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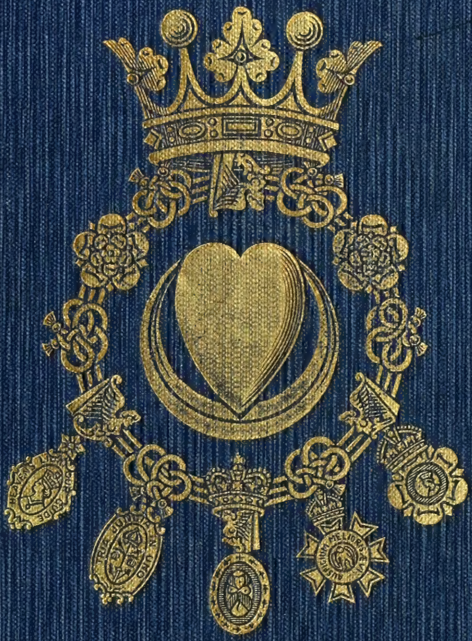

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THE LIFE OF
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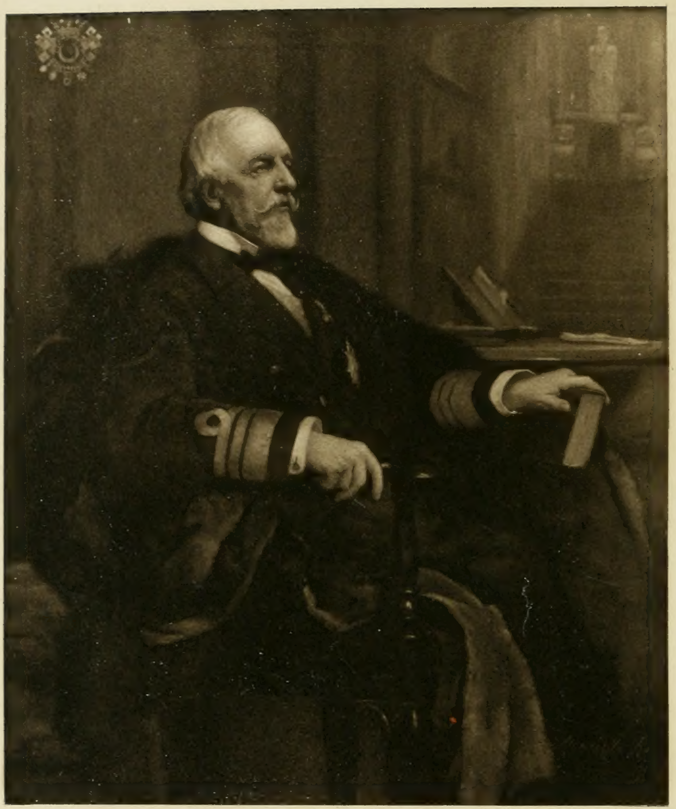

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The Marquess of Dufferin & Ava, 1901
from the picture by Henrietta Rae.

THE LIFE OF
THE MARQUIS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA

BY SIR ALFRED LYALL, P.C

WITH PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

IN TWO VOLUMES

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THE

LIFE OF THE MARQUIS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA

CHAPTER I.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

June 28, 1881.*—"Here we are; and at last I have breathing time to write you a letter.

"We came to this place *viâ* the Mont Cenis tunnel and Venice, and then on by the Government ship down the Adriatic, calling in at Argostoli in Cephalonia, where I found Sir Beauchamp Seymour. On reaching the Dardanelles we paid a visit to the fort, and were introduced to the two enormous guns which throw stone balls like those you see at the doorsteps of country houses. Indeed I have four of them at Clandeboye.

"We did not stop at Constantinople, but came straight on to Therapia. The Embassy at Therapia is a real Palace, built close to the water's edge, and facing the mouth of the Black Sea, through which the north wind perpetually blows in summer as through a funnel.

"On Tuesday last I had my first audience with the Sultan. We went down to Pera in a steam yacht which is kept at the ambassador's disposal, with a suite of nearly thirty persons. The Sultan's carriages, well horsed, harnessed, and driven with an escort, outriders and runners on foot, were waiting to take us up to the Kiosk or summer palace where he now resides. It is beautifully situated on a hill surrounded by a large park, in which he can both shoot and ride. I found His Majesty standing by himself at the far end of the room, a small man with a dark beard, soft eyes, and a gentle manner. I read him a speech in French to which his Minister for Foreign Affairs read a reply in Turkish. The Sultan then suggested that we should both retire and rest after so great an exertion, before having the private interview to which he desired to invite me. . . .

---

* Letter to Lady Dartrey.

"The next day I was invited to dinner. We were asked for 7 o'clock, *i.e.* sunset. We were the first to arrive, and were soon joined by a number of Pashas, though a good half hour passed before dinner was announced. . . . We then went in to dinner, the Sultan sitting at the head of the table with a considerable interval on either side of him. Then I came on his right, and Said Pasha his Prime Minister on his left. There were about five and thirty guests. During the whole of the dinner Munir Bey, the first chamberlain, who acts as interpreter and speaks excellent French, stood beside the Sultan in his stars and ribbon, and conducted the conversation between us, touching his breast, his lips, and his forehead at every sentence the Sultan spoke. Except the Sultan nobody spoke during the meal, and he only in a low voice. . . .

"After dinner the Sultan, I, Munir Bey the interpreter, and my own dragoman retired to another room, and I had a talk with His Majesty for a couple of hours. After this was over, he said he would like to introduce his Pashas to me, and accordingly they were all brought in, huddling together in a corner of the room—these great men in their splendid uniforms and diamond orders. The Sultan then pointed out each to me in turn. . . . When he gave them the signal to retire they all backed out with the usual Oriental obeisance. Shortly afterwards I took my leave."

The trial of Midhat Pasha for complicity in the supposed murder of the late Sultan Abdul Aziz was now going on. The procedure was admitted by a high Turkish official to be a parody of justice, and the evidence "insufficient to hang a cat;" but an acquittal on a charge of regicide did not fall in with the political principles of the reigning Sultan, and Midhat Pasha, while in power as Vazir, had been an active Liberal reformer. When a capital sentence had been pronounced, Lord Dufferin pressed the Sultan to use clemency, with the result that through British mediation it was commuted to rigorous imprisonment for three years at Taif in Arabia, where after a decent interval the unfortunate Pasha was quietly strangled.

In a letter sent home by Lord Dufferin in December 1881, we have an animated description of the annual commemoration at Constantinople of a tragic incident famous in the annals of Islam.

"Last week the Persians here gave a great religious ceremony in honour of Hussein, a great grandson of Mahomet, who, having raised claims to the Caliphate, was overpowered and slain by far superior forces of the reigning Caliph in the year 679. Ever since he has been regarded as a martyr by the Persians. On reaching the great square which constitutes the inner court of the Persian Khan soon after sunset, we found the whole place illuminated with lamps and torches and ball fires, while a procession intended to represent the return of Hussein's family to Medina after his murder, was marching round it. First came a number of men beating their breasts with a rhythmic motion, so as to produce a succession of 'thuds' which might have been heard a mile off. After these followed the horses of the martyr bearing his blood-stained armour. Then came a throng of Dervishes lacerating their bare backs with steel whips, followed by two rows of infuriated fanatics, dressed in white shirts and armed with naked swords. They walked sideways in two linked lines facing each other, and at every step they gashed their skulls and foreheads with their swords until the blood streamed down in torrents over their faces, necks, and white garments. Many of them became a red mass of gore, some of them fainted, and from some their swords had to be taken, so desperate were the slashes they gave themselves. The smell of blood filled the air, and the shouts and gestures of the Mollahs and priests who walked up and down between the two rows, still further excited their madness. I could not have believed in such a sight had I not seen it."

After an interval of twenty years, dating from his Syrian Commission, Lord Dufferin found himself again in the midst of the turbid and chaotic politics of the Osmanli empire. The establishment of an Asiatic sovereignty in Europe and on the shores of the Mediterranean, ruling over large Christian populations, was, and still is, one of the most important and far-reaching events of the world's history; it obliterated and put back for centuries the civilization of south-eastern Europe and of Asia Minor; and it has engendered interminable discord and jealousies among the European governments. From the time of the Crusades every successive attempt to dislodge the Mahomedan Power in the Levant and on the Bosphorus has been frustrated by the conflicts of designs and interests that divided the Christians; and though in the war of 1876–77

Russia drove backward the outworks of Turkish dominion, the Sultan's throne at Constantinople remains unshaken.

In 1881 the Cabinets of Europe were still disputing over details in the execution of the political awards pronounced by the Berlin Congress; and Lord Dufferin's removal from St. Petersburg to Constantinople merely transferred him from one to the other cardinal point on the arena of diplomatic controversy. His immediate business was to supervise the demarcation, in accordance with the Berlin treaty, of the new frontier assigned to Greece, and to extort from the Sultan some beginning of the reforms which he was pledged by his convention with England to introduce into his administration of Asia Minor. It need hardly be said that in this latter undertaking his efforts were completely unsuccessful: he was foiled by the apathy of the Sublime Porte, and by the "absolute indifference to the subject" exhibited by all his diplomatic colleagues, who confined themselves to assuring him that he had their friendly sympathy, and full liberty to do what he could. From the Russian ambassador alone he obtained some attention to the scheme of reforms which he prepared and placed before the Turkish government. But when Lord Dufferin demanded that a Commissioner, empowered to superintend the reforming measures, should be sent into Armenia, the Turks, having ascertained that no other Power but England was taking the matter seriously, easily contrived to defeat the whole project. And the Armenian massacres of 1898 have since proved sufficiently the utter futility of such conventions.

Moreover, Lord Dufferin had barely time to look round him after taking office at Constantinople, before the clouded aspect of Egyptian affairs overshadowed all other difficulties, presaging fresh complications in a new quarter which directly and materially affected English interests. In Egypt, where the Sultan's authority had for centuries been nominal, it had latterly been the policy of England to uphold the rule of an independent Viceroy, who kept open the straight road to India; and so long as the country was governed by a vigorous dynasty our views and purposes were satisfied. When the construction of the Suez Canal threw open a water-way through the isthmus, England, as the chief maritime and commercial nation, became more than ever concerned in maintaining this policy; while on the other hand the immense loans contracted by Egypt gave European financiers a stake in the country, increased the traditional interest of France in Egypt, and drew Germany into connexion with its affairs. No Oriental ruler ever swallowed the golden hook of European money-lenders without fatal consequences to his independence; and in 1879 Ismail Pasha, who had borrowed and spent with equal prodigality, was floundering in the financial net, which was being gradually tightened by astute and imperious creditors. In this desperate situation he resorted to the device of proclaiming himself a constitutional ruler, with the hope of reassuring or appeasing Europe by this parody of liberal reforms; and he next proceeded to decree a financial settlement in violation of his engagements, and to dismiss the Controllers set by France and England over his treasury to secure the due payment of the public debt. As he was unable, in fact, to disgorge the hook, he made a bold effort to snap the line; whereupon he was instantly hauled ashore. His Highness was deposed by the French and English governments, and Prince Tewfik was brought in to reign in his stead.

But repeated experiments of this kind have established one unvarying result. An Oriental ruler placed on his throne by European interference has a very precarious seat; he is sure to be unpopular, for he must lean on the foreigners who set him up; and he is likely to be incapable, for his ability to govern has never been tried, while under European superintendence it never gets a fair trial. The army is his chief mainstay, but also his perpetual danger; because all Oriental armies mutiny sooner or later, and a weak and unpopular administration gives ambitious soldiers their opportunity. It is a sound political maxim that anything can be done with bayonets, except sitting down upon them; if they are a ruler's only stay his seat is uncomfortable and precarious. In Egypt military insubordination soon appeared, and it spread until a revolt broke out which Ismail, who with all his faults understood Eastern statecraft, would have suppressed with a rough hand, but with which Prince Tewfik was quite incapable of coping. He was regarded as the tool of foreigners, and in this emergency foreign officials could not help him; their efforts only increased his unpopularity. After one abortive attempt to assert his authority, all real power passed into the grasp of the mutinous officers, whose leader was Arabi Bey.

The military movement had begun with demands, in themselves reasonable enough, made by some of the leading colonels for army reform. They were summoned to the War Office in Cairo and there arrested; but they were immediately rescued by their soldiers; and after this trial of strength between the Khedive and his army no reconciliation was in fact possible ; for the officers believed, with good reason, that their lives were at stake, and the weakness of the government had been disclosed. Other ominous incidents followed, until the Khedive became thoroughly alarmed and took stronger measures for asserting his authority ; while the colonels on their side organized a formidable military demonstration. Arabi Bey, after surrounding the palace with troops, demanded the dismissal of the ministry and a representative constitution for Egypt. The Khedive, brought face to face with armed mutineers, lost heart, yielded, and thenceforward the mastery and command of his army passed into the hands of Arabi Bey. This was in September 1881. When the news reached Constantinople it created much excitement; and all parties began to calculate how their respective interests might be affected by an Egyptian revolution. The Sultan, discerning an opportunity for recovering his authority over an independent province, was inclined to despatch a Turkish force to restore order and to proclaim a constitution, which might serve as a convenient temporary screen for ulterior measures of another sort. He had been called in, as the Sovereign, to dismiss one Khedive at the bidding of Europe, and to nominate a successor, whom he now desired to remove in his own interests ; nor was it altogether easy to explain to him why the precedent was this time inapplicable.

Lord Dufferin dissuaded him from sending troops ; and as for the constitution he hinted that the Sultan's ardour for administrative reforms might find scope at home. The French government, to whom any revival of Osmanli influence in North Africa would have been exceedingly distasteful, on account of their possessions in Algiers and their protectorate in

Tunis, were even more strenuously opposed than the English to the despatch of Turkish troops or even of a Turkish envoy to Cairo. Austria, Germany, and Russia stood aside, though German views were suspected to be not unfavourable to the Sultan's designs, as Prince Bismarck might have no objection to anything likely to create embarrassments for France.

Lord Odo Russell wrote to Lord Dufferin from Berlin—

> *October* 3, 1881.—"We are told here that—ever since the Sultan wrote to the German Emperor, as the most disinterested of his tormentors, for advice and protection, and the Emperor consented to send him half a dozen or more German officials to reform his administration — His Ottoman Majesty has never ceased to seek advice at the German embassy; but that Prince Bismarck seldom answers, and if he does, it is to say that he agrees with, and gives his moral support to, the united wishes or advice of England and France."

Eventually the Sultan had his way so far that two envoys were deputed from Constantinople to Cairo, in spite of remonstrance from the French and English ambassadors; but on the other hand two warships were sent by France and England to Alexandria, notwithstanding a protest from the Sultan.

For some months, up to the end of 1881, there was a lull on the surface of current affairs in Egypt; and Lord Dufferin wrote from Constantinople that they appeared to have settled down quietly for the moment, adding, however—

> "But people assure me that the calm is only momentary, and that further troubles are brewing. The system we are maintaining there is naturally a very artificial one, and its success depends upon the maintenance of a very unstable equilibrium."

A letter from Cairo, written to Lord Dufferin by an Englishman long resident in the East, gives a concise and trustworthy description of the state of Egyptian affairs in November 1881, and explains its perilous instability—

"I take this opportunity of offering to your Lordship a few observations on the present state of affairs in Egypt.

"During the many years that I spent in Syria, I never once felt the slightest alarm for the safety of myself and family; but I must confess that pending the present unsettled state of affairs in Egypt, I do not feel the same confidence.

"The events of the past eight months have doubtless been duly reported to your Lordship, how a revolted army, led by three or four Egyptian Colonels, have made a series of armed demonstrations in support of their demands for certain concessions, all of which have been accorded to them.

"Some time ago my wife visited some Turkish ladies, one of whom, the wife of a Turkish officer, explained that so long as the power remained in the hands of these Egyptian troops, no Turkish officer's life was safe, and that when her husband was absent from home, at the barracks or elsewhere on duty, she was in fear and trembling until she saw him return. At that time the regiments quartered at distances of three or four miles apart, had posted a number of their men disguised as peasants or otherwise, in order to keep up a constant communication along the roads leading from one barracks to another and to give the alarm in case of any untoward event happening to either of their chosen officers.

"From that time until now all power has been virtually in their hands: the Khedive and his ministers, commanding no other force to oppose them, have granted everything that has been demanded.

"On the 9th of September the army, still led by the three Colonels marched to the Palace of Abdin, and peremptorily demanded the dismissal of the Riaz ministry, the constitution of a chamber of delegates, the restoration of the former Prefect of Police, and the increase of the Egyptian army. With the exception of the latter, all these points were conceded to them.

"When Cherif Pasha accepted the office of Prime Minister, he stipulated that the three regiments should be separated, and they consented to go, one to Damietta, and one to Wady near Zagazig.

"When Ahmed Bey Arabi, Colonel of the regiment ordered to encamp at Wady, arrived at the town of Zagazig, he was received by the people of that town like a conqueror or a dictator; bouquets and addresses were presented to him, and he was called the 'Regenerator of liberty in Egypt.'

"Quite latterly the army has clamoured for the release of a certain Enani Bey who was in prison as a fraudulent bankrupt, by sentence of the legal tribunals. The Ministry summoned a special council to consider the demand, and acceded to it. They have applied for the change of the Sheikh of the native University, the mosque of El Azhar. M. Laffon, Editor of *L'Égypte,* was a few days ago obliged to leave this country on account of a decision of the Ulemas that he deserved death for the publication of an unguarded sentence in one of the paragraphs of his newspaper.

"The pan-Islamic movement in Egypt, of which the Ulemas and the military officers are the leaders, has doubtless been created by the general feeling of resentment to the French aggression in Tunis, and a fear lest a similar European crusade should extend to Egypt.

". . . Should the present state of uneasiness continue and develop into any serious outrages, a foreign occupation will probably be necessary, and this would be the signal for a massacre and pillage such as we have witnessed elsewhere and which I hope never to see in Egypt. I think that any kind of joint occupation by France and England would be provocative of very serious disturbances and of fresh complications, and should therefore be avoided.

"The great Mehemet Aly had his army composed of Turks, Albanians, and Egyptians, and never allowed an Egyptian to rise to a higher rank than that of captain in the army. Thus if one body were disaffected, he could bring it to reason by means of another. But now all the Egyptian army is native, even to the officers of the highest grades, and they can only be put down by means of another force, which does not exist in the country.

"The most reasonable solution of the difficulty seems to be one which may send Egypt many years back in her progress to independence, but even this would be better than the continuance of a military mob in power. I mean the occupation of the country by 10,000 Turkish troops, who should be distinctly placed under the orders of the Egyptian government, and should first disband the present Egyptian army and then occupy their posts until some other permanent solution of the difficulty be decided upon."

But the government at Constantinople was then hardly in a condition to warrant reliance on its undertaking to restore order at Cairo. Upon this subject Lord Dufferin wrote in October 1881 to a correspondent—

"I must thank you for your kind words of sympathy and encouragement. I assure you they are very much needed, for in all my life I have never found myself in the presence of so many difficulties. The administration of this country is completely at a standstill. There is no money at Constantinople, and no security for life or property anywhere. The Sultan insists upon doing everything himself, and the Porte has become a *nominis umbra*. There is consequently no one with whom to negociate, or to whom one can address a demand. As to our notes they might just as well be put into the waste-paper basket as sent to the Foreign Minister.

"The labour of controlling such an Empire as this, even if it were in apple-pie order, would keep a dozen ministers busy, but for one human being to undertake the superintendence of such a chaos is madness, and must end in disaster. Ever since my arrival I can see a change for the worse. At this moment there are 2400 affairs on the Register of the Council of Ministers awaiting a solution. The sense of the hopelessness of their task seems to have rendered the Government callous to all remonstrance on the part of the Embassies against the delays in the settlement of the various matters of business we are pressing upon the attention of the Porte."

In November he wrote again—

"I really do not know what is to be the end of this personal autocracy of the Sultan's. It is bringing the Empire into a state of greater disorganization than ever. Brigandage is becoming equally rampant both in Europe and in Asia, and the whole administration is at a deadlock. I perceive that some of the ministers would be very glad if Europe could do something to put an end to so intolerable a *régime*. It has sometimes occurred to me, if the Powers could be brought seriously to move in the matter, that a united representation on the subject might bring the Sultan into a more reasonable line of conduct; for the relations of the Ambassadors with the Porte have become simply farcical. We all know that any serious communication we may make to the Ministers is as void as though it had been confided to the winds, and that any undertaking they give us is merely provisional, and liable to be nullified by their Master's caprice or inattention."

With regard to the position of Egyptian affairs at the end of January 1882, Lord Dufferin wrote to Sir William Gregory—

"I have been watching as closely as one can do at this distance the course of events at Cairo. Affairs still seem to be in a state of 'unstable equilibrium,' and it is not pleasant to reflect that if a crash should come our position would be one of the greatest embarrassment. If we got mixed up in a squabble with France as a partner it would be sure to end in a quarrel between us. All my instincts are with the national party in Egypt. First of all, I love the country. I never spent a happier five months than when I went up the Nile with my mother. I devoted myself to ancient Egyptian literature, and to this day I have always a book of hieroglyphics on hand. The people were intended by Providence to remain happy and contented in their isolated valley. They ought to be the most easily governed community in the world, as well as the best off and most contented; and if once we could get anything like self-government started upon anything like a secure basis in Egypt, it might prove a beginning for the establishment of a better system of administration in other parts of the Mussulman world."

The situation indeed could hardly have been expected to last long without some fresh stirring of the military party, which had overawed the Khedive and was virtually master in the country. The French and English governments, at any rate, seem to have concluded that there were grounds for serious uneasiness, for after consultations between Lord Granville and the French premier, Monsieur Gambetta, they issued* an Identic Note announcing their determination to guard by their united efforts against all cause of complications, internal or external, which might menace the order of things established in Egypt. This step has been generally condemned as ill-timed and injudicious, because the threat of intervention irritated the Sultan, and startled the Egyptians as portending the occupation of their country by foreign troops. Yet one may doubt whether it was more than slightly premature; for a violent revolution was clearly imminent, and nothing but force could stop it. The Khedive had now little more than nominal authority in the midst of ambitious and turbulent men. Arabi Bey had become Under Secretary for War; and the policy of the National party, as it was called, was to stimulate the animosity, religious and political, of the Egyptians against Europeans, and to interrupt the financial control that had been established by formal conventions. But unquestionably the publication of the Note accelerated the course of events, increased the popularity of Arabi Bey, who was now the most influential personage at the capital, and confirmed the revolutionary leaders in their determination to resist a foreign intervention which would be inevitably fatal to their plans. Three weeks after the issue of the Identic Note came the fall of Gambetta's ministry; and under his successor the policy of joint intervention, by France and England, in Egyptian affairs was virtually abandoned. So soon as this became known at Cairo, the military party took fresh courage. In May 1882, when Arabi Bey's attitude had become manifestly alarming, the English and French agents required the Khedive to dismiss him; but he was immediately restored in office by a menacing demonstration of the notables and the army, who were now fiercely antagonistic to all foreign interference. The Khedive was powerless, and a dangerous commotion was imminent. In this emergency a Conference of the European Powers, represented by their ambassadors, was convened at Constantinople to deliberate upon measures for terminating the crisis. The announcement of this resolution was by no means agreeable to the Sultan, who now hoped that in the general confusion he might recover possession of Egypt; and for the purpose of asserting his sovereign prerogative he despatched a Commissioner to Cairo.

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* January 1882.

This brief summary of the course of events in Egypt has been thought necessary, in order that Lord Dufferin's position at Constantinople, and the transactions which led to his subsequent mission to Egypt, might be clearly understood.

The meeting of the Conference was delayed by opposition from the Sultan, who persisted in declaring that his Commissioner would settle Egyptian troubles effectively. Lord Dufferin's instructions were to obtain from his colleagues a general assent to the proposal that Turkish troops should be sent to Egypt for the purpose of suppressing the revolt against the Khedive's authority, but under strict limitations in regard to their employment. The Sultan objected to this latter stipulation, which he thought would place his army under the control of the European Powers; but he had begun to perceive that the triumph of the National party, led by Arabi Bey, might annihilate the last semblance of his sovereignty over Egypt, and that the secession of Egypt would be fatal to his authority in Arabia. On the other hand, the French representatives at the Conference hesitated seriously over the British proposal. The presence of Turkish troops in Egypt might give the Osmanli power a fresh foothold in North Africa, with the effect of reviving and encouraging disquietude among Mahomedans in Tunis, which France had just occupied, and in Algeria. Lord Dufferin's position, therefore, was in some respects similar to that in which he had found himself twenty years earlier in Syria: his business was to manage the Turks and conciliate the French.

Toward the end of June he wrote—

> "Even when the Conference does meet, I am afraid we shall find great difficulty in reaching a suitable agreement in regard to any of the points indicated in my instructions.
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> "During the last fortnight the question of the despatch of Turkish troops to Egypt has passed into a new phase. Of course the Sultan is anxious to exhibit his military supremacy at Cairo; but Mahomedan opinion is becoming almost too strong for him. Arabi Pasha is now regarded, even at Constantinople, as a hero and champion of Islam; and Dervish Pasha's account of the way in which the Turks are hated in Egypt and of the united front with which Turkish intervention would be opposed by the National party, has daunted the Sultan, whose natural bent it is to gain his ends rather by conciliation than by force. We can therefore no longer count upon the readiness of the Turks to move in the desired direction."

Moreover Austria and Germany looked coldly, if not with open disfavour, upon the project of allowing the Turks to intervene with troops; so that Lord Dufferin received little support on any side.

In these circumstances the proceedings of the Conference were at first slow and indecisive. "What is wanted in Egypt" (Lord Dufferin wrote) "is immediate action;" and he expedited conclusions by warning the Sultan that, if nothing were done, he might find "an Arabian caliph reigning over an independent

Egypt;" while in July, when the British fleet was before Alexandria, the Sultan was informed by him that the Admiral had orders to knock down the forts and batteries, if the military preparations for resistance were not discontinued. Finally, however, after prolonged discussion, the Conference agreed upon presenting to the Sultan an Identic Note, inviting him to assist the Khedive by despatching to Egypt a force sufficient to re-establish order and subdue the faction that had usurped domination in the country. But the military convention under which Turkish troops were to land in Egypt, placed them under strict surveillance as to the objects, methods, and period of occupation; and from these conditions, which the Sultan held to be incompatible with his dignity, he persistently withheld his consent.

Two cardinal points had now been fixed by the Conference as the basis of their proceedings, upon which their future course should be regulated. In the first place, the Sultan had been requested to interpose authoritatively and effectively, but to do so only as an executor of the mandate of the European Powers. Secondly, all measures were to be settled by the Powers in concert, with the important reservation, proposed originally by the Italian ambassador, of cases of *force majeure*, of unexpected incidents—that is to say—when military exigencies would necessarily supersede all other considerations. The Suez Canal might be seized by the insurgents, and recent riots at Alexandria had shown that the lives and property of Europeans in Egypt were most insecure; the Sultan's Commissioner had effected nothing at Cairo, and had written that without troops the Khedive was helpless. Meantime the rapid current of events had already brought *force majeure* into requisition; for on July 11, three days before the Identic Note was presented to the Sultan by the Conference, the British fleet had bombarded the forts at Alexandria; the French fleet had been recalled; Alexandria was occupied by British troops, and the Khedive had placed himself under the protection of the British admiral. Lord Dufferin at once urged upon the Sultan the necessity of issuing a Proclamation in support of the Khedive and denouncing Arabi Pasha as a rebel. But the Sultan objected that Tewfik Pasha was an illegitimate and incompetent usurper, whose accession he had not sanctioned, and whose rulership it would be preferable to terminate rather than to confirm.

On the other hand, Arabi Pasha had telegraphed to the Sultan directly, protesting his fidelity to the suzerainty. He added, however, that

> "having been provoked into a war he was in possession of all that was necessary to get the better of his enemies; and that he did not believe that, as the enemies of the country and religion asserted, he should encounter Ottoman troops on his path, which would place him in the cruel necessity of treating as enemies his brethren in the faith."

Lord Dufferin concluded a long interview with the Sultan by intimating that if His Majesty's inaction were prolonged, the settlement of the Egyptian difficulties might pass altogether out of his hands. Then followed, in rapid succession, the determination of the British government to send an expedition to Egypt, with or without the co-operation of other Powers; their invitation to France and Italy to join in the protection of the Canal; the refusal of the French Chamber to grant the money necessary for the despatch of French troops; and the landing in Egypt of the British force under Sir Garnet Wolseley. By this time the Foreign Minister of the Osmanli government, who had joined the Conference, had accepted in principle the military convention; but in spite of Lord Dufferin's repeated warnings, the Sultan persevered in requiring modifications of the conditions under which his troops were to occupy Egypt, and even demanded that on their arrival the European contingents should be withdrawn. There was here in fact an irreconcilable conflict of views and intentions; for the Sultan desired liberty to settle the Egyptian question in his own fashion and in the interests of his own sovereignty, while the European Powers were materially concerned in preventing any reappearance of the Turkish dominion in North Africa. The British government had now assumed the predominance over the conduct of affairs that necessarily fell to the only Power which had determined upon action: the Conference had suspended their meetings, and thenceforward the negociations were between the Sultan and the British ambassador directly. The former was dilatory and evasive, endeavouring to gain ground by impracticable suggestions and inadmissible amendments to the military convention; the latter vainly urged His Majesty by advice, arguments, exhortations, and warnings to comply with the unalterable terms upon which the European Powers had agreed to invite and to sanction his authoritative intervention in Egypt.

On September 12 Lord Dufferin writes that each successive cause of delay in signing the Convention had emanated from the Turks; and that "what the Sultan cannot bear is that I should require his promises to be put on paper and signed by his

Ministers, though it would be madness not to have them recorded."

On September 15 the Sultan sent for Lord Dufferin to meet the Turkish Foreign Minister at his Palace, and spent eleven hours in attempting to introduce alterations into the clauses of the Convention, to which his Ministers had agreed. The Proclamation against Arabi Pasha had at last appeared, though with some unauthorized changes of the settled text, which His Majesty defended with great argumentative persistency.

But on that same day all the diplomatic knots which Lord Dufferin had for months been endeavouring to disentangle were effectually cut by the sword. On September 15 Sir Garnet Wolseley had routed Arabi's army at Tel-el-Kebîr, and the English were masters in Egypt. Lord Granville telegraphed to the ambassador that since the insurrection had been crushed, he presumed that the Sultan would not consider it necessary to send his troops; and Lord Dufferin was instructed to drop all further negociations.

An Englishman in high authority at Cairo wrote to Lord Dufferin—

October 5, 1882.—"Critics may say what they please as to the task which we have accomplished having been an easy one. It only became easy through the masterly manner in which it was done. The night advance on Tel-el-Kebîr was a wonderful military feat—10,000 men had to march nine miles and to be at a given point in their proper places at a fixed moment, with nothing to guide them but the stars and no word to be spoken above a whisper. At the appointed time they were all within three hundred yards of the work, and the fire once opened they poured in on three sides. Sir Garnet Wolseley said to Sir John Adye on the previous night, 'We shall lose five hundred men.' The actual number of killed and wounded was 480."

The following anecdote is taken from one of Lord Dufferin's letters to Lord Ripon, then Viceroy of India—

December 12, 1882.—"After the English troops had stormed the Egyptian lines and advanced far beyond them, some of the men returned to their original position. On their way back they came across an elderly Arab lying on his stomach with a heap of empty cartridges beside him, and firing away at a high elevation. Some one hit him a crack on the back and asked him what he meant by what he was doing, upon which he replied with some irritation, 'I don't in the least know who you are, I am blind,' and wanted to return to his original occupation of shooting imaginary foes."

Lord Ripon replied—

"Is not your story of the sightless Egyptian somewhat symbolical of the situation you have to deal with, of which a blind fanaticism intent only on getting rid of the 'infidel' is one of the main elements?"

In the midst of this political turmoil Lord Dufferin found time for organizing a regatta on the Bosphorus.

"We had the lifeboats down from the Black Sea, and the men-of-war belonging to the several embassies furnished a fine array both of sailing and rowing boats. But the prettiest sight of all was the race between the embassy ten-oared caiques. They are splendid boats with high gilded poops and long prows, and the rowers being dressed in white, red, and gold, look very brilliant. Our caique won, closely pursued by the Persian. The regatta concluded with a greasy pole hung out like a bowsprit over the water underneath our windows with a pig at the end of it.

"I have had a little steel yacht sent out to me from England which is the delight of my life, as I am able to get away in her by myself from all the pestering troubles that beset me on shore. Escaping from my Pashas, I explore the blue nooks and crannies of the Bosphorus in perfect peace and solitude. . . .

"My yachting is of a very humble kind. It should rather be called boat sailing, but then the joy of it is in handling the ship one's self, for I never take a man with me, though sometimes a lady. Indeed I gave Lady Dufferin a week's cruise—she and I alone—in the sea of Marmora."

"I congratulate you" (wrote Lord Kimberley) "on your brilliant campaign, in which you have covered yourself with glory." And unquestionably Lord Dufferin well deserved the applause and general congratulations which he received for his management of the complicated transactions that preceded the victory at Tel-el-Kebîr. At Constantinople he had to deal with an irresolute and distrustful ruler, to persuade him into moving, and yet to restrain his movements; he had to bring his diplomatic colleagues, representing diverse views and interests, into agreement upon some definite plan of action for meeting an important emergency, while in England his own government were working upon no firmly pre-determined lines: they were led by the pressure of circumstances along the path and to the consummation that their chief had strenuously endeavoured to avoid. In these circumstances Lord Dufferin's steadfastness and circumspection, the address with which he wound his way round obstacles, overcoming susceptibilities, equivocations, and evasions, were of signal service to his country. His indefatigable vigilance and industry are attested by the long series of letters and telegrams which he sent almost daily to the British Foreign Office during the period when the central point and focus of the Egyptian difficulty lay at Constantinople. Yet though the value of his services was amply appreciated at the time, the methods and manner of his diplomacy have been considerably misunderstood. He is supposed to have encouraged adroitly the delays and ambiguous hesitation of the Sultan, when he was really doing his best to overcome them; and although up to nearly the last moment he was pressing the Sultan to a decision, he has been praised for out-manœuvring the Turkish government by keeping matters in suspense until the success of the British arms had terminated all these diplomatic controversies at a blow.

Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, who was present in Constantinople at the time, has placed this matter in the proper light *—

> "There is a false idea abroad that Lord Dufferin's great services to his government consisted simply in prolonging the negociations. Such a service would not have entitled him to much credit, for any second-rate diplomatist can prolong negociations indefinitely when his opponent is not in a position to crush him by an ultimatum. What Lord Dufferin really did, and what justly advanced him to the very first rank of living diplomatists, was this—By a happy combination of sound judgment, resolute action, and consummate tact, he contrived to secure for his

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* "Egypt and the Egyptian Question," pp. 99, 100.

government, so far as the Conference was concerned, complete liberty of action without wounding the susceptibilities of any Foreign Power; and by watchfulness, acuteness, and dexterity, he successfully prevented the Turks from wriggling out of the conditions and restrictions which his government thought necessary to impose upon them. Though often obliged to differ from his European colleagues, he never created amongst them any personal hostility, and though working in an Oriental atmosphere and checkmating Oriental antagonists, he never exposed himself to the charge of trickery or unfairness."

He adhered firmly, in short, to the sound principle that the European diplomatist should never contend against Orientals with their weapons, but with his own.

On September 19, four days after Tel-eł-Kebîr, Lord Dufferin wrote to the Foreign Secretary—

"I often wonder whether my letters cause you the same sinking of the heart as those of my Consuls occasion me. However, by this mail I send you not a letter, but a far more formidable burden, namely, a despatch recording the latter course of the Convention negociations. I do not expect you or any mortal soul to read it, but I have thought it better to frame a connected record of these tiresome transactions, especially with the view of making it quite clear that from first to last we have acted in perfect sincerity and good faith. I was very much irritated when I saw that suspicions to the contrary were being put about in some of the papers. Straightforward dealings should be the very essence of any diplomacy in the East; and here, at all events amongst those who know, there has been no idea to the contrary beyond the momentary doubt in Calice's* mind which I have now removed. What I prided myself on was in having arrived at what I presume everybody must consider a desirable result, without resorting to a single dubious act or expression. Indeed I may say that it has been in spite of my earnest warnings and counsels that the Turks have spitted themselves in the manner they have done. However, the matter is now at an end, and most thankful I am for it. I have not yet ascertained the way in which the Turks will take the dropping of the Convention, but I shall know to-night."

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* The Austro-Hungarian ambassador.

A letter to Lady Dartrey explains further the straight course held by Lord Dufferin throughout these tortuous negociations—

September 23, 1882.—"I have just sent home a despatch of eighty pages recounting the course of the recent negociations about the Military Convention. No mortal being will ever read it, but I have left it as rather a curious page in the history of the Eastern question. I see that some of the newspapers, though they acknowledge that it is a very good thing that the Convention has fallen into the water, are accusing the Government, or rather me, of having tricked the Turks in an un-English fashion, etc., implying that we cheated them into letting us have the Proclamation without giving them the Convention in return. The papers must be very hard put to it for something to find fault with when they fall back upon this absurd assertion. From first to last we have run as straight as a die; but the truth is, as I have myself told them, the fatuity of the Porte has been so beyond belief, and so contrary to their own obvious interests that people are forced to attribute the results which have accrued to the diabolic astuteness of the British ambassador. Our Government really wanted the Convention (in spite of the inconvenience which might be occasioned by the presence of Turkish troops in Egypt) from considerations of general European policy; but it was necessary, in order to minimize the ill consequences of the Turks being in

Egypt, to let them go there under pretty stringent conditions. I negociated all these with the Porte without difficulty, but each time that the Ministers and I came to an agreement, the Sultan repudiated what they had accepted, and suggested some impossible combination instead. This entailed fresh references home, which of course took time; but twice I had the pen in my hands if not to sign at all events to initial the texts which the Turks themselves had drawn up, and twice the Ottoman plenipotentiaries were forced by their master to cry off. Just at the end, when Sir Garnet Wolseley was on the point of winning his battles, I became strongly of opinion that the Convention had better not be signed; but even so it was not necessary for me to interpose any artificial delays on my own initiation, which after all would have been a perfectly legitimate method of procedure had it been necessary; but it was not. The last act of the drama was too absurd.

"In order to gain a particular end, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the private secretary had been sent to me, to propose certain arrangements as a proof of good will and good faith, which hitherto had only been exemplified by the pains which had been taken to increase the privations of our army by stopping their supplies and impeding their transport. The English government having replied to his advances in a very conciliatory manner, I naturally threw into the form of a Memorandum the various undertakings the ministers had entered into on the Sultan's behalf, and requested that it might be signed as an indication that my *resumé* of what the Sultan had engaged to do, and in consideration of which we had given way on certain points, was correct. The minister made no difficulty about agreeing to this, and I imagined the whole thing was settled, when the Sultan sent for me to the Palace and kept me there for eleven hours, trying to induce me to allow this Memorandum to be altered, or rather to be obliterated, and a totally different kind of paper substituted. I cannot give you an idea of the absurdity of the whole proceeding. The Sultan was in one room, and I was in another with about a dozen Pashas whom he employed from three in the afternoon till two the next morning in conveying to me various messages and proposals, each one more impracticable than the other. At last, becoming weary and angry, I got up, saying that one would think I was the representative of a Power whose armies had just been annihilated on the field of battle, rather than of one whose generals had concluded a successful campaign by a brilliant victory, and I prepared to leave. Upon this all the Pashas clustered round me, pulled me down by the coat tails, stroked my hand and almost patted my cheek, beseeching me not to ruin Turkey. In the middle of it all came the news of our occupation of Cairo and the capture of Arabi,* but still the Sultan went on; and as I have already said, it was only after eleven hours had been lost in this manner that I could get away. Even then the Sultan sent to me early the next day, desiring to withdraw a proposition which he had besought me the previous evening to submit to my government, and to substitute for it a totally new one. As to our having cheated them into giving us the Proclamation, I was perfectly frantic when I found that it had been published. We had long before agreed on a particular Proclamation, which had been sent home and approved of, with the exception of a couple of words which the Porte promised to rectify. Day after day I had been pressing the Foreign Minister to communicate the amended copy to me, but he always kept putting me off with one excuse after another. Suddenly, without a word of warning, he sends to the papers a totally different version with the objectionable words preserved in it, and others even added. When I reproached him with his bad faith, he seemed very much ashamed of himself, and admitted that the proceeding was indefensible, but he said he had been forced into it against his will. The real reason why the document was thus suddenly issued was that the Sultan had just received an angry defiance from Arabi threatening to depose him, and indignantly flung at him the first weapon which came to his hand.

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* The telegram reached the embassy while Lord Dufferin was at the Palace, but was not sent on to him there.

"I am treating you very badly in sending you these tiresome details of what after all was merely a storm in a teacup, but what I have particularly prided myself upon in the whole of this business has been in getting the matter settled in accordance with our obvious interests and the wishes of the Government, while at the same time that I have been absolutely open and straightforward. This has been loudly acknowledged by the Turks with whom I have dealt as well as by my colleagues, whom I have kept acquainted with every step of my proceedings, as it was the best chance of keeping their sympathies with us, which I have succeeded in doing so far as our diplomatic action is concerned. Of course they are all very jealous at our military successes, and try to explain them away in dozens of absurd fashions. Some of them pretend that the whole rebellion was a bogus affair got up between us and Arabi. Others say that before we attacked Tel-el-Kebîr we had bought Arabi and all his generals and artillerymen. Others say that it was the Proclamation that dispersed the Egyptian hosts, though Arabi took very good care that not a word of it should reach any of his people. In fact they give the credit of what has happened to everything but the courage and good management of our troops and generals."

The truth is that the stars in their courses—the inevitable determination of events—forced the unwilling hand of the British Ministers; and their triumphant issue out of the labyrinth of doubts and difficulties was largely due to the singularly fortunate coincidence of having Lord Dufferin to conduct their diplomacy and Sir Garnet Wolseley to lead their army in the field. Obstacles that looked formidable in the misty distance yielded so easily to decisive action at close quarters that the whole business seemed to have been deliberately pre-arranged. Nor is it strange that the cautious, tentative, reluctant procedure of a divided Cabinet was at the time interpreted in France, and among foreign nations generally, as the consistent and wily policy by which England accomplished a deep-laid design of establishing her sole protectorate over Egypt.

CHAPTER II.

EGYPT.

THE Turkish government still endeavoured to claim, on the ground of the Sultan's sovereignty, some right to participate in the settlement of Egyptian affairs, and urgently offered to despatch troops for that purpose. But Lord Dufferin was instructed to reply that any discussions of these questions would be premature. The British ambassador, in fact, was now master of the situation at Constantinople, and could remind the Sultan, in taking note of his anxiety to put down disorder at Cairo, that his engagements to reform his own administration in Armenia and Anatolia were as yet quite unfulfilled. But the Palace was at this moment occupied in consulting a synod of astrologers; for by the Mahomedan Calendar a new year was just opening, in which the advent of a Mahdi or Messiah, to regenerate Islam, had been predicted; and events in Egypt might well give meaning to portents of trouble impending over the Osmanli empire. In Egypt, at any rate, the predestined regenerator of Islam was to appear in the person of Lord Dufferin. On October 31, 1882, he writes to Lord Granville—

"I was a little startled by your telegram proposing Egypt, though it had already sometimes occurred to me that my destiny might eventually carry me there.

I have trundled all my things together and am off on Thursday. . . . Yesterday I sent a civil message to the Sultan to tell him of the orders I had received, the purport of which I desired to communicate to him before any one else. He seems to have been considerably startled."

The formal instructions to Lord Dufferin state that—

"at the moment when important negociations are being carried on for the settlement of Egypt, Her Majesty's Government think your presence for a time in that country would be advantageous. . . . Her Majesty's Government, while desiring that the British occupation should last for as short a time as possible, feel bound not to withdraw from the task thus imposed on them until the administration of affairs has been reconstructed on a basis which will afford satisfactory guarantees for the maintenance of peace, order, and prosperity in Egypt, for the stability of the Khedive's authority, for the judicious development of self-government, and for the fulfilment of obligations towards foreign Powers. These objects are in the real interest of Egypt, of this country, and of Europe.

"It will be essential therefore that all measures bearing on the reorganization of the government should be submitted to your Excellency before they are adopted or made public, and that you should as far as possible be consulted at every stage of their preparation."

Her Majesty the Queen wrote to Lord Dufferin (November 1882)—

"to express to him personally her deep sense of the service he had rendered to her and the country in a time of great anxiety and under the most trying circumstances. She had wished to confer on him some public mark of her approbation, but was told he did not himself wish it.

"A far more difficult task is now before him, and she wishes to say one thing to him by which he will render the greatest benefit to his sovereign and country as well as Egypt, and that is by stating strongly and firmly what is the real state of things in Egypt."

In a week from the date of Lord Granville's telegram Lord Dufferin had arrived in Cairo, where he proceeded to business with such promptitude that within a fortnight he was able to send to the Foreign Office one long memorandum on the reorganization of the army, and another upon the question of establishing liberal institutions in Egypt. These, as he said, represented "tentative opinions" formed after consultation with Sir Edward Malet and others, to whom the conditions of the problem were already familiar; and his mature conclusions — which were not, however, materially different—were stated in the final report that he afterwards submitted on the whole subject of reconstituting the Egyptian administration. Meanwhile successive despatches issued upon him rapidly from the Foreign Office, demanding his attention to such questions as the immediate abolition of slavery, the revision of taxation, the establishment of an effective police, the reassembling of the Chamber of Notables, the maintenance of the system of Dual Financial Control, and the terms of a fresh international agreement for the protection and service of the Suez Canal.

These and other matters were somewhat hurriedly pressed upon Lord Dufferin, who telegraphed for breathing time, and hinted some alarm at the multiplicity and magnitude of his duties. Moreover, before reconstruction could be put in hand it was necessary to clear the ground. The jails were crowded with more than a thousand prisoners arrested for complicity in the late rebellion; and the trial of their leaders, among whom the most prominent was Arabi Pasha, had been already committed to an Egyptian Commission, which had been sitting for some weeks. Not only was the prosecution watched with keen interest in Egypt and in Europe, but a large number of persons, whose complicity with recent insurrectionary movements might be disclosed, were in suspense and trepidation while the inquiry was going on; and the English government was anxious that proceedings should be expedited. Meanwhile the trial was making such slow progress that the hearing of the witnesses for the prosecution had occupied fifty-two days. It had been settled that the procedure should be under the Osmanli military code; but the Egyptian government's advocate was a Frenchman, whose ideas on the subject were governed by the procedure of criminal courts in France, and the counsel for the accused were Englishmen, who took their stand upon English rules and methods. The presiding officers knew nothing of either system; they could not decide objections or check the wrangling of advocates; and they only increased the confusion by their endeavours to control it. Toward the end of November, fifty-four days after the trial's commencement, the Egyptian minister placed before Lord Dufferin five manuscript volumes, containing the record of the evidence against Arabi Pasha, and the pleadings on both sides, with the request that after having examined them he would favour the government with his confidential opinion upon the case. Lord Dufferin's hardihood in facing responsibilities has never been questioned; but to undertake such a task as this would have been too heroic, and the papers were transferred to competent legal advisers. Very fortunately for Arabi Pasha, it was found that the evidence did not implicate him in any respect with the massacres that had been committed in Alexandria; for if this had been substantiated, any sentence that might have been passed on him would have been left, so far as Lord Dufferin was concerned, to its operation. And since it appeared, after careful scrutiny of the record, that the only offence clearly provable was rebellion, Lord Dufferin advised the Egyptian ministers to indict Arabi Pasha on this single charge, having first taken steps to ascertain that to this indictment the accused would plead guilty. After some hesitation and remonstrance —for the ministers had been so thoroughly alarmed by the insurrection that they had resolved to make an example of the ringleaders—this advice prevailed. Accordingly, when Arabi Pasha was convicted on this plea, the Court Martial pronounced upon him sentence of death, subject to the pleasure of the Khedive—and they withdrew to receive His Highness's formal orders. Sentence had been given, and the judges were gone. For the moment Arabi Pasha thought he had been entrapped. But the Court reappeared immediately, to read out a Khedivial decree commuting the capital sentence to perpetual exile with degradation from rank.

Lord Dufferin's report on the general effect produced upon public opinion in Egypt by this decree, throws light upon the origin and character of the revolutionary movement which Arabi had represented and led. Among the European colony in Egypt, he said, dissatisfaction with leniency was universal, and this feeling was shared by the entire ruling class of Turkish or Circassian descent, who saw in the late rebellion not merely a military revolt, but the uprising of an oppressed nationality against the ascendancy of their caste. For that same reason, on the other hand, the general body of the Egyptian people, including many of the rich bourgeoisie as well as the fellaheen, were gratified by Arabi's escape from death.

Lord Dufferin was now for the second time called in to rescue an Eastern province from a condition of intolerable misgovernment, to repair dilapidations, to prescribe remedies, and to provide against relapse. In Egypt, as formerly in Syria, he represented European intervention for the cure of acute disorder; but otherwise the circumstances were very different, since this time he exercised undivided authority, the European Powers having left the case to England alone. And whereas in Syria one of his difficulties had been to persuade a French army to evacuate the country, in Egypt he had to convince France that an English army must provisionally remain. Above all, from Egypt the interference of Constantinople had been eliminated. The Sultan did, indeed, make some show of asserting his formal prerogative, by the issue to the Khedive of an Imperial Iradé prohibiting him from adopting any measures for the rehabilitation of his viceregal government without previously submitting them to his sovereign. The Khedive replied, officially, with profuse acknowledgments of the Sultan's religious and political supremacy. But since, he explained, the pressure of the English upon him had become extreme, His Highness found himself compelled, under pain of deposition, to submit to their demands.

> "Le véritable Khédive de l'Egypte, c'est Lord Dufferin. C'est de lui qu' émanent tous les ordres, et le Khédive n'en est que l'instrument de transmission."

If the Imperial government, His Highness went on to say, should insist on the Khedive refusing to act upon his advice, the only result would be that he would be forced to abdicate in favour of his son, who was still a child; and during the minority the English would find means of usurping the whole government.

The English, in fact, were now in the predicament that invariably follows European intervention in the politics of an Oriental state. They had first stepped in to set up, in the financial interests of Europe, a weak ruler over a country where no other form of government than a strong military despotism had ever before prevailed; and, secondly, when the ruler had lost control of his army, they had been compelled to interfere and put down a revolutionary uprising that must have necessarily upset his authority, since it could not exist apart from command of the armed forces of the country. Upon the English, therefore, fell all the responsibilities that in Egypt, as they have always been elsewhere, were the natural consequences of such action; and in this situation the British government lost no time in proclaiming their views and intentions. In a despatch that was circulated to all European governments concerned, they enumerated the changes and reforms which required the concurrence of the European Powers; and they proceeded to direct that measures should also be taken for the improved administration of justice in Egypt and for the development of liberal institutions that should possess the elements of stability and progress. They were desirous of withdrawing the British army of occupation so soon as the state of the country, and the organization of proper means for the maintenance of the Khedive's authority, would admit of it.

This, accordingly, was the task imposed upon Lord Dufferin. He was required to plan out a new edifice upon very insecure foundations, to provide for its stability after the only buttress that could be relied upon to support it should have been withdrawn, and for the development of representative government among a people to whom autocratic rulership was the only system hitherto known.

"I am already nearly dead" (he wrote privately to the Foreign Office) "with all the work I have on hand, upon the top of which I have had three weeks of great domestic anxiety. I am moreover deep in my final Report, which I am anxious you should get before Parliament meets, and which I hope to send off on the 6th. The labour entailed by its preparation will be very great, and beside that there is the daily burden of the innumerable current affairs connected with the army, the police, and other practical matters, of the multiplicity of which no one at a distance can have any conception. Above all things I hope you will never imagine that I attach any importance as far as my own credit or personal interests are concerned to the publication of what I write. Such an idea as that is never present to my mind. My only thought is to carry out the instructions of the Government to the best of my ability, without being in the slightest degree preoccupied as to the way in which my own reputation may be affected."

To Sir William Gregory he wrote—

February 10, 1883.—"With regard to Arabi, I am by no means prejudiced against him. I imagine he was quite honest and sincere; but the grievances of which he complained were not of a nature to justify him in plunging his country into a war which has certainly been very disastrous to the population at large. Nor do I think can his friends complain of the way in which he and the other rebels have been treated. Indeed never has a rebellion been so tenderly dealt with, as I think you will see when you come to learn all the facts of the case. Of course the losing side had to suffer, and undoubtedly have suffered; but the hardships they labour under have, I think, been a good deal exaggerated. The only really bad case that has come to my knowledge is that of the wife of Ghaffar, who has been banished for eight years. She is dying of consumption, and hearing that she was badly off I sent her ten pounds out of my own pocket."

When in February 1883, within two months after the circular despatch had been issued, he submitted his Report, he reminded Lord Granville—

"that three months have not yet elapsed since my arrival in Cairo; that a great proportion of my time has of necessity been occupied with the superintendence and arrangement of complicated current affairs, requiring constant and minute attention, as well as laborious correspondence; and that, consequently, I have had far less leisure than I should have wished to study the various questions upon which your Lordship has desired my opinion."

Lord Dufferin opens his Report with the preliminary observations that it ought not to be difficult to provide Egypt with good government—although hitherto the country has never known it—for we are not to assume that the people are under any incurable disability to appreciate its principles.

"It is true that from the commencement of the historical era the Valley of the Nile has been ruled by foreigners, and its inhabitants domineered over by alien races. Nor do its annals indicate an epoch when the 'justice' of the country was not corrupt, its administration oppressive, and the indigenous population emotional, obsequious, and submissive. But there is no need to imagine that what has been must always continue even in the unchanging East, or that a race, some branches of which have evinced considerable energy as conquerors and colonists, as well as an intelligent appreciation of art and literature, should prove eternally impervious to the teachings of civic morality and the instincts of patriotism, or incapable of apprehending those common axioms of government which the consensus of civilized mankind has recognized as essential to the welfare of a community."

At any rate (he went on to say) the European Powers are agreed upon trying the experiment at the present time, when Egypt has been placed under their protection, when the country has been released from subjection to Constantinople, and is under the unfettered rule of a benevolent and intelligent prince who is willing to govern, to a reasonable degree, constitutionally. Moreover (he added), the Turkish element, that has so long represented foreign domination and administrative monopoly, is becoming rapidly fused into the general population by the influence of a common domicile and a common religion ; and such pretensions to superiority as are still retained by this class may be in some measure fortified by the higher education, the ability, and the energy, of a vigorous race. The introduction of equality before the law, with an impartial selection for the public services according to talents and aptitudes, will gradually obliterate race distinctions, and overpower the claims to exclusive political privilege.

Then follows a passage composed in a style so different from that of ordinary official reports, and so characteristic of the writer, that it must not be summarized—

"Lastly, though obliged to admit that those infirmities of character which have been the chief notes of their past, still cling to the Egyptian masses, we need not be too much disheartened. The metamorphic spirit of the age, as evoked by the inventions of science, intercourse with European countries and other invigorating influences, has already done something to inspire the fellah with the rudiments of self-respect, and a dim conception of hitherto unimagined possibilities. Nor, like his own Memnon, has he remained irresponsive to the beams of the new dawn. His lips have trembled, if they have not articulated, and in many indirect and half-unconscious ways he has shown himself not only equal to the discharge of some of those functions of which none but members of the most civilized communities were thought capable, but unexpectedly appreciative of his legitimate political interests and moral rights."

After this prelude Lord Dufferin takes up the business in hand, which is to devise institutions under which these elementary ideas and capacities may be utilized and developed. He dismisses the theory that an irresponsible centralized bureaucracy is the only system under which Egypt can be kept in order.

"I would press upon Her Majesty's Government a more generous policy—such a policy as is implied by the creation, within certain prudent limits, of representative institutions, of municipal and communal self-government, and of a political existence untrammelled by external importunity, though aided, indeed, as it must be for a time, by sympathetic advice and assistance. Indeed, no middle course is possible. The Valley of the Nile could not be administered with any prospect of success from London. An attempt upon our part to engage in such an undertaking would at once render us objects of hatred and suspicion to its inhabitants. Cairo would become a focus of foreign intrigue and conspiracy against us, and we should find ourselves forced either to abandon our pretensions under discreditable conditions, or to embark upon the experiment of a complete acquisition of the country. If, however, we content ourselves with a more moderate *rôle*, and make the Egyptians comprehend that instead of desiring to impose upon them an indirect but arbitrary rule, we are sincerely desirous of enabling them to govern themselves, under the uncompromising ægis of our friendship, they will not fail to understand that while, on the one hand, we are the European nation most vitally interested in their peace and well-being, on the other, we are the least inclined of any to allow the influence which the progress of events has required us to exercise to degenerate into an irritating and exasperating display of authority, which would be fatal to those instincts of patriotism and freedom which it has been our boast to foster in every country where we have set our foot."

The Report then proceeds to lay out the scheme for administrative reorganization under the three main heads of the Army, the Courts of Justice, and Institutions. Under the first two heads the details no longer concern us; but when he reaches the question of Institutions, Lord Dufferin is face to face with the inveterate difficulties that confront all European designers of political constitutions that are intended to stand on their own bottom and to work automatically in an Eastern climate.

"A long enslaved nation instinctively craves for the strong hand of a master rather than for a lax constitutional *régime*. A mild ruler is more likely to provoke contempt and insubordination than to inspire gratitude. Nowhere is this truth more strikingly exhibited than in this country, and those whose only prescription for government in Egypt is the lash, diagnose correctly enough the symptoms of the disease, however wrong they may be in the choice of the remedy."

Nevertheless, the Mahomedan religion, he says, is essentially democratic; and the germs of the elective principle exist in all primitive communities. We must found ourselves on what already exists, and endeavour to expand it; though "hitherto resort has been had to the very opposite process; instead of seeking for the roots too much regard has been paid to the murmuring leaves: since the wants and instincts of the masses were as little represented by the Chamber of Notables as was the Irish nation by the Protestant Parliament."

There may be here a superfluity of metaphor, but there is also no lack of sympathetic insight into needs and grievances. If representative institutions, as prescribed by the British government, were to be developed, the rudimentary communal electorate supplied at any rate an existing basis and an intelligible starting-point. It may be sufficient here to explain that according to Lord Dufferin's plan the village constituencies would choose by vote members of Provincial Councils, that these Councils again would elect a majority of the members of a Legislative Council, and that a General Assembly would be also constituted, to which rather more than one half of the members were to be delegated by the spokesmen of the villages. But the attributes of the Legislative Council and the Assembly were not to extend beyond the right to be consulted on all questions of importance, except in case of new taxes, to which the assent of the Assembly was made necessary. These recommendations, after approval by the British government, were enacted and promulgated by an Organic Decree, which still remains the charter of the Egyptian constitution. The other reforms inaugurated by Lord Dufferin are too numerous to be catalogued here. Among the most important of them were the revision of the Land revenue assessment and of taxation, the remodelling of the army and the police, and a graduated scheme of public instruction. But Lord Dufferin insisted upon one essential condition of efficiency—the absolute necessity of retaining for some time to come the assistance of Europeans in all departments of Egyptian administration; nor indeed could the machinery have been worked at all on any other terms.

Moreover, the fundamental weakness underlying the whole fabric of an Egyptian government designed and constructed after European models, was foreseen and plainly indicated by Lord Dufferin in the final paragraph of his report. The British Cabinet had declared their intention of evacuating the country whenever the reformed administration should have been set in working order; they had pronounced against the alternative of placing in Egypt a Resident to superintend the experiment, and to preside with influence and authority over the process of reform. At the opening of Parliament in February 1883, the Queen's Speech from the Throne announced that "British troops will be withdrawn from Egypt as promptly as may be permitted by a prudent examination of the country." But how was this to be interpreted, and what were the Egyptians to understand by it? For it was, as Lord Dufferin wrote—

"absolutely necessary to prevent the fabric we have raised from tumbling to the ground the moment our sustaining hand is withdrawn. . . . The administrative system must have time to consolidate, in order to resist the disintegrating influence from within and without, and to acquire the use and knowledge of its own capacities. . . . Above all, the persons who have staked their future in its existence, must have some guarantee that it will endure. . . . Amidst the applause of the liberal world a Parliament was called into existence in Constantinople; a few months later it disappeared, and its champion and fugleman * is now languishing in the dungeons of Taïf. Unless they are convinced that we intend to shield and foster the system we have established, it will be vain to expect the timid politicians of the East to identify themselves with its existence."

Nine years afterwards Sir Alfred Milner † wrote, in commenting upon Lord Dufferin's despatches, and especially upon this report—

"It is impossible for any one acquainted with Egypt to read them without admiration. Their writer's mastery of the subject is extraordinary. Behind all his formal civility to the misleading catchwords, the impractical ideals, which he felt bound to treat with respect, there is a manly grasp of facts and a clear appreciation of the essential needs of Egypt, and of the true remedies for her distress." ‡

Nevertheless, Sir Alfred Milner's criticism upon the report is to the effect that while Lord Dufferin was himself thoroughly aware of the difficulties that encompassed "the slow disagreeable work of reforming in detail," his manner of presenting the case was hardly calculated to make others realize them—

"He was right in the direction which he strove to give to reforming effort. But, on the other hand, he certainly glossed over the deep-rooted obstacles which his scheme was bound to encounter, and above all the length of time which would be required to

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* Midhat Pasha.

† Now Lord Milner.

‡ "England in Egypt," p. 94 (1892).

accomplish it. To any one who looks closely and critically at his words the whole truth is there—the hard actual facts as well as the possibilities of a better future."

It may be questioned whether, in a State paper intended for publication to the European world, Lord Dufferin was bound to enlarge in detail upon the obstacles and conditions of success that must have been present to the minds of the Ministry upon whom lay the responsibility of sanctioning his proposals. The Report concealed nothing from those whose duty it was to decide upon it; "the whole truth" was there, and one may doubt whether it was necessary, or would have been judicious, to suggest drawbacks and discouragement officially, or to provoke opposition by laying stress on the inevitable difficulties that could not be overlooked [as Sir A. Milner has said] by close and critical scrutiny. And since Lord Dufferin had declared very plainly in his Report that the system must have time to consolidate, the objection that he had glossed over this essential condition of success is hardly tenable. It was not his business to damage the chances of his scheme being favourably received in England and in Egypt, or to hamper the action of his own government, which was already sufficiently committed to a policy of early withdrawal, by insisting publicly on other chances of failure, when he believed honestly that his scheme would succeed in spite of them. We have also to remember that Lord Dufferin's mandate was not to treat the project of a constitution for Egypt as an open question, but to devise ways and means for bringing into operation a settled policy. Undoubtedly some of the rhetorical passages contrast with the dry and guarded tone of ordinary official papers. But the style, as has been said, is the man: it was this form that suited his character; and if the language of the report is here and there overcoloured, it avoids no substantial point, and is nowhere inconsistent with truth or reality. This natural exuberance in speech and writing has more than once suggested some reflection, always unfounded, on Lord Dufferin's sincerity; and in the present instance he took care to protest officially against any such misunderstanding—

> "I have seen it constantly repeated in the newspapers and elsewhere, that I myself did not seem to believe in my own proposals, especially in regard to the projected political institutions. This is altogether an incorrect assumption. In writing to your Lordship, the one thought always present to my mind is to give you perfectly accurate information. I should have been wanting in my duty if I had attempted to conceal the inherent difficulty of endowing an Oriental people that has been ground down for centuries by the most oppressive despotism with anything approaching to representative government; but I have no hesitation in declaring that if only it is given fair play, the reorganization of Egypt upon the lines now approved by Her Majesty's Government has every chance of success." *

This anticipation has been so far confirmed that Mr. Fraser Rae, in his book upon "Egypt To-day," † wrote—

"Results have been obtained beyond Lord Dufferin's expectations; and experience has proved him to be as shrewd and practical when framing a constitution as he was bold and dexterous in negociation."

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* Lord Dufferin to Lord Granville, Cairo, April 28, 1883.

† 1893.

Lord Cromer, also, in reviewing the Egyptian administration, has stated that both the Council and the Assembly take an effective part in the government of the country. In his latest Report, for the year 1903, he writes—

"Although the Legislative Council and Assembly have existed for some twenty years, sufficient experience has not yet been gained of the working of these institutions to justify any confident forecast being made as to the services which, in the future, they may possibly render to Egypt. 'The metamorphic spirit of the age,' to use an expression employed by their distinguished author (the late Lord Dufferin), operates slowly. . . .

"Sufficient experience has been gained to justify the statement that Lord Dufferin's main design was wisely conceived. He wished to create institutions which should be 'consultative rather than law-making.' Although one of the institutions which he designed was called the Legislative Council, it was, as a matter of fact, not intended to legislate, but rather to advise about legislation. What, Lord Dufferin said, was needed was to create a body 'which would be always at hand to assist the ministers in the elaboration of their measures, and to enlighten them as to the general needs and wishes of the country.'"

Nor has any material alteration been made in these institutions during the twenty years that have passed since they were founded by Lord Dufferin in 1883.

Mr. Cashel Hoey writes to him in March 1883—

"Mr. Childers lent me his Cabinet copy [of the Report] last week, and *àpropos* of it I had some interesting conversation with him about you. I said that between the lines of two letters I had had from you I read that you were doing your work somewhat under the same conditions as the night-march on

Tel-el-Kebîr, aided only by the stars, was conducted. He said, with great emphasis, that the one thought of the Government was to give you *carte blanche*, leave your hands free, avoid fettering you with any sort of instructions. I said if that were said or conveyed to you nothing could be better, but if Lord Granville had left it to be inferred, it was putting a great additional responsibility upon you. He then said it was he who had originally advised Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville to send you to Egypt—that a few days after Tel-el-Kebîr he wrote a memorandum to the effect that he felt warranted to suggest what in his judgment should follow the end of the war—that he considered it was necessary to send a minister of the first rank in point of character and ability to Cairo—and that you were in every conceivable way indicated for the duty, by your talents and antecedents, but especially by the masterly way you had recently dealt with the Egyptian question itself at the Porte. A day or two afterwards he received a brief reply to the effect simply—we quite agree with you. . . . We then spoke of your Despatch. He said it was admirable, most able, quite what he, and, I think he meant to convey, the Cabinet too expected from you, and with some wonderful brilliant bits of writing characteristic of you."

On April 15, 1883, Lord Dufferin wrote to Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice—

"I reproach myself for not having written to you before to thank you for the very kind and flattering way in which you introduced my Report to the notice of the House of Commons. It was very good of you to secure its being indulgently received. I am in hopes things will now go on pretty smoothly if only we get a good man at the centre of the machinery we have set up. . . .

"The great difficulty of our present situation is the want of money. The Liquidation law left the government just enough to work the machine, and now we are called upon to meet the interest on the indemnity and occupation charges out of our narrow income. But no reforms can be carried out without an increase of expenditure. There are no prisons in Egypt, and without prisons prison discipline and prison sanitation are impossible. The new tribunals will also prove a considerable expense. On the other hand, being forced to abolish departments and to dismiss a large number of civil servants does not add to our popularity.

"I hope to bring our 'Institutions' into the world in the course of a few days. The mechanical parts of the plan will have to be carefully elaborated. By the end of the month my task will be pretty well completed; that is to say, I shall have laid down the lines along which the reorganization of Egypt ought to move, and have come to an agreement with the Egyptian government in respect of every part of the entire plan. First-rate men will have been placed at their disposal to assist them in the consolidation of the fabric; and the rest must be the work of patience, time, and industry."

The British ministry had good reason for the cordial satisfaction with which they received the Report, and acknowledged the success of Lord Dufferin's mission to Egypt. The official despatch, reviewing and recognizing his services, is subjoined—

May 15, 1883.—"Your Excellency's Mission in Egypt having come to a conclusion, it becomes my duty to express to you, on behalf of the Queen's Government, their cordial thanks for your having undertaken the task entrusted to you, and their entire approval of the manner in which you have fulfilled it.

"The untiring energy which you applied to the consideration of the many difficult problems connected with the reorganization of a country just relieved from a military rebellion and suffering in all the branches of its administration from the disorder thereby entailed, are fully appreciated by Her Majesty's Government, and they are highly gratified at the happy results thus far achieved through your arduous labours. They sincerely trust that the reforms which the Khedive and his government have introduced into the administration by your advice, and the institutions which, with your assistance, they have devised with the view of securing the liberties of the Egyptian people and the good government of the country, may be the commencement of a new era of prosperity and contentment for Egypt and its inhabitants. The gradual development of constitutional government in Egypt will be watched with the greatest interest in this country, and in attaining that object the Egyptian people and its Ruler may confidently rely on the assistance and support of the Government of the Queen."

Lord Dufferin enclosed a copy of his Report to the Egyptian Minister, Sherif Pasha, with a long letter of advice and encouragement. But he was fully aware that nothing would put heart or confidence into the Khedive's government, if the proclamation of a constitution was to be followed by the withdrawal of the British garrison; and he probably foresaw that an early evacuation would be found impossible. At any rate, in the final paragraph of his letter, he did not hesitate to fortify Sherif Pasha with assurances of material support, in terms much more unequivocal than the official despatches at that time warranted—

"There is one further word which it may be desirable to add, but here again I must remind you that I am speaking as your private friend, and not in my official capacity. There is no point upon which you and I have been so thoroughly agreed as on the necessity of its being understood by all concerned that the governmental system about to be inaugurated should possess the character of permanence and stability. As long as men's minds are shaken by the expectation of change, every public, private, commercial, and political interest in the country is compromised and endangered. I therefore do not hesitate to assure you that the new order of things you are creating with the hearty approval and concurrence of the Queen's government, is one which is destined and intended both to succeed and to endure. On frequent occasions Lord Granville has expressed his confidence in the Khedive, and his strong desire that His Highness' government should be established on sure and unassailable foundations. Words of this kind uttered in Parliament are not lightly spoken. It follows as a consequence that all those patriotic Egyptians who are now engaged in reorganizing the government of their country may count upon the unfailing goodwill and support of the English people to the very last."

His anxiety to obtain confirmation of these assurances is shown in an official letter to Lord Granville (April 1883)—

"There is one point insisted on by the American missionaries to which, however, I would more especially draw your Lordship's attention, as it so entirely coincides with my own convictions on the subject. These gentlemen say that the only chance of restoring peace and harmony to Egypt is that all classes of its inhabitants should be made to understand that the new *régime* about to be introduced will be invested with an impregnable permanence and stability. If once this idea permeates the population they will accept the situation created for them with satisfaction. As long, however, as they are kept in a state of uncertainty, and their minds are agitated by the idea that other influences and other forces, whether emanating from Turkey or elsewhere, are at all likely to change the present state of things, a perpetual condition of disquiet and disturbance is certain to prevail. It is most important that they should come to regard the system we have called into being as henceforth part and parcel of the immutable order of nature."

With the rash and calamitous expedition into the Soudan, for the purpose of recovering the provinces that had revolted from Egypt, Lord Dufferin had no official concern. Her Majesty's Government had formally disclaimed all responsibility for those military operations, abandoning the whole business to the discretion of the Khedive and his Ministers; and this short-sighted policy of dealing with the affairs of a country in which British authority was supreme "on the theory of limited liability" (as Sir A. Milner has called it), brought its natural reward. A letter, dated July 1883, from Major Hicks, the ill-fated commander of the Egyptian forces at Khartoum, to Lord Dufferin at Constantinople, foreshadows the calamity that overtook him in November. From Cairo he can get no effective help — "my support has gone with Lord Dufferin." His orders are disregarded by the local Egyptian authorities; the delays are interminable; transport and provisions, urgently needed, are not collected; and his confidential letters of complaint to the Egyptian government against the officials are intercepted and made public. The cavalry could not ride; a detachment of infantry ordered to join had deserted with their arms. The opinions of his colleague in joint command, Suleiman Pasha, on the conduct of the coming campaign were almost diametrically opposed to his own, and Major Hicks wrote that he "disagreed with every one of them."

"Camels are not ready; boats and provisions are not collected. I don't see how it is possible for me to march before September, when the crops will be cut, the year's supply of food gathered in, and there will be no forage for the cavalry and transport animals. The apathy and obstruction of all officials is as bad as ever, and at times I look upon the undertaking as perfectly *hopeless*. . . . Hassen Pacha, commanding on the Blue Nile (Senaar), telegraphs that he is *without any food for his army*, and calls urgently for a supply. . . .

"I hear on reliable authority that several of the chiefs to whom I gave the Khedive's pardon, and whose tribes I permitted to recross the river from Kordofan to Senaar and settle down again—have gone to the Mahdi, to Obeid—and told him that although they had returned to their villages, he must not think that they had deserted his cause. They took with them a list of the numbers of men they could still bring into the field. This makes it still more evident to me how necessary it is, that, by whatever route we march into Kordofan, we must establish posts on the line and keep open our communication with our base. With an enemy in front and an enemy in rear, with line of retreat cut off, the Egyptian troops would be worth nothing at all. They are worth but very little under the best of circumstances. With two brigades of Indian troops Kordofan, or the Soudan, would be reconquered with the greatest ease."

"Foredoomed to dogs and vultures," the Egyptian army marched to its destruction across the White Nile into Kordofan. In the "Life of the Right Hon. Hugh Childers"* is a letter from him to Lord Halifax, written some months after the final catastrophe, in which he says—

"We [the Government] disliked the war, but hardly felt justified in interfering. . . . I think we made one grave mistake: that is, after refusing leave to officers to go to the Soudan, not forbidding Hicks, who was a retired Indian, to go, and take others in the same position with him.

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* II. pp. 179–80.

"I was a party, in November, to the prohibition, and was alarmed to find in May a number of officers in the Soudan, and Dufferin corresponding with Hicks."

Truly no one but Lord Dufferin seems to have ventured upon any active sympathy with the unfortunate commander, surrounded by enemies and deserted by the government under which he was serving; while the English War Secretary was alarmed at anything that looked like an attempt to assist him in a campaign for which the ministry had disclaimed all responsibility. In the last letter that reached Lord Dufferin from Khartoum, Major Hicks writes—

"I was very gratified at receiving your Lordship's kind letter from Alexandria. It is the *only letter* I have received from any one expressing approval of what I have been fortunate enough to do in Senaar. I believe that part of the Soudan is for the time quite settled, and will remain so if affairs are carried on in a judicious way in Kordofan—but I am sorry to say that your Lordship's departure from Cairo has been a calamity to me. The idea here was, and is, that with your departure my support at Cairo went also, and the result is that my orders are quite disregarded and my arrangements left uncarried out—promises are made and nothing done."

On November 1 his army was crushed out of being. The Mahdi's victory threw the Turkish government into a panic. They nearly cut off the head of the unfortunate official who allowed a telegraphic statement to slip into the local papers as to the Mahdi commanding an army of 300,000 men. A counter-statement was immediately published to the effect that he could not have more than a thousand men, and that they were all brigands.

Among Lord Dufferin's papers is a letter from Mrs. Hicks acknowledging a kind and sympathizing letter written to her from Constantinople, where the news of the Soudan army's annihilation and of her husband's death had reached him. "Over and over again in his letters to me" (she says) "my husband regretted your leaving Egypt, as in you he had lost the only support he had."

To Lord Lansdowne Lord Dufferin wrote—

"I have been dreadfully cut up by this terrible news from the Soudan. It was a great pity that General Hicks embarked upon so dangerous and profitless an expedition. Fortunately as far as my own credit is concerned I put on record before I left Egypt a strong opinion that the Egyptian government should not attempt to extend their dominion beyond the western banks of the White Nile, but content themselves with the reconquest of Senaar, *i.e.* the province lying between the bifurcation of the Blue and the White Niles, which Hicks had cleared of the Mahdi's people. Had they done this all would have been well."

To Lord Granville—

December 1, 1883.—"I have, of course, been very much distressed by the news from Egypt. I cannot conceive that poor Hicks should have been so mad as to have risked his one small army in so fearfully dangerous an adventure, where the slightest check would involve complete destruction. As you will remember, any advance to the west of the White Nile was quite contrary to my programme. . . . The question of what is now to be done is a very difficult one, upon which I will not hazard an opinion, as the government will have decided the point before this reaches you. I will only suggest that we should think well before advising the Egyptian Government to surrender Khartoum and Senaar and the command of the White Nile."

To Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice—

December 1, 1883.—"The Soudan catastrophe will tell against us in many ways in getting Egypt to rights. Poor Hicks ought never to have risked Egypt's one small army on so desperate an adventure; but I do not think that Khartoum, Senaar, the command of the Nile, and of the communications between Berber and Suakim, should be permanently abandoned, whatever temporary retreat prudence may counsel."

. . . .

"I cannot help grievously lamenting the loss of Khartoum, and I should have been inclined to make some sacrifices to maintain a position which would have checked the Mahdi's advance north. It is an outpost of civilization as well as of Egypt, but I can understand the government in the presence of our multitudinous responsibilities hesitating to undertake so onerous a charge."

These responsibilities were renounced, indeed, with very little hesitation; and Colonel Gordon's subsequent mission to withdraw the garrisons only produced a second disaster. The subjoined letter from Gordon to Lord Dufferin, written in March 1884, may be given here to close Lord Dufferin's correspondence on the melancholy topic of errors and failures in the Soudan.

"*Khartoum, March* 11, 1884.—Thank you for your kind letter 8 February received to-day. I am truly obliged for what your Lordship has done for my friend, who will be delighted.

"We are in a pickle here and I almost doubt if this letter will get through, for the tribes around here, owing to our weakness, have gone over to the Mahdi, and are about to hem us in. We have lots of provisions, but there does not seem to be any likelihood of our affairs improving. As for the Mahdi he is in reality nothing, and cannot move from Obeid; it is his emissaries which raise the tribes, who see by our sending down the sick that we do not mean to keep the country. Of course one cannot expect them to be faithful to me, when they know I only want to get the Cairo employés and white troops down. As for Khartoum, if it falls the emissaries of the Mahdi will enter Egypt and we will have eventually to put him down under great difficulties; for if he gets Khartoum he will have no end of stores and prestige, and of course its fall involves that of Senaar and Kassala and eventually Berber and Dongola. I could only do my best, but things are too far gone to remedy. I have asked Baring to tell me distinctly what he would have me do, for if we are to wait here till we surrender without any chance of relief, the best thing is to fight our way out at once. I have proposed to send Stewart, a capital fellow, to Berber and to take all the black troops and go up in the steamers to Equator and keep that province and Bahr Gazalla under myself for King of Belgians, joining him on Congo. This would stop the slave hunting, and I should be very strong up there, but of course Stewart at Berber would run the great risk of being cut off there.* However, Baring has now full information and I wait his answer. I expect every hour to hear the telegraph is cut and that before he can give me his opinion. We are always *just* too late. The revolt was nothing had it been taken in hand at once, but day by day it grows, and they laugh at my proclamations. I do not blame them for they know we are retreating.

"Believe me, my dear Lord Dufferin,

"Yours sincerely with very many thanks
for your kindness,
"C. G. GORDON."

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* He was captured and murdered not far from Berber in September 1884.

Lord Dufferin left Egypt on May 3 for Constantinople, made a week's halt at the embassy, and travelled homeward across Europe by Varna, Bucharest, and Vienna. Some extracts from his letters to Lady Dufferin may be given here to mark the course and incidents of his journey.

Rhodes, May 4.—"Heaven knows when you get this letter, probably not until you have received another from me from Constantinople, but I like you to know that wherever I am, even though it be a Calypso-like island, I am thinking of you."

Constantinople, May 8.—"We got here this morning after a prosperous journey. I wrote to you from Rhodes though probably you won't have got my letter. Then we looked in at Smyrna where I wanted to see the Consul and some of my old friends. Amongst them were two ladies who were in the first bloom of their beauty when I was last at Smyrna. One of them has now, alas! turned into a podgy middle-aged woman, and the other, who was a beautiful girl of sixteen with a lovely figure, into a thin pallid creature with nothing of her former looks left but her eyes. . . .

"Little Freddy came down in a carriage at 8 this morning to meet me, driving by himself in great state, and thinking himself very much grown up. I send you a charming letter he wrote me."

May 11.—"Yesterday I saw the Sultan. Nothing could have been kinder or more courteous than he was. He said he was perfectly satisfied with all I had been doing in Egypt. I then touched upon Armenia, which he did not like. At last the Sultan gave me my chance. He said something about England wishing to acquire a protectorate over Turkey. Upon this I turned upon him in great wrath and told him I could not accept such a statement, and required to know the grounds upon which it was founded. He said that it was what other people suggested, upon which with great warmth I told him that he was surrounded in his palace by people who knew nothing of Europe and European politics or of the political forces of the world, and that they were driving him and his empire to the Devil. I could not help thinking that the Sultan was rather pleased than otherwise at hearing his friends abused. We then both calmed down, and I led the conversation into a pleasanter channel. He concluded by telling me that he was horribly afraid that I was going to leave him, that India, etc., had been talked about, and that he could never reconcile himself to my loss. I replied that I was determined to live and die at his court, unless he drove me away, upon which he stretched out his hand and gave me a cordial shake, and so ended our interview."

May 13.—"I duly received your letter of the 5th. It is the first in which you write at all like yourself. My imagination has been already haunted by the thought of two wild women being turned loose in Paris with an unlimited credit at the family's bankers. Now it looks as if my prognostications were likely to be fully realized, but so long as you get well enough to wear them, you are welcome to any amount of tea-gowns, morning toilettes and evening costumes, especially as I hope to arrive in time to see you wear them.

"To-day I went to see one of my friends of two and twenty years ago. I left her the most refined and fairy-looking creature in the world, but now alas! she has grown red and fat, and what is worse is suffering I fear from an incurable disease. The house, however, was full of the loveliest children I ever saw, but this did not console me for the destruction of my illusions. I have had to go through a great deal lately in this way. . . .

"I cannot tell you with what impatience I am waiting for the day to start—you have indeed got hold of the tow rope."

By the end of May Lord Dufferin was in London, receiving honours and felicitations upon his achievements in Egypt, and assisting the Ministry to defend their somewhat involuntary share in what had been done. To Mr. Hepburn, a very old and intimate friend, whom he had rarely met since their Oxford days, he wrote—

June 21, 1883 (*from London*).—"Thank you a thousand times for your dear kind letter which has just come to hand. Although I have received many congratulations on the upshot of my labours in Egypt, none have gone so straight to my heart as those contained in your friendly and affectionate words. How strange are the chances of life and how quickly it vanishes away. It seems to me only the other day that we were friends and companions at Oxford. In my tastes and the freshness of my delight in existence, as well as in the warmth of my friendship, I feel exactly as I did then, and cannot believe that I am on the verge of sixty, which in those days we regarded as almost the end of all things—at all events it marks the term of a period of forty years of our unfailing affection, and that alone is a great possession.

"Is there any chance of your coming to town? You talk of going to Scotland. We are going there too in the autumn. If you pass through London on your way, let me know.

"Ever, my dearest and kindest of friends,
Yours most affectionately."

Mr. Gladstone's offer (with the Queen's sanction) of the Grand Cross of the Bath, "as an acknowledgment of the great and growing roll of your public services," was accepted with due acknowledgments; and the honorary office of "Vice-Admiral of Ulster and the maritime ports thereof" was subsequently conferred upon him. Another letter from the Prime Minister requests him "to set down in few words our degree of advancement as respects the most important particulars of preparation for leaving Egypt," as the question was to be raised in Parliament; while telegrams from correspondents in Egypt to the English newspapers were reporting administrative confusion and generally prophesying woe. Lord Dufferin replied by telegram from Ireland that the cholera (then raging in Egypt) had "knocked the government out of time," that otherwise the situation was not abnormal, and that the whole machine only required time to set in working order. In regard to the telegrams, he opined that they were devised for the purpose of scaring the British government, by those who were financially interested in promoting the country's annexation. But the Foreign Office represented to him that British interests at Constantinople were suffering from the absence of an ambassador whose influence over the Sultan was great; so Lord Dufferin cut short his leave, making, as Lord Granville acknowledged, "a great sacrifice" to public duty. By the end of September he was again at Constantinople, vainly exhorting the Sultan to do something towards redeeming his pledges in the matter of Armenian reforms. But all the other European Powers were indifferent and obstructive. Prince Bismarck thought the old Turkish *régime* best suited to Asia Minor; while France was in no humour for backing England's further intervention in the East. The Sultan, whose strength lay in European disunion, became immovable; and Lord Dufferin abandoned the whole question in baffled despair.

The Turkish government disliked and protested against our prolonged occupation of Egypt, which disconcerted hopes, still latent, that Turkish troops might be allowed to replace the English army, and that direct imperial authority might eventually be restored in that province. Nor were these expectations without encouragement from other European embassies at Constantinople, to whom our independent position and exercise of power in Egypt gave some umbrage.

In April Lady Dufferin went with her daughter to Athens. Her husband writes to her from Constantinople—

April 10, 1884.—"Here I am! a bachelor again, and each time I try the experiment I like it less than ever.

"I took Corti back in the carriage and did not begin to 'think long' until I began to walk up the big staircase, when I suddenly felt what a dreadful thing it was for my wife to have run away from me, and left me in this horrible house all by myself. I consoled myself by going on with Victoria's picture until dusk, and then I turned to the papers. We had a dull little dinner at Corti's, but it was better perhaps than dining at home. Our only distraction was a fire, which broke out right in front of the embassy windows, and lasted well into the night. Knowing how matters would turn out I had ordered the carriage at a quarter-past 9: by half-past I got home, and by 10 I was comfortably tucked up in bed with a novel of Walter Scott and a lamp."

Other affairs took up much of Lord Dufferin's time, yet he found leisure for an excursion to Broussa, an ancient city across the sea of Marmora on the Asiatic side, and to sketch the scenery in a letter to Lady Dartrey—

"Broussa was the seat of the Turkish power during the period which preceded its advance into Europe, and it is one of the most beautiful places on the face of the earth. You land at a little port called Mudani on the south side of the sea of Marmora, and you first mount a rather uninteresting and barren ridge which borders the sea. Arrived at the top there stretches beneath you an extensive and lovely plain, watered by several streams, and brilliant with cornfields, vines, olives, and stretches of woodland. Beyond this plain, and directly fronting you, rises a magnificent violet stretch of mountain, the highest point of which is covered with snow — the famous Mount Olympus of Homer, where the Gods sat and discussed the fortunes of the Greeks and Trojans, and whence Zeus thundered his displeasure. The western end of the plain stretches away towards Mount Ida, while the other is bounded by an amphitheatre of hills, which, when we saw them, shone like jewels in the sun; for as good luck would have it, a tremendous thunderstorm had gathered in the distance, and dyed Olympus and his adjoining peaks with the deepest, blackest violet, athwart which the setting sun shot level shafts of orange and gold. . . . The town itself nestles between the spurs of the mountains, and upon the craggy plateaus which rise one above the other at its base. But the chief features of beauty are the bubbling springs which burst out in every direction beneath your feet, spreading a wealth of verdure throughout the entire neighbourhood. Most of them are of the purest ice cold water —others are boiling hot and saturated with sulphur or iron."

In a letter to Mr. Hepburn he said—

"The condition of Egypt is a great disappointment to me, especially as all the evils which have come upon us might have been so readily avoided. It was Hicks's unfortunate expedition into Kordofan that let in the deluge, superinduced bankruptcy, and the loss of thousands of lives. . . .

"My wife and my daughter go to England late in the autumn, whither I shall follow them next spring for a good long holiday, which I shall have earned by a two years' banishment."

Early in August 1884, however, he received a telegram informing him that he would be appointed to succeed Lord Ripon in the Governor Generalship of India.

"It took me" (he wrote to Lord Granville) "very much by surprise, for although at one time my thoughts had been very strongly turned toward India, I had settled down so completely to my happy existence here that my mind never recurred to the idea. I am very sensible of the confidence shown me by the government; but no one accepts such a heavy charge with a light heart, and it entails many severe domestic sacrifices."

Before quitting Constantinople in September he heard of Lord Ampthill's * death, and in a letter of great sympathy to Lord Arthur Russell, he said—

"We lost sight of each other for many a long day, until I passed through Berlin on my way to St. Petersburg, after which we became faster friends than ever, when I conceived the greatest admiration for his professional ability, and felt anew the charm of his sweet, amiable nature and bright intellect. There is no one in the whole service even second to him as a diplomatist. It must be very gratifying to you all to see the universal recognition both in Germany and in England, and I may say in Europe, of his great talents, but his abiding fame is destined to be greater still when the history of these times is written, and his despatches and correspondence are

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* Previously Lord Odo Russell.

published. He will then stand out as one of the leading historical figures of the last thirty years, and what he has written will probably prove the most trustworthy source from which the historian will draw the Continental history of our times."

On his way to England Lord Dufferin passed through Vienna, where he had some conversation with Count Kalnoky, the Austro-Hungarian prime minister, upon Turkish and Egyptian affairs, and arrived in London in the latter part of September. Throughout his career the steps on his upward promotion had been divided by short intermediate spaces; and on this occasion little or no leisure was allowed him. He found himself under pressure to take over charge of the Governor Generalship in India early in December, because an important measure, the Bengal Rent Bill, was before the Legislative Council, which holds its sittings during the brief season of cool weather in Calcutta; and it was a matter of urgency that the Bill should pass during the coming session. A torrent of correspondence poured in upon him immediately after his arrival in London; innumerable congratulations on his appointment from friends at home and abroad, from foreigners as well as from compatriots; applications from a legion of candidates for places on his staff; and letters of welcome from high officials in India who desired to expound without delay their views upon pending questions. Discussions at the India Office over the state and prospect of Indian affairs, interviews with ministers, ex-Viceroys, and others of Indian experience, a visit to his Irish estates, a journey to Balmoral—public business and private engagements—had all to find room between narrow limits of time. For Lord Dufferin had consented, at some really considerable sacrifice of personal convenience, to set out on his voyage to India, with five years' absence before him, within not more than eight weeks of his return to England from Constantinople. From a heap of papers one letter may be selected to show that amidst heavy and multifarious occupations old acquaintance was never forgotten.

To Mr. Hepburn he wrote—

"I was so glad to get your letter, and I only wish every one was as considerate as you, though no amount of obligatory correspondence would have stood in the way of my returning you an immediate answer. I know I have not a better or truer friend in the world than you, and your constant love and affection has been one of the greatest encouragements of my life. You well know too how warmly I return it.

"I am just back from Ireland and Balmoral. I am always glad to see the Queen, she has been so constantly kind and good to me from my early days. I had a very pleasant meeting in Ireland with all my old friends, and certainly no English Pro-Consul ever started for his government under more prosperous auspices; but the universal approbation with which my nomination has been received rather appals me, for I well know how impossible it will be to fulfil such high expectations, particularly in the discharge of a task which has become terribly difficult. However, if only my health stands, I dare say I shall pull through all right; and I trust on returning that I may be met by your cheery greeting, and may have an opportunity of enhancing my own respectability by being seen walking arm in arm with you in the London streets.

"Ever, my dear old friend,
"Yours affectionately.

On October 15, at a banquet given to him in Belfast, Lord Dufferin spoke of the Indian Governor Generalship as "a task more arduous, more responsible, and more honourable than any which had hitherto been imposed upon him." After naming the famous soldiers and administrators—the Wellesleys, the Lawrences, Lord Mayo, and Lord Roberts—whom Ireland and especially Ulster had sent out to the field of Indian war and government, he referred with his innate generosity to "the hundreds of high-minded officials unknown and unrewarded who are faithfully expending their existence in the solitude of their districts, for their Queen, their country, and those committed to their charge."

"The days" (he said) "when great reputations are to be made in India are, happily perhaps, as completely past as those in which great fortunes were accumulated. Famous Indian Pro-Consuls are no longer required by their superiors or compelled by circumstances to startle their countrymen by the annexation of provinces, the overthrow of dynasties, the revolutionizing of established systems, and all those dramatic performances which invariably characterise the founding and consolidation of new-born empires. Their successors must be content with the less ambitious and more homely, but equally important and beneficent, work of justifying the splendid achievements of those who have gone before them. . . .

"One thing I can promise you, that neither amongst those who have lived and laboured and who have disappeared from the scene, nor amongst those who are still working for the good of England and of India, will any have set forth more determined to walk fearlessly and faithfully in the unpretending paths of duty. I imagine the greatest success and triumph I can obtain is that, from the time that I depart from these shores and wave a grateful response to the farewell you are saying to me to-night, even the echo of my name may never be wafted to your ears until at the end of my official term I stand again amongst you, having won from the historian of the day no higher encomium or recognition than that my administration was uneventful, but that I had kept the empire entrusted to my guardianship tranquil and secure."

That such hopes and intentions, predestined to frustration by experience, should have often been professed by a Governor General designate, is no reflection on their sincerity—

"I shall regard it" (said Lord Dalhousie in his speech* before leaving England in 1847) "as a fortunate and enviable lot indeed, if free from foreign aggression and internal turmoil, my chief duties, during the time that I may serve you, shall consist in suggesting and carrying out those great measures of internal improvement which you are so desirous of promoting."

Undoubtedly both Governors General accomplished much for the betterment of interior administration and the welfare of the Indian people; but in each period their ideal of a calm uneventful regency was signally disappointed.† Lord Dalhousie's name recalls a period of war, conquest, and annexation. Lord Dufferin was drawn far into the meshes of Afghan politics, narrowly avoided hostilities with Russia, and completed Lord Dalhousie's work in Burmah by adding the rest of that kingdom to the British sovereignty. But a peaceful and permanent frontier of the Indian empire is still like that margin of an untravelled world, which Tennyson's Ulysses saw ever fading before him as he followed it. Lord Dufferin, indeed, brings the old Greek hero into another part of his Belfast speech, where he touches a different note in acknowledging a libation to Lady Dufferin—

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* At a farewell dinner given to him by the Court of Directors.

† "Audiit, et voti Phœbus succedere partem
Mente dedit; partem volucres dispersit in auras"
(*Æneid*, xi. 794),

or, in the Baron of Bradwardine's version—

"Ae half the prayer wi' Phœbus grace did find,
The t'other half he whistled down the wind."

"In ancient times there was a certain well-known—I dare not call him distinguished—Grecian chief who wandered over many seas and visited many cities and conversed with many men, but wherever he went he was followed by the mysterious influence of the goddess, who suggested to him at all times and seasons what he was to do and say, who smoothed his path before him and rendered his progress miraculously successful. My lords and gentlemen, it is no exaggeration to say that during the course of my public career no ancient goddess of Grecian mythology could have rendered me more effective aid, could have extended over me more completely the ægis of her sweet wisdom and comforting counsel, than that of the lady to whose health you have just paid this tribute of respect."

From Clandeboye Lord Dufferin wrote to his wife (October 16)—

"The banquet went off last night beautifully. It was a lovely scene, very full, the wolf and the lamb lying down together, the most bitter enemies sitting cheek by jowl, and the Catholic bishop hobnobbing with the Presbyterian moderator. My speech was very well received, though, except the allusions in the first part, I did not myself think much of it. When I sat down there was a great deal of cheering, but this was not inspired by the sentiments of the speech, but simply by kindly feelings towards myself, for the audience naturally are not very much interested in India.

"I have received to-day seventy letters, but none of those I have as yet opened seem to be of importance. You must forgive me for these scurvy little scrawls, but I have innumerable stupid people to answer.

"P.S.—They drank your health with great enthusiasm, and you will see that in my reply I compared you to a tutelary Greek goddess. Could a husband do more for his wife?"

On November 13, 1884, he took ship from London with Lady Dufferin and his daughter for Bombay.

CHAPTER III.

INDIA.

No Governor General ever came to India so well equipped by antecedent experience for the work as Lord Dufferin. Lord Elgin, indeed, had preceded him in Canada, and in two missions to China he had proved his high capacity for dealing with Oriental politics. But the appointments previously held by Lord Dufferin had been of such a kind that if they had been purposely undertaken as a course of preparatory training for the Indian Viceroyalty, a more appropriate selection could hardly have been made. In Syria, and long afterwards in Turkey, he had learnt the difficult art of dealing with Asiatic rulers and officials; he had studied their weakness and their strength. At St. Petersburg and Constantinople he had represented the interests of England on the Eastern Question, and all the issues connected with the wider field of Central Asia were familiar to him. Lastly, in Egypt he had been entrusted with a task that has been continually imposed upon the English government in India—the task of reforming and reconstructing under European superintendence the dilapidated fabric of an Oriental State.

In the beginning of December 1884, Lord and Lady

Dufferin reached Bombay. Their arrival, and the Viceroy's first impressions of India, are described in a letter to Lady Dartrey—

January 13, 1885.—"We are now settled down at Calcutta, though I have hardly yet recovered my breath after the tremendous plunge I have taken. The amount of business is overwhelming, but in other respects we are very prosperous. The place is beautiful; the climate is delicious; the society very pleasant; and in addition to the Calcutta residence we have a country house with a fine English park on the banks of the Ganges, about fourteen miles off. . . .

"Our landing in Bombay was really a beautiful sight. We were asked to remain on board the ship until half-past four in order that the troops and the spectators might not be inconvenienced by the sun. The fleet had been collected to add dignity to our 'Avatar,' and filled the bay with smoke and thunder. The town is situated on an island, or rather on a peninsula, with some picturesque heights and hills standing up round it. The temperature was exquisite, the atmosphere full of light, while balmy breezes prevented it being too hot. You can easily imagine the scene upon the quay, bright with guards of honour, cavalry escorts, and military and civil dignitaries in uniform; but what it would be impossible for you to conceive was the extraordinary strangeness and beauty of the streets. We had to drive six miles from the landing-stage to Government House, and the road on either side was lined by crowds of men in every sort of costume interspersed with others with scarcely any clothes at all. Indeed, there were a good many ladies who were by no means profusely clad. But what was unimaginable was the colouring of the whole. A bed of flowers gives you no conception of its brilliancy. Nor indeed was brilliancy its chief characteristic, but rather the most delicious harmony —subdued reds and blues and yellows intermingled with a confused mass of dusky limbs and faces, and eyes that sparkled like jewels. They cheered vociferously, with almost as full an intonation as an English crowd. At the same time they clapped their hands or bowed low, touching their foreheads or putting their palms together. As we passed from the richer quarters of the town into the streets where the mechanics dwelt, the spectacle was still more startling, as not only the streets but the windows of the houses were lined with a mass of human beings with scarcely a stitch on their bodies. In fact, there is nothing strikes the new-comer so much as the summery appearance of everybody. . . .

"Nothing surprised me more than to find the European portion of Bombay having so much the appearance of a university town. It is crammed with handsome buildings in blue and white stone in the collegiate Gothic style. Many of these have been erected at the cost of rich Parsees. One school was filled with Parsee ladies and girls, dressed in every kind of lovely silk and satin.

"I opened an Institution for sick cattle. Having pulled the doors of a cowshed asunder amidst the cheers of the people, a gentleman advanced, bearing in his hand a tray filled with fruits and vegetables, cocoa-nuts and eggs, and bottles of variously coloured unguents. The eggs he dashed upon the ground, to the great detriment of the ladies' dresses. He broke the cocoa-nuts and sprinkled the milk around. He then smeared the lintels of the door-post with his red and yellow coloured ointments, and finally strewed the rest of the contents of his basket on the ground. It was like seeing a chapter of Leviticus in action.

"This house is an enormous building, like a body with four legs sprawling out from it. The body consists of a single hall floored with marble, and with a double row of marble columns running from one end of it to the other. The legs constitute four wings, in one of which my wife and I have pitched our tent, two of the remaining wings being devoted to guests.

"I liked Bombay much better than Calcutta, the air being far pleasanter. In Calcutta it is damp and muggy and more or less depressing, though not so much so, at all events at present, as the Bosphorus."

Very few Indian Viceroys have taken over charge of the greatest office under the British Crown without being startled by the volume, importance, and complexity of the work that instantly encompasses them. After a fortnight in Calcutta Lord Dufferin wrote to Lord Granville that in his new situation he felt "very like a man who has been suddenly pitched head foremost into a cauldron of hot water, who has risen to the top, choking and spluttering, and who finds it very difficult to keep his head above the rising inundation of business that pours in upon him from every side." Nevertheless he very soon made good his footing; and his first step was to declare that a change in the Governor Generalship signified no breach between the future and the past—

"I felt the necessity of being very wary in my first utterances" (he wrote to Lord Halifax in January 1885); "but I lost no time in making every one aware that there was to be no dissolution of continuity between Lord Ripon's policy and my own. Nothing would have been more fatal than if a suspicion had gone abroad amongst the natives that I was disposed to abandon in any particular the friendly attitude he had so courageously maintained towards them. I sincerely trust that when he reaches England he will obtain the credit he deserves. No Viceroy has laboured so conscientiously or so uninterruptedly for the good of the millions entrusted to his care; and I have been immensely struck by the ability, the moderation, and the good sense of his semi-official correspondence with Lord Kimberley. I have already announced my intention of fostering to the utmost of my power the beneficent projects he instituted for the good of the people; and I shall be quite content if I can leave the country under the same honourable conditions which attended his departure."

It may be here added that after eighteen months' residence in India he wrote to Lord Ripon—

"In all my private letters, whether addressed to your political opponents or to your friends, I have invariably borne the most earnest and warm testimony to the ability, the industry, the conscientiousness and the noble and lofty spirit which characterized your control of affairs, as was evinced by every paper of yours that came under my eye. The only criticism that has ever occurred to me in reference to your proceedings has been that in rendering yourself so popular with the natives, you have made the position a little difficult for your successor."

One project of law, actually in hand and immediately urgent, was the Bengal Tenancy Bill, which had been initiated by Lord Dufferin's predecessor. Of all legislative business that comes before the Indian Councils the adjustment of land tenures is perhaps the most important and difficult; and since the questions that arise are essentially similar, though differentiated by local circumstance, the most convenient method of dealing with them here may be to give a concise and consecutive account of the three land laws passed under Lord Dufferin's administration; although the chronological order of the general narrative must for this purpose be interrupted.

It is well known that some of the most serious and complicated problems of Indian government have grown out of the extraordinary diversity and intricacy of the land tenures in a country where they are almost as multiform and flexible as the religious beliefs. They have been made and marred by centuries of political and social vicissitudes, by the needs and expedients of chronic insecurity, and the slow alteration of economic conditions. From the beginning of our dominion there has hardly been a time when the government has not been occupied in some part of India with the investigation of systems of rent or rights, and with framing laws to finish disputes or to remedy agrarian grievances. Since all Asiatic States have drawn the greater part of their revenues from the land, the partition of the surplus profits of agriculture has invariably been to them a matter of high importance. But under the native rulerships there had been no continuity of the fiscal administrative system, for the alternate predominance of one side or of the other, of those who could exact the uttermost rent, and those who managed to withhold it, had produced a constant struggle and a swaying to and fro of the fiscal demand. In this manner, by this perpetual strife between conflicting interests, by local circumstances and the course of historic events, there had grown up the curious medley of systems, and the miscellaneous variety of proprietary and cultivating tenures, which the English found in the different provinces of India that came under their dominion. The fluctuating and precarious nature of all tenures antecedent to British rule, bearing traces of constant shifts and violent changes, opened a door to every kind of theory as to the basis upon which the relations between landlord and tenant should be permanently recognized. Lord Ripon, as soon as his successful settlement of Afghanistan had left him at leisure for internal affairs, had turned his attention towards the hardly less arduous enterprise of readjusting the relations between landlord and tenant in two very important provinces of India. His proposals for the better protection of tenants in Bengal inevitably raised strenuous opposition from the most powerful body of landlords in India; but for two years Lord Ripon had been carrying on the contest, yielding ground here and there, yet steadily holding his main points, until he made over the reins of office to his successor. It then became Lord Dufferin's duty to assume command of the legislative forces of the government in the field, and to complete an unfinished campaign.

The new Viceroy, however, was unusually familiar with almost all the issues raised by the Bengal Tenancy Bill. He had been Under-Secretary of State at the time when Lord Lawrence, as Governor General, by insisting on an investigation of the status of ryots in Oudh, set on foot a famous discussion, in which all the highest authorities in India and at the India Office took different sides. The active part which Lord Dufferin had constantly taken in discussions of the agrarian questions in Ireland, and the resemblance between those questions and similar problems in India, enabled him to preside over the debates of the Indian Council Chamber with weight and undeniable authority. No better training, in short, than that of the India Office and of Irish politics could have been given to a statesman who had to pass a Bengal Tenancy Bill within a few months after his arrival at Calcutta. What meaning and what measure of legal recognition should be allotted to usage and prescription, how far the law ought to interfere for the control and modification of agricultural contracts, to what extent double ownership in land can be adjusted by definition, what limits should be placed on enhancement, ejectment, and distraint, how the tenants' right to make improvements and to be compensated for them on disturbance should be secured—all such questions are common, more or less with differences and variations, to Ireland and to India, to our greatest as to our earliest territorial acquisition by arms beyond the English seas. In India, as in Ireland, we were still actively engaged in mediating between the two interests of ownership and occupancy in agriculture—interests which still, as of old, lie at the basis of civil society, and are yet so sensitive to economic change that the most skilful attempts to distribute them formally or to provide by legislation, however elastic, for all the incidents of the connexion, have hitherto failed to prevent severe periodical strains. But whereas in Ireland the superior ownership and the rent went altogether to private landlords, in India both property and profit have usually been shared between the landholders and the State. This has given to all Indian administrations a very direct and substantial motive for looking vigilantly to the position and rights of the cultivators; while, as Mr. Froude has observed, the fact that in India there is practically no English landlordism has kept these questions free from entanglement with the rivalry of races. To a Viceroy of Lord Dufferin's antecedents the whole subject presented features of curious analogy and familiar characteristics; and he took an early occasion of publicly expressing his satisfaction at finding himself associated with the passing of the Act. In Canada he had found Irishmen who had no agricultural grievances; in India he found the grievances without the political animosities of Ireland. In Egypt, again, the condition of the fellah, overburdened by mortgages, and at the mercy of usurers, resembled in some particulars the state of the Indian cultivator. Lord Dufferin's position enabled him to arbitrate with conclusive authority between landlord and tenant upon the several matters which, after long debate and still longer report-writing, still remained undetermined. The final decision of the Legislative Council was on some of these points in favour of the landlord; but the tenant's status, his hold on the land he occupied, and his safeguards against arbitrary dispossession, were all very materially strengthened by the Act as it was finally settled. The principle of the Act may be said to have been based upon a system of fixity of tenure at judicial rents; and its three main objects were—first, to give the settled raiyat the same security in his holding as he enjoyed under the old customary law; secondly, to secure to the landlord a fair share of the increased value of the produce of the soil; and thirdly, to lay down rules by which all disputed questions between landlord and tenant could be reduced to simple issues and decided upon equitable considerations. The maintenance of the principles of the Act was further safeguarded by a section which restricted the power of entering into contracts to defeat its fundamental provisions. Lord Dufferin, in moving that the Bill should pass, disallowed in very plain terms the main contention of the landlord party, that an interference between Bengal zemindars and their tenants amounted to an infringement of the permanent settlement made by Lord Cornwallis in 1798 As a matter of fact, the measure supplemented and fulfilled reforms that Lord Cornwallis had been contemplating, but was obliged to leave incomplete.

A second measure of the same kind was passed later in Lord Dufferin's Viceroyalty. In 1882 Lord Ripon's government, acting upon disclosures elicited by a particular case, had directed an inquiry to be made into the condition of the tenants in Oudh; and upon the report thereafter submitted a scheme for protecting tenants from capricious eviction had been proposed to the Secretary of State. But as these proposals were not accepted, and were even generally discouraged, it remained for Lord Dufferin to decide whether they should be again pressed, after revision, upon the India Office, or whether the whole scheme should be dropped. Lord Dufferin, after taking counsel with the local authorities, resolved that Lord Ripon's policy was right, and that for the purpose of protecting the tenant and improving his security, the law must be amended. Here again Lord Dufferin's experience, as a landlord and as a legislator, of similar difficulties and their remedies invested him with great influence in bringing the whole matter to an amicable conclusion. As the Bengal zemindars had appealed to the permanent settlement of 1798, so the Oudh talukdars were disposed to find their *magna charta* in a declaration made in 1866, that the Oudh tenant had been found to possess no right of prescriptive occupancy. Whether this meant that he must be left exposed in perpetuity to arbitrary ejectment or unlimited rack-renting, was the point at issue; but to attempt a recapitulation of the controversy would be now out of place. Every one agreed that rents must vary with the circumstances of a country, and no one maintained that in Oudh the ordinary tenant had any proprietary right in his holding. But the landlords claimed illimitable power to eject or enhance, while by law the cultivating tenure held good for twelve months only; a state of things that led to depression of the cultivating classes and was undeniably adverse to good farming. Many years before this time Lord Dufferin, in his speeches on the Irish land question, had pointed out that when large estates are plotted out to small farms the farmers must make the improvements; and he had insisted on the necessity of giving them security and a period of lease adequate for profiting by the investment of their money. The situation was very much the same in Oudh; the evils to be cured were great insecurity of holdings and incessant competition among cottiers for the land; and the remedy applied was to prescribe a statutory period of tenure and to place a check upon indiscriminate enhancement of rents. The steady support given by Lord Dufferin to these moderate amendments of the law so far overcame the natural opposition of the talukdars, that the Oudh Rent Act was finally passed with their acquiescence.

The Act maintained the provisions of the former Act of 1868, in so far as they related to the 8000 tenants having a right of occupancy in Oudh, but materially altered the provisions of that Act in so far as they affected the 1,800,000 tenants-at-will. It enabled tenants-at-will to make improvements on their holdings, and entitled them on ejectment to receive compensation for any subsisting improvements which they had made within thirty years preceding their ejectment. It declared every such tenant to be entitled to retain his holding for a period of seven years, from the date of his rent being settled in accordance with the provisions of the Act.

The third and latest Land Tenancy Bill passed by Lord Dufferin's government relates to the Punjab. The different systems of land tenure established by English law in the three great provinces of Bengal, the North-West, and the Punjab represent mainly, of course, the state of things we found existing in the country. But they also reflect the changes which took place in our own policy as our knowledge of such questions extended with the expansion of our territory, and became more accurate. In Bengal our permanent revenue settlement at the end of the eighteenth century left the tenants with rights vaguely recognized but not guarded; in the North-West Provinces the Indian government took much trouble, about thirty years later, to protect at least one large class of occupants; while in the Punjab, which came last under British rule, the recognition and record of the rights of actual cultivators, proprietary or occupant, formed a chief feature of our land legislation. In the Punjab, as elsewhere in India, the uncertain value of land and the usual dread of the English system of fixed and inexorable demand for revenue, made the landlords not unwilling, when they first became our subjects, that the tenants should share their responsibility for revenue payment by obtaining a sort of co-proprietorship in the land. At first every one preferred the loose, haphazard method of native tax-gatherers, who sometimes took everything and often got nothing. But as property became secure, and prices rose, the question of the proportionate division of the large and steady profits of agriculture became much more important, and naturally engendered a plentiful crop of litigation. Some twenty years ago an Act had been passed to effect a compromise on the matter; but by 1886 the increasing disputes showed that the law needed amendment, and under Lord Dufferin's government the task was undertaken by the Punjab authorities. The Punjab is for the most part a country of small landowners and peasant proprietors, and it is with these that the tenants, a very numerous class, have to deal; so that we have these two considerable bodies, of owners and tenants, both directly interested, and often more or less actually engaged, in the cultivation. The problem, therefore, was to distribute and define, as between these two very similar classes, the right of occupation and the profits of agriculture according to well-known usage and sentiment, especially in regard to prescriptive possession by length of tenure and to the reclamation of waste lands. The object of the Bill of 1866 had been to carry further this principle by supplementing and enlarging preceding laws; it provided for the adjustment of rents in proportion to changes of the land-revenue demands; it extended the period which must elapse between successive enhancements; and it assessed on a more liberal scale the compensation payable to tenants for improvement, and, in certain cases, for disturbance. The Act which was passed, after much discussion, in 1887, was accepted without discontent or friction by the country.

In all these cases the way to final legislation was undoubtedly smoothed and straightened by the address, experience, and ability of the local officers. Nevertheless, when the general account of Lord Dufferin's government is made up, he may fairly be credited with the accomplishment of very material improvements of the land laws, to the benefit of the proprietary and cultivating classes in Bengal, in Oudh, and in the Punjab.

Not only in the department of interior legislation, but also in the very different sphere of external politics, Lord Dufferin, on assuming office, at once found himself encompassed by affairs of great urgency and importance.

In 1884 the Russians had occupied the Merv oasis; they had subdued the Turkoman tribes of all that region in Central Asia, and the rapid extension of their dominions toward the south-east along the Oxus river had brought them into close proximity or contact with the north-west frontier of Afghanistan. This country had been placed, as has already been said, under the exclusive protectorate of England: we had formally undertaken to defend the independence of the Amir, and we had pledged ourselves to aid him in resisting foreign aggression, so long as he should defer to our advice in regard to his foreign relations.

But it was becoming quite clear that the onward march of Russia toward the Afghan frontier could not be checked by force, and at best would only be retarded by diplomatic remonstrance. The invasion of India by land has been the nightmare of Anglo-Indian statesmen from the time when Napoleon proposed to Russia, in 1808, his scheme for a joint expedition against India through Persia from Constantinople. Russian statesmen had always refused to bind themselves by any formal convention to stop short in the midst of the Central Asian plains, declaring with much reason that the conditions and circumstances of such a position would always be liable to unforeseen vicissitudes. Yet they had more than once made informal overtures to Great Britain for some such friendly understanding as would enable the two Powers to act in concert, and to accommodate differences. On our side it had become obvious that, upon the frontier question at any rate, we should do well to agree with our adversary quickly, instead of quarrelling with him. To safeguard the limits of our protectorate by sending troops into Afghanistan would be a costly and embarrassing operation, which might easily play into the hands of Russia. To make an offensive and defensive alliance with the ruler of Kabul would be to sign a bond with an unstable and untrustworthy partner, leaving Russia quite free to involve us in awkward complications whenever it might suit her to do so. Our true policy was to deal with a civilized and responsible government for whom public engagements meant a substantial obligation, not to be violated in the face of Europe without grave consequences; and the only arrangement to which Russia could be expected to assent would be one that should agree to her advance up to the Afghan frontier, on the distinct condition that she would bind herself to go no further.

But territorial guarantees, when they are exchanged between European States, necessarily require exact definition. In this situation Lord Ripon's government had decided, very wisely, that Russia's approach could be effectively arrested and limited only by obtaining her assent to a convention for the joint demarcation of the Afghan frontier, so that a line might be drawn beyond which our guarantee would not extend, and which Russia could not overstep without a patent breach of formal engagements. The occupation of Merv by Russia in February 1884 was a forward movement that gave emphasis to this view, and expedited a decision upon it. Lord Ripon's plan was approved by the British government; it was accepted, after some diplomatic fencing, by Russia; and in 1884 a joint English and Russian Commission had met to begin the operation of laying down a boundary. We had now at last found ourselves in the situation which the British government had been endeavouring, throughout the nineteenth century, to prevent or delay—the meeting upon a common border-line of the two great European dominions in Asia; for it must always be remembered that our true frontier is that which we are pledged to defend. The immediate result of contact was to bring on the very crisis which the Commission had been designed to avert. In Asia the field of demarcation throws up, at the first stirring of its soil, a crop of multifarious and thorny disputes. On these debatable lands possession and jurisdiction have been incessantly shifting, and while every man is intent on removing his neighbour's landmark, no Asiatic potentate willingly consents to a fixed and permanent limitation of his territorial claims. It was known that the Russians attached importance to the possession of Panjdeh, a strip of fertile valley-land lying within the territory claimed by the Afghans, and the Russian government had formally declared, in a despatch to the British Foreign Office, that the Afghan claim to this tract would be disputed. When the Boundary commissioners arrived on the frontier toward the end of November, it was found that a small party of Russian troops had already pushed close up to Panjdeh, with the apparent intention of occupying it beforehand. They were pressing into contact with the Afghan outposts; the commanders on both sides were discharging remonstrances and sharp recriminations; each party, as is usual in such cases, endeavouring to pre-occupy or to maintain the ground which was to be the point of controversy whenever the actual delimitation should begin.

Such was the critical and ominous state of affairs at the end of 1884, when Lord Dufferin took charge of the Governor Generalship. It should be understood that the Boundary commissioners were subordinate to the British and Russian Foreign Offices respectively, that the Indian government had no direct control over their proceedings, and that all correspondence, reports, and orders passed between the chiefs of the commission on the one hand and St. Petersburg or London on the other. The result was that while ministers and ambassadors were interchanging despatches and minuting arguments in Europe, their officers on the spot were manœuvring against each other with a cross-fire of acrimonious messages and protests. In situations of this kind arguments are heating, particularly with folk who, like Afghans and Cossacks, split heads more neatly than hairs; and the horsemen on both sides were soon handling their carbines. The Russians were rapidly disclosing an intention to enforce their demands by using their military superiority, and were bringing up reinforcements from their Transcaspian garrisons. Not far within the disputed frontier line lay the important Afghan fortress of Herat, very insufficiently fortified, so that early in March (1885) the Indian government was instructed from home to assemble a *corps d'armée,* which should be prepared to march across Afghanistan for the relief of that place, in the event of an open rupture with Russia. The whole country round was astir with rumours of war; the Afghan troops on the frontier line became excited as the Russians began to push through their picquets; the Russians declared that the Afghans were edging round to their rear. Stringent orders had been issued by each government, from London and from St. Petersburg, that their military commanders should remain strictly on the defensive; but when armed men are actually facing each other, any movement becomes menacing and may be treated as aggressive. At last, on March 30, when the Afghan troops had taken up a position on the left bank of the Kushk river, General Komaroff demanded their withdrawal, and on the refusal of the Afghan commander, the Russians attacked them, drove them back with heavy loss, and, having declared Panjdeh to be Russian ground, drew back their troops to their former position.

At the moment when this startling event occurred on the Russian border of Afghanistan, a very different scene was represented on the Indian side. While the troops of the Afghan Amir were confronting General Komaroff on the Kushk river, the Amir himself was a guest in the Viceroy's camp, surrounded by a British army, at Râwal Pindi, a military station not far from the Indus in a northern district of the Punjab. Before the evacuation of Afghanistan by the British troops in the summer of 1880, Abdurrahman had been formally recognized as ruler, and had assumed the government at Kabul. He had been furnished with money and munitions of war; he had defeated his rival Ayub Khan, who had attempted to seize Kandahar; and he was rapidly trampling down all opposition to his authority. One of Lord Dufferin's first acts, after arriving in Calcutta, had been to invite the Amir to meet him in India, for the interchange of views and in order to promote a friendly understanding upon various eventualities and questions between the two governments, whose interests were now so closely assimilated. Of all these matters for discussion the dangerous entanglement of affairs on the north-western frontier of Afghanistan, where swords had been already half drawn to cut the knot, was imperatively the foremost. The Viceroy's invitation was readily accepted by Abdurrahman, who crossed the border into India on the same day when his troops were attacked by the Russians at Panjdeh, and on March 31 he reached

Râwal Pindi, where the Viceroy had arrived two days previously from Calcutta.

"Unfortunately" (Lord Dufferin wrote), "we have been deluged with rain ever since we came here, and it was raining hard when the Amir passed from the railway station to his quarters. Ten thousand of the troops, however, turned out, and presented a very businesslike appearance. Fortunately, we have put our guests into an excellent house instead of under canvas, so that everything was dry and comfortable for him, and, like all Orientals, he looks upon rain as a good omen. Moreover, as there were three feet of snow when he left Kabul, he does not find it so cold as the rest of us who have come up from lower Bengal. I hear on all sides that he has been well pleased with his reception, both at the frontier and here. His great fear seems to have been lest, as our nominee, he should not be treated with sufficient honour, so that he fully appreciates all that has been done for him. The grand Durbar had been arranged for the same afternoon, but the rain compelled us to postpone it, and it will not now be held until the end of the Amir's visit. As it was necessary to get to business as soon as possible, I arranged for him to come to me privately the same day. I had the Duke of Connaught in my tent, and the Amir was greatly gratified at finding the Queen's son waiting to greet him. The next day the Duke and I returned his visit, and the day after I had my first serious conversation with him. He is a broad-shouldered burly man, big rather than tall, with small eyes, a broad and rather pleasant face, with no trace whatever of the hook-nosed, keen-eyed, Jewish Afghan type. He walks lame, and has suffered for years from neuralgia in the leg."

The meeting, to those who witnessed it, was a remarkable sight. The Viceroy was an embodiment of diplomatic courtesy and refined culture, familiar with all the courts and capitals of the West. The

Amir—"a strange strong creature," as Lord Dufferin described him—had fought bravely but unsuccessfully in the long and bloody civil war, very like our wars of the Roses in the fifteenth century, for succession to the throne after the death of his grandfather, Dost Mahomed. He knew his own country well; but of the outer world he had seen only the Russian military stations beyond the Oxus, where he had remained eleven years in exile. He wore a black half-uniform coat decorated with two diamond stars, long boots, and a tall Astrakhan cap: a prince of frank and even bluff, yet courteous, manners; quite at his ease amid a crowd of foreigners; speaking pleasantly of the first railway journey he had ever undertaken; a man of some humour in jokes, with a face occasionally crossed by a look of implacable severity—the look of Louis XI. or Henry VIII.—that is now never seen in civilized life. The interviews that followed must have been of striking interest and novelty even to a diplomatist of Lord Dufferin's wide and varied experience. The Amir showed a clear and shrewd understanding not only of his own position, but also of its bearing upon the relations between Russia and England; and the discussion was proceeding satisfactorily when matters were suddenly brought to a sharp point by the news of the collision between Afghan and Russian troops at Panjdeh. It was undoubtedly fortunate that the Amir was in the English camp at this critical moment. There was something very characteristic, and certainly unexpected, in the equanimity, almost amounting to indifference, with which Abdurrahman first heard of an incident that startled all the courts and cabinets of Europe, and very nearly kindled a great war. While the English government treated the act of the

Russians as, at first sight, an offence of the utmost political gravity, the Amir evidently regarded it as one of those not intolerable irregularities which occasionally happen on a rough unsettled frontier, and which are not supposed to have any necessary connexion with formal hostilities. This manner of looking at a border skirmish has disappeared from western Europe, where the strict construction of international laws and responsibilities, and the jealousy of nations, have given to modern states a highly sensitive organization. Yet it was familiar enough to ourselves up to the sixteenth century, and in central Asia a ruler would have no peace at all if he troubled himself overmuch about such accidents.

In the course of the conversation that followed Lord Dufferin warned the Amir that the fortifications of Herat were in a condition quite insufficient for resisting a sudden assault; and he proposed sending up British officers to organize its defence. Abdurrahman replied in a very explicit and determined manner that though he himself was grateful for the offer he could not answer for his people, "they were ignorant, brutal, and suspicious: he had fought with them himself for four years, and we must not suppose that he could control them, or move them about like pieces on a chess-board." Above all things he deprecated any British troops appearing in his country; the Afghans would at once imagine they had come to subjugate it. When it became evident that on this latter point he was immovable, Lord Dufferin said to him—

"Had you cordially placed yourself in our hands and allowed us to secure Herat and take the other precautions necessary, we should have been prepared to recommend you to fight manfully for the original frontier you have claimed, for Panjdeh, Badghis, and all that territory; but as you are unwilling to do any of these things, and as you yourself seem to attach but little importance to Panjdeh, and admit that you have no real hold on the tribes of that district, it seems to me that the wisest thing you can do is to abate something of your territorial pretensions, and to come to such a settlement with Russia as will give you a little breathing time to strengthen your position at Herat, and to inoculate your people with your own views as to the value of our friendship and assistance. To this he replied with some eagerness that he was just about to make the very remark I had uttered; namely, that if only he had four or five years' time to look about him, he would be able to increase his forces by various devices, and to do everything required at Herat."

In short, the fixed and unalterable principle of the Amir's policy, to which he adhered resolutely during the whole twenty years of his subsequent reign, was discovered to be the exclusion at all hazards of British troops and officers from Afghanistan. His attitude toward Russia was substantially the same—he was determined, he said, that his country should not be the battlefield of several nations. If the Russians invaded it, he would expostulate and protest; and would fight to the death if expostulations failed.

"His people would see that a slow advance toward India through Afghanistan meant to them roads, occupation of fortified posts, demand for unprocurable supplies—in fact nothing less than famine, ruin, and absolute loss of independence; they would never allow it."

These latter words should be considered by those who hold the commonplace belief that the Afghans would readily join the Russians in an invasion of India, if the bait of plundering the rich plains were held out to them. Nor can it be doubted that the energetic utterances of the Amir interpreted the fears and feelings of all his people, to whom an English army of occupation is hardly less distasteful than a Russian invasion.

The Amir's policy was quite clear and well defined. Afghanistan (he said) "was between two millstones, and it had already been ground to powder. It was a boat between two waves, where oars were of no avail, and it would founder." War between Russia and England spelt utter destruction to his country, and his supreme interest was to avoid such a calamity. From the British government he asked nothing more than arms and money; for the rest he would depend on his own fortune and resources; and he even let drop some unguarded words to the effect that at the worst terms might be made by him with Russia that would be more to his advantage than to ours. To Lord Dufferin—who was well aware that the march of a British army to the further side of Afghanistan would be a hazardous and difficult enterprise—the Amir's decided refusal of any assistance in that shape came as an unexpected relief from the liabilities arising out of the territorial guarantee; and therefore, while all military preparations were continued in India, his private advices to the British government were that hostilities might be avoided. Rifles and rupees were liberally promised to the Amir, who returned to Kabul entirely satisfied with his reception.

In his autobiography, published many years afterwards, Abdurrahman has recorded the impression left upon him by his hosts in the camp at Râwal Pindi.

"It was a great delight" (he says) "to me to meet Lady Dufferin, who was the cleverest woman I had ever seen, and the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, to whom I found that the hearts of all their Indian subjects were devoted. . . . Lord Dufferin left India in 1888 to the great sorrow and regret of all the subjects and friends of the Indian empire. The people had never seen such a wise statesman as their Viceroy, and Lady Dufferin's residence in India was of hardly less importance than that of her husband."

In a letter to Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, then Governor of Madras, the Viceroy gave an account of his conferences with the Amir, and communicated his general impressions thereupon—

"You will be glad to know what really took place between the Amir and myself.

"In the first place there can be no doubt that he was very well satisfied as far as his *amour propre* and personal sentiments are concerned. His great fear was lest having been a nominee of our own, he should be treated more like a feudatory than an independent ruler. When therefore he found that he was surrounded by all the attributes of loyalty, welcomed by one of the Queen's sons, and received as an ally, his gratification was undisguised. The bayonets at the end of the sentries' muskets at his gate disturbed him a little until he learnt that my sentries' muskets were furnished forth in the same formidable manner; and there were other little circumstances which excited his suspicions at the commencement of his stay. But as day succeeded day, and he found his treatment if possible bettered and bettered, he altogether thawed, and became at last quite effusive, as you will have seen by the newspapers. In his private conversations with me he was very satisfactory, as far as words went, and after all, at an interview of this kind, words are the only coin current. The principal object I was anxious to attain was the freeing of the hand of Her Majesty's government in relation to the delimitation of the Afghan frontier. When this subject was originally mooted, instead of asking him to point out what he claimed to be his frontier, we made the mistake of indicating it ourselves. . . . It would take too long to tell you how the final result was reached, but after a second interview I had the satisfaction of telegraphing to Lord Kimberley that as far as the Amir was concerned, he might run the line almost as far south as the Russians themselves required. In this way the English government recovered its complete liberty of action, but you will understand that my proceedings in the matter do not imply any acquiescence on the part of the Indian Executive in a modification of the frontier. That can only be decided in accordance with the strategical requirements of the locality. . . . My own military advisers do not consider that it very much matters within certain limits where the line goes, or that the Russian boundary being drawn a day or two's march nearer or further from Herat materially affects the question of the safety of that place. . . .

"Having successfully settled with the Amir the chief point I wanted to discuss with him, I then showed him our troops on two successive days. The spectacle was magnificent, consisting on the first day of a march past in a very picturesque though somewhat confined locality, which, however, afforded great opportunities for evincing the dexterity of the commanding officer in manipulating the large masses with which he had to deal. The next day the army was drawn up in line on an extensive plain. The rain which for the first few days had bothered us, now proved to be very beneficial, as the dust was completely laid, and we could see to the horizon. There can be no doubt that the Amir is far too sagacious not to have understood the significance of the scenes presented to him. Indeed it was to these, and to other cognate circumstances, that we are indebted for the way in which he declared himself at the Durbar.

"The Durbar was a magnificent sight, and we were again favoured by the weather; but when the Amir asked leave to say something 'that could be heard at a distance,' I was a little nervous lest he should give vent to some untoward utterance. Still it was better to risk such a contingency than to show any hesitation in the matter, so I at once told him that every one would be happy to hear any remarks he might be pleased to make. On this, he delivered the speech which you will have read in the newspapers. It greatly surprised the natives, who were all unfavourable to him, as they were not prepared for his giving such absolute pledges for his good faith in the presence of the Mussulman world of the East, in whose sight he would be disgraced did he ever hereafter break them; but so far from the Amir himself showing any regret at what perhaps he did in a moment of enthusiasm, he has frequently reiterated the assurances he then made in as strong if not stronger terms, and in as public a manner.

"With my subsequent conversations with him I need scarcely trouble you, as in common with every one else you must have foreseen their inevitable tenor. It has been long since determined by Her Majesty's government at home, and by my military advisers here, that it would be undesirable for us to send an army to Herat, unless hereafter compelled to do so by the force of circumstances. I consequently made it a point to show no anxiety whatever to send troops into the Amir's country. In fact I told him that, even should he require them, it must depend upon circumstances whether we should determine to help him in that particular manner. On the other hand he himself intimated very frankly that the memory of our last war with Afghanistan was still fresh in the minds of his people, and that an advance on our part in force would still be looked upon by them as an endeavour to conquer their country, until he should have had an opportunity of acquainting them with the result of his interview with me, and had imbued them with a more friendly feeling towards us. I told him, however, that we would freely give him guns for Herat on his consenting to allow our engineers to determine their calibre, number, and positions. . . . He was very reasonable in his demands for money, and said that he did not want any increase to his subsidy, but that if the Afghans were called upon to leave their homes in Afghanistan and fight Russia round Herat, Afghanistan was too poor to furnish the necessary commissariat. . . .

"The last day we made him a Knight of the Star of India. This was the crowning drop that made his cup flow over, and even his impassive countenance could not conceal his satisfaction. He stuck his star through his coat, and departed with the collar over his shoulder, as pleased as a young bride with a diamond necklace.

"So far then as words go, and as the impressions of the moment are concerned, things have gone off sufficiently satisfactorily. To what degree the Amir may be able or willing to make good his engagements is a totally different matter. I do not think he will ever prove actually false, for all his interests manifestly compel him to throw in his lot with us; but unfortunately with an Oriental two and two make five as often as four. His health moreover is bad, and his temper imperious and fretful. His people too may prove intractable, and he may have to sacrifice his external policy to the exigencies of his personal situation at home. Still on the whole, the betting is in our favour so far as the Amir and even his people are concerned. What is against us is the geographical position. We have undertaken to defend the inviolability of a frontier nearly a thousand miles from our own borders. . . .

"We can only preserve Afghanistan from invasion by threatening to go to war with Russia all over the world. This Her Majesty's government had determined to do, and has given sufficient proof of its being in earnest; but the battle between the two countries will be as difficult to settle as would be a fight between a whale and an elephant. In any event we are well forward with our preparations here. As soon as I saw that the difficulty with Russia was becoming serious, I determined to prepare for the despatch of 25,000 men to Quettah in order to be able to throw a garrison into Herat, if we were ordered to do so from home, before the Russians could get there; and arrangements have been made for the mobilization of another *corps d'armée* at short notice, so that we have only to pull the trigger and we could get 50,000 good troops across the border at once. In four months a temporary railway will be constructed from Sibi right up to Quettah, which will greatly diminish the cost of transport. Further reinforcements will arrive from England if war is declared, which would enable us to send to the front a considerable proportion of the British troops which we have marked off as a sufficient garrison for the peninsula. It is difficult at present to forecast the plan of the compaign should war be declared. Whatever was done here would have to be done in concert with the government at home, and the movements of our troops combined with the operations against Russia elsewhere. The Indian army is only a wing of the British force, and our real Commander-in-Chief will be in London. I had no notion till now what the terms transport and supplies really mean, and how helpless the finest troops are if these cannot be obtained. The country round Quettah is so barren that any troops sent there would have to move on at once, and this in spite of our having ransacked all India for beasts of burden and stores. . . .

"I warned the Amir that if he did not succeed in keeping Herat out of the hands of Russia, we in self-defence in all probability would be compelled to move to Kandahar, to which he assented."

To Lord Northbrook the Viceroy wrote a few weeks later—

"On the whole the row with Russia has been by no means an unmixed evil. On the one hand it has proved conclusively that all India, both princes and people, are fully aware that with all its imperfections the English domination is preferable to that of any other nation. In the next place it has brought into satisfactory prominence the enormous difficulty which Russia would have in advancing against our own proper frontier, which with a little time I believe can be rendered absolutely impregnable. I hope you will approve of the policy I have adopted towards the Amir. It seemed to me that now there was only one mode of dealing with him. Under Lord Ripon's agreement we were bound to protect the integrity of his dominions. The time had certainly come when he was entitled to call for our assistance. Neither we nor he was anxious that this assistance should be given in troops. The only other alternative therefore was arms and money. I am accordingly in the course of furnishing him with breech-loaders, some heavy guns for Herat, and ten lacs of rupees. This of course is liberal, but by no means extravagant treatment. It is as much or rather more than he has demanded, and ought to convince him if that were needed, that we are sincerely anxious to befriend him. Had we haggled and boggled, shown suspicion, and sent him away disappointed, we would, I think, have made a mistake. Of course it is a somewhat gambling transaction, but the odds I consider to be in our favour, and after all it is only money that we stand to lose, and that by no means a large sum, even if he were eventually to get a good deal more from us. . . . Our present policy is not to enter Afghan territory against the will of the people. At the same time I fear we are leaning upon rather a feeble reed. The Amir's hold over the dwellers on the western slopes of the Hindu Kúsh is evidently weak, and I have been sometimes urged to coquette with these tribes on my own account, but I have rejected such counsels. Abdurrahman is the strongest man in the country, and if we are to keep the Afghans with us, it must be through their government, and not by intriguing with the disaffected sections of the people. . . ."

From Lord Northbrook's reply the following extract is taken:—

"You would have been pleased if you had heard the warm terms in which a missionary from Allahabad, who breakfasted with me yesterday, spoke of you. He said your manner of treating both Europeans and natives is perfect, and that your influence is very great and in the best direction. He especially mentioned the effect produced by your reception of the Natives at Delhi. As this is not flattery, and I know the work is so heavy that a little encouragement don't come ill, I write it."

It had been provisionally arranged between the Russian and English governments that Panjdeh should be neutralized until the dividing line on that section of the frontier could be agreed upon by the Commission. On this point diplomatic discussions were still going on in Europe, while the question of peace or war hung in the balance, when in June 1885 Mr. Gladstone's Ministry resigned, and Lord Kimberley wrote to Lord Dufferin his official adieu on quitting the Indian Secretaryship of State. He was succeeded, in the Conservative ministry, by Lord Randolph Churchill, who said, in his first letter to the Viceroy—

"Our one desire is, in all Indian and Asiatic affairs, to be mainly and even entirely guided by your advice, and to support to the utmost of our power the policy which you may recommend to us."

Lord Salisbury, now Prime Minister, determined to renew with the Russian government the negociations regarding further delimitation of the Afghan frontier, at the point where they had been left by the previous ministry; and Colonel West Ridgeway* was appointed to take charge of the Commission. The Russian claim to Panjdeh, which the Amir had agreed not to oppose, was conceded; and the work went on with much unavoidable wrangling over local questions, until the principal difficulty, upon which the Commission could not agree, was finally settled by the deputation of Colonel Ridgeway to St. Petersburg. It was chiefly through his management of the business, in personal intercourse with the Czar and the Russian Foreign Office, that in July 1887 a protocol was at last signed, which provided for the delimitation of the whole frontier between the Hari Rud and the Oxus.

Lord Dufferin was now established at Simla, the summer headquarters of the Indian government in the Himalayas.

On May 15 he wrote to Lady Dartrey—

"After Râwal Pindi we visited Lahore and Amritsar. At Lahore I saw some beautiful mosques and the palace and tomb of Ranjît Singh. All the buildings are of marble, inlaid with delicate patterns in cement of various colours, and the windows of all the apartments are filled with lovely lace-work in white marble. But the most wonderful sight is what is called the golden temple of Amritsar—the sacred shrine of the Sikhs. This is a small building, something like St. Mark's at Venice, but covered both domes and walls with golden plates, so that it and its marble foundations shine in the sun like a blazing altar. . . .

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* Now the Right Honble Sir West Ridgeway, G.C.M.G.

"The principal Sikh priests and dignitaries had prepared a baptism for our entertainment, and made two Sikhs in our presence. The Sikhs are made and not born. The ceremony is a very simple one, consisting in sprinkling the neophytes with water, touching them with steel, and then requiring them to feed each other with bread and honey out of an iron basin held between them. . . .

"We have now come up to Simla, an absurd place situated on the narrow saddle of one of a hundred mountainous ridges that rise around us in labyrinthine complexity like the waves of a confused and troubled sea, composing the lower ranges of the Himalayas, whose silver peaks stand up against the horizon some fifty miles away. We ourselves are at a height of seven thousand feet above the sea. The air is delicious, most healthy and bracing, but anything more funny than the appearance of the town you cannot imagine. It consists of innumerable little miniature Swiss cottages which are perched like toy houses in every nook and corner and cranny where they can get a foothold on the ridge of a Himalayan spur. It looks like a place of which a child might dream after seeing a pantomime. If you look up from your garden-seat you see the gables of a cottage tumbling down on the top of you. If you lean over your terrace wall you look down your neighbour's chimney-pots. That the capital of the Indian empire should be thus hanging on by its eyelids to the side of a hill is too absurd. But there are the most charming walks—shady paths cut into the side of the mountain up and down hill in every direction, and wherever you go splendid rhododendrons thirty feet high covered with blossoms, while whole tribes of monkeys spring from branch to branch of the thick growing trees."

From this cool and pleasant eminence Lord Dufferin still kept his eye on the distant Afghan frontier, where the horizon was cloudy and the outlook full of hazards. In 1880 the Governor General of India (Lord Ripon) had formally assured the Amir Abdurrahman that the British government, admitting no right of interference by foreign powers in his country, undertook to aid him in repelling unprovoked aggression, provided that he followed our advice in regard to external relations. This straightforward declaration of a protectorate satisfied the Amir, who required no less while he certainly desired no more; and it has preserved for twenty-four years the integrity and independence of Afghanistan. On the inevitable risks and responsibilities thus created, Lord Dufferin in his letters to Lord Randolph Churchill makes some commentaries that are still applicable to the present situation; the more so because the Afghan ruler upon whose strength and sagacity Lord Dufferin justly relied for the success of the experiment, has passed away.

July 30, 1885.—"I have never personally felt very cordially inclined to the 'Buffer' policy, and have often had misgivings as to the wisdom of the engagements into which we entered with the Amir under the auspices of my predecessor. In spite of the cautious wording of the agreement its obligations are very absolute and specific, especially as entered into by a Power like England with a weak and uncivilized government. Under this stipulation, we are bound to assist the Amir to the best of our ability, though in whatever manner we may think expedient, in the event of the integrity of his dominions bgine threatened by a foreign power. Now, what are his dominions? A range of thinly populated and open frontier many hundreds of miles in length, destitute of strategical positions, and of defenders skilful enough to use them to advantage if they did exist, exposed at all points to the incursions of every neighbour, and so distant from our own military base as to make it out of the question for us to send any troops to protect what we have undertaken to defend. This condition of affairs compels us to combine such efforts as it may be possible for us to make with those of an ignorant, jealous, and boastful, though resolute and intelligent chief, whose own position and freedom of action are endangered and hampered by circumstances and considerations which render it difficult for him to comply with our wishes or follow out any programme we may trace for him, even when it is in accordance with his own ideas and obvious interests. Unfortunately in many instances some of our recommendations are naturally opposed to what he or any one else in his position might fairly consider to be advantageous to the maintenance of his own authority and independence. Even supposing that the ruler himself were to prove as docile as we could desire, his subjects consist of a conglomeration of insubordinate tribes, or else of alien races hating his rule, and ready to welcome the first comer who will advance to their liberation, while most of the lieutenants through whom he administers his Provinces are either incompetent, disobedient, corrupt, or disloyal, and sometimes all these things at once. It is evident that an offensive and defensive alliance with a person so situated possesses every sort of uninviting characteristic; but when we have further to take into account the duplicity natural to every Afghan, the facilities for intrigue elsewhere, and the consequent chance of all our friend's professions being insincere, the advantages to be derived from the 'Buffer' policy become very attenuated. And yet, for all that, I think it was very natural that Ripon should have desired to try it; and I am strongly of opinion that, once embarked on the experiment, it should be uninterruptedly pursued until its failure has become manifest. Nor am I at all convinced that its failure is certain. On the contrary, if only given a fair, and above all a patient trial, the betting is rather in favour of its success than otherwise. Even were this expectation to be disappointed, except so far as the loss of a few lacs of rupees is concerned, we shall not find ourselves in a worse position than if the experiment had not been made. The reasons for these conclusions are as follows: In the first place, with all its defects, the personal character of the Amir and his present frame of mind are not unsuited to the *rôle* we wish him to perform, and the ends we have in view. He is a good administrator; he is absolute master of his own house; he is energetic, brave, and, according to his lights, sagacious. Above all things, I believe that he wishes to run as straight as his own domestic interests will permit him. Everything that I have learned confirms the impression that he has determined to throw in his lot with us, always provided that we show no signs of a desire to interfere with his independence or to insist upon anything calculated to diminish his prestige or his authority over his subjects."

August 14, 1885.—"The weak point in the 'Buffer' policy is that the frontier we have undertaken to assist in defending is too long, unprotected, and distant to be capable of protection, and above all that the Afghans are too little interested in these outlying provinces to be likely to fight for them with any heart. Herat is in some respects to Afghanistan what Khartoum is to Egypt. . . . It brings no revenue to the Afghan treasury, and its inhabitants hate the Afghan domination. It is true

I was always in favour even of Egypt holding Khartoum as long as she could do so with any prospect of success,—a condition which existed until poor Hicks was driven into making his unfortunate expedition into Kordofan—and of course I am still more anxious that Afghanistan should maintain its hold upon Herat. . . . At all events, if properly managed, I think the Afghans could be turned into far more effective and trustworthy *chevaux de frise* when lining the crests of the Hindu Kúsh than when fighting in the valley of the Hari Rud or along the fringes of the Turkestan desert. Far more reliance could be placed on their valour and efficiency when battling for their homes and native country than for their outlying dependencies. They would occupy the inner lines of the position, as well as a range of frontier of manageable and defensible dimensions; and as they would have had a good deal of their egregious vanity and self-confidence knocked out of them by their preliminary reverses, we should find them more manageable and docile than they are at present."

Lord Randolph Churchill replied—

August 28, 1885.—"I was so greatly impressed by the extremely lucid and impartial exposition of the advantages and disadvantages of the Buffer State policy contained in your letter to me of July 30 that I extracted it from the letter and circulated it among my colleagues, who will, by means of it, be better educated on the subject than they have been hitherto, and more capable of advising and deciding upon the course of Indian foreign policy. I concur entirely in all your conclusions, and I may perhaps be allowed to express my own opinion that, judging by present results and from information from various sources, your diplomacy with the wayward Afghan has been so successful and happy that, without undue over-confidence, we may fairly congratulate ourselves that he and his people are settling down into a groove favourable to British interests, and that the advice of the worker of this marvel should be most carefully followed by the government at home. . . . This much is certain, that you can do more with the British public than any Viceroy has been able to do since the days of Lord Lawrence."

By the delimitation of the Russo-Afghan frontier, the question between England and Russia as to their respective spheres of influence was set at rest for the remainder of Lord Dufferin's Viceroyalty, and indeed up to the present time.

Lord Dufferin's opinion had always been much in favour of fixing the Afghan frontier by a convention with Russia. In his view, although the line settled might be weak strategically, it could hardly fail to prove a considerable moral barrier. In the first place, it coincides more or less with a natural, clearly defined, and long-established social and political boundary. When the Russians had established their authority in Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarkand, they found themselves in contact with a region intervening between their possessions and the Afghan border, inhabited by the nomad and predatory tribes of Turkestan; and it was clear to Lord Dufferin, as it had long been to all impartial and experienced observers, that a further advance would be inevitable. Between lawless barbarians and a regular government no frontier is tenable or durable, and Lord Dufferin has recorded his conviction that the establishment of Russia's authority up to its present limits was not only imposed upon her by the necessities of the situation, but would be conducive to the general interests of humanity and civilization. But when the Russians reached Zulficar, Panjdeh, and Kham-i-Ab, on the north-western edge of Afghanistan, where the nomad tract ended, they had come upon more or less cultivated territory, inhabited by a comparatively settled population that has for generations owed allegiance to a compact and responsible government. The position was now completely altered; the circumstances which had provided Russia with a valid excuse for pushing forward her landmarks existed no longer; and the next step onward must bring her into collision with a substantial kingdom which England had declared her intention to protect. Any such encroachment upon Afghan soil could only be made by an open breach of international law, and of friendly relations with Great Britain, that could not fail to attract attention throughout Europe. It was Lord Dufferin's belief that considerations of expediency and good faith, combined with the chances of European politics, which might pre-occupy the Russians elsewhere, would operate to deter them from moving forward under such conditions, or would at least materially delay it. In writing at length on the situation toward the end of his Viceroyalty, he said—

> "I am one of those who do not believe that Russia will actually invade India during the present century, unless indeed she should produce a hero with the genius and ambition of Napoleon or Alexander, and even then I think she would come to grief."

After the meeting at Râwal Pindi with the Amir, Lord Dufferin passed the summer of 1885 at Simla, whence in October he set off with Lady Dufferin for a journey through Rajputana—the country of the Rajput chiefs. Lady Dufferin notes in her diary (October 20), "We breakfasted at eight o'clock—at a quarter-past the Viceroy signed the declaration of war with Burmah;" and at half-past eight they were driving down the hill. On their way through the lower hills toward the plains they visited the small principality of Nahun.

"We left Simla in the middle of October, and began our march. 'Marching' in India is a technical term signifying riding on horseback and camping every night, instead of travelling by railway, or along the high-road in post carriages. Our route lay through the hill state of Nahun. The Chief himself insisted on being my host, and as a consequence at the end of every day's journey we found ready for us a beautiful little white city of canvas laid out in streets, which lamp-posts illuminated and policemen guarded. For my especial advantage beautiful fireplaces were built in the dining and bedrooms, and no government residence could have been more comfortable. In former days the triumphal march of heroes was recorded by the altars they erected to their patron gods. My progress will be marked out by the successive chimney-pieces which were provided for me. Nahun's little kingdom stretches from very nearly Simla to the plains, and is composed of the lowermost ridges and spurs of the Himalayas. Every day I beguiled the weariness of the journey, which we performed almost at a foot's pace, by making the policeman who accompanied me tell me tales in Persian out of the 'Arabian Nights,' to which the local colouring gave an appropriate background. The scenery was lovely, being softer and better wooded than the neighbourhood of the Viceregal Lodge. On the third day we reached our host's capital, a very pretty town of about fifteen thousand inhabitants, with a castle, a maidán, a palace, and all the appurtenances of a feudal state. He himself is a man of some mark, speaks English a little, is an excellent administrator and very loyal. . . .

. . . . . .

"Delhi entirely surpassed my expectations in its interest. The breaches made in the walls by our cannon are left in exactly the same state as they were on the day of the assault, and you can plainly trace the paths up which our poor fellows climbed to almost certain destruction. It was undoubtedly one of the greatest feats of arms ever performed by Englishmen, but one has to come to the spot to realize the nature of the achievement."

A picturesque and amusing narrative of the whole tour through the Rajput States is to be found in Lady Dufferin's book.* From Agra, where the tour ended, Lord Dufferin wrote—

November 29, 1885.—" Were I to go over all that I have done during the last two or three weeks it would be but a repetition of what I have told you, for all our receptions at the Rajput Courts have been of the same character, though differing from one another in details. The most Eastern-looking and splendid of all was at Jeypore. There is a beautiful palace and courtyard, upon whose marble floors lighted by torches several hundred young Nautch girls danced before us.

" Here of course we have been busy with the usual sights. In the Táj I was not in the least disappointed, though from an architectural point of view it is the outcome of a period of art on the verge of degradation. It is in the state of a ripe pear which you must get up in the middle of the night to eat before it has turned rotten at the core by morning. As it is, it has just escaped, and is certainly lovely both in its general effect and in its details."

Lionel, Lord Tennyson's second son, had made a visit to India at Lord Dufferin's invitation in 1885. On a shooting excursion in Assam he had caught a fever ; and when on his return to Calcutta he became dangerously ill, he was tended for three months at Government House with the utmost care and sympathy; but he died near Aden on his voyage home in April 1886.

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* " Our Viceregal Life in India."

The volume "Demeter and other Poems," published subsequently by Lord Tennyson, is dedicated to the Marquis of Dufferin "as a tribute of affection and gratitude," and contains the verses, addressed to him, in which the poet laments his son's death on a distant sea "beneath alien stars," and records his feeling of lifelong thankfulness to those who had treated him with such unmeasured kindness during his fatal illness.

"But while my life's late eve endures
Nor settles into hueless gray,
My memories of his briefer day
Will mix with love for you and yours."

The poem was sent in manuscript to Lord Dufferin after his return from India. He replied, to Lady Tennyson—

June 17, 1889, *London.*—"Your letter and its enclosure found me still in bed though better, and I am to be moved to-day to the seaside. But if anything could make a sick man well on the instant, it would be that lovely and touching poem. I feel so grateful to your husband for it; not only for the great honour done me, but a thousand times more for the way in which he has associated my wife and me with his own and your great grief, for who could give any one a greater proof of his love and friendship than by uniting them with himself in that sacred tie? If I were stronger I would say a great deal more, but I am sure you will understand all that we feel.

"Ever yours most gratefully and affectionately."

During this winter (1885) the British army in northern India was engaged upon military manœuvres planned out by Lord Roberts on a much larger scale than had hitherto been attempted. Twelve officers representing foreign European armies had arrived to witness them; and Lord Dufferin made the journey from Calcutta to Delhi for the sole purpose of being present at the final review, which took place in January 1886.

He writes to Lord Lansdowne—

January 17, 1886.—"I am on my way to Delhi to see an army of forty thousand men which has been collected there for what the foreigners call some 'grand manœuvres.' Randolph Churchill has sent us a whole lot of foreign officers with the view of convincing them of our strength. They will undoubtedly be surprised at the fine appearance of our troops and the high level of their efficiency, but for all that I fear they won't return home terror-stricken, in spite of our having another army employed in conquering a kingdom elsewhere."

It was indeed a striking display—no less so because the discharge of cannon which saluted the Viceroy's arrival in the field was reverberated from the sky by a peal of thunder; and the troops marched past under a storm of rain.

Lord Dufferin wrote to the Secretary of State—

"Though the glitter of the spectacle was dimmed, the sight was splendid. One forgot the storm and everything else in one's interest in looking at the men. Indeed from a business point of view I am not sure but what it was better as it was, as it enabled our soldiers to show what pluck and discipline could effect, in spite of adverse circumstances. Though they were almost up to their knees in mud, each battalion marched past like a straight and solid wall. The ground was especially trying to our poor little short-legged Goorkhas, but they ground their teeth and set their faces, and passed the saluting flag in as level a line as any other regiment. . . . Roberts was delighted, and it did my heart good to see forty thousand men advance in line with him at their head. He considers that the lessons we have learned are well worth the money which has been spent, and I really believe it is the case. Indeed I imagine it would be well if the same sort of thing, though on a lesser scale, could be gone through every year. Both men and officers must learn a great deal, and it shows up at once our capable and incapable commanders.

"The foreign officers were somewhat surprised at the fine physique and efficiency of our native soldiers, but they all remarked on the paucity of British officers with the Indian regiments, which I could not but acknowledge was, as it still is, a weak point in our military organization."

The number, equipment, and martial appearance of the Indian regiments did indeed produce upon the foreign officers, particularly upon the Russians, something more than surprise at their efficiency. They were evidently not prepared to witness such a manifestation of the confidence placed by the British government in the loyalty and trustworthiness of our native fellow-subjects; for no other European Power has ventured to arm and discipline a formidable body of Asiatic soldiers drawn from the population under its dominion. It has often been observed that in the Russian army an Asiatic officer rises to higher military grades than in our Indian service. But, on the other hand, it is seldom considered that this army contains very few Asiatic regiments; for the Russians recruit with great caution from the indigenous races of Central Asia. Among troops where the European or semi-European element preponderates enormously, the admission to the upper ranks of a few Asiatic officers is unimportant politically. It is true that the standing army of Russia is so large as to render the enlistment of local regiments unnecessary. Yet that the British government should not have hesitated to rely so extensively, for the guardianship of their empire, upon the most warlike races of the country itself, led and commanded by so few British officers, was to our foreign visitors a striking novelty; and it made upon them no light impression.

CHAPTER IV.

INDIA.

(BURMAH AND TIBET.)

BEFORE the Afghan frontier beyond north-west India could be cleared of complications, others were growing up in the south-east. On both sides of the Indian empire the causes out of which troubles arose were fundamentally similar, although the circumstances were very different. It has always been the policy of the British-Indian government to prevent any other European Power from obtaining a foothold within the Asiatic States situated on the borders of our actual possessions. Just as a fortress or a line of entrenchments requires an open space around or in front of it, so it is manifestly advantageous for the security of a kingdom to be surrounded by a ring of territories with which powerful neighbours must not meddle. Upon this principle we place the adjoining States under our protectorate, whether they desire it or do not; and thus our political influence radiates out beyond the line of our actual possession, spreading its skirts widely and loosely over the lands adjacent. From the time when the British dominion was first established in India, the prosecution of this policy has been one leading motive of wars, annexations, and alliances.*

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* The same policy had been practised by the Romans, and with similar results.

"The frontier (of Asia Minor) was in the first period of the empire formed throughout by the dependent principalities."

"The supreme principle of the Roman power was to acknowledge

The kingdom of Burmah, which marched with Lower Bengal on its eastern frontier, had always been reckoned as forming part of the glacis that encircles our Indian lines of defence. During our long war against the French republic and the first empire, the Indian Governor Generals were continually alarmed by secret intelligence of French designs upon Burmah; and even before that period a French traveller had written, prophetically—"Il est certain que les Anglais chercheront à s'emparer de Pegu." * In the course of the nineteenth century the Burmese had already lost territory in two successive wars with the British power. In 1826 Lord Amherst had enforced the cession of a long strip of sea-coast bordering upon the Bay of Bengal; and in 1854 Lord Dalhousie's annexation of Pegu, the maritime province at the mouth of the Irrawadi river, had finally excluded the Burmese kingdom from access to the sea. The wide inland country which still remained under its native ruler now (1885) constituted one of those States flanking India which has been always regarded as part of the defensive zone that we maintain against the encroachment of any foreign power whose hostility might be serious. But the temper of the Burmese government had remained intractably resentful, insomuch that in 1879 it had been found advisable to withdraw from Mandalay the British Resident, whose personal safety was in jeopardy; nor had he since been replaced. From that time onwards British interests had been treated with open contumely; the commercial rights acquired by convention had been disregarded; no adequate redress could be obtained

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no frontier-power with equal rights."—Mommsen, "The Roman Provinces," vol. i. 324; ii. 51.

* Sonnerat, "Voyage aux Indes Orientales" (about 1781).

by expostulation for injuries to British subjects; and the whole attitude of the Burmese Court was one of pertinacious unfriendliness. Such was the condition of affairs when, in February 1885, a report was passed up to headquarters from British Burmah that King Theebaw had executed a treaty with the French government, under which special consular and commercial privileges were accorded to France. The news came at an awkward moment, for England and Russia were just then on the verge of a serious dispute over the Afghan boundary; and it raised a question of extreme gravity. Lord Dufferin's first impressions upon it presaged his ultimate decision. Writing to the Chief Commissioner, a few days after receiving the intelligence, he said—

> "You will feel, as acutely as I do, that this would not be a propitious moment, even if other circumstances rendered such a course desirable, for India to embark in a military adventure up the Irrawadi. It is not advisable for her to make war at the same moment both in the east and in the west. If, however, the French proceedings should eventuate in any serious attempt to forestall us in upper Burmah, I should not hesitate to annex the country; and, as at present advised, I think that this mode of procedure would be preferable to setting up a doubtful prince."

The government of India lost no time in transmitting to the Secretary of State their views that if the information that had been received were authentic, it would be necessary to interpose authoritatively; yet for some months nothing further was done, notwithstanding manifest signs of activity on the part of French diplomacy in Burmah. But it was soon found that attraction toward France coincided with repulsion toward England; for the Burmese king proceeded to impose an unjust and ruinous fine upon a British company trading in his dominions, and rejected a proposal of the Indian government that the case should be referred to a special British commissioner for arbitration; while precisely at the same time the prospectus of a French bank to be located at Mandalay was circulated in Paris. There could no longer be any reasonable doubt that King Theebaw's object in making the treaty with France was to strengthen his power of resistance to British remonstrances and demands. On the other hand, by the establishment, under treaty, of important commercial and financial relations with Burmah, France would undoubtedly acquire an advantageous position in the upper valley of the Irrawadi, which might supplant British influence, and could be turned to other accounts on any future occasion.

In these circumstances the government of India, with the concurrence of the British government, despatched an ultimatum to the Burmese king. He was required to receive at Mandalay a British envoy, in concert with whom the outstanding disputes and grievances should be adjusted, to admit a permanent Resident at his Court, to agree generally that in future he would defer to the advice of the British government in regard to his foreign relations, and, finally, to send an immediate answer to these demands. The ultimatum was backed up by the assemblage at Rangoon of nearly 10,000 troops.

Lord Dufferin wrote—

October 19, 1885.—"This attack upon the Burmah Trade Corporation seems to have originated in a desire of Theebaw's Minister, who is a savage brute, originally belonging to Theebaw's father's bodyguard, to obtain money for his master, the ladies of the harem, and himself, and it looks as though in their folly and ignorance the Burmese were determined to rush upon our bayonets. I have instructed our military authorities to get under way an expedition of 10,000 men; for I am quite certain that nothing short of the presence of our troops in Mandalay itself will convince either the king or his advisers of the true nature of their position, and of the necessity of conforming themselves to its requirements. As to the relative advantages of placing a protected prince upon the throne, or of annexation pure and simple, I have no hesitation in saying that the latter is the better course. It is quite enough to be worried by a buffer policy on the west without reduplicating it on the east. Moreover, elasticity and a certain power of intermediate resistance are the essential qualities which constitute a 'buffer,' and to a certain though limited extent they may be said to exist in Afghanistan, but Burmah is so soft and pulpy a substance that she could never be put to such a use."

The Burmese government not only refused to receive a British mission, but also issued a proclamation in a tone of undisguised hostility; whereupon, in November 1885, the force assembled under General Prendergast at Rangoon was ordered to march upon Mandalay. The expedition had been organized by Lord Dufferin's government upon a scale that made opposition useless, the military operations and political procedure had been carefully laid down beforehand; with the result that Mandalay was occupied within ten days; the king surrendered himself a prisoner, and the immediate objects of the campaign were attained with little loss on either side.

Lord Dufferin was now confronted by the problem which inevitably follows upon the armed occupation of an Oriental kingdom and the dethronement of its ruler. Three courses were open to the British government. The first was to replace King Theebaw by another ruler, leaving him complete internal independence, but placing his foreign relations strictly under British control. Under this system the protected territory is merely constituted a barricade against all external influence or aggression—the right of exclusion implying, as in Afghanistan, the duty of defence. Or, secondly, to reduce Upper Burmah to the qualified independence of an Indian State, attaching to the ruler a British Resident, who should exercise at need authoritative control over the administration. The third alternative was annexation of the whole conquered territories to the British dominion.

Lord Dufferin decided that these grave issues could only be determined by personal inquiry into the condition of the country, and by consultation with the civil and military officers who were now in provisional occupation of the Burmese territory; and he proceeded to Mandalay at the beginning of February 1886, accompanied by the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Roberts. He there assured himself that no member of the late ruling family could be placed on the vacant throne, who would be capable of restoring and maintaining a firm and orderly administration without continuous support and incessant interference on our part, and that such artificial expedients would be predestined, as in Egypt, to confusion and failure. The objections against the second course would, he found, be similar and no less serious. It would be necessary to place all effective administration in the hands of the Resident, supported by British troops; and the nominal ruler would have retained neither power nor popularity. To set up a double government of this sort in the midst of agitation and disorder, over a country beyond our frontier, which was plagued by endemic brigandage and intractable border tribes, would be to incur all the risks, liabilities, and embarrassments of unfettered rulership without any of its compensating advantages. On the whole, after a comprehensive survey of the situation, Lord Dufferin became convinced "that annexation pure and simple, and the direct administration of the province by British officers, offer the best prospect of securing the peace and prosperity of Upper Burmah and our own imperial and commercial interests." When this decision, which was transmitted by telegram to the India Office, received the assent of Her Majesty's government, Lord Dufferin proceeded to draw up a scheme, complete in all executive, financial, and political details, with special arrangements in the outlying border tracts, for the reorganization of the entire government of the new dominion. Finally, the British Chief Commissioner was instructed to announce to the Burmese population, that the Queen-Empress was now their sovereign, and that their welfare had become a matter of solicitude to a strong and powerful government, who would respect their customs, rights, privileges, and religious institutions, and would effectually provide for the protection of life and property.

Of the impression made upon Lord Dufferin by the country and people of Burmah we have some account in the subjoined letter from him to Lady Dartrey—

March 14, 1886.—"I have just returned from Burmah. The expedition was a most interesting and successful one. Burmah is a delightful country and the Burmese people are extremely engaging, full of fun, jollity, and light-heartedness, and unlike our sombre Hindus. The women hold sway from one end of the land to the other, make their own marriages and their own divorces, retain their property, preside in the shops, and generally assert themselves in so cheerful and good-humoured a manner that no Burman need feel humiliated. Their hair is beautifully brushed, shines like ebony, and is dressed with flowers and a top-knot. Their dress consists of a single narrow sheet of brilliant flowered silk wrapped round their bodies as closely as it will stick. It only just meets in front, and is retained in its place by a rich sash. This single garment makes up in length for the scantiness of its breadth, and covers their feet with a fringe, giving them the look of multi-coloured crackers at a ball supper. The men also bedizen themselves in bright-coloured silks, with a yellow, pink, or green handkerchief around their heads. They have the further curious custom of tattooing their bodies from the waist to the knees, which gives them the appearance of being clad in breeches.

"The Burmese pagodas and monasteries are wonderful nightmare kind of structures, all gold and carving, bristling with beautiful golden demons, fairies, and dragons in high relief, and topped in every direction with graceful pinnacles formed of Chinese-like pavilions super-imposed on one another, and contracting as they rise until they end in a single golden spire. The dress of the *poongyis*, or priests, deserves a word of commendation. Their heads are shaven, and they are clad in soft yellow robes which fall round them in classic folds, and the dusky orange of their garments is in perfect harmony with their dark skins. They are full of natural grace, and whether they move or sit, are an object of delight to the beholder, at least if he is an artist. The great monasteries peopled with enormous statues of silent Buddhas, all sitting cross-legged with their eyes on the ground in calm contemplation, are very solemn and religious, while you could not distinguish the shrines, with their golden images, flowers, candles, and Madonnas and Child from those of a Catholic church.

"We had a pleasant sail up to Mandalay in a two-storied steamer of the American type. Mandalay far exceeded my expectations. Though composed of nothing but houses made of matting and grass, it is rendered respectable and even imposing by its four square walls, and the pagoda-like turrets and towers by which the level line of their battlements is relieved. Outside there is a broad moat some fifty or sixty yards wide, more like a river than a moat. Indeed it is filled by running water. Altogether, the place a little reminded me of Moscow. Theebaw's palace was also very interesting, with its golden pillars and dusky courts, and fretted golden roofs and cornices. The interior chambers are much like what the palaces of the old Argive kings or of Ulysses must have been, the roofs supported by a multiplicity of columns, and everything glistening with gold. Unlike those of the Greeks, however, Theebaw's walls are of golden lattice-work, so that you can see through into the courts beyond.

"Supaya Lat, Theebaw's wife, must have been an extraordinary woman. To use the expressive phrase of a native lady, 'when she lifted up her little finger the whole city trembled.' Her cruelty exceeded all belief. Some Catholic sisters, whom she petted for her own purposes, and whom she induced to order for her costly jewels from Paris, which have never been paid for, told my wife that when they were visiting the Queen they often heard in the adjoining chamber the screams of the unfortunate women who were being beaten, and which invariably elicited from Supaya Lat and her attendants equally resonant shrieks of laughter. . . . At Rangoon I received a visit from one of the dowager Queens and her daughter, a sister of Theebaw's. For seven years these two unfortunate women have been kept manacled in a single room, without attendants or any alleviation, until our soldiers released them. When I saw them, however, though lame in consequence of the injury to their ankles, both these princesses had recovered their health and spirits, and seemed cheerful enough."

The complete pacification of Upper Burmah proved, however, a troublesome business. It may be remarked that in the course of our Indian empire's expansion, the difficulty of settling down annexed territories has usually been found to vary inversely with the difficulty of subduing them by arms, because an easy conquest leaves more to do afterwards than is left by hard fighting. When a native army has been fairly beaten in the field, the warlike spirit of the population is quelled, and in a manner satisfied. When the soldiers are disbanded, but not decisively defeated, they scatter over the country and rally the elements of resistance. In 1849 we annexed the Punjab after two campaigns and several fierce battles. In 1856 Oudh was annexed without a shot fired. Thereafter, when the Sepoy mutiny broke out in 1857, the Sikhs rallied to our standard, while Oudh rose against us in almost unanimous revolt.

In a despatch written some months after annexation had been proclaimed, Lord Dufferin described briefly the condition of his new province, and the character of its people—

"The province of Upper Burmah has an area larger than that of France, and contains a population which has been roughly computed at 4,000,000. A considerable portion of this vast expanse is impenetrable jungle, and even in the most thickly populated districts there are no proper roads or bridges. During the rainy season the difficulties of communication are very much increased by the sudden rise of the rivers and numerous streams which intersect the country in all directions, and often for weeks at a time large tracts remain under water. The population, though it cannot be described as warlike in the ordinary sense of the term, has a traditional and deep-rooted love of desultory fighting, raiding, gang-robbery, and similar kinds of excitement. Villages have long-standing feuds with villages, and many young peasants, otherwise respectable, spend a season or two as dacoits without losing their reputation in the eyes of their fellow-villagers. If there were any under the old *régime* who had scruples about engaging in dacoity pure and simple, they always had plenty of opportunity for leading a very similar mode of life as partisans of one of the numerous pretenders to the throne, one or more of whom were generally in open revolt against the *de facto* sovereign. As the monarchy was hereditary only in the sense of being confined to the members of a particular family—the descendants of the famous Alompra—each scion of the Royal line considered himself justified in raising the banner of insurrection if he imagined that he had a fair chance of success, and he could generally plead in justification of his conduct that his successful rival on the throne had endeavoured to put him and all his near male relations to death. These various elements of anarchy no king of Burmah was ever able to suppress."

The country, in fact, had always been infested with robber-bands, which had multiplied during the late king's reign of misrule. The dispersion of his army, and the abrupt overturn of his government, reinforced these bands and supplied them with an opportunity for depredations under the pretext of partisan warfare against the foreign invader. Their attacks were directed not so much against the military outposts or police stations as against the villages, which they plundered audaciously. It was impossible, at first, to organize an effective police or to enlist local regiments from among the population; for the Burmese, unlike the people of India, have an ingrained repugnance to disciplined service of any kind. The whole work of suppressing disturbances, therefore, had to be done by soldiers and police recruited in India, with the English troops to support them. In this state of things marauding and rebellious outbreaks could not be at once put down, and the Viceroy found himself exposed to disparaging criticism, in England and elsewhere, on the supposition that his measures had been wanting in promptitude and energy; while it was even alleged that in order to keep down expenditure he had miscalculated the supply of men and money that would be indispensable for the enforcement of order. This latter charge Lord Dufferin entirely disproved by facts and figures. In regard to the prolongation of sporadic turbulence he replied by showing that the quieting of the country could be no short or easy operation.

"Suddenly descending as we did into an arena which for years, nay for centuries, had been the theatre of domestic anarchy and the playground of hereditary bandits, rebels, pretenders, and gang-robbers, can we expect its inhabitants in a few months, under the auspices of a strange and alien government, to subside into a condition of Arcadian tranquillity? Lord Dalhousie was an energetic and vigorous ruler, and has never been accused of laxity or indecision; and in conquering and pacifying Pegu he was served by men of acknowledged ability, notably by Sir Arthur Phayre. Had the mere application of brute force in the shape of troops, money, and the multiplication of officials been all that was necessary to secure tranquillity, he would certainly have had the country quiet in a month or two. But as a matter of fact, it took him more than three years to complete the task. Though Rangoon was taken in April 1852, and Pegu annexed in December, even the town continued to be disturbed and threatened for the next year and a half. During the interval between April 1852 and the end of 1855, rebel chiefs continued to defy our authority, to attack our posts, to burn and ravage defenceless villages, and to surprise, and occasionally murder, our civil and military officers; nor did the province really begin to quiet down until 1856; yet, in spite of Upper Burmah, exclusive of the Shan States, being three times as big as Pegu, we have already got eleven districts pretty well in hand, have collected for the first year of our occupation more than half the revenue, and are every day extending wider and wider the area of our jurisdiction."

The long and elaborate Minute from which this extract has been taken attests the solicitous industry with which Lord Dufferin applied himself personally to the organization of every administrative department, superintending and directing the civil and military staff, and adjusting his measures to circumstances of singular difficulty.

In July he wrote to Lord Roberts—

"I am very anxious that it should remain on record that from first to last we have not only not refused any demand which our officers in Burmah have addressed to us, but that we have actually forced upon them more extensive means for the subjugation of the country, in the shape of troops, etc., than they themselves demanded."

To Sir W. Gregory—

July 26, 1886.—"You ask me if I have less cause for anxiety than when we met. It seems to me that

India is a kettle out of which the bottom is perpetually tumbling. You no sooner patch it up in one direction than the mess breaks out in another. Burmah is giving us a deal of trouble, and people in England are naturally getting impatient at the delay in quieting the country, little knowing what a job it is."

He wrote to Lord Goschen (August 1886)—

"It is not, however, so much a question of men or money—it is time and the resources of civilization upon which we must place our chief reliance. Take the case of Ireland. In spite of an enormous army and a most efficient and numerous constabulary, it has been found impossible to suppress either the raids of moonlighters or the dynamite explosions; and if such a state of things is found so arduous to cope with in Ireland, where there are roads, railways, telegraphs, and a highly organized executive machinery, how much more difficult must it be to deal with a population of inveterate gang-robbers who have been reinforced by a disbanded army and the adherents of numerous pretenders, who inhabit a country covered with jungles and swamps, destitute not only of roads, but even of paths and of the simplest means of communication, and whom we are forced to control through the agency of a foreign police who neither speak their language nor are acquainted with their habits and devices."

In these circumstances, on the sudden death of Sir Herbert Macpherson, who was commanding the forces in Burmah, the Viceroy telegraphed to Lord Roberts, asking him to undertake the supreme direction of all military affairs in that country "until a decisive impression has been made upon the existing elements of disturbance;" and Lord Roberts immediately set off to assume charge.

"It is a matter of great importance" (Lord Dufferin wrote to the Secretary of State) "that there should be no delay in setting in motion the arrangements for the winter operations which for some time past have been under such careful preparation, and Roberts has them all at his fingers' ends. Moreover, it is an advantage that at this particular juncture there should be at the head of our military affairs in Burmah a man who is personally on good terms with the head of the civil administration and the Brigadiers. A new-comer might act like a bull in a china shop, whereas Roberts will at once put all the wheels in motion without friction, and in the most intelligent and effective manner. Probably in two months he might be withdrawn; and in the mean time we should be able with due deliberation to prepare for the relegation of his command to a fitting successor."

A redistribution of the outposts, with some concentration of the troops, was effected; reinforcements were despatched; and the rapid organization of a strong and numerous military police, for the relief of the regular army locked up in Burmah, was at once taken in hand. By the end of 1886, mainly through the indefatigable exertions of the Chief Commissioner, Sir Charles Bernard, the government of India were able to report to the Secretary of State that

> "the area within which we intended in the first instance to confine our action has been greatly extended, and we may say we have now more or less completely under our control the whole of that large portion of the country which is inhabited by a homogeneous Burmese population, and which we intend to keep under our direct administration, assimilating it to our Lower Provinces as rapidly as is consistent with local peculiarities and requirements."

As time went on, the civil offices were formed and distributed to executive districts and subdivisions, the police were enrolled and stationed; the revenue assessments of the country were revised and regulated systematically, and a code of laws promulgated. An amnesty, on submission, was proclaimed for past offences, and the gradual disarmament of the country was carried out, while the development of communications all over the country was vigorously pushed forward.

"Within two years a territory larger than France, which had been for generations a prey to lawlessness and intestine strife, has been reduced to peace and order, and furnished with a strong and efficient government, complete in all departments, which minister to the security, the prosperity, and the comfort of the people. In no previous epoch of our government in India has it been found possible to achieve such results in such a brief period of time."

The Shan States comprise an elevated plateau stretching eastward from upper Burmah proper to the valley of the Cambodia River, and intersected by numerous ranges of hills. The inhabitants differ in origin, language, customs, and institutions from the Burmans, and live under the patriarchal rule of hereditary chiefs, who at the time of the annexation had been long tributary to the Alompra dynasty of Ava. All these petty chiefships were placed under a Superintendent, whose authority was backed by the despatch of armed forces to move through the country; and the tribal chiefs were charged with the duty of maintaining order after their own fashion, on the condition of acknowledging British supremacy, and of obedience to rules prescribed for their general control and guidance. No serious trouble followed the introduction of these arrangements into the Shan States, and on their northern and western frontiers the wilder tribes have submitted by degrees to the effective operation of a similar system.

But the occupation of upper Burmah had necessarily brought the Indian government into closer contiguity with the great sovereignty that has dominated from time immemorial in Eastern Asia. The kingdom of Mandalay was one of the blocks or barricades interposed, as are Nepal and Tibet, between the two empires of India and China; and from these three States the Chinese emperor had been accustomed to claim certain formal acknowledgments of traditional allegiance, represented, in the case of the Burmese State, by the deputation of decennial missions to Pekin. The Nepalese relations with China have dwindled down to a ceremonious fiction; while in Tibet the suzerainty takes the form of a protectorate, that can be set up whenever it is useful as a diplomatic barrier. It was to be expected that our operations in Burmah should have been observed with active concern by the Chinese foreign office, from whom the British government had just then extracted a reluctant consent to the deputation of a commercial mission to Lhassa. This project had been imposed upon Lord Dufferin by instructions from England, where it was believed that a profitable trade might be opened with Tibet. But the preparations for this mission had unluckily been made on a scale that alarmed the Tibetan authorities, who were quite ready to fall back upon China for aid in locking the door against foreigners, but who have invariably treated the imperial passports or permission to open it with complete disregard. When, therefore, it appeared that the Tibetans intended to oppose forcibly the crossing of their frontier by the Indian mission, the Chinese government had to choose between an attempt, which was sure to fail, to persuade or coerce Tibet into admitting a mission that had obtained their formal sanction, or the undignified alternative of acknowledging that a refractory province was too strong for them. But so soon as it appeared certain that the Tibetans intended to offer violent resistance to the British mission, Lord Dufferin, for his own part, became very doubtful about the wisdom of proceeding with it. To push forward, on such terms, into the country, seemed to him no very promising method of securing commercial interests, and he foresaw the complications inseparable from forcible entry. Hostilities might follow; but the Duke of Wellington had said long ago that for military expeditions in Asia success is often no less embarrassing than a reverse. A check or failure makes retreat impossible, and when you have succeeded it becomes equally difficult to draw the line where the advance can stop, or to retire without the risk of forfeiting all that has been gained by the enterprise. Moreover, Afghan affairs were as yet by no means settled, while a large army of occupation was still locked up in Burmah. It became expedient to aid the Chinese government in discovering some issue out of their dilemma; and this was provided by a diplomatic intimation that the Lhassa mission would not be pressed if amicable concessions with regard to Chinese reclamations in Burmah could be settled at Pekin. The solution was readily entertained; and on this basis a convention was signed in 1886 with China, which removed all obstacles to the complete incorporation of the new province under the government of India.

But what satisfied China did not pacify Tibet; and the whole story may be told here, although its end belongs to the last years of Lord Dufferin's

Viceroyalty. Recent events have revived the troublesome question of our relations with Tibet. Between the situations in 1886 and in 1903–4 there is, however, the very material difference that, at the former period, this question concerned only England and China, for of interference in Tibet by any other European power there could at that time be no apprehension. An armed expedition, which was hardly worth the trouble in 1886, when the sole object would have been to establish trading routes, became at the later date politically unavoidable. The route out of India into Tibetan territory runs through Sikkim, a little independent state under British protection; and on this part of the road, at a point called Lingtu, a fort had been constructed by the Tibetans in July 1886, to prevent the mission from reaching the Tibetan frontier. After the mission had been withdrawn, the garrison of the fort remained and began to strengthen it, although the position was outside their own border. When representations made to the frontier officials and to the Chinese government had proved equally ineffectual, the government of India had to decide between acquiescing in a permanent violation of Sikkim territory or resorting to strong measures for protecting it. Much protracted and fruitless remonstrance with China followed, and the subjoined extract from a letter written by Count Bela Szechenyi to Lord Dufferin in November 1887 is instructive. According to this experienced informant, the Tibetans, secretly aided and abetted by the Chinese government, were in no mood for yielding to any argument but force.

"For my part I take great interest in the opening of Tibet, as I travelled in some parts of it in the years 1878–80, trying to push forward on three different ways to Lhassa, but was always stopped by armed Lamas and the Tibetan militia in doing so. Since that time I have kept up my correspondence in those remote parts, and news is mostly given to me by missionaries, so that I am '*toujours au courant des faits*' concerning Tibet and China. . . .

"Macaulay* during his stay at Pekin received from the Tsungli Yamen his passport for Tibet with the very best recommendation (just as I had), and was in the idea that the convention he carried through between his and the Chinese government concerning the opening of English and Indian trade to Tibet would find its inauguration by his voyage to Lhassa *viâ* Darjeeling. The Chinese government only asked for a delay of three months in order to win public opinion in Tibet in favour of his expedition.

"During these three months troops were levied in Tibet, and guns as well as over a hundred large boxes filled with European gunpowder were sent from China, and when in the month of May Macaulay arrived with his two hundred Sepoys on its frontiers, he found all the passes guarded by Lamas and Tibetan soldiers. No possibility of passing except by declaring war, which could not be the object of your government, having just at that time among other difficulties the Burmese question on its shoulders. And as you wanted for that reason peace with China, so I suppose (I may be wrong *car je ne vois pas le dessous des cartes*) Tibet was given up for the moment, and China got the declaration that you will not enter by force into Tibet if, on the other hand, China gives up its claims on Burmah.

"China has, however, not been faithful in her engagements, for it is known that the Viceroy of Yunnan, 'Tsen kong pao,' sent soldiers of the regular troops, disguised under the black flag, to fight the

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* Mr. Macaulay, who was to be in charge of the mission to Lhassa, had been sent to Pekin for the purpose of arranging matters with the Chinese government.

English in Burmah. As they had better arms it was they who killed your officers out of ambuscades.

"After Macaulay had retired with his Sepoys from the Tibetan frontier, the Lamas, soldiers, and the population massed on the passes, shouted 'Victory,' living in the idea that they had frightened the government of the Empress of India. Their boldness and audacity had no limits. They took your *protégé* the King of Sikkim, prisoner. In vain he cried for your help; he was told that this question would be settled by diplomacy. The north of Sikkim lying under your protection was overrun by the Tibetans, who destroyed your built high-road, and even constructed a fortress in its neighbourhood.

"Are these questions also to be treated by diplomacy? I think that your 'prestige' will suffer considerably by it, not only in Tibet, but also in India, for such affronts done to the mightiest Power demand an exemplary satisfaction."

In acknowledging this letter Lord Dufferin observed—

"In one respect, however, you have misconceived the situation. The Tibetans did not take the King of Sikkim prisoner, nor has he appealed to us for help. The fact is that, though his ministers are friendly to us, he himself is a Tibetan at heart, having married a pure Tibetan wife to whom he is very much attached; and, against both our remonstrances and the remonstrances of his people and ministers, he has been residing for the last two years within Tibetan territory on the plea that it suits his health better. Some time ago we expostulated with him on his removing outside of his own dominions, and when he paid no attention to us we stopped his subsidy. If he continues obdurate we shall probably make other arrangements."

At last in the spring of 1888 the government of India notified to the Tibetan officer in Lingtu that unless the place was evacuated he would be expelled by force of arms. The letter was returned unopened with a verbal message that the Tibetan government allowed no communication with foreigners. As two more warnings failed to obtain the slightest acknowledgment the British troops captured the fort; a large force that attacked them later was easily dispersed; and the Tibetans were at last, in September 1888, driven out of Sikkim into their own country. Three months after the long altercation had in this manner been determined, a Chinese official, deputed from Pekin to represent imperial mediation, announced his appearance upon the frontier.

In one of the numerous letters that Lord Dufferin wrote from Burmah to his daughter (now Lady Helen Munro Ferguson) he said—

"We have seen the most beautiful temple that is to be found in all India, really something quite superb, and as full of mystery as of beauty, with enormous gloomy halls and long corridors with golden and brazen animals, fiends, and gods standing sentinel between the pillars—leading to darkened shrines and deep recesses where the god and goddess sat enthroned amidst a blaze of tapers. Then there were huge towers crowded with grotesque figures in high relief, priests moving about in picturesque garments, and, to give vitality to the whole scene, troops of dancing-girls, each laden with diamonds and jewels, and all dedicated to the service of the temple. I had to walk about all the time not merely with garlands round my neck, but with an enormous heavy and brocaded shawl flung over my shoulders."

After the expedition to Mandalay in February 1886, Lord and Lady Dufferin crossed the Bay of Bengal from Rangoon to visit Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, the Governor of Madras. And on his departure for Calcutta he wrote to Sir James Stephen—

March 6, 1886.—"I have left two friends of yours well and flourishing at Madras. I was determined to see the Grant Duffs before they descended from their throne, and we spent three very pleasant days with them. Madras is a less dead-alive place than I had expected, and the climate was perfect; but I have observed in India that people take it as a personal insult if you praise their climate, I suppose because you thereby minimize their hot-weather sufferings."

Meanwhile the rise and fall of ministries in fierce parliamentary conflict were absorbing all attention in England. In May 1886 Lady Gregory writes to Lord Dufferin—

"At this moment no one will think or speak of any other subject but Ireland. . . . You can hardly imagine the bitterness of feeling and of speech that prevail. If there is any act of absolutism or illegality that your government wishes to commit, now is your time, for India is forgotten for the moment."

In January the Conservative ministry had resigned; Mr. Gladstone had resumed office, and in April he had introduced two Bills, the first to establish Home Rule in Ireland; the second for enabling the State to purchase from Irish landlords their property, which was to be conveyed under certain conditions of payment to the tenants. Two months later, when the Home Rule Bill had been negatived on its second reading, Mr. Gladstone was again replaced in the Premiership by Lord Salisbury, whose government remained in power for the six following years. It will easily be understood that Lord Dufferin's proconsular anxieties for the security of the frontiers and for peace in a remote province of the empire, had not diverted his mind from these political commotions at its centre. In a letter of April 1886 he said—

"The news of the present crisis in England comes to us here like the sound of raging billows in a far-off sea. As for myself, I am so tremendously busy from morning till night that I have not time even to think of what is in store for us in Ireland, though when I do consider the matter, it looks very much as though the few thousands I have invested in Canada is all that I am likely to call mine in a very few years."

Yet for Lord Dufferin it was not possible to survey from the shore, with placid satisfaction, the toil of others against the wind and the waves. From his retreat on the distant Himalayas he watched the surging strife of parties over questions in which his interests, personal and patriotic, had always been deeply concerned. When the Home Rule Bill had been defeated, he wrote to Sir James Stephen—

July 28, 1886.—"The great cause in which you were so interested when you wrote has now been decided in a more satisfactory manner than even you dared to hope, and the English people at last have shown some sparks of common sense and manhood. It is needless to say how I personally rejoice in the result, for, had it gone the other way, I and every Irishman in my position would have been completely ruined, though that would have been an insignificant result in comparison with the ruin of the country itself, and for that matter of England too. The more one thinks the thing over, the more astounded one is at the madness of the idea, but it is one which I know has long been fermenting in Mr. Gladstone's mind. I remember in 1870 I went to see him, and met Bessborough leaving his house. Bessborough and I were great friends, and as I at that time had charge of the Irish business in the House of Lords, we used to confabulate a good deal together. Shaking hands with him, he told me that Mr. Gladstone had been walking up and down the room, half talking to him and half to himself of the Irish question, 'and,' said Bessborough, 'I do believe he is capable of repealing the Union.' The whole business has distressed me very much, for all my life long I have received great kindness at Mr. Gladstone's hands, though I have hardly ever conversed with him that I have not felt my face burn with irritation when I left his presence, but then Ireland and land were generally the subjects of our colloquy. He has conferred numerous honours and appointments upon me, and has always been very indulgent to my shortcomings, and I would have given a great deal that he had not run this dreadful muck. Had I been in England, my allegiance to him as an official subordinate would have ceased, I am afraid, when he brought in his Land Bill of 1880. This drove the Duke of Argyll out of his government, and would have driven me too, for a more unjust measure was never passed. I was in Russia at the time, and one day I received a letter from Argyll, written in the greatest spirits, announcing that after listening to all that his radical colleagues had been urging for weeks in favour of the three F's, Mr. Gladstone had suddenly come down to Downing Street, and had denounced them in the most forcible and conclusive manner. Yet a month or two later the Bill was introduced into Parliament."

Nevertheless in regard to the Bill for Sale and Purchase of Irish Land, Lord Dufferin's attitude was generally favourable. A letter in the *Times* of March 19, 1886, quoted certain evidence given by him before the Bessborough Commission in 1880, as showing "where Mr Gladstone's present Irish Land scheme had its birth;" and he himself was "rather pleased that it should have become known that I was the originator." "In 1870," he said, "I earnestly advocated a plan for the permanent settlement of the Irish Land question on the lines now embodied in Mr.

Gladstone's Bill;" and a letter to Sir William Gregory, dated July 1886, refers to the same subject—

"I entirely agree with you in believing that if once we could get the people of Ireland satisfied in regard to the land question, their desire for an independent government would entirely disappear, except, as you say, from a small section of the urban population. Repeal has always really been a dead horse until it was married to the land. But the question is, how is the land difficulty to be settled without adding to the enormous losses which the wretched landlords have already sustained? Public opinion in England evidently revolts at the notion of enabling tenants to buy with borrowed public money. A year before the Bill of 1880 was passed I breakfasted one day with Dilke and Chamberlain, and did my best to persuade them to get the matter settled in that sense rather than by the violent and unjust legislation which they were then contemplating, and which was embodied in the Act of 1880; but though they admitted that I had made a considerable impression upon their minds, their anti-landlord predilections were too much for me. I then submitted my scheme to the Commission which sat in Dublin. It was upon a smaller scale than that which Mr. Gladstone subsequently proposed. It merely created the majority of the tenants proprietors, and left the landlords still resident, and in the enjoyment of a proportion of their existing properties."

Sir William Gregory's reply contains two passages of some interest—

September 11, 1886.—"I had a most remarkable conversation with Gladstone at a party at Lady Marian Alford's in November 1883. He began by expressing the opinion he had of Parnell; he said he was the most formidable man to encounter in the House of Commons; he referred to his intimate knowledge of procedure, of his cold *steel-like* oratory, and said—'I think him the most powerful leader the Irish have ever had.' 'What! greater than O'Connell?' I replied.—'Well, perhaps not greater than O'Connell, but those who live to the beginning of the next century will say a more successful one.' And he laid much stress on the word 'successful.' I was so struck with this remark that when I returned home I wrote down the conversation word for word and have preserved it.

"I had a long talk with C. Villiers on Saturday evening at the Athenæum. He spoke in the highest terms of Randolph Churchill. He thinks him one of the most remarkable men he has known, not merely on account of his debating power, but from the mastery he has obtained over every subject which comes under discussion, and from his strength of will, which has from sheer force of character swept away every obstacle, triumphed over innumerable jealousies and dislikes of his colleagues and of the Court, and has made him for the present the most powerful man in the House of Commons, and with widespread influence out-of-doors. He thinks, however, that his health will give way."

The presentiment of these last words was unfortunately verified. In a letter written after Lord Randolph Churchill's death, Lord Dufferin alludes to their meeting in Calcutta during his Viceroyalty, and says—

"He had not gone very deep into the examination of Indian affairs, so that I had no opportunity of ascertaining what impression they had made upon his mind. On his return home he became Secretary of State, and I found him the most considerate and the most charming of men to work with—very sympathetic and appreciative. What struck me most about him, both as Secretary of State and when he was in India, was, to use a horrid word, 'the receptivity' of his mind. The initial attitude of most people to new ideas and suggestions is instinctively hostile, but with him it was certainly the reverse."

CHAPTER V.

INDIA.

(INTERNAL POLITICS.)

THE Viceroy left Simla at the end of October (1886), and at Lahore he met Sir West Ridgeway, who, after settling with the Russians almost all the boundary line of north-western Afghanistan,* had returned to India by Kabul, where the Amir had given the Mission a very friendly reception. Lord Dufferin warmly acknowledged, in a public speech, the remarkable ability with which Sir West Ridgeway and his staff had managed a difficult and delicate negociation, and the signal services they had accomplished in bringing the demarcation, so far, to a successful conclusion.

"Last, not least, however, I would desire to congratulate them on the auspicious circumstances under which they visited Kabul, as well as on the rapidity of their march from the capital of Afghanistan to the British frontier. That an English mission so constituted should be received as honoured guests by the Amir, and with the most hearty and friendly welcome at the hands of his subjects along their entire route, is in itself a remarkable and significant circumstance which cannot fail to have a most beneficial effect upon the future relations between the governments of India and Afghanistan."

At a Convocation of the Punjab University, when

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* One important point was reserved for arrangement through the Foreign Office at home. See p. 102.

Lord Dufferin received the honorary degree of D.C.L., he touched in his speech upon the question of higher education in India. In this department, as in so many others, the British dominion has brought about a conflict of ideas and traditions, between modern and mediæval systems. Poetry and philosophy are common ground; but the Hindus have no histories, sacred or profane; their physical science is rudimentary, and the superior intellects have been largely absorbed in abstruse speculation. The new spirit of European teaching is methodical, experimental, utilitarian; it may be said that the two systems are at variance as to the objects of knowledge. The proper work of national education in India is to bring East and West into some kind of harmony, preserving and promoting the indigenous languages and literature, and encouraging the application of scientific and critical methods to all branches of study.

"In what manner" (Lord Dufferin said) "your labours in the one hemisphere may most effectually supplement and commingle with the achievements of your fellow-workers in the other; how you may best apply the products of your own past, so rich in everything that can warm the fancy, excite the imagination or exercise the speculative and metaphysical faculty, to the practical requirements of your future and the exigencies of our present hard and exacting age, is one of the principal problems with which you have to deal, and for which I have no doubt you will find a satisfactory solution."

From the Punjab, which had not been forty years a British province, he passed to a very different atmosphere at Bombay and Poona, to cities with flourishing schools and colleges, where nearly a century of liberal administration and of organized public instruction had trained up a community whose natural intellectual capacity is unsurpassed in India. In his reply to an address from a prominent society of educated men at Poona, Lord Dufferin explained the views and objects with which he had appointed a commission to ascertain how wider employment and promotion might be given to Indians of proved merit and ability in the upper ranks of the civil service; and he affirmed, most truly, that "no lessons had been more forcibly taught us by history than that institutions ought to keep pace with the progress of events and of a country's intellectual development."

From Poona the Viceregal party passed on into the northern districts of the Hyderabad State; a region once famous in the wars of the Moghul empire, and where long after those times Sir Arthur Wellesley won the hard-fought battle of Assaye. They saw the wonderful rock-cut temples of Ellora, stood at the plain slab which marks the grave of the mighty emperor Aurungzeb, visited the prehistoric stronghold of Daulatabad, and thence travelled southward to the Nizam's capital.

From Hyderabad Lord Dufferin wrote to Lord Reay—

November 24, 1886.—"We have just arrived at Hyderabad after a most delightful journey. Nothing could have been more successful than our expedition to Poona, and subsequently to Aurungabad, and especially Daulatabad. The latter place is one of the most interesting fortresses I have ever seen, and you should certainly take an opportunity of examining it. It is an isolated conical hill, the sides of which have been scarped right round, so that a besieger would have to pound away at the living rock instead of at a wall in order to effect a breach.* The only approach is through a long winding passage, also cut out of the rock, the inner entrance to which is closed by a large iron trapdoor. When beset by their enemies, the garrison piled huge faggots and other combustibles upon the top of this door until it was heated red-hot, so that any human being attempting to enter the passage leading up to it would have been immediately scorched."

The Nizam of Hyderabad represents a line of princes whose alliance with the British government dates from the eighteenth century. The practical direction of affairs has usually been delegated to a chief minister, and on this system the State has more than once been managed with distinguished ability. But the relations between an autocratic ruler and a powerful subordinate are uneasy in all parts of the world; nor are instances wanting in the annals of India, where mutual jealousy, intrigue, and encroachments on either side have sometimes led to open conflict and even to dynastic changes. In Hyderabad the British influence has more than once been interposed to reconcile and pacify disputes of the kind; and on the present occasion Lord Dufferin appeared as arbitrator. Under his advice and injunctions the breach was for a time repaired; but the minister soon found his position, which had never been firm, so untenable that after a few months he escaped from it by resignation.

The State of Mysore, to which the Viceroy next proceeded, had been very recently restored to the native dynasty after a long interval of administration by British officers; and the administration, organized and superintended for many years by British agency, was now carried on with exemplary success by a staff of trained native officials. Lord Dufferin was able to declare, with entire truth, at a banquet given to him, that—

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* The hill is between 400 and 500 feet high; the upper and lower parts are in their natural state; but the centre is a scarped and quite perpendicular wall for 150 yards, and at the wall's foot is a deep ditch, cut about 30 feet down into the solid rock.

> "there is no state within the confines of the Indian Empire which has more fully justified the wise policy of the British government in supplementing its own direct administration of its vast territories by the associated rule of our great feudatory princes. When I think that I myself was admitted to the familiarity of the heroic soldier, of whose early achievements Seringapatam and the surrounding country were the theatre and the witnesses, it is difficult to believe that the changes to which I have referred should have been the fruits of what I may call contemporary history. It has now been my good fortune to have passed through most of the native states of India, and to have come into personal, and I may say intimate, contact with their chiefs, and I have no hesitation in saying that though there may be differences between them, though some states may be more advanced than others, some rulers less sensitive than others to the weighty responsibilities imposed on them by Providence, on the whole my experiences have been eminently satisfactory and reassuring, and the Queen-Empress, and the government of Great Britain have the greatest reason to congratulate themselves on the general enlightenment, the desire to do their duty, and the conscientious application to affairs which is so generally prevalent amongst them."

Beyond Mysore the journey was extended still further southward to Tanjore and Madura. From this point they turned northward again to Pondicherry, where Lord Dufferin exchanged friendly international greetings with the French governor, and underwent an official banquet and ball with his usual geniality. An allusion, in his speech at the banquet, to the early days when Madras surrendered to French troops from Pondicherry, was humorously meant; yet to his hosts it may have suggested no very cheerful comparisons between the past and present positions of France and England in India. The next stage was Madras, whence the party returned by sea to Calcutta.

Upon the completion of this circuitous journey Lord Dufferin wrote to Lord Cross—

January 18, 1887.—"My programme was carried out from day to day during the whole two months with absolute exactitude. We never dreamt of altering it, and my progress from town to town was one continued ovation. Not only was there no unpleasant incident from first to last, but the loyalty of the people was everywhere enthusiastically manifested. At one or two places, that is to say at Ahmedabad and I think at Tanjore, a minority in the Municipal Council wanted to introduce into their addresses one or two sentences in reference to the reform of the Councils and to the political aspirations of Young India, to which their colleagues objected, and when they found themselves in a minority they sent me unofficially a copy of what they had wished to say in a separate paper, but even these people were effusively civil. . . .

"I am glad that you approve of my speech at Poona. It was made on the spur of the moment, but it has undoubtedly had a good effect. Some of the older Indians, though agreeing in every word I said, seem to consider it unadvisable for the Viceroy to make any reference to public opinion as signified through the newspapers, and maintain that it ought to be loftily ignored. In this view I do not concur. I do not think we can afford to disregard it; for there are some papers, particularly on the Bombay side, that are conducted with moderation, and with a certain amount of political insight; and although it would be absurd to regard the press as in any way representing the various and multitudinous populations of India, it does undoubtedly express the ideas of the educated class. Though this class is at present small and uninfluential, it is both wise and right to count with it, and we must remember that it is above all things a growing power."

By this time the important military and political affairs that had engaged Lord Dufferin's anxious attention during the first two years of his Viceroyalty were so far in course of settlement that he could turn his mind to these questions of internal administration. It has already been mentioned that a Commission had been appointed, and was now actually at work, for the consideration of ways and means of opening the higher grades of the civil service to natives. But to the leading advocates of Indian reforms, whose education had included a study of English constitutional history, this implied no adequate concessions; they were pressing for an introduction of the representative system, and for other changes which would give them a substantial influence over the executive and legislative conduct of the government. One step forward had already been taken in 1886 by the creation of a Legislative Council in the North-West Provinces, on lines similar to those existing in Madras, Bengal, and Bombay. The views and aspirations of the advanced party of reform were embodied in an association, which had conferred upon itself the title of a National Congress, and held a session in Calcutta during the winter of 1886–87. The tone of their proceedings was loyal and friendly to British rule, though the discussions were tinged with some inevitable crudity and inexperience; and the effect of some rather extravagant resolutions passed at the meeting was to arouse the instinctive conservatism, the traditional reluctance to disturb a settled order of things, that may be said to predominate among all classes in the general population of India. To the old-fashioned Indian, who still represents an immense majority of the people, with his inveterate disbelief in the stability of all governments and his dread of change, the shifting and redistribution of governing power is a matter of very serious possible consequences. Political agitators are to him not merely fair players in the game of contending parties and principles, they are new men who want to be masters ; their strength, ability, and disinterestedness are not yet clear to him ; they are likely to be affected by prejudices of race and religion ; and on the whole, whatever may be his discontent with the existing *régime*, he does not care to join in experiments upon the constitution of a government that rules with strength and impartiality.

Nevertheless Lord Dufferin felt that the time was passing when the British government could afford to disparage the claims and aspirations of a party that the British system of education had deliberately created. Trained intelligence and high culture in every country are more or less restricted to a minority, but the select few become gradually leaders of the many. No Viceroy ever came to India who had seen so much as Lord Dufferin had seen of political institutions in different forms and stages, from the free self-government of Canada to absolutism in its zenith at St. Petersburg, and Oriental autocracy at Constantinople. No statesman, therefore, knew better than he did that if the English persist in continuing to pile up, after the high Roman fashion, the edifice of a great empire over a miscellaneous population, they cannot go on adding to the superstructure without distributing the pressure of administrative responsibilities. Early in 1886 the Viceroy recorded his views on the subject—

"Now I think it is desirable that the government should make up its mind as soon as possible in regard to the policy it is determined to pursue, for evidently India is not a country in which the machinery of European democratic agitation can be applied with impunity. My own inclination would be to examine carefully and seriously the demands which are the outcome of these various movements ; to give quickly and with a good grace whatever it may be possible or desirable to accord ; to announce that these concessions must be accepted as a final settlement of the Indian system for the next ten or fifteen years ; and to forbid mass meetings and incendiary speechifying. Putting aside the demands of the extremists . . . the objects even of the more advanced party are neither very dangerous nor very extravagant. . . . But it must always be remembered that though common sense and a certain knowledge of affairs and of the world may limit the programme of the leaders to what they think they have a chance of getting, the ideal in the minds of the major part of their followers is an India in which the British Army shall ward off invasion from without and preserve them from tyranny and usurpation of the native princes within, while they themselves shall have free scope to administer their domestic affairs untrammelled by the interference of white men, except perhaps in the person of a Viceroy and a limited number of high officials.

"Undoubtedly the most vital and important of the notions started by the reformers is the change they propose in the Legislative Councils. I confess that soon after my arrival in the country it occurred to me that improvement might be possible in this direction, and personally I should feel it both a relief and an assistance if in the settlement of many Indian administrative questions affecting the interests of millions of Her Majesty's subjects, I could rely to a larger extent than at present upon the experience and counsels of Indian coadjutors. Amongst the natives I have met there are a considerable number who are both able and sensible, and upon whose loyal co-operation one could undoubtedly rely. The fact of their supporting the government would popularize many of its acts which now have the appearance of being driven through the legislature by force; and if they in their turn had a native party behind them, the government of India would cease to stand up, as it does now, an isolated rock in the middle of a tempestuous sea, around whose base the breakers dash themselves simultaneously from all the four quarters of the heavens."

Lord Dufferin then proceeds to enumerate the obvious risks and drawbacks inseparable from the introduction of the representative element into the organic constitution of such a government as that of India, where the mere number of the population* constitutes an enormous preliminary difficulty; and his conclusion is summed up thus—

"In spite of the serious array of arguments which I have adduced against the change, my instincts rather propel me in the opposite direction, at all events so far as to try the experiment of liberalizing, if not the supreme, at least the subordinate Legislative Councils. Now that we have educated these people, their desire to take a larger part in the management of their own domestic affairs seems to be a legitimate and reasonable aspiration, and I think there should be enough statesmanship amongst us to contrive the means of permitting them to do so without unduly compromising our Imperial supremacy."

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* About three hundred millions.

It may be convenient to relate here the eventual outcome of these proceedings and deliberations. Two years later, in 1888, the Commission of Inquiry into the question of admitting natives of India more freely to the higher grades of the Civil Service had presented their report, and Lord Dufferin's government laid before the Secretary of State for India some very liberal proposals in that sense. So liberal indeed were they that the scheme was to some extent modified by the Home government. But the main object of Indian reformers was, as has been said, to obtain constitutional concessions; and Lord Dufferin's mind was constantly turning and returning to this subject during his Viceroyalty. After many counsels had been taken the recommendations of his government were transmitted to the Secretary of State in a despatch of November 1888, accompanied by a minute in which Lord Dufferin balanced and discussed at great length all the considerations upon which they had been formulated, and recorded his own opinion, matured after four years' experience of Indian affairs. Some extracts from this comprehensive review may be given to show the direction of his policy, and the substantial reforms that he desired to introduce.

"Having regard to the relation in numbers, in condition, in status, and in qualifications for government of what may be called the Europeanized or educated section of the Indian people, as compared with the masses that constitute the bulk of the nation, I am convinced that we should be falling into a great error if, miscalculating the force and value of the Congress movement and the influence of its supporters and advocates, whether in the press or elsewhere, we were to relax in the slightest degree our grasp of the supreme administration of the country. On the other hand, as long as we hold firmly to this principle, and remain fully alive to our own Imperial responsibilities, I believe that both with safety and advantage we can give full play to the legitimate and praiseworthy ambition of the loyal, patriotic, and educated classes in India, who are desirous of taking a larger share than hitherto in the transaction of the public business of their respective provinces. . . .

"Fortunately, whilst the government of India has been occupying itself in framing proposals for reconstituting its provincial legislative councils, it has also, at the suggestion and with the approval of the Secretary of State, been perfecting very important arrangements for the still further decentralization of our financial system, and for handing over to the provincial governments a more complete and independent control of the provincial revenues. At the same time certain powers of supplementing and increasing the local funds by provincial taxation is to be attributed to them. Thus the provincial councils will be admitted to a very large and important field of provincial administration, and ample scope and opportunities will be given to its members, both native and English (amongst whom an adequate number of representatives of the British mercantile interests should be certainly included), to display their statesmanship and their ability to provide for the wants and interests of the extensive communities over which their influence and jurisdiction will extend. . . .

"In two respects I should desire procedure in the Governor General's council to be amended. Under the existing law it is only when a new tax is to be imposed that the finance member is required to submit his financial proposals to the legislative council, or that any opportunity is given to the members of that body to make observations in regard to them. When there is no new taxation the finance member merely publishes his budget in the form of a pamphlet. For my own part, I think that a yearly financial discussion in the Viceroy's legislative council would prove a very useful and desirable arrangement, and a very convenient preliminary to the subsequent debate which takes place on Indian finances in the House of Commons later in the year. I do not by this mean that votes should be taken in regard to the various items of the budget, or that the heads of expenditure should be submitted in detail to the examination of the council, but simply that an opportunity should be given for a full, free, and thorough criticism and examination of the financial policy of the government. . . .

"The second change in the procedure of the supreme legislative council which I am inclined to recommend is, that, under proper restrictions to be laid down by the Viceroy, its members should be permitted to ask questions in reference to current matters of domestic, as distinguished from those of Imperial interest, that may have attracted public attention. . . . Under existing circumstances the government of India has no adequate medium through which it can explain its policy, correct a wrong impression, or controvert a false statement, and, though up to the present time the consequences of the evils I have indicated may not have become very serious or widespread, they contain the germs of incalculable danger. Consequently it would prove as great an advantage to the Administration as it would frequently be a satisfaction to the members of the council and the public at large, if reasonable opportunities were afforded of communicating to those interested the exact facts in regard to any questionable matter."

That the policy marked out in this minute by Lord Dufferin was sound and practicable, has since been proved by experience. Not centralization, but decentralization, should, he declared, be the leading principle of all constitutional amendments in India; he wished to strengthen the provincial legislatures and establish more of them, so that the jurisdiction in diverse provinces should proceed upon an intimate acquaintance with particular needs and a right knowledge of public opinion. The principle of maintaining supreme control, which is the central idea embodied in the word empire, he maintained firmly. There must always be some power capable of holding a just and even balance among conflicting races and creeds; and the problem in India is to superintend, upon this principle, the devolution and distribution of administrative responsibilities. With regard to the question of multiplying opportunities for public debate upon legislative projects, Sir Henry Maine had affirmed twenty years previously that to do so would be an advantage in all the councils of India—

> "So far" (he said) "from its being desirable that we should legislate without giving reasons for our legislation and without meeting objections to it, it seems to me that want of power to defend our measures is our great weakness."

The Press in India, while it is as free as in England, and is often conducted with considerable ability, is inaccurate because it is seldom well informed; the educated classes supply impatient censure and criticism, the uneducated are exceedingly credulous. In such an atmosphere of misunderstanding and half-knowledge, amid the clamour of many journals and the circulation of rumours, it had long become impossible for an English government to preserve the disdainful taciturnity of an Asiatic sovereign, who answers no questions, vouchsafes no explanations, and makes known his pleasure, like some divinity, only by his action and commandments. Before this time every draft law had been regularly published with a statement of its objects and the reasons for proposing it; but within the legislative councils the proportion of non-official members had been small, and the right of interpellation, upon matters not actually before them, did not exist. The natural consequence was that intelligent political discussion found its main vent in journalism, and that the functions of an opposition were undertaken by the newspapers. Lord Dufferin desired, as has been seen, to enlarge not only the numbers of these councils, but also their privileges in debate; and his general policy was actively supported by his successor in the Governor Generalship, the Marquis of Lansdowne. Two years later an Act of the British Parliament brought these important and salutary changes into operation.

The jubilee of Queen Victoria was celebrated throughout India on February 16, 1887. At a great meeting on the Maidân,* numerous loyal addresses were presented by deputations, to whom the Viceroy replied by a speech, reviewing in broad outline the administrative policy of the British government in India during the past fifty years of the Queen's reign. For the welfare and prosperity of the country, he said, many things had been undertaken, much had been accomplished, but much more remained to be done; and for the work that lay before them he relied upon the co-operation of the leaders of native society everywhere, the representatives of education and enlightenment, in promoting the highest interests of the Indian people.

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* The open plain along the river-side at Calcutta.

"We are surrounded on all sides by Native gentlemen of great attainments and intelligence, from whose hearty, loyal, and honest co-operation we may hope to derive the greatest benefit. In fact, to an administration so peculiarly situated as ours, their advice, assistance, and solidarity are essential to the successful exercise of its functions. Nor do I regard with any other feelings than those of approval and good-will their natural ambition to be more extensively associated with their English rulers in the administration of their own domestic affairs, and glad and happy should I be if, during my sojourn amongst them, circumstances permitted me to extend and to place upon a wider and more logical footing the political status which was so wisely given a generation ago by that great statesman, Lord Halifax, to such Indian gentlemen as by their influence, their acquirements, and the confidence they inspired in their fellow-countrymen were marked out as useful adjuncts to our Legislative Councils.

"Believe me" (he said in conclusion), "I speak from personal knowledge when I say that, amongst the many preoccupations and anxieties of the Queen-Empress, there is no section of her subjects whose interests she watches with more loving or affectionate solicitude than your own. Moreover, in doing this, she most truly represents, as it is fit and right their sovereign should, the feelings and instincts of the English people. Through the mysterious decrees of Providence, the British nation and its rulers have been called upon to undertake the supreme government of this mighty empire; to vindicate its honour, to defend its territories, and to maintain its authority inviolate; to rule justly and impartially a congeries of communities, many of them widely differing from each other in race, language, religion, social customs, and material interests; to preserve intact and unimpaired the dignity, rights, and privileges of a large number of feudatory princes; to provide for the welfare of a population nearly as numerous as that of Europe, and presenting every type of civilization known to history from the very highest to the very lowest; to safeguard and to develope the enormous moral and material British interests which have become inextricably implicated with those of the natives of the soil; to conduct its administration in a way to win the love, confidence, and sympathy of races as keenly sensitive to injustice and wrong as they are ready to recognize kindness and righteous dealing."

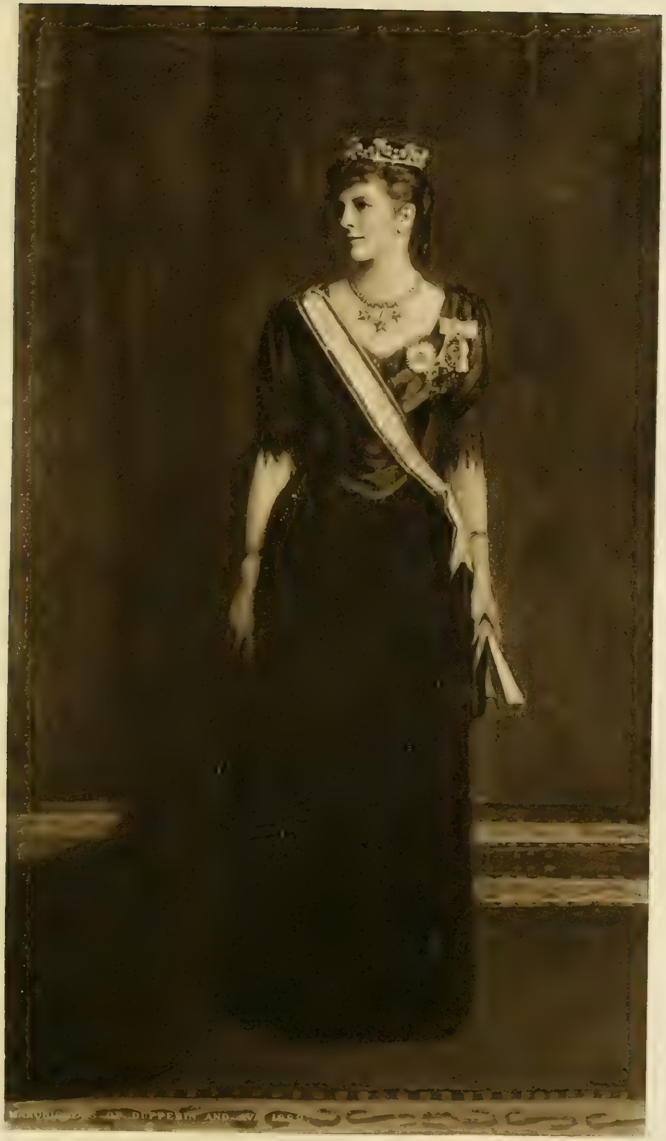
To Lord Northbrook the Viceroy wrote a short time afterwards—

March 11, 1887.—"Our jubilee proceedings went off very well. Two days were set apart as holidays, and in Calcutta the programme was as follows: A salute of a hundred and one guns at daybreak, followed an hour or two later by a parade and march past of all the troops in garrison. Then I drove to the Cathedral, where a special service was held, and in the afternoon there was a great assembly on the Maidân, at which I received the innumerable congratulatory addresses which had poured in from one end of the country to the other, and made a speech in reply. Immediately after this there was a grand display of fireworks, and on this occasion the natives were shown a pyrotechnic display far superior to any that they had ever seen before. The principal feature was the outline of Her Majesty's head, traced in lines of fire about 18 feet high, which unexpectedly burst upon the vision of the astonished crowd. In the same manner portraits of the Prince and Princess of Wales, on an equally gigantic scale, appeared from out a fiery rose-bush. My wife and I were also honoured in the same way, and I thought I never looked so well. We also entertained 30,000 school children, native and European, and the day ended with a general reception at Government House."

It has been thought convenient, in this narrative of Lord Dufferin's viceroyalty, to disregard chronological order for the purpose of continuity, so as to group and connect under one subject all the events and proceedings relating to it. But since the successive steps or stages usually belong to different years, under this system the annual chronicle has been forestalled, and of important matters there is little left to say. Afghan and Burmese questions still engaged the Viceroy's attention in 1887; he pressed forward the frontier railways, the fortification of points on the north-western border of India, and the coast defences. The grand strategical problem—whether an army should advance to meet a hostile invasion of Afghanistan, or should await an enemy by taking up positions on or close to the British frontier—was discussed with the usual eager conflict of military opinions. Three alternative plans were drawn up by a Committee, in which Lord Dufferin discovered at least one common characteristic, "that there is a great deal to be said against adopting any one of them." Nevertheless he examined and commented upon them all in letters to the Secretary of State, though he preferred a short outlook on the future to speculations on ulterior possibilities; "for it is an inveterate habit of my mind" (he wrote about this time) "never to allow any opinion upon any subject to crystallize until it becomes necessary to arrive at a practical decision."

By April 1887 he was again at Simla, after some tiger-shooting in the sub-Himalayan forests; and the general course of his thoughts and occupations may be illustrated by a few extracts from his letters to friends at home.

To Lord Granville he wrote—


DUFFERIN AND

The Marchioness of Dufferin & Ava
from the picture by J. J. Shannon. A.R.A.
1889

"I have now been two years and a half in this country, that is to say, one half of my term, and I feel now, and have always felt, like a man engaged in riding a very dangerous steeplechase over a course interspersed with horribly stiff fences and exceedingly wide brooks. So far I have scraped through and over a certain number of them, but I never feel sure that I may not have a cropper at one or other of those that lie before me, and, in any event, one feels that there can be neither rest nor peace nor breathing time until one has got safe past the winning-post at the end of one's five years. As one of Canning's successors, my thoughts naturally turn often to him and the anxious career he had here. Lady Canning's tomb is in the grounds of Barrackpore, a kind of country house about fifteen miles from Calcutta, and scarcely a Sunday passes that I do not read the inscription Canning himself wrote on her monument. Knowing how dearly you loved him, I am sure you will be glad to hear that his memory and his fame are still alive and green in India, and that he is never mentioned, either by Europeans or natives, without respect and reverence.

"After our Calcutta season was over, I had a week's holiday, the first for two years and a half, which I employed in tiger-shooting in the Terai. It was too delightful, and we killed six tigers within the week."

Lord Granville replied—

"As to your steeplechase, you appear to me to be winning hands down. I see no reason why the rest of the course should be more difficult. I wish you all possible success. I suppose there is a chance of my being alive when you come back loaded with laurels."

To Lord Arthur Russell—

"Considering the history of property in Ireland and the degree to which, both under the Encumbered

Estates Court and the Land Court, its position has been revalidated by Parliament, it would be simply monstrous to leave it to the mercy of a revolutionary convention of Celts. Within my own immediate neighbourhood thousands of acres have during the last thirty years been acquired by Belfast capitalists, that is to say by men whose industry, prudence, and skill have not only enabled them to acquire a considerable amount of private wealth, but to distribute enormous amounts of capital throughout the population of Ulster. All these purchasers have insisted very properly on being furnished with a Parliamentary title to the estates they bought. It was on the faith of this security that they invested their money. With what decency or show of justice can any British Parliament (though it has, I am sorry to say, already made extensive inroads upon the rights thus conveyed) annul or withdraw its guarantees, and allow those to whom it has pledged its word to be robbed both of their land and of their money.

"But I do not know why I should bother you with home politics instead of telling you about India, though were I to open this chapter, it is difficult to say where I should end. It is a most wonderful and delightful place, and the climate, as distributed to us, quite enchanting and extremely healthy. In fact, both my wife and I have been better since we came here than at any time of our lives, as indeed have my children; but the work and responsibilities are appalling. Happily when once I have left my desk I do not think of them, otherwise any one in my situation would go distracted. Nor do they trouble me at night, which is the critical period to many men. So far, matters have gone pretty well with us, though the task of administration is becoming every year more difficult and complicated, first on account of the pressure of a foreign government from outside, and secondly from the pressure amongst us of a very able, intelligent, and respectable educated class of natives, who naturally enough consider that they are entitled to a larger share in the administration of their own affairs.

"Moreover, in one part or another of so vast an area unpleasant incidents are always taking place, so that you have no sooner patched up a hole in one part of the kettle than another shows itself on the opposite side.

"Burmah, I am happy to say, is really quieting down, so that that business will be fairly well settled within the two years I originally named, though I am afraid that during the course of the hot weather the criminal classes of the country will take advantage of our enforced inactivity to recommence dacoity and the plundering of each other's villages, but by the end of the next cold weather, when we shall be able again to come down on the disturbers of the public peace with renewed force and vigour, our task of pacification ought to be pretty well complete. . . .

"I have just had a week's holiday, the first in two years and a half, and have been tiger-shooting in the Nepal Terai. We saw ten and got six, which was very good, and I had the pleasure of knocking over the biggest beast of the lot with a bullet from an Express rifle, though I will not swear I was the first to draw blood, for he was prancing about in the grass for two or three minutes before he came out into the open. . . .

"It may perhaps interest you to know that I console my scanty leisure by learning Persian, which I can now talk fairly well, though I heartily regret having ever begun it. I imagined that all the magnates of India principally spoke Persian, whereas it is only the Mahomedans who use it, and they not very extensively, so that my only reward is the reading of some rather pretty poetry, and listening to the 'Arabian Nights,' a story from which is told to me every day by a learned policeman who accompanies me in the course of my daily constitutional."

To Lady Russell—

"And now what am I to tell you? Politics are out of the question, for though they are fearfully interesting to me individually, Indian politics are hardly a fit subject for a letter to a lady. But, outside of politics, any one in my position has no existence, as they absorb his thoughts and attention morning, noon, and night. Even if this were not the case, I do not think the social gossip of Simla or Calcutta would amuse you, except, indeed, you may like to know about a dress which my wife wore at a fancy ball lately given by Sir Frederick Roberts, which was a great success. Indeed, I never saw her look younger or more lovely. She was robed in powder, diamonds, silver and grey, and in her hand she carried a silver staff with the magic number 25 in Roman figures on the top of it. Can you guess what she represented? A silver wedding—an event which we celebrate this year. Don't you think it was a good idea? . . .

"How little any of us thought, dear Lady Russell, when I took that happy journey with you to Vienna, that I also would some day be an ambassador, and above all things a colleague of Gortchakoff's. Amongst the many thoughts which the prosecution of my public career has suggested, there has been none more constantly present to my mind than the reflection that I have not done discredit to the man who first gave me a start in official life, and to whom I am indebted for all the opportunities of distinction that have since fallen in my way."

The separation of parents from their children, which casts a shadow over so much of Anglo-Indian life, was a recurrent trouble to Lord and Lady Dufferin. To his eldest daughter (now Lady Helen Munro-Ferguson) her father wrote, while she was in England, many letters overflowing with affection, kindly humour, and earnest solicitude for her welfare.

"It is always such a delight to me when the day comes round for writing you a letter, though it only too often happens that I cannot begin until just before dinner, but what are the most luxuriant feasts in comparison to a chat with one's dear child? . . .

"I am perfectly frantic at the treatment I have received at the hands of Madame Tussaud. To enter those halls, especially as a central figure, is the surest sign an Englishman can have that he has become famous; but to think of all the lovely ladies who will have passed in front of my effigy and have gone away with the conviction that my hair is snow-white, is truly humiliating. I think that the least you could have done would have been to summon the authorities and insist on their purchasing another wig. . . .

"And now I must try and describe in befitting language the august ceremony over which I presided the other day. As you know, the Shah has given your mother the Grand Cordon of the Sun of Persia, and to do her further honour he ordered his Consul-General to proceed from Bombay to Simla with it and a letter from his royal self. I accordingly held a durbar, with the peacock's feathers and all the other paraphernalia, and to add to the solemnity of the scene I ordered the Foreign Secretary to appear in uniform, as indeed we all did. Then with great majesty and decorum William Beresford and Cooper formed a procession with the Persian between them, and marched up the centre of the room to the edge of the carpet, where with some difficulty the Mirza contrived to get the riband over your mother's head without pulling her hair down, and handed her the Star and the Jewel. . . .

"I have got your letter of August 25, and I can well understand that having to make up your mind as to whether you would come or stay must have been very disagreeable to you; but still, as our one object was that you should do exactly as you liked and what pleased you best, we had no other alternative than to leave you the choice. But do not think that we regarded with anything but dismay and regret the thought of being without you for another year. I cannot tell you what different places both Simla and Calcutta have felt since you left, and with what an ill-grace I have made up my mind to go for another twelve months without a daughter who is every day becoming a greater and a greater joy to me. . . .

"This is a line to welcome you to India. You cannot imagine how my heart flies out to meet you, and I am beside myself with delight at the thought of being with you at Allahabad."

Next year, when two of his children went home, he writes to his eldest son—

"Alas, they left us this morning. We went down to the boat to see them off, and after bidding them good-bye on board, we adjourned to the wharf, and from thence watched the steamer slowly extricating herself from the impediments of the channel. Your mother was very much upset, and we shall all of us miss them dreadfully, especially at breakfast, where it was such a delight to me to find them every morning."

Robert Browning had been one of the poets whose verses, made in honour of the lady to whom Helen's Tower was dedicated, were inscribed on the walls of its upper chamber.* In September 1887 Lord Dufferin wrote to him—

"One of the two great happinesses of my life has been my mother's love and the being able to love her in return with such a complete conviction of her being worthy of all the adoration I could pay her, and a great deal more. To preserve her memory and the recollection of what she was has been one of my most constant efforts, and from very early days I envied Cowper the power he possessed of hanging up against the walls of time so beautiful a portrait of his own parent; but thanks to you, to your kindness, and to your genius, I have the satisfaction of knowing that so long as the English language lasts, as delightful and as true an image as has ever been created of any woman will continue to preserve the memory of my mother to the most distant ages,—and what could any one desire more than this? The thought of your kindness and of what you have done for me has been constantly present to my mind during the many years that have passed since you wrote your beautiful sonnet* on Helen's Tower. It now happens that I am printing some copies of a journal which my mother kept during the few months preceding her death, and written with the view of comforting me after she was gone. . . . There is nothing very special in what she writes, but it throws a light upon the simplicity and the unselfishness of her nature, and I have thought that my children might like to have this memorial of her. At the same time it occurred to me that I could not give you a better proof of my deep sense of gratitude than by sending you these sacred pages, if for no other reason than as evidence of my desire to take you into my inmost confidence."

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* See vol. i. p. 144.

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* "Who hears of Helen's Tower, may dream perchance
How the Greek beauty from the Scæan Gate
Gazed on old friends unanimous in hate,
Death-doom'd because of her fair countenance.

"Hearts would leap otherwise at thy advance,
Lady to whom this Tower is consecrate!
Like hers, thy face once made all eyes elate,
Yet, unlike hers, was blessed by every glance.

"The Tower of Hate is outworn, far and strange;
A transitory shame of long ago,
It dies into the sand from which it sprang;
But thine, Love's rock-built Tower, shall fear no change;
God's Self laid stable earth's foundations so,
When all the morning stars together sang."

ROBERT BROWNING.

Robert Browning answered—

"I have a difficulty indeed in finding words to fully express what I feel on receiving your letter and the Diary; probably the simplest and best way will be to assure you that I have rarely been so gratified and so affected as on this occasion. I was only privileged to see and know a little of your admirable mother, but that little was sufficient to give me the impression you allowed me to put, however imperfectly, on record for the sake of others less fortunate than myself. That you, most fortunate of all in a happiest of lifelong experiences, should have so kindly taken the will for the deed is almost as surprising as delightful; but that you go on to entrust me with that truly 'Sacred' Diary seems a piece of goodness which I can no more characterize than adequately thank you for. Had the Diary come from a person altogether unknown to me, I should have recognized it as one of the most beautiful and touching revelations of a devoted soul that I was ever permitted to participate in; but it supplements and confirms all that was conjectural in my belief, and really almost seems to lift me into a proximity otherwise impossible to one removed, in the main, from the opportunities of a personal intimacy which would have been precious indeed."

Everything that reminded Lord Dufferin of his mother revived the affection with which he cherished her memory. To Mrs. Ward he writes—

"How good and kind of you it was to send me such a large packet of my mother's letters, and how like you to have kept them: but you must not imagine that I am going to take them from you. As soon as they have been printed I will return the originals to you, and not only so, but you shall have a printed copy of them in order that you may glance at them from time to time at your leisure in a form that will not weary your eyes or try your nerves. I have already had a good deal of my mother's correspondence printed, including the first letter she ever wrote to her own mother after her marriage. It was written during her honeymoon trip and is dated from Paris. Then there are others from Florence describing me as a baby; and so they go on, unfolding her whole life in the most marvellous and touching manner. Apart from her wit, sprightliness, discernment, and good sense, what stands out in highest relief is the extreme tenderness of her affection. I do not suppose there was ever a human being who had such a power of loving. Indeed this passionate ecstasy of affection extended with undiminished force to all her dumb pets, whether horses, birds, or dogs, and the fact of its embracing so many objects in no degree seems to have diminished either its depth or intensity."

The letter subjoined refers to the collection of books in Helen's Tower.

To Miss Emily Lawless—

July 13, 1887.—"How very good and kind of you to send me your beautiful book! Probably you little know how great a favour you have conferred, for it so happens that I have made it a chief object all my life long to collect books given to me by their authors, for a special library which I am forming. As a consequence, I have now about four hundred volumes, all of them arrayed in splendid robes, and each notable for containing something or another by the hand of the writer, either a friendly inscription, as in the case of your book, or a verse or two or a characteristic sketch. The library is called the 'Helen's Tower Library,' and if, as is the fate of all such collections, at some time or another it is eventually dispersed, every number of it, and

'Hurrish' not the least, will be known and prized by the bibliomaniacs of future generations."

A letter to a friend in Canada proves the abiding interest taken by Lord Dufferin in the politics of that country.

July 18, 1887.—"It gave me great pleasure to see in how noble a manner the Canadians rallied round Lord Lansdowne when that wretched Irishman came to trouble the peace of Toronto. Lord Lansdowne is one of the best, most generous, and wisest landlords in the whole of Ireland, and nothing could be more unfair than to represent him in unfavourable colours. However, his adversaries have done him infinitely more good than harm, and have given an opportunity to the Canadians to show how much they respect and esteem him. . . . As I am a faithful and constant student of *Grip*,* I still keep a pretty good hold of the progress of events in Canada and of the principal events that are attracting public attention, and I am glad to see from their frequent reappearance in *Grip's* pages that all my old friends and ministers are still at the head of their respective parties, and as active as ever in promoting the interests of the country."

On leaving Simla in October Lord Dufferin wrote to the Secretary of State—

"On the whole I think the government of India may be very well contented with the work it has accomplished during its sojourn in the hills. Though it is not our legislative season, we have passed two important Land Bills for the Punjab; we have created a University at Allahabad, and brought Oude under the jurisdiction of the High Court of the North-West Provinces; we have completed all our arrangements for the civil administration of Burmah, including the

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* The Canadian weekly comic paper.

Ruby Mine 'Regulation'; we have worked up our final plans for the frontier fortifications and for the harbour defences, and have got most of the works themselves well under way; we have thrashed out pretty completely the various aspects of the Afghan question, political, financial, and strategical; we have constructed a mobilization scheme of a very minute and effectual character; and we have issued a good many important resolutions, especially one on Sanitation. There is also another circumstance for which I think we may take some credit. Within the last few months the tone of the native press has become far less offensive, or at all events far less hostile to the supreme government than was the case some time ago, thanks to the opportunities I was given when I was last on tour of putting myself into communication with all the principal persons of influence in different parts of India representing the educated section of the community; and what is equally important, I have been able to establish friendly personal relations with all the leading chiefs, to whom I now write pretty constantly as to personal friends."

The Viceroy was now bound for Sinde and Beluchistan, on the western frontiers of India. At Karâchi, the seaport near the mouths of the Indus river, he examined the harbour and the forts that were building for its protection. Thence he crossed the Sinde desert and was carried by the railway up out of the valley of the Indus to the bare, cold, windswept plateau of Pishin, which extends from the head of the passes to the Amran range of hills on the Afghan border. Quetta, the British fortress that guards this frontier, commanding the main roads leading from South Afghanistan toward India, lies not far within the line of these hills, from which the distance to Kandahar is about seventy miles.

To Sir G. Bowen, January 8, 1888, Lord Dufferin wrote—

"We travelled for a whole day through a most weird and extraordinary country—high mountains, glens, and gorges without a blade of grass. In one place the back of the mountain is broken right across as a stick would be broken on a man's knee, and through this gorge the railway is carried out of one valley into the parallel one. The railway now goes to the foot of the Amran range, which is our extreme western frontier. We slept in the train on the night of our arrival, and the next morning I cantered up to the top of the ridge, getting there for a late breakfast. The sight looking towards Kandahar was glorious. At our feet there stretched a great scarlet sea of sand, with black islands of basalt rising up here and there in the midst of it. Beyond were the blue hills that encircle Kandahar. It made me feel a little like Moses on Pisgah, though I do not know that Sir Frederick Roberts, who was with me, will be the Joshua to descend into the promised land."

To Sir Harry Verney—

January 6, 1888.—"We have now determined to drive a tunnel through the (Amran) mountain, so that we may be in a position to reach Kandahar in a fortnight should it be thought advisable to do so. In the mean time Quetta is to be converted into a regular arsenal, fully provided with stores and all the material of war. It is a tremendously strong position, its front being protected for miles by an impassable barrier of rock, except for a short interval which will be secured by a line of redoubts. We went up to Pishin by what is known as the Hurnai route, and descended by the Bolan pass. The Bolan line was constructed under my auspices at the time when England was putting her ships into the water and calling out her reserves."

Descending again to the Indian plains, the party went northward to Peshawar, whence Lord Dufferin rode up the Khaibar pass to its highest point at Lundi Kotal, and looked down on the valley of the Kabul river, that gradually widens out westward to Jelahabad. All the wild folk of the frontier tribes came down to see the Viceroy, who also received their headmen in a great Durbar at Peshawar. From this far north-west corner of the British dominion—where a mere line separates a British district, with its police, schools, laws, and magistrates, from the barbarous anarchy of fierce clans in a state of perpetual warfare — Lord Dufferin returned into the very different atmosphere of Calcutta, to a softer climate and people, halting at the chief Indian cities on his route.

"I have now" (he wrote) "been to the eastern and to the western extremities of my empire, from the one side looking down upon China, and from the other upon what may be almost called Russia."

And after the termination of his far-western travel, he found himself again on the official treadmill, performing the daily rounds of perpetual minuting and correspondence.

To Sir William Gregory—

"A thousand thanks for your charming letter of December 1. You cannot think how I value your correspondence. You always tell me exactly what I want to know, and in so pleasant and cheerful a manner that it is like a ray of light poured into my dull room, where hour after hour I sit with my nose to the grindstone. It is an odd thing to say, but dulness is certainly the characteristic of an Indian Viceroy's existence. All the people who surround him are younger than himself; he has no companions or playfellows; even the pretty women who might condescend to cheer him it is better for him to keep at a distance; and, except occasionally, the business he has to deal with is of a very uninteresting and *terre-à-terre* description, for, though he would make a great mistake if he drowned himself too much in details, it is well he should know everything that goes on; and the examination of even very insignificant questions is forced upon him by disagreements between the Departments, in reference to which he is the only arbiter."

CHAPTER VI.

INDIA.

From a letter written to Sir William Gregory in October 1887 it appears that Lord Dufferin was then contemplating resignation of the Governor Generalship before his full term should have expired, and a return to diplomacy.

"At the conclusion of your letter you ask me whether I would like to go to Rome. It is rather an odd coincidence, but it so happens that the other day I wrote to Lord Salisbury, and told him that if in a year's time there happened to be an embassy at his disposal I would be willing to take a four years' turn in India instead of five, as I found it was such a tremendous disadvantage being separated from my children just at the time it was most necessary I should be near them in order to start them on their respective careers, and I happened to mention that I should be very well content to go to Rome. Italy is the land of my birth, and having done a considerable stroke of work in my day, I should not at all mind such an honourable retirement as that which Rome would offer, though of course I should prefer Paris, as being both nearer home, and perhaps more interesting. As you say, however, Rome has lately become a very important centre of affairs. But I was careful to add that I had no earthly right to expect any further favours from the government, having had more than my share of important offices, and there being many others whom I dare say the Foreign Office would be anxious to accommodate."

Early in February 1888 Lord Salisbury telegraphed to him that his appointment to the Roman Embassy would be made, that Lord Lansdowne would be his successor in India, and that he should take up his diplomatic office before the year's end. In the letter with which Lord Dufferin replied he glances back over the course of affairs during the first three years of his Viceroyalty.

February 5, 1888.—"I received your telegram about Rome yesterday, and I am just in time before the post goes out to thank you for the great consideration you have shown me in the matter. I am delighted with the arrangement in every respect. I think Lansdowne will make an excellent Viceroy. Indeed when I bade him good-bye before he went to Canada I prophesied that Calcutta would be his ultimate destination. I shall be quite ready to leave in November, and by that time I shall have completed four years' service in India, which is as long a term as most of my immediate predecessors have remained. I have had a good many difficulties to contend with, especially on account of the great disturbance imported into our finances by the fall in silver, which has made me a poorer Viceroy by three millions a year than I was when I arrived in the country, but otherwise I hope that my administration has been fairly successful.

"We have now thoroughly subdued Burmah, and though for many a long day robberies and dacoities on a small scale will continue, there is no longer a shadow of resistance in any part of the province. All our frontier railways have been completed. Our five principal sea-ports are being fortified. The army has not only been increased, and a Reserve initiated, but the condition of the native soldier has been greatly improved. The most vulnerable part of our north-west frontier has been rendered inexpugnable, and a mobilization scheme has been worked out and partially executed, which will enable us to make any forward movement that may be necessary with rapidity and precision. Thanks to your own skilful management, the Russo-Afghan demarcation has been completed, and Russia herself seems to have assumed for the present a less aggressive attitude in Turkestan. Our relations with the Amir are excellent, and by our recent settlement with Ayub Khan* we have gathered up all the possible pretenders to the Afghan throne in the hollow of our hand. The chiefs of the independent tribes that rule the country between us and Afghanistan have recently visited me at Calcutta, as well as the two sons of the ruler of Chitral; and we are making arrangements for placing our relations with all these wild men upon a more intimate and effective footing. We have organized an Intelligence Department for the whole of India. Two Commissions, one a Retrenchment Commission, and the other a Civil Service Commission, have thoroughly eviscerated those two important subjects. We have passed a gigantic Land Bill for Bengal, and got through some very satisfactory land legislation in Oudh and the Punjab, as well as in the south of India. We have given the North-West Provinces a University and a Legislative Council. We have done a good deal for the Mahomedans in different ways, and have put their pilgrim traffic on an excellent basis. Our relations with all the native states are very friendly, and the animosity which at one time existed between the Anglo-Indians and the advanced natives has considerably calmed down, while the native Press during the last year, though now and then some insignificant paper indulges in a vicious or disloyal attack, has become more reasonable, and less abusive of the government. This is all the more creditable to them, considering that on two occasions I have been forced to add to the taxes of the country, one of them being an income-tax.

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* The Afghan prince who had been the Amir's rival for the Kabul throne. He had been defeated and driven into exile; and was now under surveillance in India.

"The foregoing is certainly not a very brilliant record as compared with what has been achieved by some of my predecessors, but I never had any ambition to distinguish my reign by a sensational policy, believing as I did (and subsequent experience has only confirmed the conviction) that in the present condition of affairs it is best for the country that the administration should be driven at a low and steady pressure. Under these circumstances I think I can come home with a clear conscience, especially as the general situation of affairs is prosperous and quiet. The prospect of going to Rome is extremely agreeable to me on many accounts, and I am delighted to think that I shall be again serving under your immediate orders, and that I shall have the pleasure of renewing my correspondence with you.

"In my telegram I have ventured to ask you, when the announcement of Lord Lansdowne's succession to the Indian Viceroyalty is made, that you would kindly allow it to be understood that I am not returning home through any difference with the government, or in consequence of having lost your confidence. The fact is every day I am feeling more acutely that I have no right to sacrifice the interests of my children either to my ambition or to any other consideration, and undoubtedly my being here is a great disadvantage both to those of them who are with us, and to those who are in England—to the one that they should be in India, and to the other that they should be separated from their parents."

A week later, when the news had been published in India and England, and confirmed by the Viceroy's speech in the Legislative Council, the coming change of Viceroys was the universal topic at Calcutta and elsewhere. From his friends at home letters of regret on public grounds, and of satisfaction at the prospect of seeing him again at home, began to pour in; while in the world at large there was much curiosity as to Lord Dufferin's reasons for curtailing by one year the ordinary term of a Governor Generalship; although it may be remarked that none of his three immediate predecessors had served the full period. But Lord Dufferin's intention to depart had been announced within very little more than three years from the date of his arrival; and Lady Dufferin notes in her Journal that "everybody talks as if we were going to-morrow, whereas we really have nine months more to stay."

In regard to the motives that decided him to leave, they are given in the subjoined extracts from letters to Mr. J. A. Godley—

From Lord Dufferin—

February 13, 1888.—"I do not imagine that my desire to go home a year sooner than the expiration of my natural term will have surprised you. Four years is about the average time that my immediate predecessors have remained. The country is quiet, prosperous, and contented, so I think I can lay down this heavy burden with a clear conscience. The fact is, my being away from Europe at this time is very disadvantageous to my children, both to those who are here and to those who are at home. My second and third sons are just at the age when they most require their parents' supervision; another reason is the obvious degree to which her present life is beginning to tell upon my wife's health. It is not that the climate does not suit her; thank God we both of us have had excellent health since we came to India. I did my best to induce her to go home this cold weather with her two girls, but she absolutely refused to leave me, so that all these considerations combined have led to my taking the step I mention. No one can lay down so great an office without a pang of regret, but I had no right to sacrifice to my own ambition the interests of so many who are dependent on me; and I have not even the excuse of being able to pretend that my continued presence here was a public necessity. There are no critical matters on hand, and a clever and experienced man like Lansdowne will be able to take up all the current business without difficulty or inconvenience."

From Sir D. Wallace—

February 14, 1888.—"The great theme of interest for the moment is the announcement that the Viceroy retires at the end of this year. I need not explain to you the private reasons which have induced him to take this step, but I may tell you that one of the current explanations is entirely devoid of foundation —I mean the idea that his health has given way. In reality he has never felt better in his life, or more capable of work. You remember that Stevenson used to say when he was building the Menai Tubular Bridge, 'I go to bed at night with those gigantic tubes and I get up with them in the morning.' Now if a Viceroy did that sort of thing he would never get up at all, for the cares and responsibilities of his office would smother him, but happily for Lord Dufferin he has an entirely different temperament and seems to throw off his cares when the time for rest comes as easily as he does his great coat. Nor is he ever worried and made fidgety by heavy responsibilities. Indeed he often reminds me of what I have heard said of the late General MacGregor by those who had been on service with him—'To see Mac perfectly cool and at his best you must see him under a heavy fire.'

To Lord Cross, then Secretary of State for India, Lord Dufferin wrote—

February 13, 1888.—"Of course if there were any critical question pending, or if my continuance at my post were in any way necessary to the public service, I would sacrifice every other consideration to my duty; but the country is really prosperous, quiet, and contented; there is no big matter on hand that requires to be carried through by the same mind that initiated it, nor any current business which an able and intelligent man like Lansdowne will not be able to take up with perfect ease and convenience."

To Lord Northbrook—

March 13, 1888—"Many thanks for your kind letter of the 10th. You can well understand that there is no person whose good opinion I value more highly than yours, and it has been a great comfort to me to learn that my administration of this country which you know so well, and in which you continue to take so great an interest, has on the whole met with your approval. One is so busy here morning, noon, and night, and has to turn so instantly from one subject to another, that one has not time even to ask one's self how far one is doing well or not, or what opinions may be held at home of one's proceedings, consequently the indulgent communications, both public and private, which I have received from the India Office and from persons like yourself, have come upon me as a surprise, though a very pleasant one. I knew of course that I was doing my best, and hoped that at the end the balance would be found on the right side of the account, but I was quite uncertain whether other people would see the matter in the same light."

To the Earl of Lytton—

April 20, 1888.—"Political life in England has long ceased to be attractive to me, and Rome is the place I myself suggested, for it will suit me better than any other post that could be named. I have arrived at that time of life when one is not ambitious either of distinction or of very hard work, though on the other hand I should hate to be idle, so that I hope to find in Rome the status which exactly suits my views and temperament. Certainly not the least of my pleasures will be to compare notes occasionally with you in respect of our several charges."

To the Queen he wrote—

"It is with infinite reluctance that Lord Dufferin lays down his great office, but he is the oldest Viceroy that has ever administered the government of India, and he was beginning to be afraid that another year might find him less capable of hard work and less energetic than it is desirable your Majesty's Representative in this country should be. Even Lord Lawrence was only fifty-eight when he returned to England, whereas Lord Dufferin will be sixty-three before he is again admitted to kiss the hand of the Queen-Empress."

On March 23, before a very large assemblage in the town hall of Calcutta, farewell addresses were presented to Lord and Lady Dufferin, whose departure from India had been announced for the following November, and who were then leaving Calcutta for the upper provinces and Simla. Lady Dufferin was very heartily congratulated upon the success of her exertions to provide medical aid for the women* of India; and the thanks of the Indian community were tendered to her.

The Viceroy, in acknowledging the address read to him, reviewed the events that had marked the period of his Governor Generalship, and in speaking of the administrative and legislative work that had been accomplished, he acknowledged cordially the assistance that he had received from his colleagues in Council and from public servants of all ranks in India. Turning to foreign affairs he explained the policy and action of the government in regard to Afghanistan and to Burmah; and he pronounced a warm and well-merited eulogy upon the loyalty and patriotism of the Indian princes, who had spontaneously placed their resources, their troops, and their treasure at the service of the government of India for employment, at need, in the defence of the empire.

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* See Appendix, p. 321

Toward the conclusion of his speech he said—

"What can I say to you, Europeans and Natives alike, but this:—Whatever you do, live in unity and concord and good fellowship with each other. Fate has united both races in a community of interests, and neither can do without the other. The rule of England maintains peace and justice within the borders of India, and secures its safety from outside dangers, but that rule cannot be exercised either effectually or acceptably without the loyalty and assistance of the native races. Therefore again I say, co-operate with each other in a generous and genial spirit. I confess I would rather see the Europeans, the Hindus, and Mahomedans united in criticizing the government, than that the Hindus and the Mahomedans, the Europeans and the Natives, should become estranged from each other by unworthy prejudices or animosities of race and religion. God forbid that the British government should ever seek to maintain its rule in India by fomenting race-hatreds among its subjects. . . . To those amongst my native friends who, imbued with the political literature of the West, are seeking to apply to India the lessons they have learnt from the history of constitutional countries, I would say, pursue your objects, which no one can pronounce to be unworthy, with temper, with moderation, and with a due perception of the peculiar circumstances of your native land. Found your claims, whatever they may be, upon what is real and true, and not upon what is baseless and fantastic. . . .

"I shall never forget my friends in this country. It will always be my earnest endeavour, if I ever again take part in public life in England, to further the interests of my Indian fellow-subjects, and to consider in a sympathetic and liberal spirit whatever demands they may prefer. The English empire in India is, indeed, the marvel of the world; and, encouraged by your approbation, I can carry home with me the conviction that, in the opinion of my Anglo-Indian countrymen, and of my Indian fellow-subjects, I have done nothing during the four years of my anxious rule to shake its stability, to dim the glory of its majesty, or to tarnish that reputation for humanity, justice, and truth which is its crowning and most precious attribute."

A week later, after some days at Barrackpore, the Viceregal party travelled northward to Lucknow, where an evening assembly was held in their house by the Talukdars of Oudh, who represent the most important association of large landholders in India. Lord Dufferin, in replying to their address, touched upon what had been done in his time for the united provinces, the establishment of the Allahabad university and of a Legislative Council, the passing of the Oudh Rent Act, and the development of municipal institutions. From Lucknow Lord Dufferin made an excursion in pursuit of tigers, and by the middle of April they were all again at Simla.

To Mr. Godley he writes—

June 21, 1888.—"Lansdowne is certainly fortunate in getting a six months' holiday in England between his two Governorships. I have never had such good luck. I was packed off to Russia within six weeks after having returned from Canada. Then I only got a couple of months between St. Petersburg and Constantinople, and less than two months between Constantinople and India; that is to say, scarcely six months in sixteen years, and now I have to go straight to Rome before getting a holiday in England. Still I have not the slightest right to complain, for few men have had so smooth and prosperous and happy a public career, and I wish it was all to come over again."

To Mr. Hepburn—

June 22, 1888.—"Your letter arrived on the morning of the 21st. I do not know which touched me most, that you should have written it, or that you should always take so much pains, no matter where I am, that the dear missive should reach me on the exact day. Alas! alas! these anniversaries are getting less and less welcome and remind me more and more of the necessity of setting my house in order. Indeed it is the sense of this latter obligation that has contributed to bring me home before the conclusion of my term, for there are a great number of things connected with my property, and also with my mother's correspondence, that I wish to get arranged before the curtain drops. . . .

"I shall carry back with me many happy reminiscences, a great deal of added experience, and some interesting records and souvenirs; amongst the latter a very fine collection of miniatures of the native Princes which they have sent me in exchange for portraits of Lady Dufferin and myself, which I transmitted to them, on porcelain. As I think I have already told you I go straight to Rome, where my family, the faithless creatures, drop me in order to hasten to London, in time for the season, though they have another very good excuse for their base conduct in the fact that the Embassy is absolutely uninhabitable at this moment for want of furniture. Having acquired the Persian tongue I am now studying Italian.

"By-the-by you ask me if I am not an Oxford Doctor. This honour was granted to me when I came home from Canada, and I have now just been made a Doctor of Cambridge. Indeed few people—considering, as you unkindly remark, that I never took my Bachelor's degree, though I beg to remind you I passed the examination—are more Donnish than myself, for not only am I a Doctor of Harvard University in America, and of the Laval and Toronto Universities in Canada, and of Oriental Learning in the Lahore University, but also I have been made Chancellor of the Royal University of Ireland. I beg therefore that the simple Master of Arts will henceforth treat me with proper respect, even though from long habit and ancient love I should subscribe myself his affectionate old friend,

DUFFERIN."

Life at Simla has its festive, not to say frivolous, side; yet hard work goes on there uninterruptedly; laws are promulgated, as of old time, from the high mountains to the people in the plains below; and several declarations of war have issued from those serene altitudes. "Our mutual letters," Lord Dufferin wrote to Lord Cross, "are becoming shorter and shorter, for happy is the country without annals;" but when nothing stirs in India the frontiers can usually be relied upon to provide interesting intelligence. For a long time past the tribes of the Black mountain, upon the Punjab border, had been giving trouble by raiding our villages and killing or carrying off our subjects. At last, in June 1888 they attacked a small British detachment which had incautiously approached the boundary, and two English officers, Major Battye and Captain Urmston, were killed in the conflict. The government of India reluctantly sanctioned an expedition ; which was postponed, however, until October, when a force of 8000 men crossed the border and chastised the unruly clansmen. Then in August a serious revolt against the Amir broke out in Afghanistan. Ishak Khan, the Amir's cousin, who was governing the province of northern Afghanistan, and whose attitude had latterly been unsatisfactory, received a summons to Kabul, ostensibly for a discussion of pending administrative questions. To accept or decline such ambiguous invitations is equally perilous in such circumstances. Ishak Khan knew how a visit of this kind usually ends, and the Amir's message was peremptory. Like other statesmen of repute, he had three courses open to him ; he might go, or make dilatory excuses, or revolt openly ; and he chose the third as on the whole safest. He declared himself the rightful Amir, mustered his adherents, and very nearly defeated Abdurrahman's forces in the battle that ensued in September ; but he was finally routed, and fled across the border into Russian territory. The Amir, nevertheless, had been so much alarmed that he had urgently pressed the Viceroy to push forward British troops to the outposts on his frontier, in order that they might march to his aid if the rebellion became formidable. When this business was near its end Lord Dufferin wrote to Lord Cross—

October 8, 1888.—"Matters are going on prosperously in Afghanistan, for now the Amir has reported the complete victory of his troops over Ishak Khan near Tashkurgan. As this affair seems to have been pretty decisive, I am in hopes we shall soon hear news of Ishak's complete disappearance, for I suppose he will fly to Russia. At one time I was made rather uneasy by learning that the Amir was filling the moat round the fort of Kabul with water, and gathering in supplies. It now appears that a refugee from the recent engagement had brought him a false report of the death of his general and the overthrow of his army, and it was not till three days afterwards that he received the truer and pleasanter account. A Persian story-teller relates that after the king's forces had been defeated he was informed that he had gained a great victory. When he subsequently learned the real truth, he ordered the bearer of the false intelligence to be crucified. The man, however, protested that he deserved to be rewarded rather than punished, since he had given the Padishah three days' happiness."

Among the most important measures that were taken up in the latter years of Lord Dufferin's administration, were certain changes in the administration of the army; the raising of the strength of the army, and its better organization; the plan for mobilisation; an improvement in the position of British and Native soldiers; the reorganization of certain army departments; and the development of the defences of the Indian empire.

The project of reorganizing the superior military command in the Indian army was set forward under Lord Dufferin's Governor Generalship so effectively that it must be briefly explained. From the beginning of the British dominion in India the armies of Bombay and Madras had belonged, so to speak, to the governments of those provinces, which were originally almost independent Presidencies; and they were under separate Commanders-in-Chief, who held seats in the Provincial Councils. Over these armies the authority of the Commander-in-Chief in India was limited and indirect; so that the only force immediately under his control was the Bengal army. The system had been found, by frequent experience in war-time, to be unsuited to modern needs and conditions of military concentration. In earlier days our fighting had been within India, whereas latterly the field of our campaigns has lain outside; since our main concern is now for the defence of our external frontiers and protectorates. The divisions of practical responsibility, the want of uniformity, the demand for unity of military control, rendered a change necessary. The subject had been for some years previously under consideration; and the proposal generally accepted was to bring all the military forces in India, divided into four army corps, under the authority of the Commander-in-Chief in India and of the supreme government. Nothing, however, had been settled when in 1885 Lord Dufferin took up again the scheme, and recommended to the Secretary of State that the abolition of what was known as the Presidential system should be carried out without further delay. A despatch sent home by the Governor General in Council represented urgently "the grave inconvenience which must result if this government is called upon to undertake exclusive military operations under the present system of divided military administration;" and the misgivings with which the contingency of war under such disabilities was regarded. But it was not until 1888, when the home authorities had been again pressed for a decision upon this question, that under their instructions a complete and detailed scheme was submitted for approval by Her Majesty's government. Lord Dufferin added to these papers a long Minute showing that he had carefully examined all the various parts and particulars of this organic reform. In summarizing the main points of the scheme he showed that each of the four armies was to be commanded by a Lieutenant-General, aided by a strong military and departmental staff; while the Commander-in-Chief would be drawn into closer financial relation with the government, and would command in reality as well as in name the whole of the military forces in India, being freed from the detailed executive business of the Bengal army. Toward the end of the Minute he said—

"In conclusion, I desire to point out to my colleagues that these opinions are founded upon no mere theoretical considerations, but are based upon experience, for it has been my lot to overlook during my tenure of office considerable military operations, and to enter upon military questions of great magnitude and importance.

"No sooner had I arrived in India than we had to despatch a force to Suakin, and to assist the Imperial government with large reinforcements of transport; then came the war preparations of 1885, and following immediately on the heels of the latter the campaign in Burmah of 1885–86–87; while the period of my Viceroyalty is closed by the expedition to Sikkim and the coming campaign in Hazara. I have therefore had a large experience of the working of the military administration during the preparation for and conduct of campaigns; and I do not hesitate to say that although, as in all human systems, there are defects which may be remedied, the Indian army and its military administration will bear comparison with any other army in the world. Many important changes have taken place within the army since 1885; the fighting material has been largely increased, regiments have been linked together, the reserve system has been introduced, the commands and staff of the army have been reorganized, various beneficial reforms have been carried into effect, and the defences of the Empire are now, I trust, rapidly approaching a satisfactory completion. And lastly, I must mention the great measure of mobilisation, to which I gave my unqualified support from the first, under which it will be possible to put large forces rapidly into the field with less labour than was required a few years back to place on active service mere detachments of troops."

The plan of mobilisation had been worked out upon a very complete memorandum prepared by the Military Secretary to the Indian government—Major-General (now Sir Edwin) Collen—in which he went over the whole ground, and made certain definite proposals.

"These were accepted at once. I was at a ball at Government House, when Lord Dufferin came up to me and said, 'I have read your memorandum and nearly all the appendices, and I will support you through thick and thin.'"*

But it was not until sometime after Lord Dufferin's departure from India that his scheme for the abolition of the Presidency commands was finally approved, and the Indian forces were distributed into four army-corps, directly under the Commander-in-Chief.

In September the Viceroy was informed that the Queen had been pleased to confer upon him a marquisate, and it became necessary that the new title should be in some way connected with his public career and services. On this question Lord Dufferin wrote to a friend in England—

"I was very anxious to take the title of Quebec, for the town owes its preservation to me, as I saved its walls from destruction and rebuilt its gates, and without them it would have been a far less striking city than it is. Moreover, so many of my happiest associations are connected with it; and I also think it sounds well. The Queen, however, though she did not actually refuse, demurred to the title of Quebec, and she intimated, and Lord Salisbury did the same, that I ought to take my title from some town in India, but this is quite impossible, for there is no town in India with which I am at all specially connected. In fact, people would very much resent if I called myself the Marquis of Agra, or Delhi, or Benares, or Lahore. Lord Salisbury suggested some place in Burmah, but all the names in Burmah are horribly uncouth, and would sound like names out of one of Offenbach's operas or the *Mikado*. The only possible one is Ava, and we have been very much debating whether we should become the Marquis and Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, with Earl of Ava for the second title."

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* "Lord Dufferin's Viceroyalty," by Sir Edwin Collen. *National Review.*

To Lord Salisbury he telegraphed—

"Vexed to worry you about a personal trifle, but one is responsible to future generations for choice of a title. Though preferring Quebec, whose walls I saved from destruction, and whose gates I rebuilt, I do not like running counter to the least of the Queen's wishes, and therefore, in accordance with Her Majesty's and your kind suggestion, would ask permission to take the title of Dufferin and Ava, with that of Earl of Ava for my eldest son. If this latter arrangement is adopted, would be glad that, when the title is announced, it might be intimated that it is in obedience to the Queen's command that I have taken the title of Ava, otherwise the adoption of such a title might seem presumptuous."

To Lord Cross he wrote—

September 17, 1888.—"Before touching upon current events here, I desire to repeat at greater length the expression of deep gratitude which I have already conveyed to you by telegram for the honour which

Her Majesty and Her Majesty's government have been pleased to confer upon me. The actual accession of rank is of course of minor importance; but what I do value beyond all things is the signal manner in which our Sovereign and those whom I have had the happiness of serving have been pleased to testify their approval of my conduct and administration. To return home with this mark of their approbation will be very pleasant, and all the more so because I have fair grounds for hoping that public opinion will on the whole be inclined to endorse their verdict. Though I well know I might in many respects have done better, I am not conscious of having made any actual blunders in regard to the various difficult problems with which I have had to deal. Each successive year will, I have no doubt, prove that the annexation of Burmah was both a necessary, a desirable, and a beneficent act, while every one will agree that the fortification of our north-west frontier and of our seaports, as well as our general policy in Afghanistan, have been steps in the right direction. With regard to internal affairs, the lamentable depletion of our income through the fall in silver has of course greatly curtailed one's power of doing good. Our land legislation is now generally regarded as having been salutary and successful, while we have laid the foundations for considerable improvement both in sanitation and in technical education. The Mahomedans also have certainly been brought much more into sympathy with the government than they were before. . . . My personal relations with all the Indian princes, with the exception perhaps of Holkar, whom I have scarcely seen since his accession, have been very friendly and intimate, and there is scarcely one of them who has not expressed his regret at my departure."

To Mr. Gladstone, for his golden-wedding day, Lord Dufferin had sent his congratulations, with a silver bowl; and had added an invitation to Rome.

"Politics at home" (he wrote) "have become so fierce that I infinitely prefer serving my country abroad to re-engaging in the distasteful turmoil, where my best and dearest friends have separated themselves into hostile camps."

Mr. Gladstone replied—

October 10, 1888.—"As acts of mercy are twice blest, I rejoice to think how rich your reward will be, from the number of them which you perform. I thank you for your kind remembrance of our grand jubilee, though my wife and I hold that the jubilee only arrives when fifty years are complete. . . . And now again we thank you for the most seductive of proposals that we should visit you and Lady Dufferin at Rome. I am sorry to say that with decaying senses, the doors of knowledge closing, I feel that my visiting days are very nearly at an end; but if anything could give me a fresh stock of life and spirits, it is this prospect which you open, and I would even face the Pope, an act of which I have a certain dread. We have not absolutely extinguished the idea of a touch of Italy this winter, but that I fear would be too early for you, as you will no doubt take a breath of home after your long spell oversea.

"Well, it must be owned that the politics are certainly very bad. But even in these fierce straits we have two things to recollect—the first, that when the cause is very big and the men in earnest, there must be energy in the fight, and this soon passes into wrath. The second is, that even now some people show that they know how to behave themselves; but dissentient opponents fall, in this respect, into many classes. Justice compels me to put Derby at the head, and in a class perhaps by himself. I never have understood, and now have little time left me to understand, why Hartington and the rest of them have deemed it their duty to take the whole work of arguing Home Rule, and much of it for the government of Ireland, off the hands of the Ministers and the Tories. Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Spencer, and others joined Mr. Pitt against their own party on the French war, but I never heard that they relieved him of the business of defending it. The younger men, at any rate, will like to dispose of the whole affair at the next election, and, as I trust, before worse comes of it.

"The harvest in this country, thank God, has (thus far) turned out better than was expected, and there is, I believe, an unequivocal improvement in trade. I wish I could regard the state of Europe with better hopes. But it is a real comfort that Salisbury, so far as we know, gives us no just cause of complaint. I think the Italians have gone further into the mess than they need have done. How I should like a talk with you about them! God be with you."

Lord Dufferin's Viceregal days were now numbered ; and both his letters and speeches became retrospective. On November 5 he wrote to Lord Arthur Russell from Simla—

"Here we are riding at single anchor, our boxes all packed, and indeed many of them on their way to Rome and England. We first go to Lahore, where I hope to make final arrangements with the Punjab chiefs for supplementing the British army with a moderate-sized but well-disciplined contingent of native troops. Then we attend the wedding of a Sikh prince, and so wander leisurely *viâ* the Ganges to Calcutta, which home of his future fame and labours Lansdowne will reach on December 8. I can scarcely believe that four years have elapsed since Ripon greeted me as I shall greet my successor. It is another chapter of the book of one's life closed, and to which there can be but few and short ones to be added. Still I think I can say *nunc dimittis* with a clear conscience. The rebel Ishak and his army have been dispersed to the four winds. The Amir of Afghanistan has been compelled to show his hand, and is now more bound to us than ever, at the same time that he remains in undisputed possession of his whole kingdom, while every other possible competitor is in our hands—a circumstance which will enable us to control Afghan politics pretty completely should sickness or assassination overtake Abdurrahman. The Black Mountain expedition has proved a most successful and thorough business, and though we shall not absolutely annex the country, we shall have so opened it up with roads, and so cowed its tribes, that it will be as much a portion of British territory as if it had been annexed. The Chinese Ampa, accompanied by some Tibetan officials, is on his way to the frontier with the view of making peace. Burmah, too, is now almost as quiet as any part of India, so that I shall hand over the empire to my successor without a cloud on the horizon, while there are no really serious questions pending connected with our domestic politics. . . . Before I leave (only this is strictly between ourselves) I shall hope to have framed a plan which will settle satisfactorily all the questions and difficulties raised by the native Home Rulers, if only it is applied with a little judgment, tact, and firmness. I may add to all this that our frontiers and our seaports have been or are being put into a state of defence, and there has, moreover, been a large amount of domestic legislation in the way of Rent Acts and other measures of the kind, so that altogether I feel as if I had earned a right to a little rest and quiet."

One week later the whole party departed from their Himalayan home for Lahore, where Lady Dufferin opened one of the many hospitals for Indian women that had been established under her auspices in India; and the next stage was to the capital of a native State, Patiala. Here they attended the chief's wedding, but at night one of the perils of Indian camp-life fell upon them.

> "We are all in tents, and about one o'clock in the morning my daughter awoke me to tell me that her tent was on fire. It was already blazing over her head before she started up from sleep, and she and her maid had only time to slip out before the whole thing was one mass of roaring fire. Five minutes afterwards all that remained of the tent was a carpet of blackened ashes. She has lost everything that she possessed except a little casket of trinkets which she had the presence of mind to carry off with her, every stitch of her clothing having been destroyed, so that now she is indebted to the parish for what she wears."

From Patiala they travelled southward, halting at some towns, receiving farewell addresses, and making an excursion by water to Dacca in eastern Bengal, until Calcutta was reached at the end of November.

The Scotsmen of Calcutta dine together annually on St. Andrew's Day; and this year Lord Dufferin was their principal guest. Within a week he was to make over charge of his Governor Generalship, so that the occasion was well timed for his farewell speech, reviewing the course of his administration and declaring his policy upon one pending question of special interest. After claiming his right, by ancestral descent, to the name of Scotsman, "although" (he took care to say) "I have been very much improved by having been an Irishman for three hundred years," Lord Dufferin proceeded once more to disprove, at some length, the imputation that the work of pacifying Burmah had been protracted by reluctance on the part of his government to spend money boldly, by that kind of thrift which costs more than prodigality. To misrepresentations on this subject, as they affected the principal achievement of his Indian career, he was particularly sensitive, and he took this opportunity of publicly refuting them.

Turning next to the general field of Indian politics, he launched out upon one of those comprehensive and picturesque surveys of the country and its people, resembling the freehand landscape-painting of an imaginative artist, that in Canada as well as India imparted distinction to his oratory, and left a vivid scenic impression on his audience.

"Well, then, gentlemen, what is India? It is an empire equal in size, if Russia be excluded, to the entire continent of Europe, with a population of 250 million souls. This population is composed of a large number of distinct nationalities, professing various religions, practising diverse rites, speaking different languages—the Census Report says that there are 106 different Indian tongues—not dialects, mind you—of which 18 are spoken by more than a million persons—while many of them are still further separated from each other by discordant prejudices, by conflicting social usages, and even antagonistic material interests. Perhaps the most patent peculiarity of our Indian 'Cosmos' is its division into two mighty political communities—the Hindus, numbering 190 millions, and the Mahomedans, a nation of 50 millions—whose distinctive characteristics, whether religious, social, or ethnological, it is of course unnecessary for me to refer to before such an audience as the present. But to these two great divisions must be added a host of minor nationalities—though minor is a misleading term, since most of them may be numbered by millions—who, though some are included in the two broader categories I have mentioned, are as completely differentiated from each other as are the Hindus from the Mahomedans; such as the Sikhs, with their warlike habits and traditions and their theocratic enthusiasm; the Rohillas, the Pathans, the Assamese;

the Beluchees, and the other wild and martial tribes on our frontiers; the hillmen dwelling in the folds of the Himalayas; our subjects in Burmah, Mongol in race and Buddhist in religion; the Khonds, Mairs, and Bheels, and other non-Aryan peoples in the centre and south of India; and the enterprising Parsees with their rapidly developing manufactures and commercial interests. Again, amongst these numerous communities may be found at one and the same moment all the various stages of civilization through which mankind has passed from the pre-historic ages to the present day. At one end of the scale we have the naked savage hillman, with his stone weapons, his head-hunting, his polyandrous habits, and his childish superstitions; and at the other the Europeanized native gentleman, with his refinement and polish, his literary culture, his Western philosophy, and his advanced political ideas, while between the two lie layer upon layer, or in close juxtaposition, wandering communities with their flocks of goats and moving tents; collections of undisciplined warriors, with their blood feuds, their clan organization and loose tribal government; feudal chiefs and barons with their picturesque retainers, their seignorial jurisdiction, and their mediæval modes of life; and modernized country gentlemen and enterprising merchants and manufacturers, with their well-managed estates and prosperous enterprises. Besides all these, who are under our own direct administration, the government of India is required to exercise a certain amount of supervision over the 117 native States, with their princely rulers, their autocratic executives, their independent jurisdictions, and their 50 millions of inhabitants. The mere enumeration of these diversified elements must suggest to the most unimaginative mind a picture of as complicated a social and political organization as has ever tasked human ingenuity to govern and administer. . . ."

Glancing next beyond India proper—that vast tract enclosed between the mountains and the sea—the speaker carried his audience along the empire's frontier, and touched upon the complicated system of external relations that has gradually been built up for its protection. The seaports are its water-gates, the hill-ranges its natural ramparts; the outlying States form advanced outworks. If he had reminded the Scotsmen whom he was addressing, that whereas one frontier of the British empire, India's outer line of military defence, now marches with Russia on the Oxus, three hundred years earlier the extreme frontier of both England and Scotland lay on the Tweed—he might have brought home to them, at one stroke, some measure of the territorial expansion that has followed the union of the two nations at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

"If, again, we turn our eyes outwards, it will be found that our external obligations are hardly less onerous and imperative than those confronting us from within. India has a land frontier of nearly 6000 miles, and a seaboard of about 9000 miles. On the east she is conterminous with Siam and China, on the north with Tibet, Bhutan, and Nepal, and on the west she marches, at all events diplomatically, with Russia. On her coasts are many rich and prosperous seaports —Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Kurrachee, Rangoon—and every year we are made more painfully aware to how serious an extent our contiguity with foreign nations, whether civilized or uncivilized, and the complications arising both out of Eastern and Western politics, may expose us to attack, and of the necessity of walking both warily and wisely in respect of our international relations, and of taking those precautions, however onerous or expensive, which are incumbent on every nation that finds itself in contact with enterprising military monarchies or rival maritime powers. It is then for the outward protection and for the internal control,—it is for the welfare, good government, and progress of this congeries of nations, religions, tribes, and communities, with the tremendous latent forces and disruptive potentialities which they contain, that the government of India is answerable; and it is in reference to the ever-shifting and multiplying requirements of this complicated political organization, that it has been called upon from time to time to shape and modify its system of administration. . . ."

One can perceive that in all these wide flights of oratory the Viceroy was circling round about the point upon which he settled down as his speech drew toward its end. He had been enlarging upon the magnitude and intricate variety of the responsibilities devolving upon the government of India, for the purpose of impressing upon all who should hear and read him his conclusion—that the driving of such an engine could not safely be passed over to inexperienced hands. After enumerating the steps that had been already taken from time to time, not only to extend to her Majesty's subjects in India the same civil rights and principles which are enjoyed by those subjects at home, but to admit them, as far as was possible, to a share in the management of their own affairs—by the Law Codes, by the institution of Legislative Councils, by municipal Acts, and by widening the access of natives to civil offices—he proceeded to lay stress upon the impossibility of conferring electoral representation upon a population of nearly three hundred millions.

"Some intelligent, loyal, patriotic, and well-meaning men are desirous of taking, I will not say a further step in advance, but a very big jump into the unknown—by the application to India of democratic methods of government, and the adoption of a

Parliamentary system, which England herself has only reached by slow degrees and through the discipline of many centuries of preparation."

To go so far was impracticable; nevertheless, certain steps in that direction might be taken. He reminded his audience that in a former speech* he had made no secret of his earnest sympathy with the desire of the educated classes in India to be more largely associated with the administration of their country.

"To every word which I then spoke I continue to adhere; but surely the sensible man of the country cannot imagine that even the most moderate constitutional changes can be effected in such a system as ours by a stroke of the pen, or without the most anxious deliberations, as well as careful discussions in Parliament. If ever a political organization has existed where caution is necessary in dealing with those problems which affect the adjustment of the administrative machine, and where haste and precipitancy are liable to produce deplorable results, it is that which holds together our complex Indian empire, and the man who stretches forth his hand towards the ark, even with the best intentions, may well dread lest it should shrivel up to the shoulder. But growth and development are the rule of the world's history, and from the proofs I have already given of the way in which English statesmanship has perpetually striven gradually to adapt our methods of government in India to the expanding intelligence and capacities of the educated classes among our Indian subjects, it may be confidently expected that the legitimate and reasonable aspirations of the responsible heads of Native society, whether Hindu or Mahomedan, will in due time receive legitimate satisfaction. The more we enlarge the surface of our contact with the educated and intelligent public opinion of India the better; and although I hold it absolutely necessary, not merely for the maintenance of our own power, but for the good government of the country, and for the general content of all classes, and especially of the people at large, that England should never abdicate her supreme control of public affairs, or delegate to a minority, or to a class, the duty of providing for the welfare of the diversified communities over which she rules, I am not the less convinced that we could, with advantage, draw more largely than we have hitherto done on Native intelligence and Native assistance in the discharge of our duties. I have had ample opportunities of gauging and appreciating to its full extent the measure of good sense, of practical wisdom, and of experience which is possessed by the leading men of India, both among the great nobles on the one hand, and amongst the leisured and professional classes on the other, and I have now submitted officially to the home authorities some personal suggestions in harmony with the foregoing views."

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* See *ante*, p. 158.

The speech is too long for more quotations than suffice to show its general tone and purport, but Lord Dufferin's parting words may be given—

"And now, gentlemen, it only remains for me to thank you, not only for your hospitality and for the friendly reception you have given to the mention of Lady Dufferin's name and my own, but for the patience with which you have listened to this somewhat lengthy speech. It is a great regret to me to think that I am looking round for the last time upon so many friendly and familiar faces. In another week I shall have discharged my trust and transferred my great office to the hands of one of England's most capable statesmen, a nobleman in the prime of life, and already distinguished for his sound judgment, his moderation, his wisdom, and the industry with which he applies himself to public affairs. That he will by the intelligence, the impartiality, and the sympathetic character of his rule, gain and maintain the goodwill and the confidence both of Her Majesty's Native and English subjects in India, I have not the slightest doubt, and this conviction to a great deal consoles me for my regret in quitting your service."

To the active leaders of the association in Bengal, which, under the ambitious title of a National Congress, was demanding for all India a government on the principles of the British constitution, some passages in this speech were inevitably disappointing. The extreme reformers took small comfort from the prospect of concessions that were to be carefully limited. Here they were met by a plain *non possumus:* the British Viceroy shut the Parliamentary door in their faces and lectured them out of an upper window, to the applause of Scotsmen who were probably hardened Radicals in their own country. Although Lord Dufferin was well aware of the effect that was likely to be produced, the declaration was in his judgment necessary; and he even withheld such consolation as might have been afforded by the disclosure of the reforms that he had himself confidentially recommended.

In the last letter (December 3, 1888) which he wrote to the Secretary of State (Lord Cross), he said—

"I considered that before I left it would be my duty to give some sign of the light in which I regarded such of the Congress demands and proceedings as are extravagant and reprehensible. Accordingly I took the opportunity of a Scotch dinner at Calcutta to make the speech which I am sending to you and to the members of your Council. It will of course make the Home Rule party in India very angry, and expose me to a good deal of obloquy and abuse just as I am leaving the country, the echoes of which may reverberate at home, but I thought it would clear the atmosphere and render Lansdowne's position easier and pleasanter. I might of course have neutralized what was unpopular in my speech by some hint as to the proposals we have submitted to you for liberalizing the Provincial Councils, which is all that the reasonable leaders even of the most advanced section of young India dream of; but I felt that, though I was merely expressing my own personal opinions in an after-dinner speech, I had no right to breathe a syllable which could in any way, even in a remote degree, commit the government at home or my successor to any policy of the kind, or raise expectations which might, after all, prove impossible of fulfilment."

The Viceroy's caution was justified by the event, for his very liberal proposals were not sanctioned in their entirety. Moreover the speech had been long, and from the extracts telegraphed home to the *Times* it was misunderstood as being too decisive a pronunciation against the reforming politicians of India. Lord Dufferin, to whom this unmerited interpretation of his views, due partly to his self-denying reticence, gave real concern, took much trouble after his arrival in Europe to set public opinion right on this point by explanation and correspondence.

His letter to Lord Cross ended thus—

"Indeed, without self-flattery, I think I can say that I shall have handed over the country to Lansdowne in a satisfactory condition. There is not a cloud on the horizon, and we have succeeded in all our undertakings. Even our financial position Sir David Barbour considers as free from anxiety; the Princes of India are certainly friendly to us; and as for our domestic politicians, they will be easily dealt with, as their machinations are, after all, but a storm in a tea-cup, and will be dissipated by a little wise and sympathetic management. When I consider the many dangers we have run, and the innumerable mischances which might have overtaken us, even without any fault of our own, I am truly grateful to be able to escape out of India under these tolerable conditions, and without any very deep scratches on my credit and reputation. As long as I live, if you will permit me to do so, I shall always regard you as one of my best and kindest friends."

In India, where the political barometer falls suddenly, it is never safe to rely upon a clear sky. Yet Lord Dufferin had good reason for believing his successor might expect fair weather, since the two main centres of disturbance, that were menacing when he took up the Governor Generalship, had almost disappeared when he laid it down. In Afghanistan he had continued and consolidated the work of the two preceding Governors General. The north-west boundary had been fixed and secured by a convention with Russia. The Amir Abdurrahman, whose right and might were now undisputed, was rapidly extending and enforcing his dominion over the whole country; he was becoming the independent sovereign of a larger territory than had ever before been governed by his dynasty. After fifty years of efforts and errors, the policy of establishing friendly relations with the Afghan ruler, and of converting his State into a formidable barrier against aggression or encroachment from Central Asia, was at last prospering. Upper Burmah had been brought well under hand on the south-east, where the transformation of a disorderly kingdom into a quiet province of the empire was making steady progress. Northward and southward the outlook was calm; nor in fact did this tranquillity suffer any serious interruption during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lansdowne, to whom Lord Dufferin made over all his dignities and responsibilities on December 10, 1888.

Two days of railway travelling brought the homeward bound party to Bombay, where (as Lord Dufferin wrote to his son) he and Lady Dufferin "had a splendid reception. It was like the old Canadian days; I dined at the Byculla Club, and was never so much cheered in my life, which is saying a good deal." In his speech on this last evening he acknowledged cordially "the universal kindness and goodwill which he had received in all parts of India and from every section of its inhabitants." Next day he embarked for Europe, leaving the country (as he said) with many regrets; having possibly in his mind the feeling that for an Englishman the grand climacteric of honour and power is attained when he enters upon the Governor Generalship of India, and has been passed from the hour when he resigns it.

CHAPTER VII.

ROME.

At the end of December 1888, after a calm and rapid voyage to Brindisi, Lord and Lady Dufferin reached Naples, and met there Mr. Gladstone, who declined a pressing invitation to Rome on considerations that are explained in the following extract from his letter to Lord Dufferin :—

January 11, 1889.—" Since we had the pleasure of seeing you here the question of going to Rome has lain rather oppressively on my mind : and I find the upshot pretty nearly this, that the great social attraction of your protection and companionship so kindly promised ought to give way to my sense of the difficulties and disadvantages growing out of the contrast between my political opinions in regard to Italy and the policy now actually pursued by its government. . . . I do not like the idea of going into a capital where I might become a focus of communication with the Parliamentary opposition. Undoubtedly I should go there with the intention of silence while there. But even silence might very probably be construed as dissent, and might not avail to stop comment and speculation.

" I am indeed so deeply impressed by the false position which Italy has assumed by meddling with ultramontane affairs that I may find myself driven (elsewhere than in Rome) to speak my mind about it.

And at this point I am crossed by a scruple about you. Were I known to have had much intercourse with you at Rome—and my visit would be worth little without it—an uncharitable world might try to make you in some way responsible for my erratic opinions."

By January 2 they were at the Italian capital, where Lord Dufferin, with regretful recollections of the climate and spacious palaces of India, found the weather horribly cold and wet, and the British embassy in a dilapidated condition. Nevertheless the situation close to the Porta Pia, with a pleasant garden under the old walls, was a great advantage; and a few restorations soon made an excellent house of it. A few hours after his arrival the new ambassador made his call upon the first minister, Signor Crispi, with a promptitude that was commended by all the Italian journals; and some days later he was received by the King and Queen of Italy. He attended the opening of the Italian parliament by their Majesties; the Turkish ambassador called to deliver a very friendly message to him from the Sultan; Signor Crispi was most friendly and straightforward, using the words "*un sant'uomo*" whenever he spoke of Mr. Gladstone; and the Pope, he heard, "pronounced a public allocution in my favour—I suppose because on various occasions in Canada, at Constantinople, and even in India, I have shown a friendly feeling toward some of his bishops." The *Riforma*, a Roman newspaper, published an article in praise of Lord Dufferin as *questo liberalissimo uomo di stato*, with special thanks to the British government for having sent to Italy an ambassador who was Chancellor of the Dublin University, and otherwise loftily distinguished. He was also claimed as a compatriot, having been born in Florence "while his father, a naval captain, and his mother, *una elegantissima poetessa*, were sojourning, during the first year of their union, in that fair city." In short, the appointment of an ambassador who came straight to Rome from the most important of all official positions outside Great Britain, bringing with him a great reputation, naturally secured to Lord Dufferin a cordial and gratifying reception. Administrative and diplomatic duties differ so materially in kind that the transition may not be always agreeable. The change from a Governor Generalship to an embassy may be felt as a loss of direct power; the ambassador carries out instructions instead of giving orders; his functions are mainly intermediate and representative; and to a man who has acquired the habit of command, the business of watching affairs and reporting to his superior may seem comparatively inconsiderable. At Constantinople and Cairo, moreover, he had been one of the foremost figures in a crisis of European politics that was absorbing universal attention, in one of those rare situations where the course of history depends on bold and adroit management of great national interests at the centre of action. On the other hand, Lord Dufferin was now liberated, for the first time after ten years, from the burden of incessant responsibility and anxieties; he found plenty of work in his chancery; he could study Italian politics and the Italian language; he was returning to the refinements and pleasures of European society; and at Rome there was everything that could gratify his literary and artistic tastes, or amuse his leisure. "I am quite certain" (he wrote to Lord Lytton) "that I shall be as happy as the day is long in this interesting centre of the old and the new Cosmos." After a few days at the embassy, Lady Dufferin and her two daughters departed for England. Lord Dufferin could not take leave while the Italian parliament was sitting; but one of his sons came from England to be with him.

His first experience of Rome can hardly have been exhilarating. "The weather here is awful; I have neither had time to look into the shop windows, nor to see a picture or a sight of any description, my whole day being spent inside a brougham leaving cards, a most vain and useless employment"—and none the more agreeable by reason of a violent cold which had sent him to bed for such time as he could spare from much correspondence, many interviews, and lessons in Italian. Nevertheless his letters to Lady Dufferin show that his social activity was unabated.

January 26, 1889.—"You may well imagine how pleased I have been at getting your telegram announcing that the Queen had given you the Victoria and Albert. You have indeed come to great honour with your orders.

"We had a very pleasant dinner at the Kennedys. It was quite small, for we had arranged afterwards to go off in a body to see Sarah Bernhardt. The most interesting person was Madame Minghetti, widow of the late Minister. No longer young, though at one time she must have been divinely lovely, she is really clever and gay and pleasant—quite the most agreeable person I have met. We did not get off till about ten, so that the performance had begun. I think I should have liked it, if only I could have heard, but I am beginning to be mortally afraid I am getting deaf, for everybody else heard, but I could not hear a word; indeed I heard them praising the actors for speaking so distinctly. If I find a good aurist at Rome I shall have my ears looked at.

"I dined at home last night, and went again to the Play, but though I had a very good stall I did not hear any better. During the *entr'acte* I went about from box to box like a gay young fop paying my respects to the ladies with whom I have become acquainted."

January 27.—"I have been kept so late by Crispi to-night that I have only time for a line. This is all the more provoking as I have two scenes to describe to you which I think would be interesting. One is a *Bal poudré*, and the other a luncheon at the Laval Seminary where I hobnobbed with a couple of Cardinals and several archbishops. First of all we went to hear the King open Parliament—a most interesting proceeding performed in a modern rotunda—the diplomatic box being so placed that one can neither hear nor see anything. We then arranged to breakfast with the Turkish ambassador, after which there was a concert for which the smart ladies of Rome had made me take any number of tickets. But I must hark back to my luncheon at the Laval College. It was really very pleasant. It was given in a big hall, and I sat between two Cardinals—one the brother of that Vanutelli that we knew at Constantinople, and the other the chief of the Propaganda. They were both very pleasant, particularly the latter, who talked a good deal about Ireland, and the Pope's action in regard to boycotting and the Plan of Campaign. He was very sound upon both, and of course I took care to confirm him in his correct appreciation of the situation; but you had better not mention this, as it would not do for me to be supposed to be earwigging the Pope.

"The lunch was sumptuous with every kind of wine, and they did full justice to it. There were several archbishops and bishops present, some of them dressed like monks, though their grey garments were composed of very fine silk instead of coarse cloth. When I asked why one of the Cardinals was not in red like his brothers I was told that if they belonged to a conventual Order they kept their dresses.

"As for the ball it was a very dull affair. A large square room in the Barberini Palace badly lit and extremely stuffy, with a brown holland sheet spread over the carpet to dance upon. All the women were in powder, and the men in red coats and breeches."

February 10.—"I have had a very nice letter from Mr. Gladstone. He has read my (Calcutta) speech, and he says he thinks it is a very able and comprehensive statement, and adds: 'While your opponents as to their position require very little knocking down, I do not think any one who reads you equitably can question the sympathetic spirit in which you treat India and her people. I rejoice that the expression of opinion, even of native opinion, should be free, and it is no small testimony in England's favour that this freedom, now enjoyed so long, has not been injurious.'"

A short visit to England to consult an aurist and for urgent private business was indispensable, and so on February 16 he left Rome for Florence and Milan, stopping a day at each place. On the evening of the 19th he was welcomed home by Lady Dufferin and a number of friends, who met him on the platform of a London railway station. During the nine days that he passed in England he took his seat as Marquis of Dufferin and Ava in the House of Lords, his supporters being Lord Salisbury and Lord Ripon; he passed a Sunday, with his wife and daughter, at Windsor Castle, where the Queen was "very gracious"; discussed Italian and Indian questions with the Secretaries of State, dined at Grillion's Club, attended a Drawing-Room, saw numerous friends and kinsfolk, consulted physicians, and ended this brief, hurried, and busy visit—a mere glance at England after four years' absence—by again crossing the Channel, through a rough sea and a snowstorm, on his return journey. At Paris he had a very interesting conversation with Lord Randolph Churchill, who was most cordial, and a long walk and talk with Lord Lytton, the British ambassador; "was dreadfully tempted to stay" for an attractive play, but left on the evening of the second day, though in no fit condition for rapid travel; arriving at Rome ill and exhausted.

The kingdom of Italy was at this time a makeweight in the balance, which was still unsteady, of the larger European powers. Prince Bismarck was haunted by apprehensions of a combination between France and Russia; and Italy had been drawn by Bismarck into the triple alliance that he had formed to safeguard Germany against this eventuality. The chief minister, Signor Crispi, by spending vast sums on the Italian army, had increased his stake in the game of the great Chancellor, not without expectations of winning something for his own country if it succeeded. The Italians had been forestalled in the occupation of Tunis by the French, who, having lost their footing in Egypt, were determined to suffer no further interference with their predominance on the littoral of North Africa. The effect of disappointment over Tunis was to divert Italian enterprise to the coast of the Red Sea, where Assab Bay had been purchased from a Genoese company in 1881. A more important point, Massowah Bay, was taken in 1885; but the abandonment of Khartoum by the English, after Gordon's death, left Italy alone and unsupported in those regions, exposed to the hostility of the Abyssinians;

while France, Russia, and Turkey were all more or less concerned in thwarting the Italian design of acquiring a strong position in East Africa.

Nevertheless Signor Crispi, though he had originally spoken against the occupation of Massowah, had now committed himself to the policy of expansion in East Africa, relying mainly on the support of Germany to counteract European opposition, and hoping, in the event of war, not only to keep his footing on the Red Sea shore, but also to pick up valuable windfalls nearer home. If hostilities were to come at all, the burden of military expenditure made it very desirable for Italy that they should come soon; but Prince Bismarck was satisfied, for the moment, with having detached Italy from France; and he found Signor Crispi too eager, for his purposes, in forcing the game by devices that irritated the French.

In the beginning of 1889 the war of tariffs that followed the renunciation by Italy of her commercial treaty with France, coupled with the severe taxation imposed to meet extravagant military expenditure, had seriously embarrassed the Italian government. The financial difficulties of the government were thus a direct consequence of the treaty of defensive alliance into which Italy had entered with Germany and Austria as her security against French aggression. Between the tariff war, from which Italian commerce suffered immense loss, and the cost of strengthening the Italian army and of fortifying the frontiers, the fiscal strain was producing widespread popular discontent; while the new policy of expansion in Africa was encountering considerable opposition, and Crispi was accused of deliberately fomenting a quarrel with France. Suspicion and jealousy between the two nations had gone so far, in 1888, as to render credible the rumour of a *coup de main* to be attempted on Spezzia by the French fleet, which created a temporary panic among the Italians.

Signor Crispi, the prime minister, was at this time by far the most powerful man in the political arena. Brusque, imperious, and peremptory, he had many enemies and few friends; though by the force and self-reliance of his character he was master of the Italian Chamber, where the opposition had no leader who could stand up against him. He was not the only prominent statesman of that time who had begun public life as a conspirator; for he belonged to the generation who raised the standard of revolt against Austrian despotism in Hungary and Italy in the tumultuous years of 1848-49, when the attempts to shake off a foreign yoke failed utterly, and the Liberators who escaped death or prison became outlaws and proscribed refugees. Two other leading rebels, both of whom had been sentenced to death for high treason, Herr von Haymerle and Count Andrassy,* became successively Austro-Hungarian prime ministers in after years when the tide had turned; and Crispi's vicissitudes of fortune had been similar. In 1849 he was a proclaimed outlaw, but after long exile he returned with Garibaldi in 1860; and when Sicily and Naples were annexed to the Piedmontese crown he became a member of the Parliament at Turin. The revolutionary leader of former days was now an autocratic minister of the Italian kingdom, closely associated in politics with Bismarck and the military monarchies at Vienna and

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* Von Haymerle was on his way to execution when he was rescued by a friend. [See Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff's "Notes from a Diary, 1881-86," Vol. I.] Count Andrassy was sentenced to death *en contumace*, having escaped to England.

Berlin, and confederated with them for the preservation of order in Europe. To Lord Dufferin, with his keen appreciation of strong and singular characters, the study of such a personage must have been most interesting; but at the time when he took charge of the Roman embassy Crispi's popularity was on the wane. Lord Dufferin found that the minister's arbitrary methods and masterful behaviour were exhausting the patience of all parties, while he lacked the temper and intellectual versatility which enable a great Parliamentary leader to prevail or persuade in debate.

"Public sentiment in Italy" (Lord Dufferin wrote) "is still favourable to the Triple Alliance, for the nation is proud of its connexion, apparently on equal terms, with the two great monarchies of Central Europe, and pleased at taking part with the rest of the world in colonial adventures. Yet people are beginning to think that the Minister has been too subservient in accepting the standard of military and naval strength imposed upon him by Bismarck, and has rendered himself unnecessarily odious to France. Upon this latter point Crispi seems willing to yield a little, and is endeavouring to lessen the acerbity of the war of tariffs between the two governments. . . . In the mean time the south of Italy has no market for its wines, and Lombardy has to seek a very inferior market for its raw silk in Germany, while many other branches of productive industry are suffering in an analogous degree."

The foregoing sketch of the state and tendency of Italian politics when Lord Dufferin took charge of his office at Rome has been thought necessary for explaining the allusions to public affairs in his correspondence. His position as British ambassador kept him outside the grand political combinations and plans;

though England was understood to be at least friendly toward the triple alliance. At one moment indeed the volcanic forces of that menacing league seemed likely to become active; for Russia had concentrated a great army on the Austrian frontier, and in April (1889) Crispi declared that in spite of every effort to prevent it he believed war to be inevitably approaching. His enemies, as has been said, suspected him vehemently of provoking it. But the immediate business that occupied Lord Dufferin diplomatically was the determination between Italy and England of their respective possessions and spheres of influence in East Africa, on which question he negociated, in the course of time, an amicable settlement with the Italian government. The current business of the embassy employed most of his forenoons.

He wrote to his daughter—

> "I am still much overworked though I cannot pretend that my cares are of a very serious nature. I begin at 7 or 8 a.m., as the case may be, and spend sometimes more than an hour over my Italian vocabulary."

Military reviews, public funerals, official visits, the sittings to Mr. Boehm for his statue, took up much of the day, and in the evenings he went freely into Roman society.

To Lord Arthur Russell he wrote—

> *April* 10, 1889.—"The story of the present Pope having been presented to the Queen as you relate it is perfectly true. I asked Stonor, the new Archbishop of Trebizond, about it the other day, and he says that the Pope has often mentioned the circumstance to him. I suppose he is the only Pope who has ever been to a British drawing-room. Things here politically are very quiet. The exposition of their financial

embarrassments as well as the general distress produced by over-taxation throughout the country, have suddenly sobered the Italians and brought Crispi himself to his senses; but now, in the middle of it all, the government is beset by a new temptation. Abyssinia is masterless,* and therefore a favourable opportunity has occurred for the extension of Italian jurisdiction in the neighbourhood of Massowah. Before coming to a decision, however, they are waiting for reports from their general, Baldissera; but I do not think they will risk any very large adventure. They will probably content themselves with laying hold of the uplands immediately to the west of Massowah, and coming to a good understanding with whoever gains the upper hand in Abyssinia itself."

In May Lord Dufferin went to England on leave for six months, the longest holiday that he had taken for many years past. At Paris, where he arrived in the early morning, he "slept for a couple of hours, then went to the pictures in the Paris Salon," and to a play in the evening; art and the drama being everywhere and always irresistibly attractive to him. From Paris he wrote to his daughter—

"It was very nice of you writing to me to Paris—I like getting your letters so. Indeed I am altogether a poor creature without my ladies, and I do not even care to be a Parisian bachelor on the spree. I enjoyed the big exhibition † to-day very much, or rather the pictures. They are too magnificent. Miles and miles of them, and all of them good—many of them famous ones of which one has heard, or of which one has seen the engravings."

On the 25th he reached London, evidently fatigued and out of health, for during the next three days he stayed indoors, preparing body and mind for the Lord Mayor's banquet on the 29th. He was presented in the morning with the Freedom of the City; and in the evening he made his speech at the dinner, "though I did not feel at all up to it, being very unwell."

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* In March the Emperor Johannes had been defeated and slain by the Dervishes at the battle of Metemmeh.

† Paris International Exhibition.

For the biography of an eminent man his speeches are among the most valuable illustrations of his public life and personal character. Throughout these volumes, accordingly, large extracts have been made from the elaborate orations in which Lord Dufferin on different occasions reviewed his own career, gathered up the fruit of his experiences, and described, with spirit and sincerity, the impressions he had brought home from work and travel in the outlying parts of the British empire. The keynote of his speech at the Mansion House is to be found in his generous desire to acknowledge and affirm the services that had been rendered to him, in Canada and especially in India, by his colleagues and subordinates.

"Whatever misgivings" (he said) "I may entertain as to my personal right to have my name inscribed on your city's roll of fame, I draw a special encouragement from the fact that, having been called upon to act in three distinct capacities—as a colonial governor, as a diplomatic representative, and as an Indian ruler—in granting me these honours you are honouring the Services with whom I have been connected, to whom I owe so much, and whose assistance has enabled me to gain your approbation. During the period of my tenure of office in Canada—a country I shall never cease to regard with gratitude and affection—the affairs of the Dominion were conducted, as you are aware, through the instrumentality of responsible ministers; and, if my administration was successful, it is due to the patriotism, the wisdom, and the statesmanship of those eminent men—one of whom, Sir Charles Tupper, I am happy to see here to-night—to whom the Parliament of Canada had confided the interests of the country. Again, in diplomacy, it is only those who are the ostensible heads of missions who can be fully conscious of the degree to which they are indebted for their success to the zeal, acumen, and tact of the members of the corps who are associated with them in the discharge of their delicate duties. But if this is the case in diplomacy and in colonial government, it is even more strikingly exhibited in the administration of Indian affairs. In common parlance, and in accordance with the language of ancient tradition, every act of the Indian government, and every characteristic of its policy, is regarded as the outcome and the product of the Viceroy's personal initiative and will. And this undoubtedly is as it should be; for he, and he alone, is responsible for whatever is done in India. The minutest details of business come within his purview; every executive act requires his assent; it is he who finally pronounces on the frequently divergent views of the departments and between the competing suggestions of his colleagues, while he holds in reserve the absolute right of overruling his Council. Consequently, whatever may have been the genesis of this or that line of action, it is the Viceroy, and the Viceroy alone, who is properly held answerable by his countrymen, whether things go well or whether they go ill; nor, in the event of their going ill, have I ever heard of the principle being disputed. But, for all that, it will be readily understood that no Viceroy, however arbitrary or self-reliant, however determined to impress his personal volition on the conduct of affairs, would be able to direct the movements of so vast and complicated a machine as that which regulates the destinies of 300,000,000 of our fellow-subjects in India, unless enlightened, aided, and advised by the most remarkable body of men that have ever laboured for the good of their country in any part of the world—I mean the Civil Service of the Crown in India. Indeed, I may say once for all, without disparagement to the accepted standard of public industry in England, that I did not know what hard work really meant until I witnessed the unremitting and almost inconceivable severity of the grind to which our Indian civil servants, and I will add our military employés, so zealously devote themselves. If therefore, gentlemen, during the past four years things have on the whole gone well in India, the chief credit is due to a number of able and disinterested personages, who have been content to labour in what, from the force of circumstances, are spheres and positions which, for the most part, escape the attention of the British public, indifferent to their own fame, despising the snares of notoriety, provided only that the honour and the moral and material interests of the British empire shall extend and flourish."

Then followed a list of those to whom Lord Dufferin held himself particularly indebted for their co-operation; and after rapidly touching upon the main incidents of his Viceregal government, he delivered his general view of the situation as he had left it in India.

"In fact, I have returned from India with a far deeper impression of the strength of our position, and of the solid character of our dominion, whether in relation to internal or external influences, than ever I had before. Instead of diminishing, I believe that the moral ascendency exercised by Englishmen in the East is becoming more and more powerful, whilst the inventions of modern science, as exhibited in the extension of our railways, the acceleration of all means of communication, the shortening of the distances between London and Bombay and Australia and Calcutta, the improvement in artillery and arms of precision, the expansion of our trade and commerce with our Indian empire, and the general infusion of English civilization, are extending and deepening the impression. Nor have we less reason, I think, to congratulate ourselves on the general condition of affairs which prevails along the extensive frontiers of our Eastern empire. On quitting Bombay I was able with perfect accuracy to say that I left India without a cloud on the horizon, though I did not say that there might not be many a one below it. In establishing and extending our Indian possessions, as from generation after generation we have been compelled to do, we have given many hostages to fortune, but even now, after six months have passed since I uttered the auspication, nothing has occurred in any degree to blot or obscure the prospect."

The prevailing note of his speech recurred with emphasis in the peroration.

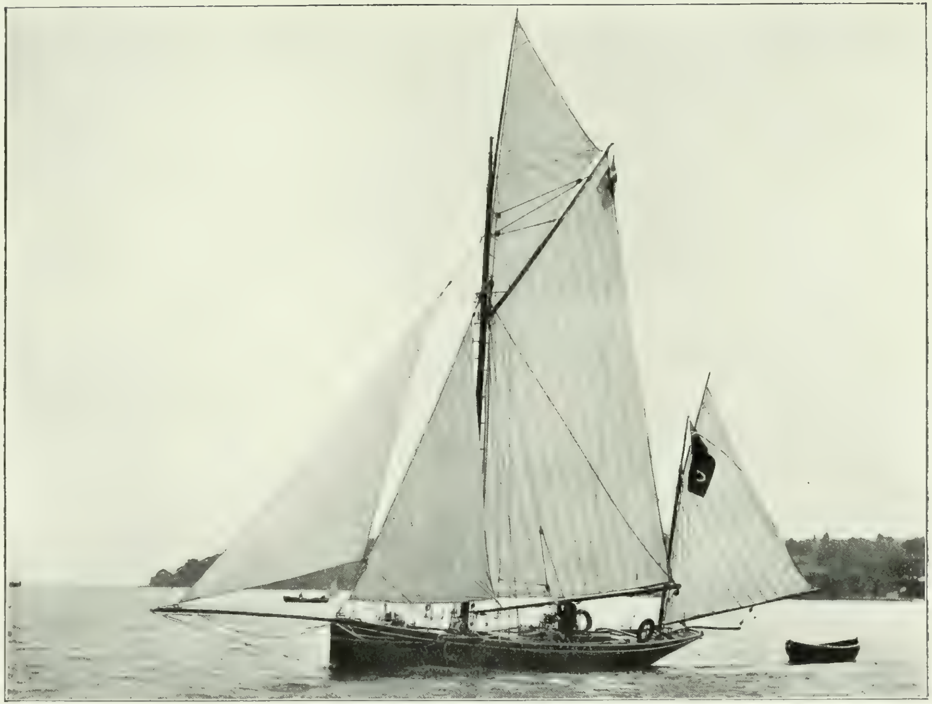
"In again thanking you for the honour you have done me, perhaps I may be permitted in Lady Dufferin's name to convey to you her heartfelt thanks for the kind and sympathetic manner in which you have alluded to her work in India, and which I, as an impartial witness, say cannot be overrated. In saying that I am deeply grateful for these proofs of your favour, I am only expressing what I believe to be the dominant sentiment which inspires all those who, like myself, are called upon to serve our Queen and country outside of Great Britain. Removed as we are from the turmoil of party politics and the acerbities of party controversy, our thoughts and faculties are naturally more directed to the contemplation of the empire as a whole, and to devoting ourselves to its consolidated interests. To our fond imagination, in whatever distant lands we may be serving, amid all our troubles and anxieties, England rises to our view, as she did to the men of Cressy, like a living presence, a sceptred isle amid inviolate seas, a dear and honoured mistress, the mother of a race which it may truly be said has done as much as any other for the general moral and material happiness of mankind, and which has done more than any other to spread abroad the benefits of ordered liberty and constitutional government, which has learnt the secret of gradually interweaving the new material of progress into the outworn tissues of ancient civilizations, and of reconciling every diversity of barbarous tribe to the discipline of a properly regulated existence ; whose beneficent and peaceful commercial flag illumines every sea, and pavilions every shore, whose language is already destined ere the close of this century, to be spoken by a greater number of millions than any other tongue, and the chief necessity for whose prosperity and welfare is the continuance of universal peace, and the spread of amity and good-will among the nations."

The exertion of speaking so long prostrated him. In the morning he could not leave his bed ; and though on the next evening he "forced himself out to attend a dinner given by the East India United Service Club," he was laid up with severe gastric fever for more than a fortnight afterwards.

Sir Courtenay Boyle wrote to him during his convalescence—

"Some years ago in the north of Ireland a poor private secretary with a broken finger got an ambassador to write out his telegrams for him. The finger is mended, but the kindness of the ambassador is not forgotten.

"If there is any possible way in which the mended finger can show its gratitude by doing any work for the ambassador during his stay in England, its owner hopes you will let him know."



LORD DUFFERIN'S YACHT, "LADY HERMIONE."

[*To face p.* 244 (*vol. ii.*).

He gradually recovered strength in the air by the sea at Eastbourne, until by the end of June he could travel to Cowes, where he could indulge his nautical passion, cruising all day alone in his new little yacht the *Lady Hermione* about the Solent and Portsmouth harbour. Returning to London he presided at the Pythic Club dinner, and conversed with the Shah of Persia in his own language at a State ball.

"The great social excitement" (he writes) "has been the Shah's visit. He was entertained at the Empire Theatre in a manner suited to his tastes—a great number of scantily draped ladies, some tumblers, a juggler, and the whistling woman. All the Duchesses and Countesses came in their diamonds, and I never saw such an area of flashing tiaras, one bigger than the other. We occupied a stage box, and consequently had a splendid view of the house. Then I went down to Ashridge, where His Persian Majesty spent the night. He harangued me for twenty minutes on the Hashtadan question; but I told him that, having severed my connexion with India, I had nothing further to say on the matter."

After floating round in the whirlpool of society for ten days he found rest again for a week in his yacht on the quieter waters of the sea. On his return to London he wrote to the Queen—

"Lord Dufferin only came up from the seaside yesterday, where he had been kept by the doctors; and he arrived home to learn that when his back was turned his eldest daughter, Helen, had engaged herself to be married. Lady Dufferin will have already acquainted your Majesty with this fact. Lord Dufferin has heard a very good account of the young man, but, under Lord Rosebery's influence, he is afraid he has become a Home Ruler, though probably not a very serious one."

His pleasure at the engagement of Lady Helen Blackwood to Mr. Ronald Munro Ferguson, and the business connected with it, were his chief pre-occupations during the ensuing six weeks. To his daughter he wrote early in August—

"A thousand thanks for your letter of the 28th of July. Under the circumstances, it is very good of you to have written to me at all or to have remembered that there was such a thing as a father in the world. My dear child, I cannot tell you how full my thoughts are of you. Indeed you are never absent from my mind either day or night. For many a year past I have been preoccupied with anxieties as to your future destiny, and now that it is settled, I do not know whether to be more pleased or sorry. Of course I cannot help being sorry at losing one who has been so much to me, such a companion, and such a joy in the house; but on the other hand I have the satisfaction of knowing that she has chosen wisely and well, and that, apart from those accidents to which all human affairs are subject, she has every prospect of a happy and contented life."

The family went over to Ireland for the marriage. Lord Dufferin wrote to his eldest son, then in India—

"Here I am at Clandeboye. I came round by Dublin which is the least fatiguing way as it enables one to have a night in a comfortable bed, instead of on board a noisy steamer. I left Dublin at half-past seven, and got to Belfast at half-past ten, where I had appointed Ferguson to meet me. Him I bore triumphantly in my right hand to the Helen's Bay station, as the Clandeboye station has now been re-christened. We found Nelly waiting to receive us, and besides her there was a great crowd of tenants and other people. The former accompanied me on horseback up to Clandeboye, and then presented me with an address which was very nice and cordial. I made the best return I could in the shape of whisky, but I have not yet heard how many of them got home safe.

"Yesterday was dull and rainy, but to-day is beautiful, and I am going to take a sail on the Lake. The place looks really lovely and a good many of the younger trees have grown immensely. I do not see much difference in the older ones.

"It is so nice having all the children here. It is the first time we have been at Clandeboye together since they have grown up. You are the only missing one, but I often think of you, and I am sure so do we all."

The wedding, which took place on August 31, was duly reported by Lord Dufferin to the Queen—

"The Marquis of Dufferin and Ava thinks perhaps your Majesty may be glad to learn that the marriage of his daughter Helen was celebrated on Saturday under very pleasant auspices. The day was exceptionally beautiful, which was most fortunate, considering how bad it had hitherto been. Almost all Ulster was present. Indeed Lord Dufferin has been very much gratified by the kind reception he has met with at the hands of all his friends and neighbours in the north; and what is even more satisfactory, the tenantry on his estate gave him an exceptionally warm welcome, and have also made very handsome presents to the bride."

On September 19th, after a great banquet given in his honour in the Ulster Hall by the inhabitants of Belfast and the northern counties, he wrote to his daughter—

"The dinner went off admirably and was a most brilliant affair. The hall was crammed with my hosts, and the gallery was laden, or rather overladen, with beautiful ladies; but the prettiest thing of all was a broad red band which draped the gallery all round, and on which, in large white characters, were displayed all the official stages of my career, beginning with Vienna in 1855—a very pretty compliment. I have not been well, and I woke with a terrible headache on the day of the dinner—which stuck to me the whole day. However, I got through my speech all right though there was very little in it. . . . Your mother was greeted in an enthusiastic and very genuine manner."

He also wrote (to Sir Alfred Lyall)—

"My speech was very thin, for I felt bound to abstain from touching on any Indian question of real interest, and I was also debarred from dealing with those of any very general political importance."

On October 1st Lord and Lady Dufferin set off for a few days' visit to their newly married daughter in Scotland. Three weeks later he was again in London, paid a flying visit to Portsmouth to examine improvements in his little yacht ["You cannot imagine how perfect she now is with the new inventions"], returned to Dublin, and on the 26th he presided at the Convocation of the Royal University of Ireland. "I read my speech, as I did not like to trust myself to an impromptu performance on so august an occasion."

They travelled back to London, where Lord Dufferin was entertained at a great dinner by the Chamber of Commerce, to welcome him on his return from India. "It was a very fine banquet, with good food, good music, and good company. My speech turned out rather above the average and has been kindly referred to by all the newspapers."

Lord and Lady Dufferin then started for Italy;

and from Rome, where he heard of his election to the Rectorship of St. Andrew's University, Lord Dufferin wrote to the Principal—

December 7, 1889.—"I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of December 3rd, and to assure you that I have been extremely gratified at having been elected Rector of the University of St. Andrew's. I am gratified on many accounts, in the first place because the election to such a post is in itself a signal honour of which any one might be proud; in the next because it revives the ancient connexion of my family with Fife; and, in the third, because it makes me feel less separated from my daughter in her new home than otherwise would have been the case. I am also pleased to have been thus illuminated by the reflected popularity of my son-in-law. . . . Of course I will really do my best to assist the University in any way in my power, and I will certainly contrive when I take my next holiday to appear before my constituents in the customary manner. I should also, if you approve, desire to present to the students a gold medal as an annual prize during the continuance of my office, to be competed for under whatever conditions the authorities of the University might desire. I would also give both silver and bronze medals for other less learned competitions if it were thought advisable. I used to do this a good deal both in Canada and in India, and I found that the medals were very much appreciated."

Lord Dufferin found the political situation at Rome very little altered, with a tendency to improve; for although a Russian army still threatened the Austrian frontier, Lord Dufferin's conversations with the representatives in Italy of the Triple Alliance gave him reasons for concluding that the peace of Europe was not likely, for the time, to be disturbed.

The Germans were quite willing, as a foreign envoy remarked, that Italy should make love to England, by way of diverting her from a liaison with France. Nevertheless the state of affairs in the Balkan peninsula, where the views and designs of Russia by no means coincided with the policy of other powers, including England, that had been laid down by the Berlin Treaty, was not altogether reassuring; and Crispi was generally supposed to be quite capable of provoking a rupture with France on a signal from the formidable arbiter of peace and war at Berlin. This condition of suspense and uncertainty imposed a heavy strain upon the Italian treasury; which was aggravated by the expenditure of large sums on adventurous projects in East Africa, where the government had now embarked upon the policy of territorial acquisitions that led three years later to disastrous results. Upon the King's speech at the opening of the Italian Parliament, Lord Dufferin wrote—

November 28, 1889.—"The allusion to Abyssinia, however, was less warmly received than other parts of the discourse, and there is no doubt that many difficulties are still in store for the Italians in that quarter. The Dervishes seem to be pressing on Menelik's frontiers with great severity, and Ras al Ula is not yet disposed of. I should not be surprised if some fine day Crispi would find himself obliged to send a big force—five and twenty thousand men—to the plateau he has now occupied, and to keep them there. On the other hand, if Menelik gets the better of all his enemies, he may turn out to be less docile than is expected. Nor, should I imagine, will there ever be a great trade along the coasts to which the Italians have so eagerly aspired."

In the mean time, "Crispi is more completely master of Italy than ever, and not a murmur of opposition is heard against him, though there is great discontent at the heavy taxation, and much lamentation over the deficit. No one, however, appears to suggest either that Africa should be abandoned or that Italy should drop out of the Triple Alliance and its obligations."

To Lord Salisbury—

January 9, 1890.—"The Empress Frederick has come and gone. I think she was a good deal upset on seeing the King and Queen and Rome again, and told me she could not sleep for thinking. But she had already begun to be more cheerful and to enjoy the change and the many interests afforded by the place, when the news of the Empress Augusta's illness and subsequent death, cut short her holiday and its pleasant distractions."

To Lord Knutsford—

February 26, 1890.—"We are very prosperous and very quiet here, and if Crispi were not a little too enterprising on the shores of the Red Sea, if his Exchequer were a good deal fuller, and if his Albanian blood did not tempt him to tackle the Turk, we should have every reason to be satisfied with him, for nothing could be kinder or more friendly than he is toward us, showing his anxiety to please us on every possible occasion."

Just at this time Prince Bismarck resigned the Chancellorship of the German empire, and disappeared from the political arena. This was undoubtedly, as Lord Dufferin noted, a heavy blow to Crispi, which stimulated the opposition in the Italian Parliament to redouble their attacks upon his policy.

"In Italy, as elsewhere, the prestige of Bismarck was prodigious, and the favour which he took great pains to lavish on Crispi was very pleasant to the Italians. Now, however, that the great man has disappeared, the discontent which has all along been brewing in reference to the financial situation, as well as the miserable straits to which not only the city of Rome but many other communities have been reduced through the indebtedness of their municipalities, the failure of a number of banks, and similar disasters, are encouraging Crispi's enemies to try if they cannot upset him."

The port of Massowah on the coast of the Red Sea had been occupied some years previously by Italy with the approbation of England; but in a first attempt to annex country further inland the Italian troops had been worsted by the Abyssinians. To repair their military reputation they were now compelled to move forward, and the military advisers of the Italian government were anxious to take up ground as far inland as Kassala on the Blue Nile, the headquarters of the hostile Dervishes. But as it by no means suited England that another European power should take up a position that might command the trade on the upper waters of the Nile and otherwise affect British interests in Egypt, Lord Dufferin was instructed to interpose with some amicable vigour, and Signor Crispi, after some diplomatic skirmishing, formally disclaimed any designs upon Kassala. On the other hand, the Dervishes at that place were occasionally harassing the Italian outposts; and since we had no power to restrain them, we could hardly object to operations undertaken in self-defence. The British ambassador, who had much longer experience than the Italian minister of similar situations, warned him that he would find much difficulty in drawing a line which his frontier officers would not prove themselves obliged to overstep. Lord Dufferin wrote to the Foreign Office—

March 9, 1890.—"There is no doubt that the Italians are fully aware that in order to make Massowah pay it will be necessary for them to open up communications with Kassala, and to tap the upper Nile and Soudan; and whatever Crispi may now say or mean—and at present I think he means what he says—it is evident that Italian and Anglo-Egyptian interests may come hereafter into collision."

And in fact Lord Dufferin's anticipation * that Italy would gradually be drawn into extensive military operations by these East African adventures, and that Menelik would turn on the intruders whenever he had set his own house in order, was destined to be precisely fulfilled. In 1893 Menelik, having crushed all his enemies, threw off the Italian protectorate, and in the war that broke out three years later he routed with great slaughter the Italian army at Adowa. Kassala, which the Italians had seized in 1893, was finally ceded in 1898 to the English, whose signal success where the Italians had failed may be ascribed to their possession of a secure basis of operations in Egypt.

In March 1890 Mr. Balfour introduced a Bill for enabling Irish tenants to purchase their holdings by loans from the State, which were to be gradually discharged by annuities. Lord Dufferin followed with close attention the passage of this Bill through its several parliamentary stages. He had consistently advocated some measure of the kind; believing that it would provide the landlords with their sole chance of saving a part of their goods out of the total shipwreck from which he saw no other prospect of escaping eventually; and he wrote that he "thoroughly supported Lord Salisbury's policy in reference to Land Purchase." The subjoined extracts from his letters are given in illustration of his views.

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* See p. 230, *ante*.

To the editor of the *Northern Whig*—

May 3, 1890.—"I wonder whether you happen to have read the evidence I gave before the Bessborough Commission? I have not got a copy of the Report of the Commission with me, and consequently I do not remember the exact terms in which I submitted a plan for the converting of a considerable proportion of the tenantry of Ireland into peasant proprietors; but if I mistake not they foreshadowed both the principle contained in Mr. Balfour's Bill and in Mr. Parnell's subsequent alternative plan. If you find this is the case, it might perhaps be of some assistance to the government if it came to be known that I had drawn up suggestions on the same lines. As an ambassador I cannot take any part in the present controversy, but if you were to have these ideas noted in your paper and in some of the papers in England with which you are in communication, it might prove useful."

June 6, 1890.—"Many thanks for your great kindness in sending me the copies of the *Northern Whig* with the extracts from my evidence before the Bessborough Commission. I was very much interested in reading it again, for so many things have happened since then that I had forgotten its exact import. It is certainly curious the way in which the germ both of the present Purchase Bill, Parnell's suggestion, and Chamberlain's proposals are to be found in it. In the autumn of 1879, before the Land Bill of 1880 was incubated, I spent four hours with Chamberlain and Dilke trying to persuade them to take up the purchase scheme, and I cannot help thinking that it was on the representations I then made that Chamberlain has founded his present ideas."

To Sir William Gregory—

August 9, 1890.—"To return to your letter and your most interesting and wise remarks upon the state of Ireland. I entirely agree with everything you say about the proposed Land Bill. It will ruin hundreds and hundreds of people, and it will confiscate nearly half our income, but, on the whole, I think we shall be wise to accept it; in the first place because if we do not we stand a good chance of losing everything; and in the next—and this is a better reason—it certainly will do a great deal towards paralyzing the Home Rule agitation. In fact if the operation could be extensively carried into effect in the north of Ireland, Home Rule would at once become a physical impossibility. As long as the Protestant farmers are mere tenants, there will always be a great danger that the bribe of the land will prove too much both for their patriotism and their honesty; but once they become proprietors they will fight to the death against separation from England—a contest in which of course the whole wealth and education of Belfast and the neighbouring manufacturing towns would join.

"Hartington was staying with me this winter, and the foregoing is pretty much the language I held to him. Of course to us in the north the sacrifice of so large an amount of rent will appear a more terrible calamity than to the landlords in the south; for, never having had any serious difficulty with our tenants, and never having been brought into collision with anything approaching to a Land League, the truth of half a loaf being better than no bread is not brought home so vividly to our imaginations as to those who occupy a more precarious position.

"My own belief is that Gladstone never had the slightest conception of what would prove the scope and effect of his legislation, and that he imagined it would only touch a few exceptional cases of extraordinary hardship and extreme rack-renting; otherwise I do not think he would have lent himself to a measure which is bound to end in the ruin and spoliation of the landed gentry of Ireland. It almost makes one smile to think that the outcome of England's conscientious endeavours to redress the wrongs of Ireland should be a new, a more extensive, and more complete act of confiscation than anything recorded in her history."

To Lord Salisbury—

January 21, 1891.—"Of course I have been watching with great interest all this Irish business, and I rejoice in the thought that your Land Bill has been launched under such auspicious conditions. We Ulster landlords will undoubtedly lose a great deal of income by selling; but for my part I shall consider it a duty to take advantage of the Act, if only I can get anything like a decent price, for I am convinced that if once the Presbyterian farmers of the north became the owners of their farms, Home Rule would become a physical impossibility. On the other hand, as long as they remain rentpayers, Parnell & Co. will retain in their hands a tremendous bribe. Indeed it is a marvel to me that up till now the farmers in Ulster should have so steadily refused it."

With the course of European politics running smoothly for the representative of a favoured nation; welcomed by a pleasant and easy society, in a city where his strong artistic and antiquarian tastes could be amply satisfied, Lord Dufferin was now enjoying life at Rome.

"The days fly past only too quickly, and it seems to me as if I was always going to church, for it is only the Sundays that mark the flight of time; but I am very happy and have a feeling of rest in thinking that I cannot be called on to make a speech or to take a journey, or otherwise to be stirred up with a long pole."

"We are having beautiful weather and I am delighted beyond measure with my post, especially now that I have my wife and children with me. I have taken to hunting again. I have not ridden to hounds for thirty years until the other day, but it is a great resource at this time of the year, and I have at last got a very good horse and a capital fencer."

To Lady Helen Munro Ferguson—

March 10, 1890.—"At last we have had something like a run, the first I have seen. It was almost like England, that is to say the fox and hounds went away straight, and one had to jump the staccionatas or be left behind. As a consequence there were only five of us up at the first check, and one of the post-and-rails was a very high one, with a drop on the other side; but I was determined to do my duty to my Queen and country, and my horse cleared it beautifully, though it stopped most of the field. This achievement has been the talk of the town, for they make a great deal of very little here. But the person who was most pleased was the huntsman. The master, however, greatly startled me by the way he turned a compliment. He said—'You were an example to all of them; there were dozens and dozens of young men behind you.' As I always feel five and twenty when I am on horseback, to hear the 'young men' placed in one category and myself in another, was an unexpected blow, and I have not yet quite got over it."

In May Lord and Lady Dufferin made a tour to

Florence, Siena, Assisi; and after his return Lord Dufferin wrote to his daughter—

June 2, 1890.—"We are back again at Rome after the most delightful honeymoon trip I have had for many a long year. During the whole of the time I was away I did not put pen to paper, see a despatch, or give a thought to business, your mother even paying the hotel bills, drawing the cheques, and settling the railway journeys. Alas! why cannot life continue in this Boccaccian fashion! As a consequence, we have both returned fat, lovely, and with forty representing our united ages.

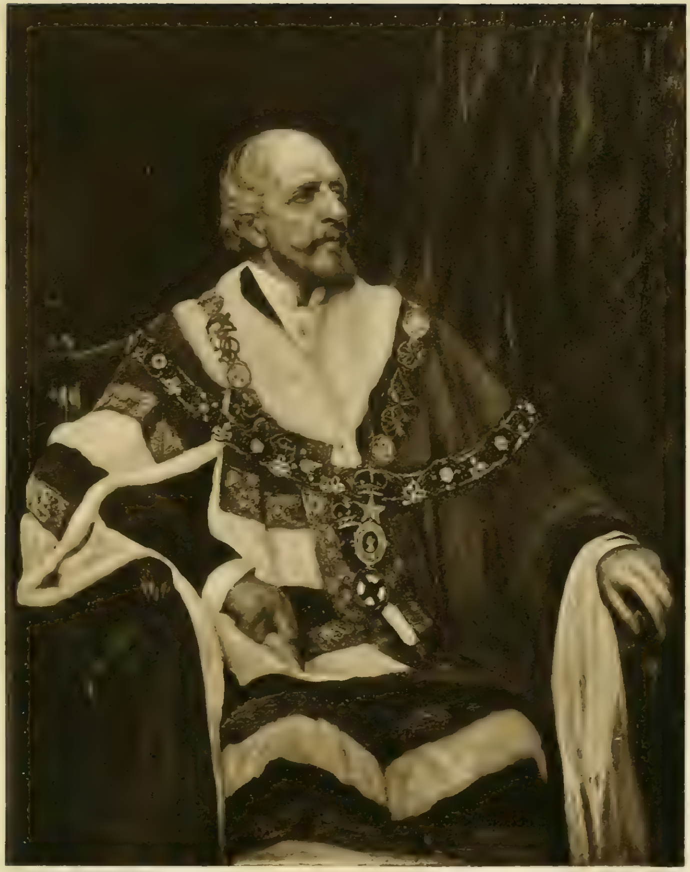
"Florence was our first point, and here our journey became rather a pilgrimage than a tour, for my chief preoccupation was visiting the places where my mother spent the first eighteen months after her marriage. As I think I told you, my grandfather disproved of my father's engagement, and consequently, to diminish the unpleasantness, he fled abroad with his bride, and came straight to Florence. A part of the time my mother kept a journal, and I have also some letters written to her mother and sisters at the same period. Then I have also heard her talk of these times.

"My first endeavour on reaching Florence was to find the actual house in which I was born. I had visited it once with my mother some five and thirty years ago, but I had forgotten the number. Luckily in the records of a circulating library there was an entry in my father's handwriting of a subscription for three months with the address. Since then they have altered the number, and there must have been other changes also, for the house they told me to go to was certainly not the place I had seen; but I have commissioned a nice Monsignore to make further inquiries, so I hope to identify it another time. In regard, however, to another of her haunts I was far more fortunate. This was a little old mediæval castle in the Apennines, where she spent the summer with her baby after she had recovered from her confinement. There is a full description of it in her journal and she had often described it to me. At first the people in Florence would not admit that there was such a place; but luckily I found in the hotel a waiter who had come from thence. I accordingly started by myself on a beautiful summer's afternoon, and having gone about an hour and a half by railway, I got an open carriage and drove about seven miles to a little old-fashioned town in a lovely cultivated valley and surrounded by hills. Beyond the town, on a little monticule, there stood a castle—such a dear old place, half castle and half house—with ruined towers, a portcullis, a courtyard, a little chapel, and everything befitting. Unfortunately the guardian had received strict orders not to allow anybody to enter the living-rooms, so I shall have to make a second journey there some day; but notwithstanding this disappointment my soul was filled with delight; for I conceived my mother, still a girl, looking out of the windows, pacing round the garden or walking up the steep ascent, so proud and happy with her baby in her arms, she herself being almost still a child. Never has anything brought her back so distinctly as this visit did, for evidently nothing has been changed either in the place itself or its surroundings since she lived there. . . .

"I also found in Florence another old lady of 85, who had been Signora Gigli, of Siena. It was in her house that my father and mother lived for several months before they came into Florence for my mother's confinement. At the time the Signora was about fourteen or fifteen, and as her own mother was an invalid she used to pass a great deal of time with my mother, and often went to the opera with her. They, the Giglis, lived on the first floor, and my mother and father on the second. She said I should easily recognize the house as a marble had been let into the wall in honour of one of her ancestors, who was something of a distinguished man. Accordingly when we went to Siena, which we did after four days in Florence, I was able to walk straight to the Casa Gigli. And here again I seemed to see my father and my mother when they first arrived in the dull little mediæval town, and walking up the little stone staircase to take possession of the first house they ever inhabited together."

On June 16 they left Rome for Sorrento, within easy distance of Signor Crispi's summer quarters at Castellamare; and Lord Dufferin found his small yacht in Naples harbour "not a ha'porth the worse for her voyage from England." His letters home tell of regattas, of various nautical exploits and adventures; and his excuse for writing seldom is that he is always at sea.

"When one is sailing about these lovely islands in an enchanted vessel like the *Lady Hermione* one becomes lost to all sense of human obligation and family ties. Now, however, that I am back again on shore my conscience fills me with remorse. Our last expedition was to Ischia. The *Phæton* turned up early on Saturday morning, and having embarked a precious cargo of four ladies, she proceeded, there being no wind, to tow me across the bay. After going about ten miles a breeze sprang up, and I telegraphed to the ship to cast me off. This they did, but instead of going on, to my infinite disgust the horrid man-of-war pulled up and criticized me while I was preparing to make sail. Moreover, a rope having got jammed, your mother was naughty enough to send a boat with my man in it to help me. This made me so indignant that I drove him forth across the ocean with a fiercer storm of opprobrious language than the biggest gun on the ship could have emitted,



The Marquis of Dufferin
circa 1894

and, having thus got rid of my too officious consort, I proceeded to have a most enjoyable cruise, rejoining the *Phæton* late in the evening.

"And now for our adventures. Of late I have been rather vagrant. There has been a regatta week at Castellamare, and I went down there for three or four days staying a couple of nights off and on at the hotel. The Italian fleet, or a part of it, also arrived; but the racing was not very interesting—at least as far as I or indeed anybody else was concerned—for there were not many boats, and though there was a category for five tonners in which I was included, all my competitors were regular racers with enormous masts and sails so that I had no chance with them. Still as long as we were reaching and beating—that is to say for two thirds of the way—we kept ahead of three out of the lot, but when it came to running, one of these with its light draft of water was too much for us. It would have been a different story, however, if only there had been a little wind.

"When at Castellamare I took the opportunity of visiting the house in which I joined my mother after my father's death in 1841. It still belongs to the same family that let it to us—the Actons—its present owner being Admiral Acton, the Minister of Marine, and a friend of mine. I recognized the terrace at once, with the exception of a great big tree which puzzled me; but it turned out that the tree was not planted till 1845, though it has now become a father of the forest. If you remember, I have a very pretty drawing of the place,—the terrace with pots of flowers and a great awning over it, with Vesuvius in the distance.

". . . I think I also told you how, on going to Constantinople on my way to Syria, I met Alexandre Dumas with a young lady in tow dressed as a boy. I happened to mention this circumstance to a Sicilian gentleman who is staying at the hotel, and he told me that he was at Palermo at the time, where Dumas and his little friend landed, and that he saw a great deal of them both. At dinner the young lady was in the habit, while Dumas was perorating according to his wont, of decapitating the flies, of which there were millions. This she did with great dexterity and put their bodies into Dumas' glass. After she had well filled it with these ingredients she turned round to him in a winning manner and reminded him that he had not refreshed himself, upon which Dumas, still eagerly talking, used to drain off the decoction!"

To Lord Arthur Russell he wrote—

September 14, 1890.—"A few days ago we went up Vesuvius and spent the night there. As a rule I hate being kept out of my bed after eleven o'clock, but I enjoyed this expedition immensely. There is a considerable eruption going on, which is in itself an interesting thing to see; but what pleased me most was the change from night to day. On the one hand we had the full golden moon in a deep dark sky, plunging into the darker ocean between Capri and Ischia; and on the other the rosy fingered dawn making her lovely preparations among the mountains in the East for the advance of day. It was really too beautiful."

They crossed over to Palermo and coasted round the southern side of Sicily to Syracuse.

To his daughter, Lady Helen—

September 27, 1890.—"The present Syracuse is on a small island in the middle of a circular bay, the two horns of which nearly encompass it; but the ancient city extended all over a limestone ridge that runs down towards the island and is only separated from it by a narrow strait which was easily bridged. On this ridge stood the principal sections of the city over which Hiero and Dionysius and so many others reigned in unexampled splendour; but of its past glory scarcely a stone remains except indeed at the furthest extremity, where an old Greek fort still stands partially erect, the only thing of the kind which remains extant in the world, I believe. You should get Grote's History and read the chapters describing the incidents of the siege of Syracuse. There is nothing in Walter Scott more absorbing:—so full of surprises, startling incidents and varieties of fortune. Nor does there anywhere exist on the face of the earth any theatre of a great historical event the limits and characteristics of which can be so easily identified. As you look across the harbour it seems filled with shining triremes, the splash of oars and the cries of the Doric and Ionian combatants. On the border of the marsh which proved so fatal to their army you see the tents of the Greek encampment, and, beyond, the gigantic quarries into which the seven thousand prisoners, the very flower of Athens, were cast to perish of hunger, thirst, and disease. Strangely enough, pretty much the same thing was repeated some years later, when the Carthaginians made a similar attack upon Syracuse, and in their turn filled the harbour with their gilded galleys. But again pestilence came to the rescue of the city and forced them to flee."

The history of ancient warfare along the Mediterranean should be peculiarly interesting to Englishmen, who have since done some memorable fighting in those waters. In Italy even more than in Canada and India Lord Dufferin found himself rewarded for his lifelong fidelity to ancient literature. In other letters he wrote—

"I am at this moment deep in Homer. I intend going through all my Classics, both Greek and Latin, as fast as I can. How delightful it is to have such resources and to be able to take pleasure in them! . . . My own life is so monotonous that I have nothing to tell you about it. I am steadily wading through the Odyssey and a Persian book, and now I have taken up hieroglyphics again. This study I always intended to reserve as a resource for when I should become imbecile, so you see I am taking my precautions. But it is a wonderfully fascinating language, and lets one into such mysterious chambers of the past.

"I am now reading Froude's Life of Cæsar. It is interesting, and forcibly written, but one feels he is not a safe guide. As they say of the mansions of Ireland, 'they are always within a hundred yards of the best situation,' so one feels that Froude is never quite in the bull's-eye in the view he gives."

The adventurous temper and keen delight in seamanship, the excitement of matching human skill against wind and waves, the charm of solitude among the waters, with the land out of sight, had carried Lord Dufferin in his youth into the Arctic Ocean; and the lapse of years had not diminished his enjoyment of these sensations in the softer climate of the Mediterranean. After leaving Sorrento he wrote to a friend—

November 1890.—"We have now come back to Rome after having spent as delightful a summer and autumn as ever I spent in my life. During the latter part of our sojourn at Sorrento the wind began to blow, which greatly added to my enjoyment. Indeed on two or three days it blew almost a gale with a heavy sea, and I had some fine battling with the waves, my little boat being the only one that dare show her nose out of port. Under these circumstances it is impossible to describe one's sensations, especially when you yourself have designed and constructed what seems to be the living little creature to whose honour and guardianship you have entrusted your life. There you are, utterly detached from your ordinary existence, with hills and cliffs and shores already distant, enveloped in clouds and storm, and seeming to belong to a separate world from the tumbling raging tumult in the midst of which you are contending, while from time to time the struggle becomes so fierce that you know it is only your own skill, experience, and presence of mind, in conjunction with the mechanical skill and deftness of the ship itself, that stand between you and eternity. The exultation one experiences on such occasions is almost maddening, for it is the victory of inventive ingenuity, vivified by moral force, that overcomes, and not only overcomes but makes subservient to one's purpose, the brute phrenzy of the adverse elements. Add to this the inexpressible beauty of the moving labyrinth of billows with their steep blue walls and fringes of roaring foam, which encompass you for miles in every direction ; and, finally, the subsequent pleasure of returning safe and sound to port, letting go the anchor in a quiet harbour, and then finding one's self a few minutes afterwards tranquilly reading a book over the fire, with all the recent turmoil of the sea floating vaguely before you like a distant dream."

In a letter to Colonel Maurice,* who was at this time contributing articles on Waterloo to the *United Service Magazine*, Lord Dufferin has preserved the actual words that ended a famous chapter in European history—

"I was well acquainted with Count Flahault, who was Napoleon's Aide-de-Camp at Waterloo. I asked him what happened when the last charge of the Imperial Guard was repulsed. He said he was close to Napoleon at the time, that he was carrying Napoleon's field-glasses, that Napoleon took them from him, and with their assistance watched the advance of the troops up the hill. After a time he handed them back to Flahault, saying, 'Je crois qu'ils sont mêlés,' and turning his horse's head rode at a foot's pace off the field. I asked Count Flahault whether he showed any outward signs of the despair which at that moment must have overwhelmed him. He said he appeared to be absolutely destitute of emotion, and he added, 'In fact he was so dead tired and so physically exhausted that he was incapable of emotion.'"

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* Now Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice, K.C.B.

To one of his sons who was just going to Oxford, he writes—

"I won't attempt to give you any advice on beginning your college career, for your own tact and good sense will be sure to guide you aright. The most important matter is of course the selection of your friends, for the friendships you make at Oxford are the friendships of your life. Do not therefore be in a hurry to become too intimate with any one in particular, but watch and wait, so that your associates may be really gentlemen,—men of honour, of a pure life, of high thoughts and noble purposes. Avoid as you would poison the rowdy, sporting, drinking set. The great object of your efforts must be now to obtain honours, but this will be hopeless unless your associates are also engaged in the same pursuit, for it is only with their habits and hours that yours can be made to harmonize.

"Another thing I would strongly recommend you to do is to make a point of going regularly to chapel every morning, and never missing church on Sundays. I myself used to go both to morning and evening prayers at Christ Church, though the latter were not obligatory, and I found the practice a great comfort and happiness."

From another letter to his son it might be inferred that Lord Dufferin was touched by some prophetic instinct of compassion for the perplexities of his own biographer. Many important letters in his earlier correspondence have no other date than the week-day.

January 31, 1891.—"It is rather a Sheridan habit to leave one's letters undated, and now that I am collecting all your grandmother's correspondence I find it so difficult to put her letters in the right sequence, and sometimes I would give anything to know the exact day, month, and year in which some interesting letter was written. As I hope you will become sufficiently famous to make it a matter of importance to posterity that every scrap of your writing should be duly annotated, interlined, glossed and commentated upon, I would have you, out of pity to your future editors and biographers, follow the laudable practice I have indicated."

Toward the end of March 1891 Lord Dufferin signed with the Marquis di Rudini, who had now succeeded Crispi as Prime Minister, the Protocol defining the English and Italian spheres of influence in East Africa. This delimitation settled the only question of direct importance that had given some trouble and had occupied Lord Dufferin's attention during the time of his embassy at Rome. Throughout that period, nevertheless, the relations between England and Italy were in a stage that required judicious diplomatic handling. Signor Crispi was constantly impressing upon the English ambassador the inestimable value to England of Italy's friendship, and hinting that material concessions would be a proper way of cementing it. The English calculation, on the other hand, was that although a good understanding with the Italian government was exceedingly desirable, it would be purchased too dearly by concurrence in proceedings that might involve a serious misunderstanding with France. The French occupation of Tunis, to which England had been a consenting party for her own purposes, still rankled as a grievance in the recollection of the Italians, and Signor Crispi spared no pains to warn England that the establishment by France of a fortified naval base at Bizerta was a danger to English interests in the Mediterranean. But against this view the statesman who then held the British Foreign Office set the broad historical observation that neither in ancient nor in modern times had any European power attempted to establish a strong naval or military fortress on the North African coast. Without complete control of the sea such a fortress would be isolated, and would not long be tenable in time of war, when munitions and reinforcements from Europe might be cut off; the responsibility for defending its dockyard and arsenal would encumber all military operations; and some urgent necessity for relieving its garrison might dislocate the plans of a campaign. Lord Salisbury's very recent prophecy, that the Russians would find Port Arthur an unprofitable acquisition, was probably founded on similar reasoning; and to an English strategist, who has long been accustomed to treat all transmarine possessions as dependent for security on sea power, the argument is obvious enough. To the Italians it was not so clear that Bizerta might prove rather a burden than an advantage; it is the promontory nearest to Sicily, where the breadth of sea between Europe and Africa narrows down; and Lord Dufferin must have had some trouble in consoling them for the loss of a corresponding point of vantage on the southern Mediterranean littoral.

Lord Dufferin's election to the Rectorship of St. Andrew's has already been mentioned.* As the time for his instalment was now approaching he wrote to his son-in-law—

January 25, 1891.—"With regard to my visit to St. Andrew's, I am quite prepared to fix the date for it at whatever time may be most convenient to the St. Andrew's authorities and to you and Nelly. I only wish, however, that I felt more fit to say something to the young men that would be worth their listening to. I never have any difficulty in speaking of matters that come naturally within my own jurisdiction, but a *discursus* into regions beyond, where I am not sure of my ground, is a very different matter. I am no authority upon education, for I am myself very imperfectly educated, and though I am very fond of the Classics, I should be unwilling to give an opinion upon the present Greek and no-Greek controversy. What therefore I was thinking of was a rambling kind of paper which should resume my own personal experience as to what equipments I have myself found most useful in the battle of life. This at least would be practical, and might be made both lively and interesting."

Upon this plan, accordingly, the address was composed; and he went on ten days' leave from Rome to St. Andrew's, where he made his speech as Lord Rector in April. Advice to young men is of no especial interest to mankind at large; yet some passages that reflect the matured opinions, tastes, and observations of the speaker himself—samples from his accumulated stock of worldly knowledge—may have sufficient biographical value to justify a few quotations.

"Assuming" (he said) "as a premiss that these two principles, the love of God and the love of your native land, are to you as the very breath of your nostrils, and the permanent as well as the ultimate objects of your existence—I propose to pretermit those loftier themes upon which my predecessors have expatiated, and will confine myself to the consideration of such subordinate topics as an ordinary man of the world might presume to submit to such an audience."

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* See p. 229, *ante*.

In the first place he advises the students to get clearly into their heads "the fact that life is a succinct, definite, circumscribed period of time, sufficiently long to get a great deal done in it, and yet not long enough to oppress us with the idea of exhausting and unending effort."

Secondly, they are counselled to take careful measurement of their powers and aptitudes before choosing a profession; and from this point he turned to the general subject of education.

"My belief is that our whole method of teaching the dead languages should be changed, that we begin altogether at the wrong end, and that this initial mistake is never retrieved. I myself was introduced to the Latin grammar when I was six years old, and to the Greek grammar a couple of years later; and when I left Oxford after fourteen years of uninterrupted application at these two tongues, the most that I could do was to translate with some sort of decency a few Greek plays, some books of Herodotus, a little of Cicero, and some Virgil and Horace that had already been carefully conned. . . . Later in life I reflected with shame on the paucity of my classical acquirements, and I set myself down to learn Greek in the same way as I would set about learning a modern language. . . . I confess I am inclined to range myself on the side of those who would retain not only Latin, but also Greek, as an essential part of the education of every gentleman. Indeed I cannot conceive the meaning of the term education if either Greek or Latin is to be excluded. . . . Is not Greek genius the divine source from which has sprung the existing aftergrowth of European literature, philosophy, art, and politics, while it is through the portals of Grecian history, Grecian mythology, and Grecian tradition that we find entrance into those dim mysterious regions peopled by the primeval nations that sprung, flourished, and decayed during a series of unnoted centuries on the banks of the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates ?... Besides, where else will you obtain, otherwise than in the stories of the Greek States such a marvellous or instructive *Kriegspiel*, or rehearsal of the course and possible contingencies of modern European politics ? . . . Like Great Britain Athens was a small mother country, with a splendid maritime jurisdiction and important colonies, some of which turned against her in the day of trouble, while her absolute existence—the food of her people, her revenues, and her commercial wealth—depended on her command of the sea. She loses a single naval battle and her imperium is for ever shattered, the violet crown falls from her brows, her foremost citizens are either executed or sold into slavery, and her name as a political entity fades from the page of history."

Then follow some remarks upon the paramount utility of learning modern languages. "But far more important than the acquisition of any foreign tongue is the art of skilfully handling your own."—In writing English the two cardinal qualities to be acquired are conciseness and lucidity; the one great danger (he says) that besets youth is a love of ornament, metaphor, allusion.

"Some years ago I had to write a report on the best way of reorganizing the government of Egypt, and my one thought in drawing up the paper was to make it a clear, practical, and business-like statement of the actual condition of the country, and of the measures it would be desirable to introduce for its improvement. Unfortunately, however, in one of the earlier paragraphs I was tempted in the fervour of composition—as there rose to my mind's eye a regenerated Egypt and the beneficial consequences of the reforms I was suggesting, and which have been so happily applied, expanded, and improved upon by Sir Evelyn Baring—to make some allusion to Memnon and the rising sun. It was a perfectly spontaneous image which sprang unbidden from the innocence of my heart; but those who, for one reason or another, were opposed to the policy of the government I was representing, at once seized upon this unfortunate simile, and denounced what I had written, which in all its other parts was as bald as well could be, as a literary exercitation; and no doubt they were perfectly justified in considering that neither Memnon nor the rising sun had any business in a blue-book."

In the latter part of his address Lord Dufferin discoursed at some length upon the art of public speaking—so important for success in the higher professions and in politics, and yet so little cultivated educationally. He told some good stories (*more suo*) to enliven his solid advice, and gave various hints as to methods of preparation and delivery, drawing upon his recollections and on what he had himself noticed in debates.

"You must not suppose that even the most practised of our public men are free from those lapses and infirmities which naturally fill our own minds with terror at the thought of speaking in public. I have seen the late Lord Derby, one of the most eloquent, courageous, and successful speakers that ever charmed the two Houses of Parliament, tremble throughout his frame at the commencement of one of his great speeches. I have seen a Lord Chancellor of England completely lose the thread of his discourse, and sitting down, confess that he had done so; and I have heard another very famous orator rolling forth platitude after platitude in the most helpless manner, simply because he could not, for the life of him, hit off a satisfactory peroration. . . ."

With regard to gesture he said, "I have been struck, when attending the debates in the Italian Parliament, by the unstudied and easy manner in which its members enforce their meaning by graceful and spontaneous gestures. They neither put their hands beneath their coat-tails, nor do they scratch the tops of their heads, nor do they toss about their pocket-handkerchiefs, or wave one arm up and down like a pump handle, nor bend their bodies in two at every word. So far from this being the case, it is quite a pleasure to watch them, even when you are not able either to hear or perhaps to comprehend what they are saying."

In his parting words the Lord Rector laid stress on the supreme importance of conduct.

"Now the essence of conduct is a right judgment in all things, . . . and half the mistakes in life arise from people merely revolving things in their minds in a casual half-hearted manner. . . . My practice has always been, and I heartily recommend it to my young hearers, no matter how long or how carefully I may have been chewing the cud of reflection, never to adopt a final determination without shutting myself up in a room for an hour or a couple of hours, as the case may be, and then, with all the might and intellectual force which I was capable of exerting, digging down into the very depths and remotest crannies of the problem, until the process had evolved clear and distinct in my mind's eye a conclusion as sharp and cleanly cut as the facets of a diamond. Nor, when once this conclusion was arrived at, have I ever allowed myself to reconsider the matter, unless some new element affecting the question, hitherto unnoticed or unknown, should be disclosed."

Returning to Italy, he was again, in May, on board his yacht in the Bay of Naples, and in June he took a longer leave of absence to England. At Cambridge he took an honorary degree; he was in the House of Lords at the first reading of the Land Purchase Bill; and he met the Emperor and Empress of Germany in London.

To Lady Helen he wrote—

July 16, 1891.—"The Emperor's visit has gone off very well. Your mother and I were invited to a luncheon at the Londonderrys, which was admirably managed. I was reintroduced to the Emperor, who is always very civil to me, and presented to the Empress. He told me he remembered being shown to me by his mother when he was a little boy at Berlin and Potsdam. I also went to the Guildhall, and was modestly entering the big chamber when I was met by six gentlemen accompanied by a herald, who proclaimed my name in a voice of thunder. This itself was sufficiently embarrassing, but it became much worse as I walked up the aisle and found myself greeted by thundering cheers. In fact, as the papers say, I received quite an ovation. When I got to the daïs I found Salisbury, and I eventually took refuge amongst the foreign ambassadors."

In July he spoke on a proposal to erect a memorial to Sir John Macdonald, the Canadian prime minister.

"No doubt" (he said) "in Sir John Macdonald's long career he was confronted by many a sudden and unexpected emergency, and on these occasions he invariably displayed both courage and resource. But I am inclined to think that what bears most conclusive testimony to his extraordinary talents has been the even tenor with which Canada has pursued her successful way during recent years, the absence of all serious complications from her history, and the freedom from all anxiety on her account which we have enjoyed during the last half century, notwithstanding the peculiar delicacy of her geographical position and the ethnological diversity of her population, with the conflicting interests it naturally engenders. What might have happened had the affairs of our great dependency been directed by a less cautious and less skilful or a less patriotic pilot, those only who are well acquainted with the intricacies of Canadian political problems can adequately appreciate."

After a visit to Clandeboye he set off once more for Rome, stopping at Poictiers to look up early records of the Blackwood family. Then came the offer, which he accepted, of the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports; and in the last month of 1891 Lord Lytton's death, greatly lamented in Paris, vacated for him the Embassy at the capital of France.

December 10, 1891.—"Your proposal" (he wrote in reply to Lord Salisbury) "took me completely by surprise, for, after having been given Rome in the circumstances in which my appointment occurred, I felt I had no pretensions to any further advancement, and when, in consequence of numerous newspaper reports, my name was bandied about with many others, I told the Prime Minister of Italy, as well as my colleagues and my friends, that there was no foundation for the rumours, and that I had not the slightest expectation of being moved. Both I and

Lady Dufferin have been very happy at Rome, and I think that both the King and the two Prime Ministers with whom I have come into contact have been fairly satisfied with the way in which I conducted whatever business we have had to transact together. But of course Paris is the great prize of the diplomatic profession, and to be given it is a very considerable honour."

To Mr. Ferguson—

December 18, 1891.—"I am so glad you are pleased with the news, as I am sure Nelly will be also. So is her Excellency. But for myself I shall leave Rome with a very heavy heart. It is no light matter for any one at my age to plunge into a new and unknown world, and to re-enter upon the heavy work of a first-class embassy. I was perfectly happy here, and had no expectations of being changed, and no pretensions to go to Paris. Lord Salisbury had already been more than kind to me in giving me this embassy after India. . . ."

Mr. Gladstone, writing to a friend on the staff of the embassy, said—

December 12, 1891.—"Will you be kind enough to congratulate Dufferin very warmly on my own and my wife's behalf on his appointment to Paris. The country is also to be congratulated. I at least do not know how any different and equally good appointment could have been made."

The journals of the last three months at Rome contain no incident worth notice. Early in March Lord and Lady Dufferin had their farewell banquet at the Quirinal palace; and after presenting his letters of recall Lord Dufferin, acting upon a special message from the Pope, had a final audience of His Holiness* at the Vatican. The King and Queen of Italy visited them at the Embassy to bid them good-bye on the day before they left. On March 7 all Lord Dufferin's colleagues, with the Roman society largely represented, took leave of them at the railway station on their departure.

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* Some years afterwards Leo XIII. sent a copy of his poems to Lord Dufferin.

CHAPTER VIII.

PARIS.

The period of Lord Dufferin's embassy at Paris lies only a few years behind us, and moreover this, his last, appointment was to a country much nearer home than any of those in which he had previously served. Proximity of time is by no means an advantage for the writing of biographies; it places a stricter limit upon the use of materials that would be otherwise available; and imposes much greater reserve in treating of events, public and private, and of persons. When the subject of a memoir is a diplomatist, and the scene of his work is so close as France is to England, these conditions become embarrassing; while we also miss the perspective which throws a clearer light on circumstances and characters, explaining mistakes and correcting the point of view. It is not possible to draw upon Lord Dufferin's correspondence for the purposes of this chapter so freely as has been done heretofore. Nor were the affairs transacted between France and England during the years 1892–6 of the very first importance, so that the course of Lord Dufferin's official life, at this final stage of it, is henceforward less marked by events of the kind that give an historical interest to diplomacy.

At the beginning of March (1892) Lord Dufferin reached Paris from Rome. He was received by the

Minister of Foreign Affairs at the Quai d'Orsay, looked over the British Embassy and the business awaiting him there, and passed on to London, where his first visit was to Lord Salisbury. Among the numerous calls that he made he notes one to General St. John Foley, "who was the last person who saw my father alive, having travelled with him to Liverpool;" and after a week's stay in England he returned to Paris. His diary records the usual round of ceremonious visits paid and repaid; a daily turn on the bicycle, with occasional evenings at the theatre. At the opera "Count Louis of Turenne took me into the *Foyer de la danse*, and introduced me to Madame Melbā. I had never been behind the scenes of a theatre in my life before either in England or in France;" though he had been always an assiduous spectator in front of them.

He wrote to his daughter—

March 28, 1892.—"I have now got through all my official visits, and my official reception—a tiresome affair in uniform. I liked Carnot; but my famous speech did not go off so well as I could have wished, for I suddenly forgot a particular word in it, and though I could easily have replaced it by an equivalent, I did not like to do so for fear of being accused of tampering with the text, which had been already communicated; so I was forced ignominiously to look down at my paper. Carnot read his speech without any pretence of reciting it. He was very gentlemanlike and courteous, and he ended his oration with a personal compliment to myself, for which I was quite unprepared.

"The only other interesting thing we have witnessed has been the reception of Loti at the Academy. I had never been there before, and it gave me an opportunity of seeing for the first time some of the most distinguished literary men of France. Amongst them was Renan, whom I had parted with forty-two years ago on the coast of Syria."

Upon Egyptian affairs he writes to Sir Evelyn Baring—

April 12, 1892.—"I have just finished reading your Egyptian Report of February 9, and I have seldom gone through a more satisfactory document. It must also have been very gratifying to you to see how universally throughout Europe the success of your achievement is recognized; for our enemies in spite of themselves cannot get over the fact that under your administration a bankrupt country is now able to show a surplus of £1,200,000, and that too after large remissions of taxation. Moreover, I was especially gratified by the sympathetic and indulgent reference to the two Councils I had established. They were a good deal ridiculed at the time, but as it was then uncertain how long we were going to remain, or rather how soon the Turks might not be reinvested with their ancient supremacy, I desired to erect some sort of barrier, however feeble, against their intolerable tyranny. On the other hand I felt that, as you have most justly said, if English superintendence were to endure, they might be fostered and educated into fairly useful institutions, proving a convenient channel though which the European element in the government might obtain an insight into the inner mind and the less obvious wants of the native population. You can understand then how pleased I have been at your having taken a view of them altogether in accordance with what I hoped might be their future destiny."

On June 18 Lord Dufferin left Paris for his installation at Walmer as Warden of the Cinque Ports; and some days later the ceremony took place. He went in procession, escorted by a good company of notables, to the Baederstone—the place, marked by the ruin of a Roman pharos, where the ancient court of Shepway has been held for the last two hundred years. Here the Seneschal made proclamation of the meeting; the Barons of the Cinque Ports answered to the roll-call of their names, and Lord Dufferin was then desired to assume his office, being the 150th successor to the Wardenship from the death of Earl Godwin in 1053. "When I came to the Castle, I thought," he wrote, "a good deal about poor Lord Granville on entering this house which was so long his home." In the evening the Mayor of Walmer gave a banquet; other festivities followed; Lord Dufferin went back for a week to Paris, and returned to Dover. "Immediately on arriving got on board my little boat and sailed for Walmer. Scarcely a breath of wind, though I had the flood tide in my favour all the way." From Walmer he set off again to attend the Tercentenary Commemoration of Trinity College at Dublin early in July.

At the banquet given by the Trinity College authorities he made a short speech in proposing the toast of Literature, Science, and Art; and next day he presented an address to the College from the Royal University of Ireland. A brief visit was made to Clandeboye before Lord and Lady Dufferin departed for England.

He wrote to his daughter—

July 10, 1892.—"Here we are at Clandeboye after a tremendous Dublin week. We arrived last night in pelting rain, but to-day is one of the loveliest summer days I have ever seen in any country. Your mother and I have been everywhere—in the morning round the lake, while Victoria visited all the old women; and after luncheon we all three went up to the Tower, from whence we saw a sight I have never witnessed before—the whole of Scotland, including Cantyre, and the whole of the Isle of Man, as plain and as near as the shores of Antrim; while the Irish coast up to Fair Head was equally visible. It was quite marvellous. As for the view at our feet, it looked as if the whole of Clandeboye demesne were made of jewels and enamels, the trees and lawns shone and glistened with such a lovely green.

"The Trinity College celebration was really magnificent. I have seen many shows, but none so full of dignity and real meaning. All the universities of the world were represented, and the procession which we formed in our gowns of every colour was most striking. We had a service in St. Patrick's Cathedral, two balls, a banquet, at which I made a poor speech, which had the merit, however, of not lasting over two minutes, and two garden parties, one at the Viceregal, and the other at Lord Wolseley's. We stayed with the latter and had a small and pleasant party—Lyall and the Leckys—the people in the house being eked out with guests every night at dinner."

Most of the time, before their return to Paris in August, was passed in the castle by the sea at Walmer. Meanwhile there had been a dissolution of Parliament; and after the general election Mr. Asquith's motion of want of confidence had been carried against the ministry of Lord Salisbury, who made way for Mr. Gladstone on August 16. Lord Dufferin writes to Lady Helen Munro Ferguson from Paris—

August 15, 1892.—"You will probably have seen in the papers that the Queen, on the recommendation of Lord Salisbury, first sent for Mr. Gladstone. This is one of those misstatements which become inextricably incorporated in history, like flies in amber, but it is not the fact. The person she really sent for was me, but as I had left Cowes I could not obey her commands, and therefore shall not become Prime Minister just at present. She asked me to come over and dine on Friday by myself, and I have no doubt it was to talk over the crisis, which she had already discussed with me the week before."

In October he writes—

"I am going over to London to Lord Tennyson's funeral in Westminster Abbey, for I am asked to be one of the pall bearers. I forget whether his poetry suits you, for the poet of one age is not always in harmony with the next generation. I never cared for Byron, but the moment I opened a volume of Tennyson as a young man at Oxford, I felt that he was my poet. In any event he was one of the noblest kings of literature that England has ever possessed."

To Lady Tennyson—

December 20, 1892.—"I have always considered Lord Tennyson's friendship as the chief honour of my life, and his affectionate notice of me in his dedicatory poem, and his beautiful lines on Helen's Tower will render my mother's name and my own immortal long after the memory of anything that we have been or done has been swallowed in oblivion. I need not say that the affection I felt for your husband will continue to be as warm for you as long as I live; nor must I forget to thank you for the inexpressibly kind thought which prompted you to invite me to take part in the funeral, and to stand beside his grave in Westminster Abbey. A more splendid spectacle I have never witnessed, for it combined every element of grandeur:—the magnificent framework of the Abbey itself, with its marble population and historical memories; the presence of all the intellect of England, in all its force and in all its variety; the dead man speaking to us in his own words borne on the wings of such beautiful music; and what is most rare at any funeral ceremony the sincerity and the unanimity of regret felt for him whom we were committing to the grave. No one who was present will ever forget the scene, which was unparalleled in its dignity and splendid significance."

At the end of 1892 the collapse of the Panama Canal Company produced "one of the most tremendous rows ever known in the French Chamber, and that is saying a great deal." The shareholders lost their money, the discovery of scandalous malpractices ruined several official and parliamentary reputations; and public indignation exploded violently.

"The whole of France" (Lord Dufferin wrote) "is one wild sea of denunciation, suspicion, and mutual recrimination, and even the phrases of 1793 are coming back into use. The ten representatives arrested are described as the first 'fournée,' and they have been carried off in 'la première charette;' and a deputy, in a speech denouncing another member of the Chamber, exclaimed, 'Voilà la tête que-je veux,' quite in the Dantonesque style."

In this general fermentation of spirits it is not surprising that latent animosities came to the surface, and that wild rumours found easy credit.

Soon after his arrival in Paris Lord Dufferin had been surprised and mystified by the appearance in some of the minor French journals of articles attributing to him inveterate hostility to French interests, and making the most preposterous imputations upon the motives and methods of his diplomacy. It was asserted that during his previous career Lord Dufferin had been the chief agent in several transactions that had formerly terminated disadvantageously for France; that in Egyptian complications his sinister influence had been prominent; that the annexation of Burmah —a matter in which France had not been unconcerned —had been principally his handiwork; and that in Italy his attitude toward French policy had been unfriendly. The Parisians were now warned that his mission in their capital was to undermine and to frustrate surreptitiously the cordial understanding recently established between France and Russia. In the management of such intrigues he was declared to be no less unscrupulous than adroit; and it was publicly affirmed that he had been provided by the British government with secret funds, amounting to three millions of francs, for the purpose of executing his nefarious projects. The peril to France was the greater, one journalist observed, because the French ambassador in London, Monsieur Waddington, had joined the conspiracy, and was notoriously playing into the hands of the British ambassador in Paris—

> "Il est triste que dans cette lutte avec les habiletés Anglaises, nous ayons à la fois contre nous un ambassadeur d'Angleterre détestant la France et un ambassadeur de France dévoué à l'Angleterre."

It would have been superfluous to revive these absurd calumnies if they had not been widely circulated and commented upon at the time, and if for the moment their effect had not been to make serious impression upon popular credulity, and even to disparage Lord Dufferin in Parisian society at large. There had been great rejoicing over the friendly demonstrations of Russia, so that upon any rumours affecting this point the French were naturally susceptible; while recent disclosures of corrupt practices in connexion with the Panama Canal Company may have stimulated universal suspicion. However this may be, Lord Dufferin found it necessary to make some public protest against assiduous and apparently concerted imputations upon his character as the representative of England. To pass them over in silence had become impossible, and at the annual dinner of the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris he took the opportunity of refuting them.

Early in February (1893) he wrote to his daughter—

"On Monday night, when Gladstone is expatiating on his Home Rule, I also shall be on my legs, and I am going to do a very risky thing. In my speech at the banquet of the English Chamber of Commerce I am going to allude to the calumnies which have been propagated about my trying to corrupt the French Press and French public men by the distribution of enormous sums of money. But nobody would believe to what an extent this abominable lie has been credited, even in good society."

From what he said on this occasion the following passages are extracted:—

"I do not wish to refer to what is past in an ill-tempered or acrimonious spirit, for I am willing to believe that these attacks have emanated rather from the ignorance and *naïveté* than the malice of their authors; but it is certainly new to my experience that an ambassador, the personal representative of his Sovereign, should be caught by the *engrenage* of the domestic polemics of the country to whose government he is accredited. Hitherto it has been considered that his great office and the majesty of the Sovereign and country he represents, as well as the courtesy and hospitality of the nation amongst which he resides, were sufficient to secure him in the employment of that semi-conventual obscurity which is his proper element. But, unfortunately, these safeguards have not proved sufficient, and I have seen myself repeatedly accused in widely circulated papers, whose statements have undoubtedly carried conviction with them to vast numbers of people, of the most disgraceful and abominable conduct, of acts which, if proved, would justify my being summoned to the bar of a criminal court. It may, of course, be said that these assaults are beneath my notice. Well, they are so far beneath my notice that I have not thought it worth while to make them the subject of any official complaint; but to-night we are for the moment in England. . . . Moreover, as the monstrous fabrications to which Sir Edward Blount has referred would militate against my usefulness as an ambassador if even partially credited, I do not hesitate to take this opportunity to say that the whole series of assertions which has been so industriously propagated, including the absurd statement that I arrived in France furnished with an enormous sum of money—three millions of francs, I think was the sum named—to be applied to the corruption of the French Press and of French politicians with the view of breaking up the Franco-Russian alliance, is not only untrue in the widest acceptation of that term, but that there is not and there never has been a shade or a shadow of substance in any of the various allegations which from time to time have been issued with the view of building up this inconceivable mystification. . . . The fact is that since I arrived in Paris I have not spent a sixpence that has not gone into the pocket of my butcher or baker, or of that harmful but necessary lady, the avenger of the sin of Adam, whose bills every householder who values his domestic peace pays with alacrity and without examination—I mean the family *couturière*."

The speech was well received in France as a good-humoured and spirited appeal to the common sense and generosity of the nation from the malevolent attacks that had been made upon an ambassador. The *Figaro* passed some good-natured criticisms upon it in an article that concluded with these words—

"Ceux de mes compatriotes qui veulent savoir ce que signifie l'épithète *gentlemanlike* que les Anglais emploient si volontiers, le savent maintenant! Et s'ils ne sont pas contents—ils auront vraiment tort de le montrer—car ce ne serait pas *gentlemanlike!* En tout cas, ils on lu un discours vraiment amusant et qui prouve que Lord Dufferin est non seulement le diplomate très fort et très dangereux que l'on connaissait, mais aussi un orateur adroit et spirituel que l'on ne soupçonnait pas—à Paris, du moins. Cet ambassadeur est un délicieux humouriste!"

The English Foreign Office, of whose approbation Lord Dufferin had not felt quite sure, agreed that the disclaimer was salutary and necessary. The English Press supported him cordially, and undoubtedly the effect of this plain-speaking was to convince his traducers that their mark had been overshot.

He wrote to his daughter—

"The speech was wonderfully well received by the audience, all the women, and indeed I may say all the men, coming up afterwards to thank me and to shake me by the hand, and all were extraordinarily enthusiastic. . . .

"The first person to compliment me was the Minister of Foreign Affairs himself, who said, 'Savez vous que votre discours a eu un très grand succés?' He has recurred to the subject in the same terms every time I have seen him since, and almost every Frenchman or woman I have lately met has spoken in the same sense. I have been repeatedly told that the myth so extensively believed has been now completely exploded. Even the newspapers that might have been expected to criticize have either given the speech without comment or have been fairly complimentary, though protesting that it was unjust to speak as if France were the only country in which ambassadors are occasionally criticized."

Some months later these incredible slanders were finally extinguished by the trial and punishment of a man who had forged some documents purporting to prove conclusively that British gold had been employed in bribing influential journalists, and even deputies, in Paris. It was pretended that these papers had been abstracted from the British embassy; but when they were read out in the French Chamber the whole case broke down at once under a storm of ridicule.

In April 1893 the President, M. Carnot, opened the annual exhibition of pictures at the Salon, when Lord Dufferin notes that his own portrait, by Benjamin Constant, was much admired by the public and praised by the French journals.

The subjoined extract from a letter illustrates the extent to which Conscription literally brings home to a people the consequence of a warlike policy, especially at a period when the European nations do so much of their fighting outside Europe.

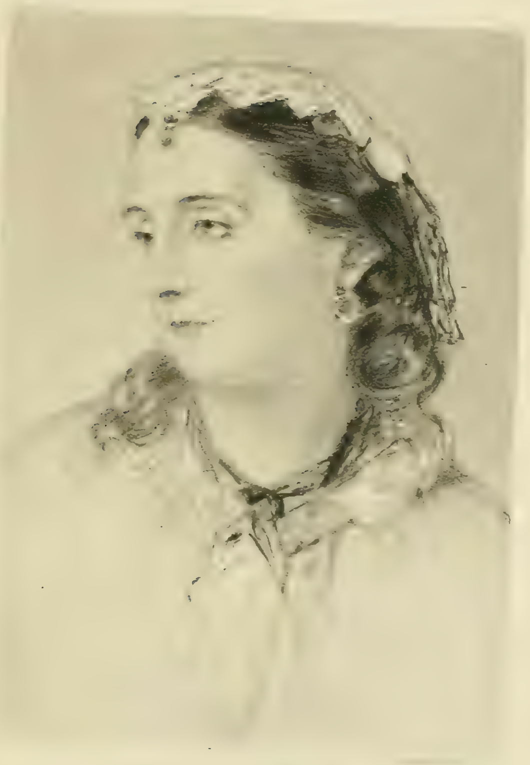
"I believe there is growing up amongst the mass of the French population a far stronger disinclination to war than has hitherto existed. Colonial wars have always been an abomination to them. The French peasant does not understand his son being sent to die of fever in a Chinese jungle or to be run through the body by an African lance. But the universality of military service has impressed every French family in the country with a sense of the misery which war might entail; and though the recollection of their last military disasters may fade from their memory, the general conviction of the risk and calamities entailed by war is more likely to deepen than to disappear as time goes on."

In October the visit to Paris of the Russian naval officers, whose appearance was hailed as the outward visible sign of Russia's friendship and sympathy with France, excited very lively demonstrations in Paris. They drove about the city in carriages preceded and followed by guards of honour; and Lord Dufferin notes that for eight days past the main thoroughfares had been rendered impassable by the crowds thronging for any sight of them. Men and women ran alongside to touch or kiss the hands of the officers; they were besieged at their residences, and were compelled to come out frequently on the balconies to receive public ovations, when they sometimes cut their gloves into pieces for distribution to the concourse below. Admiral Avellan (an old acquaintance of Lord Dufferin's) received 19,000 letters asking for his photograph, his signature, or some other personal token; the Russian and French flags waved together in every direction; and the Rue de la Paix "was roofed with bunting." There was a magnificent banquet at the Elysée Palace, but the foreign ambassadors were invited only to a State ball on the same evening.

The scene at the interment of one of the last Field Marshals of France is thus described by Lord Dufferin, who attended as the representative of the Queen—

"The funeral of Marshal MacMahon took place on a lovely day—bright sunshine and a warm air. The procession started from the Madeleine. The steps leading up to the building are very high and broad, and they presented a magnificent spectacle, being crowded with officers, civil and military, in their brilliant uniforms. The whole area was ablaze with gold and steel and stars and plumes—shining helmets and laced cocked hats rising tier above tier in a variegated bank of colour, for which the Grecian columns, the doors and the vestibule of the building, all shrouded in black and silver, provided a striking background. After we had waited for about an hour, the funeral car began to move. . . . The streets were lined with troops, and behind the troops stood thousands and thousands of people, while other thousands looked on from the windows of the six-storied houses which form the Rue Royale, through which the *cortége* passed. After traversing the Place de la Concorde, the procession turned up towards the Arc deTriomphe, and then crossed the river to the Champ de Mars and the Invalides. When the Mass, presided over by the Archbishop of Paris, was concluded, the whole assembly streamed out into the 'Cour d'honneur,' where the Prime Minister and the Minister of War delivered addresses. After this, the funeral car was removed to the entrance of the Invalides and in front of the great esplanade, where the entire garrison of Paris was drawn up under arms, and was subsequently moved, regiment by regiment, past the bier, each regiment and its officers and colours saluting the dead soldier that lay within it. This part of the ceremony took more than an hour, and it was four o'clock before everything was over, the procession having left the Madeleine at eleven."

Some reference must now be made to the controversies, from 1893 to 1896, between France and England over the Siamese question, which was the most important affair that exercised Lord Dufferin's diplomacy during his residence at Paris. The points in dispute placed at one moment a considerable strain on the friendly relations between the two governments. Siam is a country lying between Burmah and the Indo-Chinese possessions of the French, so that its independence is a matter of substantial concern to the British Indian empire. With the quarrel between France and Siam England did not desire to interfere directly; but our Foreign Office insisted that the territorial concessions demanded from the Siamese by the French, should neither operate to the dismemberment of the kingdom, nor diminish or weaken Siam to an extent that might prejudice the security of the Burmese frontier on the western side. We were also bound to safeguard our own subjects and their commercial interests within Siam. Out of this situation other and more complicated arguments arose over the delimitation of a small outlying tract lying on both sides of the upper Mekong river, that was to be neutralized as a buffer or intermediate zone between Burmah and the French protectorate of Tonquin. The elucidation of these differences produced long, intricate, and occasionally irritating discussions between Paris and London, which have now mainly lost their interest. It may be sufficient to say here that the firm attitude of two English Foreign Secretaries (Lord Rosebery and Lord Salisbury), and their correct appreciation of the points at issue, enabled Lord Dufferin to bring the negociations to a reasonable conclusion ; although his patience and temper were sometimes considerably tried. But the project of maintaining an independent tract on the upper Mekong eventually proved not worth the trouble that had been expended over it. Both parties had at first agreed to it ; yet neither appears clearly to have understood that the system of neutralizing petty independent States lying between powerful rivals, jealous of each other's ascendancy, though it answers well (as for Belgium) in European politics, is not applicable to Asia. In such a position



Helen, Lady Dufferin
(Countess of Gifford)

a weak and ill-ordered principality is sure to become embroiled in frontier disputes with one or another of its neighbours, until on some necessity or pretext the neutrality is broken, and usually disappears altogether amid the protests and recriminations that follow.

It is therefore no matter for regret that in the present instance the whole project of creating such an intermediary tract proved abortive. When in 1895 the French and English Commissioners met on the spot to mark out its boundaries, the representatives of France unexpectedly raised such inadmissible claims that all proceedings were suspended. Thereupon supervened a fresh and acute stage of protracted disputation between the French and English Foreign Offices, the brunt of which fell upon Lord Dufferin in Paris. It was only terminated in the final Declaration (1896) of the two governments, by a partition, whereby the Mekong river became a dividing line between the French and English territory on this section of their common border.

Lord Dufferin was at this time occupying his leisure in preparing the memoir of his mother which appeared as a preface to her poems.

To Mr. Hepburn he writes—

"I have been reading through the journals which I kept when we were at Oxford, where your name so constantly recurs, and the mention of all the pleasant things we did together. Do you remember that famous private business sitting that we had at the 'Pythic,' when Blackett was arraigned pretty much in the same spirit as Charles I. in Westminster Hall, for having failed to write out in our sacred book certain essays which it was his duty as secretary to copy in? How seriously we took it all, and how stormy was the discussion! . . .

"Amongst the many things connected with Oxford which have surprised me, the most surprising has been being made a Doctor. An event which would have appeared still more extraordinary, had I foreseen it when we were at Christ Church together, was Lady Dufferin's being met in procession by the University heads and the Mayor and Corporation of Oxford, conducted in state to the schools, and there called upon to make a speech! Even now it seems inconceivable."

To his daughter—

"I have been going through all my old journals, and I am lost in admiration of my industry, for they extend over a great number of years; and though sometimes my spirit has faltered in the midst of a year, it has resumed the narrative with renewed courage at the beginning of the next. It is like living one's young life over again. . . .

"We are to have a dance here on Friday. It was in this very ball-room that I embarked with a young lady on a valse for the first time in my life, about fifty years ago. How little I then thought I should be here as ambassador! Indeed, my whole life has been a series of surprises, from the day Lord John Russell proposed that I should be a Lord-in-waiting. . . . I have just received your New Year's gift, the two volumes of Scott's letters. You could not have given me a book which I should more value, for I love Sir Walter Scott with all my heart; and, my mother excepted, I think he has done more to form my character than any other influence; for he is the soul of purity, chivalry, respect for women, and healthy religious feeling."

In a letter of January 1894 to Mr. Hepburn, Lord Dufferin refers to the death of Monsieur Waddington, whom he had visited not long before at his country house in France.

"M. Waddington was an old friend of mine, for he came out to me in Syria, when I naturally took him for an Englishman until he said, 'I must now go and see my Commissioner,' on which I exclaimed, 'But I am your Commissioner.' 'No,' he said, 'Monsieur Béclard is, for I am a Frenchman.' Renan was there at the same time, as well as Chanzy and Ducrot. Chanzy and I became great friends, and he was afterwards French ambassador at the same time with me at St. Petersburg, when the poor Emperor was murdered."

Journal, March 1, 1894. — "Dined at home and afterwards went to the Count de Franqueville's at La Muette to meet the Duc d'Aumale. Mademoiselle Bartet of the Comédie Française recited. The Duc d'Aumale told us that after the battle of Valmy, his father, Louis Philippe, came up to Paris in order to push his claim to some military appointment before the Committee of Public Safety. Danton who was present told him to come to him the next day. When he arrived Danton said to him, 'You talk too much. I will get the affair settled according to your wishes. Go back to the army and stick to your career of a soldier, and your time will come.'

"This reproof was occasioned by Louis Philippe having loudly criticized the September massacres. With regard to these Danton said, 'C'est moi qui les ai faits. It was necessary to put a river of blood between the Republic and the Émigrés. But this matter does not concern you. History will judge of it. Hold your tongue and return to the army.'"

At the annual dinner given in March 1894 by the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris, Lord Dufferin again made a speech that was intended for a much larger audience. Upon this occasion he reviewed the state of Europe in the spirit of one who, surveying the continent from the vantage point of long experience and wide knowledge of current affairs, could predict the continuance of peace among the nations. In the political outlook, he said, no portents of serious trouble were discernible. With regard, especially, to the two great Powers with whom England was in immediate contact, Russia in Asia and France in Europe, he relied upon the Russian Emperor's well-known magnanimity and sense of honour for concurrence in the preservation of tranquillity on their Asiatic frontiers—

> " France of late has shown, as have done the other nations of Europe, considerable colonial activity, and as we ourselves have long been engaged in similar colonial activity, we occasionally run up against each other in the cane brakes of Africa, or in the fever jungles of Indo-China. But what are these desultory troubles and local considerations in comparison with the great stream of tendency, to two such glorious nations who from the dawn of history have together held aloft the standard of civilization and progress in every line and walk of human enterprise? They are but as the ripple and angry splashing which mark the occasional sands and shoals of a mighty river which rushes with unrivalled majesty along its appointed way."

If, Lord Dufferin went on to say, quarrels and bad blood should arise between France and England "over a few acres of African swamp or a clump of thatched villages in the tropics," it would be for diplomatists to apply remedies and to effect reconciliations.

That the British ambassador, speaking in public at the French capital, should pass lightly over certain contentious questions that were under sharp debate at the moment between the two governments, was obviously right and judicious. Yet some of those who heard or read his speech may have remembered that in past times small colonial disputes had led to great wars. The few acres of African swamp may have seemed a petty matter for strife between two mighty nations ; yet it might have been remarked that Voltaire accounted Canada (after it had been lost) as "a few acres of snow," not worth fighting about ! *

The speech, however, was well timed and successful in its main object of promoting feelings of amity and good will between the French and English peoples ; for on both sides of the Channel it was commented upon with approval and complacency. The English Press was confident that those French journalists who had recently been maligning their ambassador, would take to heart his generous friendliness ; and the French newspapers found in his pacific assurances a lesson to the Chauvinist newspapers of Great Britain.

Lord Dufferin wrote to his daughter—

"You will see I have been making a speech. It seems to have pleased people here, and it has not been found fault with in London, which is a comfort. All my life long whenever I have made a speech I have had to consider at least two and sometimes three audiences, like the circus riders who have to stand on the backs of several galloping horses at once."

In a letter to him from London Sir Donald Wallace said—

"It may perhaps interest you to know that the French ambassador here spoke to me last night in most sympathetic—I might almost say enthusiastic—

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* "Vous savez que ces deux nations sont en guerre pour quelques arpens de neige, et qu'elles dépensent pour cette belle guerre beaucoup plus que tout le Canada ne vaut."—"Candide," chap. xxiii.

terms about your admirable speech to the English Chamber of Commerce. Of course you have seen how well it has been received by the Press all over Europe."

And at a luncheon in Paris the Prince of Wales congratulated him on his speech, and said that all the Royalties at Cannes, the Russians, Germans, and every one, were very much pleased with it.

Dinners and garden-parties at the Embassy, diplomatic entertainments, theatres, the usual flow of social life at high tide in Paris, and a constant succession of guests who found room and a welcome at the Embassy, visits from men of letters, French and English, conversations with ministers and politicians of various nationalities on their passage through France, an excursion to Chantilly, where they met the Orleans princes,—all these things fill Lord Dufferin's journal for the summer of 1894.

But in June the assassination at Lyons of President Carnot spread universal grief and consternation throughout France, and indeed in all the capitals of Europe. At various times in the course of French history, it was remarked, attempts had been made to kill the Chief of the State, some of them plotted elaborately by conspirators who had studied the place and opportunity, armed with deadly scientific machinery. Yet of all these attempts two only, made simply and openly with very primitive weapons, had succeeded; for Henry IV. and President Carnot were each murdered by a man who placed his foot on the step of a carriage and stabbed them with a knife.

Some time afterward, when Madame Carnot was about to quit the Elysée Palace, Lord and Lady Dufferin visited her there. Lord Dufferin, who was much affected by the interview, wrote to the Queen that he "had never seen any lady bear herself in so dignified and noble a manner. She was very calm when talking of herself and her sorrows and the change in her life; but when she turned to Lord Dufferin and began expressing her deep sense of Queen Victoria's goodness in writing the letter that she had received from your Majesty, she displayed such a force and energy of feeling as no words can convey."

The two Chambers proceeded immediately to the election of a new President, when their choice fell upon M. Casimir Perier. He bore a name of hereditary distinction in French politics; and his reputation for courage and capacity was so high that his election was counted upon as a sure step toward restoring the stability of ministerial cabinets—whose tenure of power had hitherto been brief, with abrupt terminations—and toward reinforcing the element of authority, which had become gravely compromised by repeated changes. As M. Casimir Perier held office for less than six months, it may be convenient here to touch briefly upon the circumstances, closely observed and commented upon by Lord Dufferin, which led to his speedy and sudden abdication.

His inaugural address plainly intimated an intention of dealing firmly with the party of disorder; but this at once raised up a coalition against him in the Chamber of Deputies. Lord Dufferin, on returning to Paris, in October, from a short absence in England, found M. Casimir Perier's unpopularity rapidly increasing. His personal character and political antecedents were virulently assailed by a section of the French Press; while those who should have been his friends and supporters were lukewarm. Certain incidents followed in the Chamber which seemed to put a slight on his office, and to disparage his legitimate influence on affairs; for it is to be understood that the reputation and responsibility of the President of the Republic are more or less associated, by public opinion, with the course of the country's administration. Exposed to insult and accusations without the possibility of defending himself, unable to strike back at those who attacked him, M. Casimir Perier, losing patience, decided that his position was untenable. When, therefore, in January 1895, a concentration of parties in the Chamber of Deputies dismissed M. Dupuy's ministry by a vote that indirectly condemned a judicial decision of the Council of State, M. Casimir Perier, instead of summoning a fresh ministry, unexpectedly published his own resignation.

Such a *coup de théâtre*, as the French termed it, was startling, and Lord Dufferin wrote that "the excitement and surprise caused by it were very considerable. "But" (he added) "it is certainly remarkable that although France thus suddenly found herself without either an executive government or a chief of the State, not only was there no disturbance of public order, but there does not seem to have been the slightest apprehension of anything of the kind." In a remarkable despatch he enlarged upon the difficult and distasteful position of the elected representative of a great nation, whose influence over the counsels of his own ministers might be reduced below that of a constitutional king. At the election two candidates were proposed by the Moderate party, against a third for whom the Radical party voted. When the Radical candidate failed at the first ballot to obtain an absolute majority, the two Moderate sections combined at the second ballot in favour of a single candidate, M. Faure, who came in at the head of the poll.

From July to October Lord Dufferin was on leave at home, with a few days' interval at Paris on urgent business. The autumn he passed at Clandeboye, occupied with the management of his estate, the improvement of his house and grounds, and with local affairs generally. He presided at the opening of the Library Association in Queen's College, Belfast, and went there again to make a speech on the organization of University Extension Lectures. From Ireland he crossed the Channel in October to visit Lord Rosebery at Dalmeny; travelled thence to London for a meeting with Lord Kimberley at the Foreign Office, and was in Paris by the month's end. In his diary for the winter various entries record good sport in the French covers—"a splendid day's shooting at Ferrières, nearly a thousand pheasants killed, I killed a hundred and fifty"—and another grand battue at Rambouillet, where he again upheld his country's sporting reputation, by slaying precisely the same number that fell to the gun of the President of the Republic. But the diary makes no allusion to other trials of skill, in the diplomatic field, over international rivalries in Asia and Africa, that were actively carried on during this time between France and England — entailing upon Lord Dufferin long interviews with the French ministers—and were not determined without some animated interchanges of views and arguments at the Quai d'Orsay. That in Asia Siam, and in Africa Nigeria on the west, the Congo State in the centre, Harar on the east, and Madagascar, should have been the principal subjects of contention, illustrates the broad expansion, in these days, of European dominion over scattered and outlying parts of the world. A glance at these distant and diverse points on the map shows the extent to which the modern system of protectorates, spheres of influence, and the stress of commercial competition, have multiplied the points of contact, friction, and collision among the enterprising nations of Europe.

In March 1895, when Queen Victoria was residing at Nice, Lord Dufferin was summoned there to attend upon Her Majesty. Yacht-racing engrossed much of his spare time, yet he found leisure to inquire for and renew his acquaintance with some very old friends whom he had known well when abroad forty years before—now aged ladies living in solitude upon strait means. On taking leave of the Queen after a week's stay, she spoke of ministerial changes impending in England, saying that he was almost the only one left of her old friends whom she might consult, as long ago she consulted the third Marquis of Lansdowne and the Duke of Wellington: and she desired his advice.

At Monte Carlo he "met Princess Beatrice and Princess Christian of Schleswig Holstein, who stood behind me when I was looking at the view. I told the Princess Beatrice to tell the Queen how innocently she had found me employed."

On his way back to Paris he stopped at Cannes to visit the cemetery, and noted in his Journal—

"I found the tombs of poor Lady Jocelyn, Lord Roden, and my godson Eric Jocelyn, and left a wreath on Lady Jocelyn's.

"Lady Jocelyn was the earliest and dearest friend I ever had; a most beautiful, attractive, and good woman. When I knew her, she had everything that this world can give; a happy home, a husband she loved, four beautiful children—two girls and two boys; beauty, charm, popularity. She was the step-daughter of the Prime Minister, one of the Queen's ladies and one of her dearest friends. She lived in a charming little cottage the Queen had given her at Kew, which was the very home of peace and domestic happiness. Her husband, who had been in the army, had become Colonel of a Militia regiment. His regiment was quartered at the Tower when the cholera broke out, and he thought it his duty to go and sleep there for a few nights to encourage his men. He was suddenly seized with cholera and was taken to Lord Palmerston's house where he died. Her eldest daughter was severely burnt in the neck, and a few years afterwards died unmarried. Her next daughter, Edith, who married Lord Sudeley, also died young. Both these girls were very pretty. The next to die was my poor little godchild Frederick (Eric). About the same time she lost her mother, Lady Palmerston, and her sister the Countess of Shaftesbury, to whom she was also devoted. Last of all her eldest son Lord Roden was struck down by a fatal illness, and she herself died in less than three months afterwards. It was a great tragedy."

His letter upon this occasion to Lady Mount Temple is subjoined—

April 3, 1895.—"It may perhaps interest you to know that on my way from seeing the Queen at Nice I stopped at Cannes on purpose to pay a visit to my dear friend's tomb. It was a beautiful morning, everything bathed in sunshine, and the landscape lovely on every side. I laid a white wreath at her dear feet, and all her goodness and sweetness came back to me in a flood of tender reminiscences. She has always been a living presence to me, and I shall never forget her till the day of my own death. I brought away a little leaf of ivy and a sprig of trefoil from poor Roden's and my godchild's grave. How sad is the inscription on the one, and how touching the words on the other! On Lord Roden's—

'The last of my children.'

And on Eric's—

> 'Is it well with the child?'
> 'It is well.'
> 'But the light of mine eyes has gone from me.'"

Lady Jocelyn was Lady Palmerston's daughter by a previous marriage; and Lady Mount Temple had married her brother. A letter written by Lady Mount Temple to Lord Dufferin after reading his mother's poems, shows how deep and lasting was the memory on both sides of these early friendships.

"DEAR LORD DUFFERIN,

"Familiar name of my youth, now you are Marquess, Excellency, and Ambassador, and I know not what besides, still you are my Lord Dufferin, remembered so well in your beautiful dawning manhood; and I am past recognition, old and ill, I may almost say dying, and I feel just as if I could rest more happily if I may add my feeble thank you to the chorus of admiration that I know greets your beautiful book with the gleanings of her poetry, and your delightful sketch of your ideal mother. It has been lent to me by a friend, and I have been devouring it in my weakness to-day till I feel just filled with the past and the dear days of long ago when she was a fairy queen to me, and I remember what may please you as it does me. My dear sister, whom I know you admired and esteemed, Fanny Jocelyn, said to me in her last days, 'I have only known two men in my life thoroughly immersed in the world, and quite unspoilt by it,—my brother William and Lord Dufferin.'"

The end of a long and varied public life was now within sight. In March (1895) he had written to his daughter—

"Is it not wonderful to think that in a little over a year from now I shall have finished my official career, which has lasted almost continually for fifty years? but though I am very happy here, I am beginning to have a great craving for rest and peace, and especially for the country."

Yet he says in another letter—

"I have now entered my seventieth year, and I am seized by a feeling akin to consternation to perceive that in my feelings and habits of thought and ways of looking out upon the world, I am pretty much what I was at five and twenty."

The summer of 1895 was passed in England, though Lord Dufferin was in Paris for a short time in July. In his Diary for June he notes—

"Dined with the Prince of Wales at Marlborough House to meet the Shahzâda. Sat between the Shahzâda and Lord Rosebery. A very agreeable dinner. All the members of the outgoing and incoming Cabinets were there, three ex-Viceroys, a great number of ex-Indian governors, and the Russian ambassador."

He had now resolved to settle at Clandeboye after his retirement, and accordingly he resigned the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports to Lord Salisbury, who succeeded him at Walmer Castle. When he returned to France in September he accepted, with Lady Dufferin, an invitation from the Count and Countess de Rochefoucauld to their château at Verteuil in Touraine.

"Verteuil" (he wrote to his daughter) "is about twenty miles from La Rochefoucauld, which was the original nest of the race. . . . Every château on the Loire and in its neighbourhood is a flower of architectural beauty, and there is not one that has not been the scene of some fearfully dramatic incident.

Moreover, it was most interesting to observe the way in which the frowning donjon of the mediæval period began, after the return from Tuscany of the French army, to blossom with Italian ornament, and to clothe itself with deviceful windows, and spread itself abroad in cheerful wings and terraces as rich as the hanging gardens of Babylon. . . .

"Amongst my other visits I went to see an enormous territory which was once possessed by the only Sheridan who ever made any money since the time of Queen Elizabeth. He was the uncle of Brinsley Sheridan, and he accumulated his fortune in Barbadoes. He then settled in France, became a very grand man, was made a Marquis by Louis Quinze, and married his daughter, who was an heiress, to the eldest son of one of the great French noblemen, who was killed, however, in a duel when he was only two and twenty, by the eventual possessor of the lady, the Marquis de Maillé de la Tour Landry. By him she became the mother of the Countess de Hautefort, who was the great friend of the Duchesse de Berry, and attended her in her very inopportune confinement. They have got pictures of these Sheridans, and the uncle is extraordinarily like my great-grandfather. The present Marquis de Maillé was very pleased on hearing that I was a kinsman of his, and treated me with the most cordial hospitality."

Journal, September 23 *and* 24, 1895.—"We left Verteuil in the morning for Poitiers, the Count and Countess de la Rochefoucauld coming with us as far as La Rochefoucauld, from which the family takes its name. Here there is an old castle uninhabited, belonging to the Duc de la Rochefoucauld. We went on to Poitiers, where we slept.

"Drove round the churches, etc., of Poitiers. Afterwards I went off to visit the battlefield, but found there was nothing to be seen. Then by train to Tours, and from Tours to Monnaie to stay for a few days with Madame de Wendel at her Château of L'Orfrasière."

They made excursions to the famous châteaux along the Loire, went on to another country house, and so to Paris by the first days of October.

In reference to Professor Blackie's death Lord Dufferin writes to Mr. Blackwood—

October 18, 1895.—"I was very fond of Professor Blackie and greatly sympathized with him in his enthusiasm for Greek literature. Once at the Duke of Argyll's at a very smart and fashionable party when all the young ladies and gentlemen were flirting together, and everybody else was deeply engaged in conversation, there suddenly arose at the far end of the room a quavering voice that chanted a kind of dirge in a minor key. This was dear old Blackie, who was trying to illustrate in what fashion the 'Iliad' and the 'Odyssey' originally reached Grecian ears. You may imagine the surprise of the audience."

Nothing short of enthusiasm, indeed, could have sustained Lord Dufferin himself in his indefatigable and laborious application to the study of Persian as well as of Greek literature. At the end of 1895 he notes in his Journal—

December 30, 1895.—"During this year I have learned by heart 786 columns of a Persian dictionary, comprising about 16,000* words. Of these I have learned 8000 perfectly, 12,000 pretty well, and 4000 imperfectly. In three months' time I hope to have completely mastered the whole."

Then follows a long list of the Greek classics that he had read wholly or partly during the year—the Greek tragedians, eleven plays of Aristophanes, portions of Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Plutarch, Lucian, and others; no inconsiderable performance for a man who never neglected official business, made speeches and wrote letters innumerable, yet always found time for numberless social engagements, and delighted in sport by land or water.

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* 24,000?

In April (1896) Lord Dufferin wrote to a friend, "My term comes to an end on the 21st of June, when the clock will have struck 70."* And on June 2, at the annual banquet of the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris, Lord Dufferin delivered the last of the many speeches that he had made from high places in the public service. It struck, as was natural, the valedictory note. He spoke of his regret at leaving "this delightful capital, where Lady Dufferin and myself have lived so happily for the last four years, where we have had the opportunity of renewing affectionate relations with our French friends of former days, and where we have formed so many new ties." He acknowledged the courtesy and consideration which he had received from the French ministers and politicians with whom he had from time to time been engaged in handling "the thorny problems" of adjusting international claims and interests that were often inevitably contrary. In regard to the Press of Paris, he touched very lightly on bygone misrepresentations of his motives and character, and on the fulfilment of his confident prevision that they would be effaced by the lapse of time and a better understanding of him personally.

"It is true" (he said) "when I was first subjected to its acute and patriotic observation, the Press was disposed to exhibit towards me an attitude—well, I will say an attitude of coyness. But there were artificial circumstances existing at the time which sufficiently accounted for what happened; and knowing in my own heart how anxious I was to discharge the duties of my office in a spirit of loyalty and conciliation, convinced that no outsider could have come to France with a higher appreciation of the qualities of its inhabitants, or who could have already worked more harmoniously with its representatives abroad, I had little doubt that your discriminating journalists would eventually recognize in me the well-wisher of their country."

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* It was prolonged by special arrangement until October.

His description of the diplomatic service, from which he was just about to retire, will probably be accepted by most of those who have climbed up the ladder of promotion from its first steps.

"I cannot complain of the rule which fixes the age at which I have arrived—and which no power on earth will induce me to communicate to the ladies present — as the epoch for the compulsory retirement of ambassadors. My only doubt is whether it should not be enforced at an earlier period. The diplomatic service is undoubtedly one of the most advantageous of the liberal professions, but it has certain drawbacks in these days of intense competition. It can only be entered after a severe examination, which implies an expensive education prolonged through many preparatory years. The earlier stages of the career are unremunerative, and the work desultory, mechanical, and often uninteresting. Its later phases, however, are most attractive, full of responsibility and importance, and its highest prizes are as worthy of a man's ambition as any at the disposal of the Crown. But the one thing that casts a shadow over the prospects of those who follow it, as indeed is the case in most professions, is the slowness, the uncertainty and sometimes the stagnation of promotion. In this last event the younger members are suffocated by the solid crust of the ranks above them, while these in their turn grow stale and disheartened amid the monotony and routine of their trivial though necessary duties. Now change and advancement are the very life of every career. It is the oxygen which revivifies our blood, brightens our intelligence, stimulates our initiative, and I assure you it is the greatest possible consolation to those who are stepping down from their high station to think that they are making room for younger men. Even so, such a break with the past cannot fail to be painful, for it is not only the conclusion of a chapter, but it is the closing of a book. Though a man's life may be extended a few years beyond the span of its official existence, its record can never be more than a dry appendix printed in a smaller type, and on the face of it neither inviting nor worthy of perusal. Nor at such a turning-point can one help recognizing with a sense of regret one's many shortcomings in the service of one's country, and the insignificance of one's efforts for the advancement of its interests. Though brought into contact with great events and concerned with momentous issues, one's *rôle* is rather that of the object floating on the stream and indicating its course than that of the controlling force which hurries it along and determines its destination; for political results are now less the fruit of individual effort than of those mighty popular energies which have been vitalized by our modern civilization."

Turning next to the conditions of modern diplomacy, he said—

"What do we see around us? The whole of Europe is little better than a standing camp numbering millions of armed men, while a double row of frowning and opposing fortresses bristles along every frontier. Our harbours are stuffed and the seas swarm with ironclad navies, to whose numbers I am forced to admit England has been obliged in self-defence to add her modest quota. Even in the remotest East the passion for military expansion has displayed an unexpected development. In fact, thanks to the telegraph, the globe itself has become a mere bundle of nerves, and the slightest disturbance at any one point of the system sends a portentous tremor through its morbidly sensitive surface. We are told by the poets of old that when Zeus nodded the golden halls of his Olympus shook to their foundation. To-day it would suffice for any one of half a dozen august personages to speak above his breath or unwittingly to raise his little finger, and, like heaven overcharged with electricity, the existing condition of unstable equilibrium which sustains the European political system would be overset. . . . Well, ladies and gentlemen, it is to prevent catastrophes of this kind that we meek, civil-spoken, and, mild-mannered persons have been invented. Looking at us you will perhaps say that we are but a poor and feeble folk and our calling a sorry preservative against such dangers, but such as it is it is the best device that human ingenuity has been able to discover. After all a very thin wire proves a perfectly effective lightning conductor, and for over fifty years, thanks to this unpretending agency, an unbroken peace has been maintained between your native land and the country with whose prosperity and welfare your own interests are so closely connected."

This passage appears to have caught the public attention, for it was extracted and noticed in almost all the chief newspapers at home and abroad. Undoubtedly the rapid transmission of news, the publicity, ventilation, and discussion of every incident or dispute affecting international relations, have produced among political bodies a delicacy of the epidermis that was unknown to the rougher constitution of earlier governments. All the great Powers have now outlying frontiers that are very sensitive because they are shifting and unsettled; commercial and colonial rivalry has become so keen that a very slight collision may engender heat and a tendency to inflammation; and in any such controversy the Press on either side takes part eagerly. Foreign secretaries and ambassadors are often like players for heavy stakes in a difficult game, at a table where a crowd of bystanders watch every move and speak their mind loudly.

Lord Dufferin's "last dying speech and confession," as he termed it, was translated in whole or partly into almost all the French journals, with comments that were generally favourable. It went the round of the European Press; the English newspapers agreed that the final words of their ambassador were honourable to himself and his country, and paid a due tribute of admiration to the distinguished career which was now terminating.

Next day there was a garden-party at the Embassy for which "about three thousand invitations" had been issued. A heavy thunderstorm drove every one indoors, where, however, "they enjoyed themselves very much—the French people being always so gay and good-humoured." *

Then came farewell visits, the presentation to Lady Dufferin, by the ladies of the English colony in Paris, of an address with some keepsakes of artistic value; and on June 21 Lord Dufferin received many letters of congratulation upon his seventieth birthday. The funeral of the Duc de Nemours appears to have been the last ceremony that he attended officially, on behalf of the Queen.

Early in July he crossed from Havre to Southampton, and so to London, after a few days' yachting, with a little sailor boy for his entire crew. His Diary

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* Diary, June 3, 1896.

records, among numerous other matters, a visit to Lady Tennyson at Aldworth, another to Dr. Warre at Eton, where he "stayed behind the rest of the party to walk through the playing fields"; some long and lively discussions of the Irish Land Bill with politicians; and attendance at the installation of his successor in the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports, when his portrait was unveiled by Lord Salisbury. In September he was yachting on the French coast for a fortnight, with headquarters at Calais and Boulogne. He made an excursion to the field of Agincourt.

"Had great difficulty in getting a conveyance to Fruges. Eventually a peasant drove me in his cart to the Calvary which has been erected over the trench in which the bodies of the French nobles and soldiers killed in the battle were buried."

He took Crecy on his route to Paris.

"Walked to the windmill mound where Edward the Third stood while the battle was going on. Then went down to a cross in the plain, stated to mark the spot where the King of Bohemia was slain. Afterwards spent several hours over the kitchen fire of the little pot-house in which I put up."

In October the Russian Czar came to Paris from Balmoral; but the *corps diplomatique* had little access to him; nor did Lord Dufferin find an opportunity for private conversation with His Majesty. "The behaviour of the French people" (he wrote), "though perfectly friendly and cordial, was dignified and correct;" the Emperor's attitude was tinged with some reserve; "the Empress's appearance and manner were perfect; every one is full of her praises."

October 9.—"Up at 5 a.m. and started with Mr. Howard at half-past 6 in the military attachés' train for Chalons to see the great review in honour of the Russian Emperor. On reaching the station the Russian ambassador gave me a seat in his carriage as far as the temporary headquarters, and from thence I drove with Montebello (the French ambassador to Russia) to the Emperor's tribune, where I found a great number of my old Russian friends. The review was a splendid sight, terminating with a charge of 12,000 cavalry down hill."

On October 13 Lord Dufferin presented his letters of recall at the Elysée to the President of the French Republic, who received him very cordially. He left Paris with Lady Dufferin next day, when the long series of Lord Dufferin's voyages, adventures, his manifold experiences of men and cities, and his official transmigrations, closed finally with his arrival in London.

With the Queen's letter to him the narrative of his active public life may here fitly terminate—

October 28, 1896.—"It is a great sorrow to the Queen, and a great loss to the country that Lord Dufferin retires from Her service. He has for many years served Her so well, in so many important posts beginning as Her Lord in Waiting, that it seems almost impossible that he should be retiring into private life. She hopes he will often come to England, including Cowes. She also hopes that he will sometimes write to Her and tell Her about Ireland, the state of which seems greatly improved.

"The Queen read Lord Dufferin's speech at Belfast and greatly admired it."

CHAPTER IX.

THE LAST YEARS AT HOME.

It is probable that no Englishman has ever finally relinquished high office, with all its anxieties and responsibilities, without a passing sense of depression. Accustomed to the exciting strain of important and urgent business, to the exercise of substantial influence over the world's affairs, to the demand upon him for rapid action or advice in emergencies, he steps across the official threshold into private life, and finds the prospect before him somewhat blank and uninteresting. In no sense can it well be said that, in his case, "resignation gently slopes the way," for his descent from public eminence is as abrupt as the ascent had been usually gradual and arduous. He can no longer lend a hand to Fortune in turning the great wheel of his country's destinies.

Some such feeling, one may conjecture, must have affected Lord Dufferin when, on quitting the Embassy at Paris, he looked back on a career so brilliant that it may have deepened the shadow of regret at its close. Yet he was a man of great courage and cheerfulness, with a fine elasticity of temper; and there is nothing on record to signify that he was not well pleased to escape from official harness, and to settle down at Clandeboye among his own people, who received him with great cordiality. The men of Ulster lost no time in doing full honour to their distinguished countryman, by giving him an enthusiastic welcome home. At the end of October the Lord Mayor of Belfast (Mr. Pirrie) presided at a banquet in the Ulster Hall to Lord and Lady Dufferin, when he enlarged with patriotic pride before a great and representative assembly on "their deep obligation to one who had added another name to the roll of distinguished Irishmen." Lord Dufferin began his reply by reminding the audience that the seal of the Foreign Office was still on his lips, and that he could not risk disturbing the peace of Europe by interesting revelations of his diplomatic adventures. He then launched out, with characteristic adroitness, into a wide-ranging flight over the surface of foreign affairs, telling his hearers much that was good for them to know, but nothing that it might be inconvenient to divulge. They would probably be surprised, he said, to learn from him that at the present moment the English are not the most popular nation in Europe—

"Our natural instinct is to regard other countries with a lazy kind of good will, to be rather glad than otherwise at their well-being, certainly to sympathize keenly with their misfortunes. . . . We appreciate and admire the fine qualities of other people; we have no desire to quarrel with their governments. . . . Yet it is an astonishing fact that the Press of most Continental countries is more or less in the habit of alluding to us in language of uncompromising hostility, an hostility which is a bewildering enigma to the ordinary placable and good-humoured Englishman."

How was this puzzling fact to be explained?

In the first place, Lord Dufferin said, we Englishmen hardly take foreign politics seriously.

"Safe within the circle of our tutelary seas, we can form no conception of the haunting anxieties which embitter the existence of the nations of Central Europe, upon whose every frontier hangs, black and motionless, a threatening cloud of war. . . . With such a sword of Damocles hanging over each country's head, you can understand how angry all become at the thought of what they regard as the inconsiderate action of an outsider like ourselves precipitating the risk of universal disaster; and the very circumstance of our being out of the path of the storm is an additional subject of offence and irritation. . . . Europe is now divided into two independent confederacies, represented by the Dual and the Triple Alliances; and each of these is alive to the effect which our co-operation on either side might have upon the result of a conflict; and all are united in abusing what they call our selfish isolation, and our indifference to the vital interests which pre-occupy themselves."

The second cause of our unpopularity he found in the recent impulse toward colonial expansion, which has had so rapid and so curious a development within the last few years.—"The German or French emigrant, who sets out in pursuit of some fancied territorial tit-bit in Africa or elsewhere, suddenly finds himself confronted by an Englishman already standing sentry over the path."

The speaker turned next to the question of national defences.

"One conviction" (he said) "has been borne in upon me during my long contact with the outside world—that in spite of Christianity, civilization, of humanitarian philosophies, of the lessons of history and the bitter experience of the more recent past, force and not right is the dominant factor in human affairs. . . . It would be madness on our part to be so misled and deluded by that kind of amiable optimism which always prevails among people who have had no personal experience of the real, hard, cruel conditions of national existence, as not to maintain in full vigour, by sea and land, the preparations necessary for our own preservation."

In the long speech, from which these extracts have been taken, Lord Dufferin embodied some of the deliberate conclusions that he had formed upon actual knowledge and observation of Continental opinions, or it may be prejudices, regarding England; and we have to remember that the lesson which he drew from them is a serious warning. At the end he acknowledged warmly his cordial reception in Belfast.

"All I can say is that if ever a servant of the Crown returned under happy auspices to his ancient home and his early surroundings, that consummation has fallen to the lot of him who now thanks you with all the force that gratitude and sincerity can command for the unprecedented warmth of the welcome you have accorded him, and for this never-to-be-forgotten home-bringing."

Lord Dufferin was now established with his family at Clandeboye, taking part in country business and local gatherings, much occupied with his estate, planting, building, improving the house, and arranging his archæologic and artistic collection made at sundry times and in divers places during his sojourn in many lands. His Journal notes frequent shooting-parties at home and with neighbours, the opening of institutions, the reception of addresses from corporations, especially one from the citizens of Bangor, close to Clandeboye. When the townfolk of Newtownards congratulated him on the distinctions he had won, he answered that "the generous recognition of all public service is a characteristic of the English people."

He had resumed, in short, after a very long interval, the life of an active country gentleman; a notable figure at functions and festivities. For the lighter sort of literature he had always a ready pen; and about this time he wrote for *Scribner's Magazine* an article on Cabot's discovery of America; though he declined a proposal from Lord Acton that he should undertake for the Cambridge Universal History a chapter on "Our Oceanic Empire." So passed the winter and spring of 1897–8, varied by a few visits to neighbours and an excursion to Quilca—the little solitary house in the wilds of County Cavan where Swift used to stay for months with Dr. Sheridan.

In June he crossed over with Lady Dufferin to London, where he presided and spoke at the annual Civil Service dinner. After testifying, from his own experience, to the high standard of duty and devotion to their country's interest maintained by both English and Indian Civil servants, he said to them—

"I have not touched upon your greatest merit. I dare say that in your modesty you will wonder which it is of your many excellences I have failed to commemorate. Well, it is this—that in these days of endless platform speaking, and wearisome loquacity . . . you are a silent folk. You never break the hearts of reporters with your bad grammar, or exhaust the patience of public audiences with your platitudes. A great city which I recently visited was peopled with the statues of dead politicians, and every one of these marble effigies stood in an attitude of violent oratorical gesticulation. As I passed them one after another I said to myself, 'How little did all this sound and fury mean at the time, and how much greater a share those who are the mute servants of the State have contributed to the splendour and might of the empire than those whose resounding volubility has filled the air with an evanescent clamour!'"

The quotation shows the lively and humorous illustrations with which Lord Dufferin could garnish a speech that was well suited to the occasion; though if it were taken seriously the politicians might have used their volubility to some purpose in a rejoinder.

He soon found himself again at sea in his yacht, sailing round the fleet assembled at Spithead for the Jubilee review. After the royal Jubilee procession to St. Paul's ["weather perfect, and the sight the most brilliant and magnificent that I think I have ever seen"] he was presented at Bristol with the freedom of that city, and laid the foundation stone of a memorial tower to John Cabot. July was given up to yachting along the south coast of England as far west as Falmouth; and by August he was again at Clandeboye.

The latter years of Lord Dufferin's life provide little material for his biographer; they were spent for the most part at Clandeboye, with frequent journeys to London, where anxieties of a new and ill-omened sort began to gather round him; for in 1897 he had accepted the chairmanship of the London and Globe Finance Corporation, in succession to the late Lord Loch and the late Sir William Robertson. Nevertheless, he took great pleasure in expeditions to places associated with the memory of his family, and with his own early reminiscences.

To Lady Dufferin—

August 1898.—"At Hampton Court I spent a couple of hours visiting my old haunts—the chapel, the State apartments, Mrs. Sheridan's quarters, the Cardinal's Hall, the vinery, the canals, the lime avenues—everything; then I adjourned to the long grass stretch alongside of the river, where I found the solitude I sought. By this time it was five, so I repaired to where the boats are kept, and arranged to be taken up to Hampton by water. I never saw such a sight as the river was, crammed with wherries, canoes, punts, sailing-boats, house-boats, steam launches, and ladies everywhere; you can't conceive a brighter scene—the banks as crowded as the river with pretty dresses and pretty faces, some drinking tea on the trim lawns, or reading, or gathered into Boccaccio groups; it gave an idea of such a happy, healthy, innocent, well-to-do world. Then at Hampton I visited the church I remember so well, visited poor old Walton's grave, and his house, which I am glad to say they have called 'Walton House,' and one or two other familiar spots, and so back by train to London in time for dinner and for a letter to you before going to bed."

September 6, 1898, *Bath.*—"The day was perfectly beautiful, and most enjoyable. I have been shown over the whole town, have visited all Sheridan's and Miss Linley's haunts, the houses they inhabited, the grotto in which they flirted, and the Crescent from which she ran away with him, also the spot where he had his duel with Mathews."

His deafness was now increasing seriously; and his general health appears to have been declining; yet he was still ready to charge himself with duties that he conceived to be of public obligation. In October he presided, as Chancellor of the Royal Irish University, at the conferring of degrees, and delivered a long address. Next month he was at Edinburgh, where the freedom of the city was conferred on him and on Lord Kitchener.

To Lady Dufferin—

"They gave me a very good reception. Then we went to St. Giles' Cathedral, still arrayed in our red gowns and velvet caps; after which I was driven to the University; and was told they hoped to have my picture in their Hall some day as Lord Rector. And now, Madam, allow me to recall to your mind my various titles to your respect, for I am now a Doctor of Oxford, Cambridge, Trinity, Dublin, Edinburgh, Harvard, St. Andrew's, Laval, Lahore, Toronto University, and Chancellor of the Royal University of Ireland."

The first days of 1900 were darkened for the family by a most grievous calamity. Lord Ava, the eldest son, had been attached as A.D.C. to Colonel Ian Hamilton, who was in command of a brigade at the battle of Elandslaagte (October 1899). In this action he carried orders to the Gordon Highlanders, and charged with them on foot in the fighting line. When, in January 1900, the Boers attacked the position held by the British troops on Waggon Hill, Lord Ava received a fatal wound, and died of it a few days afterwards, to the profound sorrow of his family, and of all who knew him in South Africa, where his "conspicuous gallantry" had been recognized. In April Lord Dufferin lost by a fatal illness his secretary, Mr. Macferrar, who had been with him for twenty years, a faithful and devoted friend, in whom Lord Dufferin placed absolute trust, and to whom he was intimately attached. Just at this time, moreover, the mismanagement of the financial enterprises with which he had become connected in London had brought down upon him a heavy load of vexation and overpowering responsibilities.

In April Lord Dufferin had accompanied the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from Dublin to Kingston to attend the Queen's landing from England.

"I had done the same thing fifty years before in August 1849, when I was a Lord-in-waiting; and then the Queen, on seeing me, sent word that I was to be in attendance on her so long as she was in Ireland. . . . The Queen was again very kind, and sent for me to speak to her."

In January (1901) he writes to Lady Dufferin—

"I am afraid the poor Queen must be really ill, but nothing is known in London beyond the official intimation that she must not do any business. In any event she will have both lived and reigned longer than any British monarch; and after Queen Elizabeth she is the most heroic woman in our history, and a far better and more lovable woman than Elizabeth was."

Not many days afterwards he was lamenting the death of a sovereign with whom his personal and public relations had been close and confidential since his early manhood, and with whose reign his whole official career had been identified. The invitation to the funeral ceremony in St. George's Chapel came by some accident so late that he was obliged to leave Clandeboye at a few hours' notice, reached London much fatigued, and found his way through a great crowd next day to the railway station for Windsor.

"On entering the Chapel I waited, miserably cold and in a great draught, for nearly three hours. I was already threatened with an attack upon my chest, and this I thought would finish me, but though I was perished at the time I am now none the worse. . . . At last, however, the doors were flung open; the Duke of Norfolk with his heralds fluttering round him entered, and soon after came the coffin. As it passed before me I could think of nothing but the poor dear Lady who was lying within it, who had been so kind a friend to me for fifty years, and had never changed, writing me such kind letters almost to the end of her days. Indeed, so absorbed was I in these thoughts, that the throng of princes who followed passed quite unobserved, and I did not come to myself until all that was left me to look at was the tail of the procession. . . .

"My one poor eye is dotted over with spots, so that I can hardly read, and the oculist I consulted is not very consolatory, but I am in hopes it is only worry and fatigue."

From this time onward Lord Dufferin was contending against irresistible adversity, though he confronted the slings and arrows of misfortune with unabated intrepidity. It is clear that not only his general health, but also his sight and hearing, had become seriously affected. In December 1900, on learning by telegraph that his son Frederic, who was serving with the 9th Lancers in South Africa, had been seriously wounded, Lord Dufferin at once took a passage for himself and Lady Dufferin to the Cape, and sent in his resignation of the chairmanship of his companies. But within a few days came the failure of the London and Globe Corporation ["an indescribable calamity which will cast a cloud over the remainder of my life"]; and Lord Dufferin, although he was advised by his colleagues on the Board that a postponement of his departure was unnecessary, cancelled immediately his resignation of the chairmanship, abandoned his voyage to the Cape, and insisted on presiding at the meeting of the shareholders in January 1901, when about two thousand of them were present.

In a long letter of reply and explanation to a shareholder, who had written to him in a friendly and generous spirit, and to whom he had offered some indemnity for loss by the investment, he mentions that "from time to time I have been addressed in similar terms by others, though happily not many, to whose assistance I have come to the best of my straitened ability."

After the meeting Lord Dufferin wrote to Sir Richard Garnett—

"Anything more generous than the conduct of our shareholders you cannot imagine. Instead of tearing me to pieces as I expected, the two thousand gentlemen assembled in Cannon Street received me as if I had been Lord Roberts. One is proud of such an incident for the sake of human nature."

And to Lady Dufferin—

"Your letters are my greatest comfort. You have been everything to me in my prosperous days, and they have been many; and now you are even more to me in my adversity. But what I feel so dreadfully is that your life should be thus suddenly overshadowed, just as we thought to enjoy the evening sunshine of our days in our happy home."

Sir Edward Grey wrote, some time afterwards, to Lady Helen Munro-Ferguson—

"The knowledge of the spirit in which Lord D. faced all the troubles in the last few years has stirred me very much. . . . I understood how wonderfully all the qualities of his fine spirit, kindliness, sympathy, and unfailing courage stood out. Adversity set them in relief, and made one see how strong they were, and how fine-tempered was the metal."

In the midst of these troubles, and notwithstanding the recurrence of increasing illness, Lord

Dufferin was still resolutely bent on discharging public duties and fulfilling engagements. He was one of the delegates from the Royal University of Ireland to the Glasgow convocation in June, where a degree was conferred upon him. In October he conferred degrees and delivered, as Chancellor, an address at the same University in Dublin; and on the evening of that day he travelled straight to Oxford, drove to Cumnor Church for the unveiling of a window to the memory of the late Sir W. Hunter, and presided at the ceremony of placing his bust in the Indian Institute at Oxford.* On his return to London a sudden illness confined him to his room in a hotel for the next fortnight. As soon as he could leave his bed he set off with Lady Dufferin for Edinburgh, where he was expected to deliver his address as Lord Rector of the University. Sir W. Broadbent, who attended him in London, warned him that he was too weak and ill to keep such an engagement without real danger; but Lord Dufferin replied that he should not be the first Englishman who had taken risks of that sort in doing his duty. The result justified the warning, for the exertions of the journey, of reading the address before a boisterous audience who were quite unaware of his condition, and of taking part in other public functions, must have fatally overtaxed his strength, which had been already much lowered by the illness against which he had been persistently fighting. The rest of the story is told in a memorandum that was appended by Lady Dufferin to the last page of her husband's Journal.

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* It was there that I saw Lord Dufferin for the last time. He was standing on Magdalen Bridge, looking down the stream toward the sunset, absorbed, as it seemed to me, in the remembrance of bygone days.—A. C. L.

November 11.—"We left for Edinburgh, and Dufferin did the journey very comfortably, and did not seem very tired. I was in no anxiety at all about him, and he was reading after dinner, when he suddenly seemed to be ill, and I rang and sent for a doctor. We got Dr. Murdoch Brown, and he was very kind and attentive all the time we were in Edinburgh.

"The fact of his having to give an address to the Edinburgh students had been a great anxiety and strain upon him, and he had been obliged to finish it and to think about it while he was ill in London, and now that the time had come to deliver it, he was really quite unfit for the effort. He was ill all the 12th and 13th, but managed to see a few people, and to stand at the window to see the torchlight procession of students pass.

November 14.—"He gave the address. He looked desperately ill, and there was something tragic in seeing him stand up before the immense audience of gay and somewhat noisy students, the professors, and people of Edinburgh, when he was so weak and unfit for the effort. He was obliged to sit down to read most of it, but he rose again to finish it. Even after this he would not give in, but would do all he had promised to do. We drove over to the Students' Union, where we had a cup of tea and a short rest, and then he went up to the concert-room and sat through a few songs. Then I got him home and to bed. He had again to go out to the theatre for an hour. In the night I had to send for the doctor as he was in great pain.

November 15.—"He remained in bed till the evening, when he got up and went to reply to a toast at the Conservative Students' Banquet. He quite revived for this, and made a most successful and amusing speech, and was himself enthusiastically received. This was his last speech and last appearance in public.

November 16.—" He was able to remain quiet all day, and we left Edinburgh in the evening. The students came to see him off, and showed the greatest good feeling in saving him as much as possible and in not pressing upon him or being too noisy.

November 17, *Sunday*.—" We arrived at Belfast early in the morning, and drove out to Clandeboye. It was a bright rather frosty morning, and Dufferin quite enjoyed the air, and felt that it did him good.

" From this time forward, though I did not realize it for some time, he gradually failed.

December 30.—" He went his last little walk with me. We got as far as the Lake, and when returning by the garden he got exhausted, and had to lean up against a tree.

December 31.—" He had set his heart on shooting at the first stand, and although quite unfit for it, he got up and drove to the place. We had a chair for him there, and he shot wonderfully well, but he looked frightfully ill, and was terribly exhausted. He did not go to bed on his return, but sat quietly in the library, the last day he was ever downstairs. He failed rapidly from this time."

Sir William Broadbent came to Clandeboye early in January, having spontaneously undertaken the journey from London, as a friend, to see Lord Dufferin, by whom his unfailing care and kindness were most warmly appreciated.

January 18.—" He seemed better, and I went to Knock for a few hours to open a hall there. When I returned at five he was reading his letters, and was much startled by finding that he could not see to read the last one. This troubled him a good deal. Next morning he could see again, but as a matter of fact he read very little after this.

" From this time the doctors gave up hope. He was told this, but when I went in after he had heard it, I found him perfectly calm and cheerful. He thought I did not know the truth about him, and appeared as usual to me. His sufferings and discomforts increased rapidly, but he was never impatient, was always thoughtful for others, and continually thinking of me. He had business cares and anxieties to the last, but never did he say an unkind word about any one.

February 4.—"The Dean of Down came and gave the Sacrament to him and me. I knelt by him and said the prayers so that he could hear me. He said the service had been a great comfort to him.

"During the last few days of his life he said many things and left many messages which are a lasting comfort and memorial to me and to all his children.

"It was only the day of the 11th that he was unconscious—that night he remained in heavy sleep, and at 6.30 on the morning of the 12th he passed peacefully away."

If the two final years be struck out of his account, Lord Dufferin's life may be reckoned to have been singularly happy and fortunate. He began it with all the advantages of rank and ample means, with the gift of lively wit and great personal attractiveness that had been inherited from a charming mother; and with the privilege of welcome entry into the choicest English society, which is not only pleasant for a young man to live in, but can also be influential for the advancement of his interests. In all these respects he made good use of his opportunities; and he enjoyed his youth thoroughly, although the serious and reflective element in his character always kept dissipation or frivolity within reasonable bounds. From his early manhood his strenuous activity of mind and body found manifold employment; in political questions at home, in the condition of Ireland especially and the management of his estate; and in adventurous voyages abroad. He made himself a good sportsman and a consummate sailor; he applied himself ardently to literary and artistic studies; he had a curiosity for archæologic research. In all his pursuits, indeed, he was methodical, industrious, and remarkably persevering. The amazing labour which he underwent in teaching himself Persian has been proved by some entries quoted from his diary. Yet, though he had a superior command of his own language in speech and writing, he could never attain any facility in a foreign tongue.

With drawing he began at the first elements; in sailing, for which he had a passion, he mastered every detail, from the knots in the ropes to scientific navigation; and there are books filled with the calculations that he worked out in learning the noble art of seamanship; though he used to declare that he could never repeat correctly the multiplication table.

His keen sympathetic interest, his sensibility to the feelings of others, made and kept for him many intimate friends; and never was friendship better merited, nor family affection more thoroughly earned or reciprocated. That he had, in fact, the faculty of insight into character, and could judge men with great discrimination, is attested by all who were associated with him in administration and diplomacy. With the genuine amiability that made him always desire to please and amuse in society, he combined a subtlety of perception, and the power of keeping a vigilant guard on his words in the freedom of conversation. As an ambassador he left upon foreign officials the impression of a master in the diplomatic art, "*très fin, un peu retors même,*" whose point it was not easy for an adversary to discover and parry. In the discharge of high offices he never spared himself; he acted under the most earnest conviction of responsibility not only to the government that he was serving, but also to the nation; his sense of public duty was a part of his ardent patriotism. "It is a bad habit," he would say, "to think ill of your country." His valuation of official trustworthiness and capacities was very seldom wrong, though toward the close of his life he made one ruinous mistake in dealing with a class of business of which he had no experience. But he once wrote that in public and private affairs it had always been his rule, where he had given his confidence, to give it absolutely; and on this occasion it was lamentably misplaced.

It will have been the fault of Lord Dufferin's biographer if the foregoing narrative of his whole life has not already furnished sufficient evidence of his possession of these qualities, or has failed to bring out in relief the nobility of his character, his inbred kindliness and generosity, and the deep impression that he made, and has left, upon all who knew him well, and especially upon those who worked with him.

From a speech * delivered by the late Mr. W. H. Lecky, a man of the highest intellectual acumen, and by no means inclined to overpraise, the following extract referring to Lord Dufferin is taken :—

"In the long period which has passed since our dinner was first conceived some of our members have passed away. We have lost perhaps the greatest name of all—that of Lord Dufferin, who was Viceroy of India when our guest became Commander-in-Chief, and who was one of the first to welcome our project. He was a great diplomatist and a great statesman; a man who possessed to a degree that was hardly equalled by any of his contemporaries, the qualities of brilliancy and the qualities of charm; a man of unequalled tact and versatility, and who combined with these gifts a rare sagacity of judgment, and a singularly firm and tenacious will. I remember that one who served with him in India once said that what struck him most was that Lord Dufferin seemed always to carry his point, yet he never seemed to be in antagonism with any one; and this rare gift of carrying out great works with the minimum of friction was perhaps the most distinctive feature of his great career."

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* At a banquet to Lord Roberts (July 1902).

Some personal recollections of service with Lord Dufferin in Indian administration and in diplomacy, have been kindly placed at the disposal of the writer of this memoir by Sir Henry Mortimer Durand and Sir Charles Hardinge.

From Sir Henry Mortimer Durand.

"I first met Lord Dufferin in the early seventies, before I went out to India. I was dining one night at Argyll Lodge, and after the ladies left us I found myself next to him. He was then in the prime of life, and a singularly attractive man. His lisp and eyeglass, and his extremely courteous, perhaps slightly punctilious manner—the manner of a man who had mixed much with foreign diplomatists—gave me at first an impression of affectation, but this soon wore off. He talked well and pleasantly, and I was much interested. I think I never saw him again until he landed in India in 1884. I was in attendance as Foreign Secretary at Government House when Lord Dufferin arrived, and I saw him sworn in. He made a very favourable impression upon every one. Though no longer a young man, he looked little older than when I first met him. He had still the clean-cut figure and upright carriage of twelve years before, and his easy dignified manner and well-fitting uniform were prepossessing. I was anxious to know whether he would be as good at business as he was in ceremonial duties. My first business interview practically set my doubts at rest. He received me with the courteous manner which never deserted him, and at the same time with a warmth and cheeriness which set me completely at ease.

"At his request I explained to him in detail the work of the Indian Foreign Office, and his questions and remarks about it were entirely to the point. He was prompt and judicious with regard to our external policy. The Afghan Boundary Commission was on the disputed frontier when he took charge; and he determined at once to get the Amir down to India and if possible to come to a better understanding with him. The Amir came down; and it can hardly be doubted that his being with us in Râwal Pindi when the 'Panjdeh incident' took place, was the main reason why that very untoward affair did not bring on war with Russia.

"However this may be, Lord Dufferin certainly gained a great personal influence over the Amir. It was interesting to see them together, the suave polished diplomat on one side, and on the other the 'strange strong creature,' as Lord Dufferin called him, who was such a typical exponent of the policy of blood and iron. To the end of his life the Amir never ceased to speak in high terms of Lord Dufferin. He did so to me more than once when I was in Kabul in 1893, and in spite of his many troublesome proceedings, I feel sure the interview of 1885 had a lasting effect upon the Amir's policy.

"Readiness was one of Lord Dufferin's most prominent characteristics. He was a quick-witted

Irishman, and I was often struck by the rapidity with which he saw the points of a case, and formed conclusions, and right conclusions, on complicated matters. He was specially quick in his judgment of character. With all his kindness of heart he had by nature an almost uncanny '*flair*' for anything like insincerity or weakness, and he had carefully trained himself by practice. His manner had perhaps a tendency to draw men out and put them off their guard. I used to watch him with amusement as he quietly 'sized up' the various people I had to introduce to him in the course of our work. When an interview was over he would say, 'Well, Durand, I will tell you what I think of him,' and he would proceed to give me a character sketch, which in the case of several men whom I knew intimately, surprised me by its minute correctness. I believe that his misjudgment in one unlucky instance toward the end of his life must have been due in part to the failure of his physical powers. When I last saw him his brain seemed as clear and keen as ever, but he had become very deaf and his sight was going. You know how often an expression just crossing a man's face, or a momentary inflection in his voice, gives one a sudden insight into his character. But however this may be, I am sure that during the four years Lord Dufferin spent in India, when I was constantly with him, his judgment of character was singularly quick and accurate. It was one of the most remarkable things about him, and contributed perhaps more than anything to his great success.

"Speaking of his quickness of perception reminds me that in certain ways he seemed to be slow. He was a North of Ireland man, and caution was as marked a feature in his character as intellectual readiness. Even in small things he had at times great difficulty in reaching a conclusion. I have known him spend days of thought and labour over the wording of a short telegram, which some men would have written off without a moment's hesitation. But this apparent slowness was not the slowness of an infirm mind. He formed strong opinions and held to them. It was the result of a habit of looking far ahead, and providing with minute care for all possible eventualities. Until he had thought out a subject, and felt that he knew his ground, he would not move. His caution and sagacity were of great use to him.

" Moreover, in such matters as the wording of a despatch or telegram he was extremely particular to get the exact shade of meaning he wanted. He had a keen sense of artistic finish, and also he knew how easily a wrong impression may be given, and difficulties arise in consequence.

" With all this care and labour over the work he chose to do he combined a certain carelessness, more apparent than real, about the ordinary business of the Indian government. I sometimes tried in vain to get him to look into cases which seemed to me rather important. ' My dear fellow,' he used to say, ' I really cannot go into that. Life is too short.' It tried his eyes to read much, and he was careful to reserve himself for the really important things. The rest he left to his subordinates. Perhaps he went a little too far sometimes in his dislike of detail, but it was a sound principle. He knew he could not do everything, and he expected others to do all they could, and to take responsibility. He was always ready to back them. One of the points in a man's character upon which Lord Dufferin laid most stress was reticence. He could not stand a man who was talkative and indiscreet. He did not even like his most trusted subordinates to talk to each other about any matter he had discussed with them separately. It seems to me that there was nothing he valued more than a capacity for silence.

" Personally, I really enjoyed my work with him. He had such kindly, pleasant ways, and such a delightfully keen sense of humour, that a business interview with him was never wearisome. Moreover, he had seen much, and could talk in a very interesting way about men and things. Off business he was a delightful companion, one of the few men I have known who had real wit. His wit too was never malicious. Nothing was more transparent about him than his kindness of heart, and though he was by nature rather impatient of dulness, he had brought himself to be very gentle and tolerant to men who meant well, even if they were stupid and made mistakes. He would pull himself up and correct himself if he seemed to have said anything unkind. He did not, however, easily forgive men whom he thought aggressive or untrustworthy, and he could in his polite way say things which hit very hard.

" He had a quick temper, but it was almost always under control, and his irritation was short-lived. He was generous and placable, and would meet an apology more than half way with a quickness and warmth which were very charming. He had a touch of genial blarney about him, but men were wrong who thought him insincere. He liked to give pleasure. No doubt he also knew how useful it was ; but he was in reality upright and loyal, with a high sense of honour. I always admired that in him, particularly the pride he had in being a gentleman, and doing nothing that would be or seem inconsistent with the honour of a gentleman. He valued his reputation very highly, not only as a man of honour, but in all ways. He had the 'last infirmity of noble mind,' and liked men to think well of him. He was acutely sensitive to criticism, especially the criticisms of the newspapers, which at times worried him greatly. When in Paris, after leaving India, he spoke to me with much indignation about the attacks of the French papers. In India I once said to him that I did not understand why he cared about the publications by the Indian press of certain false statements, which could do no harm. He answered that no man could afford to let falsehoods pass without contradiction, and he advised me not to do so myself, nor to despise criticism, however ignorant and unjust.

"I have mentioned the dignity of his manners. This was useful to him in dealing with native chiefs, and indeed with all Orientals, who admired him greatly for it. There was something of the Oriental in his stately graveness and respect for ceremonial. He was at his very best on occasions of Durbars, investitures, and the like. He saw the humour of them as much as any one, but he held that such things if done should be well done, and he enjoyed doing them. It irritated him to see men giggling or jeering instead of acting their parts properly, and he disliked anything that savoured of want of self-respect. He never affected a contempt for decorations. It gave him real pleasure, I think, to wear the close-fitting red uniform which showed off his figure so well, the breast festooned with collars and stars carefully arranged to hang in the most graceful and effective manner.

"With all his cosmopolitan way and freedom from insular prejudices, Lord Dufferin was full of patriotism and of pride in his country. He believed that Englishmen were at least the equals of any people in the world; and there was much more in it than this. The interests and the honour of England, or rather of Great Britain—for he always corrected me when I spoke of England and the English—were very dear to him. Many a time he rejoiced me by the way he spoke on the subject.

"His perseverance was great. When he came out to India he took up Persian, expecting to find it the *lingua franca* of the country, and the way he toiled at it was really astonishing, the more so that he had no ear for languages. I believe he went on working at Persian to the end of his life.

"All beauty appealed to him. He had genuine artistic feeling, and in several directions a trained taste. He cared little for the pleasures of the table or any ordinary indulgences. He ate sparingly, and hardly touched wine. He would light a cigarette after dinner, *pour encourager les autres*, but he did not smoke it.

"Lord Dufferin once your friend was always your friend, and a very warm-hearted one. After he left India I did not see him for some years, until I went over to spend a day or two with him in Paris. I found him as kind and cordial as ever, and so it remained to the end. Shortly after I was appointed ambassador in Spain he passed through London on his way, I think, from Scotland to the Continent. I was staying at a hotel, and was surprised about ten o'clock at night by the door of my sitting-room being opened and Lord Dufferin walking in. He said an old butler of his had told him of my being in London, and that he could not pass through without coming to congratulate me. It was just like him.

"Altogether Lord Dufferin seemed to me to be much more than a very successful man. I have heard it said that his intellect was brilliant and versatile rather than deep. Perhaps this is true in a sense. He was a man of affairs and of the world rather than a profound thinker. Nevertheless he had great abilities; he thought much, and above all he had character in an unusual degree. I may be biassed in my judgment, for I had a strong personal affection for him, but I believe him to have been a man of very rare qualities, whose great reputation in the public service was by no means in excess of his desert. Certainly that is the view held by foreign diplomatists, from Frenchmen to Persians. I have often heard them speak of him, and always in the same terms, as the model of an English gentleman, who upheld his country's interests with courage and skill, and was at the same time the kindest and most loyal of colleagues."

*From Sir Charles Hardinge.**

"You ask me to note anything that struck me in Lord Dufferin as a Chief, and I only wish that I could adequately express all that I think of him. It is *banal* to talk of his kindness and thoughtfulness of all his subordinates as they are so well known, but what always struck me was his great sense of fairness and justice. He never did anybody an unkind turn.

"As regards the work of his staff he gave them complete liberty as to when it was done and by whom, provided that it was well done, and there were no petty or harassing rules restricting hours of leisure such as I have seen enforced elsewhere with unsatisfactory results. The result was that the work was never in arrear, and, as far as I know, was always well done.

"While exacting as regards the quality of the work done, he was at the same time a real friend to his secretaries, and I know that we were all ready to, and actually did, confide in him and consult him on all our little petty aims and ambitions, in which he invariably interested himself with friendly sympathy and did his best to render assistance.

"I feel almost ashamed to have expressed in so inadequate a manner the very great veneration and affection which I feel for a Chief whom I am so proud to have served, and whose memory I shall always cherish as a priceless treasure. As I sit writing here, in a place formerly occupied by him, his picture is before me, and within a few feet of me, on the wall, and my one hope and prayer is that I may in all ways be able to emulate his noble example."

Lord Dufferin's last letter, dictated two days before his death, to Lord Salisbury, may bring this biography to its close—

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* To Lady Dufferin.

"Clandeboye, February 9, 1902.

"DEAR LORD SALISBURY,

"Being, as the doctors seem to say, on my death-bed, I desire, while I still have my wits about me, to place in your hands my resignation of the Chancellorship of the Royal University of Ireland, as well as the Lieutenancy of this country. I suppose that under these circumstances ill-health will be regarded as a valid excuse. I desire also to thank you for the great kindness and consideration you have never failed to show me since the time you started me in my diplomatic career, for having kept the Italian Embassy so long open for me, and for innumerable acts of kindness. I do not think you ever knew how much I liked you from the time you were a thin, frail, little lower boy at Cookesley's, even then writing, as my tutor used to say, such clever essays.

"This is all I have strength to say. Good-bye, and God bless you.*

"Ever yours,
"DUFFERIN AND AVA."

It is intensely characteristic of Lord Dufferin that at such a time his thoughts should have gone back to an old friend, and to the work in which they had been associated; and that his farewell to his former colleague and chief, and to the world's affairs, touched with a strain of pathetic humour, should have been full of kindly and grateful recollections.

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* Lord Salisbury replied by telegraph to Lady Dufferin—"Pray tell him, if I am in time, how much I grieve for what he tells me of his condition, how much I thank him for his kind words and many kindnesses to me, and for invaluable co-operation during many years in various parts of the public service."

APPENDIX (*p.* 182).

The Countess of Dufferin's Fund.

BEFORE Lady Dufferin's departure from England the Queen had spoken earnestly to her on the question of endeavouring to relieve the sufferings, in sickness and childbearing, of Indian women. On her arrival in India Lady Dufferin began at once to inquire what had hitherto been done, and to consider ways and means for doing much more. She found that although efforts had been made in a few places to provide hospitals and medical attendance for women, yet that, taking India as a whole, there was a lamentable deficiency, that the native practice was bad, and that there was a great need of effective organization. The plan that she adopted was to propose an association, whose single object should be to train up and otherwise provide female doctors, nurses, and midwives. A prospectus was accordingly published and circulated throughout India, with appeals for support and general co-operation, and in August 1885 an association was inaugurated at Simla under the name of "The National Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India."

Lady Dufferin was made President, the Viceroy Patron, and Her Majesty telegraphed her willingness to be the Royal Patron. It was determined that all contributions of money to the Association should be credited to "The Countess of Dufferin's Fund."

The first general meeting, held at Calcutta in January 1886, was largely attended by the European and native community of Calcutta. Lord Dufferin, who presided on the occasion, said that he regarded the meeting as one of the most important ever held in India, as upon its successful issue a vast amount of human happiness was dependent. The object of the Association in its ultimate development, he said, was "to supply the women of the land from one end of it to the other, with proper medical advice and attendance, under conditions consonant to their own most cherished ideas, feelings, and wishes. . . . Our ambition is eventually to furnish every district, no matter how remote, if not with a supply of highly trained doctors, at all events with nurses, midwives, and female medical assistants, who shall have such an acquaintance with their business as to be a great improvement upon those who are now employed."

Lady Dufferin notes in her Journal—

"This was a great day for me and rather a nervous one. I never felt so much anxiety at a public meeting before, but now this scheme is really started, and I trust it may go on as well as it has begun."

The Association did, in fact, spread and take root throughout all the Indian provinces, with branches in the chief cities; while in the Native States it was welcomed and liberally supported by the ruling chiefs. It has now become a self-supporting and genuinely national institution, which has substituted a high standard of medical treatment for ignorance and unskilfulness in a very important department of therapeutics, and will permanently commemorate Lady Dufferin's name as a friend and benefactress among the women of India.

On December 4, 1888, the *purda-nashin* ladies of Bengal, Orissa, and Behar presented Lady Dufferin with an address at Government House. When Her Excellency consented to receive the deputation she had expected it would be quite small, and out of consideration for the ladies she had sent away all her aides-de-camp and menservants, having arranged that her daughters should meet the deputation at the door and take them to the throne-room, where the reception was to be held. The ladies began to arrive an hour before time and before any one was ready to receive them, and came in such crowds that there were no chairs for them, and as there were no men to bring chairs the scene was one of confusion. Standing room was, however, found for all the seven hundred who came. Then Lady Bayley read the address on behalf of the deputation. In her reply Lady Dufferin said—

"I am quite sure that no one in the fulfilment of a plain duty has ever received so great a reward as I have, in the sympathy and appreciation of those for whom I have tried to do something, and in the rapid progress and success of the work I undertook. That work is founded upon love and common sense, and built upon such sure foundations it cannot fail. If it has been my happy privilege to draw attention to the remediable sufferings and to the wants of the women of India, it is the quick response to that appeal emanating from the hearts and minds of their countrymen which has made the amelioration of their lot a reality and not a dream. . . . I shall have no greater pleasure in returning to England than that of conveying to Her Majesty the Queen Empress your expressions of loyalty and gratitude, and in assuring Her Majesty of the stability and the vitality of the work in which she has taken so great and active an interest. Again I thank you with all my heart for your kindness to myself, and I pray that every year that passes may add to the happiness, may diminish the suffering, and may improve the condition of the women of India."

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