speech).

‘ 4. The King of Greece told me that some of the German officers were seen by his son’s staff commanding Turkish batteries and wearing the German military cap instead of the Turkish fez ; so little pains did they take to conceal their presence.

‘ 5. The Duchess of Sparta, the German Emperor’s sister, told me that the strategy of the Turkish army was conducted by German officers, who reported to the Emperor, *inter alia*, the great superiority of the Greek artillery over the Turkish.

‘ Ought not this gross violation of neutrality to be taken into consideration in settling the terms of peace ? What are the Liberal leaders about ? ’

MacColl to Salisbury

‘ *May 26, 1897.*—You have always been very forbearing to me when I have taken liberties with you in presuming to express my opinion on subjects which lie outside my own sphere of duty. I am going to take one more liberty. I feel oppressed with a presentiment of coming calamity which cannot I shake off. But I will trouble your Lordship with only two facts. The Constantinople correspondent of the *Speaker* is Dr. Washburn, the head of Roberts College. As an American he does not trouble himself about our Party politics ; but he takes keen interest in the Eastern Question, and is wonderfully well informed on it from his confidential correspondence with men in official positions in Bulgaria, Greece, Roumania, and Turkey, including even the Yildiz Kiosk, who have passed through his hands. In his last letter he says that there has been a conspiracy among the Emperors to crush Greece. That is also the impression which I gathered in Greece, and I wrote an article, partly dealing with that aspect of the question, for the next *Fortnightly Review*. At the last moment I have been asked to withdraw it in favour of an article “from an authority behind the scenes,” who backs up Dr. Washburn’s view, taking my points and “adding to them from authentic sources.” . . .

‘The editor has asked leave to incorporate one or two of my statements in this article. I have agreed on condition that he is careful to do justice to your Lordship, which he has readily agreed to do. I think there must be truth in what comes so confidently from several independent sources. I know, for I have seen the evidence in black and white, that at least one Great Power would have helped Greece to the possession of Crete in return for Suda Bay. My hope now is that the robbers will quarrel among themselves. The honest men may perhaps come by their own. But that the Tsar and Kaiser will now join in avenging the Sultan is surely unlikely; and without coercion there will be nothing to show for the diplomacy of the Concert. My dream was to see your Lordship at the head of a great Party for the rest of your life. The Concert has shattered my dream; for it has ruined your Lordship’s diplomacy. I am more sorry than I can tell. The author of the Armenian massacres and of the troubles in Crete will be victorious along the whole line if he is allowed to get an indemnity . . . from Greece.’

MacColl to Gladstone

‘June 12, 1897.—I enclose a copy of an article of mine in this month’s *Fortnightly Review* and also two cuttings from yesterday’s *Times*, which seem to bear out my view of the situation, especially in regard to Germany. My conclusions are based a good deal on information which I cannot make public.

‘I have let down Lord Salisbury more easily than my feelings would prompt, because I was anxious not to exasperate his party, some of whom in their hearts do not approve of his faint-heartedness. But I must add that I have just as little confidence in the Liberal leaders. What have they done to educate the country? Nothing. They have given the Government the approval of their silence. Nor can I forget that Rosebery’s fanatical eulogy on the Concert and his fierce denunciation of your Liverpool speech have been at the bottom of all the mischief. And

it is his feeble policy in Armenia that Lord Salisbury has followed. I am afraid we shall yet have to pay dearly for our base pusillanimity during the last three years. If you had imitated the taciturn policy of the Liberal leaders in 1876-1880 you would not have won the country. But for you, Hartington and the rest would have done nothing. I am utterly disgusted. The authorship of my article is a secret.'¹

MacColl to Salisbury

'*July 23, 1897.*—I have been away from home and did not see the Parliamentary Papers on Turkey till to-day. May I venture to express my sincere admiration and pleasure at your Lordship's masterly diplomacy which has achieved such a splendid success? I have felt all along that, when you put forth your great powers and your complete mastery of the subject, you would bend the statesmen and Sovereigns of the Great Powers to your will, and would be seen leading, not following, the Concert of Europe; and I have expressed that feeling more than once in public. You have taken "separate action" in the sense in which I have always believed that it would succeed, namely, by declining to act with the Concert any longer in a policy of paper-reforms and futile remonstrances; and by proposing a policy of your own which will ensure success so far as success is possible under such a rotten system as the Turkish Government. M. Hanotaux's complaint of the "moderation" of your Guildhall

¹ In this article, which was called 'A Plot against British Interests in the Levant,' and was signed 'Vindex,' MacColl said:

'As for the Concert itself, I have never expected any good from it, and I have always thought it a great mistake on the part of the late Government to revive it on the Armenian Question. It is an admirable instrument when its members aim at the same thing. When, as now, the majority of them are using it in pursuit of ends injurious alike to the interests of Great Britain and to those of the emancipated, as well as the still enslaved, populations of Turkey, the sooner we leave it the better. Honesty is always at a serious disadvantage in partnership with dishonesty, and experience, so far, seems to show that our presence in this Concert serves only to further ends which are not ours, and which may prove disastrous to our credit and interests.'

speech is funny, when one remembers that his own speech in the French Chamber gave great satisfaction—as in my humble opinion it was calculated to do—to the Sultan. The papers do not seem to me to have grasped the full significance of your Lordship's diplomatic success. I have therefore scribbled an article for to-morrow's *Observer* in the hope of dotting the i's more plainly.'

MacColl to Salisbury

' August 27, 1897.—I trust that I am not taking an undue liberty in writing to express my thankfulness at the report of your Lordship having proposed the raising of a fund for the Greek Indemnity on the guarantee of England, France, and Russia, and the consequent control of as much Greek revenue as would cover the Indemnity. That would keep Germany out of it. Germany, I am sure, has all along aimed at getting control of Greece, and general European control would mean German control, as Germany holds more Greek bonds than all the other Powers put together. Financial control of Greece by Germany would mean the practical reduction of Greece to the conditions of a German province. Once let Germany have a footing in Greece, and she will remain there as we remain in Egypt. I would rather leave the Turks in Thessaly—hateful as that would be—than give Germany financial control of Greece. That would be better for Greece in the end, and certainly better for the political and commercial interests of Great Britain. I believe the German Emperor wished to drive the present dynasty out of Greece, and I have the authority of a near relation of his own for that opinion. The destruction of the monarchy, followed by revolution, and the establishment of German control over Greece, would give Germany an excuse for establishing herself in Greece as we are established in Egypt. Russia and France can hardly wish that, though Austria might not mind. Of course she goes with her partners in the Triple Alliance. . . . It would be a great gain to the world—and to England not

least—if England could come to a friendly understanding with Russia and France.’

MacColl to George Armitstead

‘September 3, 1897.—The Concert of Europe has been the parent of all the mischief both in Greece and in Armenia. How different would the case be now if the Government had followed the policy, sketched out in his great Liverpool speech, of Mr. Gladstone, instead of that of Lord Rosebery’s Edinburgh speech! I say this with much regret, for I like Lord Rosebery. He has been very kind to me, and I rejoiced when he succeeded Mr. Gladstone in the Premiership. I expected great things from his ability, his knowledge, his tact, and his genuine Liberalism; and I made great allowances for his difficulties at the head of a Cabinet where the ablest of his colleagues was at once disloyal to him and at the same time Leader of the House of Commons. And in the mismanagement, as I think it, of the Armenian Question in its earlier stages, I laid the blame on Sir W. Harcourt, who did not want the Government to score a great success in a department with which he had no special connexion. . . .

‘If Lord Rosebery had but asserted himself more and kept Harcourt in his place, things would have turned out differently. The way to unite the Liberals and win the masses is to appeal to their moral sense and sympathies on some great question that transcends all sectional interests. If Lord Rosebery, instead of suppressing the Consular reports from Armenia, had published them and gone to the country on that question, he would have carried it as Mr. Gladstone did on the Bulgarian question, and would, moreover, have scored a great diplomatic victory. There was then no combination of Powers on the other side, and England might have carried Russia and France with her. Italy was already eager to follow England in a policy of Coercion, and Russia would have come to terms with us as to Armenia if we had not unwisely, as I think, refused her request that we should act with her on the China-Japanese

question. Lord Rosebery had the ball at his feet then, and he threw away his chance. But Harcourt has since then thrown away *his* chance, and has made a mess of the Greek and South African questions. This may give Lord Rosebery another chance. Who knows ?'

MacColl to Salisbury

'September 6, 1897.—You may have come across Dr. Dickson, the writer of the enclosed, at Constantinople, and are better able to say what weight attaches to his name than I am. I have no personal acquaintance with him, but heard him well spoken of when I was at Constantinople five years ago, and asked him if I might publish his letter with or without his name. I have just got his answer, in which he says that I may in any case publish his letter with his initials only, but with his full name if the Foreign Office do not object. If your Lordship sees no objection, I thought of publishing Dr. Dickson's letter with some comments of my own, contrasting your Lordship's method with your predecessor's, which you inherited. I have always thought and said that the late Government is largely responsible for the massacres in Armenia in not having settled a plan of Coercion before it drew upon and tried to force on the Sultan a scheme of reforms which violated some fundamental limits of the Mohammedan creed, and acceptance of which, without Coercion, would have made the Sultan an apostate in his own opinion, and in that of all his Mohammedan subjects. The Sacred Law commands him to yield to *force majeure*, but forbids him to yield to anything else. Your Lordship's circular despatch of last October recognizes the fact, which is the key of the whole question, and quite a new departure in the diplomatic history of the Eastern Question. The point is one which it is very hard to drive into the mind of the British public, and I think the publication of Dr. Dickson's letter would enable me to reach some minds which are otherwise inaccessible to me. Of course I would make no allusion at all to your Lordship's answer either way. If your Lordship should consider it advisable

to guarantee singly the loan for payment of the Greek Indemnity, I am sure the country would approve. Since my return I have been making enquiry in Liberal quarters, and I am sure there would be no opposition there, but, on the contrary, hearty support. The whole country would be delighted to see Germany checkmated. I have no doubt that the success of the Sultan in diplomacy and in Thessaly has had a good deal to do with the rising of the Indian tribes, stimulated as they have been by his paid emissaries. Those tribes are very ignorant, and it is probable that in their minds Greece looms as the country which hurled back the armies to Persia and sent Alexander the Great to conquer India. So that the defeat of Greece by the Sultan means to them, in a vague way, the defeat of Europe in general, and England in particular. I have sometimes been struck with the almost incredible ignorance even of educated Turks. When I was in Constantinople five years ago a Greek gentleman was imprisoned for refusing to reveal the hiding-place of the chief of a dangerous conspiracy. The accusation was based on the fact that a copy of the rules of a perfectly innocent Friendly Society were found on him, marked with a verse from St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians as follows: "Do good unto all men, but especially unto them who are of the household of faith.—Paulus Galat. vi. 10." The police thought that the chief of the conspiracy was "Paulus," and when my friend, who told me the story, explained to the Pasha that "Paulus" was a Christian Apostle dead more than eighteen centuries ago, the Pasha triumphantly replied: "See how clever those Greeks are, that is what they told you; but don't you see that this 'Paulus' lives at Galata? But the rascals have given a false address. There is no such number as vi. 10 in Galata." My friend had actually to produce two witnesses known to the Prefect of Police with an affidavit that Paulus lived eighteen centuries ago before the poor Greek gentleman could be got out of prison.

'Let the Turks be driven out of Thessaly by the action of England, and I have no doubt that the fact will have a considerable influence on the ignorant Mohammedans of India.'

MacColl to Gladstone

‘September 9, 1897.—Thank you very much for your kind and interesting letter. How well and clearly you write! Your sight seems to have come quite back.

‘Salisbury’s weakness is deplorable. My belief is that there is a plot on the part of Germany to keep the Turks in Thessaly and destroy the Greek Kingdom, and that Austria and Russia are privy to it: probably France also. That wretched Levantine Hanotaux is as bad as any of them.

‘But what are the Liberal leaders about? They are just as bad as the Government. They have done absolutely nothing to enlighten the country. It shows how the Bulgarian business would have ended if you had not taken it up. I wish you would persuade Herbert to take up the Greek and Armenian questions. He has the knowledge, the oratorical ability, and the enthusiasm, if he would only bestir himself. He has a great opportunity and might make a name for himself. The name he bears, too, would help him much.’

The foregoing letter may be regarded as closing MacColl’s active service in the Eastern Question. Gladstone’s mortal illness had now begun, though its true character had not yet been recognized. In November 1897 he left England for Cannes, ‘sanguine,’ as he said, ‘of benefit from the southern sun’; but the pain and weakness increased week by week, and in February 1898 he came home to die. In March MacColl visited him at Bournemouth, and reported what he had seen in the following letters:

March 21, 1898.

‘DEAR LORD SALISBURY,—I have just returned from Bournemouth. I found Mr. Gladstone greatly changed, suffering, and dreadfully depressed. He sent to ask me to dine with him. When I arrived he said “I wanted you to dine with me, hoping to have some talk with you. But you must excuse me. I am very hard hit. I cannot talk.”

‘ His mind is all there, as his occasional remarks show. He expressed himself much concerned at your Lordship’s illness, and made some acute observations on politics.

‘ Then he laid his elbows on the table and buried his face in his hands, and this he did at intervals during dinner. After dinner he lay on the sofa, while his sons played the piano by turns. Music is the only thing that soothes pain. At ten he went to bed. After saying good-night to me, he said “ I don’t know if I shall ever see you again ” ; then he put his arm round my neck, said many kind things, and patting me on the back, blessed me and retired.

‘ More than his ordinary depression came upon him last week. He has not been able to read or write for a long time on account of the neuralgic pain which affects the eyes when he tries to use them; and he does not care to be read to.

‘ Your Lordship will understand how trying this is to a man of his busy brain. His spirits are utterly broken. All the organs of his body are sound; but the danger is that the continued depression will so diminish his vitality as seriously to affect the heart, and the lamp of life may go out suddenly.

‘ I think your Lordship will like to know these particulars. Not now for the first time have I heard him speak most kindly of you. For me this world will seem different when he is gone.

‘ I hope your Lordship’s visit to the South will completely restore your health; and I remain, with much respect,

‘ Yours very truly,

‘ MALCOLM MACCOLL.’

March 25, 1898.

‘ DEAR LORD SALISBURY,—It was most kind of you to answer my letter. I did not expect any answer, and beg that your Lordship will not take the trouble to answer this. I know how precious your time is, and I write merely to tell you two things which perhaps you would like to know.

‘ 1. An expert surgeon (Sir T. Smith) has discovered that Mr. Gladstone’s trouble is caused by necrosis of the

bone on one side of the nose. It is possible that there may be something cancerous, for it was impossible to make a sufficiently minute examination without a surgical operation, which was considered unadvisable at his age.

‘How long he will last the doctors cannot say, for his physique in all other respects is excellent. It is a dreadful prospect, and he bears it so nobly. At first he prayed for death, but, realizing the agony his death would cause his wife, he prayed for life as long as she was allowed to live. But I am sure she would not survive him. Their lives have become almost organically united. When I was there last week he said “I am hard hit : I have suffered so much during the past six months. And yet I ought not to complain. I have now enjoyed a life of 176 half years almost entirely without pain, and it would be ungrateful to repine if I am now doomed to one half year’s pain.” Was it not characteristic of him to go into this calculation ?

‘His freedom from pain hitherto, combined with his highly strung and sensitive organization, makes his pain now all the more trying ; and all that his friends can do for him is to pray that his pain may be assuaged or the ordeal shortened. The pain, being near the eye, prevents any reading or writing, and this enforced intellectual idleness is not the least part of his trial.

‘2. The second thing I wish to say is that Mr. Gladstone, even in his pain, not only sympathized with your Lordship, when he heard of your illness, but expressed a hope that you would soon be able to take charge of the helm. He felt uneasy about the outburst of Jingoism, which has lately manifested itself, and compared it to the similar agitation which drove the Aberdeen Ministry into a disastrous war against the better judgment of the Prime Minister. I may add that I have, within the last few weeks, taken some pains to ascertain the state of feeling in the provinces, and my conviction is that the bellicose portion of the London Press, the House of Commons, and the Clubs are entirely out of touch with the country. . . .

‘I hope your Lordship will not venture to travel in this cruel weather. Influenza is a foe which cannot be trifled

with. It struck me down suddenly in the end of January, and I have not got quite over it yet.

‘That your Lordship may be long spared to control the course of public affairs is, dear Lord Salisbury, with sincere respect, the fervent prayer of

‘Yours very truly,

‘MALCOLM MACCOLL.’

Gladstone died on May 19, 1898, and the persecuted Christians of the East will never forget that he bore them on his heart to the very gate of the eternal world. Almost his last intelligible words were: ‘Those poor Armenians.’

CHAPTER IX

THE END OF CONTROVERSY

Charge once more, then, and be dumb !
Let the victors, when they come,
When the forts of folly fall,
Find thy body by the wall !

MATTHEW ARNOLD.

MACCOLL always disclaimed the title of Ritualist. In this he was quite right ; for he was neither a ritualist in the strict sense of having a technical knowledge of ritual, nor in the popular sense of over-valuing pomp and ceremony in Divine worship. He held, as was natural in a man of Jacobite antecedents, the high Sacramental theology which obtained among the Non-Jurors, and we have seen that, in very early days, he risked all his chances of professional advancement—nay, his very means of subsistence—by vindicating the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist which was taught by Bishop Forbes and John Keble. He was entirely free from Romeward inclinations—was not his first act of controversy a dispute with aggressive Romanism ? His intimacy with Dr. Döllinger, and his friendly relations with the Orthodox Church, reinforced the sturdy Anglicanism in which he lived and died. He found it easy to make common cause with all Christian men, even when he differed from them on secondary points ; and his personal relations with a Broad Church diocesan and a Low Church chapter were entirely cordial. Yet he never shrank from bearing witness to what he believed. ‘ I cannot be there ’—in the pulpit of Ripon Cathedral—‘ and not teach what I believe to be the truth.’

He held Erastianism and all that savoured of it in just abhorrence, and, when the law of the Church came into

conflict with the law of the State, he was always forward to defend the Church's right. In 1896 he wrote to Gladstone :

'I think it a calamity that the new Primate¹ should have formally told the clergy of his late diocese that it was their duty to lend their churches for the marriage of divorced persons. I remember your telling me twenty-five years ago that it would be my duty to lock the door of my church, put the key into my pocket, and go to prison, rather than lend my church for the marriage of a divorced person. I wish you would say something of the kind. . . . The sanctity of marriage is bound up with the well-being of society, and it is being undermined in this country, largely by the importation of pernicious doctrines and practices from America and France. A warning from you would have immense weight.'

Thus in essential matters MacColl was a thoroughly Catholic-minded Churchman, but in matters of ceremonial he was easily satisfied. He liked, and in his own church practised, the type of worship which prevailed at All Saints', Margaret Street, and St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, in the 'sixties and 'seventies. When he championed those who went beyond it, he was actuated, not by love of elaborate rites, but by his passion for justice and his hatred of oppression.

We have seen in an earlier chapter that, when the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874 was passed, MacColl strenuously attacked the usurped jurisdiction of the ex-Divorce Judge, whom the Archbishops, in a fit of panic, had made the arbiter of liturgical disputes; and exposed the popular misconceptions which lie hidden in such words as Lawlessness, Sacerdotalism, and Ritualism. He was instant, in season and out of season, for fair play for ill-used priests, and even incurred rebuke (in a quarter where he least expected it) by pleading for the release of Mr. Green.² In 1885 he wrote to Gladstone :

'May I venture to enclose a copy of a review which I wrote for the *Guardian* some weeks ago of a most pretentious

¹ Frederick Temple.

² The Rev. S. F. Green, Vicar of St. John the Evangelist, Miles Platting.

book¹ written to rehabilitate the Purchas and Ridsdale Judgments, by a lawyer? The book is recommended by several bishops, and, I am sorry to hear, by Lord Selborne. I believe that the Church of England stands in more danger from such champions as these than she does from the machinations of the Liberation Society. I wish Lord Selborne could be got to look again at the facts in respect to the Advertisements. What answer *can* be given to the quotation which I have made from Grindal?'

But by degrees the Public Worship Regulation Act ceased to be operative. Archbishop Tait, on his deathbed, had tried to undo some of the mischief which in his life he had wrought; other Bishops followed his example; and, after the 'Lincoln Judgment,' delivered by Archbishop Benson in 1890, prosecutions for Ritual came to an end. The year 1898 dawned on a Church at peace. Nothing seemed less probable than a recrudescence of that ignorant and violent Puritanism which prevailed in the years when the Public Worship Act was in full swing. But early in the year, a Protestant bookseller, who had long been endeavouring to get himself taken seriously by the public, rented an office in the parish of St. Ethelburga, Bishopsgate, in order that he might be legally qualified to communicate at the Parish Altar, and to disturb the united congregation which worshipped there. Firm and tactful treatment averted disturbance; but the bookseller soon made another bid for notoriety by violently interrupting the service of the Veneration of the Cross on Good Friday, at St. Cuthbert's Church, Philbeach Gardens. The outrage at St. Cuthbert's was followed by similar performances—notably at St. Michael's, Shoreditch, and St. Thomas's, Liverpool; but decent Evangelicals soon became disgusted with their self-chosen champion and his methods. It was found impossible to maintain the reign of terror, and the clamour was dying down, when that stout champion of Erastianism and other lost causes, Sir William Harcourt, rushed into the fray. His last achievement in this field

¹ *The Reformation Settlement*, by J. Lewis, M.A., LL.D.

had occurred during the debates on the Public Worship Regulation Act in 1874, when Gladstone inflicted on him a deserved and memorable castigation. Since that unpleasant but salutary evening, Sir William (who after Gladstone's return to power in 1880 had become an enthusiastic Gladstonian) had kept aloof from religious controversy. But now Gladstone was in his grave, and the attack on Ritualism might be renewed without risk. Accordingly, Sir William broke loose in anti-ritualistic speeches, and enlivened the parliamentary recess with a series of furious letters to the *Times*. His object, as he said, was to bring the Bishops to a sense of their duty, and one of those Bishops—Mandell Creighton—turned the tables on him with comical completeness.¹

MacColl to Salisbury

' *July 29, 1898.*—I take the liberty of enclosing a copy of an article of mine in the forthcoming *Fortnightly Review* written with a view to parrying the attempt of Sir William Harcourt to return to power on the "Protestantism-in-danger" cry. I think he has made a great tactical blunder. He has completely alienated the High Church party as well as the Ritualists, and not a few of the Broad Church Party; and this, I believe, without any compensating advantage. He would have been wise, as a Home Ruler, to "let sleeping (Protestant) dogs lie," for they will not be slow to ask him: "How dare you propose to hand Ireland over to a Church in which all the doctrines and practices which you denounce prevail?" The more astute of his party see this, and are very much annoyed at his maladroitness.

' I don't believe the present No Popery agitation has much substance in it, or that it will last long. At the same time I believe that there are a number of mischievous fools among the Ritualists who deserve to be summarily suppressed. I draw a line between them, and those who merely claim the ritual sanctioned by the Ornaments Rubric, and which,

¹ See Creighton's *Life*, vol. ii. p. 449.

though I do not care for it myself, I believe to be entirely legal, notwithstanding the Purchas Judgment, which I am convinced is a gross pervasion of the law. The late Mr. Justice Fitzjames Stephen told me that my book on the subject had completely convinced him that the Purchas Judgment was a miscarriage of justice.'

Lord Salisbury treated the situation with impartial sarcasm.

'August 1, 1898.—Many thanks for the article from your pen which I will read forthwith.

'I feel that the Ritualists are a great evil—not on account of the ritual, which I cannot treat as a matter of first-rate importance—but on account of the anarchy they have introduced into the Church. But Harcourt's objection is pure Ultra-Protestantism.

'He has held this language for five-and-twenty years. It is too foolish not to be sincere.'

On February 9, 1899, Lord Salisbury wrote: 'I agree with you in thinking that this agitation is very superficial. But I wish the Ritualists were not such idiots.'

Still, there were signs of a Protestant panic, and it made its way into the House of Commons. Puritan agitators began to talk airily of coercive legislation; of the abolition of the Bishop's Veto on Ecclesiastical prosecutions; of the substitution of deprivation for imprisonment; and of other short and easy methods for de-catholicizing the Church of England. The threats of 1874 were heard again; and we were told once more that 'the Mass' and 'the Confessional' must be put down by law.

Now, it was eminently true of MacColl that he always rose with the emergency of occasion; and here was an occasion which called for the exercise of his peculiar gifts. He responded to the call with all his energy. On January 15, 1899, he wrote to Lord Salisbury:

'I take the liberty of sending you a signed article of mine in to-day's *Observer*, written after careful enquiry all

over the country. My belief is that the controversy which Sir W. Harcourt has raised has scarcely touched the working classes. Indeed I believe that, except perhaps in Lancashire, he will gain nothing. He has quite alienated Liberal Churchmen ; and when the day of reckoning comes he will find himself in a cleft stick with the Evangelical party. He means (so John Morley tells me) to stand to his guns on Home Rule. See what follows. The Protestants, who are now shouting for him, will ask him before the General Election : " Do you mean to hand Ireland over to a Church which teaches and practises all that you have been denouncing ? "

' His attempt to distinguish between those doctrines and practices, as held by the Church of England and Church of Rome, is absurd.

' He denounces them, not simply because he thinks them illegal, but because he believes them to be pernicious and demoralizing. The Roman Catholics see this, and its mischievous influence on their getting a University in Ireland. He will therefore lose the Roman Catholic vote as well as the Church vote.

' I began to write, three weeks ago, a book on the whole controversy, which I hope to send to the printers by the end of this month. I have written half of it, and I think I have made Harcourt's position utterly irretrievable politically, as well as proved him entirely ignorant of the questions in dispute.

' I intend my book to be very moderate, and to explain in a reasonable and loyal sense the doctrines which Harcourt so egregiously misunderstands.

' I intend this to show that the Purchas and Ridsdale Judgments are opposed alike to law and history, and to bring out the fact that they are in deadly conflict with another Judgment of the same Court. And I shall conclude with a chapter on Romanism. The Roman Catholics are crowing over us, and I intend to carry the war into their camp.

' In truth the whole trouble comes from a few incomparable fools among the younger Ritualists, who deserve no mercy.

‘The Bishop of London¹ is acting with great tact and discretion. He has wisely abstained from laying down any general rule, but deals with each case on its merits; and he is not afraid of the newspapers. The consequence is that he is quietly getting the clergy to follow his decisions and at the same time winning the confidence and respect of the Press.’

The book, which appeared in June 1899, was perhaps the most successful of all MacColl’s controversial works. It was called ‘The Reformation Settlement, Examined in the light of History and Law,’ and it was prefaced by an Introductory Letter to Sir William Harcourt. It dealt in turn with the Eucharistic Presence, the Eucharistic Sacrifice, the causes and results of the Reformation, the testimony of Anglican Divines, the Propinquity of the Spiritual World, Sacerdotalism, Confession, the Intermediate State, the Ecclesiastical Courts, the Ornaments Rubric, and the validity of Anglican Orders.

This book had an instantaneous and a remarkable success. One competent critic declared that ‘for dignity, vigour, and incisiveness it was worthy of the author of the “Letters of Junius.”’ Another said that the writer had been remarkably successful ‘in proving that the principles which High Churchmen have inherited from the Caroline Divines fell in with the modern, and, in the best sense liberal, theology, and with the science of to-day.’ But perhaps the tribute paid by the *Spectator* was the most remarkable, for that exemplary journal still maintained the traditions of R. H. Hutton, who always avowed his want of sympathy with what he oddly called the ‘moral logic’ of the Ritualists:

‘We hasten to add our tribute of cordial respect to the general conception of Canon MacColl’s book, and to the courage, vigour, and thoroughness with which he has carried it out. . . . Having demonstrated the historic width and the present-day reasonableness of Anglican liberty in the

¹ Mandell Creighton.

realm of Sacramental teaching, Canon MacColl is not less concerned to exhibit the injustice of the attempt to suppress the ritual by which "High" views are symbolized and set forth. And, in particular, he deals at length, and very effectively indeed, with the Judgments of the Judicial Committee on points connected with the Ornaments Rubric. . . . He places beyond reasonable doubt the fact that the plain meaning of the rubric by which the ornaments of the Church and of its ministers were deliberately regulated at the last revision of the Prayer Book (which, of course, has Parliamentary as well as Synodical authority), was set aside by the Judicial Committee, and a wholly non-natural meaning read into it and made of penal obligation. . . . Another point of great importance on which, as it seems to us, Canon MacColl achieves special success, is his demonstration of the unhistoric character of the claim, put forward by Sir William Harcourt in his most aggressive manner, that the Crown and Parliament have a right to determine the doctrine, discipline, and ceremonial of the Church of England. . . . We may not agree with all Canon MacColl's conclusions, but we must congratulate him on having produced a book which is calculated to promote sound thinking on the relations between Church and State, and to dissuade the candid reader from participation in efforts towards a reduction of the ancient and clearly established liberties of the Anglican clergy.'

MacColl to Salisbury

'*July 17, 1899.*—As the so-called "Church Crisis" has been a matter of concern to you, both as a Churchman and Statesman, you may possibly be interested in knowing that, in addition to piles of private letters, mostly from strangers and of all states of Churchmanship, and no Churchmanship, or even disbelief in Christianity, assuring me that my book presented the question in dispute in a light which seemed to my correspondents reasonable, the organs of public opinion have also treated me with great friendliness. I take the liberty of enclosing an abstract

of reviews, which my publishers tell me is a fair selection. I have always believed in the justice of John Bull when a fair appeal was made to his reason and love of fair play. The recent elections have shown, I think, that the agitation, as I have always maintained, has never touched the masses and that the Church Association and the Protestant Laymen's League are a negligible quantity in the electorate.

'The Conservative candidates in Edinburgh and Oldham surrendered unconditionally to the Church Association.

'The Liberal candidates refused their terms and won by triumphant majorities. In East St. Pancras the Conservative candidate spurned the Church Association and won. In Southport my friend Captain C. B. Balfour fell between two stools. He accepted nearly all the terms of the Ultra-Protestants, including the abolition of the Episcopal Veto, but advocated diplomatic relations with the Pope. He thus failed to reconcile the Protestants, and he alienated many Churchmen.'

In issuing a cheaper edition, with a fresh preface and some additional matter, MacColl remarked with great satisfaction: 'The interest taken by the public in the subjects discussed in this volume is proved by the fact that the book ran through seven editions within a year of its publication.' A tenth edition was published in 1901.

Whatever may be thought of MacColl's beliefs, or of the arguments by which he upheld them (and the present writer agrees with him both in the former and in the latter), it must be admitted that the facts and documents which he collected and made generally accessible in 'The Reformation Settlement,' are, if not vital, at least profoundly relevant to the life, structure, and working of the English Church.

The storm was not yet at an end. A 'Church Discipline Bill,' aimed at destroying Ritualism, was introduced in 1899, and questions of ritualism and its suppression played a considerable part in the General Election of 1900.

MacColl to Salisbury

‘October 2, 1900.—I have taken the liberty of asking my publishers to send you a copy of the new edition of my book on “The Reformation Settlement.” In a new preface and two additional chapters I have subjected the Lambeth Decisions to an exhaustive internal examination. Foolish and mischievous as I think the conduct of some of the extreme Ritualists, I consider it less mischievous than the decisions of the Archbishops.

‘I have given my reasons for that opinion at length in my criticism. Our bishops, with the best intentions, have always displayed a genius for mismanaging every Church movement, whether Low, High, or Broad. I am sometimes tempted to think that the strongest historical argument for the Divine origin of the Church in this land is the fact of its having survived on every critical occasion the blundering tactics of its chief members. People will generally follow leaders who know how to lead. I have always believed and said that there never was any substance in the Kensit agitation.

‘It never had any popular backing, and it is already practically dead. Even Harcourt, who expected to ride back to office on the crest of a great popular wave of Protestantism, has discovered his mistake, and has dropped the subject. . . .

‘I have received letters of commendation from leading Nonconformists, and Scotch Presbyterians ; and the Divinity Faculty of the University of St. Andrews have invited me to deliver an address to the University this month, and I have agreed to do so with the approval of the Bishop of London and the Bishop of St. Andrews, Dr. Wilkinson, late of Truro.

‘My new edition also contains a chapter in answer to a courteous attack on me by Professor Maitland of Cambridge, who also wrote a book a year ago to prove that the Bishop of Oxford is quite wrong in maintaining that the Roman Canon Law was never formally received in England. Maitland, an able and very learned man, is one of those agnostics who seek to damage the Church of England for

the purpose of damaging dogmatic Christianity altogether ; and their method is to argue that the only logical theory of Christianity is the Roman Church in its most aggressively Ultramontane form.

‘ They know that that form of Christianity will not prevail, and hence their anxiety to represent it as the only logical form of Christianity, and that form which prevailed in England before the Reformation.

‘ I must apologize for troubling your Lordship at this busy time, but the insistent Protestants will doubtless press their Bill ¹ on the House of Commons ; and, unless my argument can be refuted, I think I have shown that, if the law be impartially enforced, the authors of the Church Discipline Bill are likely to share the fate of the inventor of the guillotine and be first victims of their own instrument.’

The General Election of 1900 confirmed Lord Salisbury in power, with Mr. Arthur Balfour as Leader of the House of Commons. ‘ Church Discipline Bills ’ were still in fashion, and succeeded one another in the sessions of 1901, 1902, and 1903.

MacColl to Salisbury

‘ November 8, 1901.—I never believed that there was any substance in the Kensit outburst of fanatical Protestantism, or any popular support behind it, though Sir William Harcourt thought he was going to ride into office on the crest of a great Protestant wave. The Brighton Church Congress marked the end of the “Crisis.” The extreme men on both sides were cowed and silenced by the practical argument between moderate Evangelicals and High Churchmen on fundamental questions. The Bishop of Exeter and I, for instance, were chosen to open the discussion on the Church of England’s appeal to antiquity, in the belief, I suppose, that we represented opposite schools ; but our papers, without any previous communication with each other, ran on the same lines and came to the same

¹ A Bill aimed at suppressing Ritualism.

conclusion ; and the Bishop told me afterwards that he could not detect any material difference between us.’¹

We have already seen that MacColl parted company with the Liberal party after Gladstone’s retirement from the Premiership. He had no confidence in the politicians who from that time on framed the Liberal policy, though he was on friendly terms with them in private life. In short, there was no Liberal leader in whom he could perceive that blend of good citizenship and good churchmanship which had always fascinated him in Salisbury and Gladstone. He specially disliked the line which the Liberal leaders took in the matter of public education. In 1902 he wrote to Lord Salisbury :

‘ I hope I shall not be deemed obtrusive if I venture to congratulate your Lordship on the fine and noble speech which your son Lord Hugh delivered on the second reading of the Education Bill.

‘ It was very refreshing to hear it in these days of vulgar popularity-hunting and Mammon-worship. I wish I could live to see him leader of the Conservative party and Prime Minister. It is moral earnestness and spiritual elevation of character that tell most with the mass of people in this country, if it be combined with intellectual ability.

‘ I believe that Mr. John Morley, agnostic though he be, has more influence in the country than any Liberal leader, because of his moral earnestness and conscientious fidelity to his convictions regardless of personal consequences.

‘ I hope one result of the Education controversy will be to get rid of that mischievous imposture—“ Udenominational religious education.” I don’t understand the excitement of the Nonconformists. It seems to me exceedingly doubtful whether the Bill,² as it stands, will help Church Schools at all.’

¹ Mr. Balfour, who succeeded Lord Salisbury as Prime Minister in 1902, sought to allay the anxiety of his followers by a Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, which was issued on April 23, 1904, and reported on June 21, 1906. MacColl was examined before the Commission, and gave valuable evidence.

² The Conservative Education Bill.

On June 15, 1902, he wrote to Lord Salisbury :

‘I believe the great majority of the public are grossly misled as to the present state of the religious question under the Board School System. This impression prompted me to write an article on the subject, of which I take the liberty of enclosing a copy. My article, together with some letters which I wrote in the *Times* and *Westminster Gazette*, has brought in some interesting letters from Nonconformists, saying that my presentment of the case is quite new to them. The Liberal Association of this (Ripon) division of Yorkshire has summoned a meeting on the question on July 11, and they have asked me to speak. I agreed to do so if they allowed me to speak on the lines of the enclosed article, and they have consented and give me *carte blanche*. I think the Church party have been acting too much on the defensive, generally a great mistake in controversial tactics. To be constantly defending ourselves gives an impression that we have no case.

‘If the Nonconformists persist in their violent, and as it seems to me, unreasoning, denunciations, would it not be well to offer to lease (if not buy) the Church School Buildings, leaving each denomination to teach its own religion in all schools at stated hours? We should then have universal Board Schools, and the Church could provide a gradually trained class of catechists who would give Church children in all schools far better religious instruction than is now given in most of the voluntary schools. The cost of training and maintaining this staff of catechists would be borne by the State payment for our School Buildings, and would make our School managers able to be independent of local subscriptions, which will, I fear, fall off with the payment of rates.’

‘November 27, 1902.—I am taking the liberty of sending you a copy of a little book of mine on the Education Question. I lost patience with the Nonconformists and the Liberal party and sat down to write very hurriedly an exposure of their inconsistencies and not too scrupulous conduct.

‘ They care a great deal more to damage the Church and the Government than to advance the cause of education. I am sure they overrate their strength in the country. I have received a number of letters from Nonconformists begging me to believe that the clamour of the political Nonconformists by no means represents the Nonconformists as a body.

‘ My object has been :

‘ 1. To detach the Secularists, who are logical and honest, from the Liberal and Nonconformist party on this question.

‘ 2. To show the unfair and inconsistent attitude of the Nonconformists and the Opposition. The former, whose *raison d’être* is to liberate the Christian religion from State control and endowment, are now agitating for the State endowment and control of a new religion, namely Udenominationalism.

‘ 3. To prove that the Opposition—leaders, rank and file, are in this matter going against Liberal principles in general and Mr. Gladstone’s Liberalism in particular.

‘ I trust the House of Lords will abolish, or at least essentially modify, the Kenyon-Slaney amendment.¹ It will not gain the Government a single seat: it will lose them many at the next Election. With that amendment the security for the religious education of the Church’s children is gone. Even without the Kenyon-Slaney amendment, the schools will be in peril. The managers will find it hard to obtain the necessary subscriptions for repairs and structural changes and additions, and it will be moderate rather than extreme incumbents whom the amendment will hurt.’

Salisbury to MacColl

December 7, 1902.

‘ DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—I am much obliged to you for your letter, and your book on the Education Question.

¹ Colonel Kenyon-Slaney carried an amendment to the Education Bill, providing that religious education in a Voluntary School shall be under the control of the Managers, as distinguished from the Incumbent.

‘ I have not voted on the Education Bill—as I am not at all satisfied with the probable working of the Kenyon-Slaney Clause.’

‘ Yours very truly,
‘ SALISBURY.’

MacColl’s unwillingness to help the Liberal party restrained him from taking part in the resistance which the Liberals, some strongly and others faintly, offered to the South African war; but there were some incidents in the campaign which stirred him to private remonstrance. On November 16, 1901, he wrote to Lord Salisbury :

‘ You have always been kind and patient with me, even when I fear I have been very troublesome. But I am writing this note in the interests of the Government.

‘ I have been, as your Lordship knows, for years Honorary Secretary of a powerful non-political Committee to help the Christians in the Turkish Empire. I had much difficulty in managing the Committee and preventing a fierce agitation throughout the country at the time of the Armenian horrors, but I was able to say that it was Lord Rosebery’s Cabinet which had left the Armenians to their fate, and left your Lordship such a *damnosa hæreditas* as practically tied your hands, and I proved my impeachment with abundant evidence in my book, “The Sultan and the Powers.” I offended the Liberal leaders to the quick, and increased my offence by publicly advising those who wished to help the Armenians to vote against the Liberals in the Election of 1895.

‘ Since then I have taken no part in politics.

‘ I have kept entirely aloof from the controversy on the South African question, except twice, when I wrote to the papers to defend Lord Kitchener, whom I know well, against accusations of cruelty and inhumanity both in the Soudan and in South Africa.

‘ That is a long preface to explain the real object of this letter. For some weeks past I have been bombarded with letters reproaching me for not helping to rouse the country

to what my correspondents call the cruelties that are going on in South Africa. The enclosed cutting is a specimen of what people send me. I confess that letters like this coming from our own soldiers—and I have seen not a few of them—are dreadful reading. Is all this indiscriminate burning and destruction necessary? My own belief is that it does not fulfil its object in South Africa, while it is certainly damaging the Government here to a degree, I believe, that Party managers are not aware of. I had experience of this in the Bulgarian business. There is a large number of people—large enough to decide an Election—who do not trouble themselves much about Party politics but are roused to zealous energy by an appeal to their emotions and sense of justice. To this class of people Lord Beaconsfield owed his defeat in 1880. His cynical attitude towards the Bulgarian massacres roused a fierce feeling of vengeance among a mass of people outside the ken of political managers.

‘I do not say that there is anything like that now, but there is a strong feeling, increasing in volume and by no means confined to Liberals, against the policy of wholesale farm-burning and the prevalence of martial law. I feel sad and distressed about the whole business; but I keep my distress to myself. I believe, however, that I am doing the Government a service by writing this letter to your Lordship. If any mitigation of the policy of indiscriminate farm-burning can be devised, it would be a relief to many who are, and wish to remain, friendly with the Government.’

Salisbury to MacColl

November 18, 1901.

‘DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—Any discussions of the measures which repel you must necessarily turn on the question whether we are justified in sanctioning the warlike policy which our Generals consider necessary. War is a terrible thing. The Boers should have thought of its horrible significance when they invaded the Queen’s dominions without a cause. The detailed measures of the war must

be adopted in conformity with the opinions of the Generals to whom we trust our policy. The answer to criticisms on farm-burning must continue to be—the Generals thought it necessary.

‘I agree with you that the horrors of the Concentration Camps followed on this decision—almost of necessity. The huddling together of so many human beings, especially women and children, could not but cause a great mortality; particularly among a people so dirty as the Boers.

‘The question whether it will dispose the Election against us in 1905 or 1906 is not a question which can aid us now—though I dare say you are right.

‘Ever yours truly,

‘SALISBURY.’

But Lord Salisbury’s long day of honourable service was drawing to its close. He had lost his gifted wife; his health was failing; and his natural tendency to depression increased month by month. On July 11, 1902, he resigned the Premiership, and on July 18 MacColl addressed him as follows:

‘Perhaps I may, without presumption, venture to add to the multitude of similar expressions which have reached your Lordship my humble and most sincere regret at your retirement from public life. The two questions that have always interested me in politics are the welfare of the Church, with which I believe the interest of the nation to be so intimately bound; and the relations of this country with Russia, and the Ottoman Empire and its Christian subjects. There is no one left in either House of Parliament or on either Front Bench who is really master of either of these subjects, or who seriously cares about them.

‘Your son, Lord Hugh, understands both, and I hope that he has a great future before him. But meanwhile the outlook seems to me far from bright; and I am not a pessimist by nature.

The old order changeth, yielding place to new.

‘What the new has in store for this country is hidden

from us. I trust it may be more auspicious than I anticipate.

‘ I thank your Lordship for all the kindness and forbearance which you have ever shown to me, even when I have been, as I fear, very troublesome. My interest in politics is now dead. You are the last of the statesmen to whom I have been accustomed to look up, and who made politics interesting for me.’

Here is Lord Salisbury’s reply :

July 19, 1902.

‘ MY DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—I thank you heartily for your kind letter.

‘ I agree with you in looking forward with much interest on the future that is coming upon us. It may be better—I do not know—but I think it will be very different from the past we are leaving behind.

‘ Yours very truly,
‘ SALISBURY.’

CHAPTER X

FRIENDSHIP AND HOME

Some persons are pleasant only when they are with one companion ; others only in a large company, where they can shine. Whereas, the really pleasant person is pleasant everywhere, and with everyone.—SIR ARTHUR HELPS.

WE have now reached the close of MacColl's political activities, and the moment seems suitable for a brief survey of his private and social life. In the year 1898 an anonymous writer, after describing certain clergymen who played more or less successfully the part of the French Abbé in English society, continued in the following words :

' Canon Malcolm MacColl is an Abbé with a difference. No one eats his dinner more sociably or tells a story more aptly ; no one enjoys good society more keenly or is more appreciated in it ; but he does not make society a profession. He is conscientiously devoted to the duties of his Canonry ; he is an accomplished theologian ; and he is perhaps the most expert and vigorous pamphleteer in England. The Franco-German War, the Athanasian Creed, the Ritualistic prosecutions, the case for Home Rule, and the misdeeds of the Sultan, have in turn produced from his pen pamphlets which have rushed into huge circulations and swollen to the dimensions of solid treatises. Canon MacColl is genuinely and *ex animo* an ecclesiastic ; but he is a politician as well. His inflexible integrity and fine sense of honour have enabled him to play, with credit to himself and advantage to the public, the rather risky part of the Priest in Politics. He has been trusted alike by Lord

Salisbury and by Mr. Gladstone ; has conducted negotiations of great pith and moment ; and has been behind the scenes of some historic performances. Yet he has never made an enemy, nor betrayed a secret, nor lowered the honour of his sacred calling.'¹

'Genuinely and *ex animo* an ecclesiastic' was a phrase fully warranted by the facts, although MacColl's exercise of his ministry was unsystematic and disjointed. Dr. Jackson, who was Bishop of London when he was appointed to St. George's, Botolph Lane, 'regarded such livings in the light of honourable sinecures, giving leisure and a moderate income to clergymen who were able and willing to serve the Church with their pens.'² So, at first MacColl did little in his parish, but he was extremely kind in helping over-worked clergymen. He often did duty for his friend and former fellow-curate, the Rev. W. H. Langhorne, Vicar of St. Augustine's, Stepney, and in 1891 he took temporary charge of Holy Trinity, Shoreditch, whence he wrote to Gladstone :

'I am here in the charge of Mr. Jay's parish—8000 people in the most abject poverty. He could not take a holiday, so I offered to take his place for a month. It is rather hard work ; daily services : three on Thursday, with a sermon, and five on Sunday, with three sermons. Mr. Jay is a hero. I admire his work here so much. My own church is now closed, and a commission is sitting to settle the terms of the union of my parish with a neighbouring one.'

'Three sermons' were no terror to MacColl, who was

¹ *Collections and Recollections*, series i.

² The following facts concerning St. George's, Botolph Lane, are supplied by the kindness of the Registrar of the Diocese :

'Canon Malcolm MacColl was instituted to this benefice on April 27, 1871. He ceased to be Rector on November 28, 1901. The church was closed on account of its dangerous condition about the middle of the year 1891. The authority (under the Union of Benefices Act, 1860) for the removal of the church was issued in February 1903, and then St. George's was united to the Parish of St. Mary-at-Hill (Prebendary Carlile's Parish).'

a vigorous preacher, and loved preaching. In 1894 he wrote to Gladstone :

‘I have received about fifty letters, from all over the country—some of them very touching—from people in sorrow, begging me to collect and publish two series of sermons which I preached at Ripon : one last year on Immortality, and one this year on the Intermediate State. Three or four Yorkshire papers and one London paper report my sermons while I am at Ripon without my consent, and that is why I get letters about them. I have promised at last to bring out a volume of sermons this year ; but that would only mean revising and enlarging the published reports. It is wonderful what hazy views even Churchpeople have about the future life. I have letters from dissenters—one of them a dissenting minister—saying that my sermons were “ a new revelation ” to him. Yet there is nothing in them that is not commonplace.’

MacColl’s church had been condemned as a dangerous structure, and was closed in 1891. Thenceforward his only official duties were those attached to his Canonry, and he was free to pursue his journalistic and literary avocations as his fancy led him. Gladstone had hatched a project for reprinting Sir William Palmer’s ‘Treatise on the Church,’² and had urged MacColl to act as general Editor of the reprint, employing experts in the various fields of knowledge which the treatise touched. MacColl spent an infinitude of time and trouble on the endeavour ; but the difficulties, some emanating from Palmer himself, were innumerable, and in the end proved to be insuperable. The correspondence lasted, off and on, from 1881 to 1898, and nothing came of it after all. It was a deplorable waste of energy which,

¹ The sermons were published under the title of *Life Here and Hereafter* ; and, together with his other theological writings, obtained for MacColl on April 14, 1899, the honorary degree of D.D. from the University of Edinburgh.

² *A Treatise on the Church of Christ, designed chiefly for the use of students of theology.* By the Rev. William Palmer, M.A., of Worcester College, Oxford. 1838.

more wisely directed, might have connected MacColl's name with a work of permanent value to religion.

In journalism, where MacColl was unhampered by the frowardness of collaborators, he was eminently successful. His income, from that source alone, was at one time £1000 a year. Yet he was wholly indifferent to money. 'Poverty,' he once wrote, 'is not poverty to me'—and he spent as freely as he earned. He had always lived at what is vaguely called 'The West End' of London—in lodgings at Lyall Place and at Chester Terrace, in chambers at New Burlington Street, and latterly at a flat in Victoria Street, of which one might say, as Sir George Trevelyan says of Macaulay's apartment in the Albany, that it was 'all library.' He spent a great deal of time at clubs, 'The Devonshire' being his favourite resort. Here he entertained his friends constantly and most hospitably; and, when the party was to include ladies, he gave it at the Albemarle, where Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone were often among his guests.¹ When he wished to join the Athenæum, he asked Matthew Arnold to second him, and Arnold's reply must be given—'I know my countrymen, and can assure you that what they like is "a swell"; Lord Granville or Lord Spencer would be, therefore, much more valuable seconders than I. But if, after this warning, you still prefer to take me as your seconder, I am quite at your service.'

For his autumn holidays, MacColl generally gravitated towards Scotland, where he took delight in salmon-fishing. A good deal of his correspondence is dated from great country houses; he often went yachting with such close friends as Lord and Lady Waterford and Mrs. Meynell-Ingram; and he made rapid journeys to the Riviera, Geneva, Italy, Greece, Russia, and Palestine. His circle of acquaintances was extremely wide, and included a good many people with whom he had neither ecclesiastical nor political

¹ One occasion his guests were—Mr. Gladstone, Count Herbert Bismarck, Lord Rosebery, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Cassels, and Mr. Cashel-Hoey; another, Lord Bath, Mr. Bret Harte, Mr. Holman Hunt, Mr. Browning, Mr. Felix Moscheles, and the writer of *Little Lord Fauntleroy*—and so on.

sympathy. He kept masses of letters and notes from all sorts and conditions of men, and they afford amusing glimpses of his social life. Delane complains that people regard him as an 'otiose person' who can dine out whenever he likes; and, in reply to MacColl's casual observation that September is the 'dull season' of the *Times*, says that it seems to him 'much more interesting, amusing, and instructive, than when more than half of it is filled with speeches, most of which may justly be called dull.' Lord Rosebery can imagine nothing more tempting than MacColl's invitation to dinner, but has to obey a Royal command elsewhere. Lord Bath is delighted by a 'most pleasant' dinner at the Flat, and finds that 'a lift makes a London apartment habitable.' Sir William Harcourt hopes that MacColl will attend Mr. Lewis Harcourt's wedding, in spite of the fact that 'incense will not be used ceremonially.' E. A. Freeman is passing through London, and would like to see MacColl, only 'it is hopeless ever to think of finding anybody in the howling wilderness which we call a "Metropolis."' MacColl's 'picture of the cathedral close' attracts Mr. John Morley to Ripon. Browning writes enthusiastically of MacColl's 'goodness' in asking him to dinner:

'Nothing can be kinder nor more pleasant than your invitation—which, notwithstanding, I am obliged to give up the hope of accepting. I go at the end of the week to the North of Italy, and am unable to dispose of an hour in the meantime.'

John Bright is characteristically conscientious:

'The Wednesday and Thursday of the days you mention are already engaged, and I am to dine with Mr. Lefevre, and Sir A. Hayter. The other days are days on which the House sits, and I have been forced to make a rule not to make engagements for those days—for I cannot with propriety, or justice to our Chief, absent myself whilst business of importance is going on. I must therefore

ask you to excuse me if I am unable to accept your kind invitation—under other circumstances I should gladly have joined your party at the Devonshire Club.’

In the midst of a life thus agreeably diversified, MacColl, suddenly, as it would seem, turned his thoughts in a very different direction. On February 6, 1897, he wrote as follows to Gladstone :

‘ You have always been so good and kind to me that I don’t like to take any serious step in life without consulting you. What do you say to my joining the Cowley Brotherhood ? I feel sometimes so dreadfully lonely that I find work of any kind a hard pull against the collar ; and I have sometimes thought that I could do more good living in a Brotherhood. Of course there is the risk of my finding it hard to adapt myself, at my time of life, to the mode of living under new conditions. But living part of the year in chambers, and another part of the year managing a household, with a fresh staff of servants each year, is so trying, at least to me.’

The purport of Gladstone’s reply to this surprising suggestion may be inferred from the following letters. On February 18 MacColl returned to the subject :

‘ I wrote to Father X. at the same time that I wrote to you, and I enclose his answer. It is very much on the same line as yours. So I will do nothing for the present. Perhaps I may some day have an opportunity of talking to you about it.

‘ As to marriage, the fact is that I don’t think any woman for whom I care would be likely to care for me. I have so little of any kind to offer ; and I should shrink from the presumption of asking any woman to marry me unless I felt quite sure that she was inclined that way. I have no other objection to marrying ; and I dare say I should be more happy that way than in any other.’

Here is Father X.'s answer :

' *February 9, 1897.*—I must begin by apologizing for having left your letter so long unanswered, but I have been away from home, and did not get back until late last night.

' It was a great pleasure to receive your letter, and to feel that you were ready, if it seemed to be God's will, to give up your present mode of life, which, I should suppose, has many attractions for you, and to take the humble position of a Postulant here.

' I think that, at your age, it will need a very clear call from God manifesting unmistakably His will that you should come to us, before it would be wise to take such a step.

' When one has been in the sacred ministry more than thirty years,¹ as, I think, you have, it is not an easy thing to uproot oneself and, so to speak, to begin life over again, and to take upon oneself the yoke of the novitiate in a religious community.

' I do not doubt that God might see good reasons why in particular cases a man of your age might need such a transplanting, but I feel sure that He would then make His will perfectly clear, and would call you with a very unmistakable call.

' Whether He has done so, I cannot say. If He has, I feel sure that your way would be made clear for you, and that we should welcome you.

' In the meanwhile, would it not be possible for you to pay us a visit here? If you were to spend a week here some time in Lent, you would see something of our ways, and you would have a quiet time to yourself. I should recommend not coming in Holy Week, because so many of the Fathers and senior Novices go away to give courses of sermons in various places during that week, so that you would hardly see anything of us. But, if you were to come any time between Ash Wednesday and Passion Sunday, a cell would be ready for you.'

¹ It was really more than forty.

Happily, the counsels of common-sense prevailed. MacColl had surrendered his will to what he thought might be a Divine call; but, having satisfied himself that it was nothing more than a feeling of restlessness engendered by loneliness and despondency, he returned to the line of life which naturally fitted him. In the event, his self-surrender was not unrewarded. In 1904 he was married to Consuelo Albinia, youngest daughter of Major-General W. H. Crompton-Stansfield, of Esholt Hall, Yorkshire; and so at length attained to the happiness of a home. Marriage rather extended than contracted the range of his hospitalities, though the scene of them was now transferred from Clubland to the pleasant house in Beaufort Gardens where he and Mrs. MacColl had established themselves. All his old friends delighted in his increased happiness, and some of his brightest hours were passed in visits, with his wife, to the houses where he had so long been an habitual and a welcome guest.

The only shadow on the scene was cast by failing health. MacColl had been blessed by nature with a constitution of extraordinary vigour, which he had taxed to the uttermost by incessant labour, generally against time, and by a complete self-forgetfulness as to ease and comfort. More than once he had paid the inevitable penalty. His letters mention one definite attack of rheumatic fever, and more than one recurrence of similar trouble. A still graver illness overtook him in the summer of 1892, when travelling in Greece. He thus described it in a letter to Lord Salisbury:

‘In a long journey from Athens to Olympia to see the discoveries made at Olympia, I had to pass, thinly clad, through a great oak forest and a malarious plain with a range of snow-clad mountains near the railway, and I caught a chill, which rapidly developed into a wasting dysentery and raging fever. Still I went on ten miles (to Olympia) the following day, and was carried to the museum and propped up in a chair to feast my soul for a quarter of an hour on that wonderful Hermes of Praxiteles. There

I had to make a long journey back to Patras where I was carried aboard Lord Waterford's yacht more dead than alive. I could get no proper medical aid till I reached Naples five days afterwards, delayed by a gale. I am reduced to a skeleton, but I shall soon recover my strength, please God.'

He attributed his recovery in great measure to the good offices of Lady Waterford,¹ concerning whom he wrote to Gladstone :

' You know that she stayed at Naples to nurse me—with her husband's glad permission—when the doctors gave me up, although she had then been eight months absent from her children. The sunshine of her presence, the music of her voice, her tender tactful sympathy did more for me than all the doctors. I have never known such unselfishness as hers, not simply in its self-forgetfulness, but, most of all, in its brightness and charm and grace.'

But the immediately succeeding years were, as we have seen, more than usually full of anxious and exhausting work ; and in 1899 the machine again gave trouble. Writing from Bad Nauheim on July 17, he said :

' I have been sent hurriedly to this place by my London doctor who discovered a fortnight ago the development of some heart-complaint. The late Sir Andrew Clark told me ten years ago that I had some functional weakness of the heart, but nothing organically wrong ; and my London doctor examined me eight months ago and said that my heart was quite sound. The specialist now says that I am suffering from heart-dilatation, which may be cured, and also from valvular insufficiency, which cannot be cured, though my life may be prolonged with care.

' He attributes it to too much brain-pressure, and, when I told him of the high-pressure speed with which

¹ Lady Blanche Elizabeth Adelaide Somerset married in 1874 the 5th Marquess of Waterford, and died in 1897.

I wrote my recent book,¹ he said that that would account for it.

‘But if my effort has in any way helped to clear away some ignorance and prejudice, I ought not to regret its consequences to myself.’

MacColl returned from Nauheim in greatly improved health, and there were no outward signs of serious mischief. He resumed, though perhaps rather less strenuously, his usual occupations, and did not lay them aside even when marriage brought new interests into his life. It was a pleasing incident that in March 1906 the King of the Hellenes, in recognition of MacColl’s lifelong devotion to the cause of Greece, conferred on him the Cross of the Order of the Redeemer.

The General Election of 1906 gave an overwhelming majority to the Liberals, and the first Session of the new Parliament was devoted to a well-meant but ill-drawn Education Bill, which the Lords, without much ceremony, rejected. The Liberals felt the time had come to try conclusions with the House which had so often defeated or deferred reforms; and some of the more eager spirits called aloud for the abolition of the Second Chamber. This view did not commend itself to MacColl, and on the evening of April 4, 1907, he wrote fifteen pages of a memorandum on the disadvantages of government by a single chamber. He took for his text the question once asked by Mr. John Morley² about the House of Lords—‘Shall we mend it, or end it?’—and he declared unequivocally for mending. The manuscript lies before me as I write. The handwriting, always clear and graceful though extremely rapid, shows no sign of impairment; and the memorandum, though only a fragment, displays all the habitual vigour of thought and phrase.

That night MacColl lay down to rest in his usual health, but next morning, while he was dressing, the mischief latent in the heart became acute, and in a few minutes all

¹ *The Reformation Settlement.*

² Afterwards Lord Morley of Blackburn.

was over. He was buried at Kirkby Overblow, near Ripon, on April 10, the Bishops of Ripon and Knaresborough, the Dean of Ripon, and the Rev. Stephen Gladstone, officiating; and a Memorial Service was held at St. Saviour's, Chelsea, on the same day. In the Chapel of St. Wilfrid, in the north choir-aisle of Ripon Cathedral, there stands an altar with the name of Malcolm MacColl inscribed at the foot—
'the gift, for his sake, of friends who desire to preserve his memory within the walls where his presence was so often seen and where the echoes of his voice have hardly yet passed into silence.'

Life ! we've been long together,
Through pleasant and through cloudy weather ;
'Tis hard to part when friends are dear ;
Perhaps 't will cost a sigh, a tear ;
Then steal away, give little warning,
Choose thine own time ;
Say not Good night, but in some brighter clime
Bid me Good morning.

A. L. BARBAULD

CHAPTER XI

CORRESPONDENCE

I can imagine no more conclusive proof of excellence in letters than that they disclose the character of the recipient as well as of the author.

HERBERT PAUL.

THE letters inserted in the preceding chapters will have given the reader some notion of MacColl's peculiar position as the confidential adviser of statesmen on both sides in politics. They form, however, only a small fraction of this enormous correspondence. He was himself a most indefatigable letter-writer, and many of those with whom he habitually corresponded were equally copious in reply. The exigencies of space forbid more than a selection from the mass of letters entrusted to my care ; but in making that selection I have tried to show the range and variety of MacColl's friendships, and the high regard in which he was held by men of very different types and schools.

At this point it may be well to record the fact that MacColl numbered among his correspondents members, and even heads, of more than one of the reigning houses of Europe ; but, for obvious reasons, the letters which he received from these royal personages must be withheld from publication.

The beginning of MacColl's intimacy with Gladstone has been noted in the memoir ; its growth and development are illustrated by the letters here subjoined.

11 Carlton House Terrace, February 16, 1864.

'MY DEAR SIR,—I return the correspondence between Dr. Newman and Mr. Kingsley, with many thanks. It is

abundantly but not pleasantly interesting. It is mismanaged, I venture to think, on the side of Mr. Kingsley : on the side of Mr. Newman it leaves with me a rather painful impression, which I had not anticipated.

‘Nothing can be more unfortunate than his repeated reference to the Sermon as a “Protestant Sermon.”’

‘I remain,

‘Very faithfully yours,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

11 Carlton House Terrace, June 21, 1865.

‘MY DEAR SIR,—In thanking you yesterday for what you had so modestly announced as a pamphlet I was not aware of the manner and degree in which, in the character of “Scrutator,” you had laid me under obligation.

‘I must not speak of the opinions you have expressed, for they are far too favourable to me ; but I may do justice to the remarkable talent you have displayed in the method of handling the subject. It reminds me, though on a widely different subject, of the ability which struck me so much in the first letter which I ever had the pleasure to receive from you.

‘I remain, my dear Sir, with many thanks for your generous appreciation and your able effort,

‘Very faithfully yours,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

Hawarden, August 6, 1865.

‘MY DEAR SIR,—My acquaintance with you for some years has given me a high idea of your abilities as a writer, of your knowledge and skill in subjects belonging to your sacred profession, and of your open mind and liberal opinions ; and I can well believe that you would discharge in the most efficient manner the duties of an Inspector of Schools. You are quite welcome to use this note, if you should think fit, by way of testimonial.

‘I have had occasion thankfully to acknowledge the aid of your pen, rendered with great ability, in regard to the

¹ Newman’s sermon on ‘Wisdom and Innocence,’ preached while he was Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford.

Oxford Election, but I do not think it has biased my opinion : I should readily have rendered the same testimony before that aid was given.

‘ I remain, my dear Sir,
‘ Faithfully yours,
‘ W. E. GLADSTONE.’

11 Carlton House Terrace, S.W., June 3, 1866.

‘ MY DEAR SIR,—I have read with great interest Dr. Newman’s Review of ‘*Ecce Homo*’ in the *Month*. The laudatory part of it appears to me admirable. With a riper and more practised mind (I think) than the author, he draws out the author’s thought, with a fineness and clearness greater than any with which the author had himself presented it to his own consciousness.

‘ I also go along with part of the rebukes administered. But part seems to me needless and misplaced. I do not see why Dr. N. assumes that the writer attacks the Church of Rome. He may mean it, but that construction was hardly necessary. In another point I withhold sympathy from the review, but not on the author’s behalf. Dr. N. seems to think that no one but a Roman Catholic can duly combine the reciprocal and joint testimonies of Scripture and the Church, or the great stream of Christian History and Tradition. I am sure he thinks so or he would not have written thus. This reminds me how, when that beautiful *Apologia* came out people said, “ You see Dr. Newman never was a Churchman properly so called ” ; and how twenty-five years ago I read with astonishment an article of his in the *British Critic* with a defence of the Church of England founded upon principles that seemed to me weak and strange. And why does he talk of the necessity of sacrificing private judgment ? Can there be such a thing in a well-constituted mind ? Is it not this, that our private judgment teaches us to recognize the higher authority where the evidence of its title is clear, and consequently that in following it we do not abdicate but really obey the faculties which God has given for the guidance of our mind and conduct ?

‘ Very faithfully yours,
‘ W. E. GLADSTONE.’

Hawarden, June 12, 1874.

‘MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I have received your letter and I return the enclosure ; the painful subject of it¹ brings me many letters. I know not what to say of a measure which seems to shift its ground eventually every time it is discussed. The arrow rightly aimed may miss if the target is removed after it has left the bow. I expect, however, to be in London next week, and I shall not fail, please God, duly to attend to the Bill when it reaches the House of Commons.

‘I have not read a great deal in the Liberal or any other Press lately ; this has been a main article of my relief. But, as regards the Liberal party, the clergy can hardly expect much from them in the way of aid against their own Bishops.

‘I thought it seemed imprudent in the Bishop of Lincoln² to mix this case with that of the strange Bill relating to Church Patronage in Scotland. It will be much more imprudent if the Churchpeople mix their cause with that of the Roman Bishops in Germany. Both parties in a quarrel may be wrong : but their Bishops have, in my opinion, by subscribing to the Vatican decrees, assumed a position inconsistent with full allegiance, and with civil right.

‘Most truly yours,
‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

Hawarden Castle, August 22, 1876.

‘MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I am *very glad* you and Canon Liddon are going.³

‘I enclose a letter asking Sir A. Buchanan to give his aid in directing you to the best quarters for information. I could do the same to Sir H. Elliot if you were going to Constantinople. (I cannot comprehend his conduct in some particulars but I pause before condemning him.) At Belgrade I am sorry to say I know no one.

‘I am afraid I must say “Beware of Nardi.”

¹ The P.W.R. Bill.

² C. Wordsworth.

³ To Servia.

‘The Pope’s game with the Turk is I suspect even deeper than you imagine.

‘Perhaps you know that a few years ago he robbed the Armenian Roman Catholic Church of its right to elect its Bishops. A number of its members, they say the large majority, resisted. The Pope behaved with impartiality and was encouraged by us (the late Government) in so doing. My belief is that the Porte is now *selling* the Armenian rights to the Pope for his support in the disturbed provinces.

‘If you like to call at 73 Harley Street, *and show this letter which will be her authority*, the housekeeper will let you see all Parliamentary papers delivered for me this month and take away such as you please. The older Turkish papers are in a closet on the north side of the room.

‘When do you go ?

‘Sincerely yours,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

Hawarden Castle, Chester, August 11, 1877.

‘MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I thank you much for what you have told me about Bishop Moriarty: and perhaps if you have an opportunity you would kindly at some time let him know how much pleasure it would give me if next year he would be so very kind as to announce himself on any Thursday for breakfast at ten.

‘From what you say of him, I have little doubt the case is the same with Dr. Russell of Maynooth.

‘It certainly would not be safe to put aside, as a thing out of the question, a Disraelitish *coup* during the recess. He is a man who is *never beaten*. Every reverse, every defeat, is to him only an admonition to wait and catch his opportunity of retrieving, and more than retrieving, his position.

‘I have written to the *Daily News* suggesting for consideration whether they could not move the Liberals who have taken a prominent and more or less independent part on the question to establish an understanding before the Prorogation with a view to such a contingency.

‘Yours sincerely,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

Hawarden, December 21, 1877.

‘MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—The position is indeed a singular one. All that flourish of trumpets which preceded the late Cabinet was never intended to usher in a mere announcement about Parliament meeting on the 17th. A greater plan has been proposed and rejected. This is a compromise. Will it be followed by a proposal for men and money? Will it at once encourage the Turks to hold out? I fear both the one and the other. Ought we to take steps in resistance, and when? To one thing only I see my way at this moment—wherever there is a Press in our sense, it ought in the strongest and plainest language to declare that neither in war nor in warlike measures will we acquiesce, but will to the best of our ability stir the country upon those issues.

‘I return Froude’s letter, an excellently staunch one, and the loathsome epistle from a Jew. I was in hopes I was the only person on whom ordure of this kind was discharged. Nothing can more painfully exhibit the nature of the cause, than that it should stir up such advocacy.

‘Yours very faithfully,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

Hawarden, September 30, 1878.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—Thanks for your letter. I have not seen the *Times*, for I do not find it pay to read that journal. I must own that neither does it pay at present to read the articles of the *Daily News*; and I have just been writing to a gentleman who has relations with it to ask him whether it has gone stark mad.

‘I am not often made unhappy by criticisms, but the criticisms of my American article,¹ in the passage which said that at a future time our commercial primacy might and probably would pass on, did make me rather unhappy. I did not before know that the mind of any set of Englishmen had fallen into a state of such contemptible effeminacy. I said more in 1866 when leader of the House of Commons,

¹ ‘Kin beyond Sea,’ in the *North American Review*.

and I believe without the slightest objection. Those were not very good times, but the country had not then had five years of Lord B.'s primacy.

'I learn that Cairns has or is to have an estate left him : and he has, I imagine, deserved a reward for intense, unflinching support of his leader in the Cabinet.

'Yours most faithfully,

'W. E. GLADSTONE.'

Hawarden, October 13, 1878.

'DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—The Duke of Argyll is actually here and going to-morrow. He would much have liked to meet Lord Bath for whom he has a great respect. I am sure my wife has told Lady Bath, if not Lord Bath, how very welcome they would be here, but it seems a strong measure to ask them at any particular time to come so far. I will, however, bear in mind your considerate suggestion.

'The truth is I have felt *deeply* for Lord Bath in this business without feeling that I had a right to assure him of my sympathy. I feel a scruple about appearing to *fish* indirectly for the political aid of a man of his mark and standing who has been so upright and loyal a Party man. His position is one of great difficulty. The instrument of Party is indispensable for working out our public duty, but it brings us at times into sore dilemmas.

'Since I last heard from you I have read your article in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Sir H. Layard should have it answered if he can. That passage about the subsidy from our Consul is a most awkward one, and I suppose the matter cannot rest where it is.

'Yours sincerely,

'W. E. GLADSTONE.'

Hawarden, November 7, 1879.

'MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I thank you for your suggestion about Lord and Lady Bath, and I have at once written it to my wife who has not yet joined me. I should be greatly pleased to see Lord Bath join the Liberal party : but I always feel a particular scruple in doing anything

which might seem like a desire to turn to political account the manly, philanthropic, and Christian-like feeling he has shown in the Eastern Question.

‘I am glad to find that I have unconsciously imposed upon you as to my personal estimate of Lord Beaconsfield. I have always felt there were special reasons for reserve in expressing my feelings and judgment about him—of which the principal are, the manner in which we have been pitted against one another, and the very peculiar features of his career and character. That these ought to be fully before the public I cannot for a moment doubt: but I think the matter to be one on which it is not well for me to enter. He probably would get less than justice at my hands, though I should not be intentionally unjust towards him. Of one thing I am sure: it will take a long time to rid English politics of the odour which he will have left upon them. You will doubtless consider well, if you write, the question of Name or No Name. There is something to be said both ways. I rather think that, were I doing a thing of that sort, I should not affix my name, but I would make no secret about my authorship, as Hayward generally tells what article he has written in the *Quarterly*.

‘Believe me,

‘Sincerely yours,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

‘I am sorry to hear that they have not in the Scotch Episcopal Church a preacher who could turn to account the opening afforded by the new Cathedral in Edinburgh. Surely this void might be filled.’

Hawarden, December 13, 1879.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—The whole Scotch journey was wonderful, and really beyond description. I always thought it would be a serious affair: something like Lancashire in 1868, or in some respects a little beyond. But my expectations were left behind, at an immeasurable distance.

‘Yours sincerely,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

10 Downing Street, March 27, 1881.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—You will have conceived and represented the idea I tried to convey to you on Sunday last better than I can explain it on paper ; yet I am not easy without writing a few words to help in making the record.

‘What I want to have, as the basis of Palmer’s work, is a setting forth, according to the methods which theological science provides, of the *Civitas Dei*, the city set on a hill, the pillar and ground of truth, the Catholic and Apostolic Church, the *Vorsetzung der Fleischwerdung*, exhibited, not as against Nonconformists, nor even principally as against the aggressive Church of Rome, but as a positive dispensation, a form divinely given to the religious idea, which challenges with authority, but agreeably to reason, the assent of the rational and right-minded man, in competition with all the other claimants on that assent. I want some solid scientific work which shall set up historical or institutional Christianity to take its chance in that *mêlée* of systems, dogmatic and undogmatic, revealed and unrevealed, particularist, pagan, secular, antitheistic, or others, which marks the age.

‘Having spent fifty years of adult life in this *mêlée*, I find the method I describe the most rational of all, and I wish that there should be a text-book of it for the help of doubtful or uninstructed minds. Also that this text-book, founded on the principle I have described, should apply the principle, for the benefit of Englishmen, to the case of the English Church, under the shadow of which our lot is providentially cast.

‘Yours sincerely,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

Hawarden Castle, October 18, 1882.

‘MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I have to acknowledge your letter and I return the inclosure. Both are very interesting. But the Green affair is moving so far as I, or as the Chancellor, can make it move.¹ I hope the scandal and

¹ The Rev. S. F. Green, Vicar of St. John the Evangelist, Miles Platting, was now in prison under the P.W.R. Act.

dishonour are near their end, but I have no positive knowledge. Much good may be the ultimate result which Mr. Green may have purchased for the Church in ways he may not have dreamed of.

‘ But I have other matters to touch. Weeks ago I told Dr. Döllinger what I knew and thought of the plan for the republication of Palmer, and expressed the hope that his aid if required would be forthcoming. He remained silent, and I could not be surprised, for I had touched a formidable subject. However, I had from him yesterday afternoon a long letter on many subjects. Among them he gives a marked place to the republication of Palmer’s book. He has stated the case with very great ability in the extract which I send you herewith. The upshot of it I take to be that he thinks a very heavy labour must be performed in order to bring the book up to the demands of the period; that if this condition can be satisfied the republication would be an event for Christendom; and that he is ready to give his hearty assistance, if such a person as he names will go to Munich to receive it.

‘ All this, I hope, will be carefully considered, for although time is of importance in getting out the work, it is still more material that it should be thoroughly worthy of so considerable a vocation as Dr. Döllinger assigns to it.

‘ In case any further aid should be desirable, I suggest these names for consideration :

‘ Rev. R. Jenkins, Rector of Lynn.

‘ Rev. W. E. Scudamore, Author of “ England and Rome.”

‘ Rev. Dr. Nicholson, who worsted Cardinal Manning.

‘ And, query? Rev. N. Pococke—a very able man, rather given to railing at the Reformation.

‘ I am due in London on Friday for Cabinet and—alack! House of Commons.

‘ Believe me,

‘ Yours sincerely,

‘ W. E. GLADSTONE.’

10 Downing Street, June 30, 1884.

‘MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I return Lord Bath’s letter, reciprocating all his kind sentiments and sympathizing with the real difficulties of his position. My own are limited by the nearness of my horizon.

‘One remark only will I offer. His son’s opinions are, it appears, Conservative. What does this mean? Is it that they echo the current notions of our Public Schools and Universities, or is it that he has read and considered the recent history of this country, and that he regards Conservatism as that which has brought us through that history safer than any other country, and stronger by far than we ever were before?’

‘The same statement was made to me twenty years back by a Liberal Peer, who asked my advice about his eldest son. Knowing but one book which details the political history of the last half-century, Erskine May’s “Constitutional History,” I recommended the father to advise its perusal. The person so advised read the book, and has ever since been one of the soberest, but firmest, of Liberals.

‘Why do I thus seem to throw a fly? Simply because I fear that, in the absence of wise guidance for the House of Lords, conflicts dangerous to it may lie, not indeed in my future, but in a future by no means distant.

‘Yours sincerely,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

1 Richmond Terrace, July 6, 1885.

‘MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—1. I am sorry for the great error of judgment into which, as it would appear from your account, Bishop Strossmayer has fallen. He wants to convert the orthodox Slavs in order to save them from an extraneous political influence. This is exactly the policy pursued by England towards Ireland for so long a time and with such ruinous effects. That a wise and enlightened Bishop should seek to renew it, after the warnings of experience for 200 years, is indeed deplorable.

‘ 2. I am delighted with your account of Dr. Döllinger’s health and strength, which I conceive to be of the utmost importance. But do not let him argue from the calm and self-possession of his life to the tumult, strife, and tension of mine. Give me his outward conditions, and I then accept all his reasoning.

‘ 3. With regard to Palmer, I think it plain that it would still be possible to publish a work based upon Palmer’s, as Liddell and Scott *first* published their Lexicon “based upon Passow.”

‘ 4. But I do not know how far you have looked in the face the question of material means for the execution of this work. I had always hoped that the Ripon Canonry would improve your position in this respect, and I *cannot help* feeling happy that the Bishop has declined to accept your resignation. I regret that I cannot carry on a discussion of this question with the Dean of St. Paul’s. My head and time are much too full for me to undertake this operative part.

‘ I have written somewhat hastily to answer your letter without delay.

‘ Believe me,

‘ Sincerely yours,

‘ W. E. GLADSTONE.’

Hawarden, September 26, 1885.

‘ DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I am shocked to find that you have not been thanked for your salmon. Nothing could exceed its claims upon our acknowledgments : it was as good as good could be.

‘ About Parliament I hardly assume more at present than that there has been talk in the Tory party on the method of postponement. Unless they are even more anarchical than I suppose, the point could hardly be decided without a Cabinet, and there has been none.

‘ I view the Bulgarian occurrences with mixed feelings, glad of the union in itself but fearful lest mischief should come, as it might come possibly—in any case from Turks, in the event of a widening of the sphere—from Greeks,

Servians, or Austria more formidable than either with Germany at her back.

‘You will probably have left Aboyne, but if this finds you there pray remember us kindly to your host and hostess.

‘Sincerely yours,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

Hawarden, December 23, 1885.

‘MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I have received your interesting letter.

‘When I saw you I was not aware that you were going to see or communicate with Lord Salisbury.

‘However, I am only anxious it should be clearly understood that, while you stated to him what you conceived to be the manifest purport of my conversation with you, you had no authority, and conveyed no message, from me.

‘Unless you are *quite sure* that Lord S. clearly understands this, I beg you to convey it to him.

‘I say nothing adverse to the accuracy of your account. It was an account given on your responsibility of what you conceived to be my present view. Of the conditions of any measure for Ireland, or of my own intentions about one, I have not given to any human being any binding indication: beyond *this* that, if the Government take up the question, my desire is to give them the best aid that with a reasonable freedom of judgment I may.

‘Yours sincerely,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

Hawarden, December 10, 1886.

‘MY DEAR CANON,—I think your comments on the Unionist declarations very just, and the time for next breaking my silence will be fixed by me, not by Lord Hartington. At all times I am against threats and violence, unlike R. Churchill, who leads the Government, and for law and order. In this sense some colleagues of mine, who have speeches in prospect, will, I think, make them, but so as

not to let off the Government. As to Dillon, I learn there are hopes that he will retract or greatly qualify, as without doubt he ought.

‘I do not think the Crown can cede any territory that has been dealt with by Statute without a Statute for the purpose.

‘I hear you are to be here early in January and shall be glad of a word on Palmer’s book.

‘Believe me,

‘Sincerely yours,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

18 James Street, S.W., May 20, 1889.

‘MY DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—I am most willing to see you; but I can supply beforehand in very few words what I have to say.¹

‘The only rule I can tolerate is stout resistance to (what is perhaps) the extremest debasement of which our poor human nature is susceptible. A debasement which I cannot recollect to have been included, or at least avowed, among the refinements of vice that were invented by the ancient inhabitants of the Greek and Italian Peninsulas: and which I believe multitudes of the “fallen women” of London would repel with disgust.

‘According to the old rule “*corruptio optimi pessima*,” I fear that the last developments of evil in this branch are worse under the reign of Christianity than they were before the Advent.

‘Yours sincerely,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

Hawarden, December 27, 1889.

‘MY DEAR CANON,—I have now examined books of authority as to the permanence of sex. Your correspondent, I think, states the matter with great ability, though I hardly

The reference is to Neo-Malthusianism.

travel with him all the way. The question is interesting, I should call it seductive, for my inclination and judgment are rather to this effect—that, knowing nothing, so to speak, of the thousands upon thousands of the conditions of the new existence in the world unseen, I ask of myself, why this also should not be allowed to remain unexamined, and whether it is not best to leave the solution in the hands of the great Father. I am not, then, keen upon the scent.

‘I admit that some arguments against the permanence of gender may seem to arise from its original absence, and from the Darwinian incidents pointing to an original unity.

‘But in the actual development is included a distinction of moral and spiritual type. The man and the woman are not, ought not to be, the same. And the law of nature for each is to be built up and corroborated, by the vast power of habit, in its own type. The more character is opened and matured, therefore, the more I should expect it to be differentiated, and the distinctness of the form of existence to harden. At the same time, not only is each the supplement of the other, but each may borrow and appropriate from the other.

‘I cannot, from defect of the man’s physique, and consequent approach to feminineness, be ready to draw a broad conclusion, for it would rest on a ground not normal but abnormal.

‘All this seems to lie in the region of metaphysics. If divinity is taken in, one can conceive that questions may arise as to the office and character of the B.V.M. : questions which may readily enough become dangerous.

‘The longer I live, the more does human nature seem to me profound and wonderful, and the less able I am to arrive at definitive solutions respecting it.

‘I own, therefore, to being much out of my depth, and indisposed to push any observation or inference which the matter suggests to a logical conclusion.

‘Sincerely yours,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

‘ Many thanks for your deeply interesting passages about Bishop Lightfoot. That is indeed a

Stately pillar broke,

and a pillar that *grew*.’

10 Downing Street, Whitehall, August 27, 1893.

‘ MY DEAR CANON,—I cannot wonder at the terms of your letter, based as it is on Swedish experience and Royal conversation. And the case is undoubtedly one of great difficulty. But pray do not make up your mind upon it until you have read the fundamental pact between the two countries. It is contained in the Constitution and in a preliminary international document. It describes Norway as an independent nation; and this pact Norway does not ask to break. I do not say she is right in what she asks.

‘ Yours sincerely,

‘ W. E. GLADSTONE.’

Black Craig, Blairgowrie, September 12, 1893.

‘ DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—I find that five Bishops refrained from voting on the 8th¹—Manchester, Newcastle, St. David’s, Llandaff, Hereford. Have you learned anything of the causes of this abstention? One or two might be barred by age—Hereford, I think, is 75. Two only were recommended by me—Llandaff and Newcastle. Voluntary abstention may be regarded as highly creditable in the face of such a torrent.

‘ I cannot but think that for the Bishops to appear in such force was a great mistake. As to one or two, I am a good deal disappointed. It now stands on record that the lay Peerage gave Ireland one vote in every two; but the Episcopal body not a single one.

‘ The case of the Bishop of St. Asaph is singular. Early in the year he came to see me on the Welsh Church, and at the close of the conversation he said, *quite spontaneously*, that, if the Irish Bill reached the House of Lords

¹ On the Second Reading of the Home Rule Bill.

he earnestly hoped it would pass. I could not print this, but there was no note of confidence attached to it.

‘I was very glad to see you looking really *well* again.

‘Sincerely yours,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

‘My recollection of the Bp. of St. Asaph is as clear as it can be: but I admit that a recollection is not a facsimile.’

*A blind
man's blot.* ●¹

Pitlochrie N.B., July 12, 1894.

‘DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—1. I will send you a paper of my preface on Heresy and Schism. Please to consider critically whether I have overstated the amount and character of the relation maintained by the Almighty with the schismatic kingdom of Israel.

‘We are here until Monday the 8th—after that due at Dollis.

‘2. *Private.* Do you know anything of the new Bishop? He may be perfection. But I am absolutely at a loss to comprehend why it was necessary to travel to the other side of the world for a Bishop, over the heads of so many obvious men presenting the varied qualities of earnestness, years, experience, force, service—and lastly sound politics. What is the moving cause, who has been consulted, I have not an idea. Pray tell me everything you know.

‘This is a lovely spot. . . .

‘Ever yours,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

Cannes, March 6, 1896.

‘MY DEAR CANON,—I have read your letter with great interest. The more fully the Armenian case is opened to the world by the Italian and by any other Government, the better shall I be pleased.

¹ Gladstone was now afflicted with cataract.

² G. W. Kennion, Bishop of Bath and Wells, translated from Adelaide.

‘ You and I are closely united in opinion and in sympathy upon it, but I am afraid you ask me to do the impossible. Even if I had read the Italian Green Book and made up my mind that it ought to be published, I ought not to offer advice to a Foreign government. In my position I am quit of all responsibility, and I consider that such interventions—without responsibility—are unwarranted, and may be mischievous.

‘ The Italians have, so far as I know, been more sympathetic during the last twenty or thirty years than any other European people, the French having, it must be admitted, had enough of their own sorrows to fill their minds.

‘ This Abyssinian business is a terrible lesson for the Italians. For the last twenty-five years they have been playing fast and loose with their own dearest interests, and have endangered all their institutions, which, so far as I can see, can only be made safe by a total change of policy, and by keeping themselves to themselves.

‘ With us at home folly is a less perilous experiment and is freely indulged in. I think the 22 millions of Navy Estimates positively *shocking*; and would send the promoters of them to Bedlam.

‘ We are due in London on Tuesday evening. Splendid weather here.’

‘ Yours sincerely,

‘ W. E. GLADSTONE.’

Hawarden, September 16, 1896.

‘ MY DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—The apprehension that any coercive measure taken against the Assassin is to produce war with what used to be called the Northern Powers appears to be speculative only.

‘ Were England to adopt measures with a view to her own advantage, this might be a case for active resistance to her. But I apprehend we have a *casus belli* against the Sultan for non-fulfilment of the Treaty of Cyprus.

‘ For the last twelve months we have, for the sake of European Concert, pursued a course which has given him a complete triumph over the Six Powers, and shown him that,

so far as they are concerned, he may with safety prosecute his work of extermination.

‘Suppose the Sultan were required to give Armenia reparation for the past and security for the future by provisions which might be briefly set forth, and to render an unconditional reply within three days, with an intimation that, failing such a reply, we should at once dismiss the Assassin’s Ambassador, and remove ours, and consider further of the measures necessary for enforcing our just demands ;

‘ With two accompanying measures :

‘ 1. A gradual but larger strengthening of our force in the Eastern Mediterranean.

‘ 2. A Declaration to the Powers that our objects were Armenian, and that whatever our means would be, they would in no case include acquisition for ourselves (the form used before the Crimean War would supply the proper language).

‘Supposing all this, where would a vested ground of objection lie on the part of the Northern Powers ?

‘Remember that, whatever the Governments may be, the public opinion of Europe, not wholly excluding their own countries, would be a powerful check.

‘People talk as if the seizure of Constantinople or of Asia Minor were the only mode of proceeding. But there is the method of material guarantees, which appear likely to have great force in the present condition of the Empire of the Assassin. Our endeavour to organize a mild plan of this kind in 1880 sufficed, even before it was ripe, to obtain for Greece and Montenegro territories they now enjoy, though Turkey had at that time three Great Powers on her side.

‘What the guarantees should be, could only be determined in consultation with the naval and military authorities. Smyrna, Crete, Salonica, are among the names which at once occur for consideration.

‘But, if this were to be held a provocation to the three Northern Powers—if, upon our announcing our intention to coerce, they told us they would unitedly meet force with force—and if we were without support anywhere—the

British Nation would have to consider its course, and to choose between the contest or retirement, and the casting of responsibility and disgrace where it would then be visibly due.

‘In my opinion these *ifs* would never be realized. But if they were, and if we retired in consequence, it would be a vast improvement upon the present state of things.

‘It is difficult and hazardous for those outside, without authentic information, to map out a course for governments. They can only do it under reserve. It is particularly repulsive to me. But I find that we actually are the unwilling accomplices of monstrous guilt; and I yearn and groan for relief from that association.

I remain,

‘Sincerely yours,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

Hawarden, September 25, 1896.

‘MY DEAR CANON,—I was unwell for some days before the Liverpool meeting and spared myself all I could. To-day I have sent Knowles four or five pages to wind up his Symposium.¹ I thank you for the curious and important information you have conveyed to me, and I have referred to it in general terms without any indication of channel or source.²

‘I must now shut up; my task yesterday was difficult and I am not equal to the repetition of such experiments.

‘The feeling of the meeting was excellent. God save us from the Clubs.

‘I do not wonder that you find your work hard.

‘When I noted the absence of references, it was only by way of suggestion to supply them as far as might be, and not in order to draw an answer.

‘I must now turn to the Pope and his proceedings in the matter of Anglican Orders. At present I am inclined to think that the proceeding at Rome is one which, as between men of the world, would be considered dishonourable.

¹ On *The Massacres in Turkey*.

² See Lord Salisbury's letter on p. 145.

'I will not say a word upon Rosebery's letter published this morning: for what I should have to say would be disagreeable without being useful. As far as one can see, Salisbury has been much better, so that I ought to prefer "Bury" to "Bery" in this great matter.

'Yours very sincerely,
'W. E. GLADSTONE.'

Hawarden, October 5, 1896.

'MY DEAR CANON MACCOLL.—I am very glad to hear your papers are about to be republished: they cannot but do good.

'As regards Rosebery, I deplore, as you know, the course he has taken,¹ and I take it to be pretty clear that he has mistaken the set of the currents, and is in great difficulties. A curious article in the *Speaker* two numbers back, while lauding his sentiments, treats him as having in effect lost the leadership.

'If he speaks at the Scotch meeting it will be a sign, I think, of a desire to set things straight, for he never could be so mad as to go there for the sake of creating discord.

'I do not wish to add anything to increase his difficulties and hope he may find a clean way out of them. If I did, it would be most unseemly in me to take a part, for his letter on sole action must be taken as meant to aim a mortal blow at what I was recommending. Perhaps he thinks he has reason (nay, he may have from his point of view) to complain of me, but whether or not, I cannot do anything to embarrass him, and wish rather better than I hope for him.

'Ever yours sincerely,
'W. E. GLADSTONE.'

Hawarden, December 1, 1896.

'MY DEAR CANON,—I can only reply succinctly to the points raised in your very full letter.

'1. Armenia.—We are on our backs—we have done what we could. The great Avenger may yet show that He has an account to settle with the great Assassin and his works.

¹ In resigning the Liberal leadership.

‘ 2. Egypt.—I am sorry we are not at one. My reasons are three :

‘ (1) We must keep faith.

‘ (2) We have no right to pronounce the Egyptians permanently incapable of self-government.

‘ (3) The occupation is a source of weakness to ourselves, as well as a needless augmentation of risk.

‘ 3. I would venture to recommend great caution in handling the character of Gordon, who was a hero, and was wholly unfit to be employed by non-heroes.

‘ 4. I long ago gave the history of the Crimean War, in my version of it, in the *Historical Review*. It may be reprinted shortly. There is no doubt that, as to the curability of Turkey, we were misled by authorities such as Stratford and Palmerston.

‘ 5. I am glad you are pleased with the Essays,¹ but I think your kind nature leads you to *heighten* Dr. Döllinger’s sufficiently liberal estimate of my theological capacity.

‘ 6. With regard to the letter which I inclose, I entirely agree with you, and in what I may have to say about Dr. Clark I shall be glad of any opportunity to notice the loathsome but rather necessary topic.²

‘ 7. I conceive that my Preface presupposes, even by its title, your work, and will have to be built upon it, rather than your work upon my Preface. But I have already published in America a notice of Clark which I could send you *subject to return*. I think it contains the bulk of what I have to say.

‘ 8. I do not quite recollect what was the line of argument which pleased you, and you do not describe it.

‘ 9. Forgive me for again saying my sight makes MS. a great difficulty with me. You will be surprised when I say that it took me, I think, near *half an hour* to read your letter.

‘ Ever yours sincerely,

‘ W. E. GLADSTONE.’

‘ Many of the letters sent me I never read at all.’

¹ On the works of Butler.

² MacColl was going to write the Life of Sir Andrew Clark, M.D., and asked Mr. Gladstone, who had been Clark’s patient, to furnish a preface.

Hawarden, January 26, 1897.

‘DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—We are commonly in pretty close accord, but I am sorry to say that in your present letter and article I cannot concur.

‘As it appears to me, with my imperfect means of judgment :

‘1. Lord S. committed a fundamental error in abandoning from the first the duty, and surrendering the right, of *sole action*.

‘2. He seems not to have reserved that right unconditionally, but only the right of withdrawal from the action, or courses of inaction, of others.

‘3. The present prospect of Coercion is *nil*, unless to enforce what does not exist and what any one of the Powers can prevent.

‘4. He has warmly lauded the Rosebery speech.

‘So we are rather wide apart.

‘I doubt whether we know exactly the attitude of Lord R. or of his Cabinet at the moment of their strange and unhappy resignation.¹

‘I hope you saw a very weighty and conclusive speech of Herbert’s on Lord R.’s declarations such as they stood up to a recent date. No one has replied. I imagine because no one can.

‘London (D.V.), to-morrow ; Cannes, Saturday.

‘Always sincerely yours,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

‘I wish the Czar would get upon the Cutty Stool² at once. But his translating you is good.’

The beginning of MacColl’s acquaintance with Lord Salisbury may be given in his own words :

‘I first met Lord Salisbury, then Lord Robert Cecil, at the house of Colonel Greville,³ and the conversation turned

¹ When defeated on a vote about cordite, June 1895.

² For the ‘Cutty Stool’ see Jeanie Dean’s interview with Queen Caroline in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*. MacColl’s book on the Armenian Question was translated into Russian by the Czar’s command.

³ Afterwards Lord Greville : married Lady Rosa Nugent, heiress of the Marquess of Westmeath.

on Ireland after Lady Rosa Greville and Lady Robert Cecil had left the dining-room. I was the other guest. Colonel Greville expatiated on the wrongs of Ireland and sketched out a scheme of legislation for the reform of the land-system and the disestablishment of the Irish Church. Lord Robert Cecil listened, attentively, with an ironical smile, and said, when Colonel Greville had finished: "Well, you have just sketched out as pretty a scheme of revolution as I have seen for a long time." Lord Robert lived to see and agree to legislation in regard to Ireland in comparison with which Colonel Greville's suggestions were mild and moderate indeed.

'Those who know Lord Salisbury in later life would have hardly recognized him as the tall, slim man with the stoop, to whose conversation I listened with interest that first evening of our acquaintance. He was then, as afterwards, a keen and brilliant talker, full of anecdote and repartee, with a keen sense of fun. The first time I heard Lord Salisbury, then Lord Robert, speak was in a debate on the abolition of Church Rates. John Bright made a strong speech against Church Rates and was followed by Lord Robert Cecil from one of the back seats on the Opposition side below the gangway. It was a vigorous speech, and I remember one sarcasm in it. "We have heard in this debate," he said, "more than one allusion to the Secular Arm, which I take to mean the brawny arm of the Hon. Member for Rochdale," which Bright then represented. The House laughed at this oratorical hit at the fighting qualities of the eloquent Quaker. Lord Salisbury, like his son Hugh, proved his aptitude for debate very early in his parliamentary career, and Lord Palmerston, who was then Prime Minister, was quick to recognize the fact. "Beware of that young man," he said to a friend, "he possesses one of the secrets of success, for instead of defending himself and his cause, he attacks the other side." But there was no venom or malice in Lord Salisbury's sarcastic sallies; and in private life he was one of the most amiable men, as well as one of the simplest and humblest.'

MacColl's correspondence with Lord Salisbury began with the following letters, written when Gladstone's Irish Church Suspensory Bill was before Parliament :

June 22, 1868.

'MY LORD,—I have had the pleasure of meeting you twice at the house of Colonel Greville-Nugent ; but that, of course, does not entitle me to take the liberty of asking you to read the two pamphlets which I send along with this. My apology must be the importance of the subject. The pamphlets are from the pen of Mr. Gladstone. One is his speech on the Jew Bill, republished in 1847 with an elaborate preface, in which are contained, as it seems to me, the germs of all his ecclesiastical policy since. I wonder that preface was not quoted in any of the recent debates, if for no other reason than to show the absurdity of quoting against him his book on Church and State, since he deliberately and explicitly discards that book in the preface to his speech on the Jew Bill.

'The other pamphlet is a letter addressed to the late Bishop Skinner of Aberdeen in the year 1852. That pamphlet also shows that Mr. Gladstone's present views on Church and State are not the sudden birth of Party exigence.

'Both pamphlets are, I believe, out of print, else I would have sent your Lordship clean copies. The pencil-marks which are scattered over them were made for my own use.

'If I may venture to do so without impertinence I would beg your Lordship's attention especially to pp. 16-17 of the preface of the Jew Bill ; for it seems to me that the disregard of the caution there recommended is now mainly the cause of Bills like Mr. Coleridge's Tests Bill ; and Mr. Gladstone's far-sighted warning was never more needful than now, when Mr. Disraeli has hoisted " a banner with the strange device "—"The Protestant Church of England" (speech at Merchant Taylors'). I regret to observe all over the country High Churchmen, like Arch-deacon Denison and Mr. Gregory of Lambeth, attending

meetings in defence of this Irish Establishment—meetings at which that mongrel negation, “our Common Protestantism,” is placed in the front as the thing to be fought for; yet Mr. Gregory and Archdeacon Denison affect great indignation when this “Common Protestantism” insists on equal rights at the Universities!

‘At this moment, my Lord, I believe that there is no man in the kingdom who is looked up to with greater confidence and respect than yourself, and that by *all* parties. Even a man so extreme as Mr. Goldwin Smith remarked to me the other day that the aristocracy of England had nothing to fear from Democracy provided they had men like you to lead them; but that a few years more of Mr. Disraeli’s leadership would destroy them.

‘It is because I believe that your Lordship’s attitude in the debate on the Suspensory Bill will affect, perhaps vitally, not only the Church of England but the House of Lords also, that I presume to ask you to be so good as to read the two pamphlets which I now send you.

‘I have the honour to be, my Lord,

‘Your obedient servant,

‘MALCOLM MACCOLL.’

The Suspensory Bill having been thrown out by the Lords, the country was making ready for the General Election, at which the Disestablishment of the Irish Church was the dominating topic.

October 19, 1868.

‘MY LORD,—I feel I ought to apologize to your Lordship for having taken the liberty of asking Messrs. Longmans to send you a copy of a pamphlet of mine on the Irish Church. I have presumed to differ from some of the views you expressed in your able speech on the Suspensory Bill; but I have tried at the same time to express the respect and admiration which I sincerely feel for your Lordship’s ability and character.

‘Would that the Conservative party had you for its leader; for then I should feel that, whether I could or could not always go along with the party, I could place

unstinted confidence in its chivalry and honour. I was brought up as a Conservative, I was created among Conservative traditions, and one of my ancestors fell fighting for Charles Edward on Culloden Field. I feel, therefore, all the more bitterly the dishonour and discredit which Mr. Disraeli's tactics have brought upon the party.

'It is impossible for me to express the energy of my aversion to that man. I believe there is not a single institution in England, from the Throne downwards, which he would not sacrifice to his own personal ends. The Conservative party will be irretrievably ruined, for a generation at least, if it is to be led much longer by Mr. Disraeli.

'I know, too, that no one would rejoice more than Mr. Gladstone to see the Conservative party marshalled under your leadership.'

'Your obedient servant,
'MALCOLM MACCOLL.'

July 23, 1869.

'DEAR SIR,—It was certainly my impression, as it was that of many other Peers, that Mr. Gladstone's tone and manner in dealing with our amendments¹ was not courteous. I did not, however, hear his remarks myself—and I dare say your judgment was more impartial. I regarded it merely as an indication that he meant to coerce the House of Lords if he was able—but I did not feel that we could properly take such an indication without showing our own feelings on the subject.

'To speak frankly, I have been not a little puzzled at the attention and feeling which the adjective I used appears to have excited.² If anyone said of me that I had an arrogant will I do not think I should regard it as a severe censure. I certainly had no intention of saying anything to give Mr. Gladstone pain. I only desired to do what I could to induce the Peers to resist him on points where I sincerely thought him wrong.

¹ To the Irish Church Bill. Gladstone had likened the Lords to men in a balloon.

² 'It is the will—the arrogant will—of a single man to which you are now called upon to submit.'

‘You doubtless remember when Sir Robert Peel applied a similar epithet to the English aristocracy—and being taken to task for it, replied that it was “*Superbiam quaesitam meritis.*” I may shelter myself under the same defence.

‘Yours very truly,
‘SALISBURY.’

March 12, 1871.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I am much obliged to you for the copy of your book on the origin of the late war.

‘I thoroughly concur with most of your views—but I doubt if they are good material for Parliamentary debate. I cannot help feeling that when we are so disinclined to act—and indeed so incapable of acting—there is something humiliating in attempting to make up for our inaction by energetic denunciations in Parliament.

‘Believe me,
‘Yours very truly,
‘SALISBURY.’

I copy the following passage from a memorandum written by MacColl :

‘A few years after the Disestablishment of the Irish Church I heard a conversation in a railway-carriage on Lord Salisbury’s unbending Toryism. The five occupants of the carriage were all strangers to me except one, whom I knew by sight though he did not know me. They were all Liberals, and referred to Lord Salisbury’s violent opposition to the Disestablishment of the Irish Church as a proof of his contempt for the verdict of the nation. I ventured mildly to say that, on the contrary, Lord Salisbury supported and voted in favour of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. My fellow-travellers looked upon me with an expression of pitying surprise at my extraordinary ignorance, and exclaimed in chorus, “Oh no.” I said no more, but having occasion to write to Mr. Delane that evening, for I was then on the staff of the *Times*, I mentioned this incident of forgetfulness on the part of men who took a keen interest in politics. I received a note

from Mr. Delane the following morning in which he said, "You are partly right and partly wrong: Lord Salisbury spoke in support of Mr. Gladstone's Disestablishment Bill, but did not vote." If any man ought to know the facts it was the great Editor of the *Times*, yet I felt sure I was right, though being out of town I had not the means of verifying my impression. Having, therefore, occasion to write to Lord Salisbury on another subject, I put the question to himself.'

November 7, 1871.

'DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—You were certainly right; I both spoke and voted for the Second Reading of the Irish Church Bill—and on the ground that it was the duty of the Lords (generally speaking) to defer to a decided national opinion unmistakably expressed. I was careful—I may say in passing—to draw a strong distinction between the national opinion and the opinion of the House of Commons, to which as such the Lords are in no way bound to defer. The two were identical in that case because a General Election had been held with the particular question in issue full in view.

'Yours very truly,
'SALISBURY.'

February 20, 1872.

'DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—My experience of Lord Napier was, of course, very short; but the impression I formed was entirely of the kind you mention. His characteristics appeared to me to be not only great energy and freshness, but freedom from the spirit of routine which is so powerful in India.

'The Athanasian Creed is receiving hard measure from many who ought to defend it. It is very much to be wished that when the Bishops pick to pieces the Creeds of the Church they would have the prudence to turn the reporters out of doors.

'Yours very truly,
'SALISBURY.'

July 10, 1872.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I am very much obliged to you for a copy of your work on the Athanasian Creed, which I received at Hatfield on Saturday, before I got your letter. I have read it—or at least the greater part of it; and have derived from it no less pleasure than instruction.

‘Yours very truly,
‘SALISBURY.’

MacColl was now busily occupied in organizing a public meeting in defence of the Athanasian Creed, and he asked Lord Salisbury to preside.

October 29, 1872.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I only received your circular this morning. I am sorry that I shall not be able to be in town to-morrow. I only write now to beg that the proposition that I should take the chair at the proposed meeting may not be made, as I should be compelled to decline it. I deprecate any such meetings under existing circumstances very much. We are too weak for such a policy. We shall only call forth much more powerful meetings on the other side; and we shall thus, possibly enough, irritate the anti-Church party in the House of Commons into taking action. Our extreme weakness in both Houses of Parliament must not be forgotten. In the present state of lay feeling, our best and only safe organ is the Lower House of Convocation.

‘I am bound to add that the “Platform” of the proposed meeting is not quite to my mind. I do not know what will come of the deliberations of the Bishops; but I am not prepared to protest beforehand against any measure the Church may think fit to adopt with reference to the times or circumstances under which the Creed shall be used in the public service. Such a course seems to be hardly consistent with any kind of ecclesiastical order or subordination.

‘Pray, therefore, suggest some other chairman to the meeting to-morrow.

‘Yours very truly,
‘SALISBURY.’

December 8, 1872.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I have thought much on your letter. I do not think my speaking would be of much use—because as a layman I could not treat the Creed doctrinally, and to treat it from a political point of view, i.e. from the point of view of expediency, would be incongruous before an assembly such as this is likely to be. But I agree so far that speaking is a very different thing from taking the chair. The latter commits one to responsibility for the holding of the meeting. The former does not.

‘As to the impolicy of the meeting I still feel strongly. I have had an opportunity of speaking to Mr. Gladstone on the subject, and I find that the inclination of his mind is in the same direction as mine. He is equally impressed with our extreme weakness in Parliament. Any aggressive action on our part would only give new vigour to our opponents : and it is not our game to precipitate a struggle.

‘My information as to the Archbishop differs widely from yours. I believe he will be satisfied with an Explanatory Note. If I am right, then I think our policy clearly is to let him lead : not to attempt to take the lead out of his hands. He can do what we cannot do—silence the Broad Churchmen. If he takes a sound line, we may then, by the help of the Prime Minister and the Chancellor, prevent Parliament from moving. If it does move, we certainly shall have the secular penalties removed ; even if we can save the rubric from alteration. I am very anxious, therefore, that nothing should be done to put the Archbishop wrong.

‘As to speaking—it is a matter of minutest importance—but I had rather not pledge myself till I have had the opportunity of seeing the Archbishop, which I hope to have shortly.

‘Yours very truly,
‘SALISBURY.’

December 13, 1872.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—Dr. Liddon’s opinion joined to your own undoubtedly is an element of great importance in this matter.

‘ I am ashamed to keep you waiting for an answer on so trivial a question as whether I should speak at a meeting or not. But the momentous character of the subject makes each man’s course a matter of severe personal responsibility. I am not able to decide on my own course till I have seen the Archbishop. I am not usually afraid of a combative policy : but on this question I am nervously apprehensive of the dangers of such a course.

‘ I will write again in two or three days. I am afraid I shall have guests on Tuesday so that I cannot come up.

‘ Yours very truly,
‘ SALISBURY.’

Christmas Day, 1872.

‘ DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I re-enclose Mr. Kingsley’s letters. I am much obliged to you for having given me the opportunity of reading them.

‘ From what I hear I do not think the proposed meeting can do any harm now—and therefore if you wish it I shall be willing to move or second the second resolution. But I quite concur in Canon Kingsley’s feeling as to discussing such subjects from the platform : and therefore, if you have engaged any better man for the part, I shall very gladly give way.

‘ I think on all sides the *magnitude* of the task of interfering with the present status of the Creed is growing on men’s minds.

‘ Yours very truly,
‘ SALISBURY.’

The meeting was held at St. James’s Hall on January 31, 1873. Lord Salisbury made a vigorous speech, from which the following is an extract :

‘ It is a small matter comparatively that consciences would be wounded, and deep resentments would be excited, and probably a formidable schism would be created ; it is a small matter compared with that frightful evil that men would come to look upon the Church as having deserted her sacred mission, and having sunk to the level of those

Protestant communities abroad—at Geneva and in Paris—where the faith which the Athanasian Creed proclaims has been openly abandoned. Such a result might be obtained by the help of those scrupulous consciences whom we respect, though we regret their efforts; but it would not be the scrupulous consciences that would reap the ultimate results. Behind the thin line of scrupulous consciences we see the vast forces of unbelief. The scrupulous consciences would win the battle; the forces of unbelief would gather the spoils of victory.’

February 17, 1873.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I enclose the corrected proof. As far as we have gone, the events have justified your view. The politicians have met a bigger obstacle than they expected, and are fighting shy. I trust it may continue so: but the tactics were hazardous.

‘I have not at present heard of any intention to moot the question in either House of Parliament.

‘Yours very truly,

‘SALISBURY.’

The Session of 1874 was signalized by the debate on the Public Worship Regulation Bill.

June 9, 1874.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I have been unwell and have consequently been rather hard pressed, or I would have replied to you before.

‘The objects in the Bill which I have been most anxious to secure and which at one time seemed very doubtful, were the appointment of an independent lay-judge, and the Bishop’s Veto on all suits. These are now in the Bill. But a consent to the latter could not have been obtained in certain influential quarters without a “neutralization” clause.

‘I agree that, if the clause is to be looked on as a bargain, it is a bad one. But I cannot see that in itself it can do harm. No one would advocate litigation on the points named in it: why then not remove the penalties? The clause is, I understand, framed on the principle of including

only ambiguous and obsolete rubrics—those of which the meaning is much disputed, and those which for generations have been disregarded without challenge. The only other rubric that might come into this list is the Vestments rubric. But here you are confronted with the practical difficulty—that either you must make *all* vestments (including surplice) optional—which is more than we should like : or you must specially name chasubles in the Bill—which would make nine tenths of both Houses faint with horror.

‘All this discussion on my part is, however, wholly speculative. The line taken by Lord Limerick and his supporters has so profoundly irritated the House of Lords, that the Government has lost all hold over them. After the ill-advised division of Thursday last the Archbishop has become practically supreme. He has found it out—too late, fortunately, to recall some of his concessions. The Government (even if I could direct its action, which of course I cannot) is powerless now. Last night we were beaten two to one by the Bishops—both Front Benches and Lord Shaftesbury voting in the minority. So that we are the last people to whom you should appeal.

‘Yours very truly,

‘SALISBURY.’

August 15, 1874.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I am much obliged to you for your letter. I was very glad indeed that we were able to keep the Bishop’s Veto unbroken, as I looked upon that safeguard as intensely important.

‘Touching the scene in the Commons on Wednesday week, I think it is fair to say that the tone which his remarks seemed to bear was disavowed by him immediately.¹ Whether it occurred to him while he was speaking, or whether he received any suggestion on the subject when he sat down, I do not know : but, within a couple of hours of his sitting down, I received a note from him saying that he had attempted a humorous defence of me, that he feared it had

¹ Lord Salisbury had criticized the Bill, and Disraeli, referring to those criticisms, described their author as ‘a great master of gibes and flouts and jeers.’

been badly executed, and would look ill in the report, and disclaiming any unfriendly meaning. The extreme promptitude of this explanation precludes the idea of any intervening change of feeling.

‘That Sir V. Harcourt has some such idea as you suggest is very possible.

‘But it rests apparently with him alone.

‘Yours very truly,

‘SALISBURY.’

November 10, 1876.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I am very much obliged to you for your kind letter.

‘The task they have put upon me is undoubtedly a very stiff one.¹ It depends more on others than on us, whether anything satisfactory can be effected.

‘Believe me,

‘Yours very truly,

‘in great haste,

‘SALISBURY.’

August 24, 1884.

‘DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—I am much obliged to you for your letter. The rumour² in question has not reached me—and I should certainly not have believed it—if for no other reason, on the ground of style. The article to which you refer evidently comes from the camp-followers of the Conservative army, who want plunder, and are angry with me because they think, perhaps justly, that I am not going the right way to get it. Escott is a good deal mixed up with these people. But I am puzzled at the writer’s having heard of the contents of Disraeli’s letter, which was known to very few. It was written almost immediately after the speech was made (at a morning sitting), and I got it that afternoon before I left the India Office: and therefore, as D. never kept copies of his letters, it could hardly have been seen by many on his side—and on mine only I think by three or four.

¹ Lord Salisbury was just setting out for the Conference at Constantinople.

² It was rumoured that MacColl was the author of an article in the *Fortnightly Review*, in which the incident described in the letter of August 15, 1874, was narrated.

'I am much indebted to you for the favourable criticism in the *Spectator*. Mr. Hutton's interpolation is a curious case of survival of expressions. That impersonation of "the people" as a thing you can love or hate—or be the "foe" of—belongs to the dialect of the French Convention. It means nothing. However unchristian he may think me, does he imagine I hate the people who vote Tory as well as the people who vote Radical—the people who cheer me as well as the people who hoot me?

'The only restraint I should like to impose on the liberty of the Press would be to make political abstractions penal.

'Yours very truly,

'SALISBURY.'

October 13, 1884.

'DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I am afraid that I shall have so much to do when I go back that I cannot venture to accept any such engagement as that which you propose;¹ though otherwise it would have given me great pleasure to do so. But my time is more fully engaged with somewhat unprofitable occupations than I like to think of.

'I regard such conspiracies² as you mention with much philosophy. *Cantabit vacuus coram latrone*. They can strip me of nothing that I value. The story about Bismarck is a curious myth. I have not had the slightest communication with him. Do they imagine he cares for such as me? He cares for people who dispose of armies—and for no one else.

'I think you have noted the essential issue between me and my opponents in this Franchise controversy. They imagine that the large majority of the people are neutral, deciding according to current events on each election. I do not think so. As long as the Established Church lasts, it cannot be so. There is a huge kernel of permanent Radicalism consisting of Nonconformists of all grades, and of a small number of anti-religious sectaries of the Continental type. Round them is a zone of professional politicians—men who

¹ MacColl's Parochial Luncheon.

² Contrivances to oust Lord Salisbury from the Conservative leadership.

are Liberal by family tradition, and by reason of their own pledges and exertions in past times; whose personal importance depends on their political creed. This zone is also comparatively permanent. Outside them, again, comes the zone of temporary adherents, who fall away in times of rebuke. I do not believe the permanent element to be a majority of the people; but they are quite large enough to be capable of being invested with the powers of a majority by a suitable distribution of seats.

‘I am,

‘Yours truly,

‘SALISBURY.’

November 18, 1884.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I only write a line to thank you for your letter.

‘You will have seen that terms were offered to us which we thought we could accept, without betraying our trust; and that being so, we were glad to take a step towards closing the controversy.¹

‘Yours very truly,

‘SALISBURY.’

March 22, 1885.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,— . . . I quite agree with you in disliking the Soudan war. It promises no good results.

‘Our complaint is that we have been brought into such a position that retreat will be even more injurious than persistence.

‘Ever yours truly,

‘SALISBURY.’

December 10, 1886.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I only got your letter yesterday.

‘I am afraid that I cannot agree with you about Irish Home Rule. Even if I thought it desirable—which is to me an impossible supposition—I should not think that I was at liberty to propose it. The effect of Peel’s conduct

¹ On the Franchise Bill.

in 1829 and 1846 has always seemed to me deplorable. The only person among our statesmen who has a right to propose a Home Rule Bill is Mr. John Morley. But I believe and hope that our resistance to it will be successful.

‘Yours faithfully,
‘SALISBURY.’

December 13, 1887.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—The matter to which you refer has passed by—and is now a matter to me of complete indifference.¹ I am much obliged to you for asking my opinion, but I do not desire to influence your action in the matter in either direction.

‘I think that Lord Derby and Lord Beaconsfield had both acquired an exaggerated view of Turkish vitality and power, and they both thought that my recommendations sacrificed too much of the Turkish Empire.

‘Yours very truly,
‘SALISBURY.’

February 25, 1897.

‘DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—I am much obliged to you for your letter of the 22nd conveying to me the very sorrowful intelligence that Lady Waterford had gone from among us.²

‘Her life, in many respects, was too sad for words, though she had all the material conditions of happiness for which men struggle. Throughout her sorrows she preserved a saintly character, and her influence has brought help and guidance to many minds. Though it is a sad bereavement for many friends, one cannot regret that one, with such a character, has found unalloyed peace at last, and that her sorrows have ceased.

‘The daughters are deeply to be pitied.

‘Believe me,
‘Yours very truly,
‘SALISBURY.’

¹ A supposed frustration of Lord Salisbury's policy in Eastern Europe, by Lord Derby when Foreign Secretary.

² See p. 241.

October 19, 1897.

‘DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—I am much obliged to you for your letter of yesterday, and for the Russian translation of your work on the Eastern Question which you sent me at the same time. You commend to me its beauties as a specimen of Russian printing. I am afraid those are the only ones of its merits I am qualified to appreciate, and I fear I am too old to learn.

‘Believe me,

‘Yours very truly,

‘SALISBURY.’

October 14, 1898.

‘DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—I am much obliged to you for your letter of yesterday. It is rash to be sanguine with respect to the issue of any Eastern negotiation; but I hope we are in sight of a satisfactory conclusion to the Cretan negotiation.

‘I am afraid the upshot of our experience during these last two years is that the Concert of Europe is too ponderous a machine for daily use.

‘Yours very truly,

‘SALISBURY.’

September 6, 1901.

‘MY DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—I agree—and have long agreed—in the expediency of a closer friendship with Russia. By predilection I am an old Tory, and would have rejoiced if we had been able to maintain the friendship with Russia which existed in 1815.

‘But the possibility of improving our relations is constantly growing more questionable. Other Statesmen are acutely watching the Chess-Board of Europe: and they perfectly know that a real sympathy between Russia and England would place the other Great Powers in a very inferior position. Therefore they will lose no opportunity of hindering such a consummation: and unfortunately they have too many opportunities of doing so, for they can offer enlargement of Russian territory on the Chinese, the Persian,

and the Turkish frontier, and we cannot do so. Another insuperable difficulty lies in the attitude of what is called public opinion here. The diplomacy of nations is now conducted quite as much in the letters of special correspondents, as in the despatches of the Foreign Office. The result is that there is a raw state of irritation between the upper classes in the two countries, which makes any advance on the part of either Government quite impracticable. If a letter could be made to give room for further reasons, my catalogue is far from being exhausted.

‘ I wish it were otherwise : but wishing is no good.

‘ I do not, however, draw from this state of things as gloomy inferences as you do. I understand you to fear that if we cannot cure the present evil, we run the risk of the ports of Rotterdam and Antwerp falling into hostile hands. I cannot convince myself that there is any chance of such a calamity, until we have fallen far lower in the scale of nations than has happened yet.

‘ Believe me,

‘ Yours very truly,

‘ SALISBURY.’

September 9, 1901.

‘ MY DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—I am much obliged to you for your paper on “ Bismarck’s fall ”—which I will read. When I was at Berlin in 1878, Odo Russell told us one morning that Bismarck had been saying to him “ I have spent a sleepless night thinking of the entirely exposed condition of my country’s frontier towards Russia.” This is in harmony with Lord Dufferin’s story.

‘ Yours very truly,

‘ SALISBURY.’

MacColl left the following account of his intercourse with Cardinal Newman :

‘ Newman’s beautiful style always fascinated me, I read everything of his on which I could lay my hands, and my

mind became so imbued with his style that I think I could after a time recognize it anywhere. When I found a clue to anything of his that was buried in some magazine or review or journal I went to the Reading-room of the British Museum to read it. On one of these occasions I chanced to pick up a thin pamphlet bound in boards which consisted of letters addressed to the *Times* and signed "Catholicus." They were a criticism of an address delivered by Sir Robert Peel at Tamworth, in which the great Statesman expatiated on the advantages of secular knowledge in elevating humanity. Newman's criticism on this address led him to criticize some similar utterances by Lord Brougham. I doubt if Newman ever wrote anything quite so brilliant in a light yet most penetrating vein. I concluded at once that "Catholicus" was Newman, and was greatly surprised on finding a notice of the pamphlet in a religious magazine, which confessed an entire ignorance of the authorship.

'It was said, I know not with what truth, that the Editor of the *Times* was so struck by the brilliancy of his letters that he offered Newman £1800 a year if he would join his staff, and that Newman asked if he could have a free hand, or, on the contrary, be always bound to express the opinions of the *Times*. The answer was that he would be expected to express the opinions of the *Times*. Newman, though comparatively a poor man, declined the offer.

'I forget what induced me to write to Dr. Newman, as he then was ; but I received a most kind letter from him in reply written in that clear, small, neat hand which was characteristic of some other Tractarian leaders, including Keble. My correspondence with him lasted till his death. On his invitation I paid him a visit at Edgbaston, and whenever he came to London he called upon me. When in London he stayed with his old friend, Dean Church, and I used to meet him there. He had a keen sense of fun and humour, and I remember his laughing heartily over a story told in my hearing by the Rev. William Palmer of Magdalen, brother of the late Lord Selborne. The story, which I repeated to Newman in Palmer's own words, was this :

'A lady asked Palmer if the Russians were not very

superstitious, and fasted a great deal too much. "Let me tell you a story," said Palmer, who spoke in a rather thick voice, as if his tongue was rather too large for his mouth. "A German Lutheran pedlar was once travelling in the interior of Russia with his bag upon his back, and arrived one night at the house of a poor peasant, who made him welcome, and entertained him as he best could. It was Lent, and the peasant asked the pedlar to share his Lenten fare, which consisted of some black bread and cucumbers. The pedlar, not relishing the fare, opened his bag and took out a fat sausage and, opening a clasp-knife, cut off a slice which he began to eat. The pious peasant was so shocked by this outrageous breach of the Lenten fast, that he got up and went behind the pedlar and split his skull open with a hatchet." Newman was immensely tickled by this exhibition of "Piety."

'On another occasion I met Newman at breakfast at the Deanery of St. Paul's. The Dean left Newman and myself sitting at the breakfast-table, while he and the rest of the family went to Cathedral. Presently Newman said to me: "I have not heard chanting in an English church for a long time. I should like so much to hear it again. Do you think I could go quietly into the Cathedral without disturbing the congregation?"

"Of course you can," I said. "The service is only just beginning. I will take you in: but I am sorry I cannot stay with you for I am obliged to go to Clifton this morning." I took him into the Cathedral and left him. In the next *Church Times* I was surprised and grieved to read the following:

"Last Monday, a venerable white-haired clergyman, with rather shabby clothes and hat, was seen to make his way into St. Paul's Cathedral just after the service had begun. Presently a verger went to him and said, 'We want none of your sort here,' and turned him out."

'I dined at the Deanery a few days afterwards and asked the Dean if he had seen the paragraph in the *Church Times*. He smiled and pulled a letter out of his pocket, which he

handed to me. It was from Newman. He, too, had seen the paragraph, which he pasted on the top of a sheet of notepaper followed by these words :

“ MY DEAR CHURCH,—On the contrary, it was a good coat and a new hat, for I was on my way to pay a visit to my friend Hope Scott, and I always make it a rule to dress well when I visit my friends.”

‘ The Dean wrote back :

“ MY DEAR NEWMAN,—But I hope the story is not true at all. For it would annoy and grieve me exceedingly that you should be treated so rudely. So I hope to hear that there is not truth in the story.”

‘ To this Newman replied :

“ MY DEAR CHURCH,—Yes there is, though it is not quite accurate. What happened was this : I wanted so much to hear the chanting, and MacColl kindly took me into the Cathedral. Presently a verger came to me and offered politely to put me in one of the stalls. I thanked him for his courtesy, and said that I preferred to remain where I was. Presently another verger came and made the same offer. Him also I thanked and said that I preferred to remain where I was. By and by I saw another verger coming from a distance with a menacing aspect, so I thought I had better leave, and I left accordingly.”

‘ Newman always wrote to me with exceeding frankness, but never tried to shake my allegiance to the Church of England or induce me to join the Church of Rome.’

[The Oratory], May 29, 1861.

‘ MY DEAR SIR,—I am glad to find that I am to have the pleasure of a call from you here, when you come to Birmingham. You do not know my feelings, if you think it would not be a subject of great interest to me to hear from you what has impressed you as to the present position and prospects of the Anglican Church—in which there are

so many truly earnest and religious men, wishing with all their hearts to learn God's truth and to do God's will.

'You must not, however, suppose that it was good news to me to find that Mr. Cheyne¹ was likely to resume his position in the Scotch Church. I know his son-in-law and daughter well; and many have been the good prayers offered that the harshness with which he has been treated in his own communion might be the means under Providence of bringing him under the shadow of the Mother of Saints.

'As to my writing on Faith and Reason, I feel most keenly the vast controversy which is in progress; but I am too old for such an undertaking.

'Very truly yours,

'JOHN H. NEWMAN.'

[Ventnor], October 14, 1861.*

'MY DEAR SIR,—Your letter has been forwarded to me here, where I am for a day or two.

'As to Anglican Orders, the *onus probandi* of course lies with those who assert them—since a new succession was begun in Parker, etc. Now I have never been able to feel that they were *proved* to me.

'However, the validity of Anglican Orders seems to me a narrow argument on a large question. First, if the essence of the Church lies in validity of Orders, then the Church is nothing else than a *family*—and Rome and England are one only in the sense in which the Israelites and Ishmaelites were one. Yet is this sufficient to the idea of a Church? Surely the Church is not merely a family, but a polity. England and the United States are one race, but not one state—is the Church one only in the sense in which John Bull and the Yankees are one?

'But surely the Church is one, not only as a state, polity, or government, but in its essence, in all times, as well as places.

'Now if I ask myself *what* is that body in the world now, which, in spite of all changes, St. Ambrose or St. Augustine would acknowledge as like what they were used

¹ See p. 15.

to—what is that Church *whose service*, did they enter the sacred walls, they would find their own, it is plain that it would not be any dissenting body, nor the kirk, nor the Anglican Church, if its Sunday service represents it, but either the Greek or the Latin—and then, when we consider the questions of government, autonomy, action, certainly not the Greek.

‘But these are large subjects which can be spoken of better, than run through in a few pages of note-paper.

‘Yours, my dear Sir,

‘Very sincerely,

‘JOHN H. NEWMAN,

‘of the Oratory.’

‘P.S.—Any number of copies of my Essay on Development of Doctrine may be had at Toovey’s, Piccadilly, tho’ the booksellers say that it is out of print.

‘As to your question about the growth of Church principles in the Anglican Church, I rejoice in the *fact*—but as to the *why*, there is another hypothesis besides that of serving as a Note of the apostolicity of Anglicanism—it may be to prepare for a large addition of members to the Roman Catholic Church.’¹

May 25, 1865.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I am not the person to consult when you want an opinion on so difficult a book as “*Ecce Homo*.” I have not had time to do it justice; nor did I find the book carry me on, as I had expected—and then, I was perplexed at the hypothesis started (which your information seems to confirm), that the writer was a man of orthodox belief, simulating liberalism. And it seemed to me there was a spirit in the book, for which I had no sympathy

MacColl wrote to Gladstone on August 1, 1862:

‘Perhaps the enclosed may interest you. What he says about St. Ambrose and St. Augustine seems specious at first sight; but surely it may be a question whether the omission, in the service of the English Church, of a good deal of what they were used to would not shock them less than the addition, in the Roman Church, of a good many things they were *not* used to.’

—and its fancifulness indisposed me to take much interest in it on its own account.

‘I tell you just what I have felt about it, because you ask me—but not as at all depreciating it—or thinking lightly of the ability of the writer (though there seemed to me a haziness about his fundamental position), or being insensible to its importance, as a sign of the times. The sensation it has made is certainly very remarkable, and means something or other.

‘If you wish to see more definitely what I think of it, I must refer you to an article in the forthcoming number of the *Month* (for June), which expresses what I should say about it, if called on to bring out my meaning fully. At the same time I by no means consider that Article a complete or adequate review of it.

‘Excuse a hasty note,

‘and believe me,

‘Very truly yours,

‘JOHN H. NEWMAN.’

‘P.S.—I know from what Mr. Gladstone wrote to me how kindly he thinks of me.’

February 4, 1866.

‘MY DEAR SIR,—Your letter is far too kind and friendly—but I gladly welcome and accept it, as showing the feelings you entertain towards me, and testifying to those of others. Of course I desire the good opinion of such persons as you represent, and I only have to pray that God will keep me from desiring it, or taking pleasure in it, inordinately.

‘I will beg your acceptance of my Remarks on Dr. Pusey’s “Eirenicon,” and, while I do so, I am going to ask you to let me leave your question without any answer, at least for the present. I have been much indisposed, and am only just recovering, and have so much writing, that I do not know how to get through it, and am very tired.

‘I had seen portions of your vindication of Gladstone already, and am glad to have it and your other Pamphlets.

‘You must not suppose I have not read your and

Mr. Oxenham's correspondence with interest, because I do not remark upon it, but it is impossible to say what has to be said in a few words.¹

'I ought to have stated above that, as I wrote my Letter to Pusey with the set view of lessening the difficulties which Anglicans feel in our *cultus* of the Blessed Virgin, what you say about my Letter is especially gratifying to me.

'I am, my dear Sir,

'Very truly yours,

'JOHN H. NEWMAN.'

February 1, 1867.

'MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I am sorry to say I have not read your article yet. The book has been on my table, and I have wished to do so, but my time is so cut up that I have not been able. Besides, so great an object cannot be taken up in an odd moment; and perhaps I find the consideration of such more fatiguing than heretofore, and my mind goes off speculating on some suggestive remark of the author I am reading, and so I lose my time. You may be sure it is one of those Essays which I shall find it a duty to read, because I expect I shall gain a good deal from it.

'I sold the copyright of the "Arians" to Lumley about ten or twelve years ago. The reprint is simply his—and, if my memory does not mislead me, I should have liked, but was not given an opportunity, to make any literary corrections in it. I am not aware that there are any mistakes in the reprint—perhaps they will be found in the original edition also. It is a very imperfect work, from the circumstances of its composition. I have nearly always had to write by the piece and to order.

'Very sincerely yours,

'JOHN H. NEWMAN.'

'P.S.—Very many thanks for, as before, your friendly language about me. As to my Parochial Sermons, I believe

¹ On 'The Catholic Doctrine of the Atonement.'

they will soon be published from the last Anglican Edition. A writer in the *Guardian* has put about a strange report about my feeling towards them, which I never heard before.'

November 4, 1868.

'MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I thank you sincerely for your Pamphlet.¹ It is very able and forcible. I hope it will be widely read. I think already I have observed use made of it in speeches at the Hustings.

'Very truly yours,

'JOHN H. NEWMAN.'

November 12, 1869.

'MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I should have answered you before this, had I not been so very busy. I will gladly send you another copy of my article, when I come upon one. As to Dr. Temple's appointment,² it is a subject on which I don't see how a person can have an opinion, unless he is bound to have one. So much can be said on either side that, unless duty enjoined it, I should never be able to make up my mind. The only point I see is, that, if all Bishops but two have spoken of his Essay severely, it is an inconsistency in them to consecrate, unless he explains first—but perhaps they have not spoken severely, in Convocation, as has been said.

'It is quite a mistake that I am writing anything on such subjects as the papers have said. It was originally given out as a piece of gossip—perhaps half with an unfriendly feeling on the part of some Catholics, who, having first spread their misstatement, next, when no book came out, follow it up with a second, viz. that it had been suppressed for some reason or other. A lie is like a shuttlecock, which two battledores can keep up with great success, if skilfully used, without its falling to the ground. The next move ought to be that it has been sent for to Rome, etc., etc.

'I am writing a small work on a definite subject, but

¹ On the Disestablishment of the Irish Church.

² To the See of Exeter.

not directly on any subject of the day, but as an enquiry into certain logical principles, and I venture to say that, after all the talk that has gone on about it, it will disappoint friends and opponents when it appears.

‘Very truly yours,

‘JOHN H. NEWMAN.’

‘P.S.—What I am writing is not a “first part,” but all I have to say—which is little enough.’

November 29, 1869.

‘MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I cannot tell whether anciently books were condemned without their authors being allowed to defend them, but we must consider how few instances were possible, in the rarity of books then published, if we can talk of publication.

‘There was no public then ; and if one wrote a heretical book, and his diocesan lived next door, he would naturally talk to him about it, and hear what he had to say. On the other hand, the great multitude of publications in a day like this, not only preclude a personal treatment of them, but make another treatment imperative. A book is thrown upon the world with the best intentions, and yet may do a vast deal of mischief. There are wrong-headed men who always have a good sense, though they use most erroneous language. *Volat irrevocabile verbum*, with a substantive, definite meaning. The Church claims to pronounce infallibly when the legitimate meaning of a book is bad, and warns the faithful. I do not mean to say that the pronouncements of the Congregation of the Index are infallible, but that the duty and the power of determining the absolute sense of a book is quite intelligible. Whether it is exercised judiciously or not in a particular case is quite another thing, but for myself I have no doubt about the principle.

‘Some Catholic papers delight in putting in gossip about me. It is a great thing to set up a puppet in order to knock it down. There is just as much truth in saying I ever dreamed of writing on Faith or Rationalism, as in saying

that any person in authority ever dreamed of hindering me ; and that is, no truth at all.

‘ I make it a rule not to notice these things except under special circumstances, for, if I said A, I must say B and C. The best answer to the present gossip will be the appearance of my little book, which will show I neither have been writing on Rationalism nor have been stopped from writing. The book is about “ Assent,” and is a very humble affair.¹

‘ I heard that Archbishop Manning considers the Day of Judgment certain to come in a few years. Whether this is better than the above gossip about myself I know not—but it is an answer anyhow to your astonishment about his Pastoral.²

‘ Very sincerely yours,
‘ JOHN H. NEWMAN.’

November 8, 1870.

‘ MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I ought long ago to have thanked you for the account of the Ammergau Representation, which you were so good as to send me.

‘ My silence was not from neglect. I read it with great interest, having already read it once, and most of it, in the *Times*. Only I have so many letters to write, I put off my thanks from time to time, but the book has all along been on my table to remind me of my duty.

‘ It forms a valuable record of a very remarkable relic of medieval Christianity.

‘ I am, most truly yours,
‘ JOHN H. NEWMAN.’

May 1, 1872.

‘ MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I am very glad to hear you are going to write in defence of retaining the Athanasian Creed in the Anglican Prayer Book.

‘ In answer to your question, first I would say, as you are aware, that the Apostles’ Creed is emphatically our Creed. As we always impose it in the sense and according to the

¹ *An Essay in aid of a Grammar of Assent.*

² *The Œcumenical Council, and the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff.*

teaching of the Church, it stands for our whole faith, as being the symbol and substance of the Apostolic *depositum*, which, received from the beginning, is defined with greater and greater accuracy and fulness of explanation as time goes on.

‘The only question is whether the so-called Athanasian Creed is one of our popular devotions, or expositions of our faith, as regards its sacred subject, recommended to the laity.

‘Here first you must recollect we have nothing answering to the Anglican Prayer Book with us, no Common Prayer. Devotions are in great measure left to the private judgment of the individual. As to the Breviary, it is not, properly speaking, congregational at all. It is the solemn prayer of the clergy, the united prayer, said by each separately from the impracticability of saying it together, though such union is recommended, and actually said by them together in chapters, collegiate churches, monastic bodies, etc.

‘Such public service the laity may attend—may join in—in some countries, as in France, have been used to join in—but they might come to church, while it went on, and say their own private prayers under (so to say) the Shadow and in the power of it, joining in heart with the Latin service, but using the while their own private prayers—under the feeling that all Christians are one, and have substantially the same needs and petitions, and that their hearts are all open to God. They would join with the choir, as being helped by them and helping them also.

‘The Athanasian Creed, as you know, comes into the Office of Prime as one of its Psalms on Sunday, and is not presented to the laity by the Church . . . except in this very indirect way.

‘But again, I have said that devotions, regarded as private and personal acts, are left to each individual, ecclesiastic or lay; this is simply the case, except that, if anyone suspected his forms of prayer to be unadvisable, he would take the opinion of his priest.

‘And further, of course the Church does express her opinion in a general way—at Rome especially, by

indulging certain devotions. These prayers are collected together in a book called the *Raccoltà*, and, though obligatory on no one, have a special sanction and recommendation from the reward annexed to their use. Not that this is decisive or final—for I recollect our Jesuit director telling us at Rome, that, if certain prayers suited us better, we ought to keep to them rather than to indulged prayers.

‘Here again the Athanasian Creed is wanting, for it is not (I believe) one of the indulged devotions.

‘But further, in each country the local ecclesiastical authority not exactly provides, but sanctions certain devotions. Hence we have various popular prayer-books, of a miscellaneous character, containing prayers and offices for all classes of the faithful and for all circumstances, such as the “Garden of the Soul,” etc.

‘Now, as to the French and Irish prayer-books, some of them, as the “Key of Heaven,” and the “Ursuline Manual,” do not contain the Athanasian Creed; but the English all of them do, viz. the “Garden of the Soul,” which dates from the time of Bishop Challoner a century ago, the “Golden Manual,” the “Crown of Jesus,” and the “Path of Heaven.” The Athanasian Creed is in all these popular books, and the use, or at least the perusal and knowledge of that Creed, is part of our good English tradition.

‘I am sorry to have had a new edition of the “Garden of the Soul” by Washbourne sent me within the last few days, in which it was left out. I wrote to remonstrate at once. Since such Manuals must be portable, the new devotions are thrusting out the old ones; but it is very hard the Athanasian Creed should go. I hear Mr. Washbourne’s edition is found fault with on other accounts—and I hope the Creed will be added in an Appendix.

‘I am glad you are pleased with my lately republished Essays. It is always a toss up whether what was written for an ephemeral purpose will bear the broad daylight of a later year.

‘Very truly yours,

‘JOHN H. NEWMAN.

May 3, 1872.

‘ MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I am sorry to hear from you that any old Edition of the “ Garden of the Soul ” omits the Athanasian Creed. I see by the *Guardian* that M. Michaud (is that the name ?) confirms what I feared about its omission in the French prayer-books. I should heartily rejoice to find it used in our popular devotions. A Jesuit Father lately suggested to me its introduction into the rite of Benediction—but I doubt whether it could be done without special leave from the Bishop.

‘ Dr. Murray is a great authority, but he speaks vaguely and irrelevantly. But perhaps *I* misunderstand your question, not he. I thought you wished to know the position of the Creed in reference to the faithful generally, whether it was *taught* them, whether it was *used* by them. That it is the authoritative Word of the Church, and the infallible answer of the Church to all her children who ask questions on the subjects of which it speaks, is quite certain. But I cannot call it the Creed of the Church, except as we talk of the “ Creed of Pope Pius IV.” All the faithful know by heart the Apostles’ Creed—all the faithful use the Nicene Creed in Mass ; but nowhere do the faithful use—nowhere is enjoined upon them—the Athanasian Creed. The nearest approach to it is its insertion in our prayer-books ; and it grieves me, as I have said, to find that, from the press of new matter, it is losing its place in them.

‘ As to your specific question, “ holds the *same* place,” I don’t think that our use of the Creed admits of being *compared* to yours. You impose it authoritatively on all your members in public worship—they all use it vocally. We have nothing answering to your Prayer Book. If *all* our “ Gardens of the Soul,” “ Keys of Heaven,” etc., etc., contained it, still this would not be more than a *recommendation* of its use—its use would be left to the discretion, the private judgment of each individual. You *impose* it ; but your *method* is one of imposition. It is no sound argument that *you* should remove it from your Common Prayer, because we haven’t it in our Common Prayer, for *we have no united, vocal, Common Prayers* ; and you might

as well say that you might leave out the Ten Commandments because we have not the Ten Commandments read in Church, for we have no imperative common prayers, such as yours.

‘The Athanasian is imposed upon our clergy, but the clergy is not the laity.

‘Very truly yours,
‘JOHN H. NEWMAN.’

May 26, 1872.

‘MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I have little to say, except that your pages read very well, in spite of their having to embody a quotation.

‘In my own words I have nothing to alter, and send them back with the imprimatur of a friend.

‘I have noticed one sentence in page 11, and should add that *one* omission of the Creed would by itself scarcely constitute a mortal sin, though, if it were omitted again and again, or omitted once through contempt of the authority enforcing it, it would be such.

‘Very truly yours,
‘JOHN H. NEWMAN.’

May 30, 1872.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I have read your sheets (pp. 1-80) with great pleasure; you have written very forcibly, and, when the subject required it, eloquently.¹ I hope the pamphlet will have a wide circulation, and will do the good which it promises to do.

‘I wish you had divided your subjects and arguments from each other, either by “1, 2, 3,” etc., at the beginning of the paragraph, or by a line.

‘Also, to go on criticizing, though of course I am truly pleased and grateful at your various references to me, I doubt the rhetoric of it. It tempts a reader to say, “What is Dr. Newman to me?”—e.g. at p. 21 might you not, instead of repeating my name, say, “as my informant says,” or

¹ *The Damnable Clauses rationally explained.*

the like? At p. 3, "Half the controversies in the world, says the same writer," or the like? At p. 24, instead of "Dr. Newman's observation," "This observation," though a word must be inserted to hinder disarrangement of the type. I hope I don't take a liberty in thus observing.

'P. 2.—I have written in my life more letters of course than I can recollect—so I am not surprised at not remembering that I wrote to Mr. Archer Butler,¹ but I did not know till now that he had published any letter of mine, and at least I don't think I ever gave him leave.

'P. 3.—Will you be so kind as to correct a false print in my last Edition (from which you have quoted) of my University Sermons, and for "each other mean," in the last line but one, print "each other means."

'P. 32.—I quoted Jeremy Taylor's "State of Man" in the first two editions of my Letter to Dr. Pusey, and Archdeacon Churton wrote to (I think) the *Guardian* to say that it was not Taylor's—consequently I left the reference out in my 3rd ed., wording my sentence "the work which had the sanction of Jeremy Taylor," for that I think it had. It is contained in Heber's edition, but, I am told, left out in Eden's.

'I have marked one or two false prints.

'Very sincerely yours,

'JOHN H. NEWMAN.'

July 5, 1872.

'MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I thank you very much for your pamphlet. I have not yet read it through—but have read enough to be very glad it runs to so many pages—and hope and expect it will have a very wide circulation.

'I see an agitation is beginning again under Lord Shaftesbury²—what is the value of it, I do not know; but John Bull does not like to be beaten, and I suppose Lord S. will do all he can in corroboration of the efforts of Dr. Stanley, etc., who are strange allies for him in any religious matter. I am glad that Dr. Pusey is out of the way in Switzerland,

¹ William Archer Butler, a Roman priest who joined the Established Church.

² Against the public use of the Athanasian Creed.

during this fresh attack—the whole question tries him so much.

‘Thank you for what you say of me in your letter.

‘Yours very sincerely,

‘JOHN H. NEWMAN.’

December 10, 1872.

‘MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—Mr. Ffoulkes¹ is one of the most impertinent men that I ever came across. Though very different, I think he is another Golightly.²

‘I should be seriously annoyed, if he is damaging your pamphlet. You know I cautioned you against introducing my name.

‘You may publish any letters of mine with all my heart—but take care you are not making too much of what may be very insignificant; it becomes great, if you make it great. A line of yours in the *Guardian* tossing off the insinuation might be enough. To answer Mr. Ffoulkes seriously is like fighting with a blue-bottle fly.

‘As to the *Guardian*’s criticism of me in September, *in re Capes*,³ I said to a friend when I read it, “The Editor is away—here is an occasional hand making play.” It seems I was right—not that I know the Editor; but the paragraph seemed out of keeping with the *Guardian*—somewhat elaborate. Be assured I did not think of it twice. My answer to Capes was quite deliberate—rightly or wrongly the very style and tone of it had a meaning.

‘Yours very sincerely,

‘JOHN H. NEWMAN.’

The Oratory, December 13, 1872.

‘MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—Certainly I ought to have observed the passage about the Bishop of St. David’s “hounding.”⁴

¹ The Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes, an Anglican clergyman who seceded to the Church of Rome and returned to the Church of England. Published a treatise on the Athanasian Creed in 1871.

² The Rev. C. P. Golightly, known as ‘The Oxford Spy.’

³ The Rev. J. M. Capes, an Anglican clergyman who seceded, returned, and seceded again.

⁴ MacColl had spoken of the Anglican Bishops as having ‘hounded’ Newman out of the Church of England.

‘ And my only excuse is that my eyes are not so good as they were, and I do not catch every word in a sentence in reading.

‘ On the contrary, I have made him an exception to the Bishops in a note on the 5th Lecture of my Anglican Difficulties, which runs as follows :

‘ “ The author can never forget the great kindness of Dr. Bagot, etc., etc. He has also to notice the courtesy of Dr. Thirlwall’s language, a prelate he has never had the honour of knowing.”

‘ I am not aware that he made any *protest* against the hounding—or did anything to hinder it ; but of course he may have done so in private, for what one knows. In his Charge at the time I think he took a distinct part against me—but in a very temperate and gentlemanlike way.

‘ Yours most sincerely,

‘ JOHN H. NEWMAN.’

‘ P.S.—Since writing the above I have found Thirlwall’s Charge in October 1842, and I transcribe on a separate paper some extracts of it.

‘ The whole passage takes up 12 pages oct. If you think it worth while to reprint it, I will willingly, since your mistake arose from my carelessness against my better knowledge, bear the expense of it. I think I was occupied with *the* subject of your book, and my eye passed over whatever did not directly belong to it.’

[*From the Bishop of St. David’s Charge, October 1842.*

‘ . . . Some much more important, as well as difficult questions are suggested by the last Tract of the Series, entitled “ Remarks on certain passages in the 39 Articles.”

‘ . . . It has been sometimes represented as if he (the author) held it allowable for one who subscribes the Articles to reject their obvious, liberal, and grammatical sense, and to substitute another more conformable to his own pre-conceived notion of Catholic doctrine. This is a principle which would be alarmingly dangerous, if it were not so flagrantly absurd. But I do not perceive that it is implied

either in the account which the author gives of his object at the outset, or in the concluding remarks with which he meets a supposed objection (p. 60).

‘ . . . The arbitrary misuse of the word Protestantism by which its meaning has been limited to a mere negation of everything that men on both sides profess to revere (p. 69).

‘ . . . I have yet to learn that such views and feelings are inconsistent with the obligations of a minister of our Church, or with a sincere attachment to her (p. 70).

‘ . . . I am aware, my Reverend Brethren, that the language of moderation is commonly least welcome where it is most needed. . . . Be on your guard against the illusions of names and phrases, and against the influence of authority in this matter, etc. (p. 72).’]

December 29, 1872.

‘ MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—Accept from me for yourself and all dear to you the best wishes of the Sacred Season.

‘ How could the *Dublin* say, or whence did it gain the report, that I had “revised” your Pamphlet? I never see the *Dublin*, and did not know that it had said so, till you told me of Mr. Ffoulkes’ impertinence. I am sure the report did not come from this place. We have no dealings with the *Dublin* or the *Tablet*, and, though it is just possible that some one in this house saw your proof-sheets on my table, yet it is very unlikely—and even if anyone did, he would not think about it, understand it, or report it.

‘ I have a very dim memory about Dr. Thirlwall’s name, but I now think I did see the passage—passed it over, saying to myself, “I suppose he is referring to something that has come out, or that was done at the time which I do not know.” My knowledge went no further than 1842. But my memory has got so confused that I might easily be made to contradict myself, if I were cross-examined in court.

‘ Yours very truly,

‘ JOHN H. NEWMAN.’

‘ P.S.—I am amused to find that Mr. Ffoulkes has been overset after all by a Palæographer. As to his book you

were kind enough to send me, shall I send it you back, or add it to others which I have on the controversy? I don't especially esteem it, but I have already some to match it.'

January 19, 1873.

'MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—Had I known what Bishop Thirlwall had said in his Charge of 1845, I don't think I should have thanked him for his courtesy in 1842.

'Very truly yours,

'JOHN H. NEWMAN.'

January 4, 1875.

'MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—On Mondays I have no proofs from London—so I take up my pen to wish you a very happy new year, and to try to make up, as far as a few words can do so, for my silence hitherto.

'As to Mr. Ward,¹ you can tell me nothing more extravagant about his view of me than I know already. He has told my friends that I am in material heresy, that he would rather not have men made Catholics than have them converted by me, and that he accounts it the best deed of his life that he hindered my going to Oxford by the letters he sent to Rome, etc. He is so above-board, and outspoken, that he is quite charming. It is the whisperers, and I have long suffered from them, whom (as Dickens says) I "object to." But both whisperers and out-speakers had received a blow over the knuckles from Fessler's pamphlet, which has the Pope's approbation, and simultaneously with its being known in this country I have been afforded an opportunity . . . by answering Mr. Gladstone, to break a silence which I so long have observed.

'In saying this, you must not suppose that my direct reason for writing was to protest against men like Mr. Ward—time will answer them without me. But it so happens that the intense indignation, which Mr. Gladstone has excited among Catholics, has led to their being very pressing with

¹ W. G. Ward, Editor of the *Dublin Review*.

me to come forward, as otherwise I should never have done. Of course, I may make mistakes as well as others—but it is well for the world to be told that those wild views, which have been put forward as the sole and true Catholic ones, are not what they pretend to be.

‘As to Mr. Gladstone’s letter, I think it quite shocking. I should not have thought it possible that a statesman could be so one-sided. With you I agree most fully that “he wears his heart upon his sleeve,” but that does not seem to me an excuse for charges so serious, so inaccurate, and so insulting.¹

‘I suppose I shall be out in a week or ten days.

‘Very sincerely yours,

‘JOHN H. NEWMAN.’

March 6, 1875.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I should have answered your letter before this, had I not been so busy. Not that I have done a great deal, but when the time is taken out of the day which my Priesthood and our Rule, and meals, and exercise, and the weariness of old age exact, little time is left for work or letters.

‘Nothing, of course, can be kinder than Mr. Gladstone’s language about me—it is of a character indeed to frighten me. As to his argument, I feel about it, so far as it concerns *me*, what I felt about his first pamphlet—that it is most difficult to find what he means to be his reasons for the definite and specific positions which he takes up against me; and, while I am waiting for them or looking about for them in the jungle in which they lie, I find he suddenly proclaims himself victor and marches off to another point. I hope I don’t seem ungrateful to him in your eyes for thus speaking, for I really do believe one reason of this appearance in his controversial method, is his great desire to deal tenderly with me; but in consequence it has cost me some trouble

¹ In November 1874 Gladstone issued a pamphlet called *The Vatican Decrees considered in their bearing on Civil Allegiance*, and in February 1875 a second, called *Vaticanism: an answer to replies and reproofs*. Newman’s reply to Gladstone’s attack was called *A Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*.

to do justice to his arguments. However, I have no thought of provoking the controversy, though in the next edition of my Letter I shall add a Postscript making two or three remarks on his "Vaticanism," in defence of what I have said.

' One of the incidental disadvantages of a General Council is that it throws individual units through the Church into confusion and sets them at variance . . . so was it at the first century, the third, the fourth, the sixth, and the seventh. The consequence is schism and heresy. I am neither surprised then at the rise of the Alt-Catholics on one side, nor at the extravagances of Dr. Ward, etc., on the other. Of course no one can write without mistakes, and in details my recent Pamphlet doubtless may be rightly criticized by Catholics; but it is my great comfort and happiness to find it has been generally accepted by all shades of Catholic opinion both in England and Ireland, as substantially unexceptionable, and, as time goes on, I think this will be felt more and more.

' Most truly yours,

' JOHN H. NEWMAN.'

July 11, 1877.

' MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I am very glad to have your two valuable books, and thank you for them. They are books for a library, not only interesting at the moment—and I have to thank you also for your friendly language in them about me.

' I was very glad, too, to meet you at the Deanery the other day. Did not you promise, when here, that you would come here again, if you came this way ?

' Very truly yours,

' JOHN H. NEWMAN.'

August 15, 1877.

' MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—You must not look upon the book which I am about to send you as a polemical mission—but you have been kind enough to send me several books, of great interest, and I do not like not to show that I am

grateful for them—and I have no other means of doing so than what at first sight is an awkward one.

‘You must not forget your promise to call here if you come this way.

‘Very truly yours,

‘JOHN H. NEWMAN.’

[Rednall], April 16, 1883.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I feel some shame in having to say that I have a very vague notion what the Affirmation Bill is, and a simple ignorance what the Amendment to it may be.

‘This has led me to read your printed letter over twice or three times, and I have come to the conclusion, which on the whole I suppose is right, that the Government propose to substitute an affirmation for an oath on fresh M.P.’s, and that the Conservatives prefer a profession of Theism in some shape, with the option of not taking it granted to each Member.

‘You will think my want of interest to be strange; but I think it implies that in the main I agree with you. At least, two years ago, when the question of protesting against abolishing the Parliamentary recognition of Almighty God came before me, I felt that, since Christianity had ceased to be the religion of Parliament for many years, the God of the Christians was no longer the God of Parliament, and I did not see what was gained by acknowledging any God but Him Who in Scripture and the Creed is defined to be “Maker of heaven and earth” and “Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.” I had other reasons for being indisposed to protest, but this I believe was the main one. But when you ask me whether you may print my words, I do not feel that it is my place to do now what I did not do two years ago.

‘Very truly yours,

‘JOHN H. CARD. NEWMAN.’

[Rednall], April 26, 1883.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—There is one consideration which, since I wrote, I learn from the Papers, which I think would

weigh with me, if I had to give an opinion, not to take so active a part as you are taking.

‘Perhaps I am mistaken in my fact, but it is stated that great numbers of Anglican laymen all through the country, as represented by parochial petitions to Parliament, are shocked at what seems to them a sanction of atheism. Perhaps you will say that the petitions are really the work of one or two men, e.g. the Incumbent in each parish; and that the people did not get nearer to the truth than to suppose that Gladstone was an atheist. But if, on the contrary, it is a genuine protest against atheism, and a fear of its spreading, have we a right to throw cold water on what we may at a later date seek in vain for in the religious sentiment of the nation?’

‘This consideration would be sufficient to lead me to keep neuter, though one might think the *vox populi* illogical.

‘Very truly yours,

‘JOHN H. CARD. NEWMAN.’

April 28, 1883.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—Don’t think me inconsiderate, if I send you a brief letter. Thinking and writing tire me.

‘The logic of the passage you have marked is undeniable—but a case, which is clear in the abstract, does not stand, it may be, with the same strength in the concrete. I suppose this is what is meant by “*Summum jus, summa injuria.*”

‘The Arians had an animus, a directness, and a purpose which cannot be imputed to the statesmen who in the course of years have altered the Parliamentary Oath.

‘For myself I have declined taking part for or against the present Bill. It never has been my line to take up political or social questions, unless they came close to me as matters of personal duty; and this Bill, by being rejected, would bring so little gain to religion, and by being passed, would be so little loss, that I did not see reason for taking a side.

‘I hope you got my second letter which I posted at Rednall.

‘Very sincerely yours,

‘JOHN H. CARD. NEWMAN.’

May 3, 1883.

'DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—Thank you for your kind interposition. To suppose that Hurrell Froude and I had contemplated even the bare idea of being admitted to communion at Rome is monstrous—too monstrous to gain credit, and I think every reader of Sir William Palmer will think with you. The *Spectator* will insert a letter of mine.

'Most truly yours,

'J. H. CARD. NEWMAN.'

February 6, 1884.

'MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I recollect nothing of the occurrence you relate, and cannot fancy my having a view of Mr. Gladstone so precise and confident as that you report. I much doubt whether I ever formulated in my mind a view of him, though I always should have spoken of him with friendly feeling and interest, and of course admiration of his gifts moral and intellectual.

'I am too near dear Hope-Scott¹ to write of him—also, I am not up to any serious exercise of mind now.

'My brain works slow, and gets soon tired.

'Yours very truly,

'JOHN H. CARD. NEWMAN.'

April 27, 1887.

'DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—I am glad that the negligence of the London Booksellers allows me to ask your acceptance of the volume which contains the "Dream of Gerontius" Burns and Oates have it always on hand, and it is advertised in every copy of every volume of mine, whether theological or not.

'It is an old complaint that bookshops save themselves trouble by saying that books are out of print. I am glad of this opportunity of hearing from you and writing to you, so this neglect is my gain.

'Did not poor Palmer die suddenly ?

'Very truly yours,

'JOHN H. CARD. NEWMAN.'

¹ J. R. Hope-Scott died April 29, 1873.

January 16, 1890.

‘DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—I have always felt the flattering words you have used of me, and I acknowledge them still.

‘Yours very truly,

‘J. H. CARD. NEWMAN.’

The immense authority attaching to the character and intellect of Dr. Döllinger, and to his action at and after the Vatican Council, seems to justify a copious selection from his letters to MacColl.

‘It was,’ says MacColl, ‘in the month of May 1870 that I first met Dr. Döllinger. I was on my way to witness the decennial representation of the Ober-Ammergau Passion Play, which was then very little known in England, and of which I promised Mr. Delane a description for the *Times*. It was also the year of the Vatican Council, and Dr. Döllinger was the foremost figure in the opposition to the Dogma of Papal Infallibility, which was the great and absorbing question of debate. For this reason, and also because of his immense learning and his great personal charm (of which I had heard from friends of his), I was anxious to make his acquaintance. I chanced to mention my wish to Mr. Gladstone, who at once kindly offered me an introduction, and gave me at the same time an interesting account of his first meeting with Dr. Döllinger, twenty-five years before. I called on Döllinger in company with a friend of Welsh origin. On greeting him, Döllinger said: “You are Welsh”; and went off forthwith into a digression on the unsuspected traces of Celtic origin which still survive in the language and nomenclature of persons and places in England. His mind was a wonderful store-house of knowledge on a vast variety of subjects, and the knowledge was so well digested and assorted that it was always ready to his hand. He was a great linguist and an omnivorous reader in the literatures of modern Europe and America, as well as ancient Greece and Rome; and

his acquaintance with men was as various as his acquaintance with books. Hardly any man of note passed near Munich without calling, not always with an introduction, on the great German theologian and scholar: and many made long journeys on purpose to see him. He was an excellent correspondent, considering the vast number of letters which he received from all parts of the world, from Royalties downwards. But he never allowed his correspondence to interfere with his hours of study and recreation. He preferred to write in German, but wrote fluently in English, French, and Italian. He read Spanish with ease, but I do not know whether he wrote or spoke that language. A man may be highly intellectual and full of knowledge without being necessarily a good talker. It is impossible to define a good talker, for the accomplishment is infinitely various. Dr. Döllinger seldom dined out: but he once did me the honour of dining with me in the Four Seasons Hotel, Munich, to meet some friends, including the then Bishop of Southwark, and Mr. Talbot. He delighted the men with a variety of his knowledge and charmed the ladies with the brightness and lightness of his conversation, and with his familiarity with topics which they had supposed must have been beneath his notice. He was full of humour, and I have never known a man with a keener sense of the ridiculous, or who laughed more heartily. But there was never any malice in his humour: like summer lightning it irradiated without hurting the object upon which it played. Mr. Gladstone declared in an obituary notice of this great theologian that he never heard him speak an unkind word even of those whom he might reasonably regard as his enemies. . . . One subject which was very near the heart of Dr. Döllinger was the reunion of Christendom. He believed that union between the Christian bodies outside the Roman Obedience must precede reunion with Rome. With that end in view he invited two Conferences at Bonn, in 1874 and 1875, of representatives of the Orthodox Church in Russia, Greece, and Turkey; of the Anglican Church; the American Church; and leading Nonconformists. He himself drew up the programme

of each Conference, which embraced the cardinal differences which divided Christendom with a view to a possible concordat. I attended the second Conference, and I can never forget that tact, learning, intellectual grasp, and debating ability of the venerable President, Dr. Döllinger. On the last day of the Conference he stood in the middle of the room where we were assembled and spoke for five hours, three hours before luncheon, and two hours after luncheon. He had not a single note; he never hesitated for a word; his voice never failed him for a moment, and he looked as fresh and vigorous at the close of his address as if he had been a listener instead of a speaker. It was a marvellous exhibition, both of mind and body, for a man of seventy-one. He was a man of wiry frame, slim, agile, and with a thatch of hair which began to show streaks of grey only within the last few years of his life. He lived a regular and abstemious life. Rising at five in the morning, he said Mass (before his excommunication) after dressing, and breakfasted at eight. After breakfast he went to his Library and worked steadily till one, when he dined. After dinner he took a long walk for about two hours, and happy was any man who was privileged, as I often was, to share his walks. He poured out a stream of information, interspersed with anecdotes, on every variety of subjects; sometimes standing for a while to elucidate more plainly some point that particularly interested him. After his midday meal he never tasted anything more that day. He went to bed between eight and nine. During the latter years of his life he used to spend a month or two of each year at Tegernsee with Lord Acton and family, and I was invited, one year, to join him there. He led a very active life to the last, and was accustomed while at Tegernsee to have a good swim in the lake every morning before breakfast. He continued this habit while he was well over eighty. Indeed his activity was, humanly speaking, the cause of his death. For before he had quite recovered from a severe attack of influenza, he took his usual cold bath and received a chill, which carried him off at the age of ninety-two.'

Munich, March 23, 1872.

'MY DEAR SIR,—Pardon my laziness in answering your first letter. I wished to be able to communicate to you something not quite commonplace respecting the Athanasian Creed, and began to make researches; but now I must not wait longer for an uncertain result, and besides, I believe that your English controversialists have pretty much exhausted the matter. So I confine myself to answering your questions.

'In the Roman Catholic Church the Athanasian Creed is part of the Sunday Office in the Breviary, as you are aware; consequently it is read aloud by all the Canons and Vicars in every Cathedral or Collegiate church; but otherwise it is not in use. Whenever a profession of faith is to take place (or ordination, or academical promotion, or admission to the Roman Catholic Church from Protestantism) it is always the creed of Pius IV which alone is used.

'Laymen are generally not acquainted with the Athanasian Creed, they don't find it in their prayer-books, and I believe the damnatory clauses would sound rather shocking in their ear. Of course the theologians in their scholastic treatises on Trinity and Incarnation use the formulas contained in the Creed as a paramount authority.

'A layman who assists in a Cathedral church (or a Collegiate one) to the Sunday service, at an early hour (for instance here in the Theatine Church at 6) may hear the Canons reciting the Athanasian Creed, in Latin, but generally nobody pays attention to it, and so it comes that the laity is scarcely acquainted with the formulas.

'With regard to the question of the author, I have looked over again what has been written in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but I find that everything is conjecture, and that no name, that has been proposed, can claim a particular probability above the others.

'The second volume of the "Documenta" published by Friedrich, I will send immediately.

'Believe me, dear Sir,

'Yours truthfully,

'I. DÖLLINGER.'

October 8, 1874.

‘MY DEAR MACCOLL,—We have sadly missed you in Bonn, and I would have given much to have seen you in the ranks of your countrymen, who all, I must say, behaved excellently, and claim the praise of having decided the victory which the spirit of peace and brotherly love gained over sectarian prejudices in our conference. When I left Munich for Bonn, my hopes were mixed with fears, and I could not help feeling rather depressed, but the event surpassed my hopes and gave the lie to my apprehensions. What you propose, a journey to England and my forthcoming at the Brighton Congress, would be a burden too heavy for my shoulders. I would perhaps follow your call, if my age, instead of being 75, were only 45. But I trust that others, you among them, will plead there the noble cause, in which we feel interested, with more eloquence and better success than I could do. I feel confident that those questions, which we have not touched or not settled in this first meeting, may be brought to a satisfactory conclusion in a future meeting. The more I study those questions, the less I can discover insurmountable difficulties. One of the most knotty points is the Eucharistic doctrine, particularly with regard to the Oriental churches. But even there I don’t despair.

‘But now the most important concern is, not to let the movement once auspiciously begun get asleep again. Gladstone, with whom I have had long conversations, is full of interest for it, and, I trust, will lend it his support. He entertains the idea of getting published a collection of the irenic writers of the seventeenth century, if he can find a fit man to do the work. Then we must try to obtain for our next meeting at the end of August the participation of one or two delegates of the Eastern Patriarchate. This, I suppose, will principally depend on our finding the money for defraying the expenses of their journey. And what may be done to keep alive the goodwill and the interest of the English? Pray let me hear soon from you.

‘Yours,

‘I, DÖLLINGER.’

July 23, 1875.

‘MY DEAR MACCOLL,—I trust you will not sit in judgment upon the sins of omission which as a correspondent I am guilty of too often—*habes confitentem reum*, but let me tell you, in a few words, first, that I thank you heartily for the kind gift of your last work ;¹ (2) that I congratulate you upon the highly favourable reception it has met with in England ; (3) that I expect to meet you on the twelfth of August in Bonn, where a good work is to be done by us in common. The Orientals will be there in good representation by competent men, and with peaceful intentions. Two Archimandrites from Constantinople have just arrived.

‘Try to persuade Gladstone to come with you. . . .

‘Ever yours, with true friendship,

‘I. DÖLLINGER.’

‘I am told that the Bishop of Winchester² finds himself unable to go to Bonn this year—is there no other Bishop or Dignitary who might be persuaded to come ?

‘I had almost forgotten to thank you for the copy of the translation of the “Bericht,” as well as for the trouble you took in it. I could scarcely hope that in such a short time you would become such a good German scholar. The meeting at Bonn will make you even more perfect in that respect.’

December 8, 1882.

‘MY DEAR MACCOLL,—Since I expressed my readiness of assisting the editors of Palmer’s work with my advice and help, circumstances have come to my knowledge which are changing the whole aspect of the enterprise. A fact, which I was not aware of, is that the author himself is to concur in the revision of his work, a concurrence which will make your task much more easy ; but then also it would be quite inconvenient to take liberty with the text,

¹ *Lawlessness, Sacerdotalism, and Ritualism.*

² E. Harold Browne.

to change or modify passages, etc., for in many cases such attempts could not have the author's approbation; an exchange of letters with proposals, objections, questions, would become unavoidable, and as Mr. Palmer and myself are both aged men, such an expense of time would become burdensome to him as well as to me, for you must not forget that I am near my 84th year, and have plenty of literary and academical business on my hands.

'Then there is another fact which changes the position. Until lately I believed that our friend Dr. Liddon would throw his great energy and knowledge into this work, and, as he is already acquainted with German language and theological literature, I thought I might assist him by pointing out to him the best books or articles in Reviews, etc., to be consulted, as well as by conversation and personal debate in case he should come to Munich and stay here some time. But now Dr. Liddon is, I suppose, entirely taken up by writing the *Life of Pusey*,¹ and I don't know how far your acquaintance with German language and theology can be reckoned upon. And here allow me to observe, that the statement in your announcement of my ecclesiastical position is not a correct one. The fact is, I have not ceased to be a member of the Roman Catholic Church, but I am under excommunication, simply because I refuse to change the faith which I have been taught and have been teaching myself for 50 years. I refused to swear that I believed the truth of a newly made dogma, which ruins the whole economy of religion and church; and you know that, according to the general doctrine of divines and canonists, an unjust excommunication is in itself void and null. Consequently I consider myself as being still a member of the Church in which I was born and educated. I am still in undisputed possession of the ecclesiastical dignity which was conferred upon me some 30 years ago.

'I think I need not point out to you, that under these circumstances a connexion of my name with the forthcoming work would be utterly preposterous.

'Pray observe that I don't wish to be made the

¹ E. B. Pusey died September 16, 1882.

object of a public rectification ; it is only for your own information I have mentioned the matter.

‘ Believe me, dear Sir, with the greatest regard and friendship to be

‘ Truly yours,
‘ I. DÖLLINGER.’

December 14, 1882.

‘ MY DEAR MACCOLL,—Mr. Greig¹ shall be welcome in Munich. I think this plan a very good one, and I will do my best to make it succeed. Munich, with its excellent library and the facilities of use they offer, is perhaps a more fit place for such a literary task than even Oxford or Cambridge. Mr. Greig may choose his time, I shall be in Munich till the beginning of August without interruption. I congratulate you on the acquisition of a previous collaborator in the person of Dr. Littledale ; pray tell him that I think his “ Plain Reasons ” as excellent in its kind, and a model of fair discussion.²

‘ Believe, with true friendship and kindest regard,

‘ Yours,
‘ I. DÖLLINGER.’

March 17, 1883.

‘ MY DEAR MACCOLL,—I have to thank you for the books which you were so kind to send me. Being all of them the offsprings of your elastic, fruit-bearing brains, these children certainly do credit to the parent. Up to this day I have only found time for a superficial glance, but I propose to read them attentively.

‘ Meanwhile I beg to be allowed to differ from your tenderness for the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed, which I could never digest.

‘ You will soon see Mr. Greig ; he will tell you more about the book in hand than I have time to write. The great

¹ A clergyman who was to collaborate in the revision of Palmer's book on the Church.

² *Plain Reasons against joining the Church of Rome*, by R. F. Littledale, LL.D.

difficulty—and to a certain extent it is unconquerable—consists in the difference of views.

‘A work like the “Treatise of the Church” must be and remain the creation of one mind, and here we are three, each of whom has his own darling ideas. If there are to be four, I fear the book would only fare worse. I have tried to convince Mr. Greig, that what Sir William Palmer has written, must in the main and essentially remain unchanged. But for the details I refer to Mr. Greig’s oral communications with you.

‘Yours sincerely,
‘I. DÖLLINGER.’

[June 8, 1885.]

‘MY DEAR MACCOLL,—I am obliged to stay in Munich till the beginning of August. I am kept in town by a mass of occupations resulting principally from my position as President of the Academy of Sciences—but we shall find time sufficient for conversations, and, if I can be of use to you, I hope also to get information from you respecting the state of English affairs, etc.

‘Meanwhile,
‘Yours sincerely,
‘I. DÖLLINGER.’

[Tegernsee], August 26, 1887.

‘MY DEAR MACCOLL,—I hasten to answer your letter and begin by correcting a mistake which seems to have been produced by a loose or inexact expression in my last letter. Lord Acton could not invite you to occupy a room in the villa we live in (1) because the house does not belong to him but to his mother-in-law Countess Arco; (2) because every nook and corner in the villa is filled up by the two families—the Arcos and the Actons, their children, governesses, etc. But there are here three or four good hotels, at a distance of eight or ten minutes walk from the villa.

‘In my opinion it would be more convenient not to wait till the whole work is finished; because the adoption or

introduction of a view or principle or even the change of a passage in the former part of the work will probably with necessity lead to changes or additions in the latter part.

‘I think it most desirable that Dr. Liddon should come along with you, his presence at our consultations could not but be most welcome and useful. Pray tell him, that it would give the greatest pleasure to myself as to Lord Acton to see him here.

‘Many thanks for your notice respecting Mr. Gladstone’s good health ; of course he is the theme of daily conversation between Lord A. and me.

‘Always yours
‘with the kindest feelings of friendship,
‘I. DÖLLINGER.’

November 8, 1888.

‘MY DEAR MACCOLL,—As far as I can now recollect, the fact which you mention is stated and discussed in the *Analecta Juris Pontificii*,¹ a French periodical, published in folio in Paris and Rome. But I cannot quote the volume and the page, I have it not at hand, and I cannot spare the time which a search would require.

‘Yours faithfully,
‘I. DÖLLINGER.’

The attack on the Athanasian Creed, which was promoted by Archbishop Tait in 1871–3, had the unexpected result of rallying Charles Kingsley to the defence of the imperilled symbol. There can be no need to describe that remarkable man, so we may go direct to his letters

¹ [The reference is *Analecta Juris Pontificii*, huitième série, pp. 1670–1685 —‘Is the Cephas reproved by St. Paul the same as the Apostle Peter?’ *Analecta Juris Pontificii*, vii. 897.

For American ordination see *Analecta* xxiv. 1119, under the heading of ‘Ignorance.’

The reference to the South American ordination of descendants of native Indians to the fourth generation is in *Analecta Juris Pontificii*, vol. 4, pp. 1681–3 (huitième série).—M. M.]

addressed to Malcolm MacColl as Organizing Secretary of the meeting to which reference has been made on p. 273.

October 30, 1872.

‘MY DEAR SIR,—Engagements will render it quite impossible for me to attend your Committee, and absence from home yesterday prevented my receiving your letter in time to answer by yesterday’s post.

‘You may be aware that I have signed the addresses from both Archbishopsrics, recommending some change: but, in my case, only in the sense of an alteration in the Damnatory Clauses. I should allow even that with very great reluctance, as a concession to the invincible ignorance of eschatology which fills the modern Puritanic and Lockite mind.

‘But I would rather have no alteration at all, than lose the Creed as an element of public worship.

‘But—and this is most important to me—may I ask if it is altogether the best way of doing our work, to organize public meetings about England—or even to have a central meeting in London? I dread, from experience, all public meetings when discussion of high and holy things is likely to be mixed—as it must be—with somewhat of controversial temper. . . . My dread is lest we should cast that which is holy to the dogs of criticism, and our pearls before the swine of frivolity and ribaldry. Surely this is a matter rather for prelates, divines, and scholars, than for public meetings, which are always of the world, worldly, and of the flesh, fleshly; let us try as we may to keep them spiritual. I could not attend such a meeting: because I could not speak my heart about that precious and noble Creed, as I could in the pulpit. My rule has been, to preach the Athanasian Creed from the pulpit, in season and out of season; to ground not merely my whole theological, but my whole ethical, teaching, formally and openly on it; to prevent as far as I could people from thinking it a dead formula, or even a mere string of intellectual dogmas. And if I seem (from my experience) to dare to offer a suggestion to your Committee, it would be—to call on all

clergy who value the Creed to preach on it continually and make the congregations feel something at least of its value.

‘ But I only speak with hesitation, and am ready to be convinced if I am wrong.

‘ In any case, let me say that any matter which puts me into communication with you, gives me pleasure.

‘ Believe me, my dear Sir,

‘ Yours very faithfully,

‘ C. KINGSLEY.’

December 24, 1872.

‘ DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—Of course, after the kind words from you and others which your letter contained, I must, if possible, be present at the meeting. But my plans (I am about to leave home for some time) are so unsettled that I cannot promise unreservedly. I shall have little more to say than what I said in the paper which I sent you.

‘ I wish I had seen the latter half of Liddon’s letter. What you sent me ended with a But—and I am naturally anxious to know if he had an objection to my opinion, as any objection of his would carry great weight with me. Can you let me know more of what he thinks on it all ? I don’t know him, or would write to him.

‘ I have meant often to write to you : but I have had most painful parish business, and also a dying Mother, now, thank God, recovering ; so you must not misinterpret my silence,

‘ But believe me,

‘ Faithfully yours,

‘ C. KINGSLEY.’

January 9, 1873.

‘ MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—Will you kindly thank Canon Liddon from me for his courteous and able letter, and tell him that I am sorry any vagueness of words of mine should have caused him the trouble of writing it ? I fully accept his statement as the “ safe, probable, and orthodox ” view of a difficult question, and I am sincerely pleased to find that he and I are of the same mind on it. I quite see the force

of your argument, that the Committee could not put this view forward prominently, considering that it has to conciliate men of different opinions. Still, I hold to my belief that only by putting it forward (at least in the Explanatory Note) can we finally save the Creed.¹

‘If I can come to the meeting I will. But my plans are most unsettled, owing to illness in my household.

‘Yours sincerely,

‘C. KINGSLEY.’

January 31, 1873.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I am, to my regret, unable to be present at the meeting to-night. But I cannot let it pass without asking leave to express my strong sympathy with its object.

‘I have long held that the general use and understanding of the Athanasian Creed by the Church of England would exercise hereafter (as it has exercised already) a most potent and salutary influence, not only on the theology, but on the ethics, and on the science, physical and metaphysical, of all English-speaking nations.

‘I believe that that influence was never more needed than now since the great French Revolution of the last century; and I am therefore the more jealous at this moment of the safety of the Athanasian Creed.

‘I feel for, though I cannot feel with, the objections of many excellent persons to the so-called Damnable Clauses. But I believe that those objections would die out were the true and ancient Catholic doctrine concerning the future state better known among us; and therefore, in the event of an explanatory rubric being appended to the Creed in our Prayer Book, I should humbly pray that it may express, or at least include and allow, that orthodox and salutary doctrine.

‘Believe me,

‘Yours with sincere good wishes,

‘CHARLES KINGSLEY.’

¹ Kingsley's view was that the 'Warning Clauses' of the Athanasian Creed refer to an intermediate discipline, not to final reprobation.

If there was no need to describe Charles Kingsley, there can be still less to describe James Anthony Froude.

MacColl and Froude had little in common, either in the sphere of religion or in that of domestic politics, but they were drawn together, by their hostility to Turkey, in the Eastern Question of 1876-8.

October 14, 1877.

'MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I will attend to-morrow if I can, but it is uncertain whether I shall be able, and you will not expect me. Meanwhile, good service might be done in the direction which you indicate, by collecting the speeches of D'Israeli and other Conservatives during the Crimean War when they were in opposition. Our delightful Premier has seen an opportunity of setting Europe on fire, and terminating his own political career with an illumination like the last scene of a pantomime with himself to grimace and bow like Harlequin on the front of the stage.

'The editors of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Telegraph*, and *Standard* must, I conceive, hold Turkish securities.

'Yours faithfully,

'J. A. FROUDE.'

December 18, 1877.

'MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I fully meant to attend the meeting of which you sent me a card, but I mistook the day and went yesterday afternoon. I am very sorry.

'I suppose you know that there is fresh danger in the wind, and that watchfulness is more necessary than ever. Lord B. will again try to commit the country to a position from which there will be no retreat, under this appeal for mediation. If he can be baffled this once, I think the Turks will give in. I believe we are safe while Lord Salisbury and Lord Carnarvon are in the Cabinet. But Lord B. is as subtle as Satan and as determined. He knows as well as we do that his own reputation is at stake, and that, if Turkey has to submit to terms imposed upon her by Russia and Germany, he will be held responsible even by

the Turks themselves for all that they have suffered and will suffer.

‘ Watch, therefore, you know not the hour, etc.

‘ Yours faithfully,

‘ J. A. FROUDE.’

‘ Madame Novikoff’s letters are being reprinted. I have written a few words of Preface to them.’

December 31, 1877.

‘ MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I return Gladstone’s letter with my best thanks—the crisis is now very near. May the country be as wise and staunch as I believe it to be ; but I cannot conceal from you that among the best affected there is a real fear that the War Party will soon be in a majority if they are not so already. Lord B.’s hope is that Russia will return an answer to the communication which he has made that will irritate the national vanity, and that he will have the game in his hands at the moment when Parliament meets. Those who retain their senses are afraid that we are too weak to make an effective demonstration before the opening—that if we try and fail, we shall strengthen Lord B.’s hands ; and they think that we ought to reserve our strength, whatever it be, till he has betrayed his real intentions. No harm can be done by spontaneous Neutrality meetings, but an organized agitation is held to be premature.

‘ I heard it said to-day confidently that, if Russia refuses to allow our mediation, or to state her demands in so moderate a form that for shame’s sake we must admit them to be just, even Gladstone himself will then withdraw his opposition to war. I cannot believe this—but such an opinion is in the air.

‘ Pray let me know what you hear from him.

‘ Faithfully yours,

‘ J. A. FROUDE.’

December 19, 1878.

‘ MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I read the pamphlet last night without guessing it to be yours. The publication of the

Report (?) of the Rhodope Commission, i.e. of the pretended opinions of Fawcett and Layard, is unfortunately only one of the many disgraceful things which the present Government has done. Retribution is slow in this world, but it is sure. One of my greatest regrets in the whole matter is that the old Tory party in England has committed suicide, and that the wreck of it can exist henceforth only as a faction.

'I have not seen the Bishop of Gloucester's letter, nor shall I look for it.¹ I have but a very slight acquaintance with Ellicott—my chief remembrance of him is at a dinner many years ago when I made a fourth with him, John Parker, and Buckle. Buckle talked, as he generally did, the eloquent commonplaces of Atheism. Ellicott and I sat afterwards for some hours talking him over by John Parker's fire, and while Ellicott was giving me his opinion of Buckle, he was enabling me to form mine of him.

'I suppose he is bidding to succeed Tait at Canterbury.

'Faithfully yours,

'J. A. FROUDE.'

'I have many strange correspondents. You will be interested in reading the accompanying letter from General Cluseret (who commanded the Communist army in Paris in 1870). He is now at Constantinople—you will see he evidently looks to a war between England and Russia as a signal for a fresh effort of the Internationalists in Europe. Russia is their more formidable enemy, from whom the English aristocracy are to deliver them!! You will send me back the letter when you have read it.'

May 21, 1880.

'MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I should have liked extremely to have joined your agreeable little party on the 26th. Unluckily I am engaged and cannot extricate myself.

'I fear it is for the present true that the Government have decided against Sir B. Frere's recall. The Liberal party.

¹ C. J. Ellicott, Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol.

however (or a large part of them), are not satisfied with this resolution. A deputation goes to the Colonial Office on the 27th to press the appointment of a Commission—and perhaps Lord Kimberley may find it prudent to consent. Chesson tells us that he expects you to be present. I hope it is so to be.

‘ Faithfully yours,
‘ J. A. FROUDE.’

Mr. Richard Holt Hutton, one of the most original characters, and one of the most influential writers, of his time, was editor of the *Spectator* from 1861 to 1897. Between him and MacColl there existed a very close sympathy, founded in great part on their common devotion to Gladstone; and, though Hutton renounced Gladstone's leadership when Home Rule was propounded, and became a melancholy critic of his former idol, his friendship with MacColl remained unabated.

‘ My connexion,’ said MacColl, ‘ with the *Spectator* extended over twenty years, and I look back upon it with unalloyed satisfaction. My close contact with two such minds as Mr. Meredith Townsend and Mr. R. H. Hutton was in itself a liberal education. . . . Hutton was, perforce, erudite in general literature, especially the literature of England, Germany, and France, with a strong bias towards philosophical and theological studies, as anyone who has read his two volumes of *Essays, Literary and Theological*, will admit. I remember Mr. Gladstone saying to me once that he regarded Hutton as the “ finest critic of the nineteenth century.” And with it all Hutton was one of the most genial, affectionate, and lovable of men. If ever a man was doing good in his generation and deserved to be happy in this life, this is certainly true of Hutton. Yet his life was in his later years overshadowed with sorrow and ended prematurely in pain. His death made a great blank in my life, as I am sure it did in the lives of not a few who never knew him personally. His middle articles in the *Spectator* week by week, so full of thought and insight and

originality, were a joy to many who never saw the author. He left instructions that no Life or Memoir of him should be written. It was like his modesty, his humility, and reserve in all that concerned his inner life. Brought up a Unitarian, the theology of that religious community failed to satisfy his religious needs and cravings, for reasons which he has fully explained in his Essay on "The Incarnation and the Principles of Evidence."

'I made his acquaintance through my little book on the Ober-Ammergau Passion Play, which interested him and induced him to see the play with his own eyes. On his return he asked me to become a regular contributor to the *Spectator*, which I did. He was a man of profoundly religious mind.'

Hutton to MacColl

'April 22, 1880.—I have been thinking of the great desirability of the extraordinary fidelity of the Welsh getting itself acknowledged in the new Government. Would it be possible to acknowledge it better or more gracefully than by making Mr. Dillwyn, the Member for Swansea, the new Chairman of Committees in Mr. Raikes's place? There is no fairer-minded man in the House and none more sensible, and hardly one who has studied the forms of the House so carefully and given so much time to matters of that description. There has been no follower of Mr. Gladstone more personally loyal, and there is no man below the gangway, except Sir Charles Dilke, whose appointment to any office of trust would do more to strengthen the Government with the Radicals.

'Mr. Dillwyn is very popular, too, personally, with the Tories; he is a good shot and a good angler, and in that way knows almost all the country gentlemen who were Members of the last House. Of course, like all the Welsh Members, he is for Disestablishment, but that will hardly come up at present, and certainly his appointment to that *kind* of position will not give any support to the idea

that the Government favoured Disestablishment. Indeed it might do something to make that party reasonable and moderate.'

'April 5, 1885.—I am staying away from Church though it is Easter Sunday and though it is a great sacrifice to me to lose the Communion on that day (there was no early service in these parts) because the Athanasian Creed so jars me; so I may as well put in writing what I want you to consider as the subject. My view is that when a Church says solemnly to its people, "Whoever wishes to be safe, he must *before all things*" either be or do anything, it should really specify something that ninety-nine men out of a hundred can be and do, and will find it to be to their moral and spiritual benefit to be or to do. Now, undoubtedly, if the Creed had gone on to say that to believe in a God of perfect righteousness is "*before all things*" necessary for the formation of the character by which alone we can enter the state of the blessed, I should have accepted it with all my heart. But what does it go on to say? It says he must "*before all things*" accept the Catholic faith as it goes on to define that faith. Now I reply that of all good men and women living, of all who are, so far as we can say, likely to enjoy the blessed Vision of God for ever and ever, not perhaps one or two in a hundred, at least in England, do or can hold the Catholic faith *as so defined*; because they cannot even appreciate the difficulties which lead to their definitions or understand at what the definitions are aimed. Well, then, I say that the Creed is not for such people a practical one, and that the solemn words with which it opens, and the more solemn words with which it concludes, fail of their effect because all the exposition, which makes the drift of the Creed, is not adapted for the state of mind in which ordinary English men and women go to have the conditions of salvation announced to them. What they do want is a clear announcement of the law of righteousness, and of the law of belief *so far as it is essential to righteousness*. The Apostles' Creed answers the last demand admirably.

The Nicene Creed, which is accompanied by no solemn warning of eternal punishment, yet announces the mystery of the Incarnation in words which make everyone sensible of the supernatural character of the redeeming love. But the Athanasian Creed, which is implicitly preceded and explicitly followed by much more solemn denunciations of wrath against those who fail of justifying belief than either of the others, goes into minute subtleties of belief quite unfitted for the popular mind, and wholly unfitted to the character of the warnings by which these definitions are accompanied. If such warnings had been annexed to any Creed, it should clearly have been to the Apostles'. Any man can follow that, and it may be said that very few who cannot accept such a Creed will have faith enough in God to make his life what it ought to be. But I do hold that to select the one Creed which goes into distinctions of the utmost complexity and difficulty as *the* Creed to which awful warnings of this kind should be attached, is one of the greatest blunders ever made by the Church.'

'*January 24, 1886.*—Your pamphlet arrived (unsewn) only on Friday afternoon, quite too late for notice, and I can only just now read it.

'It is a very good *ex parte* statement, but how you can regard it as impartial, or venture to call it "Arguments for and against Home Rule" I cannot imagine. If you had called it "Arguments for Home Rule and vague, loosely conceived pleas against it," it would have been nearer the mark.

'Of course there is much of your pamphlet with which everyone will agree, but I venture to think that it will not be the critical portions of it. It seems to me that the whole pamphlet is penetrated by one or two most important and most serious suppressions of evidence,—of course I do not mean intentional on your part, but quite unconscious.

'You throughout argue for Home Rule in the assumption that Ireland has been in the same wholly oppressed and wholly unrepresented condition that Bulgaria was in before the Congress of Berlin. What can be more utterly

inconsistent with the facts? And the importance of it is this. You assume that we have no means of judging how freedom can act on Ireland. To a very great extent Ireland has had freedom; at all events a freedom of which Bulgaria never dreamed. We have seen how she has used it—to complain of anything like justice enforced against grave crime; to obstruct the government of the one man who had given her the Land Act in every way in her power; to encourage the refusal to pay any but a rent at “prairie value”; to turn out a Government for inflicting righteous punishment on a gang of murderers. How is it *possible* to speak, as you do, as if Home Rule were a *terra incognita* that could bring out all the best side of the Irish people? The Irish party of Mr. Parnell are the party Ireland approves: their tactics are what she approves; their crimes are what she regards as virtues; their ingratitude and hatred of the Liberals are what she glories in. We are *bound* to argue from what the Parnellites recommend and do now, to what they would recommend and do if they were in complete command of Ireland. It is perhaps not absolutely certain that it would be just the same; but it is by far the most reasonable and wise basis of an argument which we can assume. Bulgaria, with all the influence Ireland has wielded for 20 years back in such a Parliament as the English, would have got all she wanted long ago.

‘Your argument appears to assume throughout that Home Rule is always good. You say America and Austria are strengthened by it. Austria was strengthened by it only because she was so composite and heterogeneous before, that she must have gone to pieces without it. America was not strengthened by it, for she never had anything else. But your argument, as applied to England, is like saying that France or Italy would be strengthened by it. Home Rule in a very composite empire is inevitable, but instead of strengthening a real kingdom, it eminently weakens it. Nor is it a bit true that Mr. Parnell is, as you say on page 71, asking for nothing near so large as the American State Government. He is, in one respect at least, asking for something much larger. He asks for the

whole taxing power including any change he pleases in tariffs. You never even deign to consider the enormous difficulties of withdrawing what is once given; and the unwillingness of Parliaments to declare war practically, so that interference would be sure to be postponed till the gravest mischief had been done. But a more one-sided argument I never read; though it is able enough as a mere barrister's case.'

'January 27, 1893.—I fear this letter of thanks may never reach you, for I believe you said you were leaving to-day, and I never took the address of your yacht. But I believe they have it in the office below, and will get it before posting this letter. It is so good of you to have thought of giving me something, and what you have sent me is as convenient and beautiful as the thought of it was kind. If it would please God to give me a little direct communion with His spirit, how easy it would be to tell Him one's wants and hopes for others and all one's most eager thoughts and desires. But He keeps me so far away from Him that it seems almost like an impertinence to pray for one's friends, for if one cannot get one's own "daily bread"—consciously at least—it is almost an act of arrogance to meddle in the spiritual and moral life of others. Nevertheless, my dear MacColl, I often think of you with the heartiest affection, and would even pray for you if I did not feel my prayers about as useless as those of the bad king in Hamlet.

My words fly up, my thoughts remain below:
Words without thoughts never to heaven go.

'Thank you *from my heart* for this last proof of your unvarying kindness and the patience with which you have constantly borne my own irritable and too hasty political expressions.

'I trust you will find warmth, brightness, and peace in Egypt—I mean peace of mind and heart (as well of course as the peace of the poor country itself). I have begun to think peace nearly unattainable on this earth, but that is

only the result of personal calamity, and I trust you prosper better both spiritually and in matters of a more temporary nature. It will be something to escape from the depression of these eternal fogs and darknesses. God bless you.'

'October 30, 1893.—You are, like the rising generation of Liberals, a most sanguine man. Fancy advocating a Court of Arbitration which should have power to determine with what rate of profit the various bodies of employers are bound to be contented! I believe, as it is, that most retail tradesmen get, and expect to get, 15 per cent. Large companies like the railway companies, the mining companies, etc., are generally content with 5. But do you think they would be content if, instead of limiting themselves to 5 per cent. of their own free choice, a State Court were to decide for them that they *should* only have 5 per cent. (or less); or again that the labourers would be content if a State Court decided for them that they were bound to accept 4s. a day or less? It seems to me that trade is possible at all only while both parties keep their free right of choice undisturbed.

'I think a Court of Arbitration which had to decide on very *minor* questions—such as this, whether at a given rate of wages the employers could secure the rate of profit they might think essential, whatever that was, or whether at a given rate of profit the labourers could be paid the rate of wages they thought essential and get the *number* of days' work in the week they thought essential—might be useful. But your idea of a final authority as to the rate of wages to be paid and accepted, and the rate of profit to be gained, would be fatal to trade. You *cannot* make employers throw their heart into work with the terms of which they are utterly dissatisfied, and you cannot make labourers throw their heart into work with the terms of which they are utterly dissatisfied. I am alarmed and amazed at your rapidly growing belief in State authority. I believe in commerce the free consent of the parties on both sides is of the very essence of anything like success.

'As to Gladstone, I feel very little doubt that your view of his character is much truer than Townsend's,¹ but I think you underrate his *unconscious* eagerness and haste to see the fruit of his own passionate desire to solve the Irish question. I never knew a more premature act (even assuming that the policy were right) than the launching of the Home Rule policy on the world in 1885 before the effect of the land policy had been so much as gauged. That Gladstone prays to be guided right I have no doubt. That the precipitation of his own impatience constantly leads him to misunderstand God's teaching, I have no doubt either. I feel no manner of doubt that the whole disaster of our modern situation is due to his impatience and utter carelessness as to the reflex effect of this Irish policy on Wales, Scotland, and England. He is setting up self-will in all corners of the United Kingdom, as a consequence of his violent haste to find something for which the Irish will be grateful.

'As to your sermons, I do think you might preach a most valuable course of subjects of the day on Democracy, its lessons and its dangers. You will probably be too democratic: but you might perhaps gain a hearing for some very needful warnings by your too great sympathy with democratic cries. At all events you are the last man to ignore the tyranny of the multitude, which is often as blind and selfish as the tyranny of the classes.

'I think I agree more with W. G. Ward about Pusey than I do with you. I regard the English Church as a compromise and as one to which it is impossible to be loyal in the sense in which Romanists are loyal to Rome, because I don't think her infallible and I do think that the evidences of her fallibility are conspicuous on the very face of her compromises. But she is wide and liberal and allows a good deal of freedom even in rejecting her own tenets as far as the laity are concerned. But I can't look upon her as a mother to whom *great* deference is due.

'Now I must close this captious letter.'

¹ Meredith Townsend, joint editor of the *Spectator*—a passionate Unionist.

‘*November 23, 1896.*—I am really very uneasy about you, and wish you would go to see Dr. Archibald Garrod. You neglect yourself too much. I am afraid that long stretches of misery harden one’s heart and put one out of sympathy with others, unless one is a saint, which it is not easy to be. But I don’t think you are hardened by it as I am; and I am sure, though it is of a different kind of misery, you have had as much, or perhaps more, to bear than I have—more of loneliness, though less perhaps of poignant grief. And very likely the loneliness is worse. God grant that all the sacrifices you have made in so just a cause¹ may bear their full fruit at last. Do let me know that you are better.’

Richard William Church, Dean of St. Paul’s from 1871 to 1890, is admitted on all hands to have embodied all that was best in the Oxford Movement—its culture, its spirituality, and its passionate unworldliness. He had a profound admiration for the great elements in Gladstone’s nature, but was keenly sensible of his defects and errors.

Church to MacColl

‘*February 7, 1885.*—It is very kind of you to write about Paget.² It is a matter in which I shall do nothing—he is much too close to me. I shall not even advise. Indeed, my own opinion is that he is doing such a good work, and learning so much, that it is doubtful whether he should be taken from it yet. But I shall say nothing.

‘The storm has indeed burst upon us, and the consequences may be very serious: and that it should have come just by the accident of a few hours makes the blow doubly keen.³ I shall ever think that Mr. Gladstone is distinguished from all the political actors of his time by the lofty magnanimity with which he has sought to subject even national

¹ The Armenian cause.

² The Pastoral Professorship at Oxford was vacant, and MacColl had suggested the Dean’s son-in-law, Francis Paget, as the best man for the post.

³ The death of General Gordon.

fame and material interest to the rules of justice and honesty—especially for that great attempt which bullies and ribalds sneer at now, the attempt at “European Concert” to bring the combined force of Christian and civilized Europe, acknowledging the duties of high civilization, to bear on the affairs of the uncivilized states. His beginning at Dulcigno was true statesmanship, and showed how things ought to be done. But he had to deal, East and West, with a very different order of people: and what seems to me his characteristic weakness came in. Being honest himself, he could not but try to treat others as if they were honest: and as if they would recognize and respect honesty in him. He has been utterly mistaken. The French began when they left us in the lurch at Alexandria. The Emperors followed suit when they saw the chance of a quarrel between England and France over Egypt; and Germany has done nothing else but blow up jealousies and heartburnings, together with insults and annoyances that in old times would have provoked a war. And it seems to me that Mr. Gladstone has hoped too long against hope that he could work with them on the basis of equity and honesty, and satisfy them of his integrity of purpose; and so he has subordinated his policy to an absolutely hopeless condition. They never will believe us. They never will cease to hate us. They never will act honestly with us. I cannot help thinking he ought to have seen this long ago, and acted with a strong hand in Egypt. The consequences could not have been more serious than they are likely to be now. French and Germans would have called us names: they will call us names and do something more now. It is the most dreary part of the outlook that a policy of honesty and real friendship, with no selfish ideas of aggrandisement in view, was tried at the end of the nineteenth century by the most wonderful and most honest of English statesmen, and to all appearance, for the present at least, has failed.

‘The Gordon incident is tragic enough; but it is only an incident, though it now naturally appeals to feelings. But it seems to me that the core of the matter is deeper.

It is that Gladstone wanted the eye to see the real character of Continental diplomacy *early enough*. How dishonest, how corrupt, how hopelessly selfish it is—that he did not take his own line, strongly and decisively, early enough—that he did not make up his mind early enough that he must act alone in Egypt, and according to what he, not the Powers, judged right.

‘Now all the villainy of the world is let loose upon him, and it is hard to say which is more hateful, French triumph or German bullying. “The very abjects come together, making mouths and cease not. The busy mockers gnash upon me with their teeth.” How the world remains the same!

‘Of course we ought to wait for his full explanation of his Egyptian policy, which has never been adequately given. It has always seemed to me a mistake that he did not do this before, on a scale worthy of the occasion—challenging the issue to the very utmost. I suppose in his own Cabinet he has had queer elements to deal with in this matter.

‘There’s a long story. It must be a bore to be at Ripon just now.’

‘*July 13, 1885.*—I have been thinking over the important matter of which you talked to me yesterday.¹

‘The question has now become one, not about editing, with whatever corrections, an existing book, but about writing an entirely new one: and that on almost the most important religious subject conceivable.

‘It seems to me essential that such a book, to be worthy of the subject, should not be merely a volume of essays, but substantially the work of one man and one mind, however much helped by contributions from others. He should not be merely an editor, but *an author*.

‘It seems to me that the person among us most qualified to speak to our generation is Mr. Gladstone himself, if he were able to take up once more the thread of his book on

¹ The reissue of Palmer’s *Treatise on the Church*.

"Church Principles," and throw his thoughts once more into a serious treatise on those lines. I cannot tell whether this is possible. I only am sure that in this way his object would be best answered, and our wishes fulfilled. If he cannot do this, who is to be the author, whose mind could mould and inform the proposed book? To save trouble, let me say at once that for me it would be impossible. Apart from any question about qualification, I am already committed to much more than I shall ever do at my age, and treacherous strength.

'Do you see your way to undertaking it, and throwing your strength into it? I, for my part, should be content. Of course, it would be a big job, and need both time and help; but it would be worth the pains. The plan might admit of large contributions from without; but the backbone must be yours, as author, not merely as editor.

'This is the way in which the matter comes out to me. I do not think that we are ripe yet for any such meeting as you spoke of. For instance, no one yet knows what Dr. Salmon is as a Churchman: and so of others. It seems to me preferable, if Mr. Gladstone would allow two or three of us to call on him at any convenient time, and discuss the preliminaries with him more freely than could be done in a meeting of people who do not know one another. You, and the Bishop of Chester¹ and myself, would be enough, if Mr. Gladstone would appoint us a time.

'Two or three names of helpers have occurred to me. 1. *Gore* of the Pusey House. 2. *Dr. Littledale* (he, e.g. could do a chapter on Casuistry). 3. *Abbey*, and 4. *Overton*, the writers on English Church History in the eighteenth century. 5. *Curteis*.'

MacColl was first brought into close contact with Dr. Liddon through the controversy about the Athanasian Creed; and the friendship so begun was cemented by their common zeal for the Christian cause in Eastern Europe.

¹ William Stubbs.

Liddon to MacColl

'February 7, 1873.—You see what the *Guardian* says about Mr. Kingsley's supporting the Athanasian Creed "as including and allowing views with regard to the future state allied to those of Mr. Maurice."

'Mr. Kingsley's own assurances to you would alone satisfy me that the *suggestion* made in this paragraph is entirely without foundation. That suggestion, I apprehend, is this—that Mr. K. does not simply hold the Catholic doctrine of an Intermediate State, in such a sense as enormously to diminish the gravity of the moral difficulties which attach, in the popular mind, to the Revealed doctrine of an Eternal punishment; *but* that he denies Eternal Punishment itself. I do not like to suggest that Mr. Kingsley should write to the *Guardian* and explain himself, (1) partly because of his expressed aversion to any letters in newspapers on these great subjects; and (2) partly because I feel the disinterestedness and generosity of his recent line much too sincerely to suggest anything which could embarrass his relations with his old friends any further. But if you could get his permission to say to the *Guardian* what he said to you, it would be very desirable indeed, in my opinion, to do so. The *Guardian* appears to suggest that in order to get support for the Athanasian Creed *we* are willing to shut our eyes to all the Truths we have been contending for heretofore—to the Real Presence, in Dean MacNeile's case; to the endlessness of the future world, in Mr. Kingsley's. There can, I fear, be no doubt about the Dean's meaning; and it is useless to cry over spilt milk; but the *Guardian* does Mr. Kingsley an injustice, and the cause of "orthodoxy" an injury, by doing so—and, if this can be set right without creating new difficulties, I know, from several conversations which I have had, that much good will be done.

'I shall be anxious to hear any impressions you may have gained since our meeting as to the real worth of the Demonstration at St. James's Hall.¹ Evidently the

¹ In defence of the Athanasian Creed.

Guardian is impressed. It is sad that a "Church" paper should care for truth in itself so much less than for the risks which will be involved in tampering with it. However, that article is a complete vindication, to my mind, of the policy of the meeting.'

'June 6, 1874.—The result of the Debate of last night is as serious as, to me at least, it is surprising. It seems to imply that the false and invidious premise of the Primate that "something must be done" is accepted by so large a majority of the House of Lords, that the success of the Bill is hardly doubtful. The acceptance of Lord Shaftesbury's amendment which destroys the Episcopal jurisdiction, punishes the cowardly bishops who have placed their consciences at the disposal of the Primate, and it punishes them quite rightly; but that does not make it less ruinous to the structural integrity of the Church. What is clear is that the essence of the Bill—a cheap and easy method for crushing the High Church School—is accepted by Parliament, and that we may look forward to the worst.

'In particular, I see no reason to think or hope more highly of the Bishop of Peterborough¹ than heretofore. In talking to you, he was suiting himself to his man, not expressing his convictions. Nothing could be worse, in my opinion, than the tone and drift of his speech at the Peterborough Conference, as reported; and he only spoke last night to damage Lord Beauchamp so far as he could. He is a clever Irishman with no hold on principle; willing to win a little popularity if he can, with us, by legally conceding a position which is ours by right; but equally willing to degrade the Holy Sacrament by procuring legislative sanction for breaking undisputed rubrics, like that which provides for administering the Elements separately to each communicant. You will find, I apprehend, that he voted with the majority last night against the Duke of Marlborough.

'Things will never be better until the Bishops—one and all—are out of the House of Lords, and have no temptation to

¹ W. C. Magee.

sacrifice the Church of God to the supposed exigencies of a temporal position. I hope and trust that this will be borne in mind ; and that, with the next turn of the political tide, something may be done. Meanwhile, you will, I trust too, write to Mr. Gladstone, and ask him to attack the Bill in the Commons. It would rally to him the heart of the High Church party : . . . *Unless* Lord Salisbury lets the Bill into Committee with a view of getting it so disfigured by amendments that it will ultimately be withdrawn, I confess I am disappointed at his line last night. As for Lord Selborne, he is an Erastian Low Churchman who trades upon the reputation of his better days.'

' June 7, 1874.—I wrote to Lord Salisbury yesterday about this truly Irish "compromise."

' You are, I think, right as to our line. (1) Resist in the first instance ; (2) If beaten, insist on a fair bargain.

' The effect is as you say. The State withdraws coercive jurisdiction. The Church's law remains untouched. One knows how this would work in the hands of an Erastianism which substitutes Acts of Parliament for the Holy Ghost ; but—even as regards the Athanasian Creed (by far the most serious part of the matter)—the Church's law would remain as it is.

' I still *hope* that you may be quite mistaken about Lord Salisbury. He will mangle the Bill now that he has got it into Committee : at least I hope so. With Mr. Disraeli, no doubt, it is as you say.'

' August 3, 1881.—Thank you much for the two articles : I am *very* glad to have them. That matter of the relation of the Koran to the civil rights of the non-Mohammedan populations admits of being worked out at much length. I have read what you say about the Tractarians, too, with great pleasure and gratitude. In some cases the modern world has begun to build their sepulchres ; but, if they were still living prophets, it would kill them all the same.'

' *August 25, 1881.*—I thank you for allowing me to see Lord Derby's interesting letter.¹

' We must both feel that the spirit in which it is written contrasts very favourably with the manner in which our report was viewed in many quarters at the time.

' But Lord Derby supposes that we came "prepared" to see something of the sort, and that our imaginations were too much excited to do justice to the real evidence of our senses. Certainly the idea of encountering any such object never crossed my mind; and, as for imagination, I was in as prosaic a mood as are ordinary English travellers on a steamboat after dinner.

' The whole story is an instructive commentary on the worthlessness of first-hand evidence of facts, in face of political or any other strong prejudice.'

' *July 22, 1884.*—I am very glad to see from *The Times* of yesterday that the Ripon Canonry is settled; and (as you will be sure), I hope and trust that it will bring with it many opportunities of usefulness and the sort of happiness which such usefulness implies. In time, too, it will lead no doubt to something else more entirely

August 14, 1881.

¹ 'SIR,—I have your letter of the 12th, and received the article of the *Contemporary Review* with it.

' I thank you for the courteous tone, and the spirit of fairness, in which you write.

' As to the question of whether your friends and you saw, or only thought you saw, the body of a man impaled, it is long since I have looked at any correspondence on the subject, and so many things have figured since, that I hardly like to express an opinion upon it.

' Nor does it seem to me that much turns on the matter in dispute.

' On the one hand it seems to be admitted that cases of impalement have occurred in Turkish provinces, so that the question at issue is only whether this was or was not one of such cases—not whether the practice itself existed in 1876. On the other hand, it is so common for the most honest and trustworthy men to suppose themselves to have seen something which they came expecting to see—especially when their feelings and imaginations are excited—that a mistake of the kind imputed to you conveys no censure. If it happened, it was an accident that might happen to any man. It is like a case of mistaken identity, which occurs continually in courts of justice. The matter is not one on which certainty will ever be arrived at; and may very well be left at rest.

' I remain,

' Your obedient servant,

' DERBY.'

congenial—at least I hope so—although in these matters we should both agree that it is not well to look forward.

‘I am amused at the theological account of you which some penny-a-liner has put into *The Times*, but it is not worth noticing. It would be curious to see how “the school of Maurice and Kingsley,” supposing it to be theological and not merely sociological, would be described: or what are the many points which you have in common with so odd a conglomerate.’

‘September 25, 1889.—Let me thank you for your article in the *Spectator*. You do my little preface¹ more honour than it deserves: and you treat Mrs. H. Ward—or rather the theory of creedless Christianity which has come to be associated with her name—with quite as much tenderness as she can claim from a Christian.

‘The French Elections have, I suppose, turned out pretty much as was expected. I should feel more satisfaction at Boulanger’s defeat, if it were possible to have any sort of respect for the existing Republic.’

December 10, 1889.

‘MY DEAR MACCOLL,—It may be as you say with the future of the City Churches, and Sir Henry Peek.² I am no prophet; but perhaps in political matters the French proverb holds good, that nothing is probable except the unforeseen.

‘It may be that before Parliament deals with the City Churches it will disendow the Church of England altogether. We must leave the Goths and Huns to their own devices. But serious adherence to religious principle on the part of Churchmen is more important than the retention of material resources: and in the long run it commands the respect of our opponents. . . .

‘I cannot answer your question as to what should be done now—as I am $\frac{1}{2}$ of a corporation which in its entirety

¹ To the Thirteenth Edition of the *Bampton Lectures*.

² Sir Henry Peek, M.P., was in favour of closing City churches.

has only half a voice in the matter as Patron. But I think that less harm will be done if the church is closed, than if the Chapter takes the initiative in pulling it down.

‘Your affectionate

‘H. P. LIDDON.’

In an earlier part of this book we have seen that the old-fashioned and timorous Chapter of Ripon, when they learned of MacColl's appointment, thought that Gladstone had performed an act akin to that of ‘bringing in a lion among ladies.’ But their fears were allayed by the new Canon's genial character and open-hearted hospitality, and they enjoyed the opportunity of meeting at his table eminent men who have won their fame in fields afar from theology and politics. One of these was Bret Harte.

Bret Harte to MacColl

‘January 7, 1889.—I think I can manage to be with you after the 15th, but will let you know *positively* before the 12th. Will that do? I need not say how delighted I should be to compass the visit. As it is, I am avoiding any engagements for that week. . . .

‘The weather here in London is simply monstrous! A high barometer, where specific levity playfully tumbles back on us all the smoke, filth, and exhalations of four millions of people, a cold fog of impure yellow waxiness, muffling you up like deadly cerements; blinded eyes, muffled ears, and smarting throats—this is what the London winter is giving us!

‘And you write of a “brilliant sky, woods, and green fields!” Even thus Falstaff “babbled” in *extremis*.’

‘March 1, 1890.—I am sending you to-day, per Parcels Post, the book referred to in the enclosed.¹ I am presuming you haven't quite forgotten your fatal request for an early copy!

¹ *A Waif of the Plains.*

‘It is a book of boyish adventure written ostensibly for *boys*, who in my opinion, however, are a little more critical and healthy than the average grown-up reader in *taste*, and a great deal less likely to be deceived by any affectation of style.

‘I am not responsible for the illustrations (which appeared when it was published as a serial), nor do I believe the *boys* should be held responsible for them either—but it is the old style of “picture-teaching” that belongs to the trade, and is considered “proper.” The same may be said of the cover.

‘I hope you are not lonely at Ripon, and that your ears are kept warm this cold weather by the burning praises I have heard from some of your late guests.’

‘*July 26, 1890.*—Very, very many thanks for the review of “A Waif” in the *Spectator*. I am almost inclined to get the book myself and read it!

‘But, honestly, I am more than pleased! It is so unpremeditated in manner that I should think you had just laid down the book; it is so intelligently appreciative and yet so free from the reviewer’s superior attitude that I have no sense of being patronized, and even forget to feel flattered! And I am so glad that you did not think it necessary to *point a moral from me*, nor belabour *anything* or *anybody else* while you were praising *me*. That used to be *my* style of reviewing when I was young and sinful.

‘If I hadn’t already promised to come and dine with you on Monday, I should make it an excuse for attempting there all that I am trying to say here.’

‘*December 11, 1891.*—I was so sorry to have been obliged at the last moment to telegraph to the Devonshire Club this morning that I could not come to Ripon. I had waited until then—even changing my plans that I might take the later (12.20) train—but the weather was so bad, and my cold still so troublesome that I thought it better not to handicap your small house-party with a

detrimental, draught-evading, weather-fearing, self-anxious, invalid again. As the last time, I was not ill enough to be left conveniently in bed, nor strong enough to be taken out in all weathers.

‘I am sorry to lose your after-dinner talks in the dining-room. I have just received my latest book from Longman’s: I had put it in my box to bring to you, but have now sent it by post. You may get a comfortable nap out of it when you are travelling.’

‘September 4, 1892.—How provoking that your convalescence should be so tardy and tedious! You do not say what Baths you are going to. I hope they are in England for your friends’ sake as well as your own, and that you will not again expose yourself to the Continent where extravagances of disease and weather seem to be rampant. Let me know where you are going. Although I am still uncertain of my own movements this autumn, I hope to compass that long-deferred visit to Ripon. And it would be delightful to meet Mrs. Henniker and her brother.

‘Now that “the King has come to his own again,” I have been looking for you high up among the honoured faithful. Why *nolo episcopari*? What would you like? Frightened as I always am of Mr. Gladstone, I nevertheless should feel strongly tempted to remind him of your just deserts, if I met him.

‘Will Mrs. Henniker really go to Ireland? I do not know where she is, or I would write her my congratulations on her brother’s appointment—if he is to be congratulated. I hear it is expensive and simply ornamental. I should think he would find the first a detriment, and he certainly does not require the second.’¹

‘Let me know where and when you are going for your baths. I expect to be in London before the end of the week.’

‘February 4, 1889.—It’s really too bad that the

¹ The allusion is to Mrs. Arthur Henniker, sister of Lord Houghton (afterwards Lord Crewe), who had just been made Viceroy of Ireland.

autographic fiend and public dinner-giver—who start into life whenever the newspapers happen to record my modest movements—should drop themselves into your letter box, and make *you* forward their effusions and pay their postages! It reminds me, too, that *I* never paid for those papers I asked you to buy for me—*Punch* and *Truth*, and something else, I think—for which I now apologetically enclose twelve stamps and ten thousand thanks.

‘I hope you are not getting lonely up there! It is very lively here in London—raining, snowing, sleeting, blowing—with brief lightning-like flashes of sunshine.’

‘*May 31, 1899.*—I was sorry I had to answer your kind note with a wire that I was engaged. I know I should have been delighted to come! I cannot remember whether I was ever at the Residence in summer; you have a way of making your company forget the seasons in your own sunshine, and the pleasant folk who bask in it.

‘I should like to have seen Mrs. Munro-Ferguson *again*, for I think I have met her *once*, though she has probably forgotten it, and I have my pleasant memories of her relations. Let us hope that I may fit in—even if I rattle round a little in it!—some future hole you may have left in your engagements.

‘I am going to read your book.¹ I am less than a grasshopper at these polemics, but I should like to understand what people are talking and writing about. And I always experience an unhallowed satisfaction in what disturbs people who are so much better than myself!’

‘*July 29, 1890.*—I should have been proud if your mantle had fallen, even accidentally, upon my shoulders, but the fact is that I came home *in my own overcoat* (a black Inverness cape) with my own name and that of my tailor legibly inscribed under the collar! It must be somebody else who is now devastating the hearts of a

¹ *The Reformation Settlement.*

susceptible sex and ruthlessly breaking the peace of families in your familiar garments.'

The most copious and outspoken of all MacColl's correspondents, and certainly one of the most interesting, was the 4th Marquess of Bath. Lord Bath was a man of remarkable distinction alike in person and in character. He was a high Tory and a High Churchman, staunch to his principles in Church and State, and he detested all compromises, equivocations, vote-catching devices, and sacrifices of faith to expediency. He differed, in some material points, from the modern leaders of the Conservative party, and he was a passionate defender of the Eastern Christians against Turkish oppression. It was in the Eastern Question of 1876-8 that he first became intimate with MacColl, and the intimacy continued and increased till Lord Bath's death.

Bath to MacColl

'November 3, 1878.—There is no security against war with Russia except in this—that when the Russians declared war with the Porte, and also last February and March, there were the same reasons for war and the same influences helping it on; we should now enter on it under much less favourable circumstances; the only additional reasons for war are that the Government are so deep in the mire that war would seem the only extrication, and that Salisbury now goes with Lord Beaconsfield. In the spring of 1877 he was decidedly against war, and in the spring of this year still hampered by his position if not by his opinions. We have no Indian troops to summon. All depends on France, and France, I suspect, intends to make us pay for the Suez Canal shares and for Cyprus.

'The Government will find, and the country also, that we cannot continue keeping the nerves of the whole world

at tension without suffering in consequence. Everyone owes us something.

‘On the 9th, at the Lord Mayor’s dinner, Lord Beaconsfield will make an effort to recover himself and party there, the occasion is one on which he always speaks best, and his especial talent is in party intrigue and in misleading the public mind. If the Liberal leaders, Forster, etc., are awaiting his performance there before speaking, they are doing wisely, but it will behove them after then to declare themselves.’

‘November 14, 1878.—I cannot tell you how many praises I have heard of Lord Beaconsfield’s speech¹ as anticipated in the *Echo*, although I kept to myself the name of the composer. I may also congratulate you on the very bitter attacks that have been made on you by the *Pall Mall*. I always think that all denunciation on the part of an opponent is more gratifying than praise from a friend.

‘Lord Beaconsfield has taken a new turn in his last speech, although so far true to himself as to persist in his lies and misrepresentations. His object is apparently to smooth matters over, to calm feeling, and, if they obtain and maintain it, to take the credit for peace—the half-menace, after he had obtained assurances they profess to consider satisfactory, is shameful.

‘I cannot make out what has been and is going on—certainly my impression was that Lord Salisbury had failed in obtaining French support to pressure on Russia, but that on the contrary France is pressing very seriously the Greek claims upon Turkey. If so, what is the meaning of the concessions Russia is making? I hope she is not about to give up Eastern Roumelia to the Turks, or to English Commissioners who would be as bad; I hope, also, she will not evacuate the other provinces till she has secured material guarantees for the protection of the Christians. I confess I am very nervous as to what is going on, and fear that

¹ See p. 61.

Russia may find herself exhausted. I am very gloomy and uneasy.

‘The state of things at home and the prospects for the winter must cause the Government great anxiety; when people are starving they will cease to admire a spirited foreign policy that has contributed to their sufferings, although it may have been accompanied by ribands and bouquets.’

‘November 17, 1880.—Our views a little cross: you anticipate difficulty, if not danger, to the Government on account of the concessions they propose making the Irish people not being sufficiently extensive; ¹ I, on the contrary, see a great danger ahead in those concessions, whatever they may be, being considered too large; in the Government being reproached with want of vigour in the maintenance of order. On these grounds advantage may be taken of the respect for law, on the attachment of all, who have anything, for property rights, and on the dislike for Irishmen that prevails among the lower orders here, to harass the Government in the House of Commons, defeat them in the Lords, and enable the Queen to change the Ministry and risk another dissolution. Something of the kind has, I am certain, been in contemplation.

‘Dufferin the other day was very strong in wishing the Government to take decisive action, and in complaining of that present torpor representative of moderate Liberal views.’

‘November 20, 1880.—Read the *Northern Echo* of the 18th and 19th, and you will see therein a very detailed and probably true account of all that has occurred in the Cabinet. There is also a threat of resignation on the part of Chamberlain and Bright. Stead, of the *Northern Echo*, is now on the *Pall Mall*, and John Morley is very intimate with Chamberlain. These hot indiscretions are most reprehensible—they involve a direct breach of the

¹ Gladstone was now Prime Minister.

Ministerial oath and of all good faith with his colleagues ; it is an attempt to bully his colleagues on the part of Chamberlain and to raise up a feeling in the country against them, and is on a par with the proceedings of Beaconsfield through 1876-7, when he made use of the Press to overpower the resistance in his own Cabinet. The curious thing is that the *Pall Mall* has, with such different objects, and under different management in each case, been a principal instrument. The *Pall Mall* also first had the information that the pressing of the Greek claims would be abandoned. I think attention should be called to these proceedings, and to the way in which, in Chamberlain's interest, Morley is working all the Provincial Press.

'As to the East, the position appears to me to be that the English Government has tried to settle matters by an understanding with France. This Bismarck has contrived to defeat ; but I am by no means sure that he himself would not be ready to come to terms with them, and, as he has no real interest in the matter, those terms need not necessarily be very unfavourable.'

'November 21, 1880.—Have received your letter of yesterday. In the face of Randolph Churchill's and Salisbury's speeches, I admit it would be an act of madness on the part of the Government to incur the risk of Chamberlain and the extreme Radicals leaving the Cabinet and supporting the Irish, with the certainty of a section, we do not know how large, of the Conservatives joining with them to trip up the Ministry.

'I oscillate according as I read Salisbury's and Bright's speeches ; the former make me a supporter of the Government, while the latter send me into opposition.

'I have often suggested to you that you should withdraw from politics and devote your mind and pen to theology, but I can no longer repeat that advice. The political situation is just now so momentous that everyone is bound to exercise what little influence he can in the cause he thinks right.

'Can you tell me if the report you have heard of the Conservative meeting tallies with my own? I was told that Northcote objected to any attempt to force on a dissolution, and was supported in that view by Cairns and Cranborne. I have also heard that Gorst has been detached from the Fourth Party and made a salaried manager of the main party under Northcote's direction; but from all I see of the meetings, etc., it seems to me as if Northcote has fallen under Salisbury's influence and brought such of the party as follow him with him. I am trying to make out what is the temper of the Irish Peers, and how far they are prepared to make concessions; the action of the House of Lords must depend greatly on their disposition.

'The state of Ireland is getting daily worse, and the agitation and its consequent—the refusal to pay rents—is spreading; yet I cannot blame the Government for hesitating to ask for coercive powers after the speeches lately made by Randolph Churchill and Salisbury.'

'*December 4, 1880.*—I have seen a good many old Whigs lately—their bitterness against the Government is indescribable. I do not think they will have much influence on any elections, for most of them were neutral if they did not openly support the late Government last spring; still their tone and language, no doubt, raise hopes and encourage the Conservatives in a vigorous attack, the result of which, if damaging to the Ministry, will increase the power of the extreme Radicals and not of the Conservatives. I do not know what is thought of the Woodstock meeting, and whether it is considered as a test of the leanings of the Conservative party. So far as I can make out, Salisbury, in joining the Fourth Party, has taken Northcote and the Party organization with him. I am, however, still watching to see what such men as Hicks-Beach may do.

'I am more anxious about Ireland, whence the accounts are daily worse. What will, what can, the Government do? I fear they are allowing it to get out of their control, and that not even a civil war will be able to restore order. The desire to avoid a split in the Cabinet (already a section of the

extreme Liberals have become identified with the Parnellites) is possibly one reason, the want of material force to suppress outbreaks another, for this inaction.'

'*December 17, 1882.*—What strikes me is, not that the Ministry have gained, but the Conservative Opposition have lost, both in the confidence of the country and their own. Salisbury I hear spoken against by men who were two years ago among his warmest supporters; there are loud complaints against the Party organization, the management of which Smith and Gorst have given up. I see signs of an approaching break-up in that party: the Fourth Party no longer abuse Northcote, but direct their attacks against Cross and Smith, whom they call Marshall and Snelgrove; there is a section working with Chaplin and bidding for the extreme men. Lord Percy works with Smith for the same object, and I believe Salisbury and Arthur Balfour are in alliance with them. Randolph Churchill, with Drummond-Wolff to support him, is bidding to lead the whole party and to form a Government if ever they recover power. His programme is that it is of no avail for the Tories to remain hampered by the landed interest—that they must propose some strong measures to win and keep the democratic Tory working men in the North; he, in fact, adopts Disraeli's view that both principle and policy are to be subordinate to the acquisition of power, or rather of office, and thinks that he can play again, with the present leaders of the Conservative party, Disraeli's game with Peel; he forgets how changed are the surrounding circumstances, and how impossible that the accidental separation of the bulk of the party from its leaders should occur again. I am as much impressed, however, with the extent of Disraeli's influence over the characters of men as I have been with the smallness of it over events. Randolph Churchill may succeed, but, if he brings the whole party with him, the moderate Liberals who have joined it will leave when they find the Tories are Radicals under another name; while, if he influences only a limited number, he will break it up into two divisions; it is to this that I look forward—a moderate section of the

Conservatives supporting a Liberal administration, while the extreme men, making common cause with the Radicals and even Parnell in opposition, eventually become united to them.

‘What a triumph the late Archbishop’s correspondence with Mackonochie!¹ Such a letter from the author of the Public Worship Act, who said, when it was under discussion, that there never was a ritualist over whom some High Churchman was not to be found ready to hold a shield of protection! I hear that the Bishop of Winchester has refused; on the other hand I have been told that he would accept if it was offered to him. He is a good man, but would make a bad archbishop—“*dignissimus imperii nisi.*”² Benson, if the Queen is reasonable, will be, I suppose, the man, but I am not sure he will do, he is a dark horse. I really do not know how Church would do, but doubt his nerve in speaking, etc.—not in action.’

‘April 24, 1883.—In almost all, if not in all, you write, I cordially agree. As a test the oath is useless if not oppressive to a religious Christian mind.

‘The real objection to the Affirmation Bill is that Bradlaugh attempted to take his seat in a manner insulting to the Christian, or supposed Christian, feeling of the House, and to treat his seat therein as a denial of the supposed National Christianity. He failed, not because others in the first instance resented his aggressive infidelity, but because they sought to turn the false position into which he brought the Ministry, whose professed supporter he was, to their own political advantage. The Ministry, placed in a difficulty, bring the Bill in to extricate themselves therefrom; the Opposition, to further and increase the embarrassment, oppose it. The principle supposed to be involved does not, in fact, exist, but the introduction of the measure is a tactical error; at this moment it has the appearance of relieving a man from the just consequences of his own intolerance and

¹ Archbishop Tait, on his deathbed, tried to abate the persecution of Mr. Mackonochie, Vicar of St. Alban’s, Holborn.

² E. H. Browne. The primacy was not offered to him, because Gladstone thought him too old—being himself older.

offensiveness, and to condone, if not to sanction, an outrage on the religious feelings of the country.'

'*January 15, 1884.*—I cannot, I fear, share your views of Chamberlain's exercising little, if any, influence. That Gladstone dislikes him and dislikes his views I agree with you in believing; but we have so often seen Gladstone forced by circumstances and his followers into courses he would have had repudiated, that there is too much reality to fear he will again be forced by the influences, so much more powerful, that Chamberlain can bring to bear.

'I believe Chamberlain to be thoroughly unprincipled and without scruples; to be anxious to appear to guide Gladstone's policy now in order to be able to lay claim to the inheritance when the latter retires from public life; with that object he desires to commit him to measures as distasteful to the moderate Liberals as to ourselves, and will, I much fear, succeed in the attempt.

'I much fear that Chamberlain's identification with hostility to religious belief may help him with the classes to whom the franchise is to be entrusted. Among the working classes, in town or country, religion, I fear, counts for very little.

'What you say of the difficulty of bringing in redistribution with the lowering the franchise, on account of the Irish vote, is true; but to my mind only proves the risk of dealing with the question in the present state of politics. The present constituencies, with a lowered franchise, would be in so anomalous and, in some respects, intolerable a condition that any scheme of redistribution suggested by the Government would have to be accepted; in other words, in accepting the lowering the franchise, the country would commit itself to an unknown measure of reform.

'Much may happen in the next twelve months. I am at one with you in thinking it would be madness for the House of Lords on any pretext to reject the Franchise Bill; but it is a mania that I think very likely to influence their conduct.'

January 26, 1884.—I have no wish to see Gladstone retire from public life; I cannot pretend to say what the result would be; but, so far as I can look into the future, the extreme Radicals seem alone possessed of the talent required in these days; they know what they want and how to get it.

‘It is useless to wish to see a middle party formed. The Conservatives are the impediment, nor will they ever consent to it till they are so beaten that their adhesion will be of no value. They will insist on the moderate Liberals coming over to them, whereas such a party must be formed on a moderate Liberal basis; it must be Liberal in name and personal composition, dependent on an impartial and discerning but genuine, Conservative support, like Palmerston in his last administration; but that is, I fear, in the present day impossible.

‘I cannot share your Utopian views in respect to Parnell; I believe he, or the sentiments he represents, will gain strength in Ireland. What I especially dread in the immediate future is a union between the extreme English Radicals and the Irish, and that is what any sort of Conservative triumph will give us.’

February 1, 1884.—I agree in all you say as to the inexpediency of the political division being lateral instead of vertical—of all the landlord class being on one side.

‘Why has this been the case in Ireland? Because all, even nominal, grievances having been redressed, the agitators, in order to raise a cry to which they could rally the people, advocated measures that no man who had the interest of society at heart could support.

‘The same is happening here already, in anticipation of the reduction of the franchise to a level below which it cannot go. We have Broadhurst with his Leasehold Bill, George with his nationalization of land, advocating their respective schemes; the former winked at by Dilke, the latter acquiesced in, although in a modified form, by Chamberlain.

‘ I entirely agree in the absence of statesmanship among Conservative leaders, but has there not been wanting a spirit of compromise in the Liberal chief when compromise was still possible, which now it is, alas, no longer ? The only chance for the country would be a coalition between Conservatives and moderate Liberals ; to succeed, it must be on a nominally Liberal basis ; to this the Tories will never assent.

‘ The rising prophet, Randolph Churchill, is, I fear, gaining strength, and he makes no secret of his desire to bid for the Radical element in the constituencies ; he is, in short, a scarcely disguised Radical. *Quis custodiet ?*

‘ Meanwhile I dread measures against property that will drive capital from the country, and involve the nation and every member of it in equal ruin. Already land is practically unsaleable in England, except in cases where there are residential amenities.

‘ Now, as to India. Are we to hold it as a continuous possession, or only till the Indians are fit to govern themselves ? If the latter be your view, if we are to give it up whenever the people are, or think they are, fit for self-government, I have nothing to say against your argument. But if we are to hold India as a possession in our own political, and also commercial and economical interests, we must recollect that it is by the prestige of race alone that a few thousand Europeans govern those many millions of natives ; abolish that prestige, equalize the races, numbers will tell, and it is not to be supposed that the natives will consent to be ruled by foreigners whose power they can shake off ; besides, the Hindoos, who pass through school into our service, are in no sense the recognized leaders of the people or the men who would come to the front in the event of their acquiring independence. To place Englishmen, above all English gentlemen and ladies, at the mercy of a native, whatever his position, is impossible. The Turkish case offers no analogy ; what shocked the feelings was the oppression of a barbarous race over a civilized one—in my case, of the Infidel over the Christian. If we occupied Bulgaria or Roumania we could give—

subject of course to control required by their inexperience—Bulgar or Roumanian magistrates equal jurisdiction with English; but if we took Asia Minor or Syria we could not do so in fact, however we might do so in name.

‘It was a fatal mistake to give Englishmen in India any rights of citizenship; they ought to have remained under the despotism of the Service, benevolently exercised for the protection of the natives.

‘The country has progressed during the past hundred years, not only by the impulse of Liberal ideas, but under that impulse checked, controlled, and directed by a very powerful Conservative element that has held a place even in the most Liberal Government; in short by a compromise between the two. That compromise has been broken by Gladstone, still more by Disraeli; and we have on the one side the disastrous Irish policy which began in 1869, and on the other an equally fatal foreign policy in the labyrinths of which we seem to be getting deeper involved every day.’

‘August 12, 1884.—The correspondence you showed me has impressed me much; it explains Salisbury’s character and actions.¹ A pessimist by nature, he thought his mission was to fight a hopeless battle well. Disraeli took him out of his pessimism and dangled success and office before him; he was dazzled by the prospect; the defeat of 1880 has driven him back into his former and natural condition of mind and course of action.

‘Gladstone wants to settle the Reform question for his successors, and then retire from public life; he forgets that, when that question has been settled, a hundred others more difficult to be dealt with, more bitter, more to be fought out, will at once come to the front; in fact they are before the public already.

‘I go through town on the 24th or 25th; if I pass Sunday night (the 24th) in London, I will try to arrange that we may meet.’

¹ See pp. 89 *et seq.*

‘June 11, 1885.—My position is this. I have a work to do, a duty to perform, to sustain the nation, the country, society, property, and order in the microcosm in which I am placed, and for that smaller but most important duty have given up all attention to greater things. I have, in plain English, concentrated my mind on the hard fight that my brother and son have before them in this neighbourhood. They have both accepted an avowedly difficult, in one case what is considered a hopeless, task, in preference to wrangling with their own party for safer seats; how matters will go with them it is not easy to foretell, but their chances at present seem quite as favourable as we had any grounds to anticipate. I shall hope to see you when here next week, and think I may rely on your not profiting by the intervals of repose from fishing, to attempt to inculcate any pernicious views or views hostile to our cause among the population in the neighbourhood.

‘I am disposed to agree with you that the vote the other night¹ was a strategical blunder, it would have been better to have allowed the Ministry to, as seemed probable, fall to pieces of itself, whereas now, whether the Conservatives take or refuse office, their rehabilitation seems more than probable. It would have been better to have awaited the inevitable dissolution in November, whatever its result. I believe the division was wished for by the Government, and has extricated it from a great embarrassment.

‘Still I sympathize with what I must assume to have been the motive principle of the Opposition (for I have seen or heard from no one on the subject). I have before told you I look on Gladstone’s principle as *vae victis*, he ever in politics seeks to make his opponents eat the leek; he drives men to despair and never realizes what desperate men may do. There can be no question but that the increased Succession duties will be absolute destruction to landed property or to its position under present circumstances. And I write on this subject from within my own knowledge. I have a property of £4000 a year in

¹ Gladstone’s Government was defeated on an amendment to the Budget, June 8, 1885.

Shropshire that for the past three years has not paid me a shilling, that I believe to be unsaleable at any reasonable price. How can Succession duties be paid on that? While on my Wiltshire property, on which I depend, the payment of Succession duty would be made on the nominal value, without deductions for the voluntary outgoings, but outgoings which are a necessity for anyone occupying this position. My successor will have to cut this all down as with a knife, and then will be asked—naturally and apparently justly—how can you expect to occupy a position the duties of which you do not perform? when he will not have the means of performing them. Succession duty or money can be paid over the counter, but land is unsaleable, in fact even in good times it was not easy to sell it—the duty can only be paid by borrowing. Landed property is already over-charged; the next heir must retrench by cutting down all his estate expenditure, in short by neglecting what all around him, himself included, consider his natural duties. And this is how Gladstone avenges himself on the country gentlemen for having supported Beaconsfield and opposed his Government.

‘Now as to Gladstone’s policy. Take Ireland. Gladstone is responsible for all in his Church Bill and Land Act of 1869–70. The Land Act of 1881 I believe, under the circumstances, to have been necessary, and taken by itself did not much practical injustice. I believe the reduction in arable land not very unfair, only rather excessive, but reductions were made in grass land absolutely unjust. But what we have a right to complain of is, that even by accepting that measure we gain no security. Gladstone cannot protect us against Parnell and Chamberlain, and will not, or would not, till too late, adopt the only measure that can save for us something, the enforcement or carrying through purchase clauses. You write about Randolph Churchill, etc., and the British taxpayer, but there is surely such a thing as justice in the world, and the unfortunate Irish landlord is not to be kept to be devoured piece-meal by his enemies.

‘You say there is an element of conservatism in

Gladstone's nature ; its existence is a national misfortune as it prevents his seeing the necessary result of his policy ; he is like a man who rolls a stone down the hill, expecting it to stop half-way and astonished to see it roll on to the bottom. I prefer the man who can contemplate and provide for the necessary result of his actions.

' At home I believe Gladstone was wise in taking Dilke and Chamberlain into his Cabinet, but he should have kept them in order, whereas he has so managed affairs that it has been but too evident that, whenever he retires, the power must fall to them. I do not wish Gladstone to retire, although I wish he never had lived. I see no good in anything that can succeed him on either side, the only chance would be a moderate Liberal Government under Goschen, and that Gladstone has, I believe, rendered impossible.'

' *December 1, 1885.*—To me Gladstone's position is as inexplicable as the one you claim for him. If he sought power for the purpose of governing the country, I could understand it, but he seeks an electoral triumph in order to acquire power for the purpose, after a year, of resigning it, while he will not tell us who are the persons or their principles into whose hands he will place it. If the Liberal party is to go to pieces, now is the time, not in a year hence. Salisbury, deprived of the section of his party who now adhere to Randolph Churchill, could not remain in power, nor could the support of moderate Liberals, even if at first given, be depended on ; and moderate Liberal support would bring no strength, as the Liberals joining must soon become Conservative and depend on Conservative support for their seats.

' Gladstone could not avoid justifying Salisbury's conduct in foreign affairs, but he who allows himself to be dragged by Chamberlain through the mire cannot expect Salisbury to throw over Randolph Churchill. The latter is pledged to no policy with the Irish, nor anything pledged to him.

' While I am cheered by the spirit the country has shown, I see no good to result therefrom ; and what I have ever

hoped for, a moderate Liberal Government leaning on a modicum of Conservative support, seems farther off than ever.

‘Chamberlain had completely eclipsed Gladstone, but is now behind a cloud himself. Salisbury and not Randolph Churchill has come out as the leader of the Conservative party. I was against Salisbury taking office, but confess that events seem to have justified his doing so.

‘As to Fair Trade, the Tories have made no promises thereon, or are in any way committed thereto, but I see a strong movement in its favour rising among the artisans in the towns.’

‘*March* 21, 1886.—On the moderation, the friendliness to England, of the Nationalist Press, I do not believe; I look on it as being adopted in obedience to a *mot d'ordre*, to smooth the way in England for Home Rule, which adopted, the disguise will be thrown off and bitter hostility to England preached; outrage then will only be deprecated when, all resistance to the Nationalist party and the confiscation of the land being broken, outrage will be unnecessary. Boycotting and the tyranny of the Land League are increasing, extending, and, to my own knowledge, more paramount than ever.

‘I do not defend the late Government,¹ and I do not believe the influence of Randolph Churchill is an improving one, but I should have condoned much if at the opening of Parliament he had brought in a vigorous coercive measure.

‘I see all the objections to coercion, the evils, the almost fatal evils, that will attend it. I will add the difficulty, the almost impossibility, of carrying it through in a Parliament composed as this one is, but I see no alternative between coercion and separation, and Ireland separated will be a hostile State, leaning on American support against England.

‘Personally I should welcome a land-purchase scheme, and look on the situation as so desperate that I should be prepared to accept moderate terms, but I do not see how it can be carried, or how the country or the House of

¹ Gladstone was now again Prime Minister.

Commons will ever assent to an expenditure of over £100,000,000, probably £200,000,000 for the purpose.

‘I have noticed since 1870 that the Tory leaders have been ready to sacrifice the interests of Irish landlords to Party exigencies, and in the present crisis they are justified in saying they will not raise such a sum for the purpose of making Ireland independent of and hostile to England, and reducing the latter thereby to the condition of a third-rate power.

‘As a landlord, I wish to be bought out; as a Conservative, I wish to see the Irish members out of the House of Commons; but even *I* hesitate as to whether the price is not too great; I do not mean in the money required, but the creation of a State hostile to our existence on our coasts.

‘In what you say of Chamberlain in the past I agree, so far, of course, as I have means of knowing; except that I do not believe Parnell had accepted his and Dilke’s programme when they contemplated their Irish tour, which was upset, not by the hopes held out by Carnarvon and Ashbourne, but by the fact that Parnell had never acquiesced therein and by Dilke becoming incapacitated by the public scandal in which he became involved.

‘In your appreciation of Chamberlain’s views and intentions, I entirely agree. I have met him, and much that he said bears out your views; I think only that he hates Goschen, Spencer, but still more Hartington. I do not write more as to his intentions, and their consequences, because I entirely agree with you and must be brief. I believe he will give us (the landlords) no terms at all, rather than less favourable terms. You may be right as to John Morley, but I should not have looked on him as a man with an equitable mind.

‘I shall view with no satisfaction the rejection of Gladstone’s proposals, though I cannot say I like them. But I do not see how the purchase proposals with the large expenditure required can be carried in the face of the economical depression, commercial as well as agricultural.

‘The Tory party are desperate and disposed to fight like

men with ropes round their necks ; a situation that precludes at the same time prudence in council and success in the contest. They are difficult to lead and control, and Salisbury has it not in him to control them ; he fears Randolph Churchill, who only seeks an imbroglio. I am looked on askance, I am powerless. I work with difficulty and slowly, and have to give my whole time to a subject, and have other affairs of sufficient importance to distract me from giving my whole time to this.

‘ I will not quote you, but will write these your views about Chamberlain to others, but expect no success. I can only suggest that you should write to Salisbury as you have written to me, but from what I know of him, can hold out no hopes of success to you.

‘ The new Electorate is out of Gladstone’s hand ; it is out of Chamberlain’s also, who must seek some means of recovering his command over the advanced members of the House of Commons. Chamberlain is a strong man, and has Imperial instincts, but he is ignorant of details, ignorant of the economical and social conditions of the country, of economical laws, and political economy. In Imperial matters he has, I believe, with destruction some ideas of construction ; but in home matters none, and will topple down the edifice before he appreciates the necessity of erecting something in its place. The best chance for the State seems to me to be that the House of Commons shall be broken up into many sections ; the Liberal party shows a tendency to becoming so already, and I hope the Tory party may become so also ; it has an organization that militates against that result, but I see some signs of disintegration.

‘ I do not wish to cry over spilt milk, but after all I was not wrong in my view on the extension of the Franchise. I had adhered to Gladstone and done all I could to help him, till that measure was determined on.’

‘ *July 17, 1886.*—I am glad you have a good word for Hartington, but cannot understand your attack on Goschen ; no man in England has been so straight and honest. As to Chamberlain, I do not know anything

about his principles, but I feel sure he is ambitious, perhaps selfish; he believes that he will rule England and he wishes the England he is to rule to be united, wealthy, and prosperous. To this must be added a strong personal feeling in his contest with Gladstone, where I cannot think the blame lies with him. Chamberlain is a strong man, representing a principle, a class, a power; if admitted at all into the Cabinet that position ought to have been recognized; he attempted to take a line of his own, was snubbed, and *hinc illæ lacrymæ*. It might have been wise not to have admitted him in the Cabinet, but once there, his position ought to have been acknowledged, and Gladstone's public treatment of him in the House of Commons was indefensible.

'I have, as you know, always admired your fidelity to Mr. Gladstone, but I cannot follow your example. The question to me is not whether or not people turn against him, but whether I can believe him a safe guide and ruler to the country. I believe he is absolutely destructive; it appears to me that, if not actually losing his senses, the balance, the regulative power, of his mind is going, although unfortunately much of the power remains. His intolerance of all contradiction, his bitterness against all opposition, the silly as well as violent language in his letters to his supporters, so unworthy of one of his position, intellect, and antecedents, all bear out this view. . . .

'Gladstone's tactics have been most faulty, he ought to have gone at the Conservatives and let the Union Liberals alone, many of whom desired nothing better than to come to terms with him. He would have gained on us, and kept his party together, instead of which, fortunately, he has accentuated the difference in the Liberal ranks, and given us a power we should not otherwise have had. He can brook contradiction from no one; he does not believe he is the voice of the Divinity, but that he is the Divinity itself.

'I do not complain of your defending your friend, even when he is wrong, but cannot go with you to the extent of sacrificing my country to friendship; if his policy is right

now, and the arguments he uses to support it, it was wrong up to this year, and so has been that of every English Minister since the Union.

‘I have not time now to enter into the Irish Question; if I did I could not describe the position so well as so many letters and articles in the *Times* and elsewhere have done. If Gladstone was ten years younger, he would have listened more to the remonstrances of friends, supporters, and colleagues. When the history of his political life is written, it will be an account of a wonderful oratorical power, of a facility of persuading people and classes, but of failure everywhere, in Ireland, in Egypt, in Foreign affairs; and finally that he tried and failed, or succeeded (for we do not yet know the result), in an attempt to dismember the Kingdom.

‘I do not judge of Gladstone’s sanity by the line of policy he takes, but by the mode in which he pursues it, by his acts, by his conduct to individuals.

‘It is no use for him and his friends to scold, or to scream at Goschen and Chamberlain; both are establishing their position, although I think that of Chamberlain to be much the greater in the future.’

‘*July 11, 1895.*—I am entirely in sympathy with the objects of the proposed meeting on the 16th,¹ but I am thoroughly convinced that no less drastic measures will have any effect than the expulsion of Turkish rule altogether from the Armenian provinces; this the present Ministry will not attempt (I believe no Ministry could effect), and in the present condition of politics in this country I am not prepared to force it upon them.

‘I have another reason, that public speaking is always a great effort to me, and I require a few days’ leisure before attempting it, which I am not likely to enjoy next week.

‘For these two reasons I must decline to take the chair

and speak on the 16th. I will attend the meeting if I possibly can.

‘I ought to have written that the only real and practical solution is the occupation of the provinces in question by Russia.

‘I have written to you confidentially ; my formal answer to your letter is that I have too many engagements before me to be able to undertake to attend a meeting on the 16th.’

MISCELLANEOUS

From Mrs. Charles Kingsley

October 31, 1875.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I return you the enclosed Sermons with many thanks for lending them to me, and still more for your very kind letter, which has been a *real comfort and help*.

‘The Notes on the Creed I venture to keep a few days longer, as I have mislaid our own copy among the mass of papers brought from Eversley, and I should like to take a fresh copy.

‘What you say of his helping us in that Life where he is now, makes me crave for more words on that subject. It is a lovely thought ; and, if one dared enjoy it and *clasp* it, which I could not do unless I had some more solid ground than mere lovely fancies, it would be a great help—but one is too *terribly* in earnest and too terribly craving for any glimmer of light from the land that doubtless is near but seems at times so terribly far off, when one has lost (*for a time, only for a time!*) such a husband, to dare indulge in fancies, however beautiful.

‘The door seems so fast shut, the veil so thick. I can only say, All is right because God has done it ; and he lives—he *must* live—and he loves, for he *must* love to all Eternity. He rests—and he works doubtless, for he needed rest, and he could not be happy without work. And this *should* be, and is at most times, enough for me. But, when you say he

helps us still, one's soul cries out, Tell me how you know that? how you guess it?—for clearly you mean more than merely the help which a blessed memory of a noble life and the blessed influence of spoken and written words gives. But I do not mean to ask you to write again. Every one, especially the clergy, are overworked in these days, by letters as well as work. And the unseen world must be ever an unseen world till God in His great mercy transplants us there.

‘Yours most sincerely,
‘F. G. KINGSLEY.’

From Goldwin Smith

April 14, 1878.

‘DEAR SIR,—I hope I shall not seem obtrusive in expressing to you the pleasure with which I have read your “Three Years of the Eastern Question.” The tide is running so hard against the better cause just now that one feels specially impelled to offer one's thanks to those who stand firm, particularly when they state our case so admirably as you have.

‘I only wish your preaching could be heard by the unconverted as well as by the converted; but I am afraid the present frenzy has stopped their ears.

‘The prospect is dark. Russia, I fear, is very much exhausted, and she may have to fall back and allow the Jew, for a time, to set the Turk up again. It will only be for a time; but they will be years of horrible havoc and misery.

‘And for this the “high-principled” Marquis of Salisbury is going to make himself responsible, as the instrument of a man of whom he has constantly spoken in terms not merely of mistrust and aversion but of loathing.

‘Your parallel between the eve of the Franco-German war and the present moment in this country is excellent, and is likely to prove true to the end. Our Chauvinists, too, may have their march to Berlin; and to us, as to the French, the disaster may be a blessing in disguise.

'Freeman transmitted to me some time ago an invitation to be on a committee of yours. I was very sorry to be obliged to decline, having already declined a similar invitation from another, less known, quarter.

'I am, dear Sir,

'Yours truly,

'GOLDWIN SMITH.'

From Sir Samuel Baker

September 30, 1878.

'MY DEAR SIR,—Many thanks for your interesting letter. I have not the slightest doubt that the body you saw was actually that of some poor wretch who had been impaled.¹ Your description is so perfectly clear that it is unquestionable.

'I am only glad that those who denied the fact did not get hold of the sketch I sent you, as they would have made the most of it.

'I was two years in Turkey about twenty years ago, and, having had considerable experience of Turks, Egyptians, Arabs, and very brutal fanatics of all kinds, I should not be in the least surprised at any atrocities such as impalements or other tortures committed by infuriated soldiery.

'My own Arabs informed me that one of their friends was impaled at Khartoum in about the year 1855, and that he lived for two days upon the stake in the public market-place.

'Why people should discredit stories of impalement I cannot conceive, as this form of torture was common in Turkey until within the last five-and-twenty years.

'The present Marquess of Winchester told me that he himself saw several men impaled in Turkey while he was travelling many years ago from Constantinople to Belgrade through Adrianople and Philippopolis, and he described the operation as performed by driving the stake through the nave of a cart-wheel that had been detached from the axle. The wheel was laid upon the ground with the stake

¹ See p. 48.

standing up in the centre like a candle in a chamber candlestick. The victim was then hoisted and placed in a sitting posture upon the pointed stake and pressed down until his body arrived at the wheel.

‘When we consider the horrors that have been committed upon each other by Christians of opposing sects, and that witches were burnt in England only 120 years ago, it is easy to believe in the brutal excesses of fanatical Orientals, whether Christian or Mussulman.

‘Our Statesmen legislate too much upon theories, without a practical knowledge of the peoples of the East—especially those of the Ottoman Empire. It will require very many years to reduce those countries to any degree of what we may term civilization.

‘Sincerely yours,

‘SAMUEL W. BAKER.’

From Lord Granville

March 5, 1879.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—When I met you yesterday I was on my way to tell Gladstone that I intended to question the Government about the understanding with Russia as to Afghanistan and with regard to the ratification of the North-Western Frontier.

‘This made me read even with greater interest than I should otherwise have done your excellent statement.

‘The only suggestion that I can make is that with respect to passages which I have marked on page 232. I do not remember having given Russia any assurance as to the countries on their side of Afghanistan. Russia gave a positive assurance that Afghanistan was beyond the sphere of her influence, and she adopted the English view of the boundaries of Afghanistan instead of that which she had previously maintained.

‘On the strength of this concession I agreed that all the influence of England, which we believed to be strong, would be exercised to prevent the Ameer from attacking the Khandis of Turkistan.

‘ You seem to take too favourable a view of the Russian account as to the assurances which the Emperor gave about Khiva.

‘ They were volunteered by the Emperor. I had asked for no assurance. It is probable that good reasons might occur for departing from his assurance, but he ought to have been aware of the probability of such circumstances when he volunteered the assurance.

‘ Both he and Schouvaloff at the time thought that they had departed from the assurance which had been given to me. It was an act of amiable weakness on the part of the Emperor to volunteer assurances which he could not be sure of fulfilling.

‘ When in a confidential conversation Schouvaloff made me a sort of apology, I said I thought it was for the Emperor to complain at having been placed in so false a position.

‘ Your work will be of great use.

‘ Yours sincerely,

‘ GRANVILLE.’

From the Right Hon. John Bright

November 23, 1881.

‘ DEAR SIR,—I thank you for the two volumes you have sent me. They teach a great lesson on some parts of our foreign policy.

‘ I have not seen the article in the *Times* to which you refer. The *Times* is generally wrong. In this case I suppose they want to give comfort to the richer classes by telling them that nothing is changed. I think much is changed, and for the better—but I am not certain that greater changes are not before us, and not remote. The territorial system of this country has broken down, and the multitudes may rejoice at it.

‘ I thank you for the sympathy you express with the friendly proceedings on the occasion of my birthday.

‘ Believe me,

‘ Very sincerely yours,

‘ JOHN BRIGHT.’

From Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice

January 7, 1883.

‘DEAR MR. MALCOLM MACCOLL,—Many thanks for your very kind congratulations.¹ I can only hope I may prove myself worthy of them. It will always be a source of great pleasure to me to have the benefit of your wide knowledge of foreign politics ; and you will, I trust, find your way to my room at the Foreign Office.

‘I cannot understand what the *Pall Mall Gazette* means by saying that I was originally an opponent of Bulgarian autonomy. It so happens that I am the oldest supporter of it in the House of Commons. I was only prevented by commands from our front bench in 1876 from moving a vote of censure on the late Government for rejecting the Berlin Memorandum instead of making a counter proposition to it, with a view to receiving autonomy ; and I gave way to those commands *most* unwillingly. My motion was on the paper for ten days ; I nevertheless made my speech, taking the occasion of Tom Bruce’s motion for papers : the speech was well reported and is in *Hansard*. It is an argument from beginning to end in favour of autonomy, and I received the strongest approval of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Russell. This was three weeks before the appearance of Mr. G.’s famous pamphlet.

‘Since then I never said one word to lead anybody to suppose I had altered my opinion. It is true that when the Government in 1878 asked for the six millions, and Lawson opposed them, I voted against Lawson. I did so (1) because it is a very grave matter to refuse the supplies asked for by the responsible Government, at a moment of great national emergency, even if you are not a supporter of the Government, or are opposed to it altogether in policy ; (2) because I considered that peace would be the more difficult to maintain with the Russians inside than outside Constantinople ; (3) because I did not consider that we

¹ Lord Edmond had just been made Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. He was created Lord Fitzmaurice in 1906.

should advance the cause of Bulgar liberty by strengthening the grip of the Russians on the country.

‘There was, I quite admit, a great deal to be said on the other side. But I cannot on that occasion be said to have voted (I did not speak) against Bulgar autonomy; or even against my party, for the great mass of the party ran away; and Mr. Gladstone, without telling anybody his intention, voted with Lawson; while about 20 Liberals voted with Government, including Arthur Peel, Cotes, and Tom Brassey.

‘I felt very strongly that it was not an occasion for running away; and, though it may sound illogical, I should probably, had I known Mr. Gladstone’s intentions—which his speech gave no clue to at all—have followed him.

‘Ill health obliged me to leave town early in 1878; as also that of a near relation whom I was obliged to accompany abroad, but I took special pains to pair against Government in the vote of censure on the Berlin Treaty.

‘Neither did I speak, as the *P.M.G.* asserts, against Egyptian autonomy at Bristol on November 13. What I said was that, owing to the absence of a reliable Christian population, it would not be easy to introduce the same kind of autonomy as in Bulgaria and Roumelia.

‘I am glad to hear so good an account of Mr. Gladstone, with whom I have had a most pleasant correspondence.

‘It has been my *misfortune*, I use the word advisedly, to differ occasionally from him; but I shall always consider him the biggest and most commanding genius, with the possible exception of the younger Pitt, who has ever been connected with English politics.

‘I am,

‘Yours truly,

‘EDMOND FITZMAURICE.’

‘P.S.—I may add, in regard to another matter, that I have, like Emile de Laveleye, been an advocate of Hapsburg extension in Bosnia; but solely because I believe that the future of Austria is that of a Federal State, in which the Slav element will play, to say the least, an equal, perhaps

a preponderating, part, and the extension in question must ultimately, by strengthening the Slav element, bring this about. It also relieves the economic blockade of Dalmatia by Turkey. I am a strong philo-German, and I admire the Magyar, but I have no notion of their being allowed to quash everybody else, e.g. in matters of language. If you see Mr. Arthur Evans you can tell him I shall be very glad to make his acquaintance.'

From Professor Freeman

February 21, 1883.

'MY DEAR MACCOLL,—Arthur Evans's address is 32 Broad Street, Oxford. But he shall know the contents of Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice's letter before you can write. They are the best piece of news I have seen for a long time. I had fancied that Lord E. F. had rather gone in the way of Balaam the son of Bosor. But what say you to this expected promotion of the scoundrel L——? I was in the same room with the skunk at Rome—at old Bowen's—and avoided him. There were a lot of men with orders, but he did not bear his; so I let out to Lady B. in her own tongue: ὁ θεομάχος αἰδεῖται φορεῖν τὸν σταυρόν.

'I am coming to London to-morrow for Commission and go to Oxford on Saturday. It is hopeless ever to think of finding anybody in the howling wilderness which men call a "metropolis." I shall be quartered for two nights with Bonney the earthkenner at 23 Denning Road, Hampstead, N.W. I expect to be at Macmillans' some time on Friday, and that time must be before 3.30, which is Commission hour.

'But when will you come and see us here, which is more practical? I had a glimpse of Liddon last month.

'Yours very truly,

'EDWARD A. FREEMAN.'

From Canon Lowe

March 29, 1883.

'DEAR SIR,—Allow me, tho' a stranger, to thank you heartily for your letter in this week's *Guardian* on the

Affirmation Bill. It expresses well much that was in my thoughts when I declined taking any part in the agitation against it. But for the retrospective action of the Bill, and the bearing of this on the wretched case of the Northampton Election, I should be very glad to see a movement among Churchmen in support of it. But for the present I am constrained to stand aloof; and am therefore all the more grateful when others state in public, so ably as you have done, the opinions I entertain on the question.

‘I am, dear Sir,

‘Yours faithfully,

‘EDWARD C. LOWE.’

From Sir Henry Drummond Wolff

April 26, 1883.

‘MY DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I am much obliged for your letters and the inclosure.

‘You cannot write anything which is not interesting and striking; but I fear all your arguments, however ably expressed, will not alter the one result of the passing of this Affirmation Bill—i.e. that men will, under it, be admitted to Parliament who exceptionally reject the rule of conduct recognized by others. I place my views on the lowest but perhaps the most practical ground.

‘Yours very truly,

‘H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.’

From Sir Thomas Erskine May

June 25, 1883.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—At last I have been able to read your masterly article in the *Fortnightly*;¹ and I hasten to thank you for your kindness in sending it to me.

‘I am not quite so deep as I ought to be in the controversies with which it deals so ably; but I must say you make out a very strong case against some of the decisions of the Judicial Committee. I do not see how their

¹ On ‘The Clergy and the Law.’

contention that a rubric "by necessary implication abolishes what it does not retain," can, either logically or legally, be supported.

'I think also that your observations upon the "Advertisements" are conclusive.

'I heartily agree in the opinions you have so well expressed in favour of toleration and comprehension in the Church of England. I, too, have often declared them, but not so well as you have presented them on this, and I have no doubt, on other occasions.

'I am,

'Yours very truly,

'T. ERSKINE MAY.'

From Lord Hartington

February 3, 1886.

'DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I ought to have thanked you earlier for your letter of January 24, and for sending me your pamphlet, which I had already seen. I have read the latter with much interest though I am unable to agree with your conclusions.

'I believe that the extract from my speech at Belfast is an accurate report of what I said, but I can scarcely think that it indicated an opinion that anything which is generally understood by Home Rule must be conceded in the near future. I do not think that I expressed cordial approval of Mr. Gladstone's views on Ireland expressed in his Manifesto, but rather quoted them as approaching the extreme limit to which any English statesman would be likely to go. I did not make a speech in favour of Lord Ramsay's candidature for Liverpool, but I wrote a letter in which, so far as I remember, I expressly dissociated myself from agreement with him on the subject to which you refer. The animadversions on me were made in consequence of my giving him a general support notwithstanding this difference of opinion.

'I remain,

'Yours sincerely,

'HARTINGTON.'

I sincerely trust that Mr. Gladstone may succeed in the attempt which he is making to settle this momentous question, though I have felt that I am too deeply committed to opinions opposed to those which he has recently expressed to be able to co-operate with him.—H.’

From Archdeacon Denison

April 6, 1886.

‘DEAR MACCOLL,—We may as well shake hands privately, at parting publicly, and put into the fire all words about “Ninth Commandments.”’

‘We can never by any possibility agree, and I should never have assailed you, if you had not begun. You know, as well as I do, that my *utter distrust* of Gladstone is of *very old date*. It grows, if possible, day by day.

‘I see that in the *Spectator* of April 3 our letters are not published in the order that they came into the hands of the Editor. Mine, which has no date put to it, was in his hands March 29 or at latest 30—yours is dated March 31. As published, mine looks like an answer to yours of March 31—whereas it was an answer to a previous letter of yours. I suppose they are so published because mine *finally shuts up on my side* further public controversy with you in the *Spectator*.

‘I see that in the passage you cite (1868) I *did declare* that I was against the Bill of 1867 in respect of representation of minority—a point I had specified in my first answer to you—*You take no notice of this fact*. Again for “Household Suffrage in Counties”—no doubt I was in favour of that. But then this was before “Cow and 3-Acre” little scheme.

‘These are my last words in this matter. If you rejoin to shake hands I shall be glad. But whatever you may add to it, I shall make no reply.

‘Yours always,

‘GEORGE ANTHONY DENISON.’

¹ The Archdeacon had published a violent attack on Gladstone, and MacColl had replied to him.

From Lord Lothian

July 4, 1886.

‘DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—(If you will allow me to address you thus) I have received to-day your note in which you propose to call on me. I am sorry to say that partly owing to my being somewhat knocked up, and partly because of much work in Scotland, I was unable to adhere to my intention and go to London last week.

‘I regret this much, because I should have much wished to confer with you upon the question of the Edinburgh Bishopric.¹

‘I am in great hope, from what I hear, that Canon Liddon’s decision as announced may be looked upon as not final, and that if he could be again induced to consider the matter, he might possibly come to a different conclusion. Be this as it may, I write now only to say that if anything occurs to you in which I could be of use, I hope you will not hesitate to let me know.

‘I have written to the Duke of Buccleuch to ask if he would be inclined to see Canon Liddon.

‘Believe me,

‘Yours faithfully,

‘LOTHIAN.’

*From Sir Henry James*²

December 3, 1886.

‘MY DEAR CANON,—Many thanks for your letter. I share with you the desire to preserve the unity of the Liberal Party, but I do not gather from your letter what practical step you suggest should be taken to procure that most desirable result.

‘There is a great gulf between us, I fear.

‘You believe in Home Rule—I do not. I believe that the two-thirds of the Irish people to whom the Government of Ireland would be confided are not fit to govern the three-thirds. I believe that to place the executive and legislative

¹ The Bishopric of Edinburgh was offered to, and refused by, H. P. Liddon.

² Afterwards Lord James of Hereford.

power in the hands of these two-thirds—such as they are and will be—would be a positive crime. Give me credit for earnest belief in this view, and then tell me what I ought to do.

‘I cannot be a party to the commission of this crime in order to put Liberal politicians into office.

‘I agree entirely in all you say as to the probable fate of the Liberal Unionists; and it may be that it may be necessary to place the making and execution of the laws in Ireland in the hands of men like Mr. O’Brien and Mr. Dillon, or of Parnell (who, with the power to prevent their present action, stands by and takes all the advantages he can derive from it), but my conscience rebels against becoming a party to such a policy.

‘I fancy that a good many like me will be quite willing to stand aside and let this policy—if it be inevitable—be effected by others.

‘It is useless for you and me to argue over the past. How could one vote for the Second Reading of a Bill and so assert a principle he disapproves of?

‘There was another course which might have been pursued, and which would have produced the results you and I in common desired.

‘If Mr. Gladstone’s Bill had been withdrawn before the Second Reading division, no Dissolution would have occurred, and then ample time would have been given to consider a fitting measure by men who had not made a rigid record of their positive views upon the principle of Home Rule. I have never called the Home Rule Party “separatists,” but, notwithstanding, I have never appreciated their sensitiveness in relation to this epithet. They desire a separate Parliament for the two countries. So far as a *Legislative Union* is affected they desire separation. They regard *Unionists* as their political opposites. To us the union by virtue of the Crown is as nothing—the distinct power of making separate laws for the two countries to us means separation.

‘I am, dear Canon,

‘Yours most truly,

‘HENRY JAMES.’

From the Duke of Argyll

December 9, 1887.

'DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—I recollect very well hearing from a friend—a Peer—that in early life he had seen men impaled at more places than one in Turkey.

'But I think you are mistaken in your impression that my friend's *own escort* had impaled the victims. I have no recollection of this—and indeed my recollection is pretty distinct that it was not so.

'But this is wholly immaterial in your controversy; the *point* is that executions by impalement were common in Turkey some fifty years ago—and of course this makes occasional "survivals" all the more credible and probable.

'I *think* my informant was the late Lord Winchester. He died last year at a very advanced age.

'My book on the Eastern Question had a slow sale at the time, and I am surprised to hear of it being out of print. But it would be wholly unsaleable now, I think.

'Huxley is a provoking controversialist. But I had hit him pretty hard for his attack on Liddon.

'Yours very truly,
'ARGYLL.'

From Robert Browning

May 23, 1889.

'Oh, no, dear Canon MacColl, you by no means were likely to "offend me" by asking about my photograph, for such a purpose too! The fact was, in my haste I replied to your last letter, not the previous one in which there was a mention of your desire; and I remember that, at the time, I thought if you could wait a little I would be happy to give you examples of a photograph I am going to have made by a practitioner who has, people think, been the most successful in his reproductions of my poor face; but I cannot find time to attend at his place just now. If you wish for a copy of Mr. Cameron's work, his studio is in Portland Street: samples are, I suppose, also

to be procured at the exhibition-room of his works and (better, perhaps) those of his mother, in Bond Street.

‘I am unfortunately engaged on Saturday—and for many days before and after that day, unluckily. I can only thank you for your kindness which, I am sure, I do very heartily.

‘Ever truly yours,
‘ROBERT BROWNING.’

From the Rev. Professor Milligan

December 15, 1890.

‘MY DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—It was a great pleasure to me to receive your long letter some time ago, and I would have answered it at once had I seen my way more clearly than I do. Then just as I was about to write came this horrible crash in the political world, beyond which it was altogether impossible to let one’s thoughts travel even for a moment.¹ I must, however, make no further delay.

‘As to trying to persuade our people not to demand that Disestablishment, before steps are taken to effect it, shall be made a leading, if not even a single, issue at a General Election, I believe that all labour spent by me would be utterly in vain. I may have great difficulty in seeing how the thing can be done; but I should be at once reminded that we have been led to expect that such a course would be taken; and I would be told that it was not asking too much, when the proposal was to set aside provisions insisted on in the most solemn way in the Treaty of Union. I do not think that there is the slightest chance that under any circumstances whatever that demand will be departed from.

‘My own impression is quite distinct that a large majority of the people of Scotland do not, under existing circumstances, desire Disestablishment, while at the same time they are keenly opposed to the secularization of the Endowments. Many of this majority have no love for the Established Church as it is, but then they do not believe that Disestablishment would cure the evils from

¹ The Parnell Divorce Case.

which we suffer. Whether they will oppose at the polls a candidate whose political opinions they approve of, because he goes in for Disestablishment, I can hardly say. Sometimes I think that more is expected in this way than is likely to be realized.

‘The great question, however, which you ask is whether a union might not be brought about between us and the Free Church. I answer that, so far as I can see, any such arrangement is out of the question. The Free Church dare not break its understanding with the United Presbyterians; and so deeply is it committed, that, if it did break it, it would not be worth uniting with. If we are to have union it must be on a wider scale than with the Free Church alone; nor do I see how union of any kind is possible without a revision of the whole situation. Yet there are thousands and tens of thousands looking eagerly for it; and, could the initiative only be taken by some one of commanding authority outside all our denominations, it is hard to say what a following he would have. I have often thought that an advice from Mr. Gladstone or a hope expressed by him would have a powerful effect.

‘In the meantime I suppose that we must get through this present crisis in the political world before the ecclesiastical position in Scotland can again be touched. Should it be otherwise, and you have any further questions or explanations to ask, please do so without hesitation.

‘Believe me,

‘Very truly yours,

‘WM. MILLIGAN.’

From the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P.

February 16, 1895.

‘MY DEAR SIR,—Pray allow me to thank you for the books which Messrs. Longman have sent me at your request, and for the letter by which you have accompanied them.

‘As regards the former, I need not say with what pleasure I shall read them, knowing your qualifications for the task you have undertaken.

‘ As regards the latter, it is a source of very deep gratification to me that you approve my labours in the same field.

‘ Yours truly,

‘ ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.’

From Sir Horace Seymour

January 1, 1896.

‘ DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—In the *Times* of December 28, a letter from T. W. Legh caught my eye on the subject of Armenia. He talks of the threat to send our fleet up to Smyrna in 1880 as an “imaginary” ultimatum.

‘ He goes on to say that the Government of that day, “impatient at the delay” (and pretty rightly so I should say), “proposed a kind of piratical expedition to Smyrna.” “This project met with so cold a reception that it was incontinently dropped, and it cannot therefore be said to have contributed to the surrender of Dulcigno.” “This modest achievement, etc., has generally been attributed to the influence of Prince Bismarck.” I am astonished that any man can launch into print in this matter without any knowledge of what he is writing about. There is not the slightest doubt that the Sultan gave way because of our threat, and *because of that only*. Mr. Goschen was our Special Ambassador at the time, and he acted with much vigour in the matter, and made the Sultan understand that we were in earnest. Hence he gave way—and Mr. Goschen held him to his word when he subsequently shuffled. It is a poor, mean course for Legh to adopt to try and depreciate the successful action of his own country, because it was carried out by his political adversaries.

‘ It is contemptible to rob Mr. Goschen and Lord Granville of their success in a most difficult task, and to attribute it to Bismarck. It is all the more shabby as Legh was in the Diplomatic Service (a humble member no doubt), and should know better. I wrote to the *Times* to put the facts forward, but they did not put my letter in. It was anonymous—but I sent my own name with it, and they are usually civil to me in these matters.

'I agree with you, and said so some time ago, that if the Government had made a similar threat they would have saved many a life.

'The present state of things is most discreditable.

'Yours truly,

'HORACE SEYMOUR.'

From the Duke of Argyll

October 5, 1897.

'DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—Thanks for your letters, books, and articles.

'I have been holding my tongue—for the best of all reasons—that I don't see anything useful to say, and I am sorry that your letter, etc., does not help me. Of course I agree with you entirely that the *coercion* of Turkey was a duty or a *necessity*—if the obligations under which we all lie are ever to be discharged.

'But I do not see my way to overcoming the disgraceful policy of the Three Emperors. We *can't* act alone. The fate and redistribution of Turkey is clearly a European problem, and we have no right to attempt an individual solution. Both Austria and Russia feel that problem to be one so specially critical for their own nearest interests that they are quite prepared to fight, rather than allow any action by *outsiders* which may conflict with their respective ambitions, whilst at the same time they can't agree between themselves on any plan of partition. This is why they support Turkey, as the best *interim* Government for them.

'I have not made up my own mind as to the best solution. Autonomous States like those already established is *the one I like least*. But surely the rule of Austria over a great part of the Balkan would be a great gain to Humanity.

'As for Greece, her democracy has thrown her away. Her action, *alone*, was idiotical. The terms of Peace are onerous, but she deliberately risked even worse—dismemberment or extinction.

'Yours very truly,

'ARGYLL.'

From the same

October 16, 1897.

‘DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—I return enclosures in case you may want them. There is much in your letter which is new to me.

‘But I confess I doubt the effect you ascribe to Rosebery’s speech. I read it merely as his dissent from a Party—*which he assumed to exist*—urging England to act *alone* in the Turkish Question.

‘I don’t think even you come under this description. But I did not so interpret the speech as to ascribe to it the policy of doing nothing except in alliance with the three Emperors.

‘At all events I don’t think Rosebery can influence any large portion of the public. He could do something to checkmate a purely Party movement against our F.O., and this is what I think he meant and no more.

‘I do not know any facts which prove that Greece was not the aggressor in the Thessaly War. I sympathize with her in her desire to do all she could. But it was folly to think she *could* alone.

‘The hatred of Greece among the Emperors may be due to the cause to which you assign it—hatred and fear of Greek democracy—very likely. It clearly is a bitter hatred—whatever be the cause.

‘When in Corfu lately I heard a good deal which makes me distrust Greece as a good Government.

‘I fear it is very corrupt, as all modern democracies are.

‘As to Austria, I cannot dread her as you do. The rival Priesthoods of the West and East must fight it out between them.

‘Yours very truly,
‘ARGYLL.’

From the same

November 28, 1897.

‘DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—Thanks for your very interesting Review. I can’t undertake one myself. All I have

ready to say is said in my little Poem of an Elegy on Tennyson—published in my volume of poems called “The Burdens of Belief.”

‘Old Lord Tennyson liked them much, and they are the only lines I saw which gave any idea of his religious teaching.

‘Yours very truly,

‘ARGYLL.’

From the Duke of Westminster

January 23, 1898.

‘MY DEAR CANON,—I have to offer an excuse for the delay that has occurred in answering your letter and in returning the interesting communication from the King of Greece. But a three weeks’ chest-cold and cough have pulled me down and made me unable for everything. We must all most sincerely hope that Prince George may be appointed to Crete, it would be certainly what *we* should most desire, and the happiest solution of the difficulty—indeed so happy that one almost doubts the possibility of its realization!

‘The Mandarins must be fairly puzzled just now and in a very tight place. Will they have the pluck to take our money? I doubt it.

‘With kind regards, believe me to be,

‘Yours very truly,

‘WESTMINSTER.’

From the same

October 18, 1898.

‘MY DEAR CANON,—I am obliged to you for letting me see the two letters, which I return. I had read your article in the *Observer* of Sunday last, and am truly glad that the “Powers” will allow of no sort or scrap of Turkish garrison in Crete.

‘I hope now that at last brighter days are in store for that island, and that some of us may live to see a stable government, I hope under Greece, established there. There must be difficulties for some time in keeping the peace

between the Christians and Mohammedans ; and the misrule of centuries cannot be remedied in five minutes.

‘ Believe me to be,

‘ Yours very truly,

‘ WESTMINSTER.’

From the Right Hon. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman

May 9, 1899.

‘ DEAR MR. MACCOLL,—I am very much obliged for your letter, but especially for your book,¹ which seems to me to be admirably clear and equally temperate and reasonable. I have only read parts of it yet, and the case you make out for many of your theses is very strong. Of course I am not one of your own people, and therefore my judgment is academical merely, like that of a neighbour witnessing domestic quarrels.

‘ I have not found anyone here—not even Sam Smith² himself—who has a word to say for the Bill,³ but when people wish to vote for a bad Bill they always declare it to be a mere form of protest. I confess I can hardly take that view myself.

‘ Yours very truly,

‘ H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.’

From the Duke of Argyll

August 17, 1899.

‘ MY DEAR CANON,—Thanks for your letter of the 12th. I am very sorry to hear you have been so ill.

‘ I find on enquiry that the *spiritual* functions of the Eldership in Scotland have fallen into complete *desuetude*. But in the *ceremony* of admission, besides the “right hand of fellowship” there is an address for the Minister implying that Elders are to pray with the sick, visit, see to discipline, etc. All this is fallen out of use and few (rural) Elders would now be fit for such work.

‘ My point remains—they are “*Office-Bearers*” but NOT ecclesiastics in any ordinary sense of the word. They are

¹ *The Reformation Settlement.*

² M.P. for Flintshire.

³ The Church Discipline Bill.

gamekeepers, gardeners, overseers, shopkeepers, and a few gentlemen, except in cities.

‘How far the General Assembly *could* join in Legislation is a difficult question.

‘But in having the unlimited power of *interpretation* it practically *can* largely modify the creed of the Church.

‘Yours very truly,
‘ARGYLL.’

From Lc rd Crewe

February 22, 1900.

‘DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—I am in your debt for a kind letter received from you before I left England: a sharp rheumatic attack kept me unable to attend either to business or pleasure, under which latter head the receipt of your letter certainly came. Later events have entirely justified what you said of S. African affairs, and of the curious *entêtement* which affected the country. They would have gone into any war during the last four years, with France, Germany, Russia, or the U.S., with the same light heart, I believe.

‘To my mind the gravest aspect of the whole matter is this—that what would be called a “generous” settlement of our relations with the Republics is impracticable; while the probable settlement—one of a drastic and absorbing sort—will lay us open to charges of having intended annexation all through, which will be exceedingly hard to disprove.

‘We have had a pleasant time in Egypt, and I am quite set up again, while it has also suited Lady C. admirably.

‘Yours sincerely,
‘CREWE.’

*From the Bishop of Bristol*¹

January 21, 1901.

‘MY DEAR CANON,—You are very good to send me your 9th edition. Few books have had so great a success; none, I think, of this nature.

¹ G. F. Browne, formerly MacColl's tutor at Glenalmond.

‘ I have come to the conclusion that clear and definite proof is not possible on either side. There will always be enough ground for a well-balanced and really earnest mind to hold with you and to hold against you. The main cause of the present strife is that, while it is easy for you to maintain your view with *bonhomie*, and without assault, the other side is by nature the attacking side, and accusations of unfruitfulness are a natural weapon.

‘ I trust that the sorrow of the nation will feel the unseemliness of all that goes beyond fair argument in Church matters. It is wonderful what death can do for those who remain.¹

‘ Our very kind regards. We are still living from hand to mouth, in a very inadequate hired house. But I have built a modest palace, which we hope to enter in April. There we could see you.

‘ Yours very truly,

‘ G. F. BRISTOL.’

From the Right Hon. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman

June 29, 1901.

‘ DEAR CANON MACCOLL,—I am much obliged to you for your cordial and cheering letter. What you say of the change of tone in the country is most interesting, and I only hope that sanity will be gradually restored.

‘ Things are not easy in politics, as you will have seen ; but I am delighted with the orderly, loyal, friendly spirit of the great body of my people in the House of Commons. I think they will effectively quell mutiny.

‘ Yours very truly,

‘ H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.’

From Lord Spencer

January 26, 1902.

‘ MY DEAR CANON,—Many thanks for your letter with the excellent MS. article upon your article in the *Fortnightly*

¹ Queen Victoria died January 22, 1901.

Review. I have the *Review* and will read it. The quotations from Lord Ellenborough and Lord Cairns are very applicable, and, coming from the centre of the Toryism of the day, will be useful.

‘My heart is very sick as to Liberal politics just now. I see as yet no daylight in the heavy cloud which overshadows us and spoils the vigour of our action.

‘But I have great confidence that we who work with the bulk of the party are right, and that right will in the end prevail.

‘What are to be the principles of the New Liberal party? I can see nothing which separates them from the so-called Liberal Unionists of the Conservative Government.

‘I personally cannot give up the old principles of Grey, Cobden, Gladstone. I am ready to hold my hand when the occasion for applying them is not auspicious, and I am also ready to work them out on fresh lines to suit the constant changes of circumstances in the condition of the people and of the institutions which have to be dealt with.

‘As to the war, I agree with you that many things have been done which merit the application of the words “methods of barbarism,” but at the same time I regret that Sir Henry C.B. used them, for they were sure to be misread by unscrupulous Party fighters in a way which, however untrue, leave behind them everywhere an evil odour. And a Party leader must, without abating the force of his protest, be careful to use terms which cannot be perverted.

‘In saying this you must know that no one more strenuously supports Sir Henry C.B. than I do. He has been shamefully treated by the so-called Liberal Imperialists, who have copied the methods of the Tories in their attacks on him.

‘The strange feature in the attitude of Liberals, and especially of young Liberals, seems to me to be their excessive sensitiveness, their inability to see that in working for great principles the Liberal party must have its varying shades of opinions (just as the Tories have), and that they can unite to carry out great objects. But instead of that, they are

ready to faint and fall out of the ranks if their Leader uses an expression which they do not like, or if they find themselves in the same Lobby with politicians who are extreme, say with Lloyd George or the Irish.

‘They seem terrified of the slightest contact with these men, and care nothing as to the real policy of their Leaders, who may dislike as much as they do the extreme utterances of Welsh or Irish M.P.’s.

‘But I must not run on with a letter already too long. I do not forget, however, pleasant talks at Nauheim, and the recollection has led me on farther than I intended when I began this letter.

‘Yours very truly,
‘SPENCER.’

From the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour

September 18, 1903.

‘MY DEAR SIR,—I am well aware how easy is misrepresentation, both of general policy and of particular statements, when a question is at issue which so naturally and so rightly arouses public sentiment, as does the miserable condition of Macedonia.

‘My statement, however, in the House of Commons was, I believe, perfectly accurate. The reforms proposed by Austria and Russia were, no doubt, modest in their character. Those Powers thought (and, can anyone say wrongly?) that the great thing was to have genuine reforms initiated, and that some substantial instalment of good government was easier to obtain, and, therefore, far more efficacious, than the most admirable “paper” constitution which was too ambitious to be easily carried out.

‘The responsibility for not having given even this modest instalment of reforms a chance must be divided between the Porte and the Revolutionary Committees. Their postponement was criminal, and I believe I was right in saying in August that at that time the balance of criminality lay with the Committees.

‘I can assure you there is no “apathy” on the part

of the Government. It would, however, be insanity, in my opinion, to take independent action. In the present condition of affairs it must be through the two Powers most closely interested that European intervention in the affairs of the near East must be exercised. The opposite policy would, I think, not be better, but worse, for the populations concerned.'

'Yours truly,
'ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.'

From Lord Spencer

November 8, 1903.

'MY DEAR CANON,—Your letter touches me very much: you appreciate the noble character of my beloved wife.¹ Her purity, her high principles, her ability, her marvellous courage and patience, were most remarkable and uncommon. She was a very true Liberal, too, for you refer to politics.

'It is hard indeed to face the world alone without her help and blessing and counsel. I thank you for your sympathy.

'Yours very truly,
'SPENCER.'

¹ Charlotte, Countess Spencer, died October 31, 1903.

CHAPTER XII

L'ENVOI

Vattene in pace, alma beata e bella.—ARIOSTO.

LETTERS OF CONDOLENCE RECEIVED BY MRS. MALCOLM
MACCOLL ON THE OCCASION OF HER HUSBAND'S DEATH

From the President of the Assembly of United Nonconformist Sunday School Teachers in the City of Ripon

'April 5, 1907.—This assembly wishes to express its deepest sympathy with Mrs. MacColl in her bereavement. In doing so we would thank God for the great gifts He bestowed upon the late Canon MacColl and for his soul of goodness. He was a strong, courageous, high-souled man, electric with the desire to advocate and defend every good cause, and was possessed with a genuine devotion to God and His reign on earth. We pray that Mrs. MacColl in the remembrance of him and his noble life may have the comforting of the God of all Comfort.

'Signed on behalf of the Assembly,

'W. WATTS.'

From the Rev. S. E. Gladstone

April 7, 1907.

'DEAR MRS. MACCOLL,—I little realized when I called last year that I should not see my dear friend again. It is so long since I first knew him, through my father, and I seem to have known him so intimately—and to know him was to love him—that I cannot at all realize that he has been called away from this life where he has taken so

strenuous, so notable, and so unselfish a part. He will be very much missed by a very wide circle, and by people of most various opinions. I shall never forget, in particular, his devoted, loving service towards my Father—and at a time when but few Churchmen, alas! followed him. And his great and exact knowledge, and his singular power of grasping difficult problems, but most of all his chivalrous and vehement championship of the cause of Eastern Christians, are indeed matters of justest honour. May God comfort your heart in this unexpected cutting-short of your earthly happiness! Yet you will be upheld by a thousand memories of his single-minded, earnest, and indeed brilliant personality.

‘Yours sincerely,

‘STEPHEN E. GLADSTONE.’

From the Synodal Secretary of the Convocation of York

April 8, 1907.

‘MADAM,—Will you allow me, as a fellow member with Canon MacColl of the York House of Convocation, to offer my most sincere expressions of sympathy in this your hour of great bereavement?’

‘The extent of our loss in Convocation will only be realized as time reveals how much we stand in need of Canon MacColl’s wise counsels and intrepid outspokenness; but our bereavement is as nothing compared with the irreparable loss which has fallen upon yourself.

‘The charming combination of sweet reasonableness together with the unflinching courage of his own convictions won the hearts of all those with whom Canon MacColl came in contact; and there are many to-day who, although unknown to you personally, will remember you in intercession because of the esteem they felt for him whom you now mourn.

‘Believe me,

‘Yours most truly,

‘HENRY ROBINSON.’

From Sir Walter Phillimore

April 8, 1907.

‘DEAR MRS. MACCOLL,—My wife and I were much shocked to see the sudden and to us quite unexpected death of your husband, and we feel so much sympathy for you in your great loss.

‘It seems but a short time since we all four met, well and full of life, at Ripon; and since then I all but died in October, and now the Canon is taken from us. There was no one quite like him—none to fill his place in public life, and we have stood side by side in several conflicts for the good cause.

‘He had certainly a peculiar and a great literary gift, when his feelings were roused and some object which he had at heart was at stake.

‘But you will be thinking more of him in private—of his geniality, and the warmth of his affection and kindness. I fear you will miss him very much.

‘We both beg you to remember that we are thinking of you.

‘Sincerely yours,

‘WALTER G. F. PHILLIMORE.’

From the Right Hon. Herbert Gladstone

April 9, 1907.

‘DEAR MRS. MACCOLL,—The loss of one of my oldest and best of friends I hope justifies me in expressing my very great sympathy with you. My mind is full of the memories and associations which endeared him to me. I owe him more than I can say. He took me through my first Election contest in 1880, working night and day. *That* was for my Father, which sanctifies the recollection. But ever since he was one of the dearest friends, the most genial of hosts, and one of the readiest to give counsel.

‘My Father loved him to the end of his life, and I grieve that he has gone.

‘Believe me,

‘Most faithfully yours,

‘H. J. GLADSTONE.’

From the Right Hon. James Bryce

April 13, 1907.

‘MY DEAR MRS. MACCOLL,—My wife and I were deeply grieved to hear of the terrible sorrow which has come upon you. When I saw your husband and you in January last, he seemed to have quite recovered from his illness; and I had looked for a long and useful life for him. His departure is an unspeakable loss to many good causes, for he was an indomitable advocate of righteousness and justice and humanity—one with whom it was a real pleasure to work. I cannot tell you how sad it makes me to think that in such life as may remain to me that pleasure will never again be mine. Courage and energy such as his are rare indeed. I hope that in the thought that so many friends grieve with you, there may be, not indeed consolation, for that can come only from a higher source, but some help to you in bearing so sore a stroke.

‘With our deepest sympathy, believe me,

‘Very sincerely yours,

‘JAMES BRYCE.’

From Sir Edwin Pears

April 15, 1907.

‘DEAR MRS. MACCOLL,—My wife and I desire to join our sympathy with that of many friends with you in your bereavement. As one who, for thirty years, has been a fellow-worker with the Canon on behalf of the Christian races of the Ottoman Empire, I am in a position to appreciate the noble, the simply invaluable, work he has done for them. The loss to them and to England is a terrible one. He knew the facts of the case, watched and noted all their developments, and kept the British public, and especially our Churchpeople, from falling into the apathy which, without his constant vigilance, there is fear it would have fallen into. Yes, the loss appears irreparable. The Armenian patriarch sends you his benediction. Those of his Church, as well as the members of the Orthodox Church and the Bulgarian Church, feel that they have lost a great friend. And they have indeed. For while his sympathies

went out always for those who were suffering, he was especially mindful of those who were desolate and oppressed under the misrule of the Turk. His name was well known throughout this empire, and many a fervent prayer has been offered up for him and many a blessing called down upon his head.

‘As a fighter for noble causes, as a man who cared for the truth and was fearless in defence of what he regarded as the right, he will be long remembered, and his name will pass down into history as the fellow-worker with his friend Gladstone, and as one who like him revered his conscience as his king.

‘Believe me, dear Mrs. MacColl,

‘Very sincerely yours,

‘EDWIN PEARS.’

From the Armenian Patriarch

April 16, 1907.

‘MADAM,—The name of your venerated husband Canon Malcolm MacColl has been indeed such a subject of gratitude and of affection to all our nation that his loss could not be felt but with profound grief.

‘Accept, Madam, the testimony of condolence which I render to his memory in my name and in the name of our nation.

‘The Divine Judge, Who requires above all things from men the sentiments of kindness, and the works of benevolence, will know how in His inscrutable mercy to reward the beloved one in the eternal Peace.

‘May Heaven, Madam, be bountiful to you with its graces of strength and comfort.

‘The Armenian Patriarch,

‘MALACHEA ORMANIAN.’

From the Prolocutor of the Convocation of York

April 26, 1907.

‘DEAR MADAM,—I have been instructed by my colleagues of the Committee of the Lower House of Convocation to convey to you, with all respect, the assurance of their sincere sympathy with you in the severe bereavement you

have been called upon to sustain. They, too, have undergone in Canon MacColl's death a great loss, for he was in a very peculiar way one on whose help they counted in the difficult, anxious, and complicated duties to which they have been called. His extensive and minute knowledge of Liturgiology and Church History were, if not unique, certainly hardly surpassed, and made him a helper in our work of the greatest importance. The feeling of regret and grief, which I was commissioned to express to you in the name of this important Committee, was unanimous and deep. It will, I am sure, be equally felt by the whole of the Convocation.

'Personally, I have to express my own sincere concern at the loss of a friend of many years' standing, from whom I have on various occasions received most useful counsel and information.

'I have the honour to be, Madam,

'Yours very faithfully,

'THOMAS E. ESPIN, D.D., D.C.L.'

From Lady Frederick Cavendish

May 22, 1907.

'DEAR MRS. MACCOLL,—I was abroad when I saw in the paper the death of our old and true friend, your dear husband. I say *our*, for you know how I have all my life been one with my relations here.¹ And I could indeed claim the Canon for a personal friend of many years. He was one of the first to come to me, full of warm sympathy, when dear Lord Frederick had accepted the Chief Secretaryship of Ireland, and one could always depend upon his faithful, kind heart.

'And what noble, strenuous, able work he has done for the Church! One may indeed feel that "his works do follow him" and that there are many to whom his memory will be dear.

'Believe me, with true sympathy and sorrow,

'Yours sincerely,

'LUCY C. F. CAVENDISH.'

¹ At Hawarden.

SERMONS

From a Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Hawarden, on Sunday, April 7, 1907, by the Rev. Harry Drew, Rector.

‘With the thought of friends departed in our minds, there will come before us at this moment one, Canon MacColl, to whose thoughtful and interesting sermons you have often listened in this church, who was with us but a very short time ago, and whom it has pleased God to call at this Eastertide without warning, without pain, into His nearer presence in Paradise. In him we have lost one of our oldest, truest links with the past—one who loved this place and all its associations, and who was always ready to give us his help when asked. We shall always think of him as one of the bravest and best of friends, so loyal, so simple-hearted, with his strong and clear intellect, so affectionate and unselfish in character; of whom it may safely be said that he never made an enemy, though he never feared to draw his sword on behalf of what at the moment might be an unpopular cause if he felt it was a righteous one. “Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.” For him our prayer to-night will be that God may grant him that rest and peace in Paradise on which he had himself so strong and clear a hold.’

From a Sermon preached in St. Saviour’s Church, Chelsea, on Sunday, April 7, 1907, by the Rev. George Edmundson, Vicar.

Peace, perfect peace, death shadowing us and ours?
Jesus has vanquish’d death and all its powers.

‘These words will be sung in the course of a few days in a Yorkshire village churchyard over the grave of one who, only a short week ago, took an active part in the services of this church. Canon MacColl, on Easter Eve, gave an address to Communicants from this pulpit; on Easter Day he was the Celebrant at the 8.30 A.M. Celebration of the Holy Communion, and he was present as a worshipper at Evensong. This service of his, as Celebrant on Easter

Day, the Day of Hope and Resurrection, was to be the last act of ministry the Master was to permit him to perform. Only five days later the call came, and "he was not, for God took him." In a moment, quickly, peacefully, without pain, without a struggle he fell asleep. Surely, to one prepared to meet his God, a blissful end—a translation from a lower life to a higher, without any passing through the Valley of the Shadow of Death—a going home to rest. Canon MacColl was a man of conspicuous ability, unusual learning, and indefatigable energy. He was a strenuous and a ready controversialist, strong in his convictions and fearless in upholding them. He spent a long life in the service of the Master he loved, of the Faith he professed, and of the Church of which he was a devoted son; and he is to be accounted happy in having been permitted to fight the good fight and to finish his course while still in the full possession of his powers. We none of us know when the time of our departure is at hand; and that man alone is truly happy who can feel in his heart that, come the summons when it may, he is ready to say, "Yea, Lord, I come quickly! Here such abilities and opportunities as Thou hast granted me, I have used to the uttermost, but I know Thou hast other and higher work for me to do than any on earth. Into Thy Hands I commend my spirit; be it done unto Thy servant according to Thy Will."

'So God giveth His beloved peace, for to him only cometh perfect peace, whose trust is stayed on God.'

FIDELIS USQUE AD MORTEM



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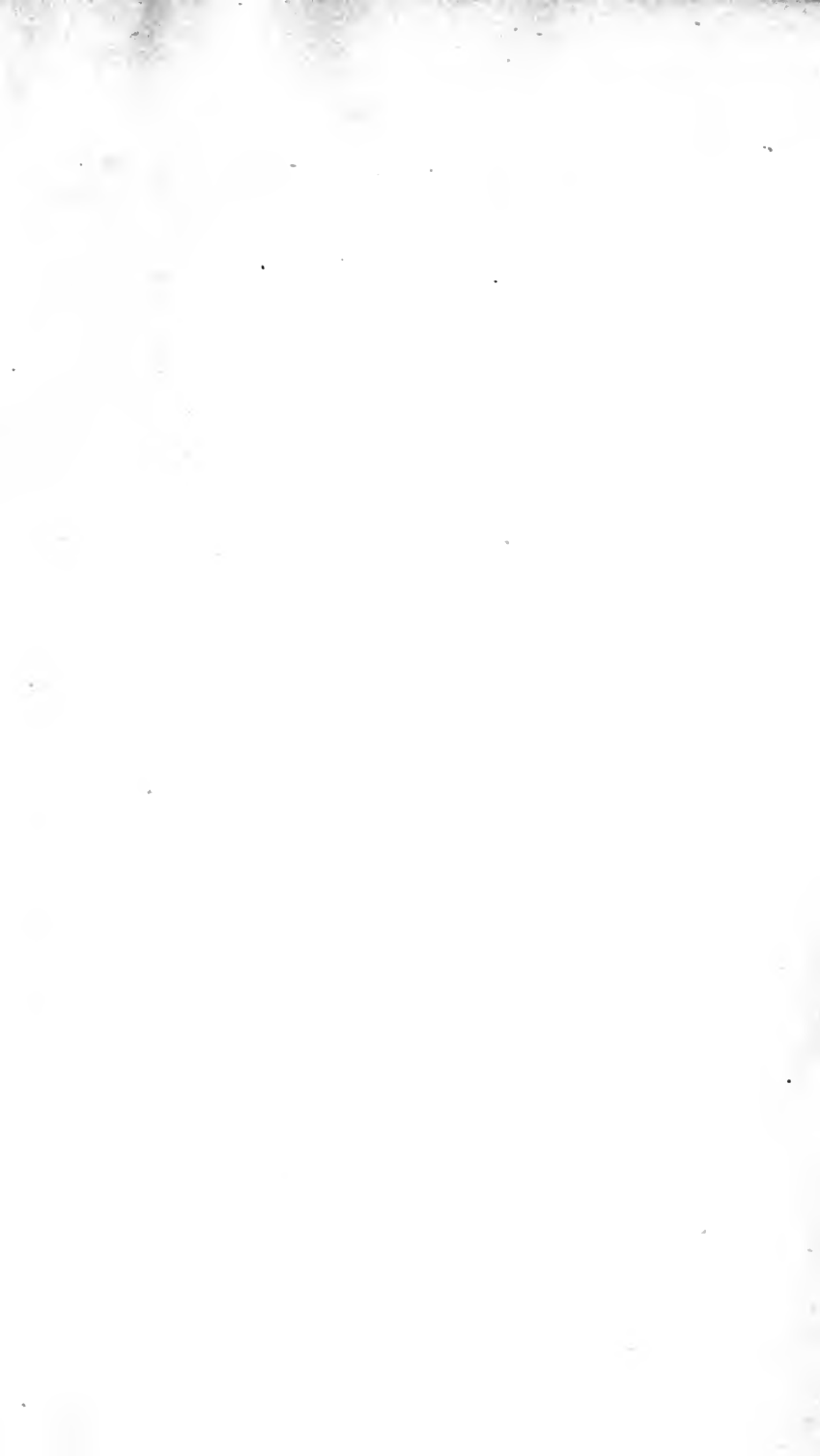
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