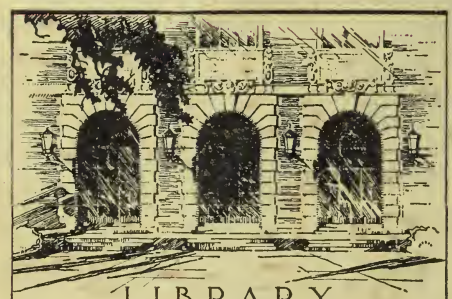
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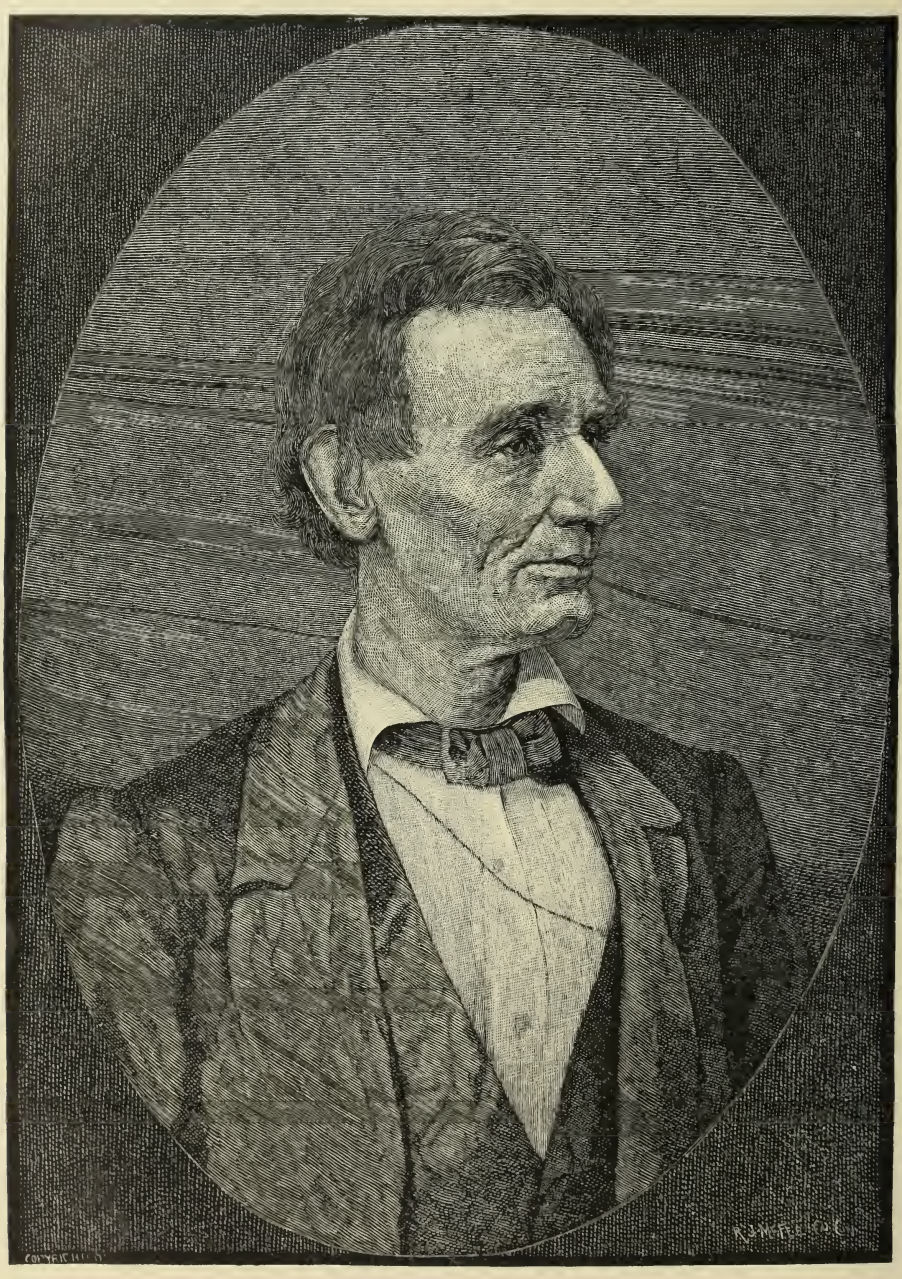
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CYCLOPÆDIA OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE CAREER OF THE HUMAN RACE FROM THE BEGINNINGS OF CIVILIZATION TO THE PRESENT TIME. FROM RECENT AND AUTHENTIC SOURCES

By JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.,

AUTHOR OF A POPULAR HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, ETC.

NINETEENTH CENTURY

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Preface to Volume IV.

I HAVE now brought to conclusion and put into its final form the work on General History, the outlines of which were dimly conceived many years ago. It would be impracticable, and perhaps of little profit, to trace the slow development of such a work from its first conception to the final stroke with which at length it is finished and delivered to the public. To the author such a retrospect of processes and combinations must be of much personal interest, but the reader will be concerned rather with the aggregate and final result than with the tedious evolution.

At first view it will appear to the student of history that the Ancient and the Modern World are, in their historical records, of about equal duration and importance. The beginnings of Ancient History are set, in a general way, about as far beyond the Christian Era as our own times are placed thereafter. To Ancient History belong the Classical Ages—an epoch of achievement and glory which may well challenge the most brilliant periods of the recent era. But a closer judgment of the relative importance of Ancient and Modern History will show the great preponderance of the latter. This is one of the more important facts which have impressed themselves upon the writer's mind in the preparation of these Volumes. He has come to believe in the great preëminence of the Modern Era over the most brilliant epochs of Antiquity. This is said of the aggregate and total achievements of modern times as compared with the aggregate and total achievements of any given period in the history of the Ancient World.

It is from considerations such as these that Modern History has, under the writer's hand and treatment, expanded to a considerable extent beyond the limits originally proposed. This principle has been the foundation of the present Four-Volume Edition of the work. A single volume of the four, with the first third of the second, will be found appropriated to the History of Ancient States and Nations; while all the remaining volumes are devoted to the History of the Middle Ages, the Period of Renaissance, the Revolutionary Epoch, and the Nineteenth Century.

It is in the last-named division that the largest increment and modifications of the present edition will be discovered. To the History of Antiquity the Book on the Parthian Empire has been added in Volume I. As to the history of Greece and Rome, only incidental emendations and extensions of the narrative will be found. But in the history of our own century the whole work has been done anew, and on a larger scale.

Another important element in the growth of the present issue of this History relates to the part allotted to the most recent annals of our times. By this is meant the narrative of affairs in the different nations during the eighth and ninth decades of our century. When the work was first projected, History seemed to have reached a pause with the conclusion of the Civil War in the United States and the establishment of the German Empire in Europe. The period which the writer was thus obliged to make at the beginning of the eighth decade is at length ended, and he is now able to pursue his course with tolerable certainty for a full score of years. Nor have the course and tendency of affairs during this period been devoid of interest from a historical point of view. To this period belong the demonstration of Italian unity; the definitive establishment of a German Empire under the auspices of the House of Hohenzollern; the progressive—but somewhat broken—march of English Liberalism towards the establishment of an Imperial federation for the whole British Empire; the vindication of the right to exist on the part of the Third

Republic of France; and particularly the restoration of a complete national autonomy in the United States.

It is not needed in this connection to dwell *in extenso* on the minor modifications which have suggested themselves in the composition of these volumes. It may be thought that all such departures from the original sketch for the production of a literary work are but so many evidences of the imperfection of the plan, and that references thereto are in the nature of communications at the confessional. This view, however, is at once superficial and incorrect. It proceeds upon the assumption that a literary production has the character of a mechanical contrivance rather than of an organism. Such a view runs to the effect that literature and its products are the results of a sort of infallible calculus rather than the phenomena of growth and life. As a matter of fact, every true product in the world of letters has the analogy of the tree which proceeds from germination by way of expansion, leafage, and blossom, to final completeness of height and form and the bearing of fruit. The fable of the birth of Minerva is not repeated in literary production. Even the poem, most imaginative and immediate of all our mental products, does not spring full-winged from the flames of imagination. No work of art is conceived in its completeness by a single effort of the mind. How much less should we expect a literary work, extending through thousands of pages, and covering in its subject matter the vast panorama of human affairs from the primitive shadows of the heroic ages to the broad revelation of the present hour, to be produced in all its entirety and amplitude in the first concept of the outline!

From these considerations, I have been willing that this History of the World should be improved according to the laws of growth and development, until it has at length reached its present form and substance. It only remains to add a single remark relative to the difficulties of composing a true history of recent events. Contrary to what would seem to be the manifest principles of historical narrative, it is the recent event and not the remote which is most difficult of just treatment. In the first place, the evidences of the real nature of current affairs are all stained and swollen like rivulets under the disturbance of last night's rain. The waters are muddy and perturbed. Their course is difficult to discover. Channels have been produced by the temporary deluge, which will pass with the fortnight and leave no further trace. The true volume of present affairs is difficult to estimate. The senses are confused by portents in the earth and heavens, which nothing signify.

In still another particular the production of current history is greatly embarrassed and distracted. This is the necessity of the writer to constitute a part of that vast society, the movement of which he is expected to describe. He is himself borne along with the current. He must needs feel its fluctuations. Anon he finds himself in the middle of the stream, or borne at intervals into the whirling eddy near the shore, from which point of view universal nature seems to revolve around him. He is expected to share the sympathies, the beliefs, the passions of the current age. He is expected to be swayed by the dominant prejudice, to think as his party thinks, to do as the majority do, to dream the prevailing dreams, to see the anticipated vision. He is expected to wear the form and fashion of the times; to be pleased with the current pleasure; to smile, to sigh, to weep, to sleep and wake, to go and come, to live and to die, even as do those with whom he is associated in the destinies of life. This setting of the writer among the very facts, the tendency of which he is expected to discover and describe, is the most serious of all drawbacks to the accuracy and fidelity of his work. I can not hope that what I have written in this Fourth Volume, closely involved as it is with the movements of the current age, shall be wholly free from the coloring of prejudice and the mistakes arising from the personal equation. Doubtless there is in the following pages much chromatic and spherical aberration; but I cherish the hope that the reader will find much to have been faithfully delineated and lifted somewhat above the level of the political and partisan distortion which is unfortunately the prevailing vice of our times.

J. C. R.

GREENCASTLE, *April* 5, 1890.

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Introduction to Volume IV.

IF we examine the history of the times most recent we shall find it strongly discriminated from that of the ages more remote. The historical phenomena of the Nineteenth Century are separated by a wide remove from the aspects of the eighteenth, and still more widely from those of the centuries preceding. Human events have become vastly complex and interdependent. States and nations are interlocked and cross-woven in their relations, and the various peoples of the world seem floating in a common current towards a common destiny. Here and there the surface is dotted with vortexes of agitation, and it is sometimes difficult to discern in which direction the tide is flowing; but the historian knows that all irregularity and disturbance are but seeming, and that the whirls in the river

> "Are eddies in the mighty stream
> That rolls to its appointed end."

The science of history is beset with the same kind of difficulty which confronts geology in considering the latest aspects of the physical world. The drift is more difficult to understand than the azoïc rocks. Both the historian and the geologist are confused on account of the nearness and multiplicity of the things demanding attention and classification. But the puzzle to the historical student is greater than that which meets the student of world-formation. For to the nearness and multiplicity of the facts in the geology of the pleistocene, History must add a certain aggravation of complexity which comes of human relations and dependencies. The growing sympathies and community of interests which have become so conspicuous since the opening of the century have interlaced the selvages of the nations, until the general aspect is that of one great fact confused with a mass of bewildering particulars.

At the time of the battle of Waterloo there was not an ocean steamer, a railway car, or a telegraph in the world. How, then, could the nations fraternize? Isolation is a result of non-intercourse. In proportion as the means of communication are multiplied the common and mutual interests of mankind are developed, apathy and suspicion are abated, and the temperature of humanity rises to the glow of enthusiasm.

It is surprising to note how in recent times the intellectual freedom and moral compass of men have widened in the triumph over the obstacles of environment. It is impossible that thought and action should ever go back again to the old standards and criteria. The movement of civilization is like that of certain kinds of enginery that can go only in one direction—like that of the power-loom or thresher, the reversal of which is unthinkable, except by crash and ruin. The threads of common sympathies carried by the shuttles of intercourse from nation to nation, from shore to shore, have bound all civilized peoples in a common fate; but this infinite union of things before distinct and separate, while it has inspired the pen of History, has greatly confused and perplexed the problems with which she has had to deal.

But internationality has not yet arrived—perhaps may never arrive. From the past the peoples of to-day have inherited repellant institutions and the instincts of segregation. The spirit of locality reässerts itself in the midst of commercial agitation, and the lasso of ancient custom holds back the flying advance, even in the era of the cosmopolite. Thus it happens that modern society, like the physical world, is balanced between two forces, the radical impulses born of intercourse and democracy, and the checks of old-time custom and race heredity.

And so, after the cataclysm of revolutionary France in 1815, a system of things somewhat resembling the ancient order—but *not* the ancient order—was resumed in Europe. On the American side of the Atlantic the promising political experiment of our fathers stood fast, and the structure of government by the people rose into strength and shapeliness. For about thirty years there followed in the general domain of History what may be called an epoch of suspense, and then the changed order of the political and social world declared itself in full force. In the next year after Waterloo the Atlantic was traversed by a steamer. With 1828–30 came the railway, and with 1845 human intelligence, perched on the lightning's wing, began to carry the messages of men from city to city, from country-place to throbbing metropolis.

What, then, shall the writer or student of History say of the present aspect and movement of the nations? That Organized Power is losing its hold, and that Man is coming to the fore. The historian still notes the separate and variable progress of States and kingdoms; but he notes with greater interest the emergence of individuality and freedom from the low grounds of ignorance and slavery. He notes—even with pride—that Nature has been admitted into the confederation of Humanity, and that Generosity is filling his cornucopia to the brim.

In the Books comprising the present Volume it shall be the aim to give, in brief outline, a narrative of the course of affairs from the Treaty of Vienna to the leading events of the current decade. The story will begin with the progress and development of the United States, and proceed to the historical movements of those nations with which our own is most intimately associated—Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Northern and Eastern Europe, the Minor American States, and finally the Oriental Empires and Australia. It will be necessary to summarize the causes, course, and results of the several terrible conflicts which have consumed such an ominous part of the substance of the century—the Civil War in the United States, the Crimean War, and the Franco-Austrian, Franco-Prussian, and Turco-Russian struggles in Europe; but as much as possible of the space of the volume will be reserved for the more cheerful record of those events in which the virtues of peace and the triumphs of knowledge are exemplified. Let the hope be cherished that the hand of him who shall in course of time take up the ever-unfinished work and carry forward the story of human achievement and aspiration into the splendors of the twentieth century, may be guided by a clearer vision—though hardly by a sincerer trust and purpose—than have moved and sustained the present effort to supply, in fair proportion and truthfulness of matter, the history of the principal hopes and sorrows of our race.

CYCLOPÆDIA

OF

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

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MAP XXII.

SHOWING THE

ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY

AND ITS DISTRIBUTION AMONG

POLITICAL DIVISIONS

1776—1884.

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Book Twenty-First.

The United States.

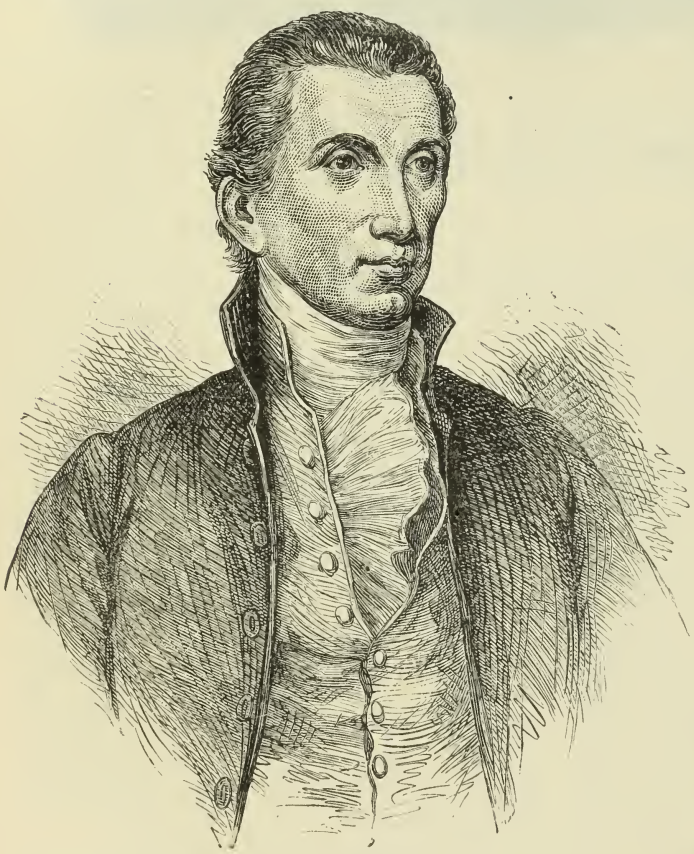
Chapter CXXII.—American Middle Ages.

SHOULD the observer take his stand in any conspicuous station in Western Europe and view the historical landscape, in the summer of 1815, he would behold around the horizon the subsidence of a storm which had prevailed for more than a quarter of a century. A period of forty years had elapsed since the outbreak of the American Revolution, and of twenty-six years since the assembly of the States General in France. Through this very considerable extent of time the elemental warfare had increased in violence to the close. The battle of Waterloo may be regarded as the last burst of the tempest, the last tremendous effort of the human storm. After this event the clouds rolled heavily back, and the light of peace, which had already illumined for some time the shores of the New World, began to shine fitfully along the coasts of Europe.

There was an immediate and great change in the condition of both the Old World and the New. The treaties of Vienna and Ghent marked the close of a historical epoch. There was, at least for the present, an end of commotion and the incoming of political quietude. A sort of calm, half-ominous in its character, supervened, as if the nations would seek rest from the tempests to which they had been exposed. The date to which we have just referred may be properly used as the beginning of another era in the movement of modern civilization. It is here that we take our stand, in order to consider, in the current Volume, the evolution of the new order of society, under the general head of the Nineteenth Century.

In the present Volume it will be our purpose to note the course of events, first in the United States, and afterwards in the European nations, from the overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte to the current annals of our own day. The reader will, perhaps, from the first be struck with what may be called the unheroic character of the narrative. Tragedy may be said to disappear for a time from history, and, though comedy does not take its place, we shall look in vain for the repetition, even incidentally, of the exciting acts which characterized the great drama of the Revolutionary era. None the less, the

age upon which we are now to enter, will be found replete with interest. It will be found pervaded with a new, and we may hope a more humane, spirit. The nineteenth century may be said to have yielded itself somewhat to the guidance of a more benign genius than that which dominated the close of the eighteenth; so that the reader may discover in every page of recent annals some sources of inspiration, and perhaps some fountains of prophecy. Let us, therefore, enter upon the history of our own country from the date of the treaty of Ghent, and note the success of the fathers in planting and developing a new nationality on this side of the sea.



JAMES MONROE.

Great and rapid was the progress of the United States of North America, considered as an infant republic. The scheme of government contrived by the Revolutionary patriots and statesmen was successful in the highest degree. The work of building up a great nationality in the West, in giving an aspect of physical grandeur to the civilization planted on this side of the sea, in the vindication of free political institutions as the best form of human government, has in the present century and in our own land far outstripped any previous achievement of like kind in the history of the human race. In the present chapter we shall give a sketch in outline of the prodigious growth and promise of our country. It will be remembered that in the preceding Book the history of the United States was extended to the close of the War of 1812 and the establishment of peace by the treaty of Ghent. We shall in this place resume the narrative with the administration of Monroe, the fifth President of the Republic.

James Monroe was a Virginian, being the fourth and last of the so-called Virginia Dynasty of Presidents. All the chief magistrates thus far, with the exception of the elder Adams, had been taken from the Old Dominion. Monroe was born on the 28th of April, 1758. His education was obtained chiefly at William and Mary College, from which institution he went out, in 1776, to become a soldier of the Revolution. He was in the battle of Trenton, and received a British ball in his shoulder. He took part, under Lord Stirling, in the campaigns of 1777 and 1778, being in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. In course of time he studied law with Thomas Jefferson, governor of Virginia. He served in the Virginia Assembly, and at the age of twenty-three was a member of the Executive Council. In 1783 he was sent to Congress, and while in his service as delegate he became convinced of the inutility of the Articles of Confederation as a form of government for the Colonies. He was one of the earliest, though among the youngest, of those patriots who exerted themselves in behalf of a better Constitution for the United States.

Monroe was a member of the Constitutional

Convention, and in 1790 was elected Senator of the United States. In 1794 he was sent as plenipotentiary to France, and was one of those who negotiated with the French Government the purchase of Louisiana. Afterwards he was sent as minister plenipotentiary to the court of St. James. In course of time his views underwent some change from the Federal towards the Democratic type, and he is generally ranked in the same category of statesmen with Jefferson and Madison. In 1811 he was elected governor of Virginia, and when Madison acceded to the Presidency was appointed Secretary of State. His election to the Presidency has already been sketched in the previous chapter. The electoral vote in his favor was 183, out of a total of 217. His Cabinet was composed as follows: John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State; William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury; John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War; Benjamin W. Crowninshield, Secretary of the Navy; William Wirt, Attorney-General.

In its principles and methods the new Administration was Democratic. In general, the policy of Madison was adopted and continued by his successor; but the stormy times which Madison had experienced in the vicissitudes of the war gave place to years of unbroken peace. The animosities and party strifes which had prevailed since the accession of John Adams seemed for a season to subside. The statesmen who were in the lead in Congress and the nation devoted themselves assiduously to the payment of the national debt. The young Republic found herself burdened, after the treaty of Ghent, with the accumulated expenses of the war, and the task of liquidating the debt was of herculean proportions. But commerce soon revived. The Government was economically administered. Population rapidly increased. At length wealth began to flow in, and in a few years the debt was fully and honestly discharged.

In the summer of 1817 a complication of some importance arose between the United States and the little kingdom of Hayti, in the northern part of San Domingo. There were grounds to suspect that Louis XVIII., the newly restored Bourbon king of France, would endeavor to obtain the sovereignty of the island, and perhaps proclaim its annexation to the French Kingdom. Under the Napoleonic ascendency Hayti had, as we have seen, been for a time under the dominion of France, and there was an attempt to maintain, under the restoration, what had been won by the sword of Bonaparte.

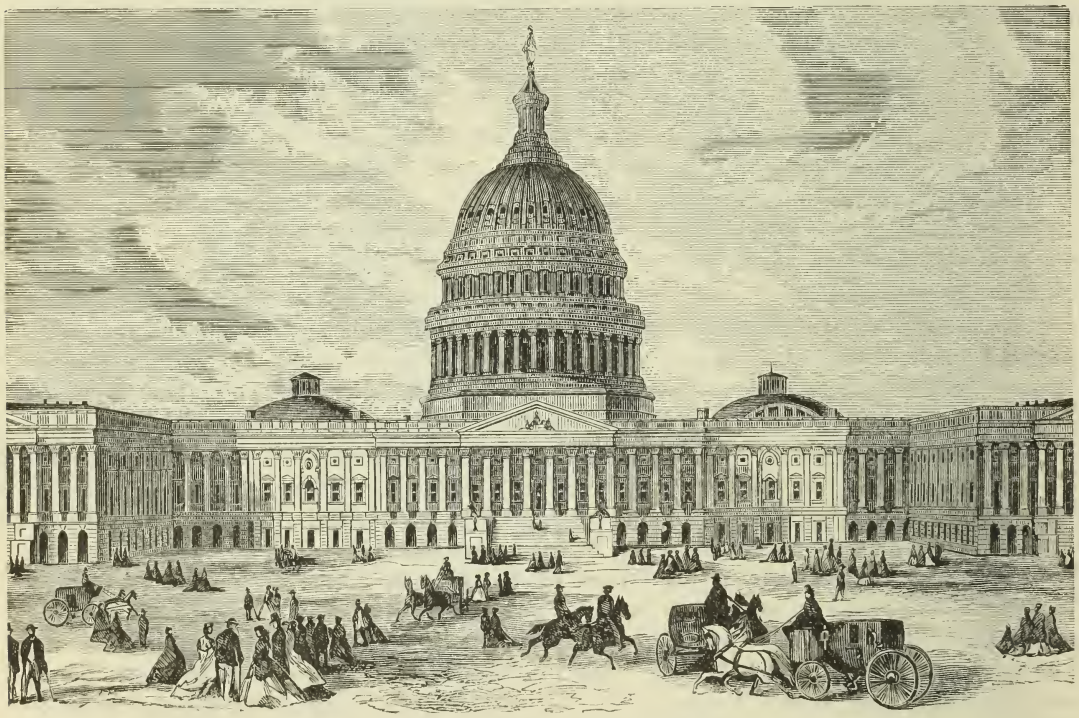
In this state of affairs, Christophe, the sovereign of Hayti, became anxious to secure from the United States a recognition of the independence of his government. The President met the overtures of the Haytian king with favor. An agent was sent out in the frigate *Congress* to conclude a treaty of amity and commerce with the kingdom. The President had taken pains, however, that the agent so sent should not rank with plenipotentiaries. On this score the Haytian authorities were offended, and would not negotiate with an American agent who was not properly accredited to their government. For this reason the mission resulted in failure and disappointment.

The attempt, in the same year, to form a treaty with the Indian nations of the Territory North-west of the River Ohio was attended with better success. The important tribes inhabiting this region, and concerned in the new compact, were the Wyandots, the Delawares, the Senecas, and the Shawnees. Other prominent Indian nations, including the Chippewas, the Ottowas, and the Pottawattamies, were also interested in the treaty and in some degree parties thereto. The subject matter of the new compact had relation to the Indian lands lying north of the Ohio River, mostly in what was afterwards the State of Ohio. It was at this time that the Indian title to the valley of the Maumee was obtained. The cession and purchase of about four millions of acres in all were accomplished in the treaty, and it may well surprise, in the light of subsequent values, to know that the purchase sum paid for this vast and fertile tract did not exceed fourteen thousand dollars. In addition to the purchase money, however, the Delawares were to receive an annuity of five hundred dollars, while the Wyandots, the Senecas, the Shawnees, and the Ottowas were guaranteed ten thousand dollars annually, in perpetuity. The Chippewas and Pottawattamies were given an annuity of three thousand three hundred dollars, for fifteen

years. Certain tracts were also reserved by the Red men, amounting in the aggregate to about three hundred thousand acres. The theory of the Government was that in course of time the Indians, living on their reservations and surrounded by vast and progressive settlements of White men, would be assimilated to civilized life, and gradually absorbed as a part of the nation. It was not long, however, until it was discovered that the Indians had little sympathy with American farms and villages and American methods of life. The habits of barbarism were too strongly fixed, through ages of heredity, and no aptitude for the anticipated change was seen on the part of the sequestered aborigines.

The admirable working of the American system, by which new States could be added to the Republic, was again shown in 1817. At the close of that year the western portion of what had been the Mississippi Territory was organized as the State of Mississippi, and formally admitted. The new commonwealth contained an area of forty-seven thousand square miles, and had acquired a population of sixty-five thousand. Thus was the whole eastern bank of the Mississippi, from the junction of the Illinois to the Gulf, brought under the sway of the Republic.

During this same year the Government was obliged to give attention to a nest of buccaneers, who had established themselves on Amelia Island, off the north-eastern coast of Florida. The piratical establishment had its origin in the revolutionary movements which had been going on in New Grenada and Venezuela. A certain Gregor McGregor, who held a commission from the insurrectionary authorities of New Grenada, had gathered up a band of freebooters, recruiting his forces, for the most part, from Charleston and Savannah. With these he had fortified Amelia Island, and made it a rendezvous for slave-traders and South American privateers.



FRONT VIEW OF THE CAPITAL AT WASHINGTON.

It was perhaps dimly believed by the audacious rascals that the well-known sympathy of the United States for republics, and particularly for the republican tendencies shown in South America, would save them from disturbance. Since the buccaneers seemed to act in the cause of South American liberty, they hoped to escape attack from the Government of the United States. They accordingly proceeded to blockade the fort of St. Augustine,

and to demean themselves as if there were no civilization and no retribution which they had cause to fear. The Federal Government, however, took the matter under advisement. A fleet was sent against the pirates, and the lawless establishment was broken up. A similar assemblage of freebooters on the island of Galveston, off the coast of Texas, was suppressed in like manner.

It was at the beginning of the Monroe Administration that the question of the internal improvement of the country first presented itself as a practical issue to the American mind. The population of the Republic had now taken its western course, and was pouring through the passes of the Alleghenies, rapidly filling up the country as far as the Father of Waters. The necessity for thoroughfares and for other physical means of intercourse and commerce was upon the people. The territorial vastness of the country brought with it the necessity of devising suitable means of communication. Without thoroughfares and canals it was evident that the products of the vast interior, which civilization was about to open up, could never reach a market. It was also evident that in a country where no capital had as yet accumulated the necessary improvements could not be effected by private enterprise. But had Congress, under the Republican Constitution, the right to vote money for the needed improvements?

The Democratic party had from the first been a party of strict construction. It was claimed that what was not positively conceded and expressed in the Constitution had no existence in the American system. The Federalists, on the other hand, had claimed that the Constitution of the United States was pregnant with implied powers, which might be evoked under the necessities of the situation and directed to the accomplishment of desired results. Jefferson and Madison had held to the doctrine of strict construction, and had opposed internal improvements under the national patronage. Monroe held similar views, and the propositions in Congress to make appropriations for the internal improvement of the country were either voted down or vetoed.

Only in a single instance at this epoch did the opposite principle prevail. A bill was passed appropriating the necessary means for the construction of a National Road across the Alleghenies, from Cumberland to Wheeling. This was the great thoroughfare which had already been extended from Peninsular Virginia to Cumberland, and which was afterwards carried, though without completion, from Wheeling westward through Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois to St. Louis. This done, the question of internal improvements was referred to the several States, as a concession to their rights. Under this reference, New York took the lead by constructing a magnificent canal from Buffalo to Albany, a distance of three hundred and sixty-three miles. The cost of this important work was more than seven and a-half million dollars, and the whole period of Monroe's administration was occupied in completing it.

Another important event of the year 1817 was the outbreak of the Seminole war. The Indians known as Seminoles occupied the frontiers of Georgia and Alabama. It has frequently been difficult, in the history of our country, to ascertain the exact causes of Indian hostilities. It might not be far from truth to allege that the hereditary instincts of war on the part of the savage races sought expression at intervals in bloody and devastating scenes; but the land question may, on the whole, be ascribed as the cause of the larger part of Indian hostilities. In the case of the Seminole outbreak some considerable bodies of half-savage negroes, and also of Creek Indians, joined in the depredations of their countrymen. General Gates, commandant of the post on Flint River, was ordered by the Government into the Seminole country, and made some headway against them; but after destroying a few villages, his forces were found inadequate to suppress the savages. General Jackson, of Tennessee, was thereupon ordered to collect from his own and adjacent States a sufficient army to reduce the Seminoles to submission. The General, however, paid but little attention to his instructions, but proceeded to gather up out of West Tennessee a band of about a thousand riflemen, with whom he marched against the Seminoles, and in the following spring overran the hostile country, with little opposition. It was at this time that General Jackson was given the sobriquet of *Big Knife* by the Indians, among

whom his name and fame had inspired a wholesome dread.

Important consequences followed upon this episode of the Seminole war. General Jackson, while engaged in his expedition against the Indians, had entered Florida and taken possession of a Spanish post at St. Marks. He gave as an excuse for so doing that the place was necessary as a base of operations against the savages. The Spanish garrison which had occupied St. Marks was removed to Pensacola. At the time of the capture of the place two Englishmen, named Arbuthnot and Ambrister, were found in St. Marks, and charges were preferred against them of having incited the Seminoles to insurrection.

Nor is it improbable that the charges were founded in fact. The Englishmen were tried, under Jackson's direction, were convicted of treacherous acts in connection with the war, were condemned and executed. Jackson then proceeded against Pensacola, took the town, besieged the fortress of Barrancas, at the entrance of the bay, and compelled the Spanish authorities to take ship for Havana. These were the events which first excited the animosity of many of the peace-loving people of the United States against General Jackson, and he was subjected by his enemies to unmeasured condemnation. The President and Congress, however, justified him in his somewhat reckless proceedings, and his reputation was increased rather than diminished by his arbitrary conduct. A resolution of censure which was introduced into the House of Representatives was suppressed by a large vote.

When the news from Florida was borne to Spain, the king entered complaints against Jackson, but his remonstrance was unheeded. Such were the circumstances which induced the Spanish monarch to give up the hope of maintaining his provinces in the New World. He perceived that the defense of Florida was likely to cost him more than the country was worth. He accordingly proposed to cede the country to the United States. For this purpose negotiations were opened at Washington City, and on the twenty-second of February, 1819, a treaty was concluded, by which both the Floridas and the outlying islands were surrendered to the United States. In consideration of the cession, the American Government agreed to relinquish all claims to the territory of Texas, and to pay American citizens for depredations committed by Spanish vessels a sum not exceeding five million dollars. By the same treaty the boundary-line between Mexico and the United States was fixed at the River Sabine.

The year 1819 may be cited as the date of the first great financial crisis in the United States. The American Republic had been poor, and the people, as a rule, small property-holders, to whom capital, as that term is understood in more recent times, was a stranger. At length, however, wealth increased to a certain extent, and financial institutions grew into such importance as to make possible a crisis in monetary and commercial affairs. In 1817 the Bank of the United States had been reörganized. With that event improved facilities for credit were obtained, and consequent upon the facilities for credit came the spirit and the fact of speculation. With the entering in of speculation, dishonesty and fraud followed, and the circle of finance ran its usual course, until the strain was broken in a crisis. The control of the important Branch Bank of the United States at Baltimore was obtained by a band of unscrupulous speculators, who secured the connivance of the officers in their schemes. About two millions of dollars were withdrawn from the institution over and above its securities. President Cheves, however, who belonged to the Superior Board of Directors, adopted a policy by which the prevailing rascality of the concern was exposed. An end was thus put to the system of unlimited credits, and in course of time the business of the country swung back into its accustomed channels. But for a season the financial affairs of the United States were thrown into great confusion, and the parent Bank itself was barely saved from suspension and bankruptcy.

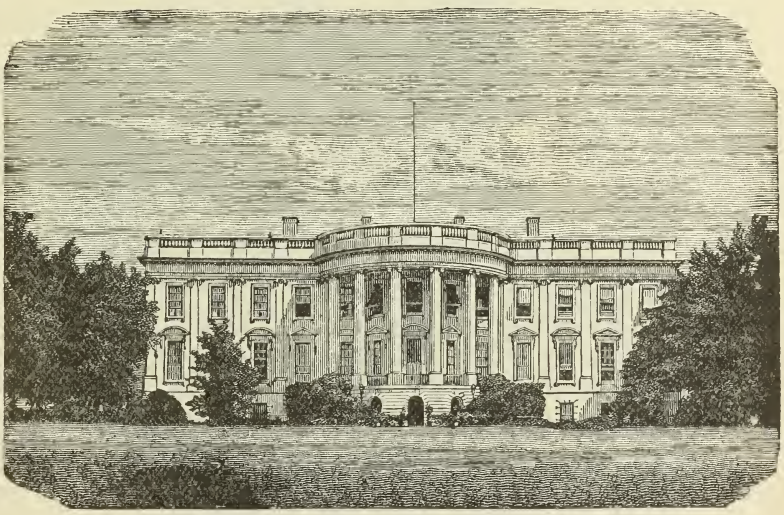
The admission of Mississippi into the Union has already been mentioned. Other States rapidly followed. In 1818 Illinois, the twenty-first in number, was organized and admitted. The new commonwealth embraced an area of over 55,000 square miles. The population at the time of admission had reached 47,000. In December, 1819, Alabama was added to the

Union. The new State came with a population of 125,000, and an area of nearly 51,000 square miles. About the same time the Territory of Missouri was divided, and the southern part was organized into Arkansas Territory. In 1820 the province of Maine, which had been under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts since 1652, was separated from that Government and admitted into the Union as an independent State. The population of Maine at the time of admission reached 298,000, and its territory embraced nearly 32,000 square miles. In August, 1821, the great State of Missouri, with an area of 67,000 square miles, and a population of 74,000, was admitted, as the twenty-fourth member of the Union. But this addition to the Republic was attended with a political agitation so violent as to threaten the peace of the Union, and to foretoken a long series of events, the effects of which have not yet disappeared from the current history of our country.

The difficulty in question was the presence of slavery in Missouri. In February, 1819, the bill to organize the Territory was brought up in Congress. Meanwhile, slaveholders had gone into Missouri, carrying their human chattels with them. The issue was at once raised in Congress whether a new State should be admitted with the system of slave-labor prevalent therein; or whether, by Congressional action, slaveholding should be prohibited. A motion in amendment of the Territorial Bill was introduced by James Tallmadge, of New York, forbidding any further introduction of slaves into Missouri, and granting freedom to all slave children on reaching the age of twenty-five.

The bill as thus amended became the organic law of the Territory. A few days afterwards, when Arkansas was presented for territorial organization, John W. Taylor, of New York, moved the insertion of a clause similar to that in the Missouri Bill. A heated debate thereupon ensued, and the proposed amendment was struck out. Taylor then made a motion that hereafter in the organization of Territories out of that part of the national domain which had come with the Louisiana purchase, slavery should be interdicted in all those portions north of parallel 36° 30′. This proposition was also lost, after a heated discussion. Meanwhile, Tallmadge's amendment to the Missouri Bill was taken to the Senate, and defeated. As a consequence, the new Territories were organized *without restrictions* in the matter of slavery.

When the Enabling Act was passed, the people of Missouri adopted their State Constitution in conformity therewith, and in January, 1820, the formal admission of the Territory as a State was brought up in Congress. The proposition to admit was opposed by the large and growing party of those who favored the exclusion of slavery from the public domain. At that time, however, the new free State of Maine was presented for admission into the Union. This gave the pro-slavery party the advantage; for they might oppose the admission of Maine as a free State until the admission of Missouri as a slave State should be agreed to. An angry debate ensued, lasting until the 16th of February, when a bill coupling the two new States together, one with and the other without slavery, was



THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON CITY.

passed. Thereupon Senator Thomas, of Illinois, made a motion that henceforth and forever slavery should be excluded from all that part of the Louisiana cession—Missouri excepted—lying north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes. Such was the celebrated MISSOURI COMPROMISE, one of the most important acts of American legislation—a measure chiefly supported by the genius, and carried through Congress by the persistent efforts of Henry Clay.

The principal conditions of the plan were these: *First*, the admission of Missouri as a slaveholding State; *secondly*, the division of the rest of the Louisiana purchase by the parallel of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes; *thirdly*, the admission of new States, to be formed out of the territory south of that line, with or without slavery, as the people might determine; *fourthly*, the prohibition of slavery in all the new States to be organized out of territory north of the dividing-line. By this compromise the slavery agitation was allayed until 1849.



JEAN LAFITTE.

By the time of which we are here speaking the effects of the ravages of the War of 1812 were measurably obliterated. The great resources and possibilities of the country began to appear. Peace and plenty did their beneficent work in the rapid development of the nation. The first term of Monroe in the Presidency was an epoch so prosperous that the Administration grew into high favor with the people. In the fall of 1820 he was re-elected with great unanimity. Mr. Tompkins, the Vice-President, was also chosen for a second term. Perhaps at no other time in the history of our country has the bitterness of partisanship so nearly expired as in the year and with the event here mentioned.

The excitement over the admission of Missouri into the Union had scarcely subsided when the attention of the Government was called to an alarming system of piracy, which sprang up in the early years of the present century in the West Indies. Commerce became so unsafe in all those regions into which the piratical craft could make their way that an armament was sent out for protection. Early in 1822 the frigate *Congress*, with eight smaller vessels, sailed for the West Indies, and during that year more than twenty pirate ships were run down and captured. In the following summer Commodore Porter was dispatched with a still larger fleet to cruise about Cuba and the neighboring islands. In course of time the retreats of the sea-robbers, who had for their chieftain the great buccaneer Jean Lafitte, were all discovered, and their piratical establishments completely broken up. Not a buccaneer was left afloat to disturb the peaceful commerce of the seas.

At this period in our national history the Government of the United States was first

brought into relation with the countries of South America. The so-called Republican States in our neighboring continent were distracted with continuous revolutions. From the days of Pizarro the States in question had been, for the most part, dependencies of European monarchies; but the ties which bound them were broken, ever and anon, with declarations of independence and patriotic struggles for liberty. The situation was so similar to that which had existed between the United States and Great Britain in the time of the Revolution that the American Republic fell into natural and inevitable sympathy with the patriots of the Southern Continent. Many of the leading statesmen of the time found exercise for their faculties and sentiments in speaking and writing in behalf of the struggling Republics beyond the Isthmus of Darien.

Among these Mr. Clay was especially prominent. He carried his views into Congress, and succeeded in committing that body to the principles which he advocated. In March of 1822 a bill was passed, recognizing the new States of South America, which had declared, and virtually achieved, their independence. The President himself sympathized with these movements, and in the following year took up the question in his annual message. He finally reduced the principle by which his Administration should be governed to the following declaration: That for the future the American continents were not to be considered as subjects for colonization by any European power. The declaration thus made became famous at the time, and has ever since been known in the politics and diplomacy of the United States as the MONROE DOCTRINE, a doctrine by which the entire Western Hemisphere may be said to be theoretically consecrated to free institutions.

A social incident in the summer of 1824 gave great joy to the American people, and afforded them an opportunity to revive and express their gratitude to France for her sympathy and aid in the Revolution. The venerable Marquis de Lafayette, now aged and gray, returned once more to visit the land for whose freedom he had given the energies of his youth, and had indeed shed his blood. Many of the honored patriots with whom he had fought side by side came forth to greet him, and the younger heroes, sons of the Rev-



MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

olution, crowded around him. In every city and on every battle-field which he visited he was surrounded by a throng of shouting freemen. His journey from place to place was a continuous triumph. One of the chief objects of his coming was to visit the tomb of Washington. Over the dust of the Father of his Country the patriot of France paid the homage of his tears. He remained in the country until September of 1825, when he bade a final adieu to the American people who had made him their guest, and sailed

back for his native land. At his departure the frigate *Brandywine*—a name significant for him—was prepared to bear him away. While liberty remains to cheer the West, the name of Lafayette will be hallowed with patriotic recollections.[1]

Before the sailing away of the illustrious Frenchman, another Presidential election had been held. Political excitement had reäppeared in the country, and there was a strong division of sentiment. Unfortunately, too, the division appeared to be largely sectional in its character. Strong personalities likewise appeared in the contest. For the first time the names of South and East and West were heard, and the patriotic eye might discern the symptoms of danger in the political phraseology of the day. John Quincy Adams was put forward as the candidate of the East; William H. Crawford, of Georgia, as the choice of the South; and Henry Clay and Andrew Jackson as the favorites of the West. The election was held, but neither candidate received a majority of the electoral votes. Thus, for the second time in the history of the country, the choice of President was, according to a Constitutional provision, referred to the House of Representatives. By that body Mr. Adams, though not the foremost candidate, was duly elected. For Vice-President, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, had been chosen by the Electoral College. Thus came to a conclusion the eight years of the Presidency of James Monroe.

It is probable that in talents and accomplishments the new chief magistrate was the superior of any man who had occupied the Presidential chair before or after him. It is not meant that in force of character or ability to meet great emergencies he was the equal of Washington or Lincoln or Grant; but he had genius, scholarship, great attainments. From his boyhood he had been educated to the career of a statesman. At the age of eleven he accompanied his father, John Adams, to Europe. At Paris, Amsterdam, and St. Petersburg, the son continued his studies, and thus became acquainted with the manners and politics of the Old World. The vast opportunities of his youth were improved to the fullest extent. He was destined to a public career. He served his country as ambassador to the Netherlands, to Portugal, to Prussia, to Russia, and to England. Even in early life his abilities were such as to draw from Washington the extraordinary praise of being the ablest minister of which America could boast. From 1774 to 1817 his life was devoted almost wholly to diplomatic services at the various European Capitals.

At this time the relations of the United States were critical in the extreme. Indeed, the new Republic had hardly yet been fully established as a separate power among the nations. The genius of John Quincy Adams secured the adoption of treaty after treaty. Such was his acumen and patriotism, that in every treaty the rights and dignity of the United States were fully asserted and maintained. In 1806 Adams was honored with the professorship of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres in Harvard College, of which he was an alumnus. He also held the office of United States Senator from Massachusetts. On the accession of Monroe to the Presidency, he was appointed Secretary of State. All the antecedents of his life were such as to produce in him the rarest qualifications for the Presidency, to which he was now called.

In one respect the administration of Adams was less successful than that of his predecessor. The revival of partisanship, the animosity of great party leaders, conspired to distract the country, to keep the public mind from the calm pursuits of peace, or at least to mar the harmony of the nation. From this time forth politics began to become, what it has ever since been, a despicable trade, in which the interests of the people of the United States have been hawked and torn, bartered and sold, at the dictation of unscrupulous ambition and for mere personal ends.

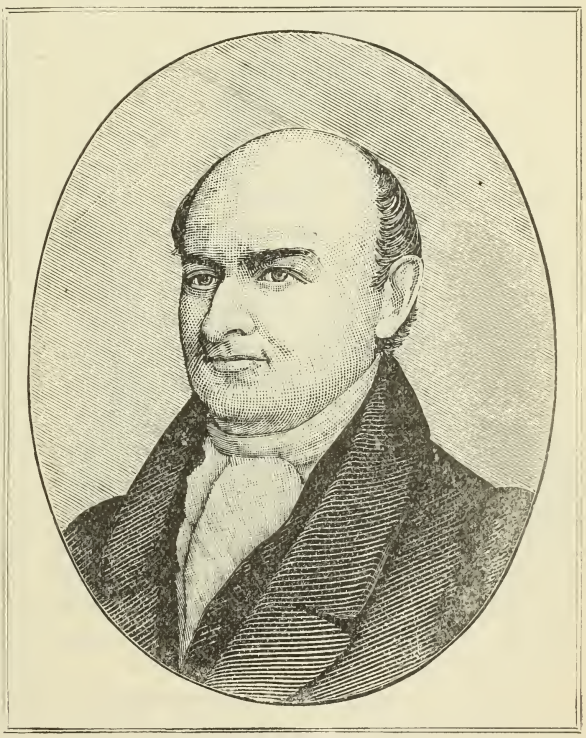
The adherents of General Jackson and Mr. Crawford united in opposition to the policy of President Adams, and there was a want of unanimity between the different departments of the Government. The supporters of the

[1] The Centennial year called out again the memory of the greatest of those French patriots who gave their aid in the War for Independence; and the fine bronze statue of Lafayette, standing on the south side of Union Square, in New York City, was reared to express the affection of the people for the brave youth who came to us in the dark days of the Revolution.

Administration were in a minority in the Senate, and their majority in the Lower House was overthrown at the close of the first session of Congress. The President favored the policy of internal improvements, and recommended the same in his inaugural address. But that system of policy was antagonized by the followers of Jackson, Crawford, and Calhoun, and their principles obtained an ascendency in the House of Representatives. As a consequence, the recommendations of the President were neglected or condemned in Congress; and the system of internal improvements, to the advocacy of which Mr. Clay gave the full resources of his genius, was checked.

Up to this time the native Indians held considerable portions of territory east of the Mississippi. In Georgia they had a wide domain. Here dwelt the Creeks, with whom the White men had had relations since the founding of the first colonies. In 1802 Georgia had relinquished her claim to the Mississippi territory, and the General Government agreed to purchase and to surrender to the State all the Creek lands lying within her borders; but this pledge had never been fulfilled. Georgia became seriously dissatisfied at the neglect of the Government to carry out the compact. The difficulty became alarming, and the Government was thus constrained to enter into a new treaty with the Creek chiefs, by which a cession of their lands in Georgia was finally obtained. At the same time, the Creeks entered into an agreement to remove from their ancient haunts to new settlements beyond the Mississippi. In all these difficulties the same principle was involved. The Indians have been, as a rule, unwilling to recognize the validity of pledges made by their ancestors relative to their national lands. Such a thing as ownership in fee simple was unknown originally among the native races. They recognized the right of quit-claim, by which those now occupying the lands could alienate *their own* title, but not alienate the title *of their descendants*. For this reason the extinction of land-titles by the Government for the domains purchased from the Indians has always been difficult.

An incident of the summer of 1826 is worthy of special mention. This was the deaths, on the fourth of July of that year, of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, both Ex-Presidents of the United States. It might well impress the American mind that just fifty years to a day from the adoption of the Declaration of Independence the great author of that famous document and its principal promoter in Congress should have passed away at nearly the same hour. They were the two most conspicuous patriots of the Revolutionary epoch. They, more than perhaps any other



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

two men, had agitated the question of independence, and promoted its adoption as a policy for the united Colonies. Both had lifted their voices for freedom in the earliest and most perilous days of the Revolutionary era. Both had lived to see their country's independence achieved. Both had served that country in its highest official station. Both had reached extreme old age; Adams was ninety; Jefferson, eighty-two. Though opposed to each other as it respected many political principles, both were as one in patriotism and loyalty to the Republic. While the cannon were booming for the fiftieth anniversary of the nation, the

gray and honored patriots passed from among the living, but their influence and work remained permanently imbedded in the constitutional structure and principles of the American Republic.

In September of the same year a serious social disturbance occurred in the State of New York. William Morgan, a resident of the western portion of that commonwealth, having threatened to publish the secrets of the fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, of which order he was a member, suddenly disappeared and was never heard of afterwards. Though many rumors of his whereabouts were heard, none could ever be traced to an authentic source, and the belief was common that either his life had been taken outright or that he had been privately and permanently exiled into the obscurity of some foreign country. The Masons fell under the suspicion of having abducted him, and a great clamor was raised against them in New York, extending into other parts of the country. The issue between the Masons and their enemies became a political one, and many prominent men were embroiled in the controversy. For several years the Antimasonic party exercised a considerable influence in the elections of the country. DeWitt Clinton, one of the most prominent and valuable statesmen of New York, had to suffer much in loss of reputation from his membership in the Masonic order. His last days were clouded with the odium which for the time being attached to the name of the fraternity.

Now it was that in the Congressional debates the question of the tariff was raised and constantly debated. The discussions began with the year 1828. By a tariff is understood a duty levied on imported goods. The object of the same is twofold: first, to produce a revenue for the Government; secondly, to raise the price of the article on which the duty is laid, in order that the domestic manufacturer of the thing taxed may be able to compete with the foreign producer. In a subsequent part of the present Work[1] a full discussion of this question will be presented. For the present, it is sufficient to note that when a customs-duty is levied for the purpose of raising the price of the article on which the duty is laid, it is called a protective tariff.

Whether it is sound policy for a nation thus to protect its industries is an issue which has been much agitated in nearly all of the civilized countries. As a rule, in the earlier parts of a nation's history protective tariffs are employed, even to the extent of preventing all foreign competition; but with the lapse of time and the accumulation of capital in the given country the tendency is in the opposite direction. The mature peoples, as a rule, have inclined to the principle of free trade and open competition among all nations. In the Congressional debates of 1828 the friends of Mr. Adams decided in favor of the tariff, and in that year a schedule of customs was prepared, by which the duties on fabrics made of wool, cotton, linen, and silk, and those on articles manufactured of iron, lead, etc., were much increased. This was done, not so much with a view of augmenting the revenues of the United States, as of stimulating the manufacturing interests of the country. The question of the tariff has always in our country assumed a somewhat sectional aspect. At the first the people of the Eastern and Middle States, where factories abounded, were favorable to protective duties, while in the agricultural regions of the South and West such duties were opposed.

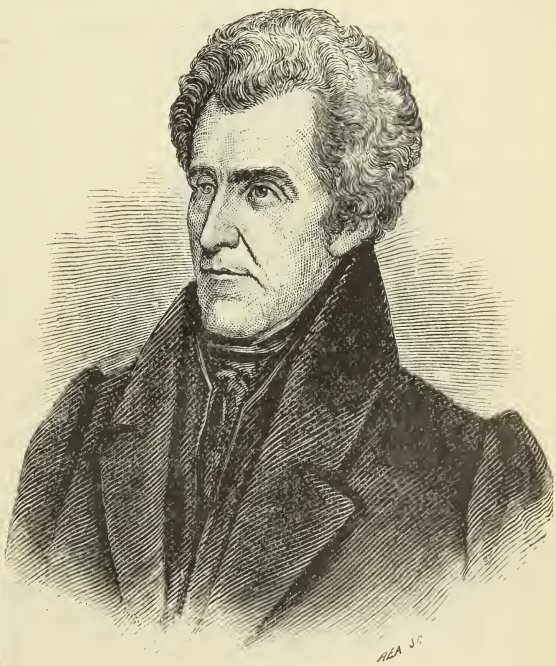
The Administration of John Quincy Adams may be cited as the time when the influences of the Revolution subsided and the sentiments of a new era began to prevail. It was the beginning of the second epoch in the history of the United States, considered as a nation. The Revolutionary sages had fallen out of the ranks of leadership, and a new class of statesmen, born after the era of Independence, began to attract the attention of the people and direct the course of the Government. Even the War of 1812, with its bitter party antagonisms, its defeats and victories, and its absurd ending, was fading from the memories of men. New dispositions and new tastes appeared among the people. New issues confronted the public. New methods prevailed in the halls of legislation. The old party lines could no longer be traced with clearness, and old party names were reduced to a jargon. Already the United States had surpassed in

[1] See pp. 215–219.

growth and development the most sanguine expectations of the fathers. But with the extension of territory, the incoming of new States, the springing up of new questions of national policy, conflicting opinions and interests divided the people into parties; and the stormy debates in Congress announced the presence of that danger in the American system which the Father of his Country had foreseen, and against which he uttered his most solemn warnings.

President Adams did not succeed in securing a second term. The national election in the fall of 1828 was especially exciting. Adams, supported by Clay, who was then Secretary of State, was put forward for reëlection. During the whole of the current Administration the mind of the Opposition, or Democratic party—for the distinction between Whig and Democrat began now to be clearly drawn—was turned to Andrew Jackson as the standard-bearer in the contest. In the previous election Jackson had received a larger electoral vote than Adams; but the House of Representatives, disregarding the popular preference, had chosen Adams. Now, however, the people were determined to have their way. Jackson was triumphantly elected, receiving one hundred and seventy eight electoral votes, against eighty-three for his opponent. As soon as the election was over, the excitement which had attended the campaign subsided, and the thoughts of the people were turned to other interests.

Andrew Jackson was a native of North Carolina. He was born on the Waxhaw, March 15, 1767. Even in his boyhood the evidences of a belligerent and stormy nature were apparent. His mother's plan of devoting him to the ministry was hopelessly defeated by his conduct. At the age of thirteen he took up arms, and was present at Sumter's defeat, at Hanging Rock. Soon afterwards he was captured by the British, was maltreated by them—left to die of small-pox. But his mother secured his release from prison, and his life was saved. After the Revolution, having acquired the meagre rudiments of an education, he began the study of law, and at the age of twenty-one removed to Nashville. In 1796 he was chosen to the National House of Representatives from the State of Tennessee. Here his turbulent and willful dispositions manifested themselves in full force. In the next year he was promoted to the Senate, where he remained for a year, without making a speech or casting a vote! Dissatisfied with Senatorial life, he resigned his seat and returned to Tennessee. His subsequent career is a part of the history of the country, particularly of the South-west, with which section his name was identified. He came to the Presidential office as a military hero; but he was more than that—a man of great native powers and inflexible honesty. His talents were strong, but unpolished. His integrity

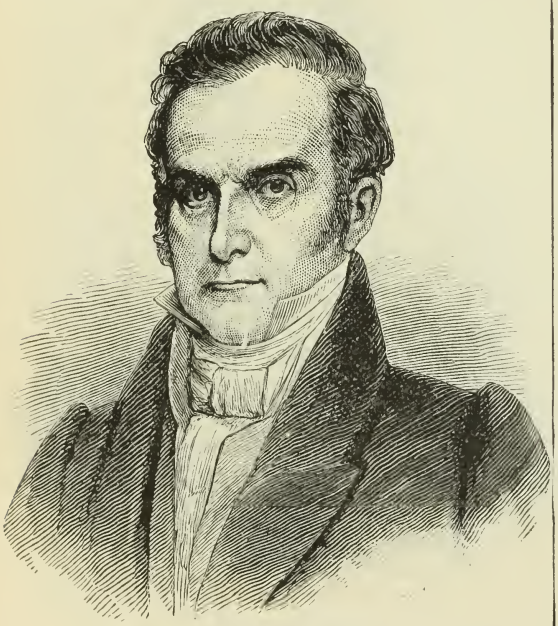


ANDREW JACKSON.

was unassailable, and his will like iron. He was one of those men for whom no toils are too arduous, no responsibilities too great. His personal character was strongly impressed upon his Administration. Believing that public affairs would be best conducted by such means, he removed nearly seven hundred office-holders, and appointed in their stead his own political friends. In defense of his course, the precedent established by Jefferson was pleaded.

Jackson's accession to the Presidency was in some measure a revolution, not only in the political, but in the social, tone of the Administration. Hitherto all the Presidents had

been men of accomplishments. They had been gentlemen, educated and experienced in public affairs. They had been promoted from grade to grade of responsibility, not only in civil service, but in military affairs as well. Coarseness and vulgarity had been unknown in Government circles during the first five Presidencies. With the rise of Jackson, however, the under side of American life rose to the surface. The debonair and stylish demeanor which had marked the former Administrations disappeared from the Presidential mansion, and in some measure from the other departments of the Government. Jackson made no pretensions to culture or refinement,



DANIEL WEBSTER.

and many of the coarse and ferocious elements of his former life obtruded themselves in the very seat of political power. It would be erroneous to say that all dignity was wanting in his manners and administration. On the contrary, there was much that was respectable, dignified, severe, in his methods and procedures. But his accession to the Presidency was, on the whole, derogatory to the refinement and culture and propriety which had previously prevailed about the Presidential mansion.

The re-chartering of the Bank of the United States was the first issue which confronted the new Administration. The President took strong grounds against issuing a new charter to that institution. Believing the Bank to be both inexpedient and unconstitutional, he recommended that its charter be allowed to expire, by limitation, in 1836. But it could not be expected that a concern so strong and far-reaching in its influence would yield without a struggle. In 1832 a bill was brought forward in Congress to re-charter the Bank, and the measure was passed. The President, however, vetoed the bill; and since a two-thirds' majority could not be secured in its favor, the proposition for a new charter failed, and the Bank ceased to exist.

It was at the time of Jackson's first Presidential term that the partisan elements of the United States resolved themselves into the form which they were destined to hold for more than a quarter of a century. The people became divided into the two great factions of *Whig* and *Democrat.* The old Federal party, under whose direction the Government had been organized, had lost control of national affairs with the retiracy of John Adams. The party, however, continued to be an organized force until after the War of 1812, when the odium arising from its connection with the Hartford Convention gave it a final quietus. Adherents of the ancient party still asserted themselves as late as the slavery debates of 1820.

We have already seen how, during Monroe's second term, an "Era of Good Feeling," as it was called, came about, during which partisanship seemed ready to expire. Meanwhile, the old Antifederalists had been metamorphosed, first into *Republicans,* a name given in the time of John Adams to the American champions of France as against Great Britain. But this name was soon exchanged for that of *Democrats;* and under this title the party came into power with Jefferson. Then followed the Administrations of Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams, under the same political banner. Under Adams, however, the new political forces were already at work. When Jackson became President, his arbitrary measures alarmed the country, and drove all the elements of the opposition into a phalanx, under the leadership of Clay and Webster. To this new party organization the name *Whig* was given, a name taken from the old Scotch

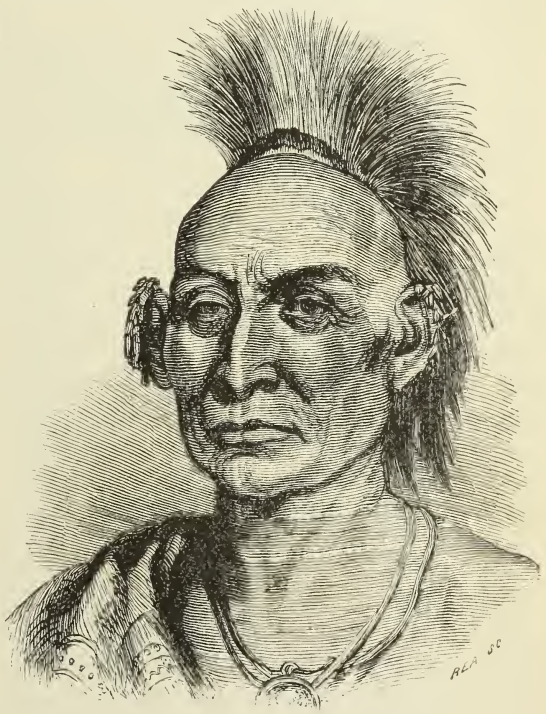
Covenanters of the seventeenth century, worn by the patriots of the American Revolution to distinguish them from Tories, and finally adopted as the permanent title of the opponents of Jeffersonian Democracy.

With the beginning of Jackson's term of the Presidency the tariff question was reopened, and produced great excitement. In the session of 1831–32, additional duties were levied upon manufactured goods imported from abroad. By this measure the manufacturing districts were again favored, at the expense of the agricultural States. South Carolina was specially offended. The excitement culminated in a convention of her people, and it was resolved that the tariff law of Congress was unconstitutional, and therefore null and void. Open resistance was threatened in case there should be an attempt to collect the revenues in the harbor of Charleston. One division of the Democratic statesmen took a firm stand in support of South Carolina.

The doctrine of nullification, and even of secession, was boldly advanced in the United States Senate. On that issue occurred the famous debate between the eloquent Colonel Hayne, Senator from South Carolina, and Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, perhaps the greatest master of American oratory. The former appeared as the champion of the doctrine of State rights; the latter as the advocate of Constitutional supremacy over all the Union.

The question, however, was not decided by debate. The President took the matter in hand, and issued a proclamation denying the right of any State to nullify the laws of Congress. But Mr. Calhoun, the Vice-President, resigned his office, to accept a seat in the Senate, where he might better advocate the doctrine and purpose of his State. The President first warned the people of South Carolina against the consequences of pushing further the doctrine of nullification. He then ordered a body of troops, under General Scott, to proceed to Charleston, and sent thither a man-of-war. At this display of force the leaders of the nullifying party quailed, and receded from their position. Bloodshed was happily avoided, and in the following spring the excitement was allayed by a compromise. Mr. Clay brought forward, and secured the passage of, a bill providing for the gradual reduction of the duties complained of, until, at the end of ten years, they should reach a standard which would be satisfactory to the South.

While these measures were occupying the attention of Congress an Indian war broke out on the Western frontier. The Sacs, Foxes, and Winnebagos, of Wisconsin Territory, became hostile and took up arms. They were incited and led by their famous chief, Black Hawk. Like Tecumtha, and many other sachems who had preceded him, he believed in the possibility of uniting all the Indian nations in a confederacy against the Whites. The lands of the Sacs and the Foxes, lying in the Rock River country of Illinois, had been purchased by the Government twenty-five years previously, but the Indians had not removed from the ceded territory. At length, however, the white settlements approached, and the Indians were required to give possession. But a new race of warriors had now arisen, who did not feel the force of a compact made by their fathers. They accordingly refused to give up their lands, and became hostile. The Government insisted on the fulfillment of the treaty, and war broke out.



BLACK HAWK.

U. OF ILL. LIB.

The governor of Illinois called out the militia. General Scott was sent, with nine companies of artillery, to the site of Chicago. His force was overtaken with the cholera, which had made its appearance in the country, and Scott was unable to coöperate with General Atkinson. The latter, however, carried on a vigorous campaign against the Indians, defeated them in several actions, and made Black Hawk prisoner. The captured chieftain was taken to Washington and other great cities of the East, where his understanding was opened as to the power of the nation against which he had been foolish enough to lift his hatchet. He was then liberated. Returning to his own country, he advised his people of the uselessness of making war on the United States. The Indians soon abandoned the disputed lands, and removed into Iowa.

Difficulties next arose with the Cherokees, of Georgia. These people had reached a tolerable degree of civilization, and were certainly the most humane of all the Indian tribes. To a considerable extent they had adopted the manners and customs of the whites. They had opened farms, built towns, established schools, set up printing-presses, and formulated a code of laws. As previously stated, the Government had promised the State of Georgia to extinguish the title of the Indian lands within her borders, in compensation for her cession to the General Government of the territory of Mississippi. This pledge, however, had not been fulfilled; and the Legislature of Georgia, growing tired of the delay in the removal of the Indians, passed a statute abrogating the Indian governments within the borders of the State, and extending the laws of the Commonwealth over all the Indian domain.

It was also enacted that the Cherokees and Creeks should not have the privilege of using the State courts in the attempt to maintain their rights. The Supreme Court of the United States, however, declared the latter act unconstitutional. The Indians made an appeal to the President, but he refused to interfere. On the contrary, he recommended the removal of the Cherokees to the lands beyond the Mississippi. Such were the circumstances which led, in the year 1834, to the organization of the INDIAN TERRITORY, as a sort of national reservation for the broken tribes. It was with great reluctance that the Cherokees yielded to necessity. Though they had been paid more than five million dollars for their homes, they still clung to the land of their fathers. It was only when General Scott was ordered to remove them by force that they yielded to the inevitable, and took up their march for their new homes in the West.

The conflict with the Seminoles of Florida was still more serious. In this case also the difficulty arose from the attempt of the Government to remove the nation to a domain beyond the Mississippi. Hostilities broke out in 1835, and continued, with little interruption, for four years. The chief of the Seminoles was Osceola, a half-breed of great talents and audacity. Acting under the old Indian theory, he and Micanopy, another chieftain of the nation, declared that the Seminole treaty, by which the lands of the people had been ceded to the General Government, was invalid; that the fathers could only quit-claim their own rights, and could not alienate the rights of their descendants. So haughty was the bearing of Osceola that General Thompson, the agent of the Government, ordered his arrest, and put him in irons. Osceola dissembled his purpose, gave his assent to the old treaty, and was set free. But, as might have been foreseen, he immediately entered into a conspiracy to slaughter the Whites and devastate the country.

In the meantime, General Clinch had made his way into the interior of Florida, and fixed his head-quarters at Fort Drane, seventy-five miles south-west of St. Augustine. The Indians gathered in such numbers as to threaten this post, and Major Dade, with a hundred and seventeen men, was sent out from Fort Brooke, at the head of Tampa Bay, to succor General Clinch. After marching about half the distance, the division of Dade fell into an ambuscade, and all were slaughtered except one man. On the same day Osceola, with another band of warriors, prowling around Fort King, on the Ocklawaha, surrounded a storehouse, where General Thompson was dining with a company of friends. The Indians poured in a murderous fire, and rushed forward and scalped the dead, before the garrison, only two hundred and fifty yards away,

could bring support. General Thompson's body was pierced by fifteen balls, and four of his nine companions were killed. General Clinch now marched out from Fort Drane, and on the 31st of December fought a hard battle with the Indians on the banks of the Withlacoochie. The savages were repulsed, but Clinch fell back to Fort Drane.

In the following February, General Scott took command of all the forces in Florida. In the meantime, General Gaines was advancing from the west with a force of a thousand men, for the relief of Clinch. While on the march he was attacked by the Seminoles, near the battle-field where Clinch had fought. The Indians made a furious assault, but were repulsed with severe losses. Two months later, the struggling Creeks, who still remained in the country, began hostilities, but they were easily subdued, and compelled to seek their reservation beyond the Mississippi. The Seminoles, however, held their own in the interior,



OSCEOLA.

and in October of 1836 Governor Call, of Florida, marched against them, with an army of two thousand men. He overtook the Indians in the Wahoo swamp, a short distance from the scene of Dade's massacre. Here a battle was fought, and the Indians were defeated with heavy losses. They were obliged to seek refuge in the Everglades, but soon afterwards sallied forth, and fought another battle on nearly the same ground. A second time they were defeated, though not decisively, and the war continued into the following Administration.

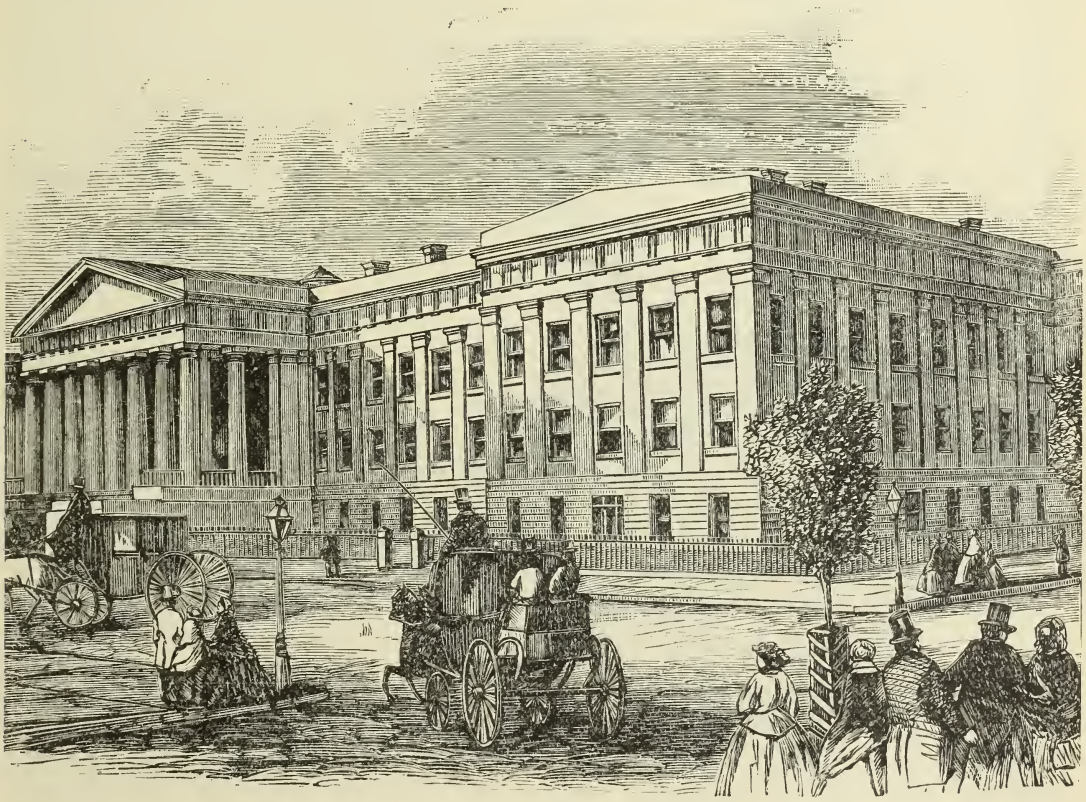
Turning to civil affairs, we find that the animosity of the President against the United States Bank had given a quietus to that institution. His veto of the re-charter of the Bank has already been mentioned. Not satisfied with this, he determined that the surplus funds which had accumulated in its vaults should be distributed among the States. He had no warrant of law for such a course, but believing himself to be in the right, he did not hesitate to take the responsibility. In October, 1833, he gave orders that the accumulated funds of the great Bank, amounting to fully ten million dollars, should be distributed among certain State Banks which he designated. The measure was high-handed in the last degree, and evoked the most violent opposition. The Whigs denounced the measure as of incalculable mischief, unwarranted, arbitrary, dangerous. A coälition was formed in the Senate, under the leadership of Calhoun, Clay, and Webster, and the President's distributing officers were rejected. A measure of censure was also passed against him, but the proposition failed in the House of Representatives. Such was the outcry throughout the country that the Administration appeared for a season to be almost ingulfed. But the President was as fearless as he was self-willed and stubborn. He held on his course unmoved by the clamor. The resolution of censure stood on the journals of the Senate for four years, and was then expunged from the record through the influence of Senator Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri.

The distribution of the surplus funds to the various State Banks was followed, in 1836–37, by a financial panic, the most serious which had yet occurred in the history of the country. Whether the removal of the funds and the panic stood to each other in the relation of cause and effect was one of the political questions of the day. While the Whigs charged that the arbitrary measures of the President, by disturbing the finances of the country, had precipitated the crisis, the Democrats answered that the Bank of the United States, with its multiform abuses, was itself the cause of the financial distress. It was claimed by the latter party that such an institution was too powerful and despotic to exist in a free Government. The President himself was but little concerned with the wrangling over this question. He had but recently been re-elected for a second term, with Martin Van Buren for Vice-President, instead of Mr. Calhoun.

Before the end of his first term in the Presidency, the strong will of Jackson was exhibited in full force in a complication with France. During the Napoleonic wars the commerce of the United States had suffered in several instances, through the recklessness of French commanders, and certain claims were thus held by the American Government against the French Kingdom. The question of a settlement had been agitated many times, and in 1831 the king of France had agreed to pay five million dollars for the alleged injuries; but the authorities of the kingdom were dilatory in making payment. The matter was postponed and neglected until the wrath of the American President broke out, and he sent a recommendation to Congress to make reprisals on the French commerce. He also directed the American minister at Paris to demand his passports and come home. These measures had the desired effect, and the indemnity was promptly paid. About the same time the Government of Portugal was brought to terms in a similar manner.

We may here pause to note some of the calamities with which the country was afflicted in the decade extending from 1830 to 1840. Several of those statesmen and leaders who remained from the Revolutionary epoch fell, in these years, under the hand of death. On the fourth of July, 1831, Ex-President Monroe passed away. He, like Adams and Jefferson, died amid the rejoicings of the national anniversary. In the following year Charles Car-

roll, of Carrollton, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, died, at the age of ninety-six. A short time afterwards Philip Freneau, the poet of the Revolution, departed from the land of the living. The bard had reached the age of eighty. On the twenty-fourth of June, 1833, John Randolph of Roanoke died in Philadelphia. He was a man admired for his talents, dreaded for his wit and sarcasm, and respected for his integrity. In 1835, Chief-Justice Marshall breathed his last, at the age of fourscore years, and in



THE NEW PATENT OFFICE, WASHINGTON.

the next year Ex-President Madison, worn with the toils of eighty-five years, passed away. To these losses of life must be added two great disasters to property. On the sixteenth of December, 1835, a fire broke out in the lower part of New York City, and laid in ashes thirty acres of buildings. Five hundred and twenty-nine houses, and property valued at eighteen million dollars, were consumed. Just one year afterward, the Patent-office and Post-office at Washington were destroyed in the same manner. But upon the ruins of these valuable buildings more noble and imposing structures — which are likely to outlast the century—were soon erected.

During this decade two additional States came into the Union. In June, 1836, Arkansas, with its fifty-two thousand square miles and population of seventy thousand, was admitted. In the following January, Michigan Territory was organized as a State, and added to the Union. The new commonwealth brought a population of one hundred and fifty-seven thousand, and an area of fifty-six thousand square miles. It was already the close of the Administration. Jackson followed the example of Washington in issuing a farewell address. The document was characterized by that stern patriotism which had marked the man in his Administration. The dangers of discord and sectionalism among the States were set forth with all the masculine energy of the Jacksonian dialect. The people of the United States were again solemnly warned, as they had been by the Father of his Country, against the baneful influence of dema-

gogues. The horrors of disunion were portrayed in the strongest colors, and the people of every rank and section were exhorted to maintain and defend the American Union as they would the last fortress of human liberty. Such was the last public paper contributed by Andrew Jackson to the political literature of the age. Meanwhile, in the preceding autumn, Martin Van Buren had been elected President. The opposing candidate was General William H. Harrison, of Ohio, who received the support of the new Whig party. As to the Vice-presidency, no one secured a majority in the Electoral College, and the choice devolved on the Senate. By that body Colonel Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, was duly elected.



MARTIN VAN BUREN.

Martin Van Buren was born at Kinderhook, New York, on the 5th of December, 1782. His education was limited. He studied law and became a politician. In his thirtieth year he was elected to the Senate of his native State, and six years afterwards, by supplanting DeWitt Clinton, became the recognized leader of the Democracy in New York. In 1821, and again in 1827, he was chosen United States Senator; but in the first year of his second term he resigned the office to accept the governorship of his native State. Under Jackson he became Secretary of State, but soon resigned that place to become Minister Plenipotentiary to England. When his appointment to the latter position came before the Senate, Vice-President Calhoun, assisted by the Whig leaders Clay and Webster, succeeded in rejecting the appointment. Van Buren returned from his unfulfilled mission, became the candidate for the Vice-Presidency in 1832, and was elected. Four years later he led the powerful party to which he belonged, and succeeded General Jackson in the highest office of the nation.

The Seminoles of Florida had not yet been subdued. The command of the army in that region was transferred, in 1837, from General Scott to General Jessup. In the fall of that year Osceola came to the American camp under a flag of truce; but, being suspected of treachery, was seized by the authorities and sent to Fort Moultrie as a prisoner. Here he languished for a year and died. The Seminoles were greatly disheartened by the loss of their chieftain, but continued the war. In December, 1838, Colonel Zachary Taylor, with a force of over a thousand men, penetrated the Everglades of Florida, and routed the savages from their lairs. After unparalleled sufferings, he overtook the main body, on Christmas day, near Lake Okeechobee. Here a hard battle was fought, and the Indians were defeated, but not until a hundred and thirty-nine of the Whites had fallen. For

more than a year Taylor continued his campaign in the swamps. The spirit of the Red men was finally broken, and in 1839 the chiefs sent in their submission. They signed an additional treaty; but, after all, their removal to the West was made with much reluctance and delay.

The first year of the new Administration was marked by another financial crisis in the country. There had been a brief interim of issues of irredeemable paper were issued to increase the opportunities for fraud.

It was a time when the new lands were rapidly taken up. The paper money of the banks was receivable at the various land-offices, and speculators made a rush, with a plentiful supply of bills, to secure the best lands. General Jackson, still President, seeing that an unsound currency received in exchange for the national domain was likely to defraud the



EVERGLADES OF FLORIDA.—LAND OF THE SEMINOLES.

great prosperity. The national debt had been entirely liquidated. A surplus of nearly forty million dollars had accumulated in the treasury of the United States. We have already seen how this surplus was distributed by the Government among the several States. Money became suddenly abundant, and speculations of all sorts grew rife. The credit system sprang up and prevailed in every department of business. The banks of the country were multiplied to nearly seven hundred, and vast

Government out of millions of dollars, issued his so-called SPECIE CIRCULAR, by which the land agents were directed to receive nothing but coin in payment for the lands. The effects of this measure fell upon the country in the first year of Van Buren's Administration. The interests of the Government had been secured, but the business of the country was prostrated by the shock. The banks at once suspended specie payment. Mercantile houses tottered and fell. The disaster swept through

every avenue of trade. In March and April of 1837 the failures in New York and New Orleans amounted to nearly one hundred and fifty million dollars. A committee of the business men of the former city besought the President to rescind the specie circular and call a special session of Congress. The former request was refused and the latter complied with, but not until the disasters of the country, rather than the clamor of the committee, had appealed to the Executive.

When Congress convened, in the following September, many measures of relief were brought forward. A bill authorizing the issue of treasury notes, not to exceed an aggregate of ten million dollars, was passed, as a temporary expedient. The President proposed, and had presented to Congress, his plan, under the title of the INDEPENDENT TREASURY BILL. By the provisions of this remarkable project, the public funds of the nation were to be kept on deposit in a treasury to be established for that special purpose. It was argued by Mr. Van Buren and his friends that the surplus money of the country would drift into the Independent Treasury and lodge there; that by this expedient the speculative mania would be effectually checked. It was thought that extensive speculations could not be carried on without a superfluous currency. The philosophical basis of the President's plan was a separation between the business of the Government and the general business of the country.

The Independent Treasury Bill, however, though it passed the Senate, was defeated in the House of Representatives. But in the following regular session of Congress the bill was a second time presented, and passed. In the meantime, however, the business of the country had in a measure revived. During the year 1838 a majority of the banks resumed specie payments. Commercial affairs assumed their wonted aspect. But trade was still paralyzed. Enterprises of all kinds languished, and merchants and traders were discouraged from all manner of ventures. Discontent prevailed among the people, and the Administration was blamed with everything.

The well-known policy of Washington, to have no entanglements with foreign States, was carefully adhered to during the first half-century of our national existence. In 1837 a slight disturbance occurred which involved to a certain extent the relations between the United States and Canada. A portion of the people of that Province had become dissatisfied with British rule, and a revolt was organized, with a view of the possible establishment of independence. The movement excited the sympathy, and even the aid, of many of the American people. In New York some special encouragement was given to the insurgents. From that State a party of seven hundred men, having taken up arms, seized and fortified Navy Island, in the Niagara River. The Loyalists of Canada attempted to capture the place, but failed. They succeeded, however, in setting on fire the *Caroline*, the supply-ship of the adventurers. Her moorings were cut, and the burning vessel was sent over Niagara Falls, a spectacle to men. The event created much excitement, and the peaceful relations of the United States and Great Britain were somewhat endangered. The President, however, issued a proclamation of neutrality, disavowing the action of those who had given aid to the Canadian rebels, and forbidding interference with the affairs of Canada. General Wool was sent to the Niagara frontier, with a sufficient force to quell the disturbance in that quarter, and to punish the disturbers. The New York insurgents on Navy Island were obliged to surrender, and order was presently restored.

The event just mentioned was one of the most exciting of Van Buren's Administration. For the rest, the period was commonplace. The political parties were left to supply the materials of popular agitation. The question as to Van Buren's successor in the Presidency was raised at an early date. The canvass of candidates was waged in a bitter spirit. The measures of the Administration had been of a chararacter to provoke the sharpest political antagonisms. The Whigs were now animated with the hope of victory, and made haste, nearly a year before the election, to nominate General Harrison for the Presidency. On the Democratic side Martin Van Buren had no competitor; but the unanimity of his party could hardly compensate for the blunders and unpopularity, not to say misfortunes, of his Administration.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART No. IX.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

From the Accession of Victoria to the Franco-Prussian War.

PREPARED BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.

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UNITED STATES.

24-29. John Q. Adams's Administration.
John C. Calhoun Vice-president.
25. Controversy concerning the lands of the Creek Indians.
26. Death of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson.
28. Great political excitement.
Beginning of the Tariff agitation.
29-37. Andrew Jackson's Administration.
The President vetoes the Bank Bill.
Political division into Whigs and Democrats.
31. The great Tariff agitation.
32. The Black Hawk War.
34. The Indian Territory organized.
35. The Texan Rebellion.
35. The Seminole War.
Removal of the Cherokees.
36. Arkansas admitted.
37. Michigan admitted into the Union.
Failure of the Sub-treasury Bill.
Great financial crisis.
37-41. Van Buren's Administration.
Richard M. Johnson, Vice-president.
War with Osceola.
Issuance of the Specie Circular.
Insurrection in Canada.
40. Sixth Census of the United States.
41-45. Administrations of Harrison and Tyler.
Veto of the United States Bank Charter.
42. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty.
43. The Rhode Island Rebellion.
Social Disturbances in New York.
39-46. The Mormons in Illinois.
44. Invention of the Telegraph.
45. Admission of Texas into the Union.
45-49. Polk's Administration.
John Tyler Vice-preside
46-48. **The Mexican War.**
48. Treaty of Guadalupe
Discovery of Gold in
Admission of Wiscons
49-53. Administrations of
50. Passage of the Omn
52. Visit of Kossuth
53. Kane's Arctic
53-57. Pierce's Ad
53. Survey of a P
Intercourse op
World's Fair
54. The Ostend
54. Passage of t
57-61. Bucha
The D
Morn
58. Laying
Minnes
59. The J
60. Sece
Mis

ENGLAND.

Sir Walter Scott, novelist and poet, dies, a. 61.
35. Coleridge, poet, dies, a. 61.
37. Crops fail.
37. Rise of Chartists and Trades'-unions.
37-38. Canada rebellion.
38. Abolition of slavery in British colonies, Aug. 1.
39. Melbourne retires, but is recalled. Afghan war.
39. Bread riots in Birmingham. [Feb. 10.
40. Queen marries Albert, prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha,
40. Intervention in Syria against Mehemet Ali.
41. Melbourne retires. Sir Robert Peel, premier.
42. Chartist troubles. John Francis fires at queen.
43. Scinde annexed, June.
43. Troubles in Ireland under O'Connell.
Southey, poet, dies, a. 68.
44. Campbell, poet, dies, a. 67.
45. Danish possessions in India purchased.
45. Earl Grey dies, a. 81.
45. Sikh war. Battle at Moodke, Ferozeshah, December.
46. (Battle) Sobraon—Sikhs routed, Feb. 10.
46. Treaty of Lahore.
46. Peel retires (Tory). Russell, premier.
46-52. Caffre war.
47. Chalmers, divine, dies, a. 69.
47. Monetary crisis. Chartist riots. Famine in Ireland.
Ireland rebels. Great emigration to America.
48. Sikh war renewed. Sikhs utterly defeated, Feb. 21, at
49. Sikhs surrender. Punjaub annexed. [Goojerat.
49. Lord Jeffrey, critic, dies, a. 77.
49. Gold found in Australia.
50. Sir Robert Peel dies, a. 62. Wordsworth, poet, dies, a. 62.
51. War with Burmah.
52. Russell (Whig) retires. E
Derby soon retires. Ru
52. Duke of Wellington dies,
Thomas Moore, poet, dies
52. Pegu annexed, December
52. Nagpoor annexed. Sir C
53 *Aberdeen ministry.*
54. War with Russia as all
55. *Aberdeen ministry* re
56. War with Persia.
56. Sir William Hamil
57. Mutiny in Indiar
Cawnpore. Mi
58. Palmerston (Li
58. East India Com
58. Mutiny in Indi

FRANCE.

35. Rise of **Abd-el-Kader** in Algeria.
38. De Sacy, Orientalist, dies, a. 80.
38. Talleyrand, statesman, dies, a. 84.
42. Sismondi, historian, dies, a. 69.
42. Abd-el-Kader is beaten and flees.
44. War with Morocco, which banishes Abd-el-Kader.
45. Expulsion of Jesuits. [May 25.
46. Louis Napoleon escapes from fortress of Ham,
47. Rise of radicalism. Two attempts to kill king.
47. Abd-el-Kader taken. Algeria made a French province. [and flees, Feb. 23.
48. Revolution. Louis Philippe, king, abdicates, Provisional government; **Lamartine**, president.
48. Great riots in Paris—16,000 killed and wounded.
48. **Gen. Cavaignac**, dictator.
48. **Louis Napoleon**, president of Republic.
49. Insurrection quelled by Changarnier.
49. Army occupies Rome.
50. Louis Philippe dies, a. 77.
51. Marshal Soult dies, a. 82.
51. President Louis Napoleon dissolves National Assembly, Dec. 2, and becomes dictator.
52. Enters Tuileries as president for ten (10) years, Jan. 1. New constitution.
52. President elected emperor, as **Napoleon III.**, Nov. 21.
52. Abd-el-Kader released.
53. Arago, astronomer, dies
54. War with Russia, as a
56. Thierry, historian,
57. Eugene Cavaign
August Comte, p
58. Orsini and Pier
59. War with Au
Peace at Vill
60. Savoy and
61. Jerome B
61. Monaco a
61. Eugene Sc

PRUSSIA.

20. Prussia and Austria obtain great power at Vienna in Germanic Confederation.
31. Hegel, philosopher, dies, a. 61.
34. Schleiermacher, divine, dies, a. 66.
35. Wm. Von Humboldt, philosopher and statesman, dies, a. 68.
35. Dispute with Pope.
37. Archbishop of Cologne, forbidding attendance at Bonn, is confined in fortress of Minden.
40. King dies, a. 66.
Frederick William IV. succeeds.
45. Schlegel, philosopher and critic, dies, a. 78.
47. King establishes representative government.
48. Insurrection in Berlin.
48. War with Denmark, as to
50. Neander, historian an
53. Rodowitz, gener
59. Carl Ritte
Alexande
60. Bunsen,

AUSTRIA.

35. Death of emperor.
Ferdinand succeeds, Mar. 2.
46. Cracow annexed.
48. Duke of Tuscany proclaims free constitution.
48. Revolt in Parma quelled.
48. Venice and Milan revolt. Metternich flees. Insurrection at Prague.
48. Count Lemberg killed at Pesth.
48. **Kossuth** and **Batthyany** at head of provisional government in Hungary.
48. Insurrection in Vienna. Latour killed. King flees.
48. R. Blum shot. Emperor abdicates; his nephew,
Francis Joseph, succeeds Dec. 2.
48. Hungarian war. Austrians defeat Hungarians at Szaikszo and at Mohr.
49. Buda-Pesth taken by Windischgratz, Jan. 5. Bem defeats Austrians at Hermannstadt.
49. Hungary declares herself free, April 14. **Kossuth,** gov'r.
49. Russia joins Austria, May 1. Haynau, commander-in-chief, defeats Hungarians at Raab Temeswar.
49. Gorgey surrenders, Augu
Bem flee to Turkey, w
given up. War ends Se
49. Strauss, composer, dies, a
50. Bem dies at Aleppo, a.
58. Marshal
59. Mettern
59. War wit
Lomb
60. Empe
61. Libe

GERMANY.

15. Confederacy of Austria, Prussia, Germany, Denmark for Holstein, and Netherlands for Luxembourg.
Germany prosperous.
15. *Great intellectual activity. Free-schools established.*
Thirty (30) years' war, followed by forty years' peace.
19. Jacobi, philosopher, dies, a. 76. Kotzebue, dramatist, assassinated, a. 58.
20. Austria and Prussia acquire preponderance in final act of confederation, May 17.
25. Jean Paul Richter, novelist and philosopher, dies, a. 62.
32. Goethe, novelist, philosopher, and poet, dies, a. 83.
33. Riot at Frankfort.
39. Zollverein established among North German States.
41. General Estates meet in
42. Heeren, historian, dies
43. Tumults at Cologne a
Hesse-Cassel and Sa
48. Frankfort Asse
Denmark.
49. King of Prussi
Continued effor

RUSSIA.

30. War with Poland.
37. Chemiotte, oriental scholar, dies, a. 34.
40. Khiva expedition fails from rigor of cli-
46. War with Hungary. [mate, Jan.
53. War with Turkey about Holy Places. Oltenitza battle.
54. War with England and France.
54. *Alma*, Sept. 20.
Balaklava, Oct. 25.
Inkermann, Nov. 5. Allies victorious in all.
Sebastopol, besieged Oct. 17.
55. Emperor dies, a. 59.
Alexander II., March 2.
55. War with Sardinia.
55. Battle of the *Tchernaya*.
55. Sebastopol falls, Sept. 8
56. Peace, April.
58. Partial emancipatio
61. Universal em
two years—N
61. Death of Princ
of Poland.

POLAND.

31. *Grochow*, Feb. 25. Russians lose 7,000; Poles, 2,000.
Skryznecki, Mar. 31. Defeats Russians, who lose 12,000 men.
31. Warsaw falls, Sept. 8.
46. Poland divided. Cracow to Austria.
47. Poland absorbed by Russia.

ITALY.

5. **Eugene Beauharnais,** Napoleon's viceroy.
14. Kingdom ceases on Napoleon's fall.
14-15. Congress at Vienna partitions Italy. Lombardy and Venetia to Austria.
15. **Victor Emanuel,** duke of Savoy, king of Sardinia. Genoa added.
21. King abdicates.
His brother, **Charles Felix,** king.
28. Monti, poet, dies, a. 74.
31. **Charles Albert.**
37. Leopardi, poet, dies, a. 39.
47. King adopts liberal reforms.
48. Constitution proclaimed.
48. Invasion of Lombardy. War with Austria.
49. King defeated at Novara.
49. King resigns crown to son, **Victor Emanuel II.**
49. Radetzky defeats king at Milan. Peace. Aug. 6.
52. Gioberti, philosopher an
55. Sardinia joins allie
59. War with Au
aids Sardi
59. *Montebello*, *Magenta*, Ju
Allies victor
Peace at Vil
60. Savoy and
joins Sard

SPAIN.

33. **Isabella II.** (infant.)
35. British auxiliaries assist **Christina,** queen mother.
35. Espartero crushes revolt.
41. **Espartero,** regent. Insurrection in favor of queen-mother, under O'Donnell, quelled.
40. Queen Regent abdicates.
42. Insurrection in Barcelona.
43. Successful. Espartero flees.
Isabella II. declared of age.
44. Christina, queen-mother, returns.
46. Queen marries Duke of Cadiz.
Cabrera revolts in '48.
51. Cuba invaded by Lopez.
53 Privileges of clergy
54. O'Donnell and Con
Espartero rebels; s
55. Don Carlos, broth
56. **O'Donnell,** d
59. War with

DENMARK.

14. Norway joins Sweden. Pomerania and Rugen given to Denmark.
39. **Christian VIII.,** son of Frederick, brother of Christian VII.
46. Seizure of Holstein and Sleswick.
48. **Frederic VII.**
48. Holstein and Sleswick declare independence.
48. Prussia and Frankfort Assembly support them.
48. Prussians and Hanoverians take Holstein, April 23.
48. Sweden and Russia support Denmark.
Gravenstein battle, May 28.
Duppel battle, June 5.
49. Danes defeated at Eckenfiord, April 5.
50. Peace with Prussia.
50. Danes defeated at Idstadt. Holstein continues hostilities.
50. Final treaty of peace, O
55. Sound duties resisted
57. Sound duties abolish
57-62. Troubles in Sleswi
63. Frederick VII.
63. Great trouble a
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nitted.
own Insurrection.
South Carolina.
Florida, Alabama, Georgia,
na, and Texas secede.

61-65. Lincoln's administration.
Hannibal Hamlin Vice-president.
61. The Confederate government organized.
61-65. The Great Civil War.
Capture of Fort Sumter.
Battles of Bull Run and Ball's Bluff.
62. Battles of Pittsburg Landing, Murfreesborough.
63. The Emancipation Proclamation.
The Seven Days battles and Antietam
Siege of Vicksburg.
Battle of Chickamauga.
Battle of Chancellorsville.
Lee invades Pennsylvania.
Battle of Gettysburg.
64. Grant in command of the army.
Sherman's march to the sea.
Re-election of Lincoln.
65. Capture of Richmond and end of the Civil War.
Assassination of Lincoln.
65-69. Johnson's Administration.
Reconstruction of the Southern States undertaken.
Amnesty Proclamation.
66. Tennessee readmitted.
67. Purchase of Alaska.
Admission of Nebraska.

68. Impeachment of the President.
The Fourteenth Amendment adopted.
The Southern States restored to the Union.
69-77. Grant's Administration.
Schuyler Colfax Vice-president.
69. Completion of the Pacific Railway.
Great monetary panic.
70. Ninth Census of the United States.
71. Treaty of Washington.
Great development of the railroad system.
Burning of Chicago.
72. Settlement of the North-west boundary.
Re-election of Grant.
The Modoc War.
73. Civil disturbances in Louisiana.
Disastrous financial panic.
76. Admission of Colorado.
76. Celebration of the Centennial year.
The disputed presidential election.
77. War with the Sioux.
77-81. Administration of Hayes.
77. The railroad strike.
78. Remonetization of silver.
The yellow fever epidemic.
79. Resumption of specie payments.

erby (Tory), premier.
called.

apier, general, dies.
[dies, a. 82.
rkey. Montgomery, poet,
lmerston, premier.
th China. Oude annexed.
taphysician. dies, a. 68.
Nena Sahib captures
es massacred.
tires. Derby (Tory) premier.
government ceases, Sept. 1.
d by Sir Colin Campbell (Lord Clyde).

58. Lucknow relieved, Mar. 2.
59. Derby (Tory) retires. Palmerston (Liberal), premier.
59. Lord Macaulay, historian and essayist, dies, a. 59.
60. Peace with China. Prince of Wales visits United States.
61. Duchess of Kent (mother of queen) dies.
61. Elizabeth Barrett Browning, poetess, dies, a. 52, June 29.
61. Prince Albert (consort) dies, a. 42, Dec. 14.
62. Great distress in Lancashire on account of failure of Serious troubles in India. [cotton supply.
63. Arthur Hugh Clough, poet, dies, a. 42, Nov. 13.
63. Lord Elgin, governor-general of India, dies, Nov. 20.
63. William Makepeace Thackeray novelist, dies, a. 52, Dec. 24.
65. Troubles in Ireland from Fenianism. Habeas Corpus suspended in Ireland.
65. Lord Palmerston, premier, dies, a. 80, Oct. 10.
66. Atlantic Telegraph Cable successfully laid from Valentia Bay (Ireland) to Heart's Content (Newfoundland).

67. Passage of Reform Bill.
Michael Faraday, chemist, dies, a. 76.
Masses enfranchised.
War against Abyssinia.
Fenian outbreaks in Ireland.
68. Death of Lord Brougham.
68. End of the Abyssinian war.
Benjamin Disraeli leader of the opposition.
69. Disestablishment of the Irish Church.
70. Bill passed for promotion of education.
71. Sales of commissions in the army forbidden.
Alabama Claims Commission meet at Geneva.
71. W. E. Gladstone, prime minister.
72. Census of the United Kingdom. Population, 31,465,480.
Passage of the Ballot Act.

rkey. Peace in '56.
61.
ral and statesman, dies,
er, dies, a. 59. [a. 55.
pt life of emperor.
ally of Sardinia.
x.
exed, Mar. 24.
e dies, a. 78.
Feb. 2.
matist, dies, a. 70.

61. Intervention in Mexico, Oct. 31.
62. War with Mexico.
62. War in Cochin China adds to French Provinces.
62. Biot, Savant, dies, a. 88.
63. Despretz, savant, dies, a. 74, Mar. 15.
66. Intervenes and causes cessation of war between Prussia, Italy, and Austria.
67. French withdraw from Mexico, March.
67. Intervenes in behalf of Papal States, and causes cessation of invasion by defeat of invaders at Monte Rotundo, near Rome.
International Exposition opens at Paris.

68. Republican disturbances at Bordeaux.
War declared against Prussia.
69. Liberal gains in the elections.
70. Great battles of the Franco-Prussian war.
70. Emile Ollivier, prime minister.
71. Provisional Republican government formed.
Concessions made by Napoleon toward constitutional government.
71. Siege of Paris by the Germans.
71. Treaty of Peace with Prussia.
The Plebiscitum.
71. Thiers elected president.

inded by assassin.
n.
, dies, a. 61.
atesman, dies, a. 60.
apher, dies, a. 80.
umboldt, naturalist, dies, a. 90.
nd phil'r, dies, a. 69.

61. King dies, a. 66.
61. **William I.** succeeds Jan. 2.
66. War with Austria as ally of Italy.
66. Hanover absorbed by Prussia, and king dethroned; also electorate of Hesse, Duchy of Nassau and free city of Frankfort.

70. The Spanish crown offered to Prince Leopold.
Outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war.
The German armies invade France.
71. King William proclaimed emperor at Versailles.
72. Expulsion of the Jesuits from Germany.

his army. Kossuth and
tects them. Komorn is

dies, a. 92.
esman, dies, a. 86.
and France. Austria yields
eace of Villa Franca, July 12.
ned at Pesth, October.
titution.

61. Hungarian diet opened by emperor.
66. War with Prussia and Italy.
At the Mincio, with Italians, June 24.
66. *Nachod*, with Prussians, June 27.
66. *Trautenau* and *Munchengratz*, June 28.
66. *Sadowa*, with Prussians, July 3.
Prussians in all victorious.
66. Treaty of peace between Austria and Prussia. Austria waives all claim to Sleswick-Holstein, withdraws from Germany, and yields North Sleswick to Denmark, Aug. 30.

67. Emperor elected king of Hungary and crowned king at Pesth.
Kossuth enters Hungarian diet.
Archduke Maximilian shot in Mexico.
68. The Catholic clergy declared amenable to the civil law.
Disabilities of the Jews removed.
69. Outbreak in Dalmatia.
70. Title of the empire changed to "The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy."
71. Friendly relations with Germany established.
72. Measures adopted for national representation.

kfort. Reform in
g-Gotha.
ets. Aids Sleswick-Holstein against

emperor of Germany, but declines.
ty.

54. Schelling, philosopher, dies, a. 79.
61. Schlosser, historian, dies, a. 85.
64. Maximilian, king of Bavaria, dies.
Succeeded by Son, **Ludwig II.**
66. Formation of North German Confederation under leadership of Prussia. Hanover annexed.

67. Formation of the German Zollverein.
68. Baden proposes the union of the Southern States with the Confederation.
70. North German States support Prussia in the war with France.
71. The German Confederation merged into the empire. King William receives the Imperial crown.

Allies victorious.
n, Nov. 23.
's, July 2.
n—20,000,000 serfs within
el Gortschakoff, governor

61. Great troubles in Poland. Military governor at Warsaw, assassinated.
61. Prince Adam George Czartoryski dies, a. 91, July 15.
62. Jews admitted to privileges in Russia, Jan. 26.
62. Count Nesselrode, statesman, dies, a. 92, Mar. 23.
63. Insurrection in Russian Poland.
64. Emancipation of all serfs in Poland who had not taken part in rebellion.
65. Russia advances into Central Asia.

66. Attempt to assassinate the emperor.
67. Unfriendly relations with Austria and Turkey.
69. Death of Prince Menchikoff.
70. Commercial treaty with China.
Russia demands a modification of the treaty of Paris.
71. Polish and German languages prohibited.
Riots in Odessa.
72. Celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of Peter the Great.

an, dies, a. 51.
nst Russia.
vading Sardinia. France

Palæstro, May 30.
Solferino, June 24.
r Napoleon III. and king.
, July 12.
lded to France. Tuscany

60. War with Naples and Sicily, which votes to join Sardinia.
61. Sardinia, Lombardy, Tuscany, Modena, Parma, Romagna, Naples, and Sicily form kingdom of Italy.
61. Recognized by England.
Count Cavour, statesman, dies, a. 52.
62. Garibaldi (republican) invades Papal States, and captured by government.
66. War with Austria, June 18.
66. Emperor of France gives to Italy province of Venetia, which was ceded to him by Austria.

67. Garibaldi invades Papal States from Italy; is stopped by Italian government, taken prisoner, and invasion ceases.
68. Railway over Mont Cenis opened.
69. Tax riots.
70. Rome annexed to Italy.
Rome made the capital of the kingdom.
72. Death of Mazzini.
Great eruption of Mount Vesuvius.

t. O'Donnell banished.
Queen-mother flees to
dinand VII., dies. [France.

60. Ortega revolts.
61. St. Domingo annexed.
62. Rosa, statesman, dies, a. 73, Feb. 1.
62. San Miguel, statesman, dies, a. 82, May 29.
66. Prim rises in insurrection.
67. Marshal O'Donnell dies.

68. Revolution, led by Prim and Serrano.
68. Isabella takes refuge in Paris.
70. Isabella abdicates.
70. Prince Amadeo chosen king.
70. Prim assassinated.
72. Tax riots in Barcelona.

l States.
ein.
r. 15.
l by **Christian IX.**
duchies of Sleswick-Hol-
Prussia.

64. Sleswick occupied by Austrians and Prussians, Feb. 9.
64. Duppel besieged by Austrians and Prussians.
Danes defeated at Viele by Austrians, March.
64. Duppel taken by Prussians, April 10.
Naval battle off Heligoland, May 9.
64. War ended—Denmark ceding to Prussia and Austria the duchies of Sleswick and Holstein, August.

66. New Constitution adopted.
67. Denmark offers to sell the islands of St. Thomas and St. John to United States.
68. The clergy exempted from military duty.
70. Denmark remains neutral in Franco-Prussian war.
72. Great exposition of Scandinavian industries at Copenhagen.

The campaign of 1840 was the most exciting which had yet occurred in the history of the United States. Van Buren was blamed with everything. The financial distresses were laid at his door. Extravagance, bribery, corruption—everything bad was charged upon him. Men of business advertised to pay six dollars a barrel for flour if Harrison should be elected, three dollars a barrel if Van Buren should be successful. The Whig orators tossed about the luckless Administration through all the figures and forms of speech, and the President himself was shot at with every sort of dart that partisan wit and malice could invent. The enthusiasm in the ranks of the opposition rose higher and higher, and Van Buren was overwhelmingly defeated. He received only sixty electoral votes, against two hundred and thirty-four for General Harrison. After controlling the destinies of the Government for nearly forty years, the Democratic party was thus temporarily routed. For Vice-President, John Tyler, of Virginia, was the successful candidate.

In the last year of Van Buren's Administration was completed the sixth census of the United States. The tables were, as usual, replete with the evidences of growth and progress. The national revenues for the year 1840 amounted to nearly twenty millions of dollars. At this time that important statistical information, for which the subsequent reports have been noted, began to appear in its full value. The center of population had in the last ten years moved westward along the thirty-ninth parallel of latitude from the south fork of the Potomac to Clarksburg, in the present State of West Virginia, a distance of fifty-five miles. The inhabited area of the United States now amounted to eight hundred and seven thousand square miles, being an increase for the decade of twenty-seven and six-tenths per cent. The frontier line circumscribing the population passed through Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and the western borders of Missouri, Arkansas, and Louisiana, a distance of three thousand three hundred miles. The population had reached an aggregate of seventeen million souls, being an increase, since 1830, of more than six millions. It was found from the tables that eleven-twelfths of the people lived outside of the larger cities and towns, showing a strong preponderance of the agricultural over the manufacturing and commercial interests. One of the most cheering lessons of the census was found in the fact that the wonderful growth of the United States was in *extent* and *area*, and not in *accumulation*—in the *spread* of civilization rather than in an increase of *intensity*. For since 1830 the average of the population of the country had not increased by so much as *one person to the square mile!*

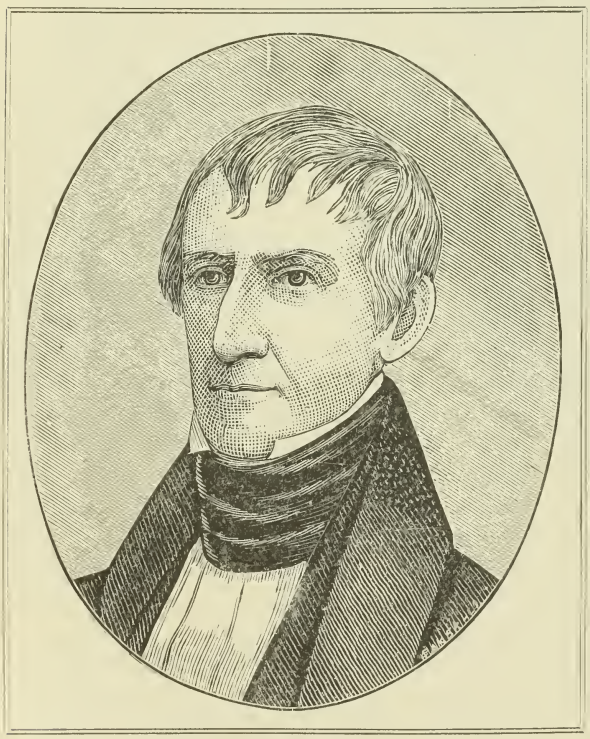
The common judgment has been that the Administration of Van Buren was weak and inglorious. Doubtless it was characterized by few important episodes, and was controlled by principles some of which were bad; but he and his times were unfortunate rather than vicious. He was the victim of the evils which followed hard upon the relaxation of the Jacksonian methods of government. He had neither the will nor the disposition to rule as his predecessor had done. Nor were the people and their representatives any longer in the humor to suffer that sort of government. The period was unheroic; it was the ebb-tide between the belligerent excitements of 1832 and the War with Mexico. The financial panic added opprobium to the popular estimate of imbecility in the Government. "The Administration of Van Buren," said a bitter satirist, "is like a parenthesis; it may be read in a low tone of voice or altogether omitted *without injuring the sense!*" But the satire lacked one essential—truth.

William Henry Harrison was by birth a Virginian. He was the son of Benjamin Harrison, signer of the Declaration of Independence; the adopted son of Robert Morris, financier of the Revolution. He was a graduate of Hampden-Sidney College, and afterwards a student of medicine. Attracted by the military life, he entered the army under St. Clair; was rapidly promoted; became Lieutenant-Governor, and then Governor of Indiana Territory, which office he filled with great ability. His military career in the North-west has been already narrated. He was inaugurated President on the 4th of March, 1841, and began his duties by issuing a call for a special session of Congress, to consider "sundry important matters connected with the finances of the country." An able Cabinet

was organized, at the head of which was Daniel Webster as Secretary of State.

Everything promised well for the new Whig Administration; but before Congress could convene, the venerable President, bending under the weight of sixty-eight years, fell sick and died, just one month after his inauguration. It was the first time that such an event had occurred in American history. Profound and universal grief was manifested at the sad event.

On the 6th of April, 1841, John Tyler took the oath of office and became President



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

of the United States. He was a statesman of considerable distinction, a native of Virginia, a graduate of William and Mary College. At an early age he left the profession of law to enter upon a public career. He was chosen a member of Congress, and in 1825 was elected Governor of Virginia. From that position he was sent to the Senate of the United States; and now, at the age of fifty-one, was called to the Presidency. He had been put upon the ticket with General Harrison through motives of expediency; for, although a Whig in most of his political principles, he was known to be hostile to the United States Bank. And this hostility was soon to be manifested in a remarkable manner.

On the convening of the special session of Congress the Whigs were in high spirits. One of the first measures proposed at the session, which lasted from May to September, was the repeal of the Independent Treasury Bill. A general bankrupt law was also brought forward and passed, by which a great number of insolvent business men were released from the disabilities under which they had fallen in the recent financial crash. The next measure—a favorite scheme of the Whigs—was the rechartering of the Bank of the United States. The old charter had expired in 1836, but the bank had continued in operation, under a charter granted by the State of Pennsylvania. A bill to rehabilitate the institution in its national character was now brought forward and passed. The President interposed his veto. Again the bill was presented, in a modified form, and received the sanction of both Houses, only to be rejected by the Executive. This action produced a fatal rupture between the President and the party which had elected him. The indignant Whigs, baffled by the want of a two-thirds' majority in Congress, turned upon him with storms of invective. All the members of the Cabinet except Mr. Webster resigned their seats, and he retained his place only because of a pending difficulty with Great Britain.

A contention had arisen relative to the north-eastern boundary of the United States. The territorial limit in that direction had not been clearly defined in the treaty of 1783, and the commissioners at Ghent, in 1814, had contributed little to the solution of the difficulty. Like most of the other matters which were presented for the consideration of that polite and easily satisfied convention, the fixing of the boundary in question had been postponed rather than settled. It was agreed, however, at that time, to refer the establishment of the entire line between the United States and Canada to the decision of three commissions, which were to be formed under the auspices of the two Governments. The first of these bodies accomplished its work successfully, by

awarding the United States the islands in the bay of Passamaquoddy. The third commission performed its duty by fixing the true boundary-line from the intersection of the forty-fifth parallel of latitude with the river St. Lawrence to the western point of Lake Huron. To the second commission was assigned the more difficult task of settling the boundary from the Atlantic to the St. Lawrence; and this work they failed to accomplish.

Thus, for nearly twenty-five years, the boundary of the United States on the north-east remained indeterminate. At times the difficulty became so serious as to endanger the peace of the two nations. Finally the whole matter was referred to Lord Ashburton, acting on the part of Great Britain, and Daniel Webster, the American Secretary of State.

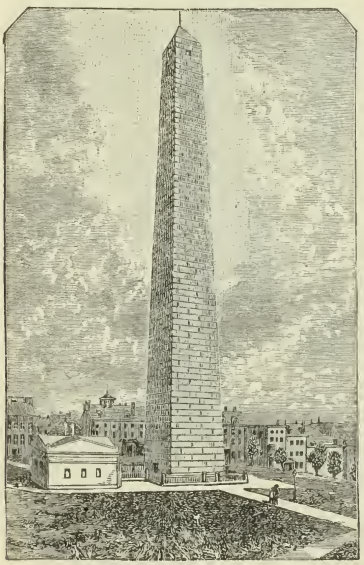
The discussion between the two diplomatists was as able as the subject was intricate. Finally the boundary was definitely established as follows: From the mouth of the river St. Croix, ascending that stream to its western fountain; from that fountain due north, to the St. John's; thence with that river to its source on the watershed between the Atlantic and the St. Lawrence; thence in a south-westerly direction, along the crest of the highlands, to the north-western source of the Connecticut; and thence down that stream to and along the forty-fifth parallel to the St. Lawrence. By a second agreement of the commissioners, the boundary was established from the western point of Lake Huron, through Lake Superior, to the north-western extremity of the Lake of the Woods; thence—confirming the treaty of October, 1818—southward to the forty-ninth parallel of latitude; and thence with that parallel to the Rocky Mountains. This important settlement, known as the WEBSTER-ASHBURTON TREATY, was completed on the 9th of August, 1842, and was ratified by the Senate on the 20th of the same month.



JOHN TYLER.

In the year 1843 a peculiar domestic trouble arose in the State of Rhode Island. For nearly two centuries the government of that Commonwealth had rested upon the old charter granted by Charles II. There had been in Rhode Island, since the earlier Colonial times, a certain residue of loyalism unfavorable to

republican institutions. Among other things a clause in the ancient charter restricting the right of suffrage to property-holders of a certain grade still kept its place. With the development of free institutions under our national Government the spirit of democracy gained the ascendency, and the proposition was made to abolish the restriction on the suffrage in the Constitution of the State. The event showed that the people were almost unanimous for the change. But in respect to the *manner* of making the same there was a serious division. One faction, known as the Law and Order party, proceeded, in accordance with the old Constitution, to choose Samuel W. King as Governor.



BUNKER HILL MONUMENT.

The other faction, called the Suffrage party, acting in an irregular way, elected Thomas W. Dorr.

In May of 1842 both parties met and organized their rival governments. The Law and Order party undertook to suppress the faction of Dorr. The latter in turn made an attempt to capture the State arsenal. The militia under Governor King's officers, however, drove the assailants away. About a month later the adherents of Dorr again took up arms; but this time they were dispersed by a detachment of national troops, which had come into the State. Dorr thereupon fled from Rhode Island, but soon afterwards returned, when he was caught, tried for treason, convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment for life. He was offered pardon on condition of taking the oath of allegiance to the established authorities. This he stubbornly refused to do, and was kept in confinement until June of 1845, when he was liberated without conditions.

In the year 1842 was completed the Bunker Hill Monument. As might well be expected, the event called forth an unbounded enthusiasm, not only in Boston and Massachusetts, but throughout the country. The foundation of the great shaft had been laid on the 17th of June, 1825; the corner-stone being put in place by the venerable Lafayette, who was then visiting in the United States. Daniel Webster, at this time young in years and fame, delivered the oration, while two hundred Revolutionary veterans—forty of them survivors of the battle fought on that hill-crest just fifty years before—gathered with the throng to hear him. But the work of erection went on slowly. More than a hundred and fifty thousand dollars were expended, and seventeen years elapsed, before the grand shaft commemorative of the heroes living and dead was finished. The column was of Quincy granite, thirty-one feet square at the base, and two hunred and twenty-one feet in height. The dedication was postponed until the next succeeding anniversary of the battle. On the 17th of June, 1843, an immense multitude of people, including most of the survivors of the Revolutionary War, gathered from all parts of the Republic to participate in the ceremonies. Mr. Webster, now full of years and honors, was again chosen to deliver the address. The dedicatory oration was one of the most able and eloquent ever pronounced in the United States. New luster was added to the fame of the orator. The exercises were concluded with a public dinner, given in Faneuil Hall, the cradle of American liberty.

In the last years of Tyler's Administration the State of New York was the scene of a serious social disturbance, arising from certain disputed land-titles, and going back in its origin to the Dutch occupation of New Netherland. Until the year 1840, the descendants of Van Rensselaer, one of the old Dutch patroons, had held a claim on certain lands in the counties of Rensselaer, Columbia, and Del-



MORMON EMIGRANTS IN THE DESERT.

aware. In liquidation of this claim, they had continued to receive from the farmers owning the lands certain trifling rents. But at length the farmers were wearied with the payment, and rebelled. From 1840 to 1844 the question was much debated in the Legislature of New York. In the latter year the Anti-rent party became so bold as to attack those of their fellow-tenants who made the payments. The paying renters were coated with tar and feathers, and driven from the settlements. Officers were sent to apprehend the rioters, and them they killed. Time and again the authorities of the State were invoked to quell the disturbances, and the excitements at length subsided. To the present time, however, there has never been any formal adjustment of the difficulty.

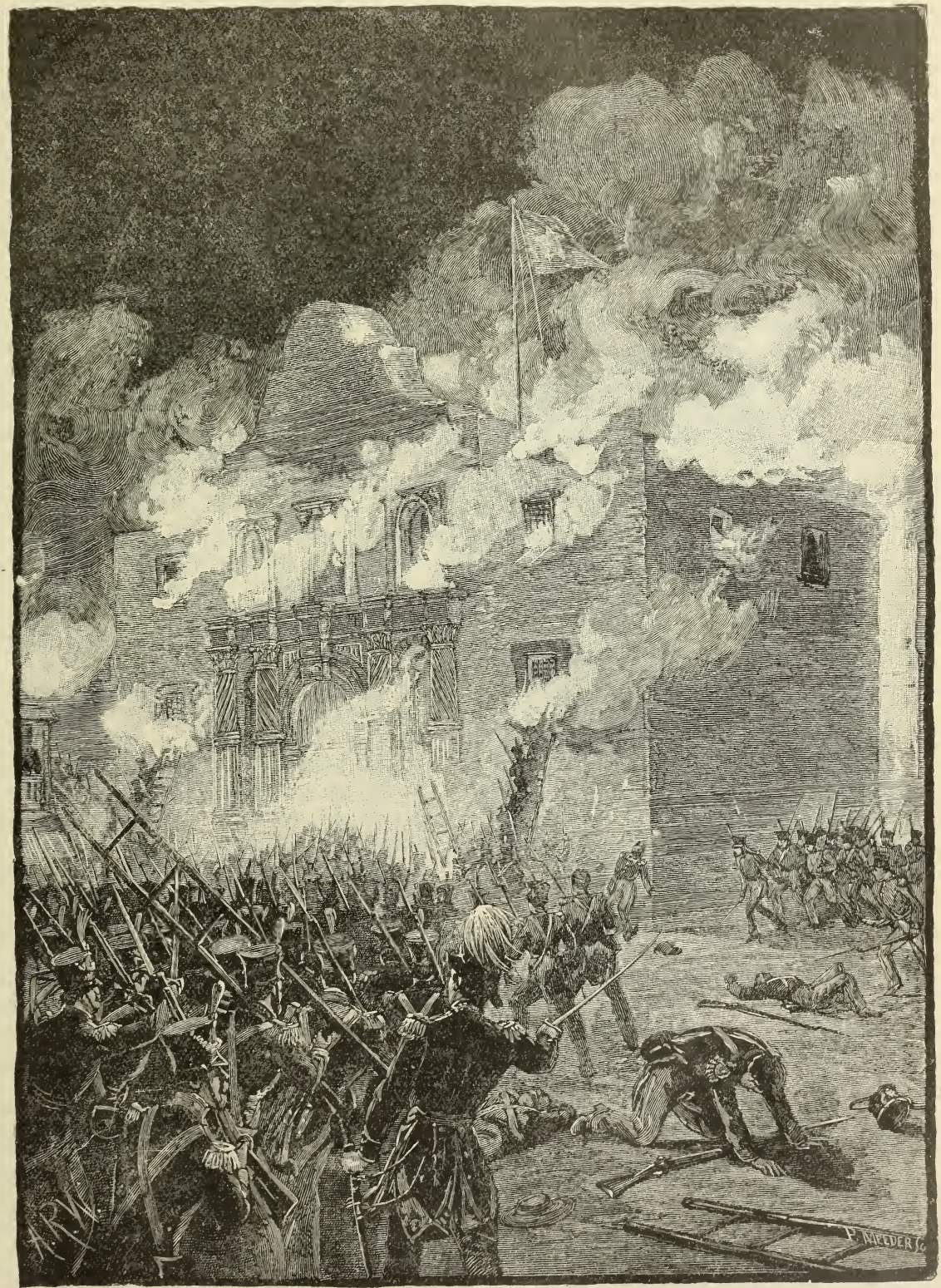
To the same epoch of our history belongs the beginning of the troubles with the Mormons. The latter, under the leadership of their prophet, Joseph Smith, made their first important settlements in Jackson County, Missouri. Here their numbers increased to fifteen hundred. Elated with the success of their colony, they began to say that the great West was to be their inheritance. The anti-Mormon people of the surrounding country became excited, and determined to rid themselves of their neighbors. The militia was at length called out, and the Mormons were obliged to leave the State. In the spring of 1839 they crossed the Mississippi into Illinois, and on a high plateau overlooking the river, laid out a new city, to which they gave the name of Nauvoo, meaning *The Beautiful.*

Here they built a splendid temple. Again the numbers of the Saints increased by additions from different parts of the United States and from Europe. The settlement at length attained a population of ten thousand. The rapid increase of the Mormons and their peculiar principles aroused the antagonism of the region round about, and the two parties became hostile. Some laws enacted by Smith's followers were contrary to the statute of Illinois. The Mormons were charged with certain thefts and murders, and it was believed that the courts about Nauvoo were powerless to convict the criminals.

With the rise of the excitement and the outbreak of violence, Smith and his brother were arrested, taken to Carthage, and put in jail. On the 27th of June, 1844, a mob gathered, broke open the jail doors, and killed the prisoners. Hostilities continued during the summer. In the following year the charter of Nauvoo was annulled by the Legislature. The Mormons despaired of maintaining their foothold in Illinois, and the great majority determined to exile themselves beyond the limits of civilization. In 1846 they began their march to the far West. In September, Nauvoo was cannonaded for three days, and the remnant of the Mormons who had remained were driven forth to join their companions in exile. They came up with the main company at Council Bluffs, Iowa. Thence they dragged themselves wearily westward, crossed the Rocky Mountains, reached the basin of the Great Salt Lake, and founded Utah Territory. Such were the beginnings of a complication, which, after the lapse of nearly fifty years, has not yet yielded to the force of logic, or the logic of force.

CHAPTER CXXIII.—MEXICAN WAR AND SIXTH DECADE.

IN the meantime, a still more serious agitation had arisen in the United States, relative to the Republic of Texas. From 1821 to 1836, this imperial country, lying between Louisiana and Mexico, had been a province of the latter republic. It had been the policy of Spain, and of Mexico afterwards, to keep Texas uninhabited, with a view to interposing an impassable country between the aggressive American race and the Mexican borders. At length, however, a large land-grant was made to Moses Austin, of Connecticut, on condition that he would settle three hundred American families within the limits of his domain. The grant was confirmed to his son Stephen, with the privilege



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FALL OF THE ALAMO.

of establishing five hundred additional families of immigrants. It was thus that the foundations of English civilization were laid within the borders of Texas.

Owing to the oppressive policy of the Mexican Government, and perhaps to the independent spirit of the Texans themselves, the latter, in the year 1835, raised the standard of rebellion. War broke out between the parent State and the revolted province. Many adventurers and some heroes from the United States rushed to the scene of action, and espoused the Texan cause. In the first battle, fought at Gonzales, a thousand Mexicans were defeated by a Texan force of half the number.



SAMUEL F. B. MORSE.

On the sixth of March, 1836, a Texan fort called the Alamo was surrounded by a Mexican army of eight thousand men, under the command of Santa Anna, President of Mexico. The feeble garrison, after a heroic defense, was overpowered and massacred, under circumstances of great atrocity. Here the daring David Crockett, an ex-Congressman of Tennessee, and a famous hunter of beasts and men, was killed. In the following month was fought the decisive battle of San Jacinto, in which a small American army, commanded by General Sam Houston, annihilated the hosts of Santa Anna, and achieved the freedom of Texas at a blow. The independence of the new State was acknowledged by the United States, by Great Britain, and by France.

From the first there was an ulterior object on the part of the Texans to gain admission into the American Union. No sooner had they become independent than they applied for a place as a State in our Republic. At first the proposition was declined by President Van Buren, who feared a war with Mexico. In the last year of Tyler's Administration the question of the annexation of Texas was again agitated. The population of that Republic had now increased to more than two hundred thousand souls. The territory embraced an area of two hundred and thirty-seven thousand square miles, a domain more than five times as great as the State of Pennsylvania. It was like annexing an empire.

The issue here presented became political in its bearing. It was the great question on which the people divided in the Presidential election of 1844. Nor will the thoughtful reader, nearing the close of the century, fail to discern in this old question of annexation the profound problem of slavery. Freedom and the free States had found a vent in the North-west, looking even beyond the Rocky Mountains and to the Pacific; but slavery and the slave States seemed to be hampered on the south-west. Would not Texas open to the "peculiar institution" a field as broad and promising as that possessed by the Northern States? Could not the equipoise between the two parts of the Union be thus maintained?

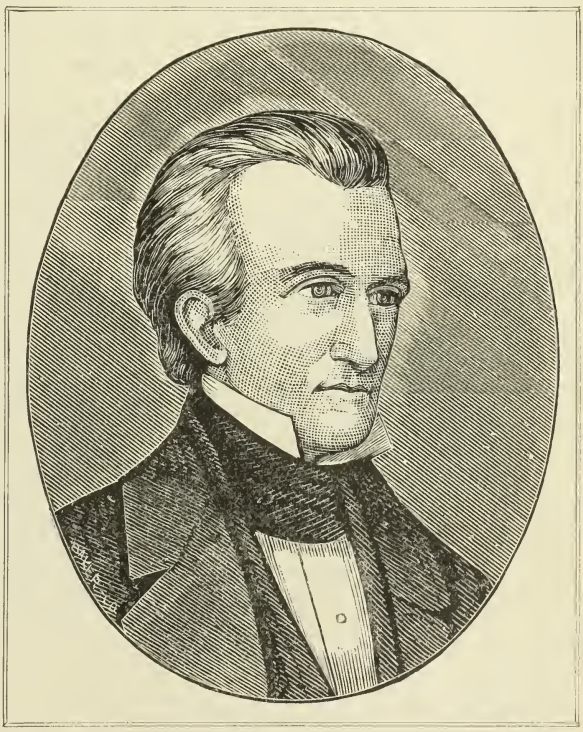
In all this we may see the bottom reason why the people of the South as a rule favored the annexation, and why the proposition was received with much coldness in the North. Again, the project was favored by the Democrats and opposed by the Whigs; so that here we have the beginning of that sectionalism in party politics which has not yet disappeared from the nation. At this time the two parties were nearly equally matched in strength, and the contest of 1844 surpassed in excitement anything which had hitherto been known in the country. James K. Polk, of Tennessee, was put forward as the Democratic candidate, while the Whigs chose their favorite leader, Henry Clay. The former was elected, and the hope of the latter of reaching the Presidency was forever eclipsed. For

Vice-President, George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, was chosen.

An incident of these days is worthy of special mention. On the 29th of May, 1844, the news of the nomination of Polk was sent to Washington City from Baltimore by the magnetic telegraph. It was the first despatch ever so transmitted, and the event marks an era in the history of civilization. The inventor of the telegraph, which has revolutionized the method of transmitting information and introduced a new epoch in history, was Professor Samuel F. B. Morse, of Massachusetts. The magnetic principle on which the invention depends had been known since 1774, but Professor Morse was the first to apply that principle to the benefit of men. He began his experiments in 1832, and five years later succeeded in obtaining a patent on his invention. He had, in the meantime, to contend with every species of prejudice and ignorance which the low grade of human intelligence could produce. After the issuance of the patent there was a long delay, and it was not until the last day of the session of Congress in 1843 that he obtained an appropriation of thirty thousand dollars. With that appropriation was constructed, between Baltimore and Washington, the first telegraphic line in the world. Perhaps no other single invention has exercised a more beneficent influence on the welfare, advancement, and happiness of mankind.

With the convening of Congress in December, 1844, the proposition to admit Texas into the Union was formally brought forward. During the winter the question was constantly debated, and on the 1st of March the bill for annexation was passed. The President immediately gave his assent, and the Lone Star took its place in the constellation of American States. On the day before the inauguration of Polk, bills for the admission of Florida and Iowa were also signed; but the latter State, the twenty-ninth member of the Union, was not formally admitted until the following year.

James Knox Polk was a native of North Carolina, born November 2, 1795. At the age of eleven he removed with his father to Tennessee. In 1818 he was graduated from the University of North Carolina. In the years of his earlier manhood he was the *protégé* of Andrew Jackson. His first public office was a membership in the Legislature of the State. He was afterwards elected to Congress, where he served as member and Speaker for fourteen years. In 1839 he was chosen governor of Tennessee, and from that position was called, at the early age of forty-nine, to the Presidential chair. At the head of the new Cabinet was placed James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania. It was an office requiring high abilities; for the threatening question with



JAMES K. POLK.

Mexico came at once to a crisis. As soon as the resolution to annex Texas was adopted by Congress, Almonte, the Mexican Minister at Washington, demanded his passports, and indignantly left the country.

On the 4th of July, 1845, the Act of Annexation was ratified by the Legislature of Texas, and the union was an accomplished fact. But the Texan authorities knew well the course which the Government of Mexico would pursue. A deputation was sent at once to the President of the United States, requesting that an army be immediately despatched for the protection of the new State. It was in obe-

dience to this petition that General Zachary Taylor was ordered to march from Camp Jessup, in Western Louisiana, to occupy Texas.

The real question at issue between that State and Mexico was one of boundaries. Perhaps the bare fact of the annexation of Texas to the United States would have been borne by the Mexican Republic, if she could have dictated the boundary-line between her own territories and those of Texas. The foundation of the quarrel had been laid as early as the Mexican Revolution of 1821. By that event Mexico had shaken off her dependence on Spain, and had reärranged her civil administration to suit herself. In doing so she had united in one the two provinces of Coahuila and Texas. These were the frontier Mexican States east of the Rio Grande. Over the united provinces she had established a common government, and this government was maintained until the Texan Rebellion of 1836. Texas, being successful in that struggle with Mexico, naturally claimed that her own independence, so achieved, carried with it the independence of Coahuila, and that therefore the territory of the latter province became, by the act of revolution, an integral part of the new Texan Republic.

The same views were held by the people of Coahuila. The joint Legislature of that province and of Texas passed a statute, in December of 1836, declaring the integrity of the two States, under the name of Texas. Mexico, however, insisted that Texas *only*, and not Coahuila, had revolted against her authority, and that therefore the latter State was still rightfully a part of the Mexican dominions.

It thus happened that Texas, now a State in the American Union, claimed the Rio Grande as the western limit, while Mexico was determined to have the Nueces as the separating line. The territory between the two rivers was in dispute. The Government of the United States made a proposal to have the difficulty settled by negotiation, but Mexico scornfully refused. The refusal was construed by the Americans as a virtual confession that the Mexican Government was in the wrong, and, upon this conviction, continued to claim the Rio Grande as the true boundary. Instructions were sent to General Taylor to advance his army as near to that river as circumstances would warrant, and to hold it against aggression. Under these orders the American army was moved forward to Corpus Christi, at the mouth of the Nueces, where a camp was established; and there Taylor concentrated his forces to the number of four thousand five hundred men. Such was the situation of affairs at the close of the year 1845.

At the beginning of the following year a critical step was taken. General Taylor was ordered to move forward to the Rio Grande. It was known that the Mexican Government had resolved not to receive an American ambassador sent thither to negotiate a settlement. It was also learned that a Mexican army had been gathered in the northern part of the Republic for the invasion of Texas, or, at any rate, to occupy the disputed territory between the two rivers. On the 8th of March the American army was thrown forward from Corpus Christi to Point Isabel, on the Gulf of Mexico. At that place Taylor established a dépôt of supplies, and thence pressed forward to the Rio Grande. He arrived at that river a short distance above the mouth, and took a station at the town of Matamoras, where he erected a fortress, named Fort Brown.

On the 26th of April, General Arista, who had arrived at Matamoras on the day before Taylor's approach, and had taken command of the Mexican forces on the frontier, notified the American commander that hostilities had begun. On that day a company of American dragoons, under command of Captain Thornton, was attacked by a body of Mexicans who had crossed the Rio Grande into the disputed territory. The Americans lost sixteen men in killed and wounded, and were obliged to surrender.

Such was the outbreak of the war. While the troop of Mexicans just referred to crossed the river above the American camp, other bodies made a crossing below, and threatened Taylor's communications. That General, fearing for his supplies at Point Isabel, hastened to the place and strengthened the defenses. The fort opposite Matamoras was left under command of Major Brown, with a garrison of three hundred men. The return of Taylor to Point Isabel was witnessed by the Mexicans across the river, who supposed the Americans

were retreating from the country. Great jubilation ensued. The *Republican Monitor*, a Mexican newspaper of Matamoras, published a flaming editorial, declaring that the cowardly invaders of Mexico had fled, like a gang of poltroons, to the sea-coast, and were using every exertion to get out of the country before the thunderbolt of Mexican vengeance should fall upon them. Arista himself shared the common delusion, believing that the Americans had receded from the contest, and that it was only necessary for him to bombard Fort Brown in order to end the war.

In the mean time Taylor had strengthened his situation at Point Isabel, and set out with trains and an army of two thousand men to return to Fort Brown. The Mexicans had now, to the number of six thousand, crossed the Rio Grande and taken possession of Palo Alto. This place lay directly in Taylor's route. At noon, on the 8th of May, the Americans came up, and the battle was opened. A severe engagement ensued, lasting five hours, in which the Mexicans were driven from the field, with the loss of a hundred men. The American artillery was specially efficient. It was observed from the first that the fighting of the Mexicans was clumsy and ineffectual. Four Americans were killed and forty wounded, among the former the gallant Major Ringgold, of the artillery.



CAPTURE OF MEXICAN BATTERIES BY CAPTAIN MAY.

The battle of Palo Alto was indecisive. On the following day General Taylor took up his march for Fort Brown. Within three miles of that place he again came upon the Mexicans, who had rallied in full force to dispute his advance. The place selected for their second battle was called Resaca de la Palma. Here an old river-bed, dry and overgrown with cactus, lay across the road along which the Americans were advancing. The Mexican artillery was planted to command the approach, and for a while the American lines were severely galled. A charge was ordered, however, under Captain May, who commanded the dragoons. The Mexican batteries were captured, and General La Vega was taken at the guns. The Mexicans, abandoning their batteries, flung away their accoutrements and fled. Nor did they pause until they had put the Rio Grande between themselves and their pursuers. General Taylor again took up his march, and reached Fort Brown without further molestation. He found that that place had been constantly bombarded from Matamoras during his absence. A brave defense had been made, but Major Brown, the commandant, had fallen. Such was the beginning of the Mexican War, a struggle destined to be replete with disasters to the Mexicans and with victories to the American forces.

The news of what was done on the Rio Grande carried wild excitement throughout the United States. The war spirit flamed high. Even party dissensions were for a while hushed, and Whigs and Democrats alike rushed forward to fill the ranks. The President, in a message to Congress, threw the onus of the conflict on the lawless soldiery of Mexico, alleging that they had shed the blood of American soldiers on American soil. Congress promptly responded, and on the 11th of May, 1846, declared that "war already existed by the act of the Mexican Government."

Ten millions of dollars were promptly placed at the disposal of the President, and he was authorized to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers. In all the States war meetings were held, and such was the zeal for the conflict that three hundred thousand men are said to have offered themselves for the service.

A plan for the invasion of Mexico was made by General Scott, Commander-in-chief of the army. The American forces were organized in three divisions: the ARMY OF THE WEST, under General Kearney, to cross the Rocky Mountains and conquer the northern Mexican provinces; the ARMY OF THE CENTER, under General Scott himself, to march from the Gulf coast into the heart of the enemy's country; and the ARMY OF OCCUPATION, commanded by General Taylor, to subdue and hold the districts on the Rio Grande.

To General Wool was assigned the duty of mustering in the volunteers. By midsummer he had succeeded in despatching to General Taylor a force of nine thousand men. He then established his head-quarters and camp at San Antonio, Texas, from which point he sent forward the various divisions of recruits to the field. Meanwhile active operations had been resumed on the Rio Grande. Ten days after the battle of Resaca de la Palma, General Taylor crossed the river and captured Matamoras. He then began his march up the right bank of the river into the interior. The Mexicans had now felt the impact of American metal, and grew wary of their antagonists. They fell back to the old town of Monterey, which place they fortified, and against which Taylor now began to advance. The latter, however, was unable to leave the Rio Grande with the weak army under his command, and was obliged to tarry until August before his forces were sufficiently strong to justify the advance. At the latter date he found himself at the head of over six thousand men, and proceeded against Monterey. He reached the place on the 19th of September, and immediately began an investment.

Monterey was held by a Mexican army of ten thousand men, under General Ampudia, but the small American force besieged the place with great vigor. On the 21st of the month an assault was made, in which the Americans, led by General Worth, carried the heights in the rear of the town. Here was situated the Bishop's Palace, a strong building commanding the entrance to Monterey; but the place was carried on the 22d of September. On the morning of the 23d, Monterey was assailed in front by the divisions of Generals Quitman and Butler. The American storming parties charged irresistibly into the streets, and reached the Grand Plaza, or public square. In a short time they hoisted the flag of the Union, and then routed the Mexican forces from the buildings in which they had taken refuge. They broke open doors, charged up dark stairways, traversed the flat roofs of the houses, and drove the enemy to an ignominious surrender. Ampudia, however, was granted the honors of war, on condition that he vacate the city, which he did on the morrow. The news of this signal victory of General Taylor and his army still further aroused the enthusiasm and war spirit of the American people.

After the taking of Monterey, news was carried by the Mexicans to Taylor that negotiations for peace were in progress at the capital. He accordingly agreed to an armistice of eight weeks, during which hostilities should cease by both parties. But the matter was a mere ruse on the part of the enemy. They desired to gain time for warlike preparations. It was at this juncture that the celebrated General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna was called home from Havana, where he had been living in exile. He was at once made President of the country and Commander-in-chief of the Mexican armies.

In the course of the autumn a force of twenty thousand Mexicans was raised and sent into the field. When the armistice had expired, General Taylor again moved forward. On the 15th of November the town of Saltillo, seventy miles south-west from Monterey, was captured by the Americans under General Worth. Soon afterwards, Victoria, a city of Tamaulipas, was taken by a division under General Robert Patterson. To that place General Butler pressed forward from Monterey, on a march against Tampico. The latter place had, however, in the meantime, capitulated to Captain Conner, commander of an American flotilla.

General Wool now set forward in person from San Antonio, Texas; entered Mexico, and took a position within supporting distance of Monterey. General Scott arrived at this juncture, and assumed the command-in-chief of the American armies.

In the meantime, the Army of the West, under General Kearney, had set out for the conquest of New Mexico and California. After a long, wearisome march, this division reached Santa Fé, and on the 18th of August captured



FREMONT IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

and garrisoned the city. There was no further resistance within the limits of New Mexico. From Santa Fé as a base, General Kearney, with a body of four hundred dragoons, set out on his march to the Pacific coast. After proceeding three hundred miles, he was joined by the famous Kit Carson, who brought him intelligence that California had been already subdued. Kearney thereupon sent back the larger part of his forces, and with only a hundred men, made his way to the Pacific.

On that far coast stirring events had meanwhile happened. For four years Colonel John C. Fremont had been exploring the region west of the Rocky Mountains. He had hoisted the American flag on the highest peak of that great range, and then set out for Salt Lake, and afterwards for Oregon. From the latter territory he turned southward into California, where, on arriving, he received despatches informing him of the impending war with Mexico. The great adventurer thereupon assumed all responsibilities, and began to arouse the American residents of California to a rebellion against the authority of Mexico. In this work he was successful. The frontiersmen of the Sacramento Valley gathered around his standard, and the campaign was undertaken against the Mexican authorities. In several minor engagements the Americans were uniformly successful, and the authority of Fremont was rapidly extended over the greater part of Upper and Central California.

While these events were happening in the North-west, Commodore Sloat, of the American Navy, had undertaken a similar work in the South. Arriving at the town of Monterey, on the coast, about eighty miles south of San Francisco, he captured the place. At the extreme southern part of the State, Commodore Stockton captured San Diego, and then assumed command of the Pacific Squadron. It was the news of these events which inspired Fremont to exertions in the North and Center. He hoisted the American flag everywhere; joined Sloat and Stockton, and advanced against Los Angeles, which was taken with little opposition.



GENERAL TAYLOR COMMANDING AT BUENA VISTA.

Before the end of the summer, California was conquered. In November, General Kearney, with a hundred dragoons, arrived, and joined his forces with those of Fremont and Stockton. About a month later the Mexicans, seeing the meagreness of the forces by which they had been overawed, rose in rebellion, and the Americans were obliged to take the field. On the 8th of January, 1847, a decisive battle was fought at San Gabriel, in which the Mexicans were completely defeated, and the authority of the United States established on a permanent basis. Thus was the imperial domain of California wrested from the Mexican Government by a handful of courageous adventurers, marching from place to place with their lives in their hands.

On leaving New Mexico, Kearney had left behind Colonel Doniphan in command of the American forces. He, too, became an adventurer. With a body of seven hundred men, he marched across the enemy's country from Santa Fé *en route* to Saltillo, a distance of more than eight hundred miles. On arriving at the Rio Grande, he fought a battle with the Mexicans, on Christmas day, at Bracito. He then crossed the river, captured El Paso, and in two months pressed his way to within twenty miles of Chihuahua. On the banks of Sacramento Creek he met the Mexicans in overwhelming numbers, and on the 28th of November, inflicted upon them a disastrous defeat. He then marched unopposed into Chihuahua, a city of more than forty thousand inhabitants, and finally reached the division of General Wool in safety.

Meanwhile General Scott, on his arrival in Mexico, had drawn down the river a large part of the Army of Occupation, to join him on the Gulf, for the conquest of the Mexican capital. After the withdrawal of these troops from Taylor, and while the remainder were left in an exposed condition, Santa Anna, perceiving his advantage, immediately moved against Taylor with an army of twenty thousand men. The American General was able to oppose to this tremendous force not more than six thousand men. After furnishing garrisons for Saltillo and Monterey, Taylor's effective forces in the field amounted to but four thousand eight hundred men; but with this small and resolute army he marched out boldly to meet the Mexicans. A favorable battle-ground was chosen at Buena Vista, four miles south of Saltillo. Here Taylor posted his army, and awaited the onset.

On the 22d of February the Mexicans came

pouring through the gorges and over the hills, from the direction of San Luis Potosi. On approaching, Santa Anna demanded a surrender, but was met with defiance. The real battle began on the morning of the 23d. The Mexicans first attempted to outflank the American position, but the attempt was thwarted by the troops of Illinois. A heavy division was next thrown against the American center, but this attempt was also repelled, chiefly by the effectiveness of Captain Washington's artillery. The Mexicans then fell with with volleys of grape-shot. A successful charge was then made by the American cavalry, in which the losses were severe. Against tremendous odds the battle was fairly won. On the following night the Mexicans, having lost nearly two thousand men, made a precipitate retreat. The American loss amounted, in killed, wounded, and missing, to seven hundred and forty-six. This was, however, the last of General Taylor's battles. He soon after left the field and returned to the United States, where he was received with great en-



BOMBARDMENT OF SAN JUAN D'ULLOA.

great force on the American left, where the Second Regiment of Indianians, acting under a mistaken order, gave way, and the army was for a while in peril; but the troops of Kentucky and Mississippi were rallied to the breach; the men of Illinois and Indiana came bravely to the support, and the onset of the enemy was again hurled back. In the crisis of the struggle the Mexicans made a furious charge upon the batteries of Captain Bragg; but the gunners stood to their work, and the columns of Mexican lancers were scattered thusiasm. He was indeed, in the popular estimation, the hero of the war.

On the 9th of March, 1847, General Scott, having collected a compact army of twelve thousand men, landed to the south of Vera Cruz, and entered upon the last campaign of the war. In three days Vera Cruz was invested. Batteries were opened at a distance of eight hundred yards, and a cannonade was begun. On the water side, Vera Cruz was defended by the celebrated castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, which had been erected by Spain in the early

part of the seventeenth century, at a cost of four million dollars. For four days the place was stormed with shot and shell from the fleet of Commodore Conner and the land batteries which Scott had planted on the shore. Life and property were swept away in a common ruin. The Americans were on the eve of assaulting the town, when the humbled authorities came out and surrendered.

Thus was opened a route for the American advance from the coast to the capital. On the 8th of April the first division, under General Twiggs, set out on the road to Jalapa. General Scott, at the head of the main army, im-



WINFIELD SCOTT.

mediately followed. For several days the forces moved forward without serious opposition, but on the 12th of the month the Americans came upon Santa Anna, with an army of fifteen thousand men, strongly posted on the heights and rocky pass of Cerro Gordo. The position appeared impregnable; but unless it should be carried, further advance was an impossibility. The army was accordingly arranged for an assault, which by all the rules of war promised only disaster and ruin; but such was the spirit and impetuosity of the troops that the General did not hesitate to take the risk. On the morning of the 18th of April the attack was made, and before noonday every position of the Mexicans was successfully stormed. They were hurled from their fortifications and driven into a precipitate rout. Nearly three thousand prisoners were captured, together with forty-three pieces of bronze artillery, five thousand muskets, and accoutrements enough to supply an army. The American loss in killed and wounded amounted to four hundred and thirty-one; that of the Mexicans to fully a thousand. Santa Anna barely escaped with his life, leaving behind his private papers and his *wooden leg!*

The way thus opened, the victorious army pressed onward to Jalapa. On the 22d of the month the strong castle of Perote, crowning the peak of the Cordilleras, was taken without resistance. Here the Americans captured another park of artillery and a vast amount of warlike stores. From this point General Scott turned to the south, and led his army against the ancient and sacred city of Puebla. Though the place contained a population of eighty thousand, no defense was made or attempted. It is one of the striking episodes of modern history that a handful of invaders, two thousand miles from their homes, should thus march unopposed through the gates of a great foreign city. On the 15th of May the army was quartered in Puebla. General Scott now found his forces reduced to five thousand men, and deemed it prudent to pause until reinforcements could reach him from Vera Cruz.

At this juncture negotiations were again attempted; but the foolish hardihood of the Mexicans prevented satisfactory results. By midsummer General Scott's reïnforcements arrived, swelling his numbers to eleven thousand men. Leaving a small garrison in Puebla, he set out, on the 7th of August, on his march for the capital. The route now lay over the crest of the Cordilleras. Strong resistance had been expected in the passes of the mountains; but the advance was unopposed, and the American army, sweeping over the heights, looked down on the valley of Mexico. Never had a soldiery in a foreign land beheld a grander scene. Clear to the horizon stretched a most living landscape of green fields, villages, and lakes—a picture too beautiful to be torn with the dread enginery of war.

Fifteen miles from the capital lay the

town of Ayotla. To this place the army now pressed forward, descending from the mountains. Thus far the march had been along the great national road from Vera Cruz to Mexico. The remainder of the route, however, was occupied with fortifications both natural and artificial, and it seemed impossible to continue the direct march further. The army accordingly wheeled to the south from Ayotla, around lake Chalco, and thence westward to San Augustine. By this means the army was brought within ten miles of the capital. From San Augustine the approaches to the city were by long causeways across marshes and the beds of bygone lakes. At the ends of these causeways were massive gates, strongly defended. To the left of the line of march were the almost inaccessible positions of Contreras, San Antonio, and Molino del Rey. To the front and beyond the marshes, and closer to the city, lay the powerful bulwarks of Churubusco and Chapultepec. The latter was a castle of great strength, and seemed impregnable. These various outposts of the city were occupied by Santa Anna, with a force of fully thirty thousand Mexicans. The army of General Scott was not one-third as great in numbers, and yet with this small force he continued to press on against the capital.

The first assaults were made on the 19th of August, by Generals Pillow and Twiggs, at Contreras. About night-fall the line of communications between this fortress and Santa Anna's army was cut, and in the darkness of the following night an assailing column, led by General Persifer F. Smith, moved against the enemy's position. The attack was delayed until sunrise, but at that hour the American column rushed forward with impetuosity, and six thousand Mexicans were driven in rout and confusion from the fortifications. The American division numbered fewer than four thousand. This was the *first* victory of the memorable 20th of August. A few hours later General Worth advanced on San Antonio, compelled an evacuation of the place, and routed the flying garrison. This was the *second* victory. Almost at the same time General Pillow led a column against one of the heights of Churubusco. Here the Mexicans had concentrated in great force; but after a terrible assault the position was taken by storm, and the enemy scattered like chaff. This was the *third* triumph. The division of General Twiggs added a *fourth* victory by storming and holding another height of Churubusco, while the *fifth* and last was achieved by Generals Shields and Pierce. The latter confronted Santa Anna, who was coming with a large army to reïnforce his garrisons, and turned him back with large losses. The whole of the Mexican army was now driven into the fortifications of Chapultepec.

On the following morning the alarm and treachery of the Mexican authorities were both strongly exhibited. A deputation came out to negotiate; but the intent was merely to gain time for strengthening the defenses. The terms proposed by the Mexicans were preposterous when viewed in the light of the situation. General Scott, who did not consider his army vanquished, rejected the proposals with scorn. He, however, rested his men until the 7th of September before renewing hostilities. On the morning of the 8th General Worth was thrown forward to take Molino del Rey and Casa de Mata, which were the western defenses of Chapultepec. These places were defended by about fourteen thousand Mexicans; but the Americans, after losing a fourth of their number in the desperate onset, were again victorious. The batteries were now turned on Chapultepec itself, and on the 13th of September that frowning citadel was carried by storm. This exploit opened an avenue into the city. Through the San Cosme and Belen gates the conquering army swept resistlessly, and at nightfall the soldiers of the Union were in the suburbs of Mexico.

During the night Santa Anna and the officers of the Government fled from the city, but not until they had turned loose from the prisons two thousand convicts, to fire upon the American army. On the following morning, before day-dawn, a deputation came forth from the city to beg for mercy. This time the messengers were in earnest; but General Scott, wearied with trifling, turned them away with disgust. "*Forward!*" was the order that rang along the American lines at sunrise. The war-worn regiments swept into the beautiful streets of the famous city, and at seven o'clock the flag of the United States floated over the halls of the Montezumas. It was the triumphant

ending of one of the most brilliant and striking campaigns of modern history.

The American army, as compared with the hosts of Mexico, had been but a handful. The small force which had left Vera Cruz on the march to the capital had lost considerably by battle and disease. Many detachments had been posted *en route* to hold the line of communications, and for garrison duty in places taken from the enemy. The army had thus dwindled until, after the battles of Churubusco and Chapultepec, *fewer than six thousand men* were left to enter and hold the capital. The invasion had been remarkable in all its particulars. The obstacles which had to be overcome seemed insurmountable. There were walled cities to be taken, fortified mountain-passes to be carried by storm, and frowning castles with cannon on the battlements to be assaulted by regiments whose valor and impetuosity were their only protection and warrant of victory. Yet the campaign was never seriously impeded. No foot of ground once taken from the Mexicans was yielded by false tactics or lost by battle. The army which accomplished this marvel, penetrating a far-distant and densely peopled country, held by a proud race, claiming to be the descendants of Cortez and the Spanish heroes of the sixteenth century, and denouncing at the outset the American soldiers as "barbarians of the North," was, in large part, an army of volunteers—a citizen soldiery—which had risen from the States of the Union and marched to the Mexican border under the Union flag.

Santa Anna, on leaving his conquered capital, turned about with his usual treachery, and attacked the American hospitals at Puebla. At this place about eighteen hundred of the American sick had been left in charge of Colonel Childs. For several day a gallant resistance was made by the enfeebled garrison, but the besiegers held out until General James H. Lane, on his march to the capital, fell upon them and drove them away. It was the closing stroke of the war—a contest in which the Americans, had gained every single victory from first to last.

The war ended with the complete overthrow of the military power of Mexico. Santa Anna, the President, was a fugitive. It was manifest to all the world that the war had ended, and it only remained to determine the conditions of peace. Never was a nation more completely prostrated than was the Mexican Republic. In the winter of 1847–48 American ambassadors met the Mexican Congress, in session at Guadalupe Hidalgo, and on the 2d of February a treaty was concluded between the two nations. The terms were promptly ratified by the two governments, and on the 4th of the following July, President Polk issued a proclamation of peace. By this important treaty the boundary-line between Mexico and the United States was fixed as follows: The Rio Grande, from its mouth to the southern limit of New Mexico; thence westward along the southern, and northward along the western boundary of that Territory to the river Gila; thence down that river to its confluence with the Colorado; thence westward to the Pacific Ocean. Thus was the whole of New Mexico and Upper California relinquished to the United States. Mexico guaranteed the free navigation of the Gulf of California and the river Colorado from its mouth to the confluence of the Gila. In consideration of these territorial acquisitions and privileges, the United States agreed to surrender the places occupied by the American army in Mexico, to pay that country fifteen million dollars, and to assume all debts due from the Mexican Government to American citizens, said debts not to exceed three million five hundred thousand dollars. It was thus that the territory of the United States was spread out in one broad belt from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

On the north, however, the boundary-line between the American Republic and the dominions of Great Britain had never been definitely determined. The next question which the United States had to confront was the determination of this line, and in doing so they were obliged to deal with an adversary very different in character from Mexico. The Oregon boundary had been in dispute from the first decade of the century. By the terms of the treaty of 1818 the international line between the United States and the British Dominions had been carried westward from the north-western extremity of the Lake of the Woods to the crest of the Rocky Mountains, but from that point to the Pacific no agreement could be reached. As early as

1807, and again in 1818 and 1826, the United States had formally claimed the parallel of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes; but this boundary Great Britain refused to accept.

By a convention held in August of 1827, it was agreed by the two powers that the vast belt of territory west of the Rocky Mountains and between the parallels of forty-nine degrees and fifty-four degrees and forty minutes should remain open indefinitely and impartially for the joint occupancy of British and American citizens. Great Britain named the forty-ninth parallel as the true boundary, and stoutly maintained it. By the agreement just referred to the difficulties between the two nations were obviated for sixteen years; but thoughtful statesmen, both British and American, became alarmed lest a question of so much importance, not settled on any permanent basis, should yet involve the two nations in war.

Negotiations were accordingly renewed. In 1843 the American minister resident at St. James again proposed the parallel of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes; but the proposition was rejected. In the following year the British ambassador at Washington again suggested the forty-ninth parallel as the true boundary; but to this the American Government refused to accede. At this juncture war with Mexico broke out, and with it came the prospective extension of the territory of the United States to the south-west. The views of the Administration in regard to the north-western boundary were relaxed with the prospect of Texas, New Mexico, and California. Here again we see underlying the controversy the still greater question of American slavery. If the United States had maintained its claim to fifty-four degrees and forty minutes as her north-western boundary, they would have acquired a territory in that region, inaccessible to slavery, and extensive enough for ten free States as large as Indiana. The Government, then strongly dominated by pro-slavery sentiments, looked with little or no enthusiasm upon this prospective enlargement of free territory, so that while the Administration was struggling, by the Mexican War and by purchase, to procure a south-western empire for the spread of human slavery, she permitted the opportunity to obtain a free north-western empire to pass unimproved.

The matter involved came to an issue on the 15th of June, 1846, when the question was definitely settled by a treaty. Every point in the long-standing controversy was decided in favor of Great Britain. In the many diplomatical contentions between that country and our own, the United States have always been able to maintain their position, with this single exception of the north-western boundary. The complete surrender to the British Government in this particular was little less than ignominious, and can be accounted for only on the ground that the Government of the United States, as it then was, was indifferent to the extension of her domains in the direction of freedom. However this may be, the forty-ninth parallel was established as the international boundary, from the summit of the Rocky Mountains to the middle of the channel which separates the Continent from Vancouver's Island; thence southerly through the middle of said channel and through Fuca's Straits, to the Pacific. Vancouver's Island itself was awarded to Great Britain, and the free navigation of the Columbia River was granted to the Hudson Bay Company and other British subjects on the same conditions as those imposed on citizens of the United States. The treaty was totally unfavorable to the interests of the American Republic, and was denounced by many as actually dishonorable. It is certain that better terms might have been demanded and obtained.[1]

Within a few days after the signing of the treaty of peace with Mexico, an event occurred in California which spread excitement throughout the civilized world. A laborer employed by Captain Sutter to cut a mill-race on the American Fork of Sacramento River discovered some pieces of gold in the sand where he was digging. With further search, other particles were found. The news spread as if borne on the wind. From all quarters adventurers came flocking. Other explorations led to further revelations of the precious metal. For a while there seemed no end to the discov-

[1] Such was the indignation of the opponents of this treaty—especially the leaders of the Whig party—that the political battle cry of "*Fifty-four Forty, or Fight*," became almost as popular a motto as "*Free Trade and Sailors' Rights*" had been in the War of 1812.

eries—no limit to the quantity of gold, which might be had for picking up. Straggling gold-hunters sometimes gathered in a few hours the value of five hundred dollars. The intelligence went flying through the States to the Atlantic, and then to the ends of the world. Men thousands of miles away were crazed with excitement. Workshops were shut up, business houses abandoned, fertile farms left tenantless, offices deserted. As yet the overland routes to California were scarcely discovered; nevertheless, thousands of eager adventurers started from the States on the long, long journey across the mountains and plains. Before the end of 1850, San Francisco had grown from a miserable Spanish village of huts to a city of fifteen thousand inhabitants. By the close of 1852, California had a population of more than a quarter of a million. The importance of the gold-mines of California to the industries of the country has never been overestimated. Nor is their richness yet exhausted.



MINERS OF FORTY-NINE.

In the year 1846 an Act was passed in Congress for the organization of the SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION at Washington City. Twenty-two years previously an eminent Englishman, a chemist and philanthropist, named James Smithson,[1] had died at Genoa, bequeathing, on certain conditions, a large sum of money to the United States. In the fall of 1838, by the death of Smithson's nephew, the proceeds of the estate, amounting at that time to $515,000, were secured by the agent of the National Government, and deposited in the mint. It had been provided in Smithson's will that the bequest should be used for the

[1] Until after his graduation at Oxford, in 1786, this remarkable man was known by the name of *James Louis Macie*. Afterward, of his own accord, he chose the name of his reputed father, Hugh Smith, Duke of Northumberland.

establishment at Washington City of "an institution for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." In order to carry out the great designs of the testator, an ample plan of organization was prepared by John Quincy Adams, laid before Congress, and, after some modifications, adopted.

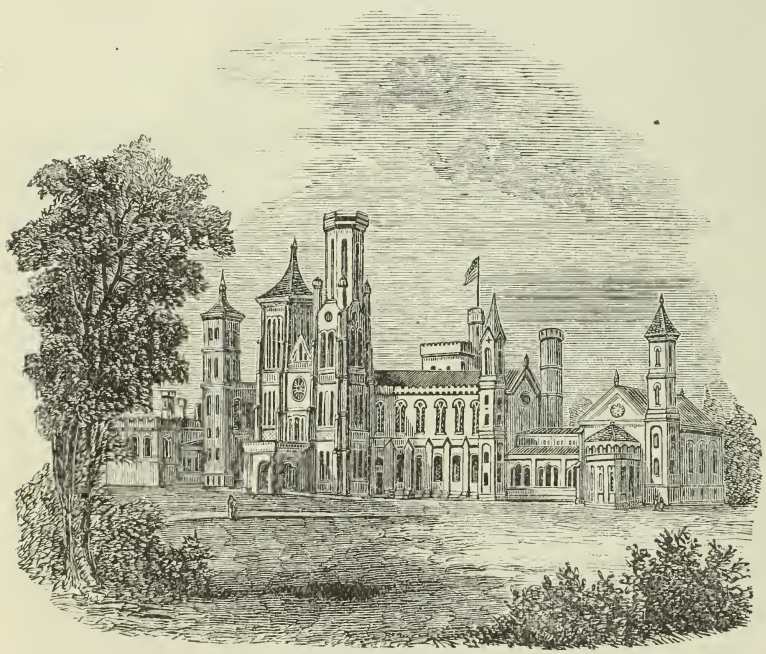
The Act of Establishment provided that the institution to be founded from Smithson's bequest should be named, in his honor, the Smithsonian Institution; that the same should be under the immediate control of a board of regents, composed of the President, Vice-president, Judges of the Supreme Court, and other principal officers of the National Government; that the entire Smithsonian fund, amounting at that time, with accrued interest, to $655,000, should be loaned forever to the United States at six per cent; that out of the proceeds, together with Congressional appropriations and private gifts, buildings should be provided suitable to maintain a museum of natural history, a cabinet of minerals, a chemical laboratory, a gallery of art, and a library.



ADVENTURERS EN ROUTE OVERLAND TO CALIFORNIA.

Professor Joseph Henry, of Princeton College, was chosen secretary of the institution, and the plan of organization was speedily and successfully carried out. The result has been the establishment in the United States of one of the most beneficent institutions known in the history of mankind. The *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge* already amount to nearly thirty volumes quarto, and the future is destined to yield still richer results in widening the boundaries of human thought and increasing the happiness of men.

On the 8th of June, 1845, Ex-President Andrew Jackson died at his home, called the Hermitage, near Nashville. The veteran warrior and statesman had lived to the age of seventy-eight. On the 23d of February, 1848, Ex-President John Quincy Adams died, at the City of Washington. After his retirement from the Presidency he had been chosen to represent his district in Congress. In that body he had displayed the most remarkable abilities and patriotism. There he acquired the well-earned sobriquet of the "Old Man Eloquent." At the time of his decease he was a member of the House of Representatives. He was struck with paralysis in the very seat from which he had so many times electrified the nation with his fervid and cogent oratory.



SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.

In 1848, Wisconsin, the last of the five great States formed from the Territory northwest of the river Ohio, was admitted into the Union. The new commonwealth came with a population of two hundred and fifty thousand, and an area of nearly fifty-four thousand square miles. In the establishment of the western boundary of the State, by an error of surveying, the St. Croix River, instead of the Mississippi, was fixed as the line, by which Wisconsin lost to Minnesota a considerable district rightfully belonging to her territory.

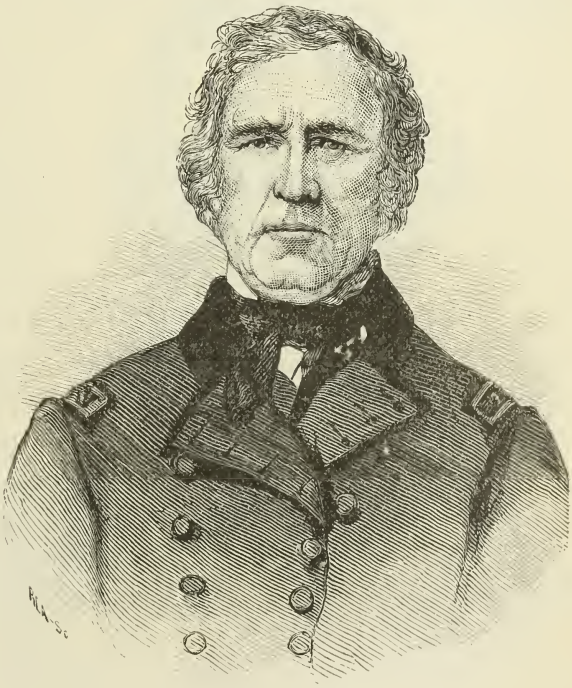
The vast extension of the National domain and the increase of internal interests in the United States, now fully justified the establishment of a new Cabinet office, known as the Department of the Interior. This was done near the close of Polk's Administration. To the three original departments of the Government as organized under the Administration of Washington had already been added the offices of Postmaster-General and Secretary of the Navy. The Attorney-General of the United States had also come to be recognized as a member of the Cabinet. The duties assigned to the Departments of State and Treasury had now become so manifold as to require a division of labor and the establishment of a separate office. A certain part of these duties were accordingly assigned to what was at first known as the Home Department, and soon afterwards the Department of the Interior. In the beginning of the following Administration, the new Secretaryship was first filled by General Thomas Ewing, of Ohio.

Such were the leading events of the Administration of Polk. Near its close the people became, as usual, much excited about the succession to the Presidential office. Instead of two candidates, three well-known personages were presented for the suffrages of the people.

General Lewis Cass, of Michigan, was nominated by the Democrats, and General Zachary Taylor by the Whigs. Meanwhile, the accession of vast and unoccupied territories had aroused to considerable vigor the anti-slavery sentiment of the country. At the first this sentiment was expressed in simple opposition to the *extension* of slavery into the then unoccupied national domains. As the representative of this sentiment, and the party founded thereon, Ex-President Martin Van Buren was brought forward as the Free-Soil candidate for the Presidency. The particular circumstances which gave rise to the new party, destined in future times to play so important a part in the history of the country, may well be narrated.

Most of the issues on which the Free-Soil party was based grew out of the Mexican War and the terms of the treaty with which it was concluded. In 1846, David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, introduced into Congress a bill *to prohibit slavery* in all the territory which might be secured by treaty with Mexico. This proposition was the key to all that ensued on the line of opposition to the extension of slavery. The bill was defeated; but the advocates of the measure, thenceforth called the WILMOT PROVISO, formed themselves into a party, and in June of 1848 nominated Van Buren for the Presidency. The real contest, however, lay between Generals Cass and Taylor. The position of the Whigs and the Democrats on the question of slavery, especially in its relation to the Territories, had not as yet been clearly defined, and as a consequence the election was left, in considerable measure, to turn on the personal popularity of the two candidates. The memory of General Taylor's recent victories in Mexico, and the democratic aspects of his character in general, prevailed, and he was elected by a large majority. As Vice-President, Millard Fillmore, of New York, was chosen. Thus closed the agitated and not inglorious Administration of President Polk.

Zachary Taylor was a Virginian by birth, a Kentuckian by breeding, a soldier by profession, a Whig in politics. He was born on the 24th of September, 1784. His father was Colonel Richard Taylor, an officer in the Revolutionary War. In the year 1785 the family removed to Kentucky, where the father died. In the War of 1812 young Taylor distinguished himself in the North-west, especially in the defense of Fort Harrison against the Indians. In the Seminole War he bore a conspicuous part. But his greatest renown was won in Mexico. In that conflict, according to the popular estimation, he outshined General Scott, and his popularity made easy his way to the Presidency. His reputation, which was strictly military, was enviable, and his character above reproach. His Administration began with a renewal of the question



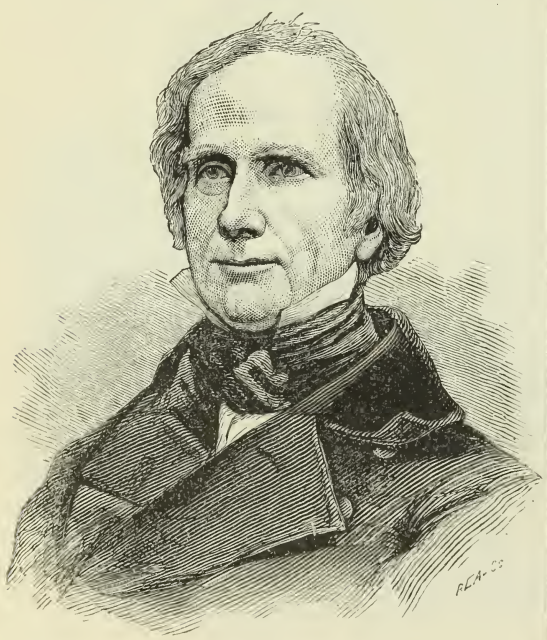
ZACHARY TAYLOR.

about slavery in the Territories. California, the Eldorado of the West, was the origin of the dispute, which now broke out with increased violence.

In his first message the new President expressed his sympathy with the Californians, and advised the formation of a State Government preparatory to admission into the Union. The people of California promptly accepted the suggestion, and a convention of delegates was held at Monterey, in September of 1849. A constitution prohibiting slavery was framed, submitted to the people, and adopted with but little opposition. Under this instrument Peter

H. Burnet was elected governor. Members of a General Assembly were chosen, and on the 20th of December, 1849, the new government was organized at San José. At the same time a petition, in the usual form, was forwarded to Congress asking for the admission of California as a State.

The presentation of this petition in Congress was the signal for a bitter controversy. The scenes attendant upon the admission of Missouri were now reënacted; but the parts were reversed. As in that great debate, Congress and the people were sectionally divided. The proposition to admit California was in general supported by the representatives of the North



HENRY CLAY.

and opposed by those of the South. The ground of opposition was that the Missouri Compromise Line, in its extension to the Pacific, crossed California, whereby a part of the proposed State was open to the institution of slavery, and this by an Act of Congress which no Territorial legislation could abrogate. For this reason the Southern Congressmen generally claimed that California ought to be rejected until the restriction on slavery should be removed. The reply of the Northern Representatives was more moral, but less logical. They said that the argument of the opponents of the bill for admission could apply only to a *part*, and not the whole, of California; that the Missouri Compromise had respect only to the Louisiana Purchase, and that California could not be regarded as included in that purchase; that the people of the proposed State had, in any event framed their Constitution to suit themselves. Such was the issue. The debates grew more and more violent, until the stability of the Union was seriously threatened.

Meanwhile, other difficulties arose with respect to the territory obtained by the Mexican treaty. Texas set up a claim to New Mexico as a part of her domains; but the claim was resisted by the people of Santa Fé, who desired a separate government. A serious issue was thus raised between the State and the Territory, requiring the interference of Congress. By this time the people of the South in general had begun to clamor loudly and bitterly with respect to the escape of fugitive slaves. It was claimed that the bondmen of the South fleeing from service were received, on crossing the borders of the free States, by Abolitionists, and were aided in effecting a final escape from their masters. A counter-cry was raised by the opponents of slavery, who demanded that in the District of Columbia at least, where the national authority was paramount, where no State Constitution guaranteed the existence of the institution, the slave-trade should be abolished. The controversy increased in heat along the whole line, and there was everywhere manifested between the parties a spirit of suspicion, recrimination, and anger.

It was at this epoch that the illustrious Henry Clay appeared for the last time as a conspicuous figure in the councils of his country. He came, as he had come before, in the character of a peacemaker. His known predilection for compromise, especially on sectional questions within the United States, was once more manifested in full force. In the spring of 1850, while the questions above referred to were under hot discussion in Congress, Clay was appointed chairman of a committee of thirteen, to whom all the matters under discussion were referred. On the 9th of May in that year he reported to Congress the celebrated Omnibus Bill, covering most of the points in dispute. The provisions of this important bill were as follows: *First*, the

admission of California as a free State, under the Constitution already adopted; *second*, the formation of new States, not exceeding four in number, out of the Territory of Texas, said States to permit or exclude slavery, as the people thereof should determine; *third*, the organization of Territorial Governments for New Mexico and Utah, without conditions on the question of slavery; *fourth*, the establishment of the present boundary-line between Texas and New Mexico, and the payment to Texas, for surrendering New Mexico, the sum of ten million dollars from the national treasury; *fifth*, the enactment of a more rigorous law for the recovery of fugitive slaves; *sixth*, the abolition of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia.

With the report of the Omnibus Bill to Congress the debates broke out anew, and seemed likely to be interminable. In the midst of the discussion that ensued, and while the issue was still undecided, President Taylor fell sick and suddenly died, on the 9th of July, 1850. In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, Mr. Fillmore at once took the oath of office and entered upon the duties of the Presidency. A new Cabinet was also formed, with Daniel Webster at the head as Secretary of State. Notwithstanding the death of the chief magistrate, the Government, as in the case of the decease of Harrison, again moved on without disturbance.

In Congress the discussion of the Compromise measures continued until autumn, when the views of Mr. Clay, sustained as they were by his own eloquence, at length prevailed. On the 18th of September the last clause was adopted, and the whole received the sanction of the President. Hereupon the excitement throughout the country rapidly abated, and the distracting controversy seemed at an end. Viewed in the light of subsequent events, however, the peaceful condition that ensued was only superficial. The deep-seated evil remained. At this time there were very few, if any, American statesmen who had discerned the bottom of the trouble which had arisen from time to time for more than a quarter of a century, and which was destined, in spite of all compromise, to appear and reäppear until it should be cut from the body of American life with the keen edge of the sword.

For the present, however, there was quiet. The Compromise acts of 1850 were the last, and perhaps the greatest, of those temporary, pacific measures which were originated and carried through Congress by the genius of Henry Clay. Shortly afterwards he bade adieu to the Senate, and sought at his beloved Ashland a brief rest from the arduous cares of public life.

The passage of the Omnibus Bill was strictly a *political* settlement. The event soon showed that the *moral* convictions of few men were altered by its provisions. Public opinion was virtually the same as before. In the North appeared a general, indefinite, and growing hostility to slavery; in the South, a fixed and resolute purpose to defend and to *extend* that institution. To the President, whose party was in the ascendency in most of the Free States, the measure was fatal. For, although his Cabinet had advised him to sign the bill, the Whigs were at heart opposed to the Fugitive-Slave Law; and when he gave his assent, they turned coldly from him. In the Whig Convention two years afterwards, although the



MILLARD FILLMORE.

policy of the President, with the usual political hypocrisy, was indorsed and approved—having a vote in its favor of 227 against 60—not twenty votes could be obtained in the Northern States for his renomination. Thus do political parties punish their leaders for hesitating to espouse a principle which the parties themselves are afraid to avow.

While the debates on the Compromise measures were still in progress in Congress, the attention of the country was turned with some interest to the affairs of Cuba. A lawless attempt was made by a few American adventurers to gain possession of that island. It was thought by the insurrectionists that the Cubans were ready to throw off the Spanish yoke and to appeal to the United States for annexation. In order to encourage such a movement General Narciso Lopez, a Spanish American soldier, organized an expedition in the South, and on the 19th of May, 1850, effected a landing, with a considerable body of followers, at Cardenas, a port of Cuba. There was, however, no uprising in his favor. Neither the Cubans themselves nor the Spanish soldiers in the island joined the insurgent's standard, and Lopez was obliged to seek safety by returning to Florida. But he was not satisfied with his experience as a revolutionist. In the following year he renewed the attempt, and, with a band of four hundred and eighty men, a second time landed in Cuba. They were, however, attacked, defeated, and captured by an overwhelming force of Spaniards. Lopez and the ringleaders were taken to Havana, tried, condemned, and executed.

It was conceded that the first annual message of President Fillmore was a document of unusual ability. Many important measures were discussed and laid before Congress for the consideration of that body. Among these were the following: A system of cheap and uniform postage; the establishment, in connection with the Department of the Interior, of a Bureau of Agriculture; liberal appropriations for the improvement of rivers and harbors; the building of a national asylum for disabled and destitute seamen; a permanent tariff, with specific duties on imports and discrimination in favor of American manufactures; the opening of communication between the Mississippi and the Pacific coast; a settlement of the land difficulties in California; an act for the retirement of supernumerary officers of the army and navy; and a board of commissiones to adjust the claims of private citizens against the Government of the United States. Only two of these recommendations — the asylum for sailors and the settlement of the land claims in California—were carried into effect. For the President's party were in a minority in Congress, and the majority refused or neglected to approve his measures.

At this epoch, still another and serious trouble arose between the United States and Great Britain. According to the existing treaties between the two countries the coast fisheries of Newfoundland belonged exclusively to England, but outside of a line drawn three miles from the shore the American fisherman had equal rights and privileges. In course of time a contention sprang up between the fishermen of the two nationalities as to the location of the line. Should the same be drawn from one headland to another, so as to give all the bays and inlets to Great Britain? or should it be made to conform to the irregularities of the coast? Under the latter construction, American fishing-vessels might sail into the bays and harbors, and there ply their trade. But this privilege was denied by Great Britain, and the quarrel arose to such a height that both nations sent men-of-war into the contested waters. The difficulty began in 1852, and extended over a period of two years. At length reason triumphed over passion, and the difficulty was happily settled by negotiation. The right to take fish in any of the bays of the British possessions outside of a marine league from the shore was conceded to American fishermen.

The summer of 1852 was noted for the visit of the Hungarian patriot, Louis Kossuth, to the United States. He made a tour of the country, and was everywhere received with enthusiastic admiration. It was at this time that Austria and Russia had united against Hungary, and had overthrown the liberties of that land. Kossuth came to America to plead the cause of his country and to conciliate public opinion in behalf of the cause which he represented. He also sought to obtain such aid as might be privately given to him by those favorable to Hungarian liberty. His

mission was highly successful, and although the long-established policy of the United States, not to have entanglements and alliances with foreign nations, forbade the Government to interfere in behalf of Hungary, yet the people in their private capacity gave to the cause of freedom in that land abundant contributions.

To this epoch in our history belong the first endeavors on the part of explorers to make known the regions about the North Pole. Systematic attempts were now made to enter of Franklin, but returned without success. Henry Grinnell, a wealthy merchant of New York, fitted out several vessels at his own expense, put them under command of Lieutenant De Haven, and sent them to the North; but in vain. The Government came to Grinnell's aid. In 1853 an Arctic squadron was equipped and the command given to Dr. Elisha Kent Kane; but this expedition also, though rich in scientific results, returned without the discovery of Franklin.



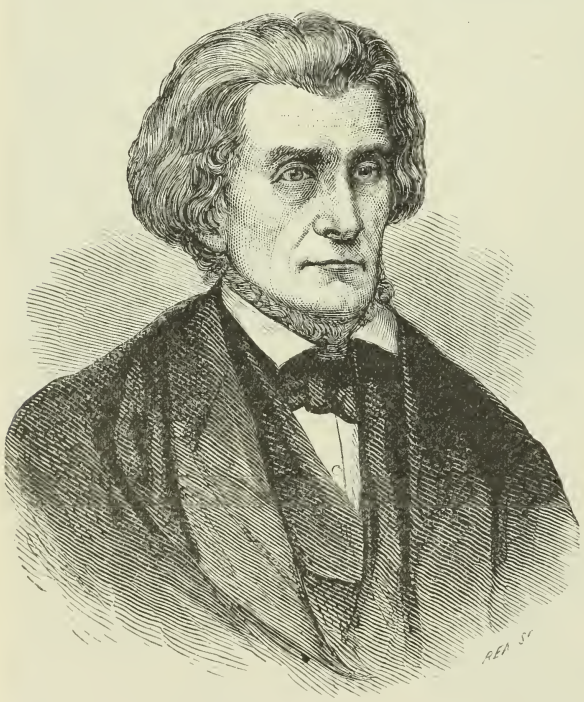
KANE AND HIS COMPANIONS IN THE ARCTIC REGIONS.

and explore the Arctic Ocean. As early as 1845, Sir John Franklin, one of the bravest of English seamen, sailed on a voyage of discovery to the extreme North. Believing in the possibility of a passage through an open polar sea into the Pacific, he made his way to an unknown distance in that direction; but the extent of his success was never ascertained. Years went by, and no tidings came from the daring sailor. It was only known that he had passed the country of the Esquimaux. Other expeditions were at length sent out in search

The first half of the new decade was marked by the death of a number of distinguished men. On the 31st of March, 1850, Senator John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, passed away. His death was much lamented, especially in his own State, to whose interests he had devoted the energies of his life. His earnestness and zeal and powers of debate placed him in the front rank of American orators. As a statesman, however, he was wedded to the destructive theory of State Rights; and the advocacy of this doctrine against the

supremacy of Congress and the nation has placed him on a lower level than that of his great contemporaries, Webster and Clay. At the age of sixty-eight he fell from his place, like a scarred oak of the forest, never to rise again. Then followed the death of the President, already mentioned. Then, on the 28th of June, 1852, Henry Clay, having fought his last battle, sank to rest. On the 24th of the following October the illustrious Daniel Webster died at his home at Marshfield, Massachusetts. The place of Secretary of State, made vacant by his death, was conferred on Edward Everett.

In Europe the news of Lopez's ridiculous



JOHN C. CALHOUN.

invasion of Cuba created great excitement. Notwithstanding the distinct disavowal of his proceedings by the Government of the United States, and the immediate dismissal of the officer at New Orleans who had allowed the expedition of Lopez to escape from that port, the Governments of Great Britain and France affected to believe that the covert aim and purpose of the United States was to acquire Cuba by conquest—that the American Government was really behind the absurd fiasco of Lopez.

Acting upon this theory the British and French ministers proposed to the American Government to enter into a *Tripartite Treaty*, so-called, in which each of the contracting nations was to disclaim then and forever all intention of gaining possession of Cuba. To this proposal Mr. Everett replied in one of the ablest papers ever issued from the American Department of State. He informed Great Britain and France that the annexation of Cuba was foreign to the policy of his Government; that the project was regarded by the United States as a measure hazardous and impolitic; that entire good faith would be kept with Spain and with all nations, but that the Federal Government did not recognize in any European power the right to meddle with affairs purely American, and that, in accordance with the doctrine set forth by President Monroe, any such interference would be regarded as an affront to the sovereignty of the United States. Such were the last matters of importance connected with the Administration of President Fillmore.

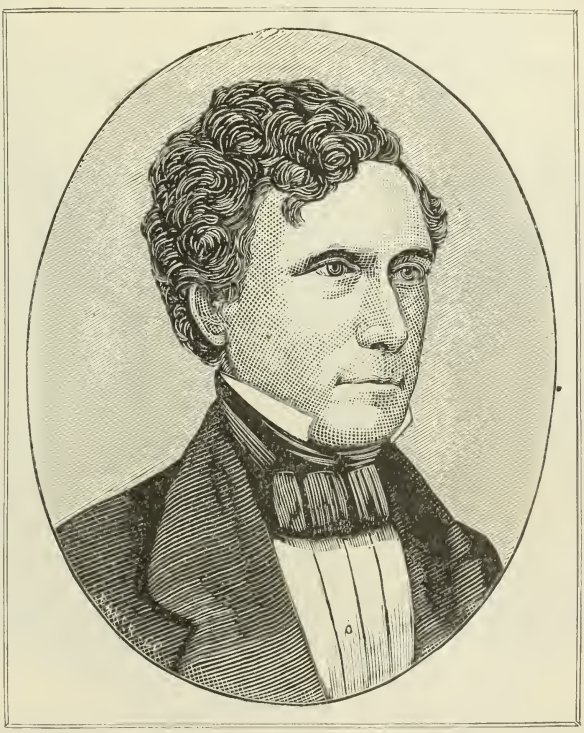
The time now drew on for another Presidential election, and the polititial parties marshaled their forces for the contest. Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, was put forward as the candidate of the Democratic party, and General Winfield Scott as the choice of the Whigs. The question at issue, so far as one could be formulated, was the Compromise Acts of 1850. But the parties, strangely enough, instead of being divided on that issue, were for once agreed as to the wisdom and justice of the measure. Both the Whig and Democratic platforms stoutly reäffirmed the principles of the Omnibus Bill, by which the dissensions of the country had been quieted.

The philosophic eye may discover in this unanimity the exact conditions of the universal revolt against the principles so stoutly affirmed. Certain it is that when the two political parties in any modern nation agree to maintain a given theory and fact, that theory and fact are destined to speedy overthrow. The greater the unanimity the more certain the revolution. It was so in the present instance. Although the Whigs and Democrats agreed as to the righteousness of the Omnibus Bill, a third party arose whose members,

whether Whigs or Democrats, doubted and denied the wisdom of the Compromise of 1850, and declared that *all* the Territories of the United States ought to be free. John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, was put forward as the candidate of this Free-Soil party, and the largeness of his vote showed unmistakably the approach of the coming storm. Mr. Pierce, however, was elected by a handsome majority, and William R. King, of Alabama, was chosen Vice-President.

Franklin Pierce was a native of New Hampshire, a graduate of Bowdoin College, a lawyer by profession, a politician, a general in the Mexican War, a statesman of considerable ability. Mr. King, the Vice-President, had for a long time represented Alabama in the Senate of the United States. On account of failing health he was sojourning in the island of Cuba at the time of the inauguration, and there received the oath of office. Growing still more feeble, he returned to his own State, where he died on the 18th of April, 1853. As Secretary of State under the new Administration, William L. Marcy, of New York, was chosen.

At the epoch of the accession of Pierce to the Presidency, the attention of the country began to be called again to the necessity of improved means of communication between the East and West. Railroads had now been extended across the older States of the Union and had at length reached the Mississippi River; but the vast territories lying west of the Father of Waters were still unexplored, except by the slow-going movements of primitive times. The question of a Pacific railroad was now agitated, and as early as the summer of 1853 a corps of engineers was sent out by the Government to explore a suitable route. At the first the enterprise was regarded by a majority of the people as visionary; but the intelligent minority discerned clearly enough the feasibility, and indeed the inevitable success, of the enterprise. In the same year of sending out the engineers the disputed boundary between New Mexico and the Mexican province of Chihuahua was satisfactorily settled. The maps on which the former treaties with Mexico had been based were found to be erroneous. Santa Anna, who had again become President of the Mexican Republic, attempted to take advantage of the error, and sent an army to occupy the territory between the true and the false boundary. This action was resisted by the authorities of New Mexico and the United States, and at one time a second war with the Mexicans seemed probable. The difficulty was adjusted, however, by the purchase of the doubtful claim of New Mexico. This transaction, known as the Gadsden Purchase, led to the erection of the new Territory of Arizona.

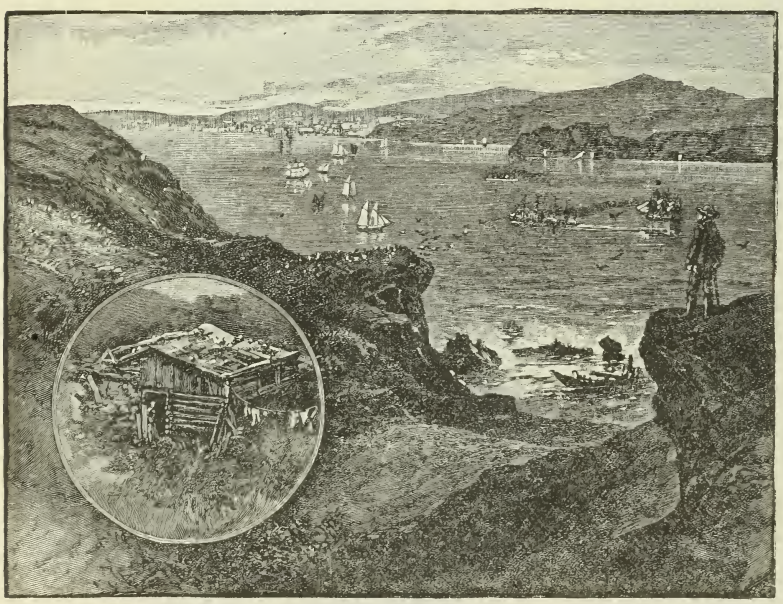


FRANKLIN PIERCE.

In 1853 formal intercourse was opened between the United States and the Empire of Japan. Hitherto, in accordance with Oriental policy, the Japanese ports had been closed against the vessels of Christian nations. In order to remove this foolish and injurious restriction, Commodore Perry, son of Oliver H. Perry, of the War of 1812, sailed with his squadron into the bay of Yedo. When warned to depart, he explained to the Japanese officers the sincere desire of the United States to enter into a commercial treaty with the Emperor. After much delay and hesitancy on the part of the Japanese Government, con-

sent was obtained, and an interview was held between that august personage and Commodore Perry. An audience was obtained on the 14th of July, and the American officer laid before the dusky monarch a letter from the President of the United States. The Government of Japan, however, was wary of accepting the proposition, and it was not until the spring of 1854 that a treaty was effected. The privileges of commerce were then conceded to American vessels, and two ports of entry were designated for their use.

While these events were happening in the far East the second World's Fair was opened, in the Crystal Palace, New York. It was the



SAN FRANCISCO AND BAY.

beginning of the era of international expositions. The Palace, which had been erected at the American metropolis, was a marvel in architecture, being built exclusively of iron and glass. Thousands of specimens of the arts and manufactures of all civilized nations were put on exhibition within the spacious building. The enterprise and inventive genius of the whole nation were quickened into a new life by the display, and an impetus was given to this method of stimulating the industries and arts of the nation. The sequel has shown that these international exhibitions are among the happiest fruits of an enlightened age.

The lawless expedition of Lopez into Cuba was soon followed by the still greater filibustering expeditions of General William Walker into Central America. This audacious and unscrupulous adventurer began his operations in 1853. He first gathered a band of followers in California, and escaping from the port of San Francisco, made a descent on La Paz, in Old California. In the following spring, he marched overland, with a hundred men, into the State of Sonora, and there set up the standard of revolt. His band, however, were soon scattered and himself made prisoner. In May of 1854 he was subjected to a trial by the authorities of San Francisco, but was acquitted. Not satisfied with his experiences, he a second time raised a band, numbering sixty-two, and with this handful proceeded to Central America. He was now joined by a regiment of insurgent natives, and with these he fought and gained a battle at Rivas, on the 29th of June, 1855. In the second conflict, at Virgin Bay, he was also successful. Desultory fighting continued until the following summer, when his influence had become so great that he was elected President of Nicaragua. Soon afterwards there was a change in his fortunes. A great insurrection ensued against his authority, and the other Central American States, assisted by the Vanderbilt Steamship Company, whose rights he had violated, combined against him. He was overthrown, and on the 1st of May, 1857, was again made prisoner. In a short time, however, he was foot-loose, and, making his way to New Orleans, he succeeded in organizing a third company of adventurers—men who had everything to gain and nothing to lose. On the 25th of November he was successful in reaching Punta Arenas, Nicaragua, but within less than a month he was obliged to surrender to Commodore Paulding, of the United States Navy. He was taken as a captive to New

York, but, regaining his liberty, he continued his scheming, and in June of 1860 reached Central America for the third time. He now commanded a considerable force. With his army he made a descent on Truxillo, Honduras; but the President of that State, assisted by a British man-of-war, soon overpowered and captured nearly the whole band. On the 3d of September, Walker was brought to trial by a court-martial at Truxillo, was condemned and shot. The courage with which he met his fate has half redeemed his forfeited fame, and left after times in doubt whether he shall be called fanatic or hero.[1]

To Pierce's Administration belongs the episode in American history known as the MARTIN KOSZTA AFFAIR. Martin Koszta had been a leader in the Hungarian revolt against Austria, in 1849. After the suppression of the rebellion he fled to Turkey, whence he was demanded by the Austrian Government as a refugee and traitor. The Turkish authorities, however, refused to give him up, but agreed that he should be sent into exile to some foreign land, never to return. Koszta thereupon chose the United States as his asylum, came hither, and took out his papers of intention, but not the papers of complete naturalization. In 1854 he returned to Turkey, contrary, as it was alleged, to his former promise. At the city of Smyrna he received a passport from the American Consul there, and went ashore. The Austrian Consul at Smyrna, hearing of Koszta's arrival in the city, and having no power to arrest him on shore, induced some bandits to seize him and throw him into the water of the bay, where a boat, in waiting for that purpose, picked him up and put him on board an Austrian frigate.



WALKER BEFORE HIS EXECUTION.

The American officials immediately demanded Koszta's release; but this was refused.

[1] The poet Joaquin Miller, claiming to have been a member of Walker's band in the first invasion of Central America, has affectionately embalmed the memory of his brave leader in a poem, *With Walker in Nicaragua*, which might well conciliate the good opinion of posterity.

Thereupon, Captain Duncan Ingraham, commander of the American sloop-of-war *St. Louis*, loaded his guns, pointed them at the Austrian vessel, and was about to make hot work, when it was agreed by all parties that Koszta should be put in charge of the French Government until his nationality should be authoritatively decided. In this condition of affairs the question was given over for discussion to Baron Hülseman—the Austrian minister at Washington—and William L. Marcy, the American Secretary of State. The correspondence on the subject was one of the ablest discussions on record, and extended, before its termination, to almost every question affecting naturalization and citizenship, and, indeed, to many other important topics of international law. Mr. Marcy was completely triumphant in his argument, and Koszta was remanded to the United States. Of so much importance is *the life of one man*, when it involves the great question of human rights.

The bad state of feelings cherished by Spain towards the United States after the invasion of Cuba by Lopez did not readily subside. In 1853–54 the peaceable relations of the two countries were again endangered on account of Cuban complications. President Pierce believed that, owing to the financial embarrassments of the Spanish Government, Cuba might now be purchased at a reasonable price and annexed to the United States. It can not be doubted that there had existed for some time, on the part of Democratic Administrations, a covert purpose to obtain possession of Cuba, and this again with respect to the institution of slavery. For a quarter of a century the South, embodying the slaveholding sentiment, had seen with alarm the overwhelming growth of the North and of the free institutions cherished by the Northern people. Against this, Southern statesmen had sought to oppose the machinery of the Government; and many were the devices adopted to prevent that natural course of affairs which portended the limitation of the slave-system. The desire to purchase Cuba was one of those devices by which it was hoped to keep up the equipoise of the South and of the system of slave-labor on the one side, as against the North and the system of free-labor on the other.

The duty of adjusting the delicate relations of the United States and Spain with respect to the island was intrusted at first to Mr. Soulé, the American Minister at Madrid; but afterwards James Buchanan and John Y. Mason were added to the Commission. A convention of the ambassadors of the various Governments concerned was held at Ostend, and an important instrument was there drawn up, chiefly by Mr. Buchanan, known as the Ostend Manifesto. The document was chiefly devoted to an elaborate statement of the arguments in favor of the purchase and annexation of Cuba by the United States as a measure of sound wisdom to both the Spanish and American Governments; but nothing of practical importance resulted from the embassy or the manifesto. The logic of events was against the purchase, and the question at length lapsed.

The time had now come for the territorial organization of the great domains lying west of Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri. Already into these vast regions the tides of immigration were pouring, and a government of some kind became a necessity of the situation. One must needs see, in the retrospect, the inevitable renewal under these conditions of the slavery question as the most important issue which was likely to affect the creation of new Territories and new States.

In January of 1854, Senator Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, brought before the Senate of the United States a proposition to organize the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. In the bill reported for this purpose a clause was inserted providing that the people of the two Territories, in forming their Constitutions, *should decide for themselves* whether the new States should be free or slaveholding. This was a virtual repeal of the Missouri Compromise; for both of the new Territories lay north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, above which line it had been provided in the Missouri compact that slavery, or involuntary servitude, should not exist.

What the ulterior motive of Senator Douglas was in thus opening anew a question which had been settled with so great difficulty thirty-three years before, can not well be ascertained. The friends of that statesman have claimed that his action in the premises was based upon

a theory that all the Territories of the Union should, as an abstract and general proposition, be left entirely free to decide their domestic institutions for themselves. The opponents of Douglas held that his object was in this covert manner to open the vast domain of Kansas and Nebraska to the institution of slavery, and that thereby he hoped to secure the everlasting gratitude of the South, to the support of which he looked in his aspirations for the Presidency. However this may be, the effect of his measure in the Senate was inevitable. At a single stroke the old settlement of the slavery question was undone. From January until May, Douglas's report, known as the KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL, was debated in Congress. All the bitter sectional antagonisms of the past were aroused in full force. The bill was violently opposed by a majority of the representatives of the East and the North, but the minority from those sections, uniting with the Congressmen of the South, enabled Douglas to carry his measure through Congress, and in May of 1854 the bill was passed and received the sanction of the President.

No sooner had this act for the organization of the two Territories been passed than the battle which had been waged in Congress was transferred to Kansas. Whether the new State should admit slavery or exclude it, now depended upon the vote of the people. Free-State men and Slave-State men both made a rush for the Territory, in order to secure the majority; and both parties were backed by factions throughout the Union. As a result, Kansas was soon filled with an agitated mass of people, thousands of whom had been sent thither *to vote*. On the whole, the Free-State partisans gained the advantage on the score of immigration; for their resources were greater, and their zeal no less. But the pro-slavery party had a corresponding advantage in the proximity of the great slave State of Missouri. With only a modest river between her western borders and the prairies of Kansas, she might easily discharge into the Territory a large part of her floating population, to be remanded when the purpose for which it was sent across the boundary had been subserved.

At the Territorial election of November, 1854, a pro-slavery delegate was chosen to Congress, and in the general election of the following year the same party was triumphant. The State Legislature, chosen at this time, assembled at the town of Lecompton, and organized a Government and framed a Constitution permitting slavery. The Free-Soil party, however, declared the general election invalid on account of fraudulent voting. A general convention of this party was held at Topeka, where a Constitution excluding slavery was adopted. A rival Government was organized, and civil war broke out between the two factions.

From the autumn of 1855 until the following summer the Territory was the scene of constant turmoil and violence. On the 3d of



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

September the President appointed John W. Geary, of Pennsylvania, Military Governor of Kansas, with full powers to restore order and punish lawlessness. On his arrival warlike demonstrations ceased, and the hostile parties scattered to their homes. Meanwhile, however, the agitation having its center in the Territory had extended to all parts of the Union. The questions thus raised were those on which the people of the United States divided in the Presidential election of 1856.

There was now no lack of an issue. James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, was nominated as the Democratic candidate. By planting himself

on the platform and principles of his party, in which the doctrines of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill were distinctly reäffirmed, he was able to secure a heavy vote, both North and South; for many of the Northern Democrats, though opposed to slavery, held firmly to the opinion that the people of every Territory have the right to decide such questions for themselves. As the candidate of the Free-Soil, People's or Republican party, John C. Fremont, of California, was brought forward. The prime principle of this party was the total exclusion of slavery from the Territories of the United States by Congressional enactment. In the meantime, still a fourth party had appeared. About the time when the Whig organization was dissolved, the foreign element in the United States, especially in some of the larger Eastern cities, had become so strong as to be a prevailing force in politics. This element was mostly dominated, moreover, by Catholicism, and many other foreign influences and practices had been imported along with the foreigners from the respective European countries. The presence of such a power in the country aroused first the distrust and then the antagonism of the natives, and an American, or Know-Nothing[1] party, so-called, rose up in opposition to foreign influence in the United States. At one time the movement became formidable, and several of the Northern States were carried at general elections by the Know-Nothings. The leaders of the party, however, were anxious to ignore the slavery issue and to confine the attention of their followers to the matter of foreign influence and the best means to counteract it. As the candidate of this party, Millard Fillmore, of New York, was nominated for the Presidency.



JAMES BUCHANAN.

It was now seen, however, that the slavery question was uppermost in the minds of the American people. On that issue they had divided in earnest, and no party discipline could any longer force them from their position. In the Presidential election of 1856 a large majority decided in favor of Buchanan for the Presidency, while the choice for the Vice-presidency fell on John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky. Fremont, however, obtained a large vote in the Northern States, and but for the diversion made by the Know-Nothings his election had not been improbable.

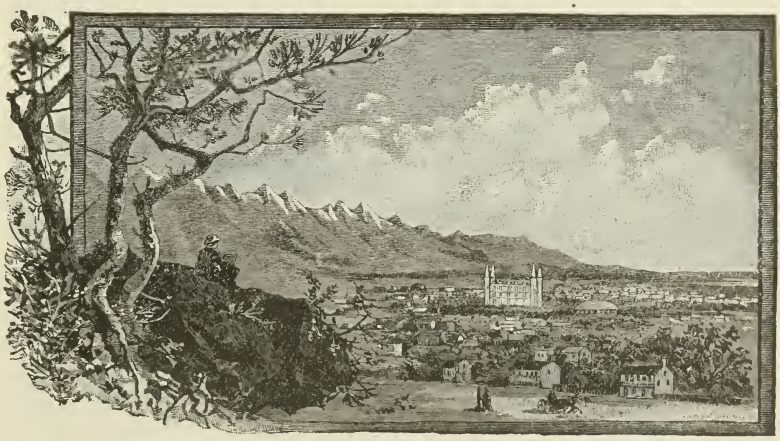
James Buchanan was a native of Pennsylvania, born on the 13th of April, 1791. He was educated for the profession of law. In 1831 he was sent as minister to Russia, and was afterwards elected to the Senate of the United States. From that position he was called to the office of Secretary of State, under President Polk. In 1853 he was appointed minister to Great Britain, and resided at the Court of St. James until his nomination for the Presidency. On his accession to that office he gave the position of Secretary of State to General Lewis Cass, of Michigan.

Scarcely had Buchanan been inaugurated as President before there was issued from the Supreme Court of the United States what is known in America as the Dred Scott Decision. The opinion of the Court in the matter involved was so extraordinary, and the

[1] The origin of this apparently absurd name is found in a part of the pledge which the members took on initiation. They promised to *know nothing* but the Union, and to *know nothing* but "America for Americans."

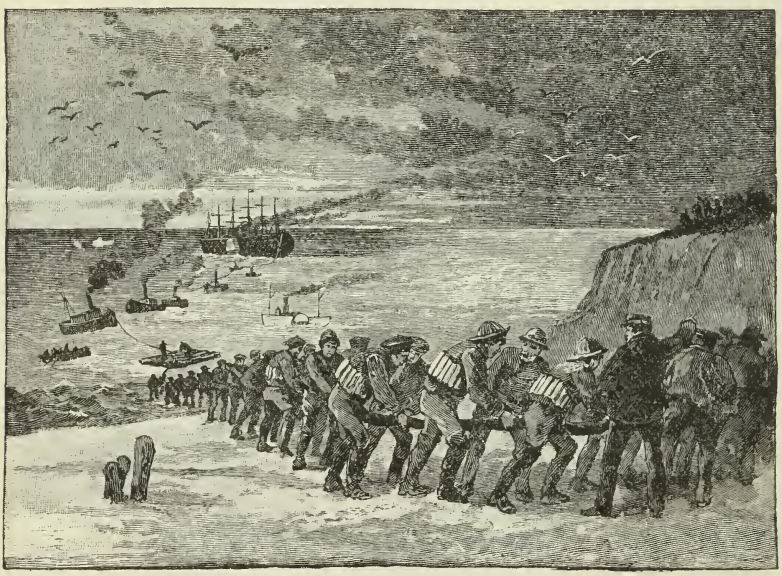
subject matter of the decision so important to the destinies of the country, that it engrossed for a considerable period the attention of the American people. Dred Scott was a Negro, and had been held as a slave by a certain Dr. Emerson, of Missouri, a surgeon in the United States army. In course of time Emerson removed to Rock Island, Illinois, and afterwards, in 1836, to Fort Snelling, Minnesota. In these removals, Scott was taken along as a slave. At the latter place he and a negro woman, who had been bought by the surgeon, were married. Two children were born of the marriage, and then the whole family were taken back to St. Louis and sold. Dred Scott thereupon brought suit for his freedom. The cause was tried successively in the Circuit and the Supreme Court of Missouri, and in May of 1854 was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. There the matter lay for about three years. After the Democratic triumph in 1856, and the accession of Buchanan to the Presidency, the moment was deemed opportune for giving a quietus to the doctrines of the Free-Soil party, and the decision was at once issued. In March, 1857, Chief - Justice Roger B. Taney, speaking for the Court, decided that negroes, whether free or slave, *were not citizens of the United States, and that they could not become such by any process known to the Constitution;* that under the laws of the United States a negro could neither sue nor be sued, and that therefore the Court had no jurisdiction of Dred Scott's cause; that the slave was to be regarded simply in the light of a personal chattel, and that he might be removed from place to place by his owner, as any other piece of property; that the Constitution gave to the slaveholder the right of removing to or through any State or Territory with his slaves, and of returning at his will with them to a State where slavery was recognized by law; and that, therefore, the Missouri Compromise of 1820, as well as the Compromise measures of 1850, was unconstitutional and void. In these opinions six associate Justices of the Supreme Bench—Wayne, Nelson, Grier, Daniel, Campbell, and Catron—concurred, while two associates—Judges McLean and Curtis—dissented. The decision of the majority, which was accepted as the decision of the Court, gave great satisfaction to the ultra-slaveholding sentiments of the South, and, indeed, chimed in agreeably with the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty which had been so zealously advocated by Senator Douglas and his followers. In the North, however, great excitement was produced, and thousands of indignant comments and much bitter opposition were provoked by the dictum of the Court.

It will be remembered that in one clause of the Compromise measures of 1850 provision was made for the organization of Utah Territory. That remote region was occupied almost exclusively by the Mormons or Latter-Day Saints. They had escaped virtually from the jurisdiction of the United States, and had planted themselves in what they supposed to be an inaccessible country. At length, however, the attempt was made to extend the American judicial system over the Territory. Thus far Brigham Young, the Mormon Prophet and Governor, had, as the head of the theocracy, taken his own course in the administration of justice. The community of Mormons was organized on a plan very different from that existing in other Territories, and many usages, especially polygamy, had grown up in Utah which were deemed repugnant to the laws of the country.



SALT LAKE CITY.

When the Federal Judge was sent out in 1857 to preside in the Territory, he was resisted, insulted, and driven violently from the seat of justice. The other officials of the Federal Government were in a like manner expelled, and the Territory became the scene of a reign of terror. The Mormons claimed in justification of their action that the officers who had been sent out to govern them were of so low a character as to command no respect. But the excuse was deemed insufficient, and Brigham Young was superseded in the Government by Alfred Cumming, Superintendent of Indian Affairs on the Upper Missouri. Judge Delana R. Eckels, of Indiana, was appointed Chief-Justice of the Territory, and an army of two thousand five hundred men was sent to Utah to put down lawlessness by force.



LANDING THE ATLANTIC CABLE.

Brigham Young and the Mormon elders were not, however, disposed to yield without a struggle. The antagonism of the people of the Territory was excited to the highest degree. The American army was denounced as a horde of barbarians, and preparations were made for resistance. In September of 1857 the national forces entered the Territory, and on the 6th of October a company of Mormon rangers attacked and destroyed most of the supply trains of the army. Winter came on, and the Federal forces, under the command of Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, were obliged to find quarters on Black's Fork, near Fort Bridges.

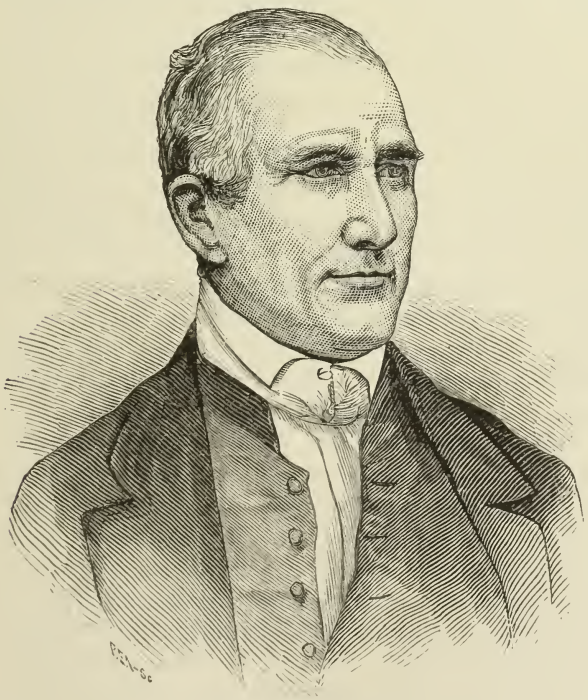
In the meantime, the President dispatched Thomas L. Kane, of Pennsylvania, with conciliatory letters to the Mormons. Going by way of California, he reached Utah in the spring of 1858, and in a short time succeeded in bringing about an understanding between Governor Cumming and the Mormons. In the latter part of May, Governor Powell, of Kentucky, and Major McCulloch, of Texas, arrived at the head-quarters of the army, bearing from the President a proclamation of pardon to all who would submit to the national authority. The Mormons in general accepted the overture. In the fall of this year the army marched to Salt Lake City, but was afterwards quartered at Camp Floyd, forty miles distant. At this place the Federal forces remained until order was restored, when, in May of 1860, they were withdrawn from Utah.

Meanwhile, in 1858, an American vessel, sailing innocently up the Paraguay River, on an exploring expedition, was fired on by a jealous garrison. Reparation for the insult was demanded, but none was given, and the Government of the United States was obliged to send a fleet to South America to obtain satisfaction. A civil commissioner was sent with the squadron, who was empowered to offer liberal terms of settlement in respect to the injury. The authorities of Paraguay quailed before the approaching fleet, and suitable apologies were made for the wrong which had been committed.

The year 1858 was memorable in the history of the United States and of the whole world for the completion and laying of the first Telegraphic Cable across the Atlantic Ocean. It was on the 5th of August in this year that the great enterprise was successfully

completed. The work was due in a large measure to the energy and genius of Cyrus W. Field, a wealthy merchant of New York City. The first cable was one thousand six hundred and forty miles in length, extending from Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, to Valentia Bay, Ireland. Telegraphic communication was thus established for a brief season between the Old World and the New, and the fraternal greetings of peaceful nations on the two sides of the Atlantic were for the first time transmitted through the depths of the sea. Unfortunately, however, the cable which, as at first employed, was ill adapted to its purpose. In a short period it was parted on a reef, and the enterprise was thought by the unhopeful to have ended in failure.

In 1858 the Territory of Minnesota was organized and admitted into the Union. The area of the new State was a little more than eighty-one thousand square miles, and its population at the date of admission about a hundred and fifty thousand. In the following year Oregon, the thirty-third State of the Union, was admitted, bringing a population of forty-eight thousand and an area of eighty



GENERAL SAM HOUSTON.

thousand square miles. It was on the 4th of March in this year that General Sam Houston, of Texas, bade adieu to the Senate of the United States and retired to private life. His



WASHINGTON IRVING.

fame as a General in the War for Texan independence has already been mentioned. His career had been marked by the strangest vicissitudes. He was a Virginian by birth, but his youth had been hardened among the mountains of Tennessee. He gained a military fame in the Seminole War, and soon, by the force of his character, rose to political distinction. He was elected Governor of Tennessee, but while in the full tide of his ascendency his life was suddenly overshadowed with a domestic calamity, the nature of which has never been fully ascertained. He suddenly resigned his office, left his home, and exiled himself among the Cherokee Indians, and was presently elected as one of their chiefs. Afterwards he went to Texas, joined the American party there, became its leader, and was chosen President of the State after the successful struggle for independence. He was next sent by the Legislature of Texas to represent the new Commonwealth in the Senate of the United States. He was a man of sterling integrity, strong will, and equally strong idiosyncrasies of character.

In the year 1859 died Washington Irving, who might at the time of his death be regarded as the prince of American literature. For fully fifty years the power of his genius had been unremittingly devoted to the great work of creating for his native land a literary rank among the nations of modern times. On both sides of the Atlantic his name had become familiar as a household word. He it was, first of all, who wrung from the reluctant and proscriptive reviews of England and Scotland an acknowledgment of the power and originality of American genius. When Murray, the great bookseller of London, was obliged to pay for the manuscript of *Bracebridge Hall*, which he had not yet seen, the sum of a thousand guineas, it was no longer doubtful that an American literary genius had appeared, destined to universal recognition. Except Sir Walter Scott and Lord Byron, no other author of Irving's times had received so munificent a reward for his labor.

CHAPTER CXXIV.—DISUNION AND CIVIL WAR.

AFTER the issuance of the Dred Scott Decision the excitement in the United States on the question of slavery became constantly greater and more heated. It had been believed by the pro-slavery party and by the Democratic Administration that the decision in question would allay the troubled waters and produce a calm; but, on the contrary, it appeared rather to be a torch cast among combustibles. In some of the Free States the opposition rose higher and higher, and what were called PERSONAL LIBERTY BILLS were passed, the object of which was to defeat the execution of the Fugitive-Slave Law. In the fall of 1859 the excitement of the country was still further aroused by the mad scheme of John Brown of Osawatomie to raise a servile insurrection in the South. With a party of twenty-one men, daring as himself, he made a sudden descent on the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, captured the place, and held his ground for nearly two days. The militia of Virginia, and then the national troops, were called out, in order to suppress the revolt. Thirteen of Brown's men were killed, two made their escape, and the rest were captured. The leader and his six companions were given over to the authorities of Virginia, tried, condemned, and hanged. The event was one which to the present day excites the keenest interest and liveliest discussion. Nor may it be easily decided whether an adventurer, supposing himself under the direction of the Higher Law, may in such a manner attack the abuses of a State.

Meanwhile, in Kansas the controversy, ever and anon, broke out with added heat. But the Free-Soil party gradually gained the upper hand, and it became evident that slavery would be interdicted in the Territory. But an issue had now been created between the North and the South. In the former the antislavery sentiment spread and became intense. It settled into a *conviction* which might not be eradicated. In the South, on the other hand, the conviction grew that it was the settled purpose of the Northern people, first to gain the ascendency in the national Government, and then to attack them and their peculiar institutions. Such was the alarming condition of affairs when the time arrived for holding the nineteenth Presidential election.

The excitement, as usual, rose high. The Free-Soil party had now permanently taken the name of Republican. A great convention of delegates of that party was held in Chicago, and Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, was nominated for the Presidency. A platform of principles was adopted, in which opposition to the extension of slavery was the one vital issue. In the month of April the Democratic convention assembled at Charleston, South Carolina; but no sooner had the body convened than its utter distraction of counsels was apparent. The delegates were divided on the slavery question, and, after much debating and wrangling, the party was disrupted. The

delegates from the South, unable to obtain a distinct expression of their views in the platform of principles, and seeing that the Northern wing of the party was determined to nominate Senator Douglas—the great defender of popular sovereignty—withdrew from the convention. The remainder, embracing most of the delegates from the North, continued in session, balloted for a while for a candidate, and on the 3d of May adjourned to Baltimore.

In that city, on the 18th of June, the delegates of the Northern wing of the party reassembled and chose Douglas as their standard-bearer in the approaching canvass. The seceding delegates adjourned, first to Richmond and afterwards to Baltimore, where they met on the 28th of June, and nominated John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky. The American, or Know-Nothing, party had by this time lost something of its distinctive features, and took the name of Constitutional Unionists. Representatives of this party met in convention, and chose John Bell, of Tennessee, as their candidate. Thus were four political standards raised in the field, and the excitement swirled through the country like a storm.

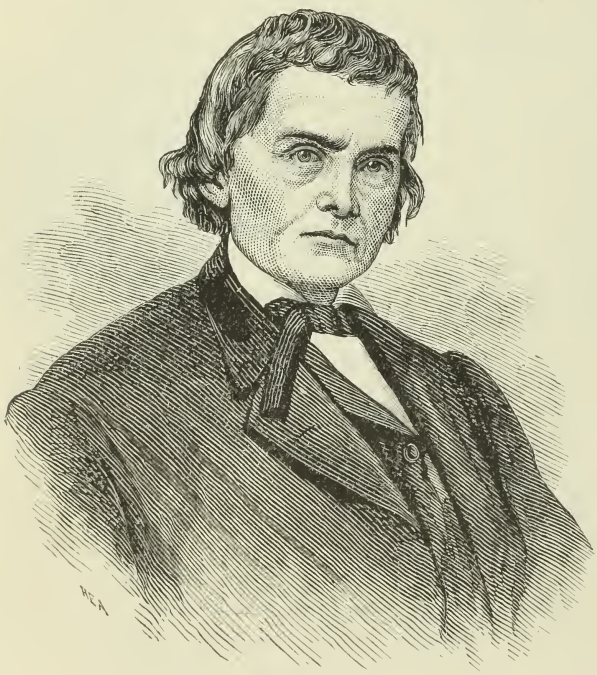
The Republicans now gained by their compactness and the distinctness of their utterances on the slavery question. Most of the old Abolitionists, though by far more radical than the Republicans, cast in their fortunes with the latter, and supported Lincoln. The result was the triumphant election of the Republican candidate, by the votes of nearly all the Northern States. The support of the Southern States was for the most part given to Breckinridge. The States of Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee cast their ballots, thirty-nine in number, for Bell. Douglas received a large popular, but small electoral, vote, his supporters being scattered through all the States, without the concentration necessary to carry any. Thus, after having controlled the destinies of the Republic for sixty years, with only temporary overthrows in 1840 and 1848, the Democratic party was broken into fragments and driven from the field.

The issue of the Presidential election had been clearly foreseen, and the results were anticipated, at least in the South. The Southern leaders had not hesitated to declare, during the campaign, that the choice of Lincoln would be regarded as a just cause for a dissolution of the Union. Threats of secession had been heard on every hand; but in the North such expressions were regarded as mere political bravado, having little foundation in the actual purposes of the Southern people. At any rate, the Republicans of the populous North were not to be deterred from voting according to their political convictions. They crowded to the polls, and their favorite received a plurality of the electoral votes.

At this time the Government, so far as Congress and the Executive were concerned, was under the control of the Douglas Democracy. A majority of the members of the Cabinet, however, and a large number of Senators and Representatives belonged to the Breckinridge party, and had imbibed from a pro-slavery education all of the fire-eating propensities of the extreme South. Such members of Congress did not hesitate openly to advocate the principles of secession as a remedy for the election of Lincoln. In the interim between the fall of 1860 and the expiration of Mr. Buchanan's term of office, the animosity of the Southern leaders reached a climax. It was foreseen by them that with the ensuing spring all the departments of the Government would pass under Republican control. The times were full of passion, animosity, and rashness. It was seen that, for the present, disunion—the secession of the Southern States—was possible; but that if the matter should be postponed until the incoming Administration should be fully established, disunion would be impossible. The attitude of the President favored the measure. He was not himself, in principle or profession, a disunionist. On the contrary, he denied the right of a State to secede, but at the same time he declared himself not armed with the Constitutional power necessary to prevent secession by force. Such a theory of government was sufficient of itself to paralyze the remaining energies of the Executive—to make him helpless in the presence of the emergency. The interval, therefore, between the Presidential election in November of 1860 and the inauguration of Lincoln in the following spring, was seized by the leaders of the South as the opportune moment for dissolving the Union.

The event showed that the measure had

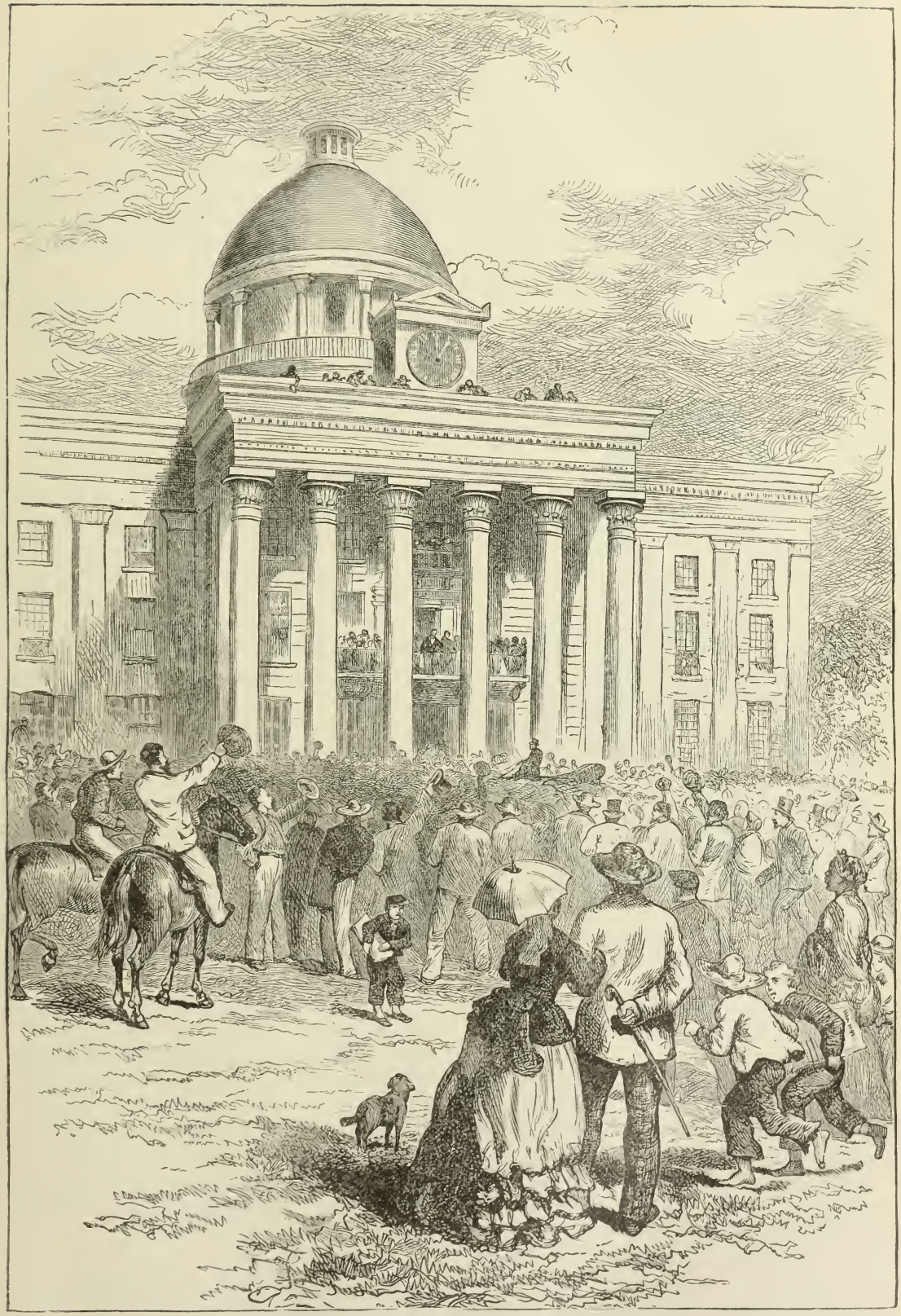
been carefully prepared. The actual work of secession was begun, as might have been anticipated, in South Carolina. The old disunion proclivities of that State had slumbered in the embers for thirty years, and were now ready to burst forth in flames. On the 17th of December, 1860, a convention, chosen by the people of South Carolina, assembled at Charleston, and, after three days of fiery discussion, passed a resolution that the Union, hitherto existing between South Carolina and the other States under the name of the United States of America, was dissolved. It was a step of fearful importance, portending war and universal discord. The action was contagious. The sentiment of disunion spread like an insanity among the Southern people. In a short time the cotton-growing States were almost unanimously in support of the measure. By the first of February, 1861, six other States—Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas—had passed ordinances of secession similar to that adopted by South Carolina, and had withdrawn from the Union. Nearly all the Senators and Representatives of those States, following the lead of their constituents, whom they themselves had instigated in their course, resigned their seats in Congress, returned to the South, and gave themselves fully to the disunion cause.



ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

In the secession conventions, but little opposition was manifested to the movement. As a matter of fact, those who were opposed to disunion did not appear in the conventions, and their voices were unheard. The hot-headed leaders in the secession enterprise rushed together, carrying with them the enthusiastic support of the planters and the young politicians of the Southern States, and by these the work was done. In some instances a considerable minority vote was cast against disunion. A few speakers boldly denounced the measure as disloyal, bad in principle, ruinous in results. The course of Alexander H. Stephens, afterwards Vice-President of the Confederate States, was peculiar. He appeared in the Georgia convention, among a people with whom his voice had hitherto been prevalent in all matters affecting their interests. He undertook on the floor of the convention to stem the tide and to prevent the secession of his State. He delivered a long and powerful speech, in which, unfortunately for his fame, he defended the theory of secession, advocated the doctrine of State sovereignty, declared his intention of abiding by the decision of the convention and his State, but at the same time spoke against secession on the ground that the measure *was impolitic, unwise, and likely to be disastrous in its results.* Not a few other prominent men in different parts of the South held the same view; but the opposite opinion prevailed, and secession was readily and enthusiastically accomplished.

The formation of a new Government followed fast on the heels of disunion. On the 4th of February, 1861, delegates from six of the seceded States assembled at Montgomery, Alabama, and proceeded to form a new Government, under the name of the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA. On the 8th of the month the organization was completed by the election of Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, as provisional President, and Alexander H. Stephens as Vice-President. On the same day of the meeting of the Confederate Congress at Montgomery, a Peace Conference, so-called,



INAUGURATION OF JEFFERSON DAVIS AT MONTGOMERY. (103)

assembled in Washington City. Delegates from twenty-one States were present, and the optimists who composed the body still dreamed of peace. They prepared certain amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and the same were laid before Congress, with the recommendation that they be adopted. That body, freshly gathered from the people, and inspired with rising antagonism to the action of the Southern leaders, gave little heed to the recommendations, and the Conference dispersed without practical results.

Buchanan was still President, and the Government was still under the direction of the Democratic party; but the country seemed on the verge of ruin. It appeared that the Ship of State was purposely steered directly for the rocks. In the Executive Department there was a complete paralysis. The army had been sent in detachments to remote frontiers. The fleet was scattered in distant seas. The financial credit had run down to the lowest ebb. The Government was unable to borrow funds for current emergencies at twelve per cent. The diverse counsels of his friends had distracted the President. He hesitated, and knew not which way to turn. With the exception of Forts Sumter and Moultrie, in Charleston harbor, Fort Pickens, near Pensacola, and Fortress Monroe, in the Chesapeake, all the important naval ports and posts in the seceded States had been seized by the Confederate authorities, even before the organization of their Government. Meanwhile, in far-off Kansas the local warfare continued to break out at fitful intervals; but the Free State party had at last gained a complete ascendency, and the early admission of the new Commonwealth, with two additional Republican Senators, was a foregone conclusion.

With the beginning of the new year, the President roused himself for a moment, and made a feeble attempt to reïnforce and provision the garrison of Fort Sumter The steamer *Star of the West* was accordingly sent out with men and supplies; but the Confederates were informed of all that was done, and had no trouble in defeating the enterprise. As the steamer approached the harbor of Charleston she was fired on by a Confederate battery, planted for that purpose, and compelled to return. Thus in gloom and grief and the upheavals of revolution, the Administration of James Buchanan drew to a close. Such was the dreadful condition of affairs that it was deemed prudent for the new President to approach the Capital without recognition. For the first time in the history of the nation, the Chief Magistrate of the Republic slipped into Washington City by night, as a means of personal safety.

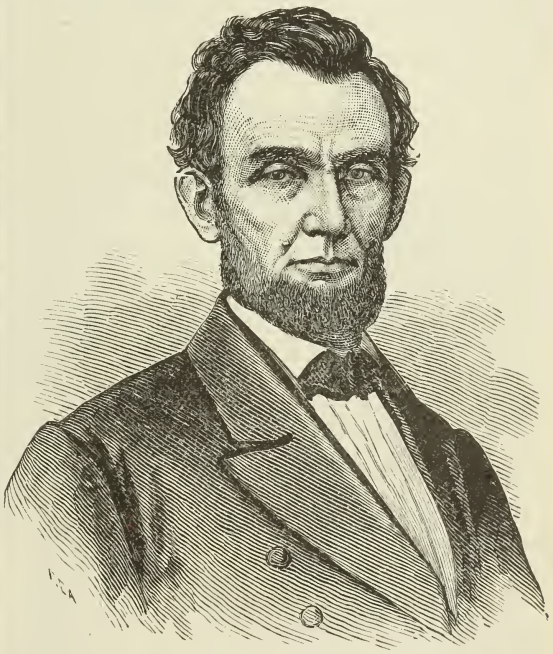
The new Chief Magistrate was a man for the hour and for the epoch. He had been thrown to the front by those processes which, in the aggregate, look so much like Providence. Abraham Lincoln, the sixteenth President of the United States, was a Kentuckian by birth; born in the county La Rue, on the 12th of February, 1809. His ancestors had immigrated thither from Rockingham County, Virginia; both father and mother were Virginians by birth. At the time of the emigration, however, Kentucky was simply a territorial extension westward of the Old Dominion. The childhood of Lincoln was passed in utter obscurity. It appears that the family were poor to the last degree—mere backwoods people of the lowest order. In 1816 the father, Thomas Lincoln, removed to Spencer county, Indiana—just then admitted into the Union—and built a cabin in the woods near the present village of Gentryville. This place was the scene of Lincoln's boyhood—a constant struggle with poverty, hardship, and toil. At the age of sixteen we find him managing a ferry across the Ohio, opposite the mouth of Anderson Creek—a service for which he was paid six dollars a month. In his youth he received, in the aggregate, about one year's schooling, which was all he ever had in the way of formal education. In the year of his majority he removed with his father's family to the North Fork of the Sangamon River, ten miles west of Decatur, in Illinois. Here he and his father built another log house, and opened and fenced a farm. Here Abraham Lincoln, pushing forth from the ancestral cabin, began for himself the hard battle of life.

"The uncleared forest, the unbroken soil,
The iron bark that turns the lumberer's axe;
The rapid that o'erbears the boatman's toil,
The prairie, hiding the mazed wanderer's tracks;

"The ambushed Indian, and the prowling bear,—
Such were the needs that helped his youth to train.
Rough culture; but such trees large fruit may bear,
If but their stocks be of right girth and grain."

Lincoln served as a flatboatman on the Mississippi, and after a trip to New Orleans returned to New Salem, a town twenty miles from Springfield, and became a clerk in a country store. At the outbreak of the Black Hawk War he was elected captain of a company, and went on a campaign into Wisconsin. From 1833 to 1836 he tried business for himself, but a dissolute partner brought him to bankruptcy. He then began the study of law, for which he had always had a preference; soon gained the attention of his fellow-men, and rose to distinction. His peculiar power, manifested at all periods of his life, of seizing the most difficult thought, and presenting it in such homely phrase as to make the truth appreciable by all men, made him a natural leader of the people. In 1849 he served in Congress for one term, where he distinguished himself as a humorous speaker. As candidate for the office of United States Senator from Illinois in 1858, he first revealed to the nation, in his great debates with Senator Douglas, the full scope and originality of his genius. Two years afterwards he was nominated and elected to the Presidency. On his accession to office he was fifty-two years of age. He came to the Presidency under such a burden of care and responsibility as had not been borne by any ruler of modern times. On the occasion of his inauguration he delivered a carefully prepared address, declaring his fixed purpose to uphold the Constitution, enforce the laws, and preserve the integrity of the Union. From the first it was the policy of his Administration to ignore the action of the seceded States as a thing in itself null, void, and of no effect.

At the head of the new Cabinet was placed William H. Seward, of New York, as Secretary of State. Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, and Simon Cameron Secretary of War; but the latter, in the following January, was succeeded in office by Edwin M. Stanton. The Secretaryship of the Navy was conferred on Gideon Welles. In his inaugural address and first official papers the President outlined not only his theoretical, but his practical policy. The latter was, in brief, to repossess the forts, arsenals, and public property which had been seized by the Confederates, and to reëstablish the authority of the Federal Government in all parts. The first military preparations and movements were made with this end in view. Meanwhile, on the 12th of March, a body of commissioners from the seceded States sought to obtain from the National Government a recognition of their independence, but the negotiations were of course unsuccessful. Then followed a second attempt on the part of the Government to reïnforce the garrison at Fort

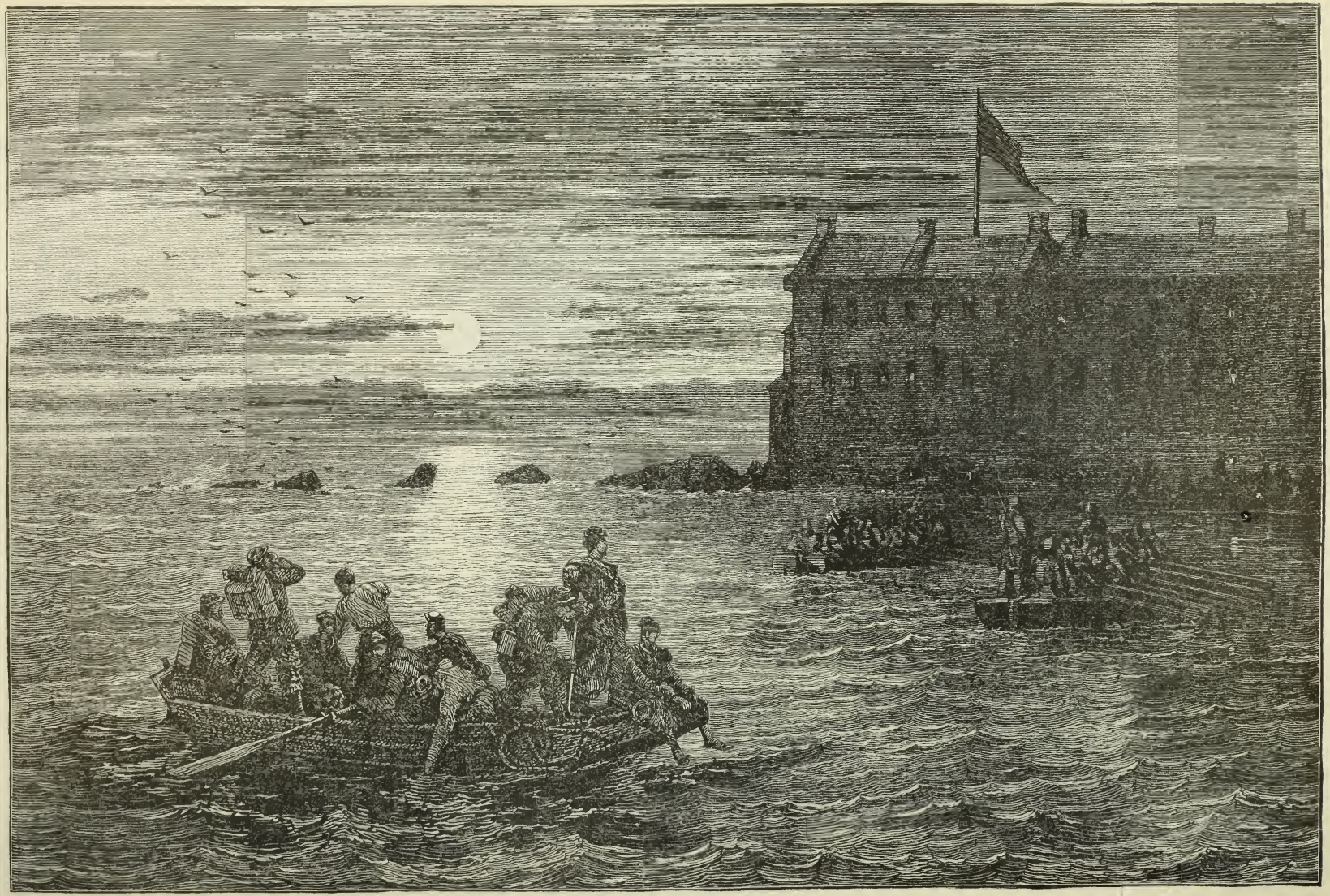


ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Sumter; and with that came the beginning of actual hostilities.

The defenses in Charleston harbor were held by Major Robert Anderson. His whole force amounted to but seventy-nine men. Owing to the feebleness of his garrisons, he deemed it prudent to withdraw from Fort Moultrie and concentrate his whole force in Fort Sumter. By this time Confederate volunteers had flocked to the city, and powerful land-batteries were built around the harbor, bearing on Sumter.

When it was known that the Federal Government would reinforce the forts, the authorities of the Confederate States determined to anticipate the movement by compelling Anderson to surrender. On the 11th of April,



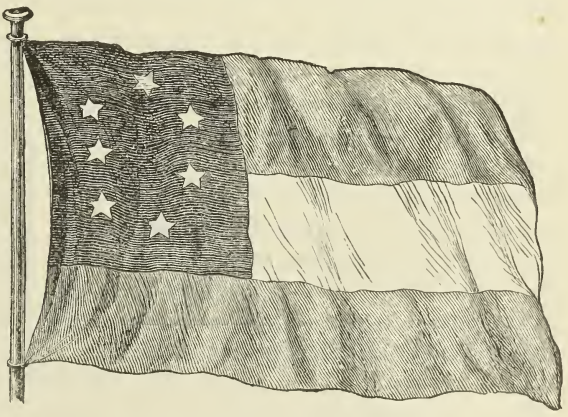
(106) REMOVAL OF TROOPS FROM FORT MOULTRIE TO FORT SUMTER.

General P. T. Beauregard, commandant of Charleston, sent a flag to Major Anderson, demanding an evacuation of the fort. The Major replied that he should hold the fort and defend his flag. On the following morning, April 12th, at half-past four o'clock, the first gun of the great War was discharged from a Confederate battery. A terrific bombardment, of thirty-four hours' duration, followed. The fort was reduced to ruins, set on fire, and obliged to capitulate. The honors of war were granted to Anderson and his men, who had made a brave and obstinate resistance. It appeared, however, in the sequel, that no lives were lost, either in the fort or on the shore. The Confederates in their initial movement were thus completely successful, and obtained control of the harbor of Charleston.

But the effect was against the aggressors. The news of the capture of Sumter spread through the country like a flame of fire. There had been on the part of the people a vague expectation of violence, but the actual shock came like a clap of thunder. The people of the towns poured into the streets, and the country folk flocked to the villages, to gather tidings and comment on the outbreak of the war. Gray-haired men talked gravely of the deed that was done, and prophesied its consequences. The general effect of the capture of Sumter was to consolidate opinion in both the North and the South. On either side the sentiments of the people were crystallized into a firmly set antagonism, which could only be broken by the shock of battle.

Three days after the fall of Sumter, President Lincoln issued a call for seventy-five thousand volunteers, to serve three months in the overthrow of the secession movement. Two days later, Virginia seceded from the Union. On the 6th of May, Arkansas followed the example, and then North Carolina on the 20th of the same month. In Tennessee, especially in East Tennessee, there was a powerful opposition to disunion, and it was not until the 8th of June that a secession ordinance could be forced upon the people. In Missouri the movement resulted immediately in civil war, while in Kentucky the authorities issued a proclamation of neutrality. The people of Maryland were divided into hostile parties, the disunion sentiment being largely prevalent.

Meanwhile, the volunteers from the North began to make their way to Washington. On the 19th of April, when the first regiment of the Massachusetts volunteers was passing through Baltimore, they were fired upon by the citizens, and three men were killed. This was the first bloodshed of the war. On the day before this event a body of Confederate soldiers advanced against the armory of the United States at Harper's Ferry. The officer in command hastily destroyed a portion of the vast magazine gathered there, and then escaped into Pennsylvania. On the 20th of the month another company of Virginians assailed the great navy-yard at Norfolk. The officers commanding fired the buildings and



FLAG OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

ships, spiked the guns, and withdrew. Most of the cannons and many of the vessels were afterwards recovered by the Confederates and turned against the Government. Virginia was soon filled with volunteers from the South, and in a short time Washington City was in imminent danger of capture.

The first duty of the Government was to secure the Capital. This done, the President, on the 3d of May, issued another call for soldiers. The number of the new call was set at eighty-three thousand, and the term of service at three years or during the war. A fleet was equipped and sent out to blockade the Southern ports, and on every side were heard the notes of preparation. The spirit of the people had been thoroughly aroused, and a great war thundered in the horizon. Already the Southern Congress had ajourned from Montgomery,

to meet, the 20th of July, at Richmond, which was chosen as the capital of the Confederacy. To that place had already come Mr. Davis and the officers of his Cabinet, for the purpose of directing the affairs of the Government and army. So stood the antagonistic powers at the beginning of June, 1861. It was now evident to all men—slow indeed had they been to believe it—that one of the greatest conflicts of modern times was impending over the United States. Let us look briefly into the CAUSES which produced the Rebellion and led to the Civil War.

The first and most general of these causes was *the different construction put upon the National Constitution by the people of the North and the South.* A difference had always existed as to how the instrument was to be understood. The question at issue had respect to the relation between the States and the General Government. One party held that under the Constitution the Union of the States is indissoluble; that the sovereignty of the Nation is lodged in the central Government; that the States are subordinate; that the acts of Congress, until they are repealed or pronounced unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, are binding on the States; that the highest allegiance of the citizen is due to the General Government, not to his State; and that all attempts at nullification and disunion are in their nature disloyal and treasonable. The other party held that the National Constitution is a compact between sovereign States; that these States constitute a confederacy, or what the Germans would call a *Staatenbund;* that for certain reasons the Union may be dissolved by the States; that the sovereignty of the nation is lodged in the individual States, and not in the central Government; that Congress can exercise no other than delegated powers; that a State feeling aggrieved may annul an act of Congress; that the highest allegiance of the citizen is due to his own State, and afterwards to the General Government; and that acts of nullification and disunion are justifiable, revolutionary, and honorable. The theory was, in brief, that the Constitution itself provided that the States, under the Constitution, might abrogate the Constitution as it related to themselves, and thereby dissolve the Union.

Here was an issue in its consequences the most fearful that ever disturbed a nation. It struck into the very vitals of the Government. It threatened, with each renewal of the agitation, to undo the whole civil structure of the United States. For a long time the parties who disputed about the meaning of the Constitution were scattered in various sections. In the earlier history of the country the doctrine of State sovereignty had, indeed, been most advocated in New England. With the rise of the tariff question the local position of the parties was reversed. Since the tariff—a Congressional measure—favored the Eastern States at the expense of the South, it came to pass, naturally, that the people of New England, and afterwards of the whole North, passed over to the advocacy of National sovereignty, while the people of the South became wedded to the doctrine of State rights. Thus as early as 1831 the right of a State to nullify an act of Congress was openly advocated in South Carolina, and by her greatest statesman in the Senate of the United States; and thus also it happened that the belief in State sovereignty became more and more prevalent in the South, less and less prevalent in the North. The general effect of this localization of the two theories was to engender sectional parties, and to bring them ultimately into conflict.

The second general cause of the Civil War was *the different systems of labor in the North and in the South.* In the former sections the laborers were freemen, citizens, voters; in the latter, bondmen, property, slaves. In the South the theory was that the capital of a country should own the labor; in the North, that both labor and capital are free. In the beginning all the colonies had been slaveholding. In the Eastern and Middle States the system of slave-labor had been gradually abolished, being unprofitable. In the five great States formed out of the Territory North-west of the River Ohio slavery was excluded by the original Jeffersonian compact, under which that territory was organized. Thus there came to be a line of division drawn through the Union east and west. It was evident, therefore, that whenever the question of slavery was agitated a sectional division would arise between the parties north and south of the dividing line, and that disunion and war would be threatened. But the danger arising from this source, and

indeed from the first general cause above mentioned, was increased, and the discord between the sections aggravated, by several subordinate causes.

One of these was, at the time considered, merely an incident of industrial progress, namely, the INVENTION OF THE COTTON-GIN. In 1793 Eli Whitney, a young collegian of Massachusetts, went to Georgia and resided with the family of Mrs. Greene, widow of General Greene, of the Revolution. While there he became much interested in the difficult process of picking cotton by hand; that is, separating the seed from the fiber. So slow was this process that the production of upland cotton was nearly profitless. The industry of the cotton-growing States, however well it promised in the mere production of the plant, was rendered of no effect by the tediousness of preparing the product for the market. Mr. Whitney, with the inventive curiosity and skill of his race, undertook to remove the difficulty, and succeeded in constructing a gin which astonished the beholder by the rapidity and excellence of its work. Cotton in the seed, submitted to the action of the machine, was separated to perfection and with great facility. From being profitless, cotton suddenly became the most profitable of all the staples of the South. The industry of the cotton-producing States was revolutionized. Whitney obtained patents on his invention; but the greed for obtaining and using his machine was so great that no courts could or would protect him in his rights. Before the Civil War it was estimated that the cotton-gin had added an aggregate of a thousand millions of dollars to the revenues of the Southern States. Just in proportion to the increased profitableness of cotton, slave-labor became important, slaves valuable, and the system of slavery a fixed and deep-rooted institution.

Slave ownership more than ever before was now imbedded in Southern society. The separation between the laboring and the non-laboring class was not only a separation of race, but it was a separation of *condition*. The present generation of planters and slaveholders had inherited that condition. They had grown up in its presence, and had come to regard it as a rightful and necessary part of the best social organization in the world. Seeing themselves manifestly lifted above the servile class, they came to look upon the system of free-labor and free-laborers in the North with contempt.

From this time forth there was constant danger that the slavery question would so embitter the politics and legislation of the country as to bring about disunion. The danger of such a result was, as we have already seen, fully manifested in the MISSOURI AGITATION of 1820–21. Threats of dissolving the Union were freely made both in the South and the North; in the South, because of the proposed rejection of Missouri as a slaveholding State; in the North, because of the proposed enlargement of the domain of slavery. When the Missouri Compromise was enacted it was the hope of Mr. Clay and his fellow-statesmen to save the Union by removing forever the slavery issue from the politics of the country; but their success was temporary, evanescent. It had remained for Mr. Lincoln himself, in the opening of his great debates with Senator Douglas, to announce to the nation the ultimate irreconcilability of the opposing elements in the American system. He declared that a house divided against itself can not stand; that the institution of slavery, to carry out the analogy, must either become universal in the United States, or else, by limitation, be put in such a condition as to lead to its ultimate extinction.

Next among the subordinate causes of the Rebellion and the Civil War should be mentioned the NULLIFICATION ACTS OF SOUTH CAROLINA. These, too, turned upon the institution of slavery and the profitableness of cotton. The Southern States had become cotton-producing; the Eastern States had given themselves to manufacture. The tariff measures seemed to favor manufacturers at the expense of the producers of raw material. Mr. Calhoun and his friends proposed to remedy the evil complained of by annulling the laws of Congress, and thus forcing an abolition of the tariff. His measures failed; but another compromise was found necessary in order to allay the animosities which had been awakened.

Next came the ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, with the consequent enlargement of the domain of slavery and the reäwakening of the agitation.

Those who opposed the Mexican War did so, not so much because of the injustice of the conflict as because of the fact that thereby the area of slavery would be vastly extended. Then, at the close of the War, came the enormous acquisition of territory in the South-west. Whether the same should be made into free or slaveholding States, was the question next agitated. This controversy led to the passage of the Omnibus Bill, by which again, for a brief period, the excitement was allayed.

In 1854, as we have seen, the KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL was passed. Thereby the Missouri Compromise was repealed, and the whole question opened anew. Meanwhile, the character and civilization of the Northern and Southern people had become quite different. In population and wealth the North had far outgrown the South. In the struggle for territorial domain, the North had gained the larger advantage. In 1860 the division of the Democratic party made certain the election of Lincoln, a professed Free-Soiler, by the votes of the Northern States. The people of the South were exasperated at the choice of a Chief Magistrate whom they regarded as indifferent to their welfare, or positively hostile to their interests.

Returning, then, from these subordinate to the more general causes of the Civil War, we note, in the next place, *the want of intercourse between the people of the North and the South.* Obeying those cosmic laws by which the population of the earth has always been distributed, the people of the States west of the Alleghenies had been carried to their destinations in channels flowing from the east to the west—never from the north to the south. The artificial contrivances had been arranged along the same lines. The great railroads and thoroughfares ran east and west. All migrations had been back and forth in the same course. Between the North and the South there had been only a modicum of travel and interchange of opinion. The people of the two sections had become much more unacquainted than they were in the times of the Revolution. From this want of intercourse and familiarity, the inhabitants of the two sections, without intending it, had become estranged, jealous, suspicious. They misrepresented each other's beliefs and purposes. They suspected each other of dishonesty and ill-will. Before the outbreak of the war, the people of the North and the South had come to look upon each other almost in the light of different nationalities.

A fourth general cause was found in *the publication and influence of sectional books and writings.* During the twenty years preceding the war, many works were published, both in the North and the South, whose popularity depended wholly or in part on the animosity existing between the two sections. Such books were frequently filled with ridicule and falsehood. The manners and customs, the language and beliefs, of one section were held up to the contempt and scorn of the people of the other section. The minds of all classes, especially of the young, were thus prejudiced and poisoned. In the North the belief was fostered that the South was given up to inhumanity, ignorance, and barbarism; while in the South the opinion prevailed that the Northern people were a selfish race of men, mercenary, cold-blooded Yankees.

Again, *the evil influence of demagogues* may be cited as a fifth general cause of the war. It is a misfortune of republican governments that they many times fall under the leadership of bad men. In the United States the demagogue has enjoyed special opportunities for mischief, and the people have suffered in proportion. From 1850 to 1860 statesmanship and patriotism were at a low ebb. Ambitious and scheming men had come to the front, taken control of political parties, and proclaimed themselves the leaders of public opinion. Their purposes were wholly selfish. The welfare and peace of the country were put aside as of little value. In order to gain power and keep it, many unprincipled men in the South were anxious to destroy the Union, while the demagogues of the North were willing to *abuse* the Union in order to accomplish their purposes.

Added to all these causes was *a growing public opinion in the North against the institution of slavery itself*, a hostility inborn and inbred against human chattelhood as a fact. The conscience of the Nation was roused, and the belief began to prevail that slavery was wrong *per se*, and ought to be destroyed. This opinion, comparatively feeble at the beginning

of the war, was rapidly developed, and had much to do in determining the direction and final issue of the conflict. Such, in brief, were the principal causes which led to the Civil War in the United States—one of the most terrible and bloody strifes of modern times.

We shall now enter upon a brief summary of the principal events of the struggle between the North and South, between the Union under the Constitution, backed by the machinery of the Government at Washington and the populous Northern States on the one side, and the machinery of the new Confederacy established at Richmond, backed by the forces of the South and the whole power of the ancient slaveholding system on the other. The war proper may be said to have opened on the 24th of May, 1861. On that day the Union army crossed the Potomac from Washington City to Alexandria. At this time Fortress Monroe, at the mouth of James River, was held by General B. F. Butler, with twelve thousand men. In the immediate vicinity, at a place called Bethel Church, was stationed a detachment of Confederates, under the command of General Magruder. On the 10th of June a body of Union troops was sent to dislodge them, but was repulsed with considerable loss. Such was the opening scene in Old Virginia.

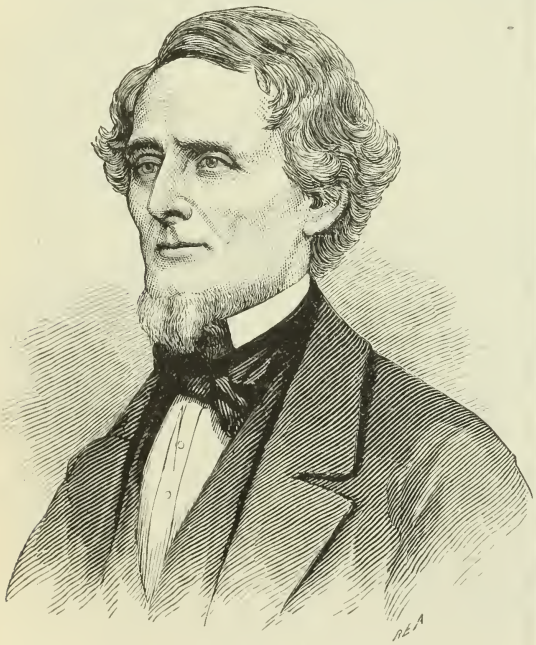
West of the mountains the conquest of the State had been undertaken by General George B. McClellan, destined to be a conspicuous figure of his epoch. In the latter part of May, General Thomas A. Morris, commanding a force of Ohio and Indiana troops, advanced from Parkersburg to Grafton, and on the 3d of June came upon the Confederates at Philippi. After a brief engagement the Federals were successful, and the Confederates retreated toward the mountains. It was at this juncture that General McClellan arrived in person, and on the 11th of July gained a victory of some importance at Rich Mountain. General Garnett, the defeated Confederate commander, fell back with his forces to Cheat River, where he made a stand, but was a second time defeated and himself killed in battle.

On the 10th of August, General Floyd,



FORTRESS MONROE.

commanding a detachment of Confederates at Carnifex Ferry, on Gauley River, was attacked by General Rosecrans and obliged to retreat. On the 14th of September a division of Confederates, under General Robert E. Lee, was defeated at Cheat Mountain, an action which restored the Federal authority throughout West Virginia. Meanwhile, in the beginning of June, General Robert Patterson marched from Chambersburg to retake Harper's Ferry. On the 11th of the month a division of the army, under command of Colonel Lewis Wallace, made a sudden and successful onset upon a detachment of Confederates stationed at Romney. Patterson then crossed



JEFFERSON DAVIS.

the Potomac with the main body, entered the Shenandoah Valley, and pressed back the Confederates to Winchester. Thus far there had been only petty engagements, the premonitory onsets and skirmishes of the conflict; but the time had now come for the first great battle of the war.

After the retirement of the main body of Confederates from West Virginia, the forces in the State, commanded by General Beauregard, were concentrated at Manassas Junction, on the Orange Railroad, twenty-seven miles west of Alexandria. Another large force, led by General Joseph E. Johnston, lay in the Shenandoah Valley, within supporting distance of Beauregard. The Union army at Alexandria was commanded by General Irwin McDowell, and General Patterson was stationed in front of Washington to watch Johnston's movements, in order that the latter might not form a junction with Beauregard.

On the 16th of July the Federal army moved forward. Two days afterwards an unimportant engagement took place between Centerville and Bull Run. The Unionists then pressed on, and on the morning of the 21st of July came upon the Confederate army, strongly posted between Bull Run and Manassas Junction. Here a general battle ensued, continuing with great severity until noonday. Up to that time the advantage had been with McDowell, and it seemed not unlikely that the Confederates would suffer a complete defeat; but in the crisis of the battle General Johnston arrived with nearly six thousand fresh troops from the Shenandoah Valley. The tide of victory turned immediately, and in a short time McDowell's whole army was thrown back in rout and confusion. A panic spread through the Union forces. The army had been followed out from Washington by a throng of non-combatants. Soldiers and citizens became mixed together, and the whole mass rolled back in disorganization into the defenses of Washington. The losses were nearly equal, being on the Union side 2,951, and on the Confederate side 2,050.

The chagrin and humiliation of the North were extreme, and the South was equally elated on account of the Confederate victory. For a while the Federal Government was more alarmed about the safety of Washington City than it was concerned about the capture of Richmond. In the latter city, on the day before the battle, the new Confederate Government had been formally organized. In the Southern Congress, there assembled, were many men of distinguished abilities. Jefferson Davis, the President, was a far-sighted and talented man. His experience was wide and thorough in the affairs of State, and his reputation as a soldier, earned in the Mexican War, was fairly good. He had served in both Houses of the National Congress and as a member of President Pierce's Cabinet. His talents, decision of character, and ardent advocacy of State Rights had made him the

natural, if not the inevitable, leader of the South in the impending conflict.

After the battle of Bull Run, there was a lull in the military operations of the East. In Missouri, however, hostilities broke out, and were attended with important consequences. That Commonwealth, though a slaveholding State, had retained its place in the Union. A convention had been called by Governor Jackson, in accordance with an act of the Legislature, but had refused to pass an ordinance of secession. But the Missouri disunionists were numerous and powerful. The Governor favored their cause, and they were little disposed to give up the State without a struggle.

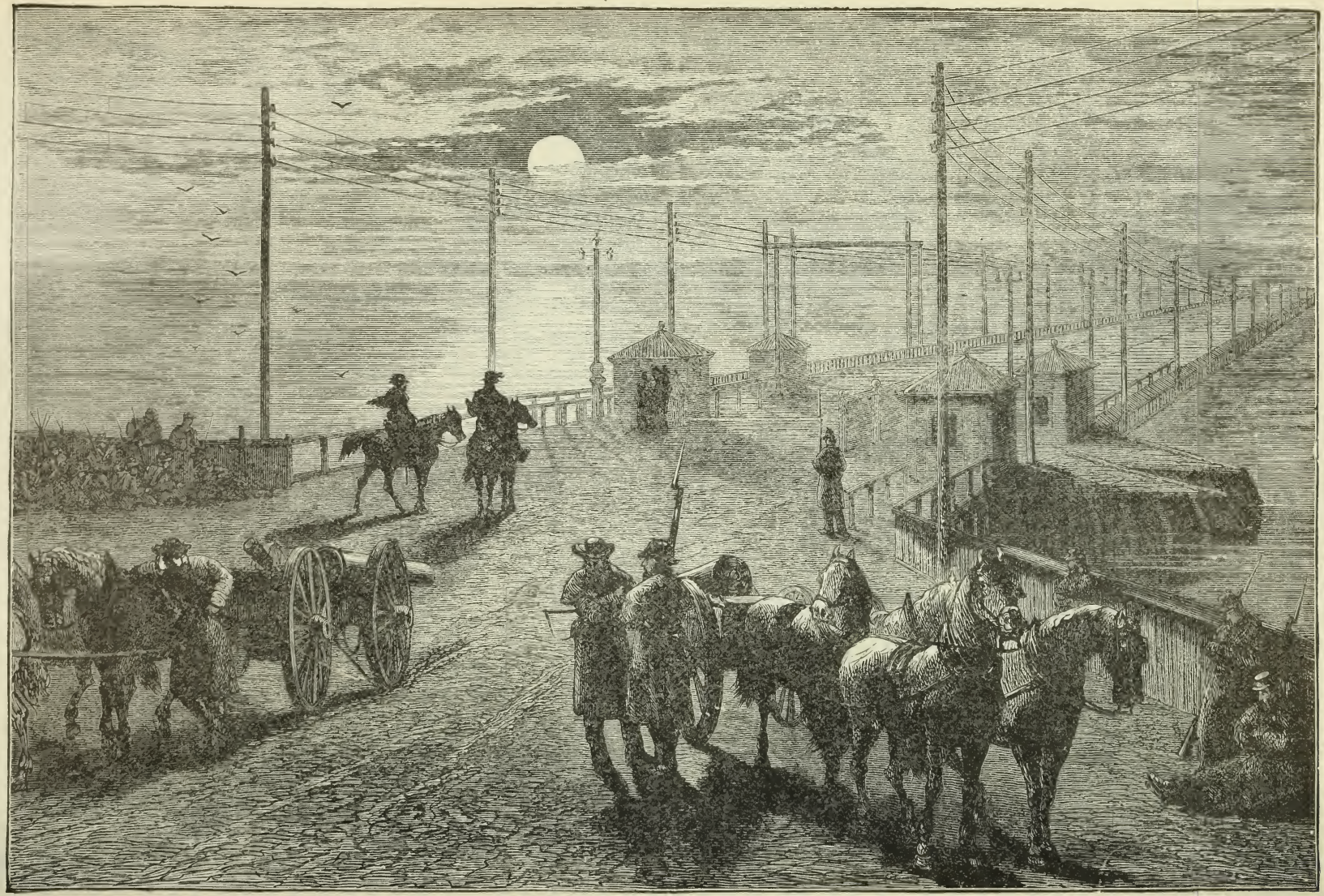
Missouri became a battle-field for the contending parties. Federal and Confederate camps were organized in many parts of the State, and hostilities broke out in several places. The Confederates, by capturing the United States arsenal at Liberty, in Clay County, obtained considerable supplies, arms, and ammunition. They thereupon formed Camp Jackson, near St. Louis, and the arsenal in that city was endangered by the activity of their proceedings. At this stage of the game, however, Captain Nathaniel Lyon appeared on the scene, and sent the arms and stores in St. Louis up the river to Alton, and thence to Springfield, Illinois. Camp Jackson itself was soon afterwards attacked and broken up by the same vigilant officer.

Meanwhile, the lead-mines in the southwestern part of the State became an object of great importance to the Confederates. In order to secure possession of the same, they hurried up large bodies of troops from Arkansas and Texas. On the 17th of June, General Lyon encountered Governor Jackson at the head of a Confederate force, at Booneville, and gained a decided advantage. On the 5th of July the Unionists, under command of Colonel Franz Sigel, were again successful in a severe engagement with the Governor at Carthage. On the 10th of August the hardest battle fought thus far in the West occurred at Wilson's Creek, a short distance south of Springfield, Missouri. General Lyon made a daring but rash attack on a much superior force of Confederates, under command of Generals McCullough and Price. The Federals at first gained the field against heavy odds, but General Lyon was killed, and his men retreated, his command falling to Sigel.

After his victory, Price pressed northward across the State to Lexington, on the Missouri River. This place was held by two thousand six hundred Federals, under command of Colonel Mulligan. A stubborn defense was made by the garrison, but Mulligan was obliged to capitulate. Price then turned to the south. The Federals rallied, and, on the 16th of October, Lexington was retaken. General John C. Fremont, who had now been appointed to the command of all the Union forces in Missouri, followed the Confederates as far as Springfield, and was on the eve of making an attack when he was superseded by General Hunter.[1] The latter retreated to St. Louis, and was in turn superseded by General Henry W. Halleck, on the 18th of November. It was now Price's turn to fall back towards Arkansas. The only remaining movement of importance was at Belmont, on the Mississippi.

After the declaration of neutrality by the State of Kentucky, the Confederate General Leonidas Polk, acting under orders of his Government, had led an army into the State and captured the town of Columbus. The object of the movement was to give support and countenance to the Confederate cause in Kentucky; for the Southern sympathizers in that Commonwealth were numerous and active. Polk planted batteries at Columbus, so as to command the Mississippi, and the Missouri Confederates gathered in force at Belmont, on the opposite bank of the river. In order to dislodge them, Colonel Ulysses S. Grant, with a brigade of three thousand Illinois troops, was sent, by way of Cairo, into Missouri. On the 7th of November he made a vigorous and successful attack on the Confederate camp

[1] The command was taken from Fremont on account of his attitude towards the slaves. Thus far the Government had professed that slavery should not be interfered with, even in the States held by military occupation. General Fremont held the opposite view, and marched upon the Confederates not only as a military commander, but as an emancipator. He issued a proclamation in accordance with the facts, but the pro-slavery sentiment, even in the North, was as yet too strong to tolerate such radical proceedings, and Fremont was accordingly relieved of his command for a reason which at a later period of the war would have been no reason at all.



GUARDING A BRIDGE OVER THE POTOMAC.

at Belmont, but General Polk threw reïnforcements across the river. The guns of the batteries on the Kentucky side were brought to bear on the Union position, and Grant, after his success, was obliged to fall back. Such, in general, were the military operations in the West during the summer and fall of 1861.

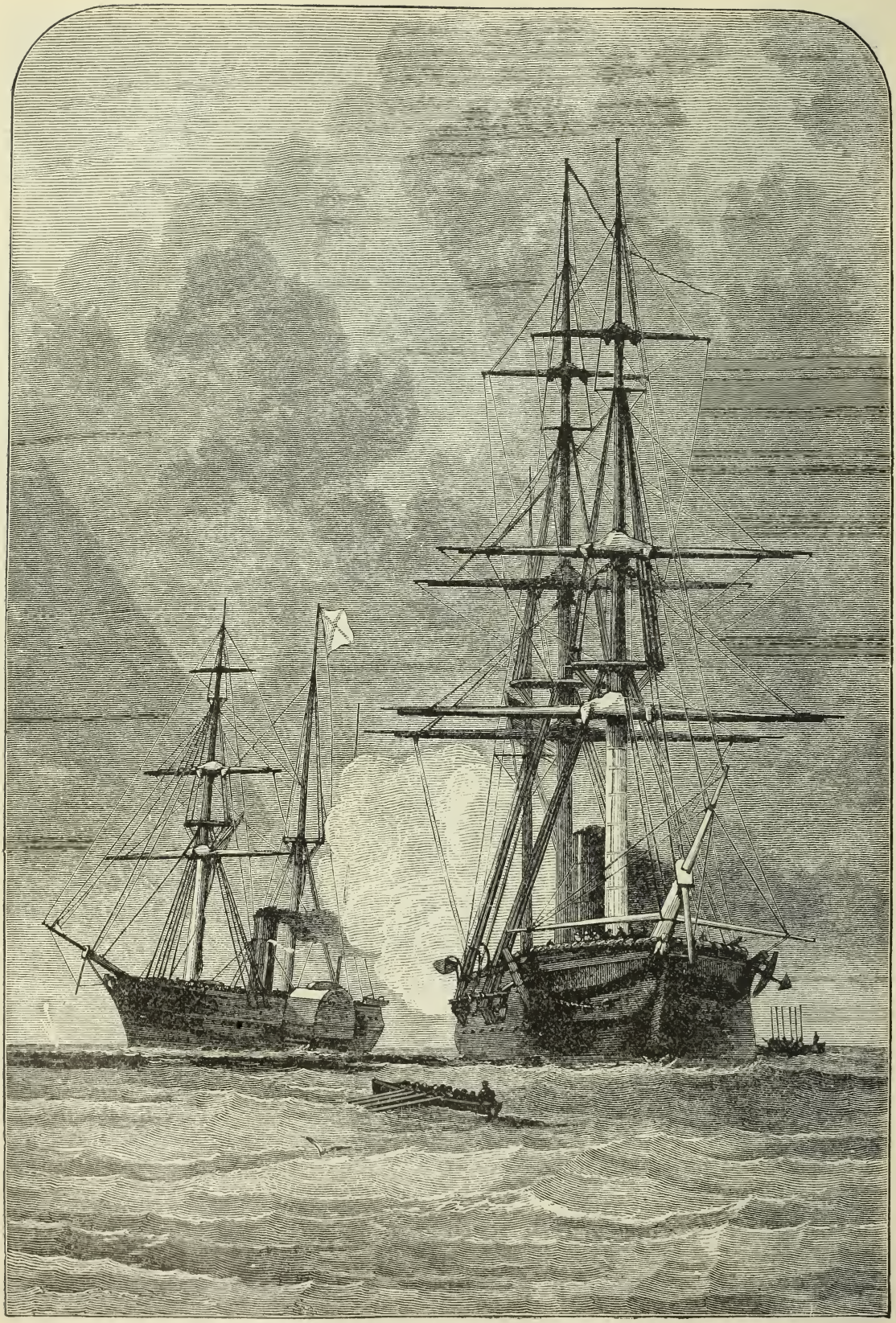
For a while after the battle of Bull Run the Government at Washington was almost paralyzed. It was put on the defensive. The bridges over the Potomac had to be vigilantly guarded lest, by a dash of cavalry, the Capital might fall into the hands of the Confederates. A brief season of great depression ensued; but the reäction was correspondingly vigorous and salutary. As soon as the panic had subsided the Administration redoubled its energies, and troops from the Northern States were rapidly hurried to Washington. The aged General Scott, still retaining his place as Commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, unable to bear longer the burden resting upon him, now retired from active duty, and General George B. McClellan was called over from West Virginia to take command of the Army of the Potomac.

It was soon evident that as an organizer and disciplinarian the young commander had no superior. By the middle of October the forces under his command had increased to a hundred and fifty thousand men. Nor was it any longer the mere rout of volunteers which had rushed forward to meet defeat at Bull Run, but a compact, well-disciplined, and powerful army. On the 21st of October a brigade, numbering nearly two thousand men, was thrown across the Potomac at Ball's Bluff. The movement, however, was not well supported. Nor had adequate means of retreat been prepared. The Federals were attacked on their advance by a strong force of Confederates under General Evans, were driven to the river, their leader, Colonel Baker, killed, and the whole force routed with terrible loss. Fully eight hundred of Baker's men were killed, wounded, or taken.

From the first it was seen by the Federal Government that the command of the sea-coast was an essential of success. Accordingly, in the summer of 1861, several important naval expeditions were sent out to maintain the interests of the United States. One of these, under command of Commodore Stringham and General Butler, proceeded to the North Carolina coast, and, on the 29th of August, captured the forts at Hatteras Inlet. On the 7th of November a second armament, commanded by Commodore Dupont and General Thomas W. Sherman, entered the harbor of Port Royal, and took Forts Walker and Beauregard. Hilton Head, a point most advantageous in operations against Charleston and Savannah, thus fell into the power of the Government. Around the whole coast a blockade was established, which soon became so rigorous as to cut off all commerce and communication between the Confederate States and foreign nations. It was in this juncture of affairs that a difficulty arose which brought the United States and Great Britain to the very verge of war.

Ever since the expansion of the cotton-producing interest in the Southern States the factories of England had been in a measure dependent upon the American cotton-fields for the raw material which they employed. Around this fact many other industrial interests of Great Britain clustered. It was, therefore, a serious calamity to the English factories, and to English industrial welfare in general, when the Southern ports were closed by the Federal blockade. A state of public feeling supervened in Great Britain very unfavorable to the United States, and strongly sympathetic with the Confederacy. In the meantime the Confederate Government had appointed James M. Mason and John Slidell, formerly Senators of the United States, to go abroad as ambassadors from the Confederate States to France and England. Before the ambassadors left America, the blockading squadron had closed around the Southern ports, and the envoys were obliged to make their escape from Charleston harbor on board a blockade runner. Having made their way from that port, they reached Havana in safety and were taken on board the British mail steamer *Trent*, for Europe.

On the 8th of November the vessel was overhauled by the United States frigate *San Jacinto*, commanded by Captain Wilkes. The *Trent* was hailed and boarded. The two ambassadors and their secretaries were seized, transferred to the *San Jacinto*, carried to Bos-



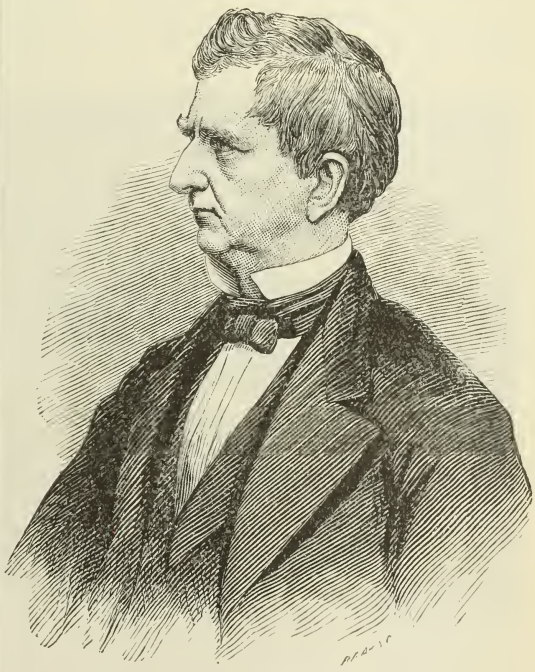
(116) THE SAN JACINTO STOPPING THE TRENT.

ton, and imprisoned. The *Trent* proceeded on her way to England. The story of the insult to the British flag was told, and the whole kingdom burst out in a blaze of wrath.

The sequel soon showed how little disposed even the most civilized nations are to regard consistency and right when their prejudices are involved in the question. For nearly a half-century the Republic of the United States had stoutly contended for the exemption from insult of neutral flags on the high sea, and the American theory had always been that the free flag makes free goods, contraband of war only being excepted. On the other hand, Great Britain had immemorially been the most arrogant of all the civilized States in the matter of search and seizure. She had, in the course of her history, insulted almost every flag that had been seen on the ocean. Yet, in this particular instance, the position of the parties to the *Trent* affair was suddenly reversed, under the influence of passion and prejudice. At the first, the people of the United States loudly applauded Captain Wilkes. The House of Representatives passed a vote of thanks to him, with the presentation of a sword; and even the Administration was disposed to defend his action. Had such a course been taken, war would have been inevitable; for Great Britain, with equal inconsistency, had flung herself into a passion for the alleged insult to her flag and sovereignty.

The country was saved from the peril, however, by the adroit and far-reaching diplomacy of William H. Seward, the Secretary of State. When Great Britain demanded reparation for the insult and immediate liberation of the prisoners, he replied in a mild, cautious, and very able paper. It was conceded that the seizure of Mason and Slidell was not justifiable according to the law of nations, and a suitable apology was accordingly made for the wrong done. The Confederate ambassadors were liberated, put on board a vessel, and sent to their destination. The action of the Secretary was both just and politic. The peril of the war went by, and Great Britain, *without intending it*, was committed to a policy in regard to the rights of neutral flags, which she had hitherto denied, and which the United States had always contended for. So ended the first year of the Civil War.

At the beginning of 1862 the Federal forces numbered about four hundred and fifty thousand men. Of these, nearly two hundred thousand, under command of General McClellan, were encamped in the vicinity of Washington. Another army, commanded by General Buell, was stationed at Louisville, Kentucky, and it was in this department that the first military movements of the year were made. Early in January, Colonel Humphrey Marshall, commanding a force of Confederates on Big Sandy River, in Eastern Kentucky, was attacked and defeated by a detachment of Unionists led by Colonel James



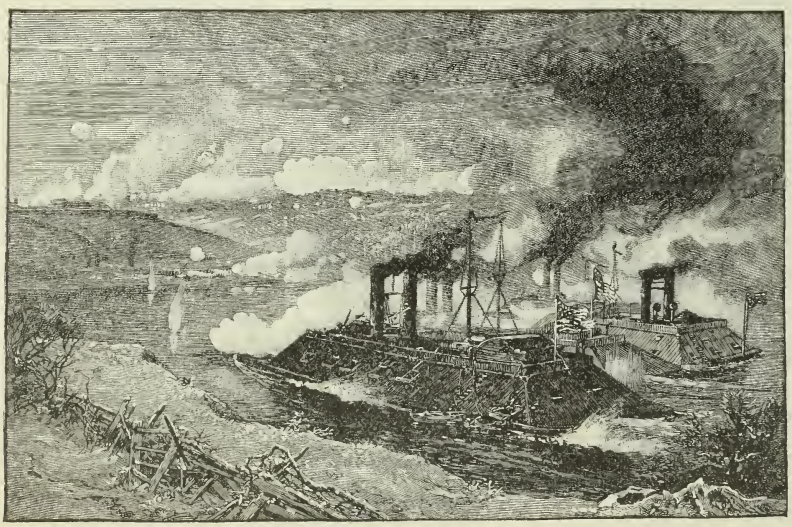
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

A. Garfield. Ten days later, another and more important battle was fought at Mill Spring, in the same section of the State. The Confederates were commanded by Generals Crittenden and Zollicoffer, and the Federals by General George H. Thomas. The battle was hard fought. Both sides lost heavily, and the Confederates suffered defeat, which was rendered doubly severe by the death of Zollicoffer.

These operations were followed fast by still more vital movements on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers. The former stream was commanded at the southern border of Kentucky by Fort Henry, and the latter by the more important Fort Donelson, ten miles

south of the Tennessee line. At the beginning of the year a plan was formed by the Federal officers for the capture of both these places. Early in February, Commodore Foote was sent up the Tennessee, with a flotilla of gun-boats, and at the same time General Grant moved forward to coöperate in an attack on Fort Henry. Before the land forces were well in position, however, the flotilla, unassisted, compelled the evacuation of the fort, the Confederates escaping to Donelson. Eighty-three prisoners and a large amount of stores were the trophies of the victory.

After their success, the gun-boats dropped down the Tennessee, took on stores at Cairo, and then began the ascent of the Cumberland.



BATTLE OF FORT DONELSON.

Grant pressed on from Fort Henry, and as soon as the flotilla arrived began a siege of Fort Donelson. The defenses were strong and well manned by more than ten thousand Confederates, under General Simon B. Buckner. Grant's forces numbered nearly thirty thousand; but the weather was extremely bad, the winter not yet broken, and the assaults on the fortifications perilous in the extreme. On the 14th of February the gun-boats were repulsed with considerable loss, Commodore Foote being among the wounded. On the next day the garrison attempted to break through Grant's lines, but were driven back with slaughter. On the 16th Buckner was obliged to capitulate. His army, numbering fully ten thousand men, became prisoners of war, and all the magazines, stores, and guns of the fort fell into the hands of the Federals. It was the first decided Union victory of the war. The immediate result of the capture was the evacuation of Kentucky and the capital of Tennessee by the Confederates. Nor did they ever afterwards recover the ground thus lost.

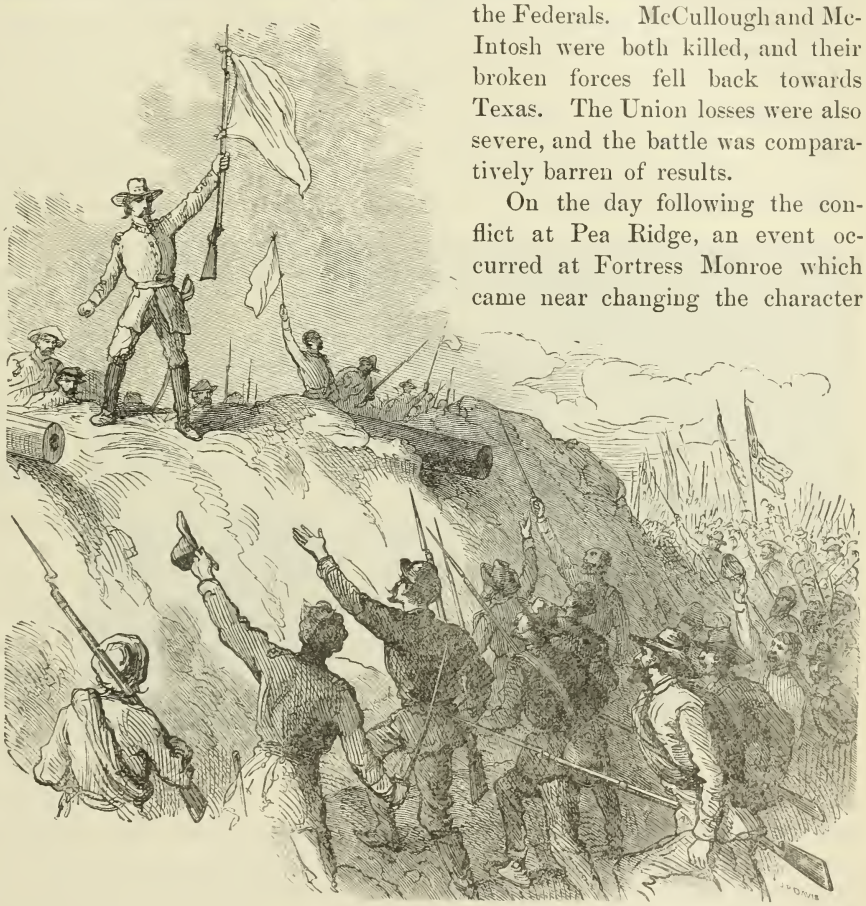
Following up his success at Fort Donelson, General Grant now ascended the Tennessee River as far as Pittsburg Landing. In the beginning of April a camp was formed on the left bank of that stream, at a place called Shiloh Church. Here, on the morning of the 6th of the month, the Union army was suddenly attacked by the Confederates, led by Generals Albert S. Johnston and Beauregard. The shock of the onset was at first irresistible. All day long the battle raged with tremendous slaughter on both sides. The Federals were gradually forced back nearer and nearer to the Tennessee, until they were saved by the gun-boats in the river. Night fell on the scene with the conflict still undecided, but in the desperate crisis General Buell arrived from Nashville with strong reïnforcements. Grant, however, by no means despaired of gaining the victory, even unaided by the fresh arrivals. During the night he, with General William T. Sherman, made arrangements to assume the offensive. General Johnston had been killed in the battle of the previous day. Beauregard, on whom the command was now devolved, was unable to gain any further successes. On the contrary, as the battle was renewed on the morning of the 7th, everything went against the Confederates, and they were obliged to fall back in full retreat to Corinth. The losses in killed, wounded, and missing in this dreadful conflict were more than ten thousand on each side. There had never before been such a harvest

of death in the countries this side of the Atlantic.

On the Mississippi also the Unionists were gaining steadily. After the evacuation of Columbus, Kentucky, the Confederates proceeded to Island Number Ten, a few miles below, and built thereon strong fortifications commanding the river. On the western shore was the town of New Madrid, held by a Confederate force from Missouri. Against this place an expedition was made by General John Pope, with a body of Western troops, while at the same time Commodore Foote descended the Mississippi with his flotilla, to attack the forts of the island. Pope was entirely successful in his movement, and gained possession of New Madrid. The land forces then coöperated with the gun-boats, and for twenty-three days Island Number Ten was vigorously bombarded. On the 7th of April, while the Union army at Shiloh were rallying from the disasters of the preceding day, and were pursuing the Confederates beyond the Tennessee, the garrison of Island Number Ten, numbering about five thousand, were made prisoners of war. By this striking success the Mississippi was opened from above as far south as Memphis, and on the 6th of the following June that city was taken by the fleet of Commodore Davis.

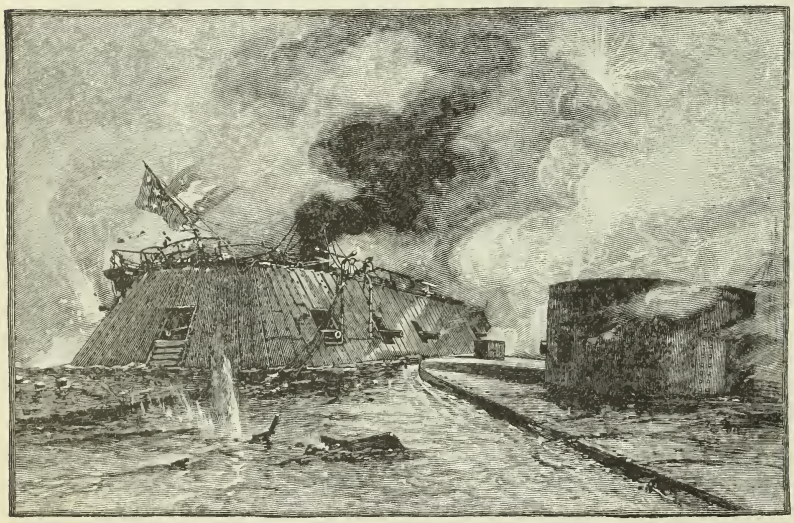
Early in the year General Curtis had pushed forward through Missouri, entered Arkansas, and taken a position at Pea Ridge, among the mountains in the north-west angle of the State. Here, on the 6th of March, he was attacked by the Confederates and Indians, twenty thousand strong, under command of McCullough, McIntosh, and Pike. The conflict lasted for two days, at the end of which time the battle was decided in favor of the Federals. McCullough and McIntosh were both killed, and their broken forces fell back towards Texas. The Union losses were also severe, and the battle was comparatively barren of results.

On the day following the conflict at Pea Ridge, an event occurred at Fortress Monroe which came near changing the character of naval warfare. After the destruction of the Norfolk navy-yard, the Confederates had raised the United States frigate *Merrimac*, one of the sunken ships, and had plated her sides with an impenetrable armor of iron. At this time the Union fleet was lying at Fortress Monroe. When the equipment of the *Merrimac* was complete, she was sent down to attack and destroy the squadron. Reaching that place on the 8th of March, the *Merrimac*, called by the Confederates the *Virginia*, began the work of destruction, and two powerful



SURRENDER OF FORT DONELSON.

ships, the *Cumberland* and the *Congress*, were sent to the bottom. Some time before this, Captain John Ericsson, the great inventor, of New York, had invented and built a peculiar war vessel, with a single round tower of iron exposed above the water-line. The tower was made to revolve so as to bring its single heavy gun to bear on the enemy in any direction. Except when the port-hole was thus momentarily exposed to an enemy's shot, the strange craft appeared invulnerable to any missile which the skill of man and the force of explosives had ever hurled. This vessel, called the *Monitor*, was offered in the service of the Government, and at length steamed out from New York for Fortress Monroe. It happened,



BATTLE OF MONITOR AND MERRIMAC.

rather than was intended, that Ericsson's ship arrived in Hampton Roads at the very time when the *Virginia* was making havoc in the Union fleet. On the morning of the 9th the two iron-clad monsters came face to face, and turned their terrible enginery upon each other. After fighting for five hours, the *Virginia* was obliged to give up the contest, and return badly damaged to Norfolk. Such was the excitement produced by this novel sea-fight that for a while the whole energies of the Navy Department were devoted to building monitors.

Other events at sea were equally important. Early in February, 1862, a strong land and naval force, under command of General Ambrose E. Burnside and Commodore Goldsborough, was sent against the Confederate garrison at Roanoke Island. On the 8th of the month the squadron reached its destination. The fortifications on the island were attacked and carried, and the garrisons, nearly three thousand strong, were taken prisoners. Burnside next proceeded against New Berne, North Carolina, and on the 14th of March captured the city, after four hours of severe fighting. Proceeding southward he reached the harbor of Beaufort, carried Fort Macon, at the entrance, and on the 25th of April took possession of the town. On the 11th of the same month Fort Pulaski, commanding the mouth of the Savannah River, had surrendered to General Gilmore. This important capture resulted in the effectual blockade of the emporium of Georgia.

A still greater reverse now awaited the Confederates, at New Orleans. Early in April a powerful squadron, commanded by General Butler and Admiral Farragut, entered the Mississippi, and proceeded up the river as far as Forts Jackson and St. Philip, thirty miles from the Gulf. The guns of these forts, planted on opposite shores of the Mississippi, completely commanded the river, and obstructions and torpedoes had been planted in the channel. On the 18th of April the Federal fleet, comprising forty-five vessels, was brought into position, and a furious bombardment of the forts was begun. An incessant shower of missiles was for six days rained on the fortifications. Still the forts were but little injured, and Farragut undertook the hazardous enterprise of running past the batteries. In this he succeeded. The chain which the Confederates had stretched across the river was broken, and their fleet above was overpowered. On the next day the Federal squadron reached New Orleans, and the city yielded. General Butler became commandant, and the fortifications were manned with fifteen thousand Federal soldiers. Three days afterwards, Forts

Jackson and St. Philip surrendered to Admiral Porter, who had remained below and prosecuted the siege. The control of the Lower Mississippi, with the metropolis of the South, was thus recovered by the Federal Government.

After Donelson and Shiloh, the Confederates in Kentucky and Tennessee were much disheartened; but they soon rallied from their discouragement, and renewed the struggle. An invasion of Kentucky was planned, and two strong divisions — one led by General Kirby Smith, and the other by General Braxton Bragg—entered the State from East Tennessee. Smith's army pressed forward as far as Richmond, Kentucky, and there, on the 30th of August, attacked the Federals, routing them with heavy losses. Lexington was taken, and then Frankfort; and Cincinnati was saved from capture only by the extraordinary exertions of General Lewis Wallace. The army of General Bragg advanced from Chattanooga to Munfordville, where, on the 17th of September, he captured a Federal division of four thousand five hundred men.

From this point Bragg pressed on toward Louisville; but General Buell made a forced march from Tennessee, and arrived in that city only one day ahead of Bragg. That one day turned the scale. The Unionists henceforth had the advantage, and the Confederates were turned back. Buell's army was swelled to a hundred thousand men by reïnforcements pouring in from the North. The General took the field in the beginning of October, the Confederates retiring before him to Perryville. At this place, on the 8th of the month, Bragg was overtaken, and a severe but indecisive battle was fought. The retreat and pursuit then continued to East Tennessee, the Confederates sweeping out of Kentucky a train of four thousand wagons laden with the spoils of the campaign.

Meanwhile, in September stirring events had occurred in Mississippi. On the 19th of that month a hard battle was fought at Iuka between the Federal Army, under Generals Rosecrans and Grant, and the Confederate force, under General Price. The latter suffered a defeat, losing in addition to his killed and wounded, nearly a thousand prisoners. General Rosecrans now took post at Corinth with twenty thousand men, while General Grant, with the remainder of the Federal forces, proceeded to Jackson, Tennessee. Perceiving this division of the army, the Confederate Generals, Van Dorn and Price, turned about to recapture Corinth. Advancing for that purpose, they came upon the Federal defenses on the 3d of October. Another hotly contested battle ensued, which ended, after two days of heavy fighting and heavy losses on both sides, in the repulse of the Confederates.

The Mississippi River was now open to the Federals above and below; but in the middle, namely, in the latitude of Tennessee, it was still held with a firm grip by the Confederacy. To relieve this stricture now became the principal end of the Federal endeavors. General Grant removed his head-quarters from Jackson to La Grange. General Sherman was now at Memphis, and it was the purpose of the two Union commanders to coöperate in an effort against Vicksburg. The movement promised to be successful, but, on the 20th of December, General Van Dorn succeeded in cutting Grant's line of supplies at Holly Springs, and obliged him to fall back. General Sherman dropped down the river from Memphis as far as Yazoo, where he effected a landing, and on the 29th of December made an unsuccessful attack on the forts at Chickasaw Bayou. The result was exceedingly disastrous to the Federals, who lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, more than three thousand men. The enterprise was abandoned, and the defeated army returned to the fleet of gun-boats in the Mississippi.

The military operations of the year in the West were destined to end with the great battle of Murfreesborough. After his successful defense of Corinth, General Rosecrans had been transferred to the command of the Army of the Cumberland. Late in the fall he established his head-quarters at Nashville, and there collected a powerful army. General Bragg, on his retreat from Kentucky, as above narrated, threw his force into Murfreesborough. Thus the two Generals found themselves face to face and only thirty miles apart.

Late in December, Rosecrans moved against his antagonist, and on the evening of the 30th came upon the Confederates strongly posted on

Stone River, a short distance north-west of Murfreesborough. During the night preparations were made on both sides for the impending battle. The plan of attack adopted by Rosecrans contemplated the massing of his forces on the left in such numbers as to crush the Confederate right wing, under Breckinridge, before assistance could be brought from the west side of the river. Bragg's plan of battle was the exact counterpart of that adopted by Rosecrans. Before daylight the Confederates were heavily massed, under Hardee, on the left, and in the early morning the battle began with a furious charge on the



STONEWALL JACKSON.

division of McCook, on the Union right. McCook's appeal for help was at first unheeded by Rosecrans, who did not perceive the real nature of the Confederate onset. After a terrible struggle, which lasted until noonday, the Union right was shattered to fragments and driven from the field. The brunt of the battle next fell on General Thomas, who commanded the Federal right center, and he, too, after desperate fighting, was obliged to fall back to a new position. Here, however, he rallied his forces, and held his ground until General Rosecrans reädjusted his line of battle. While this work was going on, the Confederates were barely prevented from an overwhelming victory by the heroism of the division of General William B. Hazen. With only thirteen hundred men, he stayed the onset until the Federal lines were restored. At nightfall more than seven thousand Union soldiers were missing from the ranks.

General Rosecrans, however, was by no means disposed to yield the victory. During the night preparations were made to renew the battle on the morrow. On New-Year's morning General Bragg found his antagonist firmly posted, with shortened lines and every disposition for fight. The day was spent in indecisive skirmishing and artillery firing at long range. Early on the morning of the 2d the conflict broke out anew on the east side of Stone River, and for some hours there was terrific cannonading in that quarter. At three o'clock in the afternoon the Confederates were massed against the Union left, and the Nationals were driven across the river by the shock. At this juncture, however, the Federal artillery posted on the hills west of the stream opened a destructive fire on the assailing columns. At the same time the Federals rallied to the charge, turned upon their pursuers, and in one tremendous onset drove them from the field, with a loss of thousands. General Bragg had lost the prize. During the night he withdrew his broken columns through Murfreesborough, and retreated in the direction of Tullahoma. The Union loss in the two battles was two thousand five hundred and thirty-three killed, seven thousand two hundred and forty-five wounded, and nearly three thousand prisoners. That of the Confederates amounted in killed, wounded, and prisoners to between ten and eleven thousand men.

In the meantime, a great campaign had been in progress in the East, in its preparations more extensive and in its results more destructive than anything which had been witnessed west of the Alleghenies. The Army of the Potomac had not been idle, and other divisions of the Union and Confederate forces had converted Virginia into a battle-field. The first stirring movements of the year were in the valley of the Shenandoah. Desiring to occupy this important district, the Federal

Government sent forward a strong division under General N. P. Banks, who pressed his way southward, and in the last days of March occupied the town of Harrisonburg. On the other side, General Stonewall Jackson was sent with a force of twenty thousand men to cross the Blue Ridge and cut off Banks's retreat. At Front Royal, on the Shenandoah, just before the gap in the mountains, the Confederates came upon a body of Federals, routed them, and captured their guns, and all the military stores in the town. Banks had succeeded in passing with his main division to Strasburg, where he learned of the disaster at Front Royal, and immediately turned on his retreat down the valley. Jackson pursued him hotly, and it was only by the utmost exertions that the Federals gained the northern bank of the Potomac.

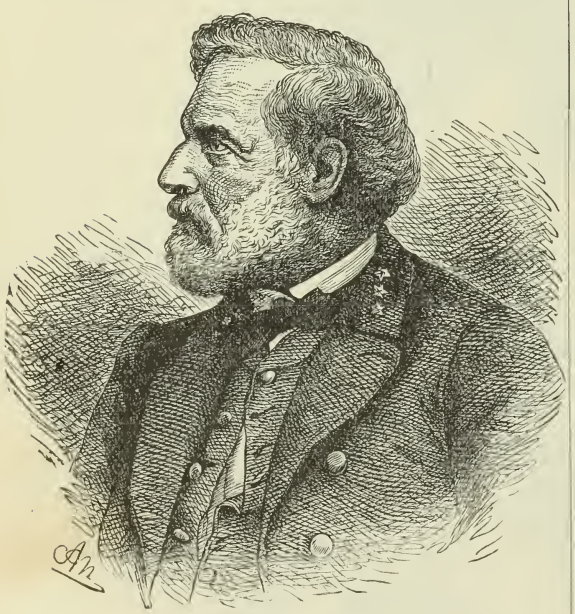
It was now the turn of the Confederate leader to find himself in peril. General Fremont, at the head of a strong force of fresh troops, had been sent into the valley to intercept the retreat of the Confederates. Jackson was now obliged to save himself and his army. With the utmost celerity he receded up the valley and reached Cross Keys before Fremont could attack him. Even then the battle was so little decisive that Jackson pressed on to Port Republic, where he fell upon the division of General Shields, defeated it, and retired from his brilliant campaign to join in the defense of Richmond. It was the first of those rapid and successful movements which revealed the military genius and daring of Stonewall Jackson. Meanwhile, on the 10th of March, the Grand Army of the Potomac, numbering nearly two hundred thousand men, thoroughly disciplined and equipped, and commanded by General McClellan, set out from the camps about Washington on a campaign against the Confederate Capital. It had all the time been the theory of the National Government that the capture of Richmond was the principal object to be attained in the war. It was only after many and severe reverses, after the rise of a new group of commanders, and a better apprehension of the nature of the conflict, that the theory was changed, and the Confederate armies, rather than the seat of their Government, became the objective in the plans of the Union Generals.

McClellan's advance proceeded to Manassas Junction, the Confederates falling back and forming new lines of defenses on the Rappahannock. At this stage of the campaign, however, McClellan changed his plan, and embarked a hundred and twenty thousand of his men for Fortress Monroe, with a view to proceeding from that point up the peninsula between the James and York Rivers. The transfer of the troops occupied the time to the 4th of April, when the Union Army left Fortress Monroe for Yorktown. The latter place was held by a garrison of ten thousand



GEORGE B. M'CLELLAN.

Confederates, under General Magruder, and yet with so small a force McClellan's advance was delayed for a whole month. It was one of the military peculiarities of the Union General to overestimate the forces of his enemy, and to display undue caution in his presence. At last, on the 4th of May, Yorktown was taken by siege, and the Federal Army moved forward to Williamsburg, where the Confederates made a second stand, but were defeated with severe losses. Four days afterwards a third engagement occurred at West Point, at the confluence of the Mattapony and the Pamunkey. Here the Confederates were again overwhelmed and driven



ROBERT EDWARD LEE.

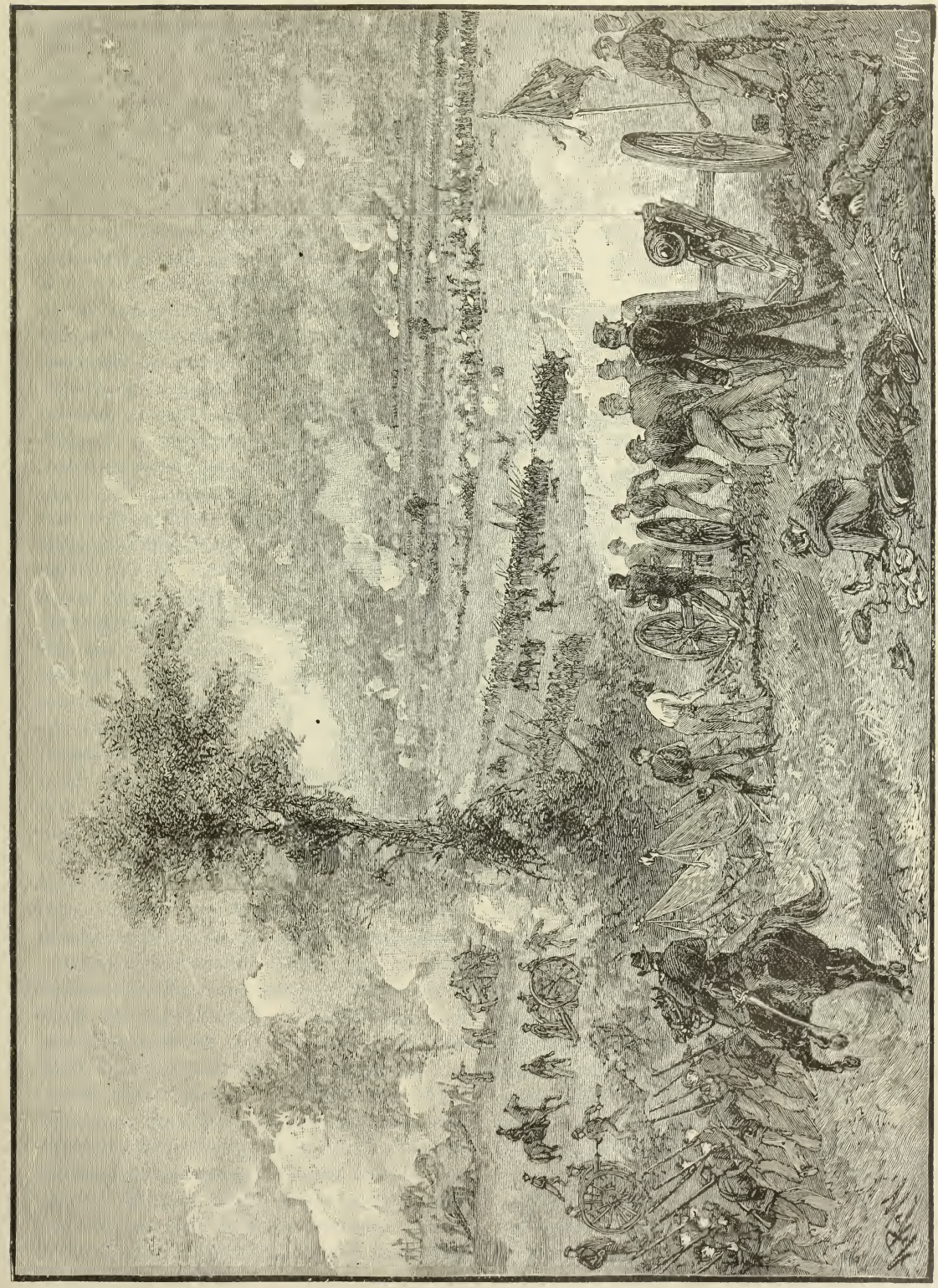
back. The way now lay open to Richmond as far as the Chickahominy, ten miles north of the city. The Union Army reached that stream without further resistance, and crossed at a place called Bottoms Bridge.

While this movement was in progress, General Wool, commandant of Fortress Monroe, had, on the 10th of May, led an expedition against Norfolk and recaptured that town from the Confederates. The garrison withdrew on the Union General's approach, and marched off to join in the defense of Richmond. On the following day the iron-clad *Virginia* was blown up, to save her from capture by the Federals. The James River was thus opened for the ingress of the National transports, laden with supplies for the Army of the Potomac.

McClellan now advanced on Richmond, and when but seven miles from the city was attacked, on the 31st of May, by the Confederates in full force, at a place called Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines. Here for two days the battle raged, till, at last, the Confederates were driven back. The Union victory, however, was by no means decisive. The Confederate loss was greatest, amounting to nearly eight thousand in killed and wounded, while that of the Federals was in excess of five thousand. General Joseph E. Johnston, Commander-in-Chief of the Confederates, was severely wounded, and his place at the head of the army was filled by the appointment of General Robert E. Lee, a man whose military genius from this time to the close of the war was ever conspicuous. He became the chief stay of the Confederacy until the day of its final collapse at Appomattox.

After the battle of Fair Oaks there was a lull in the fighting for a short time, and McClellan determined to change his base of supplies from the White House, so-called, on the Pamunkey River, to some suitable point on the James. The movement was hazardous in the last degree. Nor was it fairly begun until General Lee, discovering the purpose of his antagonist, swooped down on the right wing of the Union army at Oak Grove, and another hard-fought battle ensued, without decisive results. On the following day a third dreadful engagement occurred at Mechanicsville, and this time the Federals won the field. But on the following morning Lee renewed the struggle at a place called Gaines's Mill, and came out victorious. On the 28th, there was but little fighting. On the 29th, McClellan's army, still in motion for the change of base, was twice attacked—in the forenoon at Savage's Station, and in the afternoon in the White Oak Swamp—but the divisions defending the rear-guard of the army were able to keep the Confederates at bay.

On the 30th of the month was fought the desperate but indecisive battle of Glendale, or Frazier's Farm. On that night the Federal army reached Malvern Hill, on the north bank of the James, twelve miles below Richmond. McClellan had thus receded about five miles



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BATTLE OF MALVERN HILL.

in a circuitous direction from the Confederate Capital. His position at Malvern Hill was strong, being under the protection of the Federal gun-boats in the river. General Lee, however, determined, if possible, to carry the place by storm. On the morning of the 1st of July the whole Confederate army was pushed forward to the assault. Throughout the day the struggle for the possession of the high grounds was furious in the last degree. Not until nine o'clock at night did Lee's shattered columns fall back exhausted. For seven days the roar of battle had been heard almost without cessation. No such dreadful scenes had ever before been enacted on the American Continent.

McClellan was clearly victorious at Malvern Hill, and in the judgment of after times might have at once made a successful advance on Richmond. Lee's army was shattered, and McClellan was still superior in numbers. Nor could it be doubted that the Union army, now inured to fighting, was ready and able to continue the struggle. Its commander, however, chose, as usual, the less hazardous course. On the 2d of July he retired with his army to Harrison's Landing, a few miles down the river. The great campaign was really at an end. The Federal army had lost on the advance from Yorktown to this point, in its progress, fully fifteen thousand men, and the capture of Richmond, the great object for which the expedition had been undertaken, seemed further off than ever. The losses of the Confederates had been heavier than those of the Union army, but all the moral effect of a great victory remained with the exultant South.

General Lee, perceiving that Richmond was not likely to be further molested, immediately formed the design of invading Maryland, and capturing the Federal Capital. The Union troops between Richmond and Washington, numbering about fifty thousand men, were under command of General John Pope. They were in scattered detachments at various points from Fredericksburg to Winchester and Harper's Ferry. Lee moved forward about the middle of August, and Pope began at once to concentrate his forces as rapidly as possible. On the 20th of the month he put the Rappahannock between his army and the advancing Confederates. Meanwhile, General Banks, while attempting to form a junction with Pope, was attacked by Stonewall Jackson, at Cedar Mountain, where nothing but desperate fighting saved the Federals from a complete rout.

While Pope was still engaged in gathering his army into one place, Jackson passed him with his division, on a flank movement, reached Manassas Junction, and captured the men and stores at that place. Pope, with great audacity, now threw his army between the two divisions of the Confederates, hoping to crush Jackson before Lee could come to the rescue. On August the 28th and 29th, there was terrible but indecisive fighting at Manassas Junction, on the old Bull Run battle-ground, and at Centerville. At one time it appeared that Lee's army would be completely defeated, but the reïnforcements which Pope expected, a strong division under General Fitz John Porter, did not reach the field in time, and Pope was defeated. On the 31st of the month, the Confederates bore down on the Union army at Chantilly, fought all day, and won a victory. Generals Stevens and Kearney were among the thousands of brave men who fell from the Union ranks in this battle. On that night Pope withdrew his shattered columns as rapidly as possible, and took refuge within the defenses of Washington. He immediately resigned his command, and his forces, known as the Army of Virginia, were consolidated with the Army of the Potomac, which had now been recalled from the peninsula below Richmond, and General McClellan was placed in supreme command of all the divisions about Washington. Thus ended in dire disaster what is known as the Peninsular Campaign.

After his successes, both defensive and offensive, General Lee pressed on to the Potomac, crossed that river at the Point of Rocks, and on the 6th of September captured Frederick. On the 10th, Hagerstown was taken; and on the 15th, Stonewall Jackson came upon Harper's Ferry, and frightened the commandant, Colonel Miles, into a surrender, by which the garrison, nearly twelve thousand strong, became prisoners of war. On the previous day there was a hard-fought engagement at South Mountain, in which the Federals, commanded by Generals Hatch and Doubleday, were victorious. McClellan's whole army was

now in the immediate rear of Lee, who, on the night of the 14th, fell back to Antietam Creek, and took a strong position in the vicinity of Sharpsburg.

On the following morning there was sharp but desultory fighting between the Union and Confederate cavalry. In the afternoon the Federal advance, coming in on the Sharpsburg road from Keedysville, received the opening volleys from the Confederate guns along the Antietam; but night came on, and the conflict was postponed. With the morning there was great activity of preparation in both armies. Later in the day the corps of General Hooker, who commanded on the Federal right, was thrown across the stream which separated the combatants, and brought into a favorable position for action. In this quarter of the field, the Confederate left, under command of General Hood, was assailed and driven back a few miles in the direction of Sharpsburg. The rest of the day was spent in an irregular cannonade. During the night, General Mansfield's corps crossed the Antietam, and joined Hooker.



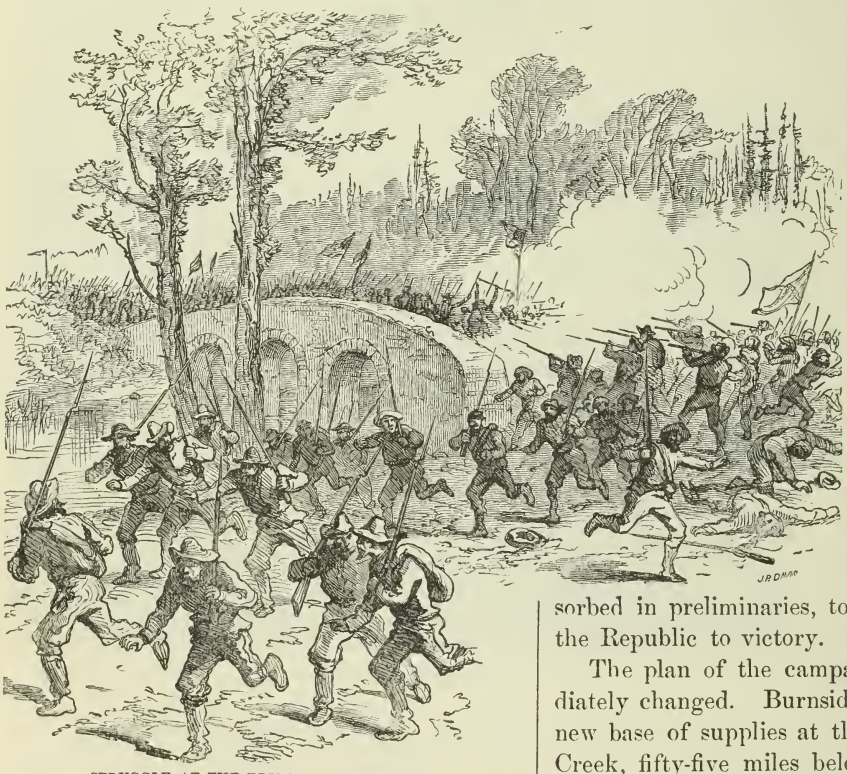
STONEWALL JACKSON IN BATTLE.

On the morning of the 17th both armies were well in position, the Federals being strongest in number, and the Confederates having the advantage of an unfordable stream in their front. It was of the first importance that General McClellan should gain and hold the four stone bridges by which only his forces could be thrown to the other side. General Burnside, who was ordered to take the lower bridge, cross over and attack the division of A. P. Hill, encountered unexpected delays, and was retarded in his movements. On the right, Hooker renewed the battle at sunrise, and until late in the afternoon the conflict raged with almost unabated fury. Here fell the valiant General Mansfield and thousands of his comrades. At last Burnside forced the lower crossing, and carried the battle far up in the direction of Sharpsburg; but the Confederates, being reïnforced from other parts of the field, made a rally, and the Federals were driven back nearly to the Antietam. It was only by terrible fighting that Burnside succeeded in holding his position on the west bank of the stream; but on the approach of darkness the greater part of the Union Army had gained a safe lodgment between the river and Sharpsburg. The Confederate forces still held nearly the same ground as in the morning, and it seemed that the final struggle was reserved for the morrow.

On that day, however, General McClellan acted on the defensive. It was another of those fatal delays for which the military career of that General was unfortunately noted. During the 18th two strong divisions of reïnforcements, under Generals Humphreys and Couch, arrived, and it was resolved to renew the attack on the following morning. But in the meantime General Lee, wiser than his antagonist, had availed himself of the delay, withdrawn his shattered legions from their position, and recrossed the Potomac into Virginia. The great conflict, which had cost the Union Army an aggregate of ten thousand men, had ended in a drawn battle, in which there was little to be praised except the heroism of the soldiery. To the Confederates,

however, the result was equivalent to defeat. The promised uprising of the people of Maryland in behalf of the Confederate cause did not occur, and General Lee was obliged to give up a fruitless and hopeless invasion, which, in the short space of a month, had cost him about twenty-five thousand men. On the other side, the expectations which had been inspired by the movements and despatches of the Union commander previous to the battle had been sorely disappointed.

It was late in October before General McClellan, following the retreating Confederates, again entered Virginia and reached Rectortown. The temper of the National Government was still aggressive, and it was hoped that before the coming of winter the army might again be thrown forward against Richmond. The Union commander still preferred to advance by the route which he had taken the previous spring, making his base of supplies at West Point, on the Pamunkey. But this plan was objected to by the Administration, on the ground that Washington City would thus be again uncovered and exposed to a counter-invasion on the part of the Confederates. McClellan yielded to the protest of the President and the Cabinet, altered his plans, and chose Alexandria as his base of operations. From this point it was proposed to go forward by way of the Orange Railroad through Culpepper to Gordonsville, and thence by the Virginia Central to its junction with the line reaching from Fredericksburg to Richmond.



STRUGGLE AT THE BRIDGE OF ANTIETAM.

The whole month of October, however, was wasted with delay, and November was well begun before the Federal General, with his army of a hundred and twenty thousand men, announced himself ready for the forward movement. On the 7th of the month, just as the Union commander, according to his despatches, was about to begin the campaign, he was superseded and his command transferred to General Burnside. Right or wrong, the President at last reached the decision that General McClellan was a man overcautious and slow, too prudent and too much absorbed in preliminaries, to lead the armies of the Republic to victory.

The plan of the campaign was now immediately changed. Burnside decided to form a new base of supplies at the mouth of Acquia Creek, fifty-five miles below Washington, and from that point to force his way, by battle, southward through Fredericksburg; but again the movements were much delayed, and that, too, when everything depended on celerity. A fortnight was lost in preparations for crossing the Rappahannock. General Lee thus found abundant time to discover the plan of his antagonist, and to gather his army on the heights in the vicinity of Fredericksburg. He chose not seriously to dispute the passage of the Union army across the river; but rather allowed the Federals, with little molestation, to take their place on the right bank of the Rappahannock.

On the 11th of December, the Union army

was brought into position, with its several divisions stretching from the village of Falmouth to a point opposite the mouth of the Massaponax, about three miles below. The pontoons were laid in front of the corps of General Franklin, who held the Federal left, and by this means the army was transferred, without serious opposition. In other parts, the Confederate sharp-shooters disputed the laying of pontoon bridges, and the crossing of the Federals was considerably delayed. But by the nightfall of the 12th the army had been safely transferred to the other side of the river.

On the morning of the 13th of December a general battle began on the left, where Franklin's division was met by that of Stonewall Jackson. At the first, a charge made by General Meade was successful, and a gap was opened in the Confederate lines, but the movement was not sustained. The Confederates rallied, and the Federals were driven back with a loss of more than three thousand men. Jackson's loss was almost as great, and in this part of the field the result was indecisive. But not so in the center and on the right. Here a portion of General Sumner's men were ordered forward against the Confederates, impregnably posted on a height called Marye's Hill. They were mowed down by thousands and hurled back in confusion, while the defenders of the heights hardly lost a man. Time and again the assault was recklessly renewed. A part of Hooker's corps, led by General Humphreys, came forward, charged with unloaded guns, and in fifteen minutes one-half of the four thousand brave fellows went down. Nor was the useless carnage ended until night came and closed the conflict.

General Burnside, rashly patriotic and almost out of his wits, would have renewed the battle, but his division commanders finally dissuaded him, and on the night of the 15th the Federal army was silently withdrawn across the Rappahannock. The Union losses in this terrible conflict amounted to a thousand five hundred killed, nine thousand one hundred wounded, and sixteen hundred and fifty prisoners and missing. The Confederates lost in killed five hundred and ninety-five, four thousand and sixty-one wounded, and six hundred and fifty-three missing and prisoners. Of all the important movements of the war, only that of Fredericksburg was undertaken with *no* probability of success. Under the plan of battle, if plan it might be called, nothing could be reasonably expected but repulse, rout, and ruin. Thus, in gloom, disaster, and humiliation, ended the great Virginia campaigns of 1862.

It is now clear, in the light of the retrospect, that had the war continued for another year with the same general results and tendencies, the Confederacy must have succeeded. The revolution which had been attempted would have been accomplished and the American Union dissolved. It was now the aim and determination of the Confederate Government and of the military leaders to hold out, if possible, against the superior resources of



AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE.

the North until they should compel the National Government to yield the contest. The war itself had now grown to unheard-of proportions. The Southern States were draining every source of men and means in order to support their armies. The superior energies of the North, though by no means so nearly exhausted, were greatly taxed. In the previous year, on the day after the battle of Malvern Hill, President Lincoln had issued a call for three hundred thousand additional troops. During the exciting days of Pope's retreat from the Rappahannock, he sent forth another call for three hundred thousand, and to this was soon added a requisition for a draft of three hundred thousand more. Most of these enormous demands were promptly met, and it became evident, in the spring of 1863, that

in respect to resources the Federal Government was vastly superior to the Confederacy, and to this element of strength and encouragement was added the recollection of the great Union success which had attended the National armies in the campaigns of the West.

It was on the first day of January, 1863, that President Lincoln issued one of the most important documents of modern times—the EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION. The war had been begun and waged thus far with no well-defined intention on the part of the Government to free the slaves of the South. President Lincoln himself had said in his public papers that he would save the Union *with* slavery if he could, but *without* it if he must. Meanwhile, however, both the Administration and the Republican party throughout the country had come to look with greater and still greater disfavor on the institution of slavery. During the progress of the war, the sentiment of abolition had grown with great rapidity in the North, and among the soldiers in the field. When at last it became a military necessity to strike a blow at the labor-system of the Southern States, the step was taken with but little hesitancy or opposition. The preliminary proclamation of freedom to the slaves had been issued by the President in September of the previous year. In the paper which he sent forth on that occasion, he warned the people of the Southern States, that unless they laid down their arms and returned to their allegiance to the National Government, he would, at the expiration of ninety days, issue a proclamation of freedom to the bondmen. His warning was of course met with disdain on the part of the South, and the Emancipation Proclamation was accordingly issued. Thus, after an existence of two hundred and forty-four years, the institution of African slavery in the United States was swept away.

The military movements of the new year began on the Mississippi. General Sherman, though defeated at Chickasaw Bayou, was by no means idle. After that event he formed a plan for the capture of Arkansas Post, on the Arkansas River. At the very beginning of the year an expedition was sent out for that purpose, the land forces being under command of General John A. McClernand, and a flotilla under Admiral David Porter. The Union forces entered Arkansas, and reached their destination on the 10th of the month. After a hard-fought battle with the Confederates, a Union victory was gained, and on the next day Arkansas Post surrendered, with nearly five thousand prisoners. As soon as the work was accomplished, the expedition was headed for Vicksburg, in order to coöperate with General Grant in a second effort to capture that stronghold of the Confederacy.

A second time the Union army was collected at Memphis, and embarked on the Mississippi. A landing was effected at Yazoo, but the capture of the city from that direction was found to be impracticable. The first three months of the year were spent by General Grant beating about the half-frozen bayous, swamps, and hills around Vicksburg, in the hope of gaining a position in the rear of the town. A canal was cut across a bend in the river, with a view to turning the channel of the Mississippi and opening a passage for the gun-boats, but a flood in the river washed out the works, and the enterprise ended in failure. Then another canal was begun, but was presently abandoned. Finally, in the beginning of April, it was determined at all hazards to run the fleet past the Vicksburg batteries. On the night of the 16th the boats were made ready, and silently dropped down the river. It had been hoped that in the darkness they might pass unobserved; but all of a sudden the guns burst forth with terrible discharges of shot and shell, pelting the passing steamers; but they went by with comparatively little damage, and found a safe position below the city.

Gratified with his success, Grant now marched his land forces down the right bank of the Mississippi, and formed a junction with the squadron. On the 30th of April he crossed the river at Bruinsburg, and on the following day fought and defeated the Confederates at Fort Gibson. The evacuation of Grand Gulf at the mouth of Big Black River followed immediately afterwards, and the Union army swept freely around to the rear of Vicksburg.

On the 12th of May a strong Confederate division was encountered at Raymond, and after a severe engagement, was repulsed. At this time General Johnston was on the march from Jackson to reïnforce the garrison at

FEDERAL GUN-BOATS PASSING VICKSBURG.

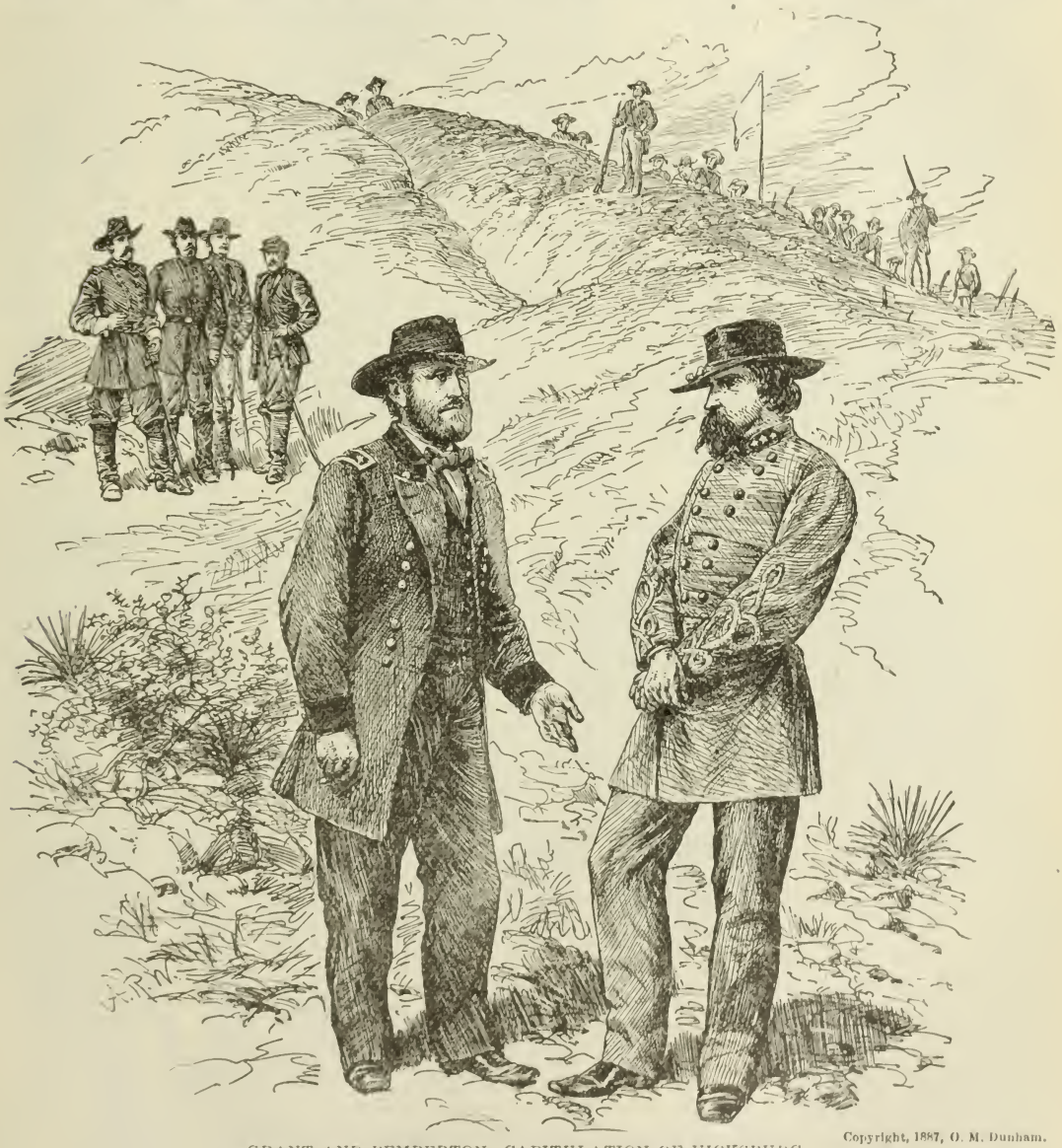
Vicksburg. Grant's right wing, under Sherman and McPherson, encountered Johnston's advance on the 14th of the month, and a severe battle was fought. The Confederates were defeated, and the city of Jackson was captured by the Unionists. By these successes General Grant obtained possession of the communications between Vicksburg and the interior, and General Pemberton, who commanded the Confederate army in the city, was cut off. He must now either repel the Federal army or be cooped up in Vicksburg. He accordingly sallied out with the greater part of his forces, and on the 16th met the Union army at Champion Hills, on Baker's Creek. Here another battle was fought, and still another at Black River. In both of these the Federals were decisively victorious. It only remained for Pemberton to fall back with his disheartened forces within the fortifications of Vicksburg. The city was immediately invested.

On the 19th of May General Grant attempted to storm the Confederate works, but the attack which he made on that day was repulsed with great losses. Three days afterwards the attempt was renewed, but the assailants were again hurled back, with still greater destruction of life. In these two unsuccessful assaults the Union losses amounted to nearly three thousand men. Grant perceived that Vicksburg could not be taken by storm, and began a regular siege, which was pressed with ever increasing rigor. It was not long until the garrison was placed on short rations, and then a condition of starvation ensued. Still, Pemberton held out for more than a month, and it was not until the 4th of July that he was driven to surrender. By the act of capitulation, the defenders of Vicksburg, nearly thirty thousand strong, became prisoners of war. Thousands of small arms, hundreds of cannon, and vast quantities of ammunition and warlike stores were the other fruits of this great Union victory, by which the National Government gained more and the Confederacy lost more than in any other previous struggle of the war. It was a blow from which the South never recovered.

The command of the Department of the Gulf had now been transferred from General Butler to General Banks, and the latter was conducting a vigorous campaign on the Lower Mississippi. Early in January he set out from his head-quarters at Baton Rouge, advanced into Louisiana, reached Brashear City, and gained a decisive victory over the Confederate force at a place called Bayou Teche. He then returned to the Mississippi, moved northward to Port Hudson, invested the place, and began a siege. The beleaguered garrison, under General Gardner, made a stout defense, and it was not until the 8th of July, when the news of the fall of Vicksburg was brought to Port Hudson, that the commandant, with his force of more than six thousand men, was obliged to capitulate. It was the last of those successful movements by which the Mississippi was freed from Confederate control, and opened throughout its whole length to the operations of the Union Army. The strategy and battles by which the great river had been recovered reflected the highest honor upon the military genius of General Grant. From this time forth the attention and confidence of the people of the North were turned to him as the military leader whose sword was destined to point the way to the final triumph of the National cause.

It was at this epoch of the war that the feature of cavalry raids became, on both sides, an important element of military operations. Perhaps the initiation of such movements may be referred to Stonewall Jackson's campaign down the Shenandoah Valley, in the summer of 1862. Later in the same year, after the battle of Antietam, the Confederate General, J. E. B. Stuart, commanding the cavalry wing of the Army of Northern Virginia, made a dash with a troop of eighteen hundred cavalrymen into Pennsylvania, reached Chambersburg, captured the town, made a complete circuit of the Army of the Potomac, and returned in safety to Virginia. Just before the investment of Vicksburg, Colonel Benjamin Grierson, of the Sixth Illinois Cavalry, struck out with his command from LaGrange, Tennessee, entered Mississippi, traversed the State to the east of Jackson, cut the railroads, destroyed much property, and after a rapid course of more than eight hundred miles, gained the river at Baton Rouge. By these raids the border country of both sections was kept in perpetual agitation and alarm. With the progress of the war, such movements be-

came more and more injurious. The commanders and soldiers in the same learned to perfection the art of destroying the resources of the enemy. Their destructive skill was directed chiefly to the annihilation of railroads. This work became a new military art,



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GRANT AND PEMBERTON—CAPITULATION OF VICKSBURG.

and so skillful were the raiders that miles on miles of track and road-bed were destroyed in a single day.

After the battle of Murfreesborough, General Rosecrans remained for a season inactive. Late in the spring the command of Colonel Streight made a raid into Georgia, met the division of the Confederate General Forrest, was surrounded, captured, and sent to Libby prison. In the latter part of June, Rosecrans resumed activities, and by a series of flank movements succeeded in crowding General Bragg out of Tennessee into Georgia. The Union General pressed after, and took post at Chattanooga, on the left bank of the Tennessee.

During the summer months Bragg was heavily reinforced by Johnston, from Mississippi, and Longstreet, from Virginia. On the 19th of September he turned upon the Federal



TEARING UP A RAILWAY.

army at Chickamauga Creek, in the northwest angle of Georgia. During the first day a hard battle was fought, but night fell on the scene with the victory undecided. Under cover of darkness the Confederates were strongly reïnforced by the arrival of General Longstreet, who was stationed with his army on the left wing of Bragg. The Confederate right was commanded by Genèral Polk, while the center was held by Ewell and Johnston. The Federal left was commanded by General Thomas, the center by Crittenden, and the right by McCook. The plan of the Confederate commander was to crush the Union line, force his way through the gap in Missionary Ridge, capture Rossville and Chattanooga, and annihilate Rosecrans's army.

The battle was renewed at half-past eight o'clock on the morning of the 20th, the Confederates coming on in powerful masses, and the Federals holding their ground with unflinching courage. After the conflict had continued for some hours, with varying successes, the National battle-line was opened by General Wood, acting on mistaken orders. Longstreet, who was over against this part of the line, seeing his advantage, thrust forward a heavy column into the gap, cut the Union army in two, and drove the shattered right wing in utter rout from the field. The brunt of the battle now fell on General Thomas, who, with a desperate firmness hardly equaled in the annals of war, held the left until nightfall, and then, under cover of darkness, withdrew into Chattanooga, where the defeated army of Rosecrans found shelter. The Union losses in this dreadful battle amounted, in killed, wounded, and missing, to nearly nineteen thousand, and the Confederate loss was equally appalling.

The victorious Bragg now pressed forward to the siege of Chattanooga. The Federal lines of communication were cut off, and for a while the army of Rosecrans was in danger of total destruction. But General Hooker arrived with two army corps from the Army of the Potomac, opened the Tennessee River, and brought relief to the besieged. It was at this juncture that General Grant was promoted to the chief command of the Western armies, and assumed the direction of affairs at Chattanooga. Nor was there ever a time in the course of the war when the change of commanders was immediately felt in so salutary a measure. General Sherman arrived at Chattanooga with his division, and the Army of the Cumberland was so strengthened that offensive operations were immediately renewed.

The left wing of the Confederate Army now rested on Lookout Mountain, and the right on Missionary Ridge. The position was seemingly impregnable, and it required a courage almost equal to hardihood on the part of the Union commander to attack his antagonist. General Bragg was not only confident of his ability to hold his lines against any advance



GEORGE H. THOMAS.

that might be made, but even contemplated the storming of Chattanooga. But the position of the parties, their attitude towards each other, was destined to be suddenly reversed.

On the 20th of November, Bragg gave notice to General Grant to remove all noncombatants from Chattanooga, as the town was about to be bombarded; but to this the Union General paid no attention. On the contrary, General Hooker, on the 23d of the month, was thrown with his corps across the river below Chattanooga, where he gained a footing at the mouth of Lookout Creek, facing the mountain. From this position he was

ordered to hold himself in readiness to make an assault on the following morning. Hooker was supported by Generals Geary and Osterhaus, and the remainder of the Union army was kept in a state of activity, in order to prevent the Confederates from sending reïnforcements to Lookout Mountain.

At the beginning of the engagement a dense fog hung like a hood over the heights, effectually concealing the movements of the Federals. The charge began between eight



BATTLE OF LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN.

and nine o'clock, and in the space of two hours the ranges of the Confederate rifle-pits along the foot-hills were successfully carried. It had been General Hooker's purpose to pause when this should be accomplished, but the enthusiasm of his army rose to such a pitch as to suggest the still greater achievement of carrying the whole Confederate position. Taking advantage of the fog and the spirit of his soldiers, Hooker again gave the command to charge, and up the almost inaccessible slopes of the mountain the troops sprang forward with irresistible energy. It was such a scene of dauntless heroism as has rarely been portrayed in the records of battle. The charging columns, struggling against the obstacles of nature, facing the murderous fire of the Confederate guns, could not be checked. The Union flag was carried to the top, and before two o'clock in the afternoon Lookout Mountain, with its cloud-capped summit overlooking the town and river, was swarming with Federal soldiers. The routed Confederates retreated down the eastern slope, and across the intervening hills and valleys in the direction of Missionary Ridge. Such was the event of the 24th of November.

General Grant had reserved the main battle for the morrow. During the night of the 24th, General Bragg concentrated his forces, and prepared to defend his position to the last. He now perceived that instead of being the attacking party he was himself to be assailed

with the whole resources of the Federals. On the morning of the 25th, Hooker's victorious troops were ordered to proceed down the slopes of Lookout, cross the Chattanooga, and renew the battle at the south-western terminus of Missionary Ridge. General Sherman had, in the meantime, built pontoon bridges over the Tennessee and the Chickamauga, thrown his corps across those streams, and gained a lodgment on the north-eastern declivity of the Ridge. General Thomas, commanding the Union center, lay with his impatient soldiers on the southern and eastern slopes of Orchard Knob, awaiting the result of Sherman's and Hooker's onsets.

The latter General was slow in striking the Confederates; but at two o'clock in the afternoon the signal of an artillery discharge from Orchard Knob announced the beginning of the assault along the whole line.[1] The command was instantly obeyed. The thrilling scenes of Lookout Mountain were again enacted on a more magnificent scale. The Federal soldiers were ordered by Grant to take the rifle-pits at the foot of Missionary Ridge, and then to pause and re-form for the principal assault; but such was the *élan* of the army, such the impetuosity of its impact, that, after carrying the rifle-pits, the column, of its own motion, pressed forward at full speed, clambering up the slopes and driving the Confederates in a disastrous rout from the summit of the Ridge. No more brilliant operation was witnessed during the whole war. Nor was there any battle of which the results were, on the whole, more decisive. During the night General Bragg withdrew his shattered columns, and fell back in the direction of Ringgold, Georgia. The Federal losses in the two great battles amounted to seven hundred and fifty-seven killed, four thousand five hundred and twenty-nine wounded, and three hundred and thirty missing. The loss of the Confederates in killed, wounded and prisoners reached considerably beyond ten thousand. The conflict was so decisive as to put an end to the war in Tennessee, until it was renewed by General Hood, at Franklin and Nashville, in the winter of 1864.

[1] The reverberations of Grant's six shotted guns from Orchard Knob were the signal of the beginning of the end of the Confederacy.

While these important movements were taking place at Chattanooga, General Burnside was making a strenuous effort to hold East Tennessee. On the 1st of September he had arrived with his command at Knoxville, where he was received by the people with lively satisfaction. East Tennessee had from the first been largely pervaded with Union sentiments. The Federal army had been much recruited by the mountaineers of this region, and the people in general looked forward to the overthrow of the Confederacy as the recovery of their liberties and fortunes. After Chickamauga, General Longstreet was detached from the Confederate army and sent into East Tennessee, to counteract the movements of the Unionists. On his march to Knoxville he overtook and captured several small detachments of Federal troops, then invested the town and began a siege. On the 29th of November, the Confederates made an attempt to carry Knoxville by storm, but were repulsed with heavy losses.

All this time General Grant had looked with the utmost solicitude to the progress of events in East Tennessee, and the Administration had been equally anxious lest the veteran Longstreet should achieve some great success by his campaign. As soon as Bragg fell back from Chattanooga, General Sherman marched to the relief of Burnside; but before he could reach Knoxville, Longstreet prudently raised the siege and retreated into Virginia.

In the meantime, the Confederates had resumed activities in Arkansas and Southern Missouri. In the early part of 1863, strong bodies commanded by Generals Marmaduke and Price, entered this country, and on the 8th of January reached and attacked the city of Springfield. They were, however, repulsed with considerable losses. On the 11th of the month a second battle was fought at the town of Hartsville, with the same results. On the 26th of April, General Marmaduke assaulted the post at Cape Girardeau, on the Mississippi, but the garrison succeeded in driving the Confederates away. On the day of the surrender of Vicksburg, General Holmes, with a force of nearly eight thousand men, made an attack on Helena, Arkansas, but was defeated with the loss of one-fifth of his men. On the 13th of August, in this summer, the town of Law-

rence, Kansas, was sacked and burned, and a hundred and forty persons killed by a band of desperate fellows, led by a chieftain called Quantrell. On the 10th of September, the Federal General Steele reached Little Rock, the capital of Arkansas, captured the city, and restored the National authority in the State.

But the greatest raid of the year was reserved for the Confederate General Morgan. He organized a calvary army, numbering three thousand, at the town of Sparta, Tennessee, and at the head of his column struck out for the invasion of Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio. As he passed through Kentucky he gathered strength. The large Confederate element in that State contributed to his resources in men and means. Morgan reached the Ohio River at Brandenburg, crossed into Indiana, and began his march to the north and east. The Home Guards of the State turned out, but the movement of the Confederate force was so uncertain and rapid that it was difficult to check Morgan's progress. He was resisted seriously at Corydon and at other points, and in his rear a large force, under General Hobson, pressed hard after.

Morgan now made a circuit through south-eastern Indiana, crossed into Ohio at Harrison, passed to the north of Cincinnati, and then, becoming alarmed, attempted to regain and recross the Ohio. But the river was guarded by gun-boats, and the raiders were driven back. Morgan's forces began to melt away; but he pressed on resolutely, fighting and flying, until he came near the town of New Lisbon, where he was surrounded and captured by the brigade of General Shackelford. For nearly four months Morgan was imprisoned in the Ohio penitentiary. Making his escape from this place, he fled to Kentucky, and finally succeeded in reaching Richmond.



ATTACK ON FORT SUMTER.

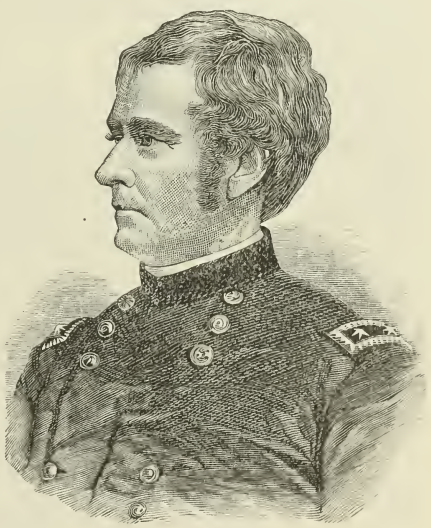
We may now pause to glance at some important movements on the sea-coast. On the 1st of January, General Marmaduke, by a brilliant exploit, captured Galveston, Texas. By this means the Confederates secured a much needed port of entry in the South-west. On the 7th of April, Admiral Dupont, with a

powerful fleet of iron-clads, made an attempt to capture Charleston, but the squadron was driven back much damaged. In the latter part of June the siege of the city was begun anew by a strong land force, under command of General Q. A. Gilmore, assisted by a fleet under Admiral Dahlgren. The Federal army first effected a lodgment on Folly Island, and then on Morris Island, where batteries were planted bearing upon Fort Sumter, Fort Wagner, and Battery Gregg—the latter at the northern extremity of the island.

After the bombardment had continued for some time, General Gilmore, on the 18th of July, made an attempt to carry Fort Wagner by assault, but was repulsed with the loss of more than fifteen hundred men. The siege was resumed and pressed until the 6th of September, when the Confederates evacuated Fort Wagner and Battery Gregg, and retired to Charleston. Gilmore thus obtained a position within four miles of the city, from which he could bombard the wharves and buildings in the lower part of the town. Meanwhile, the walls of Fort Sumter on the side next to Morris Island had been pounded into powder by the land batteries and the guns of the monitors. The harbor and city, however, still remained under the control of the Confederates, the only gain of the Federals being the establishment of a blockade so complete as to seal up the port of Charleston.

We may now turn to the consideration of affairs of the Army of the Potomac. In the spring and summer of 1863 that army, so unfortunate thus far in its career, had been engaged in several desperate conflicts. After his fatal repulse at Fredericksburg, General Burnside was superseded by General Joseph Hooker, who, in the latter part of April, moved forward with his army in full force, crossed the Rappahannock and the Rapidan, and reached Chancellorsville. Here, on the evening of the 2d of May, he was attacked by the veteran army of Northern Virginia, led by Lee and Jackson. The latter General, with extraordinary daring, put himself at the head of a division of twenty-five thousand men, filed off from the battle-field, outflanked the Union army, burst like a thunder-cloud upon the right wing, and swept everything to destruction. But it was the last of Stonewall's battles. As night came on, with ruin impending over the Federal army, the great Confederate leader, riding through the gathering darkness, received a volley from his own lines, and fell mortally wounded. He lingered a week, and died at Guinea Station, leaving a gap in the Confererate ranks which no other man could fill.

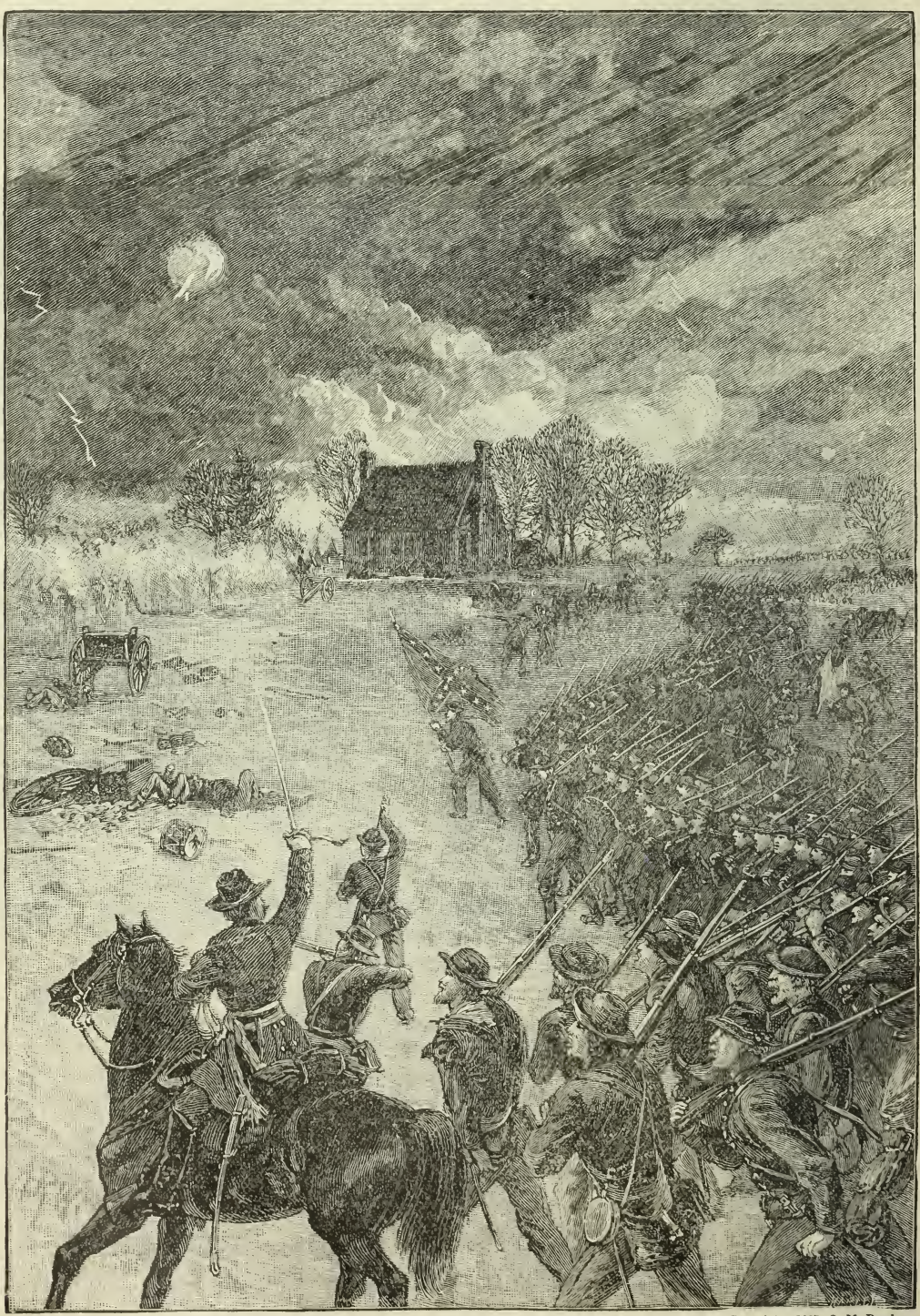
On the morning of the 3d the battle was renewed with great fury. The Union right wing was restored, and the Confederates were checked in their career of victory. General Sedgwick, however, attempting to reïnforce Hooker from Fredericksburg, was defeated and driven across the Rappahannock. The Union Army was crowded between Chancellorsville and the river, where it remained in the utmost peril until the evening of the 5th, when General Hooker succeeded in withdrawing his forces to the northern bank. The Union losses in these terrible battles amounted, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, to about seventeen thousand, while that of the Confederates was less than five thousand. So far as the eastern field of action was concerned, there was never a time when the Union cause appeared to greater disadvantage, or the Confederate cause more likely to succeed. The campaign, taken as a whole, had been the most disastrous of any in which the Federal Army had as yet been engaged.



JOSEPH HOOKER.

The defeat of Hooker, however, was to

some extent mitigated by the successful cavalry raid of General Stoneman. That officer crossed the Rappahannock, and on the 29th of April pushed forward with a body of ten thousand men, tearing up the Virginia Central Railroad, and dashing on to the Chickahominy. He succeeded in cutting General Lee's communications, swept around

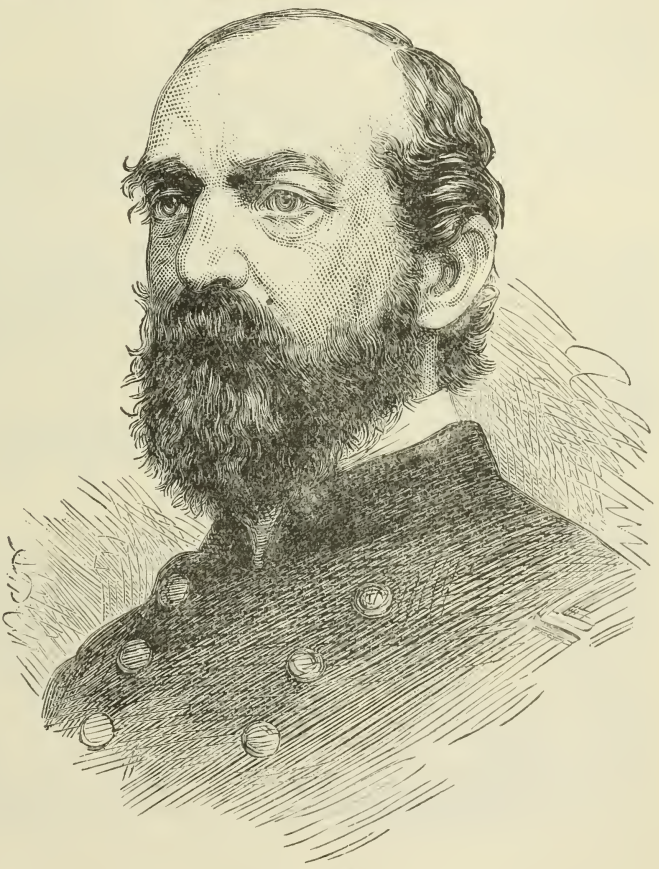


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BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE.—JACKSON'S CHARGE.

within a few miles of Richmond, and on the 8th of May recrossed the Rappahannock in safety. To this time also belongs the successful defense of Suffolk, on the Nansemond River, by General Peck, against a siege conducted by General Longstreet. The Confederates retreated from the scene of action on the very day of the Union disaster at Chancellorsville.

Great was the elation of the Confederates on account of their successes on the Rappahannock. General Lee now determined to carry the war into Maryland and Pennsylvania. In the first week of June he threw forward his whole army, crossed the Potomac, and captured Hagerstown. On the 22d of the month he entered Chambersburg, and then pressed on through Carlisle, to within a few miles of Harrisburg. The militia of Pennsylvania was hurriedly called out, and thousands of volunteers came pouring in from other States. General Hooker, still in command of the Army of the Potomac, pushed forward to confront his antagonist. It was evident that a great and decisive battle was at hand. General Lee rapidly concentrated his forces near the village of Gettysburg, capital of Adams County, Pennsylvania, while the Union Army was likewise gathered on the highlands beyond the town. On the very eve of battle the command of the Army of the Potomac, and of all the Federal forces, was transferred from General Hooker to General George G. Meade, who hastily drew up his army through the hill country in the direction of Gettysburg. After two years of indecisive warfare, it now seemed that the fate of the war, and perhaps of the American Republic itself, was to be staked on the issue of a single battle.



GEORGE G. MEADE.

On the morning of the 1st of July the Union advance, led by Generals Reynolds and Beauford, moving westward from Gettysburg, encountered the Confederate division of General A. P. Hill, coming upon the road from Hagerstown, and the struggle began. In the afternoon both divisions were strongly reïnforced, and a severe battle was fought for the possession of Seminary Ridge. In this initial conflict the Confederates were victorious, and the Union line was forced from its position through the village and back to the high grounds on the south. Here, at nightfall, a stand was made, and a new battle-line was formed, reaching from the eminence called Round Top, where the left wing of the Union army rested, around the crest of the ridges to Cemetery Hill, where the center was posted, and thence to Wolf Hill, on Rock Creek. The position was well chosen and strong, and the whole Union army, with the exception of Sedgwick's corps, was hurried forward into place during the night. The Confederate forces were likewise brought into position on Seminary Ridge and on the high grounds to the left of Rock Creek, forming thus a semicircle about five miles in extent. The cavalry of both armies hung upon the flanks, doing

effective service, but hardly participating in the main conflicts of the center.

On the morning of July 2d the battle was begun by General Longstreet on the Confederate right. That commander moved forward with impetuosity, and fell upon the Union left, under General Sickles. The struggle in this part of the field was for the possession of Great and Little Round Tops, and after terrible fighting, which lasted until six o'clock in the evening, these strong positions remained in the hands of the Federals. In the center the battle was also severe, lasting for the greater part of the day, and being waged for the mastery of Cemetery Hill, which was the key to the Federal position. Here, too, notwithstanding the desperate assaults of the Confederates, the integrity of the National line was preserved till nightfall. On the Union right the Confederate onset was more successful, and that wing of the Federal army, under General Slocum, was somewhat shattered. But by ten o'clock at night, when the fighting had ceased, it was found that, on the whole, the position of the two armies had not been materially changed by the conflict, although nearly forty thousand Union and Confederate dead and wounded already bore evidence of the portentous character of the battle.

A general view of the field and of the situation showed that the National forces were wisely acting on the defensive. The Confederate army was making an invasion. It had come to a wall, and must break through or suffer defeat. The burden of attack was therefore upon Lee's army, and from this he did not flinch. In the darkness of night both Generals made strenuous preparations for the renewal of the struggle on the morrow; but with the morning both seemed loath to begin. Doubtless both were well aware of the critical nature of the conflict. The whole nation, indeed, discerned that the crisis of the Civil War had been reached, and that, perhaps, before sunset the issue would be decided for or against the American Union.



BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG.

The whole forenoon of the 3d of July was spent in preparations. There was little fighting, and that but desultory. At midday there was a lull along the whole line. Then burst forth the fiercest cannonade ever known on the American Continent. Until after two o'clock the hills and surrounding country were shaken with the thunders of more than two hundred heavy guns. The Confederate artillerymen concentrated their fire on the Union center, at Cemetery Hill, and this place became a scene of indescribable uproar and death. The Union batteries, under direction of General Hunt, drew back beyond the crest, in order to cool the guns, and also for economy of ammunition. The consequent slacking of fire was construed by the Confederates as signifying that their cannonade had been successful; and then came the crisis. The cannonade ceased. A Confederate column, numbering nearly twenty thousand, and about three-fourths of a mile in length, headed by the Virginians, under General Pickett, moved forward for the final and desperate charge against the Union center.

It was doubtless the finest military spectacle ever witnessed west of the Atlantic; but the onset was in vain, and the brave men who made it were mowed down with terrible slaughter. The head of the Confederate column reached the Union line, but there sank into the earth. Then the whole was hurled back in ruin and rout. Victory hovered over the National army, and it only remained for Lee, with his broken legions, to turn back towards the Potomac. The entire Confederate loss in this, the greatest battle of the war, was nearly thirty thousand; that of the Federals, in killed, wounded, and missing, twenty-three thousand one hundred and eighty-six. It was strongly hoped by the Government that when the Confederate charge was broken and the retreat begun, General Meade would be able to spring forward from his position and perhaps complete the war by destroying the forces of his antagonist before they could recross the river; but the condition of the Union army would not permit of such a movement. General Lee accordingly withdrew his forces into Virginia, and the Federals took up their old position along the Potomac and the Rappahannock. Such were the more important military movements of 1863.

Meanwhile, other difficulties had accumulated like mountains around the Administration. The war debt was piling up to infinity. At the time it was not so clearly seen as it was afterwards that the war must soon end or National bankruptcy ensue. The last call for volunteers had not been fully met, and there were not wanting those in portions of the North who purposely impeded the gathering of new forces. The anti-war party became more bold and open, and denounced the measures of the Government. On the 3d of March, 1863, a Conscription Act was passed by Congress, and two months afterwards the President ordered a general draft of three hundred thousand men. All able-bodied citizens between the ages of twenty and forty-five were subject to the requisition.

The measure furnished fuel for the fires which the anti-war party had kindled in the North. Bitter denunciations of the Government and its policy were heard in the Border States, and in some places the draft-officers were forcibly resisted. On the 13th of July a serious crisis was reached in New York. A vast mob rose in arms in the city, demolished the buildings which were occupied by the Provost Marshals, burned the Colored Orphan Asylum, attacked the police, and killed about a hundred people, most of whom were negroes. For three days the authorities of the city were set at defiance. On the second day of the reign of terror, Governor Seymour arrived and addressed the mob in a mild-mannered way, promising that the draft should be suspended, and advising the rioters to disperse. But they gave little heed to his admonition, and went on with the work of destruction. General Wool, commander of the military district of New York, then took the matter in hand; but even the troops at his disposal were at first unable to overawe the insurgents. Some volunteer regiments, however, came trooping home from Gettysburg. The Metropolitan Police Companies were compactly organized, and the insurrection was put down with a strong hand. The news of the fall of Vicksburg and the defeat of Lee at Gettysburg threw a damper on these insurrectionary proceedings, and acts of domestic violence ceased. Nevertheless, the anti-war spirit continued to express itself in parts of the North, and in



PICKETT'S CHARGE AT GETTYSBURG.

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order to counteract it, the President, on the 19th of August, issued a proclamation suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* throughout the Union.

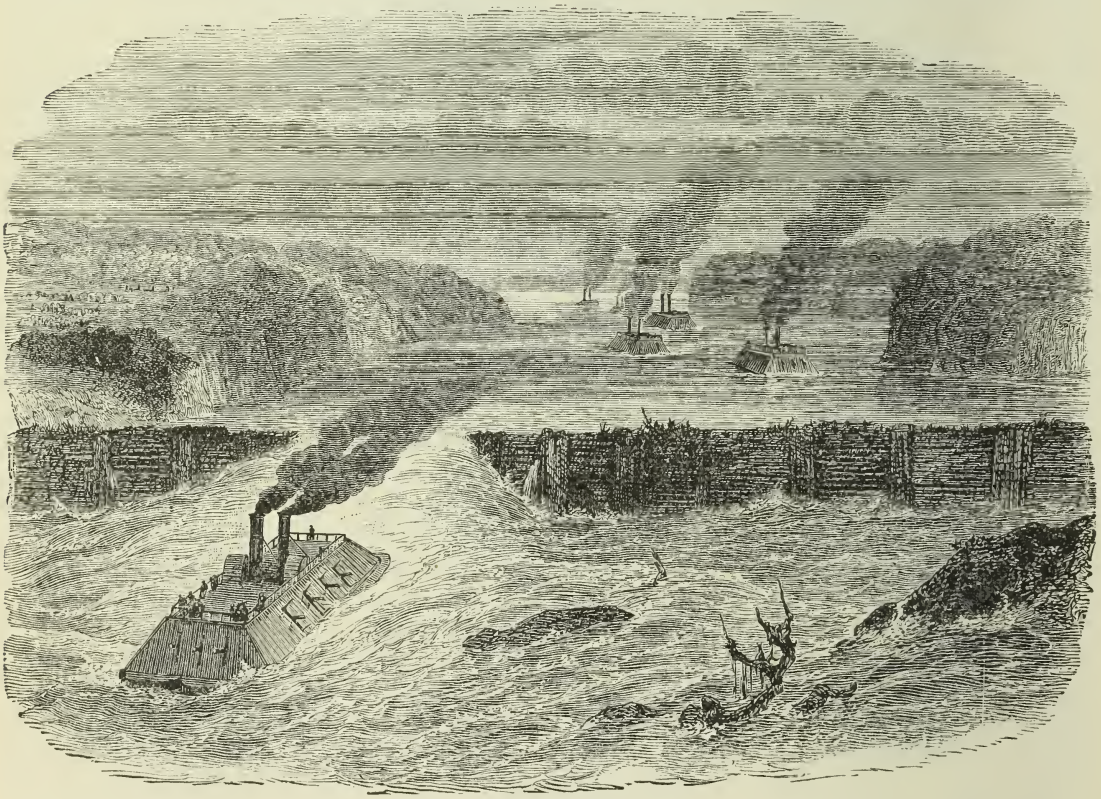
One of the lessons of the hour was the insufficiency of the conscription as a method of filling the Union army. That army was composed of volunteers who had espoused the cause of the Government with a tolerably keen sense of the principles involved and a fervid patriotism for the flag of the Union. The introduction, into this great army, of recruits taken by the draft was a process quite foreign to the sentiments of the people. Only about fifty thousand men were added directly to the National forces by conscription. But in other respects the measure was salutary. It was seen that the Government would not scruple, in the last resort, to draw upon the human resources of the country by force. Volunteering was greatly quickened by the draft, and the plan of employing substitutes became generally prevalent in the last year or the war. Such, however, were the terrible losses by battle and disease and the expiration of enlistments, that in October of 1863 the President was constrained to issue another call for three hundred thousand men. At the same time it was provided that any delinquency in meeting the demand would be supplied by a draft in the following January. By these active measures the columns of the Union army were made more powerful than ever. With the approach of winter the disparity between the Union and Confederate forces began to be apparent to the whole world. In the armies of the South there were already symptoms of exhaustion, and the most rigorous conscription was necessary to fill the thin, but still courageous, ranks of the Confederacy. It was on the 20th of June in this year that West Virginia, separated from the Old Dominion, was organized and admitted as the thirty-fifth State of the Union.

We come now to consider those movements by which the war was ended. The military operations of 1864 began, as in the previous year, in the West. In the beginning of February, General Sherman left Vicksburg with the purpose of destroying the railroad connections of Eastern Mississippi. Marching off toward Alabama, he reached Meridian on the 15th of the month, and tore up the tracks of the railways from Mobile to Corinth and from Vicksburg to Montgomery, for a distance of a hundred and fifty miles. Bridges were burned, locomotives and cars destroyed, and vast quantities of cotton and corn given to the flames. General Sherman had expected the arrival at Meridian of a strong force of Federal cavalry, under command of General Smith, advancing from Memphis. The latter made his way into Mississippi, but was met, a hundred miles north of Meridian, by the cavalry army of Forrest and driven back to Memphis. General Sherman, disappointed by this failure, retraced his course to Vicksburg, while Forrest continued his raid northward into Tennessee, where, on the 24th of March, he occupied Union City. He then pressed on to Paducah, Kentucky, where he assaulted Fort Anderson, in the suburbs of the town, but was repulsed, with the loss of three hundred men. He then turned back into Tennessee, and came upon Fort Pillow, on the Mississippi, seventy miles above Memphis. This place was held by five hundred and sixty soldiers, about half of whom were Negroes. Forrest, having gained the outer defenses, demanded a surrender, but was refused. He then ordered an assault, and carried the fort by storm, in the course of which nearly all of the Negro soldiers were slaughtered.

In the spring of 1864 occurred the Red River expedition, conducted by General Banks. The object of the movement was the capture of Shreveport, the seat of the Confederate Government of Louisiana. The plan embraced the advance of a strong land force up Red River, to be supported by a fleet of gunboats under command of Admiral Porter. The army was arranged in three divisions. The first, numbering ten thousand, advanced from Vicksburg, under command of General Smith; the second, led by General Banks in person, proceeded to New Orleans; while the third, under command of General Steele, set out from Little Rock. In the beginning of March, General Smith's division moved forward to Red River, and was joined by Porter with the fleet. On the 14th of the month, the advance reached Fort de Russy, which was taken by assault. The Confederates retreated up the river to Alexandria, and on the 16th

that city was occupied by the Federals. Three days afterwards Natchitoches was occupied. But at this point the road was deflected from the river, and further coöperation between the army and the gun-boats was impossible. The flotilla proceeded up the stream toward Shreveport, and the land forces whirled off in a circuit to the left.

On the 8th of April, when the advance brigades were approaching the town of Mansfield, they were suddenly attacked by the Confederates in full force, and advantageously posted. A short and bloody battle took place, in which the Federals were completely routed. The victors made a vigorous pursuit as far as Pleasant Hill, where they were met, on the next day, by the main body of the Union army. A second and general engagement here ensued, in which the Federals were only saved from a complete defeat by the hard fighting of the division of General Smith, who covered the retreat to the river. Nearly three thousand men, twenty pieces of artillery, and the supply trains of the Federal army were lost in these disastrous battles. It was with difficulty that the flotilla descended the river from the direction of Shreveport, for the Confederates had now planted batteries on the banks. When the Federal retreat had proceeded as far as Alexandria, the movement was again checked by the low stage of the river. The waters had so receded that the gun-boats could not pass the rapids. The squadron was finally saved from its peril by the skill of Colonel Bailey, of Wisconsin. He constructed a dam across the river, raising the water so that the vessels could be floated over.



BAILEY'S DAM ON RED RIVER.

The whole expedition broke to pieces, and returned as rapidly as possible to the Mississippi. When General Steele, who had, in the meantime, advanced from Little Rock toward Shreveport, heard of the Federal defeats, he withdrew, after several severe encounters with the Confederates. To the National Government, the Red River expedition was a source of much shame and mortification. General Banks was relieved of his command, and General Canby was appointed to succeed him.

The time had now come when the evolution of military talent consequent upon the

war reached its climax in the ascendency of General Ulysses S. Grant. By degrees, through every kind of hardship and contumely, that commander had emerged from the obscurity which surrounded him at the beginning of the conflict, and stood forth, in silence and modesty unparalleled, as the leading figure of the times. After Vicksburg and Chattanooga, nothing could stay his progress to the command-in-chief. Congress responded to the spirit of the country by reviving the high grade of *Lieutenant-General*, and conferring it on Grant. This brought with it the appointment, by the President, on the 2d of March, 1864, to the command-in-chief of the land and naval forces of the United States. No fewer than seven hundred thousand Union soldiers were now to move at his command. The first month after his appointment was spent in planning the great campaigns of the year. These were two in number. The Army of the Potomac, under immediate command of Meade and the General-in-chief, was to advance upon Richmond, still defended by the army of Northern Virginia, under Lee. At the same time General Sherman, commanding the army at Chattanooga, now numbering a hundred thousand men, was to march against Atlanta. It was defended by the Confederates, under General Johnston. To these two great movements all other military operations were to be subordinated. Grant sent his orders to Sherman for the grand movement which was destined to end the war, and the 1st of May, 1864, was fixed as the date of the advance.



GRANT WRITING ORDERS TO SHERMAN FOR THE GRAND ADVANCE.

On the 7th of that month General Sherman moved forward from Chattanooga. At Dalton he was confronted by the Confederate army, sixty thousand strong. After some manœuvering and fighting, he succeeded in turning Johnston's flank, and obliged him to fall back to Resaca. Two hard-fought battles occurred at this place, on the 14th and 15th of May, in which the Union army was victorious, and the Confederates obliged to retreat by way of Calhoun and Kingston to Dallas. At the latter place, on the 28th of the month, Johnston made a second stand. He intrenched himself and fought valiantly, but was again outnumbered and outflanked, and compelled to fall back to Lost Mountain. From this position also he was forced, on the 17th of June, after three days of desultory fighting.

The next stand of the Confederates was made on the Great and Little Kenesaw Mountains. From this line, on the 22d of June, the division of General Hood made a fierce attack on the Union center, but was repulsed with heavy losses. Five days afterwards General Sherman attempted to carry Kenesaw by storm. The assault was made with great audacity, but ended in a dreadful repulse and a loss of nearly three thousand men. Sherman, undismayed by his reverse, then resumed his former tactics, outflanked his antagonist, and on the 3d of July compelled him to retreat across the Chattahoochee. By the 10th of the month the whole Confederate army had been forced back within the defenses of Atlanta.

A siege immediately ensued. Atlanta was a place of the greatest importance to the Con-

federacy. Here were located the machine-shops, foundries, car-works and dépôts of supplies, upon the possession of which so much depended. The Confederate Government had, in the meantime, become dissatisfied with the military policy of General Joseph E. Johnston. That cautious and skillful commander had adopted the plan of falling back before the superior forces of Sherman, of contracting his lines, and of maintaining, by a sort of Fabian policy, the destinies of the campaign. But



JAMES B. M'PHERSON.

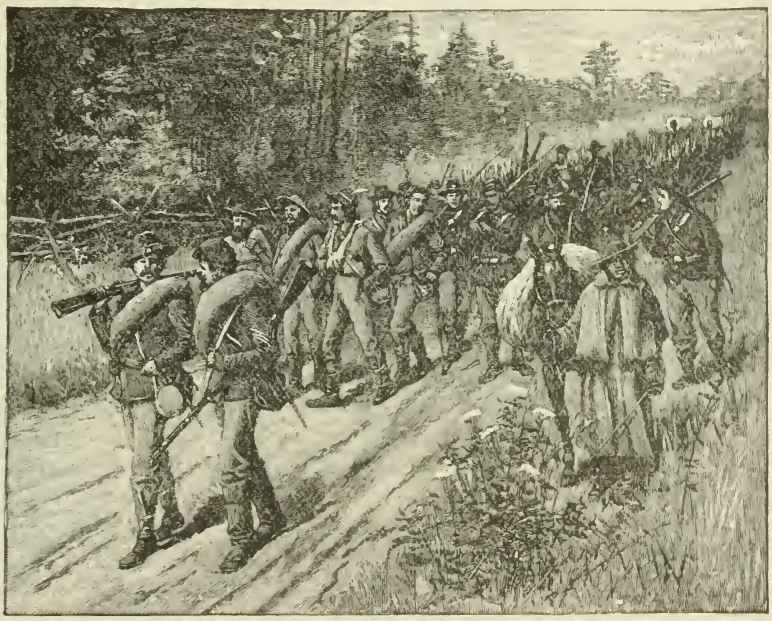
this method was not pleasing to the authorities at Richmond, and when Atlanta was besieged Johnston was superseded by the rash but daring General J. B. Hood. It was the policy of the latter to fight at whatever hazard. On the 20th, 22d, and 28th of July, he made three desperate assaults on the Union lines around Atlanta; but was repulsed in each engagement with dreadful losses. It was in the beginning of the second of these battles that the brave General James B. McPherson, the bosom friend of Generals Grant and Sherman, and the pride of the Union army, was killed while reconnoitering the Confederate lines. In the three conflicts just referred to, the Confederates lost more men than Johnston had lost in all his masterly retreating and fighting between Chattanooga and Atlanta.

The siege of the latter city was now pressed with great vigor. Sherman tightened his grip from day to day. At last, by an incautious movement, Hood separated his army; the Union commander thrust a column between the two divisions, and the immediate evacuation of Atlanta followed. On the 2d of September, Sherman's army marched into the captured city. Since leaving Chattanooga, the Federals had lost in killed, wounded, and missing fully thirty thousand men, and the Confederate losses were even greater. By retiring from Atlanta, however, Hood, though he lost the city, saved his army. He now formed the plan of striking boldly northward into Tennessee, with the hope of compelling Sherman to evacuate Georgia. But the latter had no notion of losing his vantage ground, and after following Hood north of the Chattahoochee, he turned back to Atlanta.

Hood swept on through Northern Alabama, crossed the Tennessee River at Florence, and advanced on Nashville. General Thomas, with the Army of the Cumberland, had in the meantime been detached from Sherman's army and sent northward to confront Hood. General Schofield, who commanded the Federal forces in the southern part of the State, fell back before the Confederates and took post at Franklin, eighteen miles south of Nashville. Here, on the 30th of November, he was attacked by Hood, whom, after a hard-fought battle, he held in check until nightfall, when he escaped across the river and retreated within the defenses of Nashville. At the latter place, General Thomas rapidly concentrated his

forces. A line of intrenchments was drawn around the city on the south. Hood came on, confident of victory, and prepared to begin the siege by blockading the Cumberland; but before the work was fairly begun, General Thomas, on the 15th of December, moved out from his works, fell upon the Confederate army, and routed it, with a loss of killed, wounded, and prisoners of fully twenty-five thousand men. For many days of freezing weather, Hood's shattered and disorganized columns were pursued until at last the remnant found refuge in Alabama. The Confederate army was ruined, and the rash general who had led it to destruction was relieved of his command.

On the 14th of November, General Sherman burned Atlanta, and began his famous MARCH TO THE SEA. His army of veterans numbered sixty thousand men. Believing that Hood's army would be destroyed in Tennessee, and knowing that no Confederate force could withstand him in front, he cut his communications with the North, abandoned his base of supplies, and struck out boldly for the sea-coast, more than two hundred and fifty miles away.



SHERMAN'S MARCH TO THE SEA.

Neither Sherman himself nor General Grant had any definite plan as to the terminus of the campaign; but the one had self-reliance, and the other was calmly confident of the result. The country also had come to know its leaders and to trust them in every hazard. When Sherman left Atlanta, and was lost to sight in the forests of Georgia, he was followed by the unwavering faith of the Nation.

As had been foreseen, the Confederates could offer no successful resistance to his progress. The Union army swept on through Macon and Milledgeville; reached the Ogeechee, and crossed in safety; captured Gibson and Waynesborough; and on the 10th of December arrived in the vicinity of Savannah. On the 13th, Fort McAllister, below the city, was carried by storm by the division of General Hazen. On the night of the 20th General Hardee, the Confederate commandant, escaped from Savannah with fifteen thousand men, and retreated to Charleston. On the following morning the National advance entered, and on the 22d General Sherman made his head-quarters in Savannah. On his march from Atlanta he had lost only five hundred and sixty-seven men.

The month of January, 1865, was spent by the Union army in the city. On the 1st of February, General Sherman, having garrisoned the place, began his march against Columbia, the capital of South Carolina. To the Confederates the further progress of the invasion through the swamps and morasses of the State had seemed impossible. Now that the veteran legions were again in motion, alarm and terror pervaded the country. Governor Magrath had already summoned to the field every white man in the State between the ages of sixteen and sixty; but the requisition was comparatively ineffectual. Nevertheless, the Confederates formed a line of defense along the Salkehatchie, and prepared to dispute Sherman's march northward. It was all in vain. The passages of the river were forced, and on the 11th of the month the Confederate lines of communication be-

tween Charleston and Augusta were cut off. On the next day Orangeburg was taken by the Seventeenth Corps. On the 14th the fords and bridges of the Congaree were carried, and the State road opened in the direction of Columbia. Several divisions pressed rapidly forward; bridges were thrown across the Broad and Saluda Rivers, and the capital lay at the mercy of the conquerors. On the morning of the 17th Mayor Goodwin and a committee of the Common Council came out in carriages, and the city was formally surrendered.

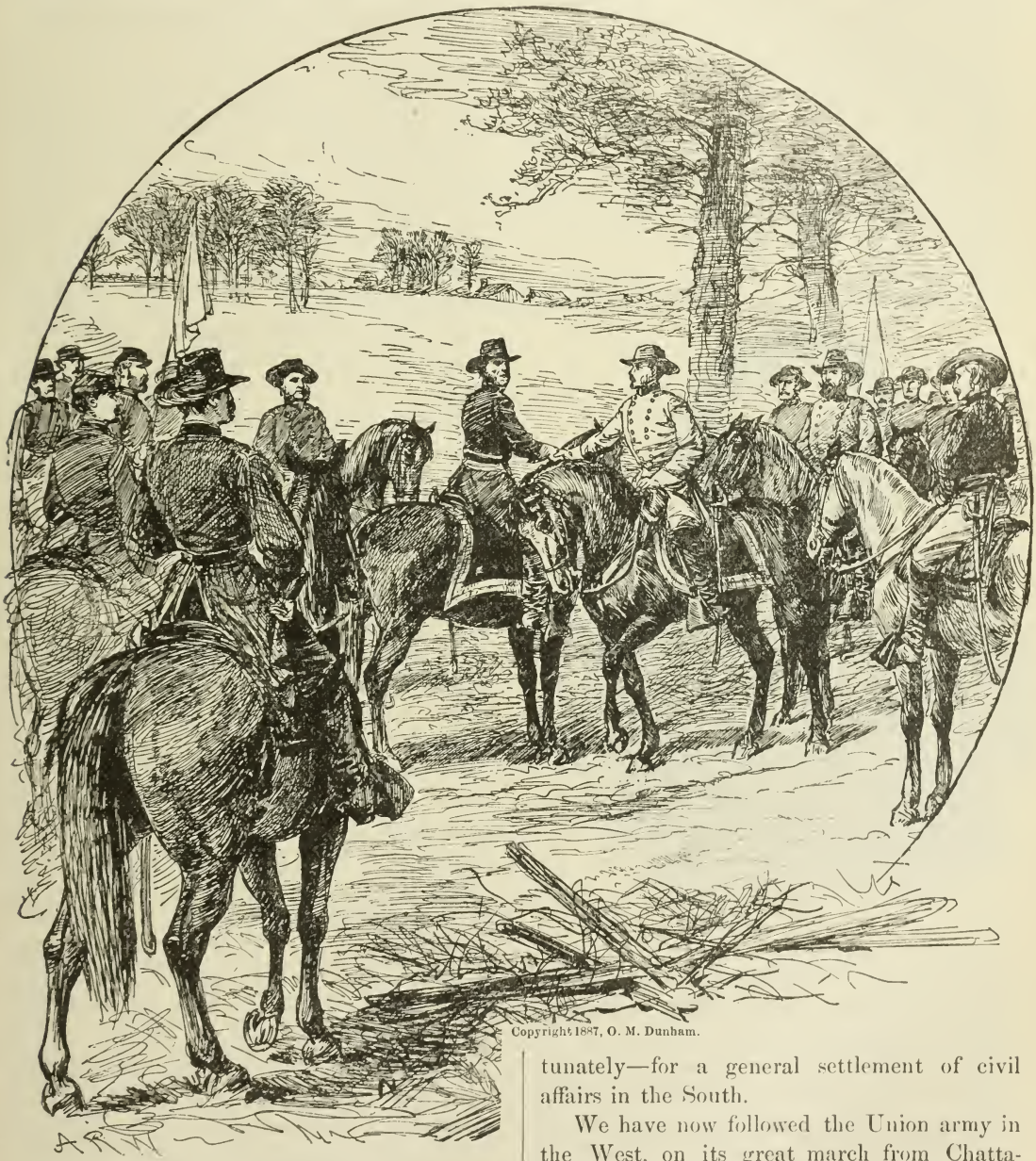
As soon as it became certain that Columbia must fall into the hands of the Federals, General Hardee, commandant of Charleston, determined to abandon that city also, and to join Generals Beauregard and Johnston in North Carolina. Accordingly, on the day of the capture of the capital, guards were detailed to destroy all the warehouses, stores of cotton, and dépôts of supplies in Charleston. The torch was applied, the flames raged, and consternation spread throughout the city. The great dépôt of the North-western Railway, where a large quantity of powder was stored, caught fire, blew up with terrific violence, and buried two hundred people in the ruins. Not until four squares in the best part of the city were laid in ashes, was the conflagration checked. During the same night, General Hardee, with his fourteen thousand troops, escaped from desolated Charleston, and made his way northward. On the morning of the 18th the news was borne to the National forces of James and Morris Islands. In the forenoon the Stars and Stripes were again raised over Forts Sumter, Ripley, and Pinckney. Mayor Macbeth surrendered the city to a company which was sent up from Morris Island. The work of saving whatever might be rescued from the flames was at once begun, the citizens and Federal soldiers working together. By strenuous exertions, the principal arsenal was saved; a dépôt of rice was also preserved, and its contents distributed to the poor. Colonel Stewart L. Woodford, of New York, was appointed military Governor of the city; and relations more friendly than might have been expected were soon established between the soldiery and the people.

Columbia was, next after Atlanta, the great arsenal of the Confederacy. Here were the machine-shops and foundries so necessary to the South in the prosecution of the war. Sherman gave orders for the destruction of all public property, and then immediately renewed his march northward. The course of the Union army now lay towards Charlotte, North Carolina. The National forces swept on without opposition as far as Winnsborough, where a junction was effected with the Twentieth Corps, under Slocum. Crossing the Great Pedee at Cheraw, Sherman pressed on towards Fayetteville, where he arrived without serious hinderance, and on the 11th of March took possession of the town.

Meanwhile, on the 8th of the month, an exciting episode of the campaign had been supplied by a dashing battle between Generals Hampton's and Kilpatrick's cavalry forces. To Hampton had been assigned the duty of defending the rear of Hardee's column on the retreat from Charleston. Resolving to intercept him, Kilpatrick cut through the Confederate lines. But the next morning the Union officer was surprised in his quarters, attacked and routed, himself barely escaping on foot into a swamp. Here, however, he suddenly rallied his forces, turned on the Confederates, and scattered them in a brilliant charge. Hampton also made a rally and returned to the onset. But Kilpatrick held his ground, until he was reïnforced by a division of the Twentieth Corps under General Mitchell, when the Confederates were finally driven back. Kilpatrick then conducted his forces, without further molestation, to Fayetteville, where the other divisions of Sherman's army had already arrived.

After the overthrow of Hood, in Tennessee, General Johnston had at length been recalled to the command of the Confederate forces. His influence on the destinies of the campaign now began to be felt in front of Sherman. The advance of the Union army was rendered more difficult by the vigilance of the Confederate General. At Averasborough, on Cape Fear River, a short distance north of Fayetteville, General Hardee made a stand, but was repulsed with considerable loss. On the 19th of March, when Sherman was incautiously approaching Bentonville, the advance was furiously assailed by the Confederates, and

the Union army, after all its battles and victories, seemed for awhile in danger of defeat. But the brilliant fighting of the division of General Jefferson C. Davis saved the day, and two days afterwards Sherman entered Goldsborough unopposed. Here he was joined by a strong column from New Berne, under General Schofield, and another from Wilmington, under General Terry. The Federal army now turned to the north-west, and on the 13th of April entered Raleigh. This was the end of the great march, and here General Sherman met his antagonist, and entered into negotiations, not only for the surrender of the Confederate army, but also—and most unfortunately—for a general settlement of civil affairs in the South.



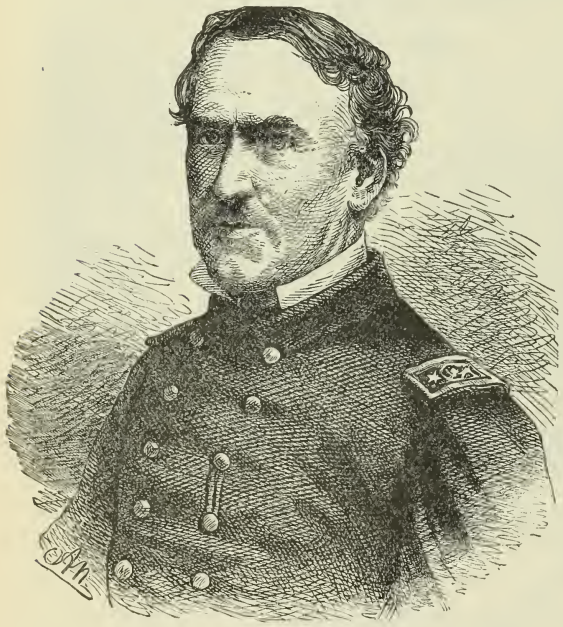
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MEETING OF SHERMAN AND JOHNSTON.

We have now followed the Union army in the West, on its great march from Chattanooga to Atlanta, from Atlanta to Savannah, from Savannah to Columbia, from Columbia to the final scene at Raleigh. While these decisive events were taking place, the famous cavalry raid of General Stoneman was in progress. About the middle of March, he set out from Knoxville, at the head of six thousand men. The expedition crossed the mount-

ains; Wilkesborough was captured, and Stoneman forced his way across the Yadkin, at Jonesville. It had been the plan of the campaign that the Union cavalry should make a diversion in favor of Sherman, by penetrating the western districts of South Carolina. But that commander, by the celerity of his movements, had already reached Goldsborough, in the North State, and was in no need of Stoneman's help. The movement of the latter, therefore, became an independent expedition, the general object being the destruction of public property, the capture of Confederate stores, and the tearing up of railways.

Turning to the North, the Union troopers



DAVID G. FARRAGUT.

now traversed the western end of North Carolina, and entered Carroll County, Virginia. At Wytheville the railway was torn up, and then the whole line was destroyed from the bridge over New River to within four miles of Lynchburg. Christiansburg was captured, and the track of the railway obliterated for ninety miles. The expedition next turned to Jacksonville; thence southward; and then struck and destroyed the North Carolina Railroad between Danville and Greensborough. The track in the direction of Salisbury was torn up, and the factories at Salem burned. At Salisbury was located one of the great Confederate prisons for captured soldiers. It had been the aim of Stoneman to overpower the Confederates and liberate the prisoners; but the latter were removed before the arrival of the Union cavalry. The town, however, was captured, and a vast store of ammunition, arms, provisions, clothing, and cotton fell into the hands of the raiders.

On the 19th of April, a division of Stoneman's force, under Major Moderwell, reached the great bridge by which the South Carolina Railway crosses the Catawba River. This magnificent structure, eleven hundred and fifty feet in length, was set on fire and completely destroyed. After a fight with Furgeson's Confederate cavalry, the Federals turned back to Dallas, where all the divisions were concentrated, and the raid was at an end. During the progress of the expedition, six thousand prisoners, forty-six pieces of artillery, and immense quantities of small arms had fallen into the hands of Stoneman's men. The amount of property destroyed, and the damage otherwise done to the tottering Confederacy, could not be estimated.

Greater still in importance were the events which had occurred on the Gulf and the Atlantic coast. In the beginning of August, 1864, Admiral David G. Farragut bore down with a powerful squadron upon the defenses of Mobile. The entrance to the harbor of that city was commanded, on the left, by Fort Gaines, and on the right by Fort Morgan. The harbor itself was defended by a Confederate fleet and the monster iron-clad ram *Tennessee*. On the 5th of August, Farragut prepared for battle, and ran past the forts into the harbor. In order to direct the movements of his vessels, the old Admiral mounted to the maintop of his flag-ship, the *Hartford*, where he was lashed to the rigging. From that high perch he gave his commands during the battle. One of the Union ships struck a torpedo and went to the bottom. The rest attacked and dispersed the Confederate squadron; but just as the day seemed won, the terrible *Tennessee* came down at full speed to strike and sink the *Hartford*. The latter avoided the blow, and then followed one of the fiercest conflicts of the war. The Union iron-clads closed around their black antagonist, and battered her with their beaks and fifteen-inch bolts of iron, until she surrendered. Two days

afterwards Fort Gaines was taken, and on the 23d of the month, Fort Morgan was obliged to capitulate. The port of Mobile was thus effectually sealed up to the Confederates.

Not less important to the Union cause was the capture of Fort Fisher. This powerful fortress commanded the entrance to Cape Fear River and Wilmington—the last sea-port held by the Confederate States. In December, 1864, Admiral Porter was sent, with the most powerful American squadron ever afloat, to besiege and take the fort. General Butler, with a force of six thousand five hundred men, accompanied the expedition.

The armament came before Fort Fisher, and on the day before Christmas began a bombardment. Troops were sent ashore to carry the works by storm. But when General Weitzel, who led the column, came near enough to the fort to reconnoiter, he decided that an assault could only end in the destruction of his army. General Butler also came to the same conclusion, and the enterprise was abandoned. Admiral Porter, however, remained before the fort with his fleet, while the land forces, under Butler, returned to Fortress Monroe. The outcome of the expedition was humiliating to the National authorities, and early in January *the same troops* were sent back to Wilmington, under General Terry. The siege was at once renewed by the combined army and fleet, and on the 15th of the month Fort Fisher was carried by storm. It was the last sea-port held by the Confederates, and their outlet to the sea was thus forever closed,

The control of Albemarle Sound had been obtained in the previous October. The work was accomplished by a daring exploit of Lieutenant Cushing, of the Federal navy. The Sound was at the time commanded by the tremendous Confederate iron ram, called the *Albemarle*. Cushing undertook to destroy the dreaded vessel. With a number of daring volunteers he embarked on a small steamer, and on the night of the 27th of October entered the Roanoke. The ram lay at the harbor of Plymouth. The approach was made with great difficulty. Cushing, however, managed to get alongside, and with his own hands sank a terrible torpedo under the Confederate ship, exploded it, and left the ram a ruin. The brave adventure cost the lives or capture of all of Cushing's party, except himself and one other who escaped. A few days afterwards the town of Plymouth was captured by the Federal troops.

During the progress of the war the commerce of the United States had suffered dreadfully from the attacks of Confederate cruisers. As early as 1861 the Confederate Congress had authorized privateers to prey upon the commerce of the United States. But since the independence of the Confederacy was not acknowledged, neutral nations would not permit privateers to bring their prizes into port. The act authorizing the work was therefore of little direct benefit to the Confederacy, but of great injury to the United States.

The first Confederate ship sent out was the *Savannah*, which was captured on the same day that she escaped from Charleston. In June of 1861 the *Sumter*, commanded by Captain Raphael Semmes, ran the blockade at New Orleans, and for seven months wrought havoc with the Union merchantmen on the high seas. But in February of 1862, Semmes was chased into the harbor of Gibraltar, where he was obliged to sell his vessel and discharge his crew. In the previous October the Confederate ship *Nashville* ran out from Charleston, went to England and returned with a cargo worth $3,000,000. In March of 1863, she was sunk by a Union iron-clad in the mouth of the Savannah River.

In course of time the coast of the Southern States was so completely blockaded that Confederate war-vessels could no longer be sent abroad. Another plan, therefore, had to be adopted to maintain the Confederate cruisers. In the emergency, the emissaries of the South sought the ship-yards of Great Britain, and from that vantage-ground began to build and equip their privateers. In spite of all remonstrances, the British Government connived at this proceeding, and here was laid the foundations of that difficulty which was destined to cost the treasury of England $15,000,000. It was in the harbor of Liverpool that the privateer *Florida* was fitted out. Sailing from thence, in the summer of 1862, she succeeded in running into Mobile Bay. Escaping from that port in the following January, she destroyed fifteen Union merchantmen; was then captured in the harbor of

Bahia, Brazil, and was brought into Hampton Roads, where, by an accidental collision, she was sent to the bottom. Meanwhile, the *Georgia*, the *Olustee*, the *Shenandoah*, and the *Chickamauga*, all built at the ship-yards of Glasgow, Scotland, escaped to sea, and made great havoc with the merchant-ships of the United States. When Fort Fisher was captured, the *Chickamauga* and another ship called the *Tallahassee*, were blown up by the Confederates. The *Georgia* was captured in 1863, States, she never once entered a Confederate port, but continued on the high sea, capturing and burning.

Early in the summer of 1864, Semmes sailed into the harbor of Cherbourg, France, and was followed thither by Captain John A. Winslow, commander of the steamer *Kearsarge*. The French Government gave orders to Semmes to leave the port, and on the 19th of June he sailed out to give his antagonist battle. Seven miles from the shore, the two



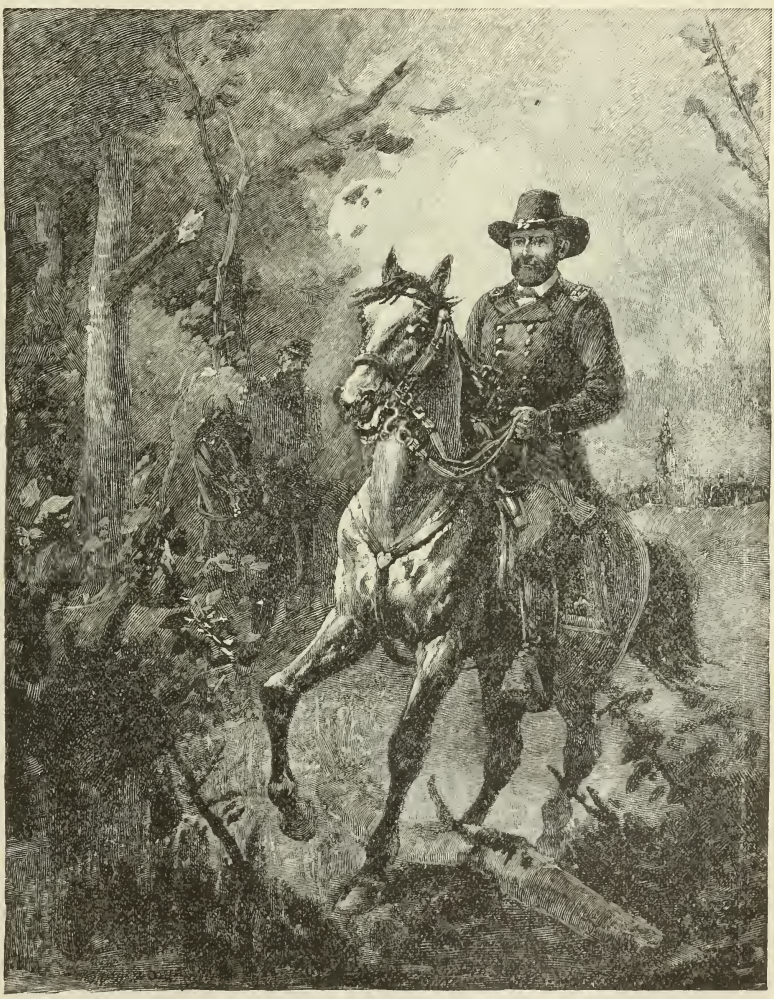
DESTRUCTION OF THE ALBEMARLE.

and the *Shenandoah* continued abroad until the close of the war.

But by far the most destructive of all the Confederate vessels was the famous *Alabama*, built at Liverpool. Her commander was Captain Semmes, the same who had cruised in the *Sumter*. A majority of the crew of the *Alabama* were British subjects. Her armament was entirely British, and whenever occasion required, the British flag was carried. In her whole career, involving the destruction of sixty-six vessels, and a loss of ten million dollars to the merchant-service of the United ships closed for the death struggle, and after a desperate battle of an hour's duration, the *Alabama* was shattered and sunk. Semmes and a part of his officers and crew were picked up by the English yacht *Deerhound*, which had come out from the harbor to witness the bat tle, were carried to Southampton, and set at liberty.

We have now considered the military movements of 1864–65, in all parts of the field except at the center. We turn, then, to the critical and final campaigns of the Army of the Potomac, and of those divisions of the

National forces immediately associated therewith. After the great battle of Gettysburg, the shattered Confederate columns under General Lee were withdrawn into the Shenandoah Valley. He was followed by the Union cavalry under the command of General Gregg, who pressed after the Confederates, and at Shepherdstown gained some advantage over the division of General Fitzhugh Lee. General Meade himself, with the main body of the Army of the Potomac, entered Virginia near Berlin, and moved forward through Lovettsville to Warrenton. The Blue Ridge was thus again interposed between the two armies. It was the hope of Meade to preöccupy and hold the passes of the mountains, and to strike his antagonist a fatal blow when he should attempt to return to Richmond. But Lee's movements were marked with his usual caution and sagacity. He first made a feint of crowding his army through Manassas Gap, and succeeded in drawing thither the bulk of the Federal forces to contest the passage. He then, by a rapid march southward, gained Front Royal and Chester Gap, swept through the pass, and reached Culpeper in safety. General Meade, sorely disappointed in his expectations of a battle, advanced his army and took up a position on the Rappahannock.



"THE MAN ON HORSEBACK."

A lull now ensued from July to September. Both the Union and Confederate armies were much weakened by the withdrawal of large numbers of troops to take part in the struggles of the South-west. From Lee's army Longstreet's whole corps had been detached for the aid of Bragg, who was hard pressed by Rosecrans in Tennessee. Perceiving that his antagonist was weakened, General Meade crossed the Rappahannock, pressed Lee back to the south bank of the Rapidan, and himself occupied Culpeper. Soon, however, Howard's and Slocum's corps were withdrawn from the Army of the Potomac, and Meade, in his turn, was obliged to act on the defensive. But his ranks were rapidly filled with reïnforcements, and by the middle of October he was again strong enough to move forward. Lee had already assumed the offensive, and, by skillful movements, had succeeded in throwing his army on the Union flank. Then began the old race for the Potomac, and in that the Federals were successful. Meade reached Bristow Station in safety, and took up a strong position on the Heights of Centerville. Lee, in

turn, fell back, and the two armies at last came to rest for the winter, the one at Culpeper, and the other on the upper Rappahannock.

In the following spring no movement took place in this part of the field until the arrival of General Grant as Commander-in-chief. He took his station at the head of the Army of the Potomac; but retained General Meade in immediate command. The campaign which now ensued was one of the most memorable in history, and the story thereof has been reserved for the closing narrative of the war. The forward movement of the Army of the Potomac was coïncident with the advance of Sherman in the West. From the 1st of May, 1864, the Union anaconda began to tighten in folds ever more rigorous around the breaking body of the Confederacy. On the 3d of the month, the National camp at Culpeper was broken up, and the march on Richmond was begun. In three successive summers the Union army had been beaten back from that metropolis of the Confederacy. Now a hundred and forty thousand men, led by the General-in-chief, were to begin the final struggle with the veterans of Lee.

On the first day of the advance, Grant crossed the Rapidan and entered the Wilderness. It was a country of oak-woods and thickets, west of Chancellorsville. The Union army was immediately confronted and attacked by the Confederates. Through the 5th, 6th, and 7th of May the fighting continued incessantly, with terrible losses on both sides; but the results were indecisive. Lee retired within his intrenchment, and Grant made a flank movement on the left in the direction of Spottsylvania Court House. Here followed, from the morning of the 9th to the night of the 12th, one of the bloodiest struggles of the war. The Federals gained some ground, and the division of General Ewell was captured. But the losses of Lee, who fought on the defensive, were less dreadful than those of his antagonist.



BATTLE OF SPOTTSYLVANIA COURT-HOUSE.

Meanwhile General Grant had detached Sheridan from the Army of the Potomac, and sent him on a cavalry raid around the left flank of Lee's army, and against Richmond.

The movement was executed with all the celerity and zeal for which Sheridan had now become famous. After crossing the North Anna he succeeded in retaking from the Confederates a large detachment of Union prisoners. On the 10th of May he was confronted at a place on Yellow Tavern by the command of General J. E. B. Stuart, and a fiery cavalry battle ensued, in which the Confederates were defeated with considerable losses, including General Stuart himself. who was mortally wounded on the field.

After Spottsylvania, Grant moved on to the left, crossed the Pamunkey to Hanovertown, and came to a place called Cold Harbor, twelve miles north-east of Richmond. Here, on the 1st of June, he made an attack on the Confederate lines, but was repulsed with heavy losses. On the morning of the 3d the assault was renewed, and in the brief space of a half hour nearly ten thousand Union soldiers fell dead or wounded before the Confederate intrenchments. The repulse of the Federals was complete, but they held their lines as firmly as ever.[1]



DEATH OF GENERAL STUART.

Since the beginning of the campaign the losses of the Army of the Potomac, including the corps of Burnside, had reached the enormous aggregate of sixty thousand. During the same period the Confederates had lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners about thirty-five thousand men.

Whether or not General Grant conceded at this time the impossibility or, at least, the impracticability of taking Richmond by direct advance and assault from the north, may not be well determined. At any rate he decided to change his base of supplies to James River, with a view to the capture of Petersburg and the conquest of Richmond from the south-east.

General Butler had already moved his strong division from Fortress Monroe, and on the 5th of May had taken Bermuda Hundred and City Point, at the mouth of the Appomattox. Advancing against Petersburg, he was met on the 16th by the corps of General Beauregard, and driven back to his position at Bermuda Hundred, where he was obliged to intrench himself and act on the defensive. On the 15th of June, General Grant, then engaged in his change of base, brought his whole army into junction with Butler, and the combined forces moved against Petersburg. On the 17th and 18th, several assaults were made on the Confederate intrenchments, but the works were too strong to be carried in that manner. Lee's army was hurried into the defenses, and by the close of June, Petersburg was regularly invested for a siege.

A branch campaign had, in the meantime, been under way in the Shenandoah Valley. On moving forward from the Rapidan, General Grant had despatched Sigel up the valley with a force of eight thousand men. On the 15th of May, while the latter was advancing southward, he was met at New Market, fifty miles above Winchester, by an army of Confederate cavalry, under General Breckinridge. The Union force was attacked and routed, and

[1] General Grant, in his *Memoirs*, says: "I have always regretted that the last assault at Cold Harbor was ever made. . . . No advantage whatever was gained to compensate for the heavy loss we sustained. Indeed, the advantages, other than those of relative losses, were on the Confederate side."

the command of the flying divisions was transferred to General Hunter. Breckinridge, believing himself completely victorious in the valley, returned to Richmond, whereupon, Hunter faced about towards Lynchburg, came upon the Confederates at Piedmont, and gained a signal victory. From this place he pressed forward with his own troops and the cavalry force of General Averill, against Lynchburg; but finding himself in peril, he was obliged to retreat across the mountains into West Virginia. The valley was thus again exposed to a Confederate invasion from the east.



PHILIP H. SHERIDAN.

Lee, now hard pressed at Petersburg, immediately despatched General Early, with orders to cross the Blue Ridge, sweep down the valley, invade Maryland, and threaten Washington City. Thus would the Confederate General compel Grant to loosen his grip on Petersburg, in order to save the National Capital. But the menace could no longer avail. The situation, however, was sufficiently alarming. Early, with a force of twenty thousand men, continued his course northward, and on the 5th of July, crossed the Potomac. Four days afterward he met the division of General Lewis Wallace, on the Monocacy, and drove him back with serious losses. But the check, given to the Confederates, by the valor of Wallace and his command, saved Washington and Baltimore from capture. Early dashed up within gunshot of these cities, then ordered a retreat, and on the 12th of the month, led back his forces across the Potomac, with vast quantities of plunder.

General Wright, who was now put in command of the forces in the valley, set out in pursuit of Early, and followed him as far as Winchester. There, on the 24th of July, he struck the Confederate rear, and gained a partial victory. But Early wheeled upon his antagonist, and the Union troops were in turn driven back across the Potomac. Following up his advantage, the Confederate General pressed on into Pennsylvania, burned Chambersburg, and returned into the valley laden with spoils.

General Grant was greatly annoyed with these vexatious raids, and was for a while perplexed to know how he should end them. At length, in the beginning of August, he consolidated the forces on the upper Potomac into a single army, and gave the command to General Philip H. Sheridan. It was the destiny of this young and brilliant officer to rise grandly above the chaos of the last year of the war, and to contribute greatly, by his military genius, to the final success of the Union cause. The troops now placed under his command numbered nearly forty thousand, and with these he at once moved up the valley.

It was on the 19th of September that Sheridan came upon Early's army at Winchester.

Here a hard-fought battle ensued, and the Confederates were decisively defeated. Following up his advantage, the Union General a second time overtook his antagonist, and on the 22d of the month, again routed him at Fisher's Hill. The assault, in this instance, was made upon the Confederates in an intrenched position, and the Union victory was complete. Then came one of the saddest episodes of the war, in which the fruitful Shenandoah Valley, one of the few remaining store-houses of the Confederacy, was utterly ravaged. The Commander-in-chief had given Sheridan orders to spare nothing from destruction that might any longer furnish the means of subsistence to the enemy. The ruinous work was fearfully well done, and what with torch, and axe, and sword, there was nothing left between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghenies worth fighting for. Maddened by this destruction, and stung by his defeats, the veteran Early now rallied his forces, gathered what reïnforcements he could, and once more entered the valley. Sheridan had in the meantime set his army in a strong position on Cedar Creek, a short distance from Strasburg, and feeling secure in the situation, had gone to Washington. Early had now everything to gain, and the opportunity seemed to offer. On the morning of the 19th of October he cautiously approached the Union camp, surprised, burst in, carried the position, captured the artillery, and sent the routed troops in confusion towards Winchester. The victors pursued as far as Middletown; then believing themselves completely triumphant, paused to eat and rest. Meanwhile, on the previous night, Sheridan had returned to Winchester, and was, at the time of the rout of his army, on his way from that place to the front. While riding forward, he heard the sound of battle, spurred on for twelve miles at full speed, met the panic-struck fugitives, rallied them at his call, renewed their inspiration by his presence, turned upon the astonished Confederates, and gained one of the most signal victories of the war. Early's army was disorganized and ruined. It was the end of strife in the valley of the Shenandoah.

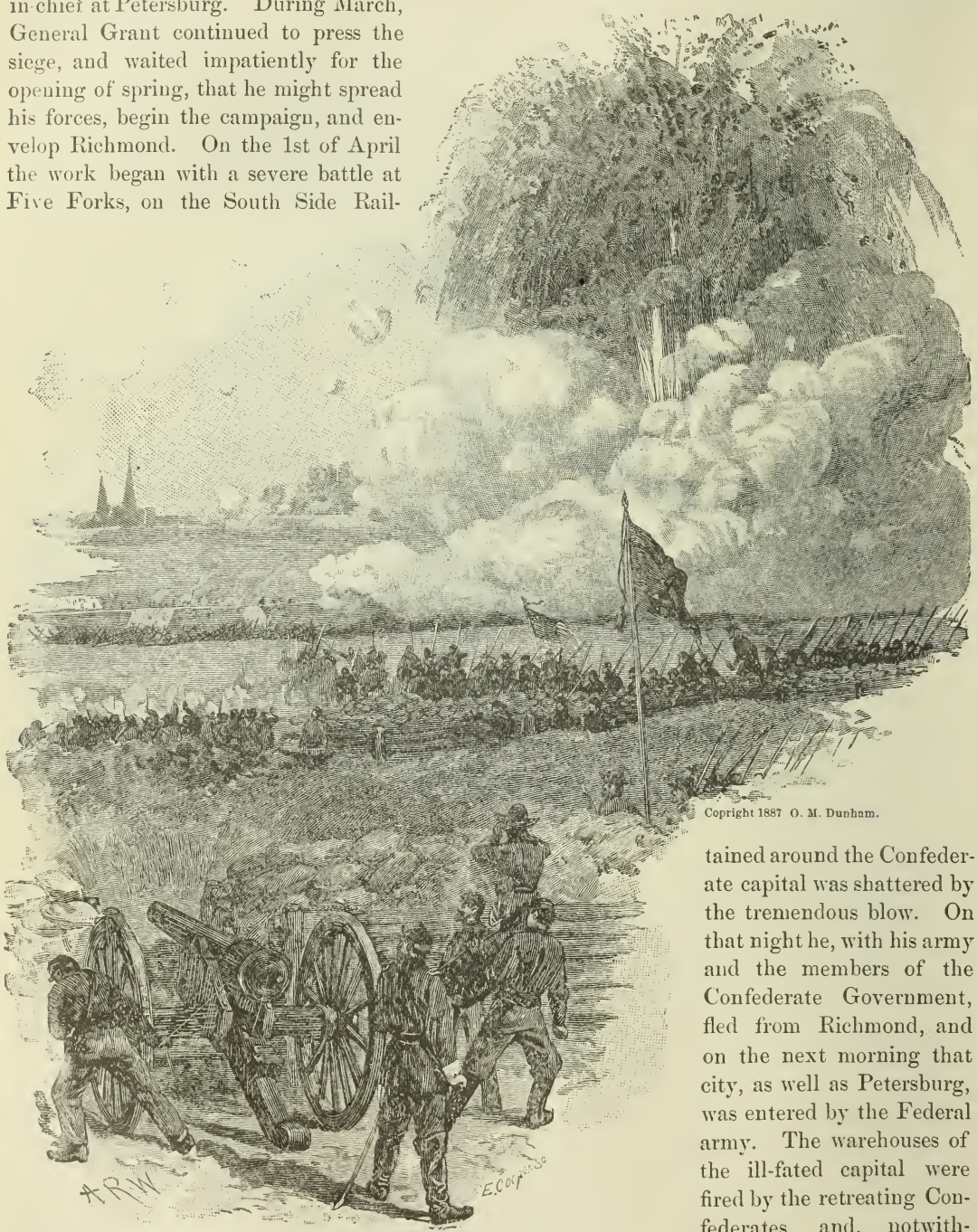
Having thus cleared the horizon of Virginia, and full of confidence in the success of Sherman's great expedition to the sea, Grant now sat sternly down to the investment of Petersburg. All fall and winter long the siege was pressed with varying success. As early as the 30th of July an attempt had been made to carry the place by storm. A mine was exploded under one of the forts, and an assaulting column sprang forward to gain the defenses. The attack, however, was repulsed, with serious losses. Then the siege went steadily forward until the 18th of August, when a division of the Union army seized the Weldon Railroad. The Confederates made several desperate assaults, in the hope of gaining their lost ground; but they were beaten in their struggles, each army losing thousands of men. On the 28th of September, the Federals stormed Battery Harrison, on the right bank of the James, and the next day General Paine's brigade of colored soldiers carried a powerful redoubt on Spring Hill. The 27th of October witnessed a bloody battle on the Boydton road, south of Petersburg. Then the Union army went into quarters for the winter.



SHERIDAN'S ARRIVAL AT CEDAR CREEK.

The aggressive struggle was not renewed until the close of February. On the 27th of that month, General Sheridan, who had issued

from the Shenandoah Valley, came upon the forces of General Early at Waynesborough, defeated them, and then joined the Commander-in-chief at Petersburg. During March, General Grant continued to press the siege, and waited impatiently for the opening of spring, that he might spread his forces, begin the campaign, and envelop Richmond. On the 1st of April the work began with a severe battle at Five Forks, on the South Side Railroad, an engagement in which the Confederates were defeated with a loss of six thousand prisoners.



EXPLOSION OF THE MINE BEFORE PETERSBURG.

On the following day Grant ordered an assault along the whole line in front of Petersburg, and the works were carried. The rim of iron and valor which Lee had so long maintained around the Confederate capital was shattered by the tremendous blow. On that night he, with his army and the members of the Confederate Government, fled from Richmond, and on the next morning that city, as well as Petersburg, was entered by the Federal army. The warehouses of the ill-fated capital were fired by the retreating Confederates, and, notwithstanding the efforts of the Union soldiers, the better part of the Southern metropolis was reduced to ruins.

It was the beginning of the swiftly coming end. Now was it perceived by all men that

the catastrophe was at hand, and that the strife could last but a few days longer. General Lee retreated as rapidly as possible to the south-west, hoping to join the army of General Johnston on its emergence from Carolina. But that army was destined never to emerge. The Confederates, flying from Petersburg, joined those on the retreat from Richmond at Amelia Court House. To this place Lee had ordered his supply trains, but the officer having the same in charge had foolishly mistaken his orders and driven the trains *in the direction of Danville.* Nearly one-half of the Confederate army, now growing hopeless, had to be dispersed through the country to gather supplies by foraging. The 4th and 5th of April, days precious to the sinking heart of Lee, were consumed with the delay.

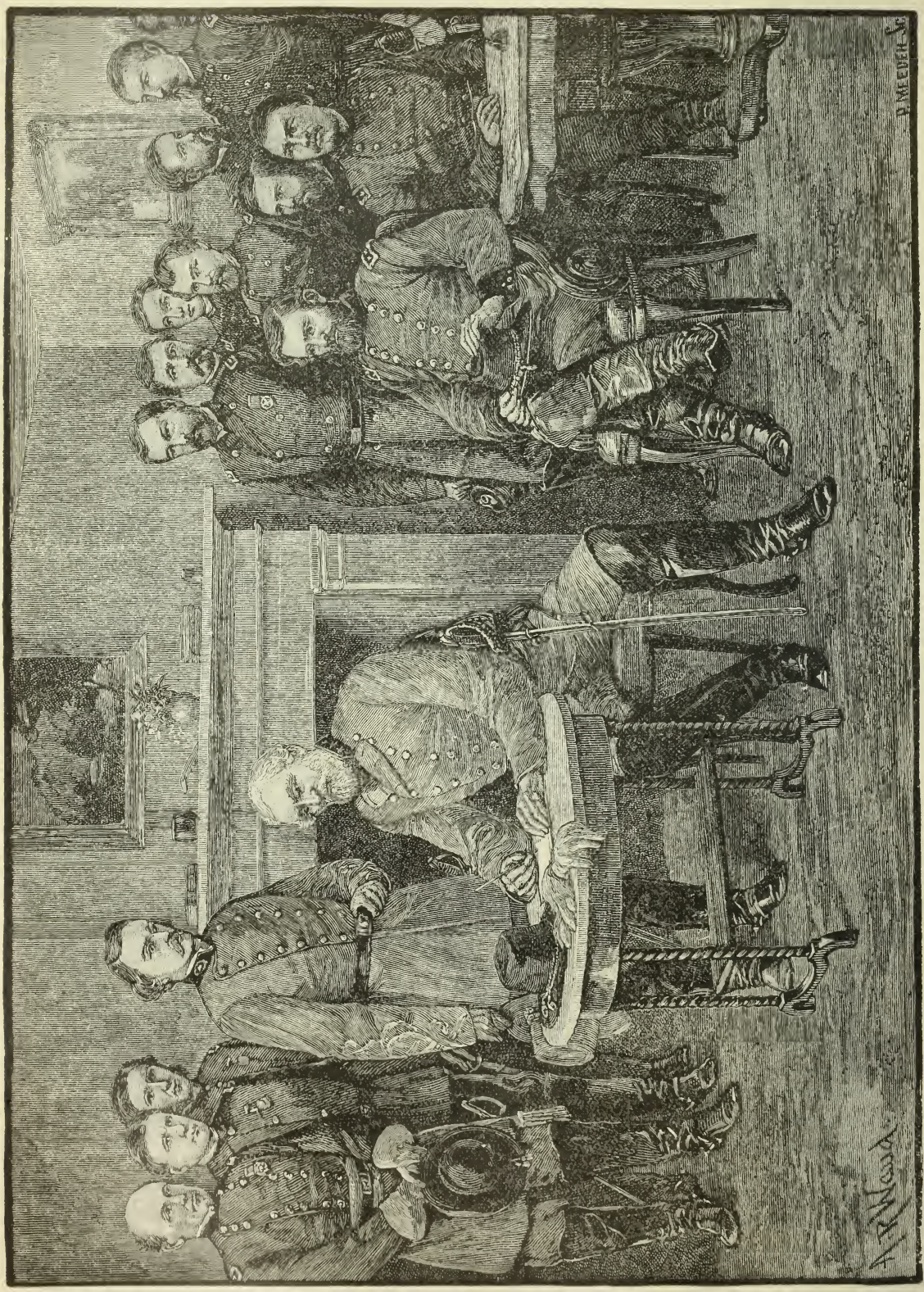
The victorious Federals meanwhile pressed on in full pursuit, and on the morning of the 6th nearly the whole of the Union army was at Jettersville, on the Danville Railroad, ready to strike the Confederates at Amelia. Sheridan still pressed on by the left flank to the west, in the direction of Deatonsville. Ord came up with his division by way of the South Side Railroad to Burke's Station. Lee fell back to the west from Amelia Court House, and reached Deatonsville; but here he found the vigilant Sheridan planted squarely in his course. The division of Ewell, six thousand strong, was flung against the Federal position, but was hurled back, broken to pieces and captured. The policy of Lee was still to make a detour to the west and south, around the Federal left; and by strenuous exertions he managed to gain the Appomattox at Farmville, crossed to the northern bank, and burned the bridges. He would thus interpose the river as a barrier between himself and his relentless pursuers; but it was all in vain. Hoping against hope, he made a desperate effort to hold the Lynchburg Railroad, but Sheridan was there before him. On the 7th of April the Confederates had their last slight success in battle. For a moment the flame of hope was rekindled only to be blown out in despair. On that day General Grant, then at Farmville, addressed a note to the Confederate commander, expressing a desire that the further effusion of blood might be saved by the surrender of Lee's army. To this General Lee replied, by declaring his desire for peace, but adding that the occasion for the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia had not yet arrived.

On the 8th the process of surrounding and hemming in the Confederates went vigorously forward. On the morning of the 9th, when it became known that the left wing of the Union army had secured the line of the Lynchburg Railroad—when the wrecks of Longstreet's veterans attempting to cover the retreat were confronted and driven back by Sheridan—the soul of the Confederate leader failed him. Seeing the utter uselessness of a further struggle, he sent General Grant a note, asking for a meeting preliminary to a surrender. The Union commander immediately complied with the request. At two o'clock on the afternoon of that day, Palm Sunday, the 9th of April, 1865, the two great Generals met each other in the parlor of William McLean, at Appomattox Court House. There the terms of surrender were discussed and settled. It was agreed that General Grant should put his proposition in the form of a military note, to which General Lee could return a formal answer. The Union commander accordingly drew up and presented the following memorandum:

APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VA., April 9, 1865.

GENERAL,—In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th instant, I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to-wit: Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate; one copy to be given to an officer to be designated by me, the other to be retained by such other officer or officers as you may designate. The officers to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged, and each company or regimental commander to sign a like parole for the men of their commands. The arms, artillery, and public property, to be parked and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side-arms of the officers nor their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they reside.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.



SURRENDER OF GENERAL LEE.

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To this memorandum General Lee responded as follows:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA, April 9, 1865.

GENERAL,—I received your letter of this date, containing the terms of the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, as proposed by you. As they are substantially the same as those expressed in your letter of the 8th instant, they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect. R. E. LEE, General.

With the downfall of Lee's army, the collapse of the Confederacy was complete. The destruction of the military power meant the destruction of everything upon which the South had depended. In the narrative of Sherman's march northward from Savannah to Raleigh, we have already recounted the end of that great campaign. The surrender of Johnston followed on the 26th of April, and on the same terms which had been conceded seventeen days previously by Grant to Lee at Appomattox. In the overthrow of their two great armies, the Confederates themselves saw the end of all things. The work was done. After four dreadful years of bloodshed, devastation, and sorrow, the Civil War in the United States had ended with the complete triumph of the Union cause. It only remained to extend the Federal authority over the Southern States, and to revive the functions of the National Government throughout the Union.

After the surrender of Lee and Johnston, there was no serious effort to prolong the resistance, or to reörganize the Confederacy. General Lee bade adieu at once to his war-worn veterans, and retired with shattered fortunes to private life. Mr. Davis and his Cabinet made their escape from Richmond to Danville, and there for a few days kept up the forms of government. From Danville they fled into North Carolina, and were then scattered. The ex-President with a few friends, made his way through South Carolina into Georgia, and encamped near the village of Irwinville. Meanwhile, the Union cavalry in that region were on the alert to make prisoners of the fugitives. The capture was finally effected on the 10th of May, by a division of the command of General Wilson. It appeared, in the light of the sequel, that the Administration, more particularly President Lincoln, would have connived at the escape of Davis from the United States. But the capture was made, and the distinguished prisoner was on the hands of the Government. He was at once taken as a captive to Fortress Monroe, and was there kept in confinement until May of 1867. He was then removed to Richmond, to be tried on a charge of treason. Soon afterwards he was admitted to bail, Horace Greeley and other eminent Union men going on his bond. The cause remained untried for about a year and a half, and was then dismissed from court. It thus happened that the legal status of that error, fault, or crime, which the Confederate leaders had committed, was never legally determined, but left rather to dangle contentiously in the political sky of after times.

We may now review the course of civil events as they had occurred in the National Government in the last year of the war. In the autumn preceding the downfall of the Confederacy the Presidential election had been held, and Lincoln had been chosen for a second term. As Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, was elected in place of Hannibal Hamlin. The opposing candidates, supported by the Democratic party, were General George B. McClellan, and George H. Pendleton, of Ohio. There had been a time after the outbreak of the war, when the spirit of party was so much allayed as to warrant the hope that the common cause of Republicans and Democrats would not be further imperiled by political animosity; but partisanship soon flamed up again, and the North became a scene of turmoil. The Democratic leaders grew more and more rampant in their denunciation; first, of the methods upon which the war was conducted; and then, of the war itself. In the Democratic national convention at Chicago a resolution was actually passed as a part of the platform declaring the war a failure, and demanding a cessation of hostilities until the arts of statesmanship should be exhausted in attempting a peaceable solution of the trouble. In General McClellan the party found a candidate to whom both the war Democrats and the anti-war faction could be attached.



(164) GENERAL LEE TAKING LEAVE OF HIS SOLDIERS.

But the whole effort to defeat Lincoln, much less to stop the war, could but end in confusion and failure. Lincoln's majority was very heavy, McClellan carrying only the States of Kentucky, Delaware, and New Jersey. In the summer preceding the election the people of Nevada had, in accordance with an act of Congress, prepared a Constitution, and, on the 31st of October, the new Commonwealth was proclaimed as the thirty-sixth State of the Union. The gold and silver mines of Nevada were developed with such rapidity that they soon surpassed those of California in their yield of the precious metal.

During the progress of the Civil War the question of finance was, after the actual military operations of the field, the most serious with which the Government had to contend. At the outbreak of the conflict, even before the actual outbreak, the financial credit of the United States had sunk to the lowest ebb. By the organization of the army and the navy the expenses of the National Government had, at the very beginning, been swelled to an enormous aggregate. The price of gold and silver, as always happens in such emergencies, advanced so rapidly that the redemption of bank-notes in coin soon became impossible. On the 30th of December, 1861, the banks of New York, and afterwards those of the whole country, suspended specie payments. The premium on gold and silver rose higher and higher, and it soon became evident that those metals could no longer subserve the purpose of a currency.

The situation was as novel as it was trying. Fortunately, the destinies of the treasury were in the hands of a man of genius. Salmon P. Chase, the Secretary, faced the issue, and began to devise a series of expedients, which, in the course of time, entered into the financial history of the country, and, as they were tested by experience, became imbedded in the National monetary system. Old things rapidly passed away, and all things became new under the Secretary's hands. As a temporary expedient he sought relief by issuing Treasury Notes, receivable as money, and bearing interest at the rate of seven and three-tenths per cent. The expedient was successful; but by the beginning of 1862 the expenses of the Government had risen to more than a million dollars a day, and other measures, vaster and more permanent, had to be devised.

In order to meet the tremendous demands which were incessantly arising, Congress, on the recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury, made haste to provide an INTERNAL REVENUE. This was made up from two general sources; first, a tax on *manufactures*, *incomes*, and *salaries;* and, second, a *stamp duty* on all legal documents. As soon as this system of revenue was provided for, another step was taken in the issuance by the treasury of a hundred and fifty millions of dollars, in non-interest-bearing LEGAL TENDER NOTES of the



SALMON P. CHASE.

United States, to be used as money. Such was the beginning of that famous currency, which, under the name of *Greenbacks*, bore up the Nation during the war, survived the shocks of the Revolutionary epoch, and continued, after the subsidence of the conflict, to constitute one-half of the paper money used by the people of the United States.

But the Greenback currency, its issue again and again as the emergencies multiplied, was not of itself sufficient. A third great measure recommended by the Secretary, provided for by Congress, and carried out successfully, was the issuance and sale of UNITED STATES BONDS. These at first were made re-

decmable at any time after five years and under twenty years from date, and were, from this fact, called the FIVE-TWENTY BONDS. The interest upon them was fixed at six per cent, payable semi-annually in gold. The event showed that the clause making the interest payable *in gold*, rather than in the Greenback currency, tended to aggravate the disparity in the value of coin and paper money. But the interests of the bond-purchasers were consulted, and the policy of paying interest in coin was continued. The second series, called the TEN-FORTIES, was next issued, being redeemable by the Government at any time after ten and under forty years from date. The interest on this series was fixed at five per cent, and both principal and interest were made payable in coin. It became the policy of the Government to convert the short-time, high-rate bonds into the long-time, low-rate bonds. As the Five-Twenties became redeemable they were, by the holders, for the most part, converted into Ten-Forties, and when, in course of time, the latter fell due, they were in turn converted into the FOUR-PERCENTS, which constituted the third general issue. At last, when the credit of the Government was fully reëstablished, and its ability demonstrated to discharge its debt to the last farthing, THREE-AND-A-HALF PERCENTS, and finally THREE-PERCENTS, were provided for, into which form the great debt was mostly converted.

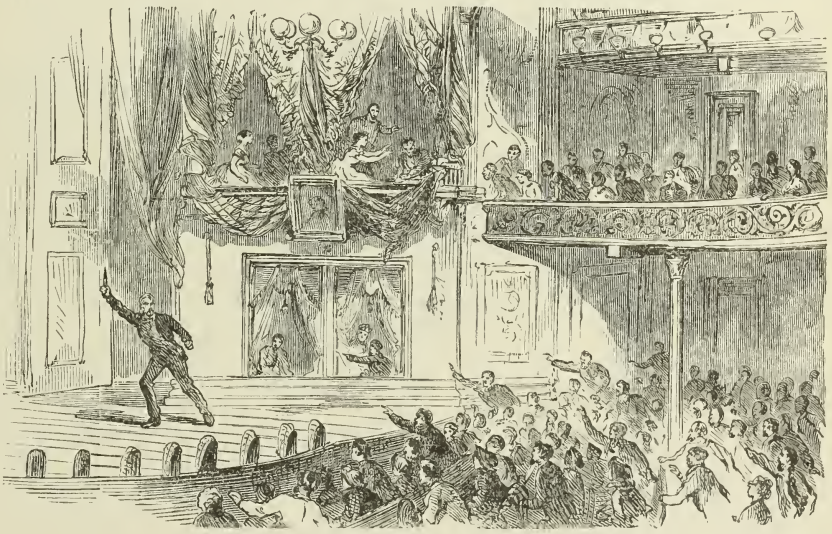
Meanwhile, the old banks of the United States disappeared. It became necessary to provide for the people something in the place of those local institutions, by means of which the ordinary business of the country must be transacted. An act was accordingly passed for the establishment of NATIONAL BANKS. The constitution of these was peculiar in the last degree. But the event justified the wisdom of the measure. The new financial institutions were born out of the exigency of the times, and their anomalous character must be accounted for by the existing conditions. The Bank Act of May, 1862, provided that, instead of gold, the new banks might use National Bonds as the basis of their currency. It was provided that each bank, on purchasing and depositing with the Treasurer of the United States the requisite amount of bonds, might receive thereon, from the treasury, ninety per cent. of the valuation of the bonds deposited, in a NATIONAL CURRENCY, such currency to bear the name of the particular bank from which it was to be issued.

The new banks spread rapidly, and in a short time a mixed currency, composed about half and half of the Greenbacks and the National Bank bills, took the place of the old local paper money, which had formerly constituted the bulk of the currency employed by the people. Meanwhile, gold and silver, on account of the high and ever-increasing premiums thereon, disappeared from sight, and all of the financial transactions of the country, great and small, swam henceforth for about seventeen years in an ocean of self-sustaining paper money. The precious metals became an article of merchandise; but their fictitious connection with the national currency constituted a dangerous element of monetary speculation, which the financial jobbers of the country were not slow to discover, and to use with fatal effect. The currency of the National Banks was, as we have said, furnished, and the redemption of the same guaranteed, by the Treasury of the United States. By the measure above described, the means for prosecuting the Civil War were provided. At the end of the conflict, the National Debt proper had reached the astounding sum of nearly three thousand millions of dollars! Nor can it well be doubted that had the war continued through another year national bankruptcy must have ensued.

On the 4th of March, 1865, President Lincoln was inaugurated for his second term. The brief address which he delivered on that occasion was one of the most patriotic and able ever pronounced by a great man in a trying ordeal. He sought by calm and almost affectionate utterances to call back from their rebellious course the infatuated people of the Southern States, exhorting his countrymen, "with malice towards none, with charity for all," to go about the work of healing the Nation's wounds, and restoring political and social fellowship throughout the Union.

It will be remembered that at this time the war, though in its last great throes, was not ended. Within a month, however, the military power of the Confederacy was broken. Three days after the evacuation of Richmond

by Lee's army, the President visited that city, conferred with the authorities, and then returned to Washington. But, in the strange vicissitude of things, the tragedy of his own sad life had already entered its last act. On the evening of the 14th of April he attended Ford's Theater with his wife and a party of friends. As the play drew near its close, a disreputable actor, named John Wilkes Booth, stole unnoticed into the President's box, leveled a pistol at his head, and shot him through the brain. Lincoln fell forward in his seat, was borne from the building, lingered in an unconscious state until the following morning, and died. It was one of the greatest tragedies of modern times—the most atrocious and diabolical murder known in modern history. The assassin leaped out of the box upon the stage, escaped into the darkness, and fled.

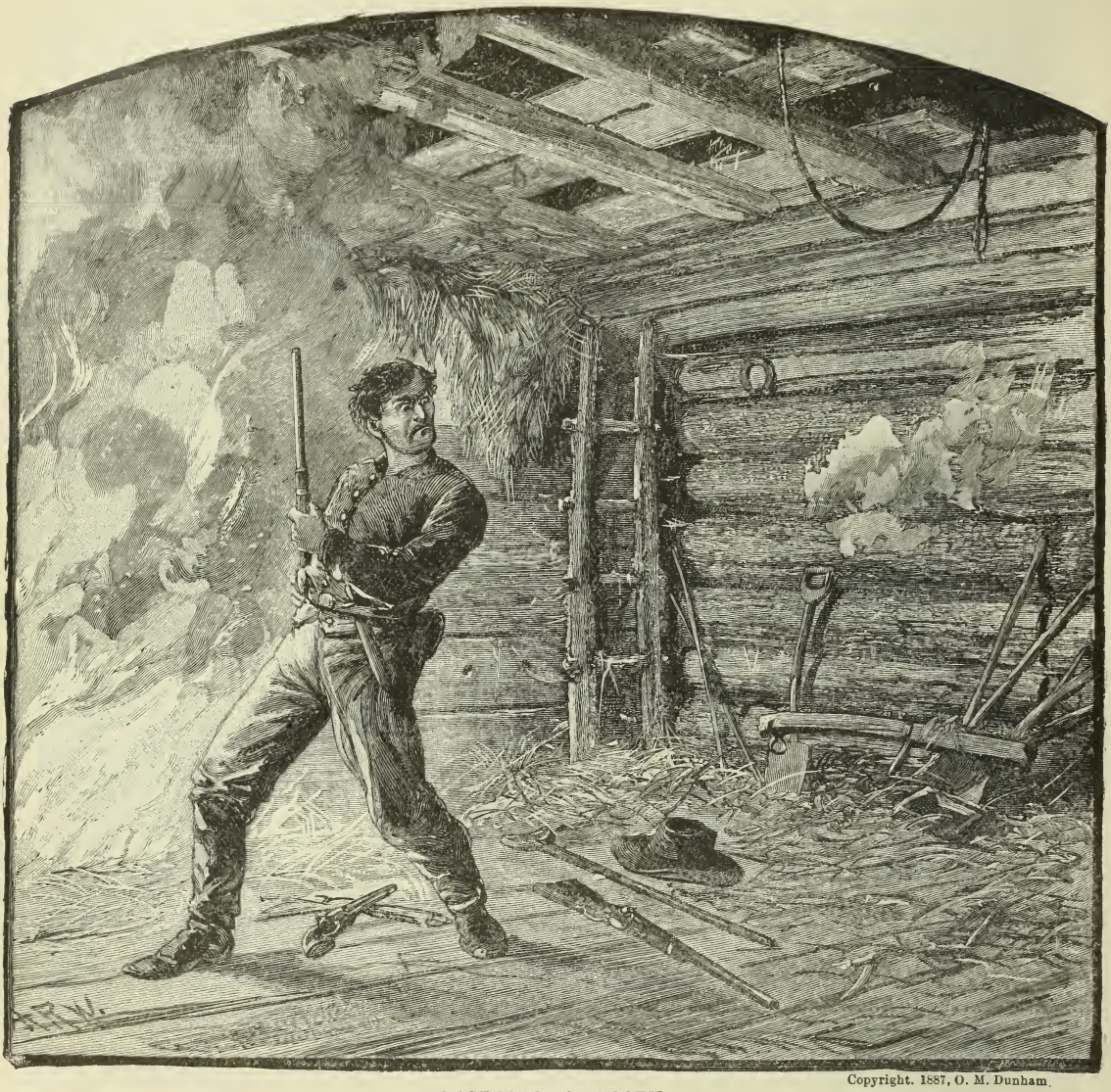


ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

It was immediately perceived that a murderous conspiracy had been formed to overthrow the Government by assassination. At the same hour another murderer, named Lewis Payne Powell, burst into the bed-chamber of Secretary Seward, who had been disabled by an accident, sprang upon the couch of the sick man, stabbed him nigh unto death, and made his escape into the night. The city was wild with alarm and excitement. The telegraph flashed the news throughout the land, and a tremor of alarm and rage ran everywhere. Troops of cavalry and the police of Washington departed in all directions to hunt down the conspirators. On the 26th of April, Booth was found concealed in a barn south of Fredericksburg. Refusing to surrender, he was shot by Sergeant Boston Corbett, and was dragged forth from the burning building to die. Powell was caught, convicted, and hanged. His fellow-conspirators, David E. Herrold and George A. Atzerott, together with Mrs. Mary E. Surratt, at whose house the plot was formed, were also condemned and executed. Michael O'Laughlin, Doctor Samuel A. Mudd, and Samuel Arnold were sentenced to imprisonment for life in the Dry Tortugas, and Edward Spangler for a term of six years.

Thus ended in darkness, but not in shame, the strange career of Abraham Lincoln. He was one of the most remarkable men of any age or country—a man in whom the qualities of genius and common sense were strangely mingled. He was prudent, far-sighted, and resolute; thoughtful, calm, and just; patient, tender-hearted, and great. The manner of his death consecrated his memory. Thrown by murder from the high seat of power, he fell into the arms of the American people, who laid him down as tenderly as children lay their father on the couch of death. The funeral pageant was prepared on a scale never before equaled in the New World. From city to city, in one vast procession, the mourning people followed his remains to their last resting-place in Springfield. From all nations rose the voice of sympathy and shame—sympathy for his death, shame for the dark crime that caused it.

Lincoln fell at an hour when, to all human seeming, the American people could least spare his services. The great Rebellion of the Southern States was tottering into oblivion, but the restoration of the Union remained to



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LAST HOUR OF BOOTH.

be accomplished. Who but Lincoln, in such a crisis, was fitted for such a work? His temper, after the overthrow of Lee, showed conclusively the trend of his thoughts and sympathies—his sincere desire for peace, his love for all men of all sections.

The words of mercy were upon his lips,
Forgiveness in his heart and on his pen,
When the vile murderer brought swift eclipse
To thoughts of peace on earth, good-will towards men.

The Old World and the New, from sea to sea,
Uttered one voice of sympathy and shame!
Sore heart, so stopped when it at last beat free;
Sad life, cut short just as its triumph came!

A deed accursed! Strokes have been struck before
By the assassin's hand, whereof men doubt
If more of horror or disgrace they bore;
But thy foul crime, like Cain's, stands darkly out.

Vile hand! that branded murder on a strife,
Whate'er its grounds, stoutly and nobly striven,
And with the martyr's crown crownest a life
With much to praise, little to be forgiven![1]

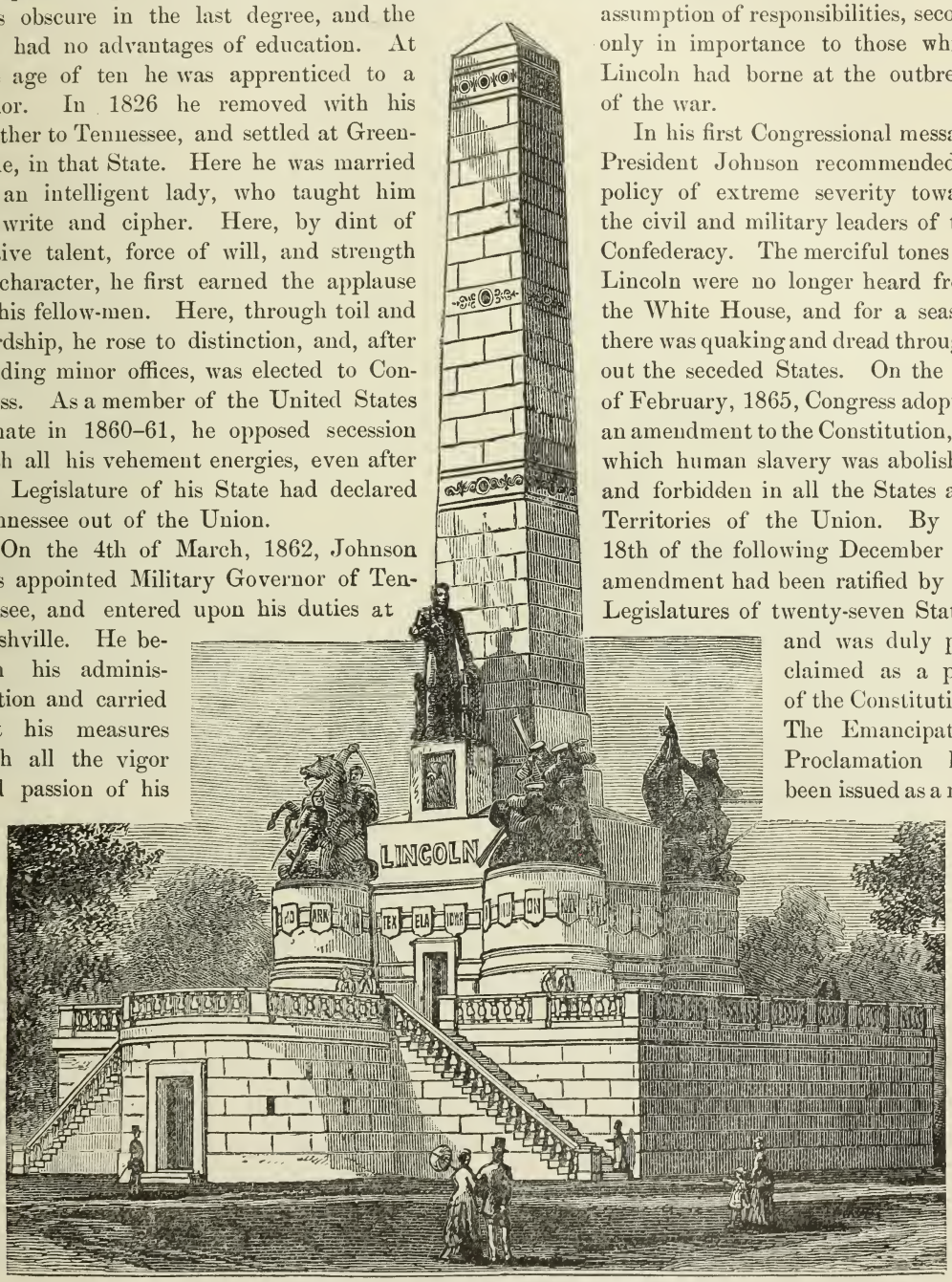
The death of Lincoln made necessary the immediate elevation of Andrew Johnson to the Presidency. On the day after the assassination he took the oath of office, and entered at once upon his duties as Chief Magistrate. He was

[1] From the London *Punch* of May 6, 1865.

a native of North Carolina, born in Raleigh, on the 29th of December, 1808. His boyhood was passed in poverty and neglect. The family was obscure in the last degree, and the son had no advantages of education. At the age of ten he was apprenticed to a tailor. In 1826 he removed with his mother to Tennessee, and settled at Greenville, in that State. Here he was married to an intelligent lady, who taught him to write and cipher. Here, by dint of native talent, force of will, and strength of character, he first earned the applause of his fellow-men. Here, through toil and hardship, he rose to distinction, and, after holding minor offices, was elected to Congress. As a member of the United States Senate in 1860–61, he opposed secession with all his vehement energies, even after the Legislature of his State had declared Tennessee out of the Union.

On the 4th of March, 1862, Johnson was appointed Military Governor of Tennessee, and entered upon his duties at Nashville. He began his administration and carried out his measures with all the vigor and passion of his nature. There was no quailing, no spirit of compromise. His life was frequently imperiled; but he fed on danger, and grew strong under the onsets of his enemies. He held the office of Governor until 1864, when he was nominated and elected to the Vice-presidency in place of Mr. Hamlin. Now, by the tragic death of the President, he was called suddenly to the assumption of responsibilities, second only in importance to those which Lincoln had borne at the outbreak of the war.

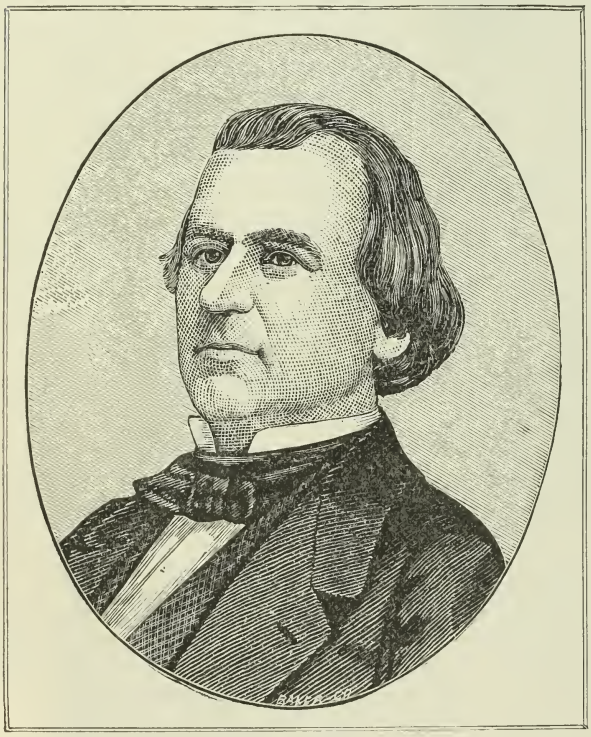
In his first Congressional message President Johnson recommended a policy of extreme severity toward the civil and military leaders of the Confederacy. The merciful tones of Lincoln were no longer heard from the White House, and for a season there was quaking and dread throughout the seceded States. On the 1st of February, 1865, Congress adopted an amendment to the Constitution, by which human slavery was abolished and forbidden in all the States and Territories of the Union. By the 18th of the following December the amendment had been ratified by the Legislatures of twenty-seven States, and was duly proclaimed as a part of the Constitution. The Emancipation Proclamation had been issued as a military measure, and although the institution of slavery had fallen to pieces at the touch of the pen of Lincoln, it was deemed necessary to complete the work by statutory and Constitutional enactments. Thus were the doctrines



TOMB OF LINCOLN AT SPRINGFIELD.

and logical results of the war incorporated forever in the fundamental law of the land.

From the first, the President was confronted with the great questions arising out of the conflict. What, for instance, should be done with the leaders of the Rebellion? On this issue the voice of Lincoln was heard out of the grave. On the 29th of May, 1865, the AMNESTY PROCLAMATION was issued by the President. By its provisions a general pardon was extended to all persons—except those specified in certain classes—who had participated in the organization and defense of the Confederacy.



ANDREW JOHNSON.

The condition of pardon was that those receiving it should take an oath of allegiance to the United States. The excepted persons might also be pardoned on special application to the President.

During the summer of 1865 the great armies were disbanded, and the victors and vanquished returned to their homes to resume the work of peace. One of the most striking scenes ever witnessed in the country was the great military parade and review at Washington City. It was the closing pageant of the war. About seventy-five thousand Union soldiers, including Sherman's army from Carolina, paraded the streets, and passed the reviewing stand, where the President and principal officers, civil and military, of the United States were on the platform. After this the soldiers, as an organized force, melted rapidly away, and were resolved into the ranks of citizenship.

The close of the war left the finances of the Nation in a condition most alarming. The war-debt, already piled mountains high, went on increasing until the beginning of 1866, and it was only by herculean exertions that national bankruptcy could be warded off. The yearly interest on the debt had increased to $133,000,000 in gold. The expenses of the government had reached an aggregate of $200,000,000 annually. But the augmented revenues of the Nation and the energy and skill of the financial management of the treasury proved sufficient to meet the enormous outlay, and at last the debt began to be slowly diminished. On the 5th of December, 1865, a resolution was passed in the House of Representatives pledging the faith of the United States to the full payment of the National indebtednes, both principal and interest.

During the whole period of the Civil War the vital interests, not to say the existence, of the United States were constantly menaced by the hostility of foreign powers. Of all the great monarchies of Europe, only Russia had been sincerely and at heart favorable to the cause of the Union. The Government of Great Britain, from first to last, sympathized with the Confederacy—not, indeed, that she was in love with the institution of slavery, but that she secretly hoped for the dismemberment of the American Republic. Napoleon III., Emperor of the French, cherished plans, not a few, to aid the Confederate States, and to precipitate, if possible, the downfall of the Union. His schemes embraced particularly the institution of a French Empire in Mexico. In that country the distracted condition of affairs furnished abundant opportunities for foreign interference. A French army was sent into Mexico. The constituted authorities were overawed, an Imperial government was organized, and early in 1864 the crown was offered to Maximilian, archduke of Austria. The lat-



REVIEW OF THE UNION ARMY AT WASHINGTON.

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ter repaired to Mexico, set up his government, and sustained it for a season, with the aid of French and Austrian soldiers. But the Mexican President, Benito Pablo Juarez, headed a revolution against the usurping Maximilian; and the Government of the United States rebuked France for her palpable and willful violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Napoleon, at length, became alarmed, and withdrew his army. Maximilian, thus left without support, was quickly overthrown and driven from the capital. He fled to the city of Queretaro, where he was besieged, and finally taken prisoner. On the 13th of June, 1867, he was tried by court-martial, and condemned to be shot. Six days afterwards the sentence was carried into execution. Maximilian met his fate like a hero. His death and the sad insanity of the Empress Carlotta awakened the commiseration, if not the sympathy, of mankind for the ill-starred enterprise in which the misguided prince had lost his life, and his queen her reason. The scheme of Napoleon, who had hoped to profit by the calamitous civil war in the United States, to gain a foothold in the New World and restore the ascendency of the Latin race west of the Atlantic, was justly brought to shame and contempt.

After a few weeks of successful operation, the first Atlantic telegraph, laid by Cyrus W. Field in 1858, had ceased to work. The friends of the enterprise were, for a season, greatly disheartened. Not so, however, with Mr. Field, who continued, both in Europe and America, to agitate the claims of his measure and to plead for assistance. He made fifty voyages across the Atlantic, and finally secured sufficient capital to begin the laying of a second cable. The work was begun from the coast of Ireland in the summer of 1865. When the steamer *Great Eastern* had proceeded more than twelve hundred miles on her way to America, the cable parted and was lost. But Mr. Field held on to his enterprise. Six millions of dollars had been spent in unsuccessful attempts, but still he persevered. In July of 1866 a third cable, two thousand miles in length, was coiled in the *Great Eastern*, and again the vessel started on her way. This time the work was completely successful. In a short time the same great vessel returned to mid-ocean, and, recovering the lost cable from the depths, carried the second line successfully to the American coast. After twelve years of unremitting effort, Mr. Field received a gold medal from the Congress of his country, and the plaudits of all civilized nations.

On the 1st of November, 1864, an act was passed by Congress, establishing the Postal Money-Order System of the United States. The design of the measure was to secure a safe and convenient method of transmitting small sums of money through the mails. Notwithstanding the invaluable benefits of the system, it was at first received with little favor. In 1870 there were two thousand and seventy-six post-offices from which money-orders were issued. During that year the amount transmitted was more than thirty-four millions of dollars. The orders for 1875 numbered five million six thousand three hundred and thirty-three, and the amount of money sent amounted to more than seventy-seven millions of dollars. Of all the orders issued during that year, only twenty-seven were paid to persons not entitled to the proceeds. Postal conventions have already been held, and the arrangements completed for the exchange of American money-orders with Switzerland, Great Britain, and Germany. The requirements of civilization will no doubt soon demand similar compacts among all enlightened nations.

The Administration of President Johnson is noted as the time when the Territories of the United States were given approximately their final forms. The vast domains west of the Mississippi were reduced by Congressional enactments to proper geographical limits, and were organized with a view to an early admission into the Union as States. A large part of the work had been accomplished during the Administration of Lincoln. In March of 1861, the Territory of Dakota, destined, after twenty-seven years, to become two great States, was detached from Nebraska on the north, and given a distinct political organization. The Territory embraced an area of one hundred and fifty thousand square miles. The State of Kansas had at last, on the 29th of January, 1861, been admitted into the Union, under a constitution framed at Wyandotte. In February of 1863, Arizona, with an area of one hundred and thirteen thousand square miles, was separated from New Mexico on the west, and

organized as an independent Territory. On the 3d of March of the same year, Idaho was organized out of portions of Dakota, Nebraska, and Washington Territories, and on the 26th of May, 1864, Montana, with an area of one hundred and thirty-six thousand square miles, was cut off from the eastern part of Idaho. By this measure the area of the latter Territory was reduced to eighty-six thousand square miles. On the 1st of March, 1867, the Territory of Nebraska, reduced to its present area of seventy-six thousand square miles, was admitted into the Union as the thirty-seventh State.



DOWN THE YUKON, ALASKA.

Finally, on the 26th of July, 1868, the Territory of Wyoming, with an area of ninety-eight thousand square miles, was organized out of portions of Dakota, Idaho, and Utah. Thus were the Territories of the great West reduced

to their present limits, as represented in the accompanying map.

The year 1867 was also signalized by the PURCHASE OF ALASKA. Two years previously this country had been explored by a corps of American scientists, with a view of establishing telegraphic communication between the United States and Asia by way of Behring Strait. The report of the exploration showed that Alaska was by no means the worthless country which it had been supposed to be. It was found that the coast fisheries, including the products of the seal-islands, were of very great value, and that the forests of white pine and yellow cedar were among the finest in the world. Negotiations for the purchase of the peninsula were accordingly opened with Russia by Mr. Seward, the American Secretary of State, and on the 30th of March, 1867, a treaty was concluded by which, for the sum of seven million two hundred thousand dollars, Alaska was purchased by the United States. The territory thus added to the domains of the Republic embraced an area of five hundred and eighty thousand square miles, and a population of twenty-nine thousand souls.

CHAPTER CXXV.—EPOCH OF RECONSTRUCTION.

VERY soon after his accession to the Chief Magistracy, serious disagreements arose between President Johnson and the two Houses of Congress. The difficulty grew out of the great question of reörganizing the Southern States. Strangely enough, the particular point in dispute was the theoretical one as to the relation which those States had sustained to the Federal Union during the Civil War. If both parties to the quarrel had limited their views to the settlement of the *practical* issues before them, the questions involved might have been of easy solution. But the one party was as stubborn and dogmatic as the other was angry and demagogical. The President held, in brief, that the Ordinances of Secession had been, in their very nature, null and void, and that therefore the seceded States had never been out of the Union. On the other hand, the majority in Congress held that the acts of secession were indeed illegal and unconstitutional, but that the seceded States had nevertheless been actually detached from the Union, and that special legislation and special guarantees were necessary to restore them to their former relation under the Government. Such was the real foundation of the disputes by which the question of reconstructing the Southern States was so seriously embarrassed. If the Chief Executive had been a man of Lincoln's character, or if Congress had been less influenced by its passions, by its growing dislike of the President, and by many other ulterior motives, the difficulty might have been allayed or wholly obviated.

In the summer of 1865 the work of reconstruction was undertaken by the President, in accordance with his own plans. On the 9th of May he issued a proclamation for the restoration of Virginia to the Union. Twenty days afterward another proclamation was issued, establishing a provisional government for South Carolina, and at brief intervals similar measures were adopted in respect to the other States of the late Confederacy. On the 24th of June the President proclaimed all retrictions removed on trade and intercourse with the Southern States. On the 7th of the following September a second Amnesty Proclamation was issued, by which *all* persons who had upheld the Confederate cause, except the leaders, were unconditionally pardoned.

In the meantime, Tennessee had been reörganized, and in 1866 was restored to its place in the Union. But while these measures were carried out, Congress was pursuing its own line of policy with regard to the reconstruction of the Southern States. During the session of 1865–66 a Committee of Fifteen was appointed by that body to whom all matters appertaining to the reörganization of the States of the overthrown Confederacy should be referred. Soon afterwards the CIVIL RIGHTS BILL was passed, the object of which was to secure to the freed-

men of the South the full exercise of citizenship. The measure was opposed and vetoed by the President, but was immediately repassed by a two-thirds Congressional majority. It was the beginning of the open break between Mr. Johnson and Congress. On the occasion of the celebration of Washington's birthday, the bill was severely denounced by the President in a speech delivered in front of the Executive mansion. The position assumed by Congress was declared to be a new rebellion against the Government of the United States. In subsequent speeches and messages the same sentiments were reïterated, and the attitude of the Executive and the Legislative departments became constantly more unfriendly.

In the summer of 1866 a call was issued for a National convention, to be held in Philadelphia on the 14th of August. It was believed that the President was behind the movement. The objects had in view were not very clearly defined; but it was understood that the general condition of the country would be considered, measures of National policy discussed, and all the political elements in opposition to the majority in Congress be consolidated into a new political party, with which the President's name would be associated in leadership. At the appointed time delegates from all the States and Territories were present. Many members of the Republican party took part in the movement, and the convention was not lacking in enthusiasm. Still the meeting, as all other factious assemblages, exercised but little permanent influence on the affairs of the country.

The President, perceiving that the Philadelphia convention was of no effect, now made another effort to rally public opinion in favor of his policy. In the latter part of August he set out from Washington, accompanied by General Grant, Admiral Farragut, the leading members of the Cabinet, and other prominent officials, to make a tour of the Northern States. The ostensible object of the excursion was that the President might be present at the laying of the corner-stone of a monument to Senator Douglas at Chicago. Departing from the Capital, the Presidential party passed through Philadelphia, New York, and Albany, and after taking part in the ceremonies at Chicago, returned by way of St. Louis, Indianapolis, Louisville, Cincinnati, and Pittsburg. At all the principal towns and cities through which he passed the President spoke freely to the crowds in defense of his own policy, and in denunciation of that of Congress.

The whole journey was a scene of intense excitement and partisan animosity. The general effect of the President's course was disastrous to him and his political adherents. In the elections of the following autumn the measures and attitude of Congress were sustained, and most of the members of that body re-elected by increased popular majorities. Nevertheless, the result of the election had little effect in altering the President's views or softening his feelings towards the Legislative department of the Government. His stubborn nature yielded in nothing, even when the voice of the Northern people was heard as the voice of many waters.

By degrees the affairs and status of the Administration grew critical. When Congress convened, in December of 1866, the policy of the President was severely condemned. The attitude of all parties had strangely changed. It had been believed and feared that Mr. Johnson would pursue a course of angry retribution towards those who had been engaged in the rebellion. Now it was believed and openly charged that he had gone over to the Confederate party. Though he had begun from premises which had been laid by Lincoln, he had reached practical conclusions therefrom which were offensive, not to say shocking, to the great majority of those who had upheld the Government during the war. Congress, in its growing animosity to the President, had abandoned the milder principles of reconciliation, which Lincoln had evidently professed, and taken an attitude of relentless hostility towards the Confederate party in the South. Presently the Congressional committee appointed at the session of the previous year brought forward their report, embodying a full plan of reörganizing the Southern States. After much discussion the measures proposed by the committee were adopted by Congress, and the work of reconstruction was begun.

As the first condition for the reädmission of a State into the Union, it was enacted that the people of the same, by their Legislative Assembly, or otherwise, should ratify the Four-

teenth Amendment to the Constitution, which declared the citizenship of all persons born or naturalized in the United States. In furtherance of this policy, Congress at the same session passed an act requiring that in the National Territories the elective franchise should be granted without distinction of race or color before such Territory should be admitted into the Union. A similar measure was adopted with regard to the District of Columbia, forbidding the further restriction of the right of suffrage to White men. To all of these acts President Johnson opposed his veto; but in every case his objection was overcome by the two-thirds' majority of Congress.

For all practical purposes, the question respecting the method of reörganizing the Southern States resolved itself to this: Should the *civil* or the *military* plan of reconstruction be adopted? From the beginning the President had urged the superiority of the civil method. It was seen, however, by Congress and the North that to follow this method freely would be to remand at once the control of the lately seceded States into the hands of the old Confederate party. Right or wrong, it was determined by the majority that this should not be done. It was clear that if the leaders of the late Confederacy should return from all the Southern States as Representatives and Senators, and should combine, as they were certain to do, with the Democratic Representatives and Senators from the Northern States, the Republican party would be immediately overwhelmed by an adverse majority. It was therefore determined in Congress that the military and suppressive method of governing the seceded States should be employed, and that an alliance between the Black Republicans of the South and the White Republicans of the North was the safest combination for the interests of the Union. This view of the case was intensified by the hostility of the Executive, and henceforth there was open political war between the two departments of the Government.

On the 2d of March, 1867, an act was passed by Congress by which the ten seceded States were divided into five military districts, each district to be under control of a governor appointed by the President. After appointing the commanders required by this law, the chief magistrate asked the opinion of Mr. Stanbery, his Attorney-General, as to the validity of the Congressional measures of reconstruction. An answer was returned that most of the acts were null and void, and the President thereupon issued to the military commanders an order which virtually nullified the whole proceeding. Congress now passed a supplemental act declaring the meaning of the previous law, and the process of reörganization went on in accordance with the Congressional plan. The work, however, was greatly retarded by the distracted counsels of the Government, and the chaotic condition of affairs in the South. But in due time the States of Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina were reconstructed, and in the months of June and July, 1868, were reädmitted into the Union. In every case, however, the readmission was effected against the protest and over the veto of the President.

Meanwhile, a difficulty arose in the President's Cabinet which led to his impeachment. On the 21st of February, 1868, he notified Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, of his dismissal from office. Such a circumstance had never before arisen in the administrative history of the country. The act was regarded by Congress as a usurpation of authority and a violation of law on the part of the President. The reconstruction difficulties had already broken off all friendly relations between the two Houses and the Executive. Accordingly, on the 3d of March, articles of impeachment were agreed to by the House of Representatives, in accordance with the forms of the Constitution; and the cause against the President was immediately remanded to the Senate for trial. Proceedings were instituted in that body on the 23d of March, and continued until the 26th of May, when the question was submitted to a vote of the Senators, acting as judges, and Mr. Johnson was aquitted. His escape from an adverse verdict, however, was very narrow — a two-thirds' majority was required to convict, and but *a single vote* was wanting to that result. Salmon P. Chase, who, after his retirement from the Secretaryship of the Treasury, had been appointed Chief-Justice of the United States, presided over this remarkable trial, the first

of its kind which had ever distracted, not to say disgraced, the history of the country.

After the impeachment the Administration of Johnson drew sullenly to a close. The time for another Presidential election was at hand, and General Ulysses S. Grant was nominated by the Republicans for the Chief-magistracy. On the Democratic side the nomination was given to Horatio Seymour, of New York. The canvass was attended with great excitement. The attention of the people, still agitated by the recent strife through which the Nation had passed, could not be diverted from the question and issues of the Civil War. The principles recently agitated by the majority in Congress were made the basis of the Republican platform of 1868, and on that platform General Grant was chosen by a very large electoral majority. The votes of twenty-six States, amounting in the aggregate to two hundred and fourteen ballots, were cast in his favor, while his competitor received only the eighty votes of the remaining eleven States. Of the popular vote, however, Mr. Seymour obtained 2,703,600 against 3,013,188 given to General Grant. At the same election the choice for the Vice-presidency fell on Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana.

Ulysses S. Grant, eighteenth President of the United States, was a native of Ohio, born at Point Pleasant, in that State, April 27, 1822. His boyhood was uneventful. At the age of seventeen he entered the United States Military Academy, at West Point, and was graduated in 1843. As a Lieutenant and Captain he served with distinction, and was promoted for gallantry in the Mexican War. After the close of that conflict he retained his connection with the army for some years, and then resigned his commission. He became a merchant, resided near St. Louis, and afterwards at Galena, Illinois. At the outbreak of the Civil War he was living in obscurity, nor could any have foreseen the probability of his emergence. His first national reputation was won by the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson, in 1862. After Shiloh, he was conspicuous as a Union commander; but was for awhile held back by gloomy and adverse circumstances, sufficient to have driven a less resolute and taciturn spirit from the field of view. With Vicksburg his star came into the ascendant, and was never again clouded. In March of 1864 he received the appointment of Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Union army. His subsequent career at the head of that army has been already narrated. At the close of the war his reputation, though strictly military, was very great, and his complications in the imbroglio between President Johnson and Congress heightened rather than diminished the estimation in which he was held by his countrymen.

At the Republican Convention in Chicago, on the 21st of May, 1868, General Grant had

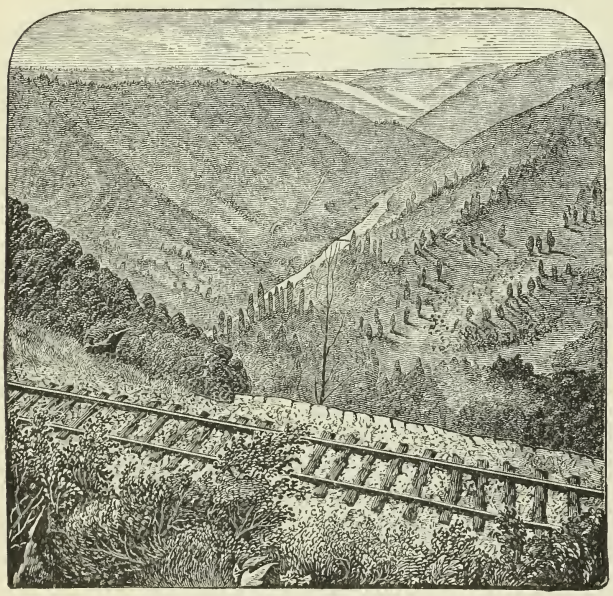


ULYSSES S. GRANT.

no competitor; he was unanimously nominated on the first ballot. On the day following his inauguration as President he sent to the Senate the following nominations for his Cabinet: For Secretary of State, Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois; for Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander T. Stewart, of New York; for Secretary of the Interior, Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio; for Secretary of the Navy, Adolph E. Borie, of Pennsylvania; for Secretary of War, John M. Schofield, of Illinois; for Postmaster-General, John A. J. Cresswell, of Maryland; for Attorney-General, E. R. Hoar, of Massachusetts. These nominations were at once confirmed; but it was soon discovered

that Mr. Stewart, being an importer of foreign goods, was ineligible to a position in the Cabinet. George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, was accordingly appointed to the vacant position. Mr. Washburne also gave up his office to accept the position of Minister to France, and the vacancy was filled by the appointment of Hamilton Fish, of New York.

The first event by which the new Administration was signalized was the completion of the Pacific Railroad. We have seen how this vast enterprise was projected as early as 1853, but ten years elapsed before the work of construction was actually begun. The first division of the road extended from Omaha, Nebraska, to Ogden, Utah, a distance of a thousand and thirty-two miles. This great span was known as the Union Pacific Railway. The Western division, called the Central Pacific, stretched from Ogden to San Francisco, a distance of eight hundred and eighty-two miles. On the 10th of May, 1869, the great work was completed with appropriate ceremonies.



CENTRAL PACIFIC RAILWAY, SIERRA NEVADA.

Before the inauguration of President Grant, two additional amendments to the Constitution had been adopted by Congress. The first of these, known as the Fourteenth Amendment, extended the rights of citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and declared the validity of the public debt. This amendment was submitted in 1867, was ratified by three-fourths of the States, and in the following year became a part of the Constitution. A few weeks before the expiration of Johnson's term the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted by Congress, providing that the rights of citizens of the United States *to vote* should not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. This article also, which was intended to confer the right of suffrage on the emancipated Black men of the South, was submitted to the States, received the sanction of three-fourths of the Legislatures, and on the 30th of March, 1870, was proclaimed by the President as a part of the Constitution.

During the last years of the war, and the decade following, the monetary affairs of the United States were in such condition as to furnish opportunity for great frauds and the wildest speculations. The buying and selling of gold, made necessary at first by the exigencies of commerce, became at length a fictitious process, and was so manipulated by the speculators, especially those having their haunts about the Gold Room in New York City, as to unsettle the business of the whole country. Crisis after crisis was reached and passed, marking so many disasters to the monetary affairs of the people. In the fall of 1869 occurred the most extraordinary excitement of all. Perhaps no other scheme of equal extent and shrewd contrivance was ever concocted in the financial marts of the world. A company of unscrupulous speculators in New York, headed by Jay Gould and James Fisk, jr., succeeded in producing what is known as a "corner" in the gold-market, and brought the business interests of the metropolis to the verge of ruin. Some account of the conditions which made possible the nefarious transaction in question may serve to render the event intelligible to the reader.

During the Civil War the credit of the Government had declined to such an extent that at one time a dollar in gold was worth two hundred and eighty-six cents in paper currency. Doubtless a part of this extraordinary premium on the precious metal was occasioned by the plethora of the Greenback and National

bank issues of paper money. But the greater part was due to an actual decline in the credit of the Government, a fear that the enormous war-debt would bear the Nation down to ultimate bankruptcy. After the restoration of the National authority, the value of paper money appreciated, and in the fall of 1869 the ratio of gold to the Greenback dollar had fallen off to about one hundred and thirty to one hundred. There were at this time in the banks of New York about $15,000,000 in gold coin, and in the sub-treasury of the United States, in Wall Street, a hundred millions additional. The plan of Gould and Fisk was to get control, by purchase, of the greater part of the $15,000,000; to prevent the Secretary of the Treasury from selling any part of the hundred millions under his authority; then, having control of the market, to advance the price of gold to a fabulous figure, sell out all which they held themselves, and retire from the field of slaughtered fortunes with accumulated millions of spoils.

Having carefully arranged the preliminaries, the conspirators, on the 13th of September, began their work by purchasing large sums of gold, at the same time constantly advancing the price. As has been said, the process was wholly fictitious. No real gold was delivered to the purchasers, the sellers simply agreeing to deliver at a certain price at a future date. One party of the gamblers thus became bound to do for the other what they could not do except by going into the market and buying the amounts which they were to deliver. But the purchasers soon exhausted the market, and they who were said to be "short on gold" were at their mercy.

By the 22d of September the plotters had succeeded in putting the market price of gold up to a hundred and forty. On the following day the price rose to one hundred and forty-four. The members of the conspiracy now boldly declared their determination to advance the rate to two hundred, and it seemed that on the morrow they would put their threat into execution. By this time the whole business of the country stood quivering like an aspen in the wind, nor might any well foresee the results of the crisis. On the morning of the 24th, known as Black Friday, the bidding in the Gold Room began with intense excitement. The brokers of Fisk and Gould first advanced the price to a hundred and fifty, then to a hundred and fifty-five, and finally to one hundred and sixty, at which figure they were obliged to purchase several millions by a company of merchants, who had banded themselves together, determined to fight the gold-gamblers to the last. Just at this moment came a despatch that Mr. Boutwell, Secretary of the Treasury, had unsealed the hundred millions under his control, and had ordered four millions to be sold from the sub-treasury! The news occasioned an instantaneous panic. The price of gold went down twenty per cent. in less than as many minutes. The speculators were blown away in an uproar; but they managed, by accumulated frauds and corruptions, to carry off with them more than eleven million dollars as the profits of their game! Several months elapsed before the business of the country recovered from the effects of the shock.

During the first three months of 1870 the work of reconstructing the Southern States was completed. On the 24th of January the Senators and Representatives of Virginia were formally reädmitted to their seats in Congress, and the Old Dominion once more took her place in the Union. On the 23d of February a like action was taken with regard to Mississippi, and on the 30th of March the work was finished by the reädmission of Texas, the last of the seceded States. For the first time since December of 1860 the voice of the people of all of the States was heard in the councils of the Nation.

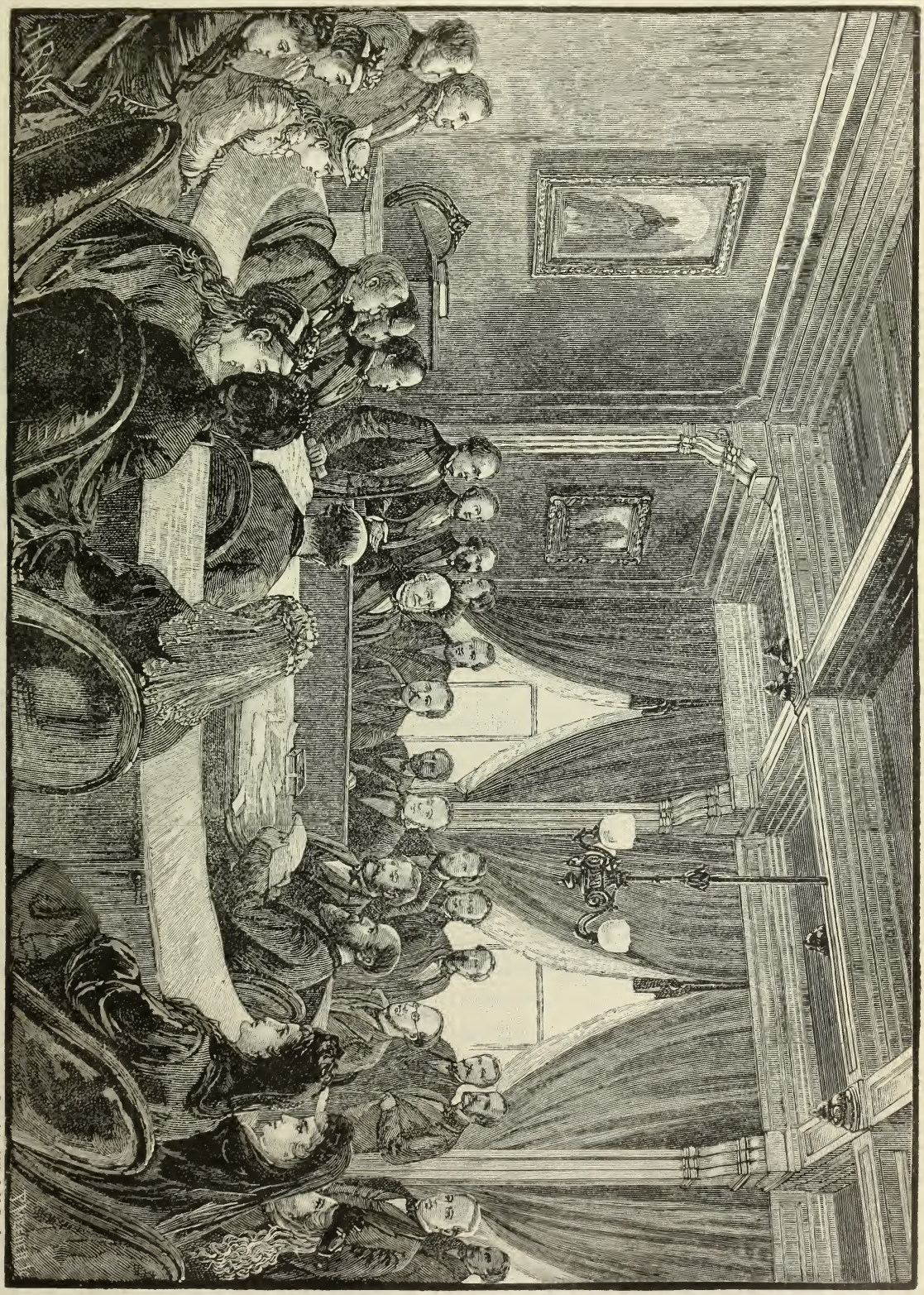
In the same year was completed the Ninth Census of the United States. It was a work of vast importance, and the results presented were of the most encouraging character. Notwithstanding the ravages of war, the last decade had been one of wonderful growth and progress. During that time the population had increased from 31,433,000 to 38,587,000. The center of population had now moved westward into the State of Ohio, and rested at a point fifty miles east of Cincinnati. The National debt, though still enormous, had been considerably reduced. The products of the United States had grown to a vast aggregate; even the cotton-crop of the South was regaining much of its former importance. American manufactures were competing with

those of England in the markets of the world. The Union now embraced thirty-seven States and eleven territories. From the narrow limits of the thirteen original Colonies, with their four hundred and twenty thousand square miles of territory, the National domain had spread to the vast area of three million six hundred and four thousand square miles. Few things have been more marvelous than the territorial growth of the United States. The purchase of Louisiana in 1803 more than doubled the geographical area of the Nation. The several Mexican acquisitions were only second in importance, while the recent Russian cession of Alaska was alone greater than the original Thirteen States. The nature of this territorial development will be best understood from an examination of the accompanying map.

President Grant was by nature a man of few projects. He was perhaps the least visionary of all the great Americans who have risen to distinction in the political history of the country. If he had any particular dream of distinguishing his Administration by some specific feature, it was the project of the annexation of Santo Domingo. He also had in mind the enterprise of extending and amplifying the relations, civil, political, and social, between the American Republic and Mexico. But with respect to the purchase of Santo Domingo he had a real anxiety. He promoted, and may be said to have originated, the agitation on that subject. In January of 1871 he appointed Senator Ben Wade, of Ohio; President Andrew D. White, of New York; and Dr. Samuel Howe, of Massachusetts, as a Board of Commissioners to visit Santo Domingo, and report upon the desirability of annexing that island to the United States. The question of annexation had been feebly before the American people for several years; but the actual proposal awakened earnest advocacy on one side, and strong opposition on the other. After three months spent abroad, the Commissioners returned and reported in favor of the proposed annexation. The matter was laid before Congress, but the opposition excited in that body was so great that the measure was defeated.

Now it was that the day of retribution came to Great Britain for her conduct towards the American Government during the Civil War. The unfriendliness which she had shown to the United States, and the great and positive damages done to American commerce by the Confederate cruisers fitted out in the English ports, had been laid up by the Federal Government unto the day of reckoning. The United States held serious accounts against Great Britain, which must be settled in some equitable manner before relations of harmony could be reëstablished. The Confederate cruisers had been built and equipped in the ports of England with the full knowledge of the Government. Such a proceeding was in plain violation of the law of nations. Even if the independence of the Confederate States had been recognized, it would still have been unlawful for the private war-ships of that power to be built, equipped, manned and sent forth from the ports of a nation pretending neutrality and friendliness to the United States. Time and again Mr. Seward had remonstrated with the British authorities, but without effect. As a matter of fact, the great monarchies of Western Europe believed and hoped that the American Republic had gone to pieces, that the bubble had burst, that the fragments of exploded republicanism, considered as a type of human government—a type most dangerous to themselves—were already drifting in the whirlpool. As a consequence, they assumed a tone and manner toward the American Government, as if to say: "We have said as much; the profits are now to us."

After the Civil War, however, Great Britain became alarmed at her own conduct, and grew anxious for a settlement of the difficulty. On the 27th of February, 1871, a Joint High Commission, composed of five British and five American statesman, assembled at Washington City. From the fact that the cruiser *Alabama* had done most of the injury complained of, the claims of the United States were called The Alabama Claims. After much discussion, the Commmissioners framed a treaty, known as the Treaty of Washington, by which it was agreed that all claims of either nation against the other should be submitted to a board of arbitration, to be appointed by friendly nations. Such a high court was accordingly formed, and in the summer of 1872 convened at Geneva, Switzerland. The cause

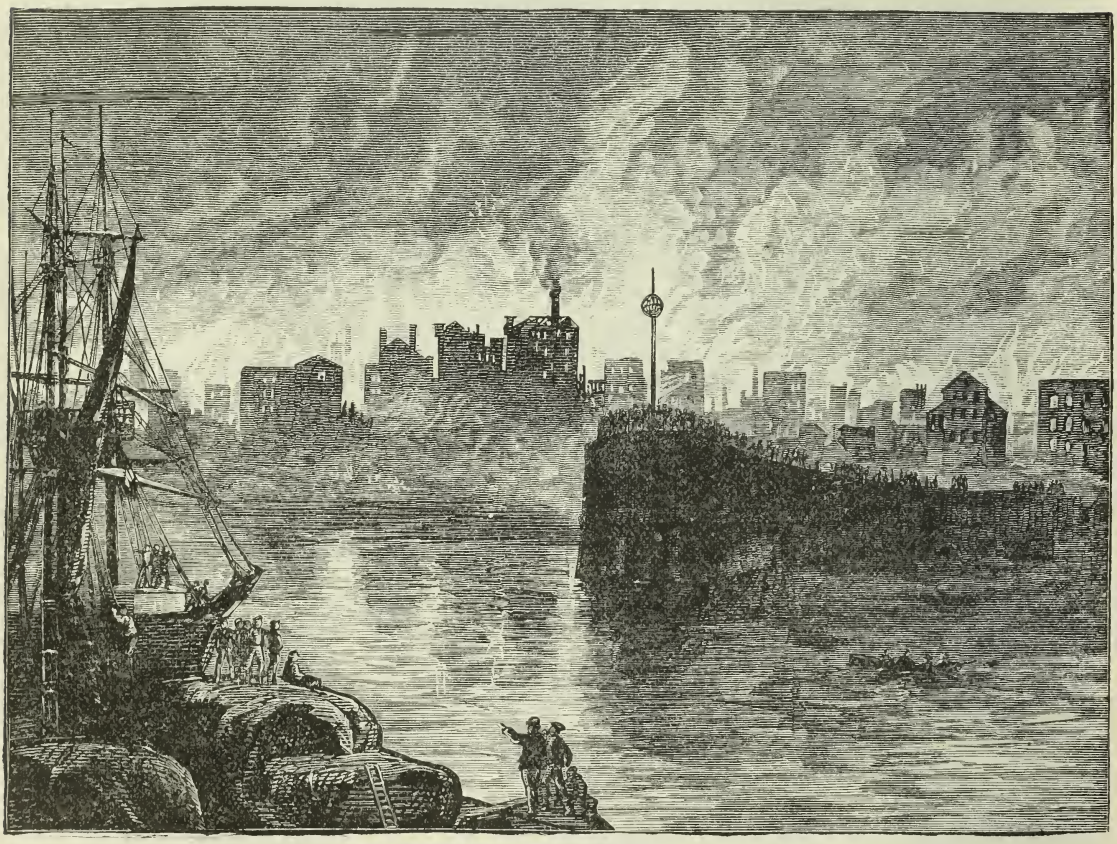


THE JOINT HIGH COMMISSION IN SESSION.

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of the two nations was impartially heard, and on the 14th of September was decided in favor of the United States. By the decision, Great Britain was obliged, for the wrongs which she had done, to pay to the Treasury of the American Government $15,500,000.

The year 1871 was remarkable as being the date when the railroad construction of the United States reached its maximum. In that year no less than seven thousand six hundred and seventy miles of railroad were constructed. There is, perhaps, no fact in the history of the world which exhibits so marvelous a development of the physical resources of a nation. Ere the mutterings of the Civil War, with its untold destruction of life and treasure, had died away, the recuperative power, enterprise, and genius of the American people were revealed as never before in establishing and extending the lines of commerce and travel. In 1830 there were but twenty-three miles of railway track in the New World. In 1840 the lines in the United States had been extended to two thousand eight hundred and eighteen miles. Ten years later there were nine thousand and twenty-one miles of track. According to the reports for 1860, the railroads of the country had reached the enormous extent of thirty thousand six hundred and thirty-five miles, and in the next ten years, embracing the period of the Civil War, the amount was nearly doubled. Such is the victory of free enterprise, free industry, and free thought. It may well surprise and instruct the student of history that the United States of America, just emerged from the furnace of war, and burdened with an enormous debt, built in the single year 1871 more miles of railway than Spain, whose daring navigators went forth four hundred years ago to discover the Western hemisphere, has ever built in her whole career!



BURNING OF CHICAGO.

The same year is noted for a calamity almost as vast in proportion as the enterprise just referred to was astonishing. The event in question was the burning of the city of Chicago. On the evening of the 8th of Octo-

ber a fire broke out in De Koven Street, and was driven by a high wind into the lumber-yards and wooden houses of the neighborhood. The flames spread with great rapidity, leaped the South Branch of the Chicago River, and began to roar through the business parts of the city. All that night and all the following day the deluge of fire rolled on; sprang across the main channel of the river, and swept into blackened ruins the whole district between the North Branch and Lake Michigan, as far northward as Lincoln Park. The area burned over was two thousand one hundred acres, or three and a third square miles. About two hundred lives were lost in the conflagration, and the property destroyed amounted to about $200,000,000. No such terrible devastation had been witnessed since the burning of Moscow, in 1812. In the extent of the district burned over, the Chicago fire stands first; in the amount of property destroyed, second; and in the suffering accasioned, third, among the great conflagrations of history.

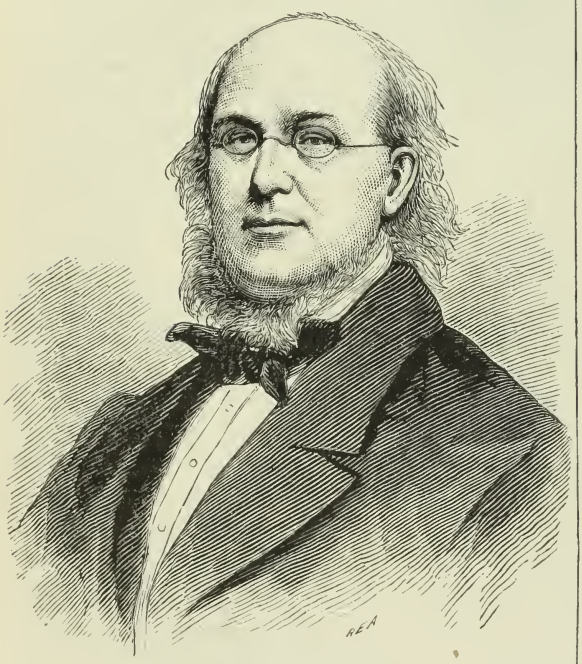
On the 21st of October, 1872, was settled the remaining dispute concerning the geographical boundaries of the United States. By the terms of the treaty of 1846 it was stipulated that the North-western boundary line, running westward along the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, should extend to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island, and thence southerly through *the middle of said channel* and of Fuca's Straits to the Pacific. But what was "the middle of said channel?" for there were several channels. The British Government claimed the Straits of Rosario to be the true line intended by the treaty, while the United States would have the Canal de Haro. So the question stood for a quarter of a century, and was then referred for settlement by arbitration to William I., Emperor of Germany. That monarch heard the cause, decided in favor of the United States, and the Canal de Haro became the international boundary.

The civil Administration of President Grant was embarrassed throughout by the military spirit and influences which still dominated the country. The President himself was a military man, a general of armies rather than a statesman. At this epoch the great men of the country had for the most part been connected with the war. Major-Generals and Brigadier-Generals swarmed in the halls of Congress and thronged the White House. The President was very far from desiring to introduce or retain military methods in the conduct of the Government. He had, in fact, but little sympathy with war and the processes by which it is carried on. But, on the other hand, he was not in sympathy with political methods, and knew nothing of the arts of the demagogue. As a natural result, he fell back upon the methods with which he was best acquainted, and the Administration was said, especially by his opponents, to have a military cast. On the whole, however, the President retained his powerful hold on the American people, nor was it likely, in the Presidential campaign of 1872, that any other could supplant him in their affections and political confidence.

As the quadrennial term drew to a close, the political parties marshaled their forces for the contest. Many parts of the Chief Magistrate's policy had been subjected to severe criticism and heated controversy. The Congressional plan of reconstructing the Southern States had prevailed, and with that plan the President was in full accord. But the reconstruction measures had been unfavorably received in the South, and were generally denounced by the Democratic party. The elevation of the negro race to the full rights of citizenship was met with much rational opposition, to say nothing of race prejudice and political rancor. Owing to the disorganization of civil government in the Southern States, an opportunity was given in certain districts for bad and reckless men to band themselves together in lawlessness. Organizations known as Ku-Klux Clans were formed against the constituted authorities, and the latter were frequently what was called "carpet-bag governments;" that is, governments instituted by political adventurers who had gone from the North into the South with their *carpet-bags* in their hands. The military spirit was still rife in the country, and the issues of the Civil War were rediscussed with much bitterness.

On these issues the people divided in the election of 1872. The Republicans renominated General Grant for the Presidency. For the Vice-presidency Mr. Colfax declined a

renomination, and was replaced on the ticket by Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts. On the other side there was for a while much confusion. It was doubtlessly foreseen by the Democratic leaders that any one of their own number would have small show of success against the taciturn hero of the Civil War. In the meantime, a large number of prominent Republicans, dissatisfied with the Administration, personally piqued at President Grant, and perhaps sincerely desiring to promote certain alleged reforms in the Government, had formed a Liberal-Republican party, and had nominated for the Presidency Horace Greeley, the distinguished editor of the New York *Tribune*. After some beating about, this nomination was accepted and ratified by the Democratic party, and the political contest was projected on this basis. It was destined to be the last act in the remarkable career of Horace Greeley. For more than thirty years he had been an acknowledged leader of public opinion in America. He had been a champion of human rights, an advocate of progress, an idealist, a philanthropist, a second Franklin, born out of due season. He had discussed with vehement energy and enthusiasm almost every question in which the people of the United States had any interest. After a life-time of untiring industry he was now, at the age of sixty-one, thrown into the forefront of political strife.



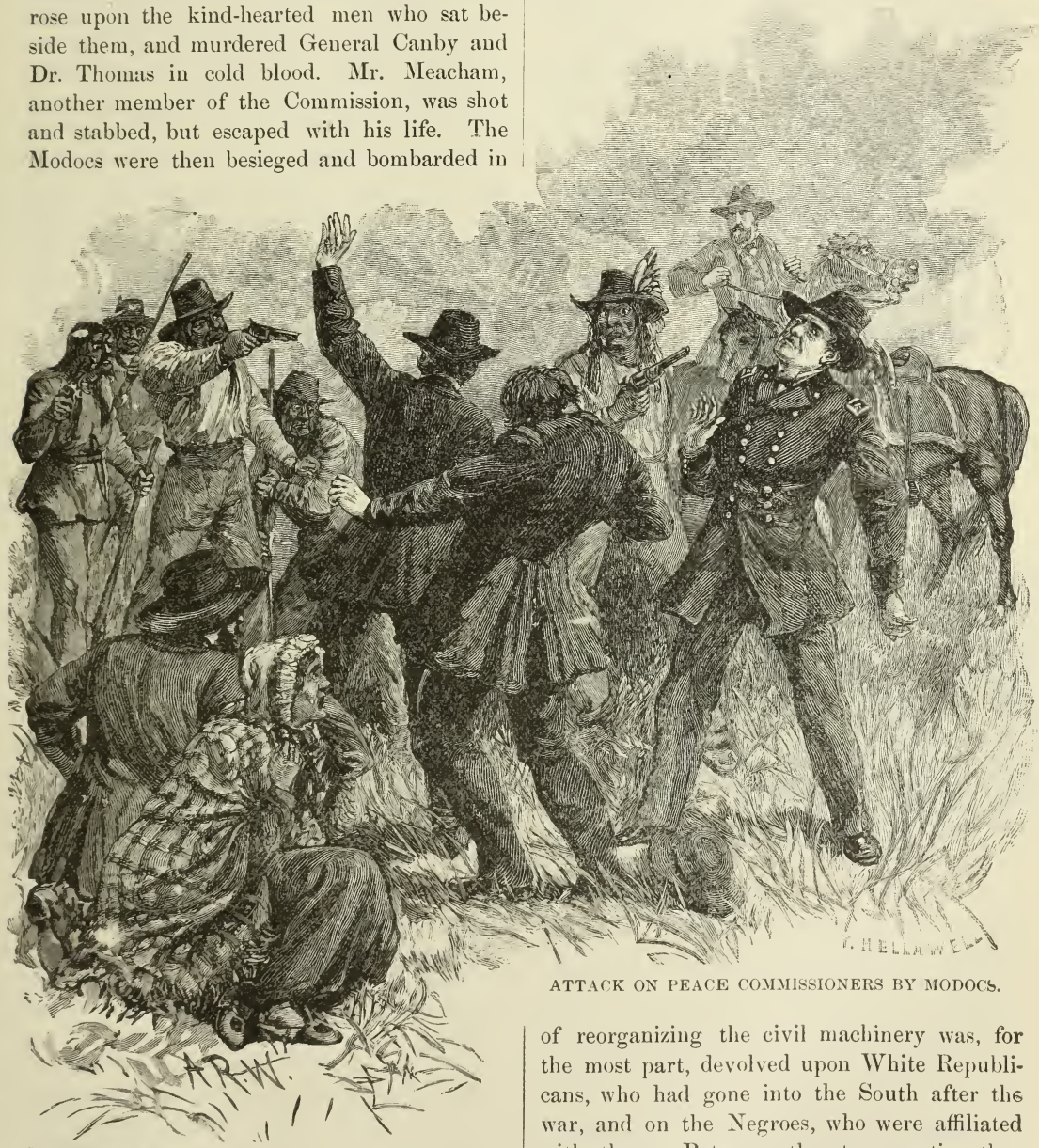
HORACE GREELEY.

The canvass was one of wild excitement and bitter denunciations. Mr. Greeley himself went before the people and spoke on the questions involved in the contest. But everything seemed adverse to his prospects. His own utterances, his strange personality, his long contentions with the Democratic party, the incongruity of his following, and many other things, were paraded effectively against him. He was overwhelmingly defeated. General Grant's majority was almost unprecedented in the political history of the country. Mr. Greeley, who had in the meantime retired from the editorship of the *Tribune*, attempted to resume his duties, but the shock had been too great for his physical and mental powers. He died in less than a month after the election, and with him ended the career of the greatest journalist which America has ever produced.

A few days after the Presidential election of 1872 the city of Boston was visited by a conflagration only second in its ravages to that of Chicago, in the previous year. On the evening of the 9th of November a fire broke out on the corner of Kingston and Summer streets, spread to the north-east, and continued with almost unabated fury until the morning of the 11th. The best portion of the city, embracing some of the finest business blocks in the United States, was laid in ashes. The burnt district covered an area of sixty-five acres. Eight hundred buildings, property to the value of eighty millions of dollars, and fifteen human lives were lost in the conflagration.

Our attention may now be turned for a moment to an event of some importance on the far-off Pacific Slope. In the spring of 1872 an order was issued to Superintendent Odeneal to remove the Modoc Indians from their lands, on the southern shore of Lake Klamath, Oregon, to a new reservation. The Indians, who had been greatly mistreated by former agents of the Government, refused to obey the order, and in the following November a body of troops was sent to force them into compliance. The Modocs resisted, kept up the war during the winter, and then retreated into an almost inaccessible region,

known as the Lava Beds. Here, in the following spring, the Indians were surrounded, but would not yield. On the 11th of April a conference was held between them and six members of the Peace Commission; but in the midst of the council the treacherous savages rose upon the kind-hearted men who sat beside them, and murdered General Canby and Dr. Thomas in cold blood. Mr. Meacham, another member of the Commission, was shot and stabbed, but escaped with his life. The Modocs were then besieged and bombarded in



ATTACK ON PEACE COMMISSIONERS BY MODOCS.

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their stronghold, but it was the 1st of June before General Davis and a force of regulars could compel Captain Jack and his murderous band to surrender. The chiefs were tried by court-martial, and executed in the following October.

. The system of government instituted in the Southern States, under the reconstruction policy of Congress, was very unsatisfactory. The old Confederate party in the South embraced the best elements of society. The work of reorganizing the civil machinery was, for the most part, devolved upon White Republicans, who had gone into the South after the war, and on the Negroes, who were affiliated with them. Between the two parties thus constituted a great hostility existed, and in some parts of the country the civil authority was in constant chaos and turmoil. In 1873 a difficulty arose in Louisiana which broke the peace of the State and produced much excitement. Owing to the existence of double

election-boards, two sets of Presidential electors had been chosen in the previous autumn. At the same time two Governors, William P. Kellogg and John McEnery, were elected, and rival Legislatures were also returned by the rival boards. Two State governments were organized, and for awhile the Commonwealth was in a condition bordering on anarchy.

The dispute was at length referred to the Federal Government, and the President decided in favor of Kellogg and his party. The rival Government was accordingly disbanded; but on the 14th of September, 1874, the party opposed to the administration of Kellogg, and led by D. B. Penn, who had been returned as Lieutenant-Governor with McEnery, rose in arms and took possession of the State-house. Governor Kellogg fled to the Custom-house, and appealed to the President for help. The latter immediately ordered the adherents of Penn to disperse, and a body of National troops was sent to New Orleans to enforce the proclamation. On the assembling of the Legislature in the following December the difficulty broke out more violently than ever, and the soldiery was again called in to restore order and settle the dispute.

About the beginning of President Grant's second term the country was greatly disturbed by what was known as the CREDIT MOBILIER INVESTIGATION in Congress. The "Credit Mobilier of America" was a joint-stock company, organized in 1863, for the purpose of facilitating the construction of public works. In 1867 another company, which had undertaken to build the Pacific Railroad, purchased the charter of the Credit Mobilier, and the capital was increased to $3,750,000. Owing to the profitableness of the work in which the company was engaged the stock rose rapidly in value, and enormous dividends were paid to the shareholders. The money was made by the subletting of the Pacific Railway contracts to the Credit Mobilier company by the directors of the railroad; that is, the managers of the railway company sublet the work *to themselves* as directors of the Credit Mobilier, at enormous prices. The railway was constructed in a large part by a subsidy, granted by the Government, and in this manner the directors of the Credit Mobilier got their hands without obstruction directly into the treasury of the United States. It was with the Credit Mobilier a *sine qua non* that the door which they had thus opened into the treasury vaults should not be closed; and, to prevent such possible obstruction, the managers resorted to wholesale corruption. In 1872 a lawsuit in Pennsylvania developed the startling fact that much of the stock of the Credit Mobilier *was owned by members of Congress!* The managers of the company had placed their certificates in wholesale quantities to the credit of Representatives, Senators, and other high officers in the Government. On these certificates large dividends were declared and paid to the holders of the shares. Many were thus enriched without the expenditure of a dollar. A suspicion that members of Congress holding the certificates had voted corruptly in legislation affecting the Pacific Railroad at once seized the public mind, and led to a Congressional investigation, in the course of which many scandalous transactions were brought to light, and the faith of the people in the integrity of their public servants was greatly shaken.

In the autumn of 1873 occurred one of the most disastrous financial panics known in the history of the United States. The alarm was given by the failure of the great banking-house of Jay Cooke & Co., of Philadelphia. Other failures followed in rapid succession. Depositors everywhere hurried to the banks, and withdrew their money and securities. Business was suddenly paralyzed, and many months elapsed before confidence was sufficiently restored to enable merchants and bankers to engage in the usual transactions of trade. The primary cause of the panic was the fluctuations in the volume and value of the National currency. Out of this had arisen a wild spirit of speculation which sapped the foundations of business, destroyed financial confidence, and ended in disaster.

Not the least of the evil results of the monetary disturbance was the check given to the construction of the Northern Pacific Railway. As early as 1864 a company had been organized, under a charter granted by Congress, to construct a railway from Lake Superior to Puget Sound. The work also contemplated the running of a branch road, two hundred miles in length, down the valley of the Columbia River to Portland, Oregon. Large subsi-

dies were granted to the company by Congress, and other favorable legislation was expected to follow. In 1870 the work of construction was begun and carried westward from Duluth, Minnesota. Jay Cooke's banking-house made heavy loans to this company, accepting as security the bonds of the road, for it was confidently expected that such legislation would be obtained as should secure the success of the enterprise and bring the bonds to par. In this condition of affairs the Credit Mobilier scandal was blown with its shocking effluvia before the country, and no Congress would have dared to vote further subsidies to a railway enterprise. Jay Cooke's securities became comparatively worthless; then followed the failures and the panic. The work of constructing the Northern Pacific line was suddenly arrested, and it was only after years of delay that the enterprise was prosecuted to success. In 1875 the section of four hundred and fifty miles, extending from Duluth to Bismarck, Dakota, was put into operation. Then another span, a hundred and five miles in length, between Kalama and Tacoma, in Washington Territory, was completed, and finally the whole line. Meanwhile the attention of the country was turned to the Texas and Pacific Railway, which had been projected from Shreveport, Louisiana, and Texarkana, Arkansas, by way of El Paso, Texas, to San Diego, California, a distance from Shreveport of fifteen hundred and fourteen miles. In 1875 the main line had been carried westward a hundred and eighty-nine miles, to Dallas, Texas, while the line from Texarkana had progressed seventy-five miles towards El Paso.

On the 4th of March, 1875, the Territory of Colorado was authorized by Congress to form a State Constitution. On the 1st of July, in the following year, the instrument thus provided for was ratified by the people. A month later the President issued his proclamation, and the "Centennial State" took her place in the Union. The new Commonwealth embraced an area of one hundred and four thousand five hundred square miles, and a population of forty-two thousand souls. Public attention was directed to Colorado by the discovery of gold in 1852. Silver was discovered about the same time, and in the winter of 1858–9 the first colony of miners was established on Clear Creek and in Gilpin County. The entire yield of gold up to the time of the admission of the State was estimated at more than seventy millions of dollars. Until 1859, Colorado constituted a part of Kansas; but in that year a convention was held in Denver, and in 1861 a distinct territorial organization was effected. Subsequently immigration became rapid and constant. Denver grew into an important city, and the new State was launched under auspices most favorable to her future rank and influence in the Union. It was at the epoch now under consideration that the great

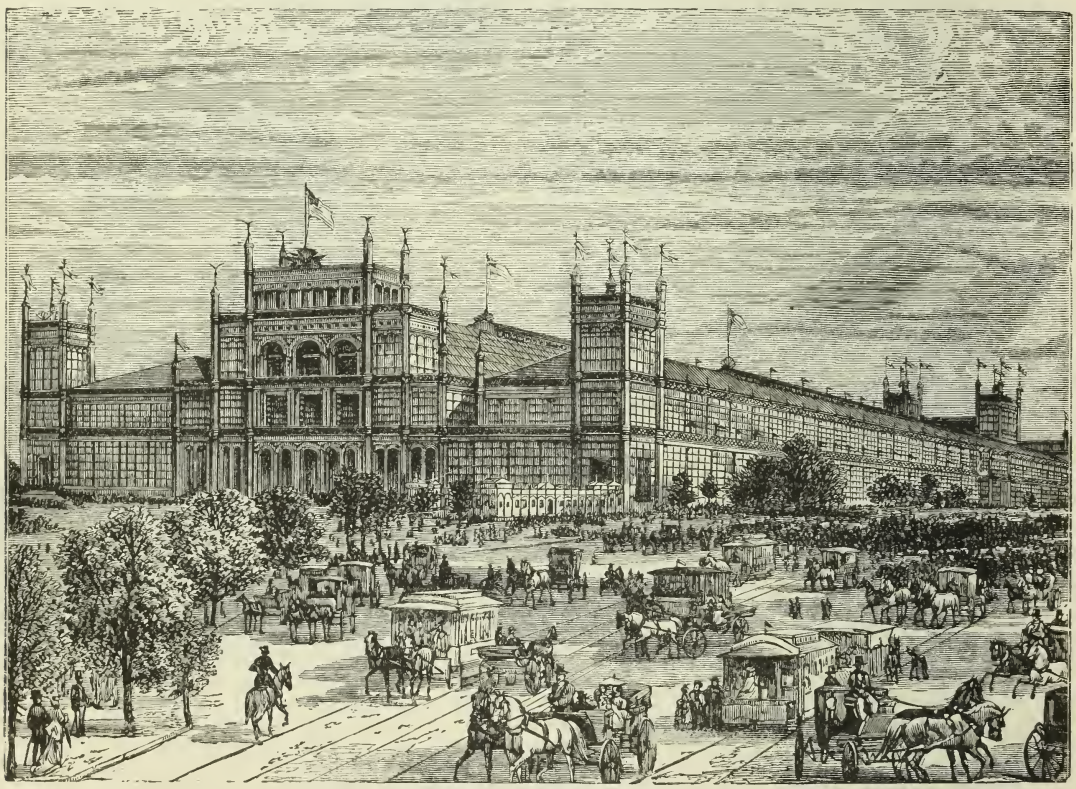


CHARLES SUMNER.

men whose character and genius had been developed in the stormy times of the Civil War began to drop from the ranks by the hand of death. One of the first and most conspicuous of these was Edward M. Stanton, Secretary of War under Lincoln, and more recently one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1870, General Robert E. Lee, President of Washington and Lee University; General George H. Thomas, and Admiral Farragut passed away. In 1872, William H. Seward, Professor Morse, Horace Greeley, and General Meade were all called from the scene of their earthly labors. On the 7th of May, 1873, Chief-Justice Chase fell

under a stroke of paralysis at the home of his daughter, in New York City; and on the 11th of March, in the following year, Senator Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, died at Washington. He was a native of Boston; born in 1811; liberally educated at Harvard College. At the age of thirty-five he entered the arena of public life, and in 1850 succeeded Daniel Webster in the Senate of the United States. This position he retained until the time of his death, speaking much and powerfully on all the great questions that agitated the Nation. His last days were spent in considering the interests and welfare of that country to whose service he had given the life-long energies of his genius. On the 22d of November, 1875, Vice-President Henry Wilson sank under a stroke of paralysis, and died in Washington City. Like Roger Sherman, he had risen from the shoemaker's bench to the highest honors of his country. Without the learning of Seward and Sumner—without the diplomatic skill of the one, or the oratorical fame of the other—he nevertheless possessed those great abilities and sterling merits which will transmit his name to after times as that of a patriot statesman.

As the CENTENNIAL OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE drew near, the people made ready to celebrate the great event with appropriate ceremonies. As to the *form* of the celebration, an International Exposition of Arts and Industries was decided on; as to the *place*, the city of Philadelphia, hallowed by Revolutionary memories, was selected; as to the *time*, the period from the 10th of May to the 10th of November, 1876, was chosen. An appropriation of $1,500,000 was made by Congress to promote the enterprise, and voluntary offerings and contributions were forwarded from every State and Territory of the Union. The city of Philadelphia did her part by opening Fairmount Park, one of the largest and most beautiful in the world, for the Exposition.

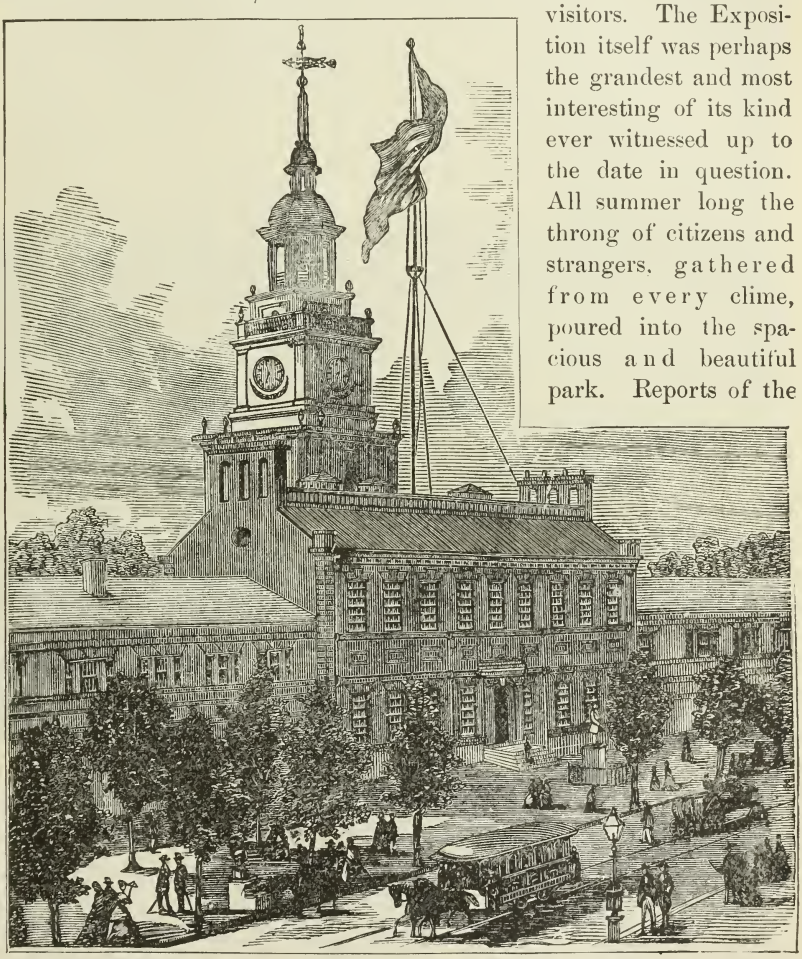


MAIN BUILDING, CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION.

The management of the enterprise was intrusted to a commission, which was organized by the election of General Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut, as president; Alfred T. Goshorn, of Ohio, as director-general; and John L. Campbell, of Indiana, as secretary.

Under the direction of this commission five principal buildings were projected, and were brought to completion about the close of 1875. The largest of these great structures, called the Main Building, was eighteen hundred and eighty feet in length and four hundred and sixty-four feet wide, covering an area of a little more than twenty acres. The cost of the edifice was $1,580,000. The building second in importance was the Memorial Hall, or Art Gallery, built of granite, iron, and glass, and covering an area of seventy-six thousand six hundred and fifty square feet. This was by far the most elegant and permanent of all the structures erected for the occasion. Machinery Hall, the third of the great edifices, was like the Main Building in general appearance, though less beautiful and grand. The ground-floor embraced an area of nearly thirteen acres. The cost of the structure was $542,000. Agricultural Hall occupied a space of little more than ten acres, and was built at a cost of nearly $260,000. The fifth and smallest of the principal buildings was Horticultural Hall, an edifice of the Moorish pattern, covering a space of one and three-fifths acres, and costing about $300,000. The other structures of chief interest were the United States Government Building, the Woman's Pavilion, and the Department of Public Comfort. After these came the Government Buildings of Foreign Nations, the Model Dwellings and Bazars, School-houses and Restaurants, Judges' Halls, and Model Factories.

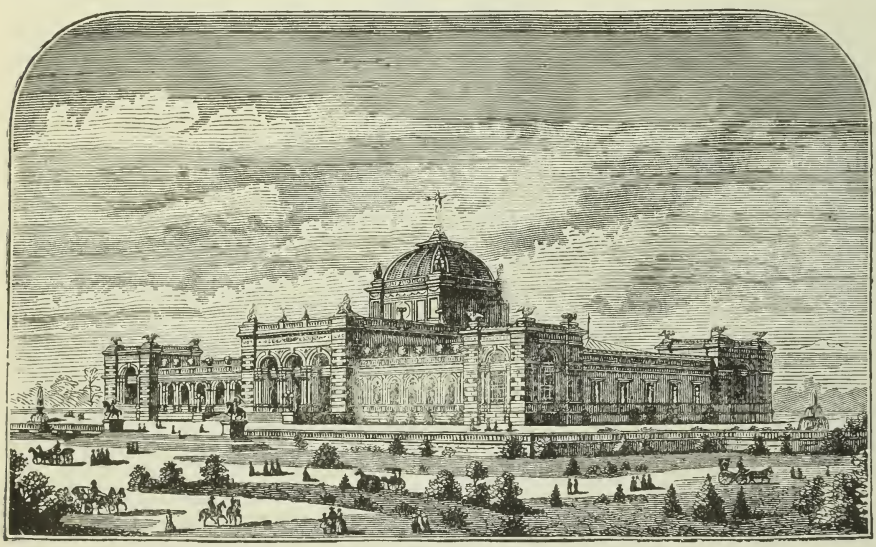
On the 5th of January, 1876, the reception of articles for the Exposition was begun. A system of awards was adopted, and on the 10th of May the inaugural ceremonies were held under direction of the Centennial Commission, President Grant making the opening address. By this time the attention of the people had been fully aroused to the interest and importance of the event, and from the opening days of the Exposition the grounds were crowded with thousands and hundreds of thousands of visitors. The Exposition itself was perhaps the grandest and most interesting of its kind ever witnessed up to the date in question. All summer long the throng of citizens and strangers, gathered from every clime, poured into the spacious and beautiful park. Reports of the proceedings and of the various exhibits were sent broadcast to every civilized country of the world. Distinguished personages, among them Dom Pedro II., Emperor of Brazil, came from various nations to gather instruction from the accumulated arts and industries of mankind. On the 4th of July the centennial of the great Declaration was appropriately celebrated throughout the country. The city of Philadelphia was crowded



INDEPENDENCE HALL.

with two hundred and fifty thousand strangers. In Independence Square the Declaration was read *from the original manuscript* by Richard Henry Lee, a grandson of him by whom the resolution to be free was first offered in Congress. A *National Ode* was then recited by Bayard Taylor, and the *Centennial Oration* delivered by William M. Evarts. At night the city was illuminated, and the ceremonies concluded with a brilliant display of fire-works.

The daily attendance in Fairmount Park varied from five thousand to two hundred and seventy-five thousand persons. The grounds were open for one hundred and fifty-eight days; the total receipts for admission were $3,761,000, and the total number of visitors nine million seven hundred and eighty-six thousand. On the 10th of November the Exposition was formally closed by the President of the United States, attended by General Hawley, Chairman of the Centennial Commission, and Director Goshorn, of Cincinnati. Efforts were made, however, to secure, as far as practicable, the permanency of the Centennial display. Machinery Hall was purchased by the city of Philadelphia, but was afterwards removed from the grounds. After an attempt to preserve the Main Building it was sold by auction, and the materials removed. The Memorial Building was preserved intact, together with a large part of the art treasures, which were exhibited therein during the Centennial summer. The Woman's Pavilion was given as a memento by the Executive Committee, and most of the Government Buildings of Foreign Nations were presented to the city of Philadelphia. It can not be doubted that the Exposition, considered as a whole, left a permanent impression for good on the minds of the American people, and contributed to the harmony and mutual interest of all the civilized States of the world.



MEMORIAL HALL, CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION.

During the last year of President Grant's Administration the country was disturbed by a war with the Sioux Indians. These fierce savages had, in 1867, made a treaty with the United States agreeing to relinquish all the territory south of the Niobrara, west of the one hundred and fourth meridian, and north of the forty-sixth parallel of latitude. By this treaty the Sioux were confined to a large reservation in South-western Dakota, and to this reservation they agreed to retire by the 1st of January, 1876.

Meanwhile, however, gold was discovered among the Black Hills, a region the greater part of which belonged by the treaty to the Sioux reservation. But no treaty could keep the hungry horde of white gold-diggers and adventurers from overrunning the interdicted district. This gave the Sioux a good excuse, not to say a valid cause, for gratifying their native disposition by breaking over the limits of their reservation, and roaming at large through Wyoming and Montana, burning houses, stealing horses, and killing whoever opposed them.

The Government now undertook to drive the Sioux upon their reservation. A large force of regulars under Generals Terry and Crook was sent into the mountainous country of the Upper Yellowstone, and the Indians, to the number of several thousand, led by their

noted chieftain Sitting Bull, were crowded back against the Big Horn Mountains and River. Generals Custer and Reno, who were sent forward with the Seventh Cavalry to discover the whereabouts of the Indians, found them encamped in a large village, extending for nearly three miles along the left bank of the Little Big Horn. On the 25th of June, General Custer, without waiting for reïnforcements, charged headlong with his division into the Indian town, and was at once assailed by thousands of yelling warriors. Of the details of the struggle that ensued very little is known. General Custer and every man of his command fell in the fight. The conflict equaled, if it did not surpass in desperation and disaster, any other Indian battle ever fought in America. The whole loss of the Seventh Cavalry was two hundred and sixty-one killed, and fifty-two wounded. General Reno, who had been engaged with the savages at the lower end of the town, held his position on the bluffs of the Little Big Horn until General Gibbon arrived with reïnforcements and saved the remnant from destruction.



BATTLE OF THE BIG HORN—CUSTER'S DEATH.

Other divisions of the army were soon hurried to the scene of hostility. During the summer and autumn the Indians were beaten in several engagements, and negotiations were at length opened looking for the removal of the Sioux to the Indian Territory. But still a few desperate bands held out against the authority of the Government, and at the same time the civilized nations of the Territory objected to having the fierce savages of the North for their neighbors.

On the 24th of November the Fourth Cavalry attacked and decisively defeated the Sioux at a pass in the Big Horn Mountains. The Indians lost severely in the engagement, and their town, containing one hundred and seventy-three huts, was totally destroyed. The army then went into winter-quarters at various points in the hostile country; but active operations were still carried on by forays and brief expeditions during December and January. On the 5th of the latter month the main body

of the savages was overtaken and completely routed by the division of Colonel Miles.

The remaining bands, under Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, being now able to offer no serious resistance, made their escape across the border, and became subject to the authorities of Canada. Here they remained until the following autumn, when the Government reöpened negotiations with them for their return to their reservation in Dakota. A commission, headed by General Terry, met Sitting Bull and his principal warriors at Fort Walsh, on the Canadian frontier. Here a conference was held on the 8th of October. Full pardon for past offenses was offered to the Sioux on condition of their peaceable return and future good behavior. But the irreconcilable Sitting Bull and his savage chiefs rejected the proposals with scorn. The conference was broken off, and the Sioux were left at large in the British dominions north of Milk River. It was not until 1880 that, through the intervention of the Canadian Government, Sitting Bull and his band were induced to return to the reservation of the Yankton Sioux on the north bank of the Missouri River, Dakota.

In the meantime, with the subsidence of the interest occasioned by the centennial celebration, and the excitement caused by the war with the Sioux, came the Twenty-third Presidential election. Before the end of June, the National Conventions were held and standard-bearers selected by the political parties. General Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, and William A. Wheeler, of New York, were chosen as candidates by the Republicans; Samuel A. Tilden, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, by the Democrats. A third—the Independent Greenback—party also appeared, and presented as candidates Peter Cooper, of New York, and Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio. The canvass began early and with great asperity. The cry raised by the Democratic party was *Reform*—reform in the public service and in all the methods of administration. For it was alleged that many of the departments of the Government, and the officers presiding therein, had become corrupt in practice and in fact. The Republicans answered back with the cry of *Reform*—averring a willingness and an anxiety to correct public abuses of whatsoever sort, and to bring to punishment all who had dared to prostitute high places of honor to base uses. To this it was added that the Nationality of the United States, as against the doctrine of State Sovereignty, was not yet acknowledged in the South; and that the rights of the Black men must be protected with additional safeguards. The Independent party echoed the cry of *Reform*—monetary reform first, and all other reforms afterwards. For it was alleged by the leaders of this party that the measure of redeeming the National legal-tenders and other obligations of the United States in *gold*—which measure was advocated by both the other parties—was a project unjust to the debtor class, iniquitous in itself and impossible of fulfillment. And it was further argued by the independents that the money idea itself ought to be revolutionized, and that a National paper currency should be provided by the Government, and be based, not on specie, but on a bond bearing a low rate of interest and interconvertible, at the option of the holder, with the currency itself. But the advocates of this theory had only a slight political organization, and did not succeed in securing a single electoral vote. The real contest lay, as it had done for twenty years, between the Republicans and the Democrats. The canvass drew to a close; the election was held; the general result was ascertained; and both parties *claimed the victory!* The election was so evenly balanced between the candidates—there had been so much irregularity in the voting and subsequent electoral proceedings in the States of Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Oregon, and the powers of Congress over the votes of such States were so vaguely defined under existing legislation—that no certain declaration of the result could be made. The public mind was confounded with perplexity and excitement, and more than once were heard the threatenings of civil war.

When Congress convened in December, the whole question of the disputed Presidency came at once before that body for settlement. The situation was seriously complicated by the political complexion of the Senate and the House of Representatives. In the former body the Republicans had a majority sufficient to con-

trol its action, while in the House the Democratic majority was still more decisive and equally willful.

The debates began, and seemed likely to be interminable. The question at issue was whether the electoral votes of the several States should, at the proper time, be opened and counted by the presiding officer of the Senate, in accordance with the immemorial and constitutional usage in such cases, or whether, in view of the existence of duplicate and spurious returns from some of the States, and of alleged gross frauds and irregularities in others, some additional court ought to be constituted to open and count the ballots.

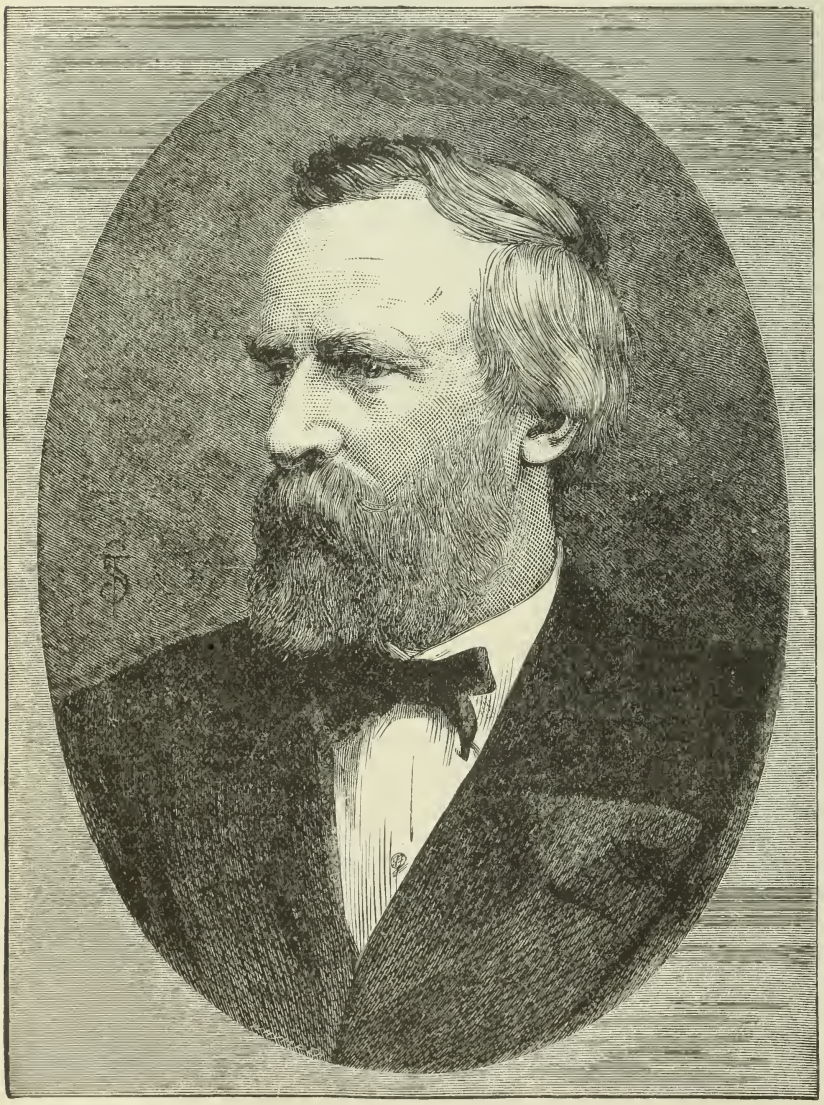
Meanwhile, the necessity of doing something became more and more imperative. The great merchants and manufacturers of the country, and the Boards of Trade in the principal cities, grew clamorous for a speedy and peaceable adjustment of the difficulty. The spirit of compromise gained ground, and after much debating in Congress it was agreed that all the disputed election returns should be referred to a JOINT HIGH COMMISSION, to consist of five members chosen from the United States Senate, five from the House of Representatives, and five from the Supreme Court. The judgment of the tribunal was to be final in all matters referred thereto for decision. The Commission was accordingly constituted. The counting was begun, as usual, in the presence of the Senate and the House of Representatives. When the disputed and duplicate returns were reached, they were referred, State by State, to the Joint High Commission, by which body the decision was made. On the 2d of March, *only two days before the time for the inauguration*, the final decision was rendered. The Republican candidates were declared elected. One hundred and eighty-five electoral votes were cast for Hayes and Wheeler, and one hundred and eighty-four for Tilden and Hendricks. The most dangerous political crisis in the history of the country passed harmlessly by without violence or bloodshed.[1]

CHAPTER CXXVI.—LATEST PERIOD.

RUTHERFORD BURCHARD HAYES, nineteenth President of the United States was born in Delaware, O., on the 4th of October, 1822. His primary education was received in the public schools. Afterwards he was a student at the Norwalk Academy, and in 1837 at Webb's Preparatory School, at Middletown, Connecticut. In the following year he entered the Freshman Class, at Kenyon College, and in 1842 was graduated from that institution with the highest honors. Three years afterwards he completed his legal studies at Harvard, and then began the practice of his profession at Marietta and Fremont, and finally as city solicitor in Cincinnati. Here he won a distinguished reputation as a lawyer. In the

[1] The complete domination of party politics in the United States was never more unhappily illustrated than in the work of the Joint High Commission. The five members of the Court from the House of Representatives—that body being Democratic—were, of course, three Democrats and two Republicans; the five from the Senate—that body being Republican—were three Republicans and two Democrats; the five from the Supreme Court were, two Republicans, two Democrats, and Judge Joseph P. Bradley, who was called an Independent, but whose political antecedents and proclivities were Republican. When the proceedings began, it was at once manifest that every Democratic member would vote for his candidates, whatever might be the proofs; that every Republican would support Hayes and Wheeler whatever might be the facts; and that Judge Bradley, who constituted the real Court, would decide according to his antecedents and proclivities. In no single instance during the proceedings did any member of the Court rise above his political bias. The decision, therefore, happy enough in its results, was simply a political intrigue — a work in which, on the whole, the Republican leaders were more sagacious and skillful than their antagonists.

Civil War he performed much honorable service in the Union cause; rose to the rank of Major-General, and in 1864, while still in the field, was elected to Congress. Three years later he was chosen Governor of his native State, and was reëlected in 1869, and again in 1875. At the Cincinnati Convention of 1876 he had the good-fortune to be nominated for the Presidency over several of the most eminent men of the Nation.



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

In his inaugural address, delivered on the 5th of March,[1] President Hayes indicated the policy of his Administration. The patriotic and conciliatory utterances of the address did much to lead the country back to political quietude. The South was assured of right purposes on the part of the new Chief Magistrate. A radical reform in the civil service was avowed as a part of his policy, and a speedy return to specie payments was recommended as a final cure for the deranged finances of the Nation. The immediate effect of these assurances, so evidently made in good faith and honesty, was to rally around the new Administration many of the better political elements in the hope of introducing a second "Era of Good Feeling," as peaceable and beneficent in its character as the former turbulence had been exciting and dangerous.

On the 8th of March the President sent to the Senate the names of those chosen for his Cabinet. In this, also, there were evidences of a new departure in the policy of the Government. The Cabinet, though eminently able and statesman-like, was noticeably non-partisan in its character. As Secretary of State, William M. Evarts, of New York, was chosen; John Sherman, of Ohio, was named as Secretary of the Treasury; George W. McCrary, of Iowa, Secretary of War; Richard W.

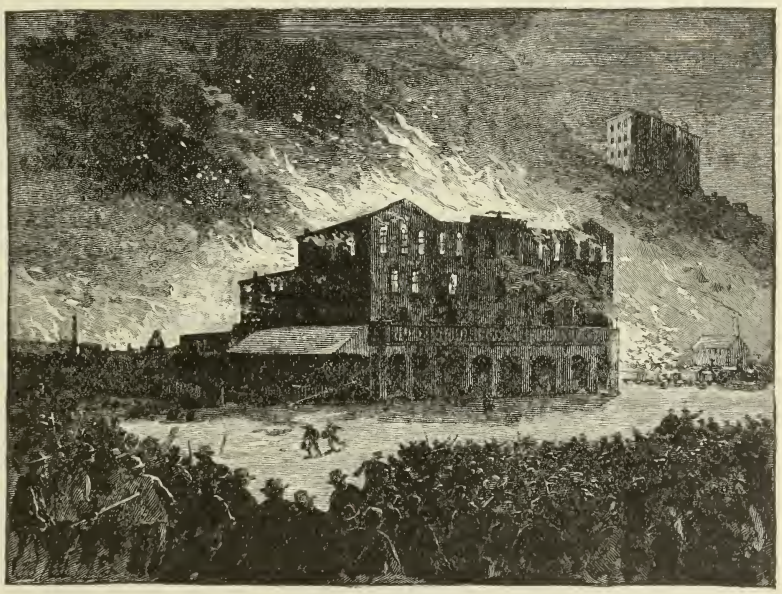
[1] The 4th of March fell on Sunday. The same thing has happened in the following years: 1753, 1781, 1821 (Monroe's inauguration, second term), 1849 (Taylor's inauguration), 1877 (Hayes's inauguration); and the same will occur hereafter as follows: 1917, 1945, 1973, 2001, 2029, 2057, 2085, 2125, 2153.

Thompson, of Indiana, Secretary of the Navy; Carl Schurz, of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior; Charles E. Devens, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General; and David M. Kee, of Tennessee, Postmaster-General. These nominations were duly ratified by the Senate, and the new Administration was ushered in under not unfavorable auspices.

The summer of 1877 was notable in American history for the great labor disturbance known as THE RAILROAD STRIKE. For several years the mining districts of the country had been troubled with disputes and outbreaks having their origin in the question of wages. The manufacturing towns and cities had witnessed similar troubles, and the great corporations, having control of the lines of travel and commerce, were frequently brought to a standstill by the determined opposition of their employés. The workingmen and capitalists of the country had for some time maintained toward each other a kind of armed neutrality, alike prejudicial to the interests of both.

In the spring of this year the managers of the great railways leading from the sea-board to the West, declared a reduction of ten per cent in the wages of their workmen. This measure, which was to take effect at the middle of July, was violently resisted by the employés of the companies, and the most active steps were taken to prevent its success. The reduction was to take effect at that precise season of the year when the removal of the enormous grain product of the West would put upon the operatives of the railways the most excessive labors of the year. It was also the season when the receipts of railway traffic were larger, and when, therefore, there was least rational ground for a reduction of wages. The resistance to the measure was natural and inevitable. On the 16th of July the employés of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad left their posts, and gathered such strength in Baltimore and Martinsburg, West Virginia, as to prevent the running of trains and set the authorities at defiance. The militia was called out by Governor Matthews, and sent to Martinsburg; but was soon dispersed by the strikers, who, for the time, remained masters of the line. The President then ordered General French to the scene with a body of regulars, and the blockade of the road was raised. On the 20th of the month a violent tumult occurred in Baltimore; but the troops succeeded in scattering the rioters, of whom nine were killed and many wounded.

By this time the strike had spread every-



THE PITTSBURG RIOT.

where. In less than a week the trains had been stopped on all the important roads between the Hudson and the Mississippi. Except in the cotton-growing States, the insurrection was universal. Travel ceased; freights perished en route; business was paralyzed. In Pittsburg the strikers, rioters, and dangerous classes, gathering in a mob to the number of twenty thousand, obtained complete control of the city, and for two days held a reign of terror unparalleled in the history of the country. The lawless violence, and madness of the scene recalled the days of the French Revolution. The Union Dépôt, all the machine-shops, and all the railroad buildings of the city were burned. One hundred and twenty-five

locomotives, and two thousand five hundred cars, laden with valuable merchandise, were destroyed amid the wildest havoc and uproar. The insurrection was finally suppressed by the regular troops and the Pennsylvania militia, but not until nearly a hundred lives had been lost, and property destroyed to the value of more than $3,000,000.

On the 25th of July a terrible riot of like character occurred in Chicago. In this tumult fifteen of the insurgents were killed by the militia of the city. On the next day St. Louis was imperiled by a similar mob. San Francisco was also the scene of a dangerous outbreak, which was here directed against the Chinese immigrants and the managers of the lumber-yards. Cincinnati, Columbus, Indianapolis, Louisville, and Fort Wayne were for a while in danger, but escaped without serious loss of life or property. By the close of the month the alarming insurrection was at an end. Business and travel flowed back into their usual channels; but the sudden outbreak had given a shock to the public mind, and had revealed a hidden peril to American institutions.

To this period belongs the history of the Nez Percé War. The Indian tribe of this name had their haunts in Idaho. They had been known to the Government since 1806, when the first treaty was made with them by the explorers, Lewis and Clarke. Missionary stations had been established among them, and the Nation had remained on friendly terms until after the Mexican War. In 1854 the authorities of the United States purchased a part of the Nez Percé Territory, large reservations being made in North-western Idaho and North-eastern Oregon. But some of the chiefs refused to ratify the purchase, and continued to roam at large. These came in conflict with the White settlers who had made their way into the disputed regions, and hostilities at once ensued.

The war was begun by the savages in the usual predatory manner. General Howard, at this time commanding the department of the Columbia, marched against the hostile tribe with a small force of regulars, but the Nez Percés, led by their noted chieftain Joseph, fled first in this direction and then in that, avoiding battle. During the greater part of the summer the pursuit continued; still the Indians could not be overtaken. In the fall they were chased through the mountains into Northern Montana, where they were confronted by other troops under command of Colonel Miles. The Nez Percés, thus hemmed in, were driven across the Missouri River, near the mouth of the Muselshell, and were finally surrounded in their camp north of the Bear Paw Mountains. Here, on the 4th of October, they were attacked by the forces of Colonel Miles; a hard battle was fought, and the Indians were completely routed. Only a few braves, led by their chief, White Bird, made their escape. All the rest were either killed or made prisoners. Three hundred and seventy-five of the captive Nez Percés were brought back to the military post on the Missouri. The troops of General Howard had made forced marches through a mountainous country for a distance of *sixteen hundred miles!* The campaign was crowned with complete success.

The year 1878 was noted in the financial history of the United States for the important Congressional measure, known as The Remonetization of Silver. When the American Republic was instituted in 1789 one of the most important matters imposed on the Treasury was the establishment of a system of coinage. At that time there might be said to be no unit of value in the Old Thirteen States. In general, the British system had prevailed, and the pound sterling, with its subdivisions of shillings and pence, was recognized as the money of account. The Revolution had dissipated coin from the country, and the devices of paper money used in the epoch of Independence were various and uncertain. By the first coinage regulations of the United States, the standard unit of value was the American Silver Dollar, containing three hundred and seventy-one and one-fourth grains of pure silver. The reason of fixing upon this particular weight was that the Spanish-American dollar, largely circulating at the time in the States, was found by analysis to contain exactly three hundred and seventy-one and one-fourth grains of pure metal. Since the people were already familiar with this dollar, and used it largely as a unit of accounting, Mr. Hamilton wisely adapted the new national standard to the existing dollar. By such a

measure it was practicable to recoin the Spanish dollar into the new American dollar.

From the date of the adoption of this standard, in 1792, until 1873, the quantity of pure metal in the standard unit had never been changed, though the amount of alloy contained in the dollar had been several times altered. From 1792 to 1849 this American silver dollar was the only standard unit of money and account. In the latter year, however, the discovery of gold in California led to the establishment and coinage of a *gold* dollar, and from that time forth the standard unit of value existed in *both metals*. For nearly a quarter of a century the double unit prevailed, during which time it may be said to have been difficult to determine whether, in accounting in the United States, gold was measured by the silver standard, or silver by the standard of gold. In the years 1873–4, at a time when, owing to the premium on gold and silver, both metals were out of circulation, a series of acts were passed upon by Congress bearing upon the standard of value, whereby the legal-tender quality of silver was first abridged, and then abolished. These enactments were completed by the report of the Coinage Committee in 1874, by which the silver dollar was finally omitted from the list of coins to be struck at the National Mints. The general effect of these acts was to leave the gold dollar of twenty-three and twenty-two hundredths grains the single standard unit of value in the United States.

In course of time, the ulterior object of this demonetization of silver became sufficiently apparent. The manipulators of the measure had foreseen that the National paper currency of the country was destined, in a few years to come to par in coin—that is, that specie-payments must soon be resumed by the Government. Meanwhile, there came the discovery of the inexhaustible silver-mines in the Western mountains. Thus was it also foreseen that silver must, erelong, be abundant and cheap. If that metal should be retained in the coinage, therefore, the payment of the National Debt would be proportionally easy. It was deemed expedient to strike down in time the legal-tender quality of silver, in order that the whole payment of the bonded indebtedness of the United States must be made in the more costly metal, namely, by the single standard of gold.

In accordance with this project, The Resumption Act was passed by Congress in 1875, whereby it was declared that on the 1st of January, 1879, the Government of the United States should begin to redeem its outstanding obligations *in coin*. As the time for resumption drew near and the premium on gold fell off, the question was raised as to the meaning of "coin" in the act for resuming specie payments; and now for the first time the attention of the people at large was aroused to the fact that, by the acts of 1873–4, the privilege of paying debts in silver had been taken away, and that after the beginning of 1879 all obligations, both public and private, must be discharged according to the measure of the gold dollar only. A great agitation followed. The cry for the remonetization of silver was heard everywhere. In vain did the bond-holding interest of the country exert itself to stay the tide. The question reached the Government; and early in 1878 a measure was passed by Congress for the restoration of the legal-tender quality of the old silver dollar, and providing for the compulsory coinage of that unit at the mints at a rate of not less than two millions of dollars a month. The President returned the bill with his objections, but the veto was crushed under a tremendous majority; for nearly three-fourths of the members of Congress, without respect to party affiliations, gave their support to the measure; and the old double standard of values was thus restored.

In the summer and fall of 1878 several of the Gulf States were scourged with a Yellow-Fever Epidemic, unparalleled in the history of the country. The disease made its appearance in New Orleans, and from thence was quickly scattered among the other towns along the Lower Mississippi. Unfortunately the attention of the people in the Gulf country had been but little given to sanitary precautions, and the Southern cities were nearly all in a condition to invite the presence of the scourge. The terror soon spread from town to town, and the people began to fly from the pestilence. The cities of Memphis and Grenada became a scene of desolation. At Vicksburg the ravages of the plague were almost equally terrible; and even in the parish towns remote

from the river, and as far north as Nashville and Louisville, the horrors of the fatal malady were felt. All summer long the disease held on unabated. The helpless populations along the Lower Mississippi languished and died by thousands. In the Northern States a regular system of contributions was established, and men and treasure were poured out without stint. The efforts of the Howard Association, at New Orleans, Memphis, and elsewhere, were almost unequaled in heroism and sacrifice. After more than twenty thousand people had fallen victims to the plague, its ravages were at last stayed by the grateful frosts of October.

By the Eighteenth Article of the Treaty of Washington, it was agreed that the right of the inhabitants of the United States in certain sea-fisheries, which had hitherto belonged exclusively to the subjects of Great Britain, should be acknowledged and maintained. It was conceded, moreover, that the privilege of taking fish of every kind—excepting shell-fish—on the sea-coast and shores, and in the bays, harbors, and creeks of the Provinces of Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, and the islands thereunto adjacent, without restriction as to distance from the shore, should be guaranteed to American fishermen without prejudice or partiality. On the other hand, the Government of the United States agreed to relinquish the duties which had hitherto been charged on certain kinds of fish, imported by British subjects into American harbors.

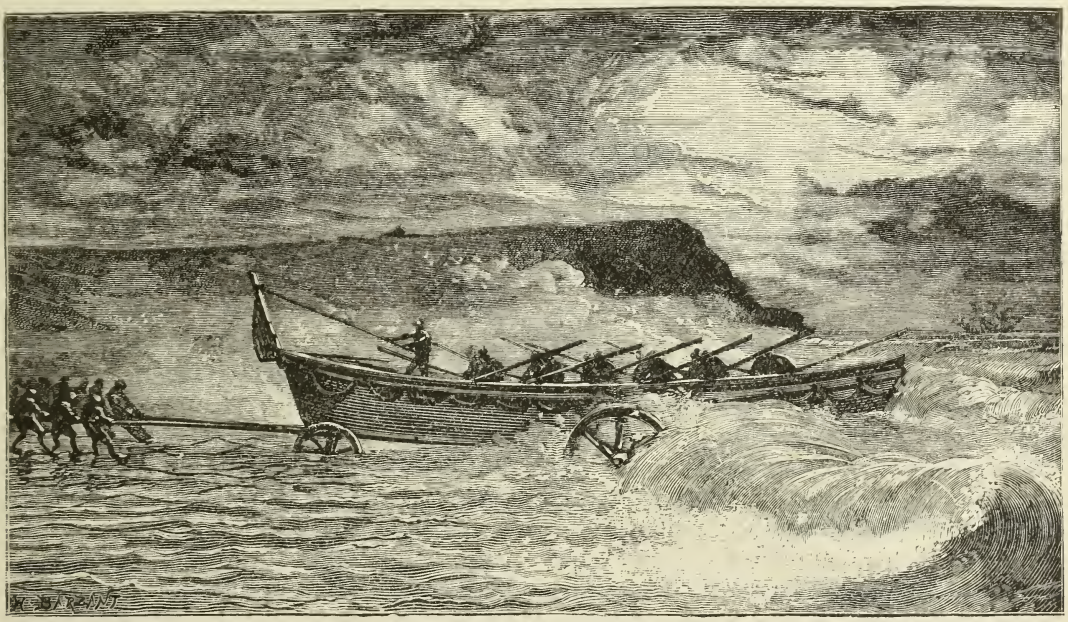
Several other concessions of minor importance were mutually made by the two Governments; and in order to balance any discrepancy which might appear in the aggregate of such concessions, and to make the settlement of a vexed question full, fair, and final, it was further agreed, that any total advantage to the United States arising from the treaty might be compensated by a sum in gross, to be paid by the American Government to Great Britain. In order to determine what such sum might be, a Commission was provided for, to consist of one commissioner to be appointed by the Queen, one by the President of the United States, and a third—in case the Queen and the President should not agree on the third—by the Austrian Ambassador at the Court of St. James. This provision for the appointment of a third commissioner or umpire was one of the strangest incidents of diplomatical history. As the event came to pass, the man who, by the terms of the treaty, held the power of appointing, and did appoint, the umpire, was Count Von Beust, a Bourbon in politics, a Saxon renegade, an upholder of the House of Hapsburg, a hater of all republican institutions. Thus it was that a question which had proved to be too serious for the decision of the Joint High Commission itself, was remanded for settlement to a political adventurer, temporarily resident *in London!*

According to the agreement, the Commission was constituted in the summer of 1877; and the sittings were held at Halifax. But little attention was given in the United States to the proceedings of the body until November, when the country was startled by the announcement, that by the casting vote of Mr. Delfosse, Belgian Minister to the United States, who had been named as umpire by the Austrian Ambassador at London, an award of $5,000,000 had been made against the American Government! The decision was received with general surprise, both in the United States and in Europe, and for a while it seemed probable that the arbitration might be renounced as iniquitous. It was decided, however, that the award, whether just or unjust, would better stand; the beneficent principle of arbitration was worth more to the United States than the cost of the adverse decision. Accordingly in November, 1878, the amount awarded was paid—not without great popular dissatisfaction—to the British Government.

The year 1878 witnessed the establishment of a Resident Chinese Embassy at Washington. For twenty years the great and liberal treaty negotiated by Anson Burlingame had been in force between the United States and China. Under this compact the commercial relations of the two countries had been vastly extended, and a knowledge of the institutions, manners, and customs prevalent in the Celestial Empire so widely diffused as to break down, in some measure, the race-prejudice against the Chinese. The enlightened policy of the reigning Emperor had also contributed to establish more friendly intercourse with the United States. The idea of sending Resident Ambassadors to the American Government

had been entertained for several years. The Emperor had been assured that the Ministers of China would be received with all the courtesy shown to the most favored nation. The officers chosen by the Imperial Government as its representatives in the United States were Chen Lan Pin, Minister Plenipotentiary; Yung Wing, Assistant Envoy; and Yung Tsang Siang, Secretary of Legation. On the 28th of September the Embassy was received by the President, the ceremonies of the occasion being among the most novel ever witnessed in Washington City.

The history of modern times contains many pleasing evidences of the growing estimate placed by civilized States upon the value of human life. In the legislation of Congress, several important acts of recent date bear witness to the general interest felt in the country on the subject of better protection for those who are exposed on land and sea. The question of affording succor to shipwrecked sailors has, in several instances, engrossed the attention of the Government, and many measures have been proposed with a view of giving greater security to "them that go down to the sea in ships." During the last session of the Forty-fifth Congress, a bill was proposed by Honorable Samuel S. Cox, of New York, for the reorganization of THE LIFE-SAVING SERVICE of the United States, under patronage and control of the Government. This service had existed as a private enterprise since 1871. The plan proposed and adopted, on the 18th of June, 1878, embraced the establishment of regular stations and light-houses on all the exposed parts of the Atlantic coast, and along the great Lakes. Each station was to be manned by a band of serfmen, experienced in the dangers of coast-storms, and drilled in the best methods of rescue and resuscitation. Boats of the most approved pattern were provided and equipped. A hundred appliances and inventions, suggested by the wants of the service, such as life-cars, with



LAUNCHING A LIFE-BOAT.

hawsers and mortars for firing shot-lines into vessels foundering at a distance from shore, were supplied, and their use skillfully taught to the brave men who were employed at the stations. The success of the enterprise has been so great as to reflect the highest credit upon its promoters. The number of lives saved through the direct agency of the service reaches to thousands annually, and the amount of human suffering and distress alleviated by this beneficent movement is beyond computation. So carefully are the exposed coasts of the United States now guarded that it is almost impossible for a foundering ship to be driven within sight of the shore without at

once beholding through the darkness the sudden glare of the red-light signal, flaming up from the beach, telling of friends near by, and rescue soon to come.

In accordance with the act of 1875, THE RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS was accomplished on the 1st day of January, 1879. For some time previous to the latter date the premium on gold had gradually declined, very slowly, indeed, as the date of resumption drew near. During the last month of 1878 the difference between the value of gold and paper dollars was so slight as to be scarcely perceptible in financial transactions. For some days the premium hovered about one per cent; then sank to the level, and disappeared. The Gold Room at New York City was closed, and metallic money reäppeared on the counters of banks and in the safes of merchants. For more than seventeen years gold and silver coin had been used as merchandise rather than money, the legal-tender note of the Government constituting the standard of value. During this whole period the monetary affairs of the Government had been in a state of distraction. The monetary unit had been so fluctuating as to render legitimate business almost impracticable. The purchasing power of a dollar could hardly be predicted from one week to another. Resulting from this a rampant spirit of speculation had taken possession of the markets of the country, and the lawful transactions of the street, carried forward in accordance with the plain principles of political economy, suffered shipwreck. Meanwhile, *parvenu* statesmen gave lectures on the nature of debt and the danger of overproduction.

After the passage of the Resumption Act, and during the next four years, the value of the monetary unit steadily appreciated, and at the same time the debtor-classes of the country entered a period of great hardship; for their indebtedness constantly augmented in a ratio beyond the probability, if not the possibility, of payment. Financial ruin and bankruptcy supervened; and these calamities were only checked, not ended, by the abrogation of the Bankrupt Act, in 1878. With the epoch of Resumption, however, a certain measure of confidence was restored, and the reäppearance of coin money was hailed by many as the beginning of a better era.

Thus passed away the Administration of Hayes. It was, on the whole, a peculiar quadrennium in American history. The methods of the President lacked emphasis in every particular. Nor did the after-judgment of many of the American people fail to renew the doubts concerning the legality of his election. The biennial choice of Congressmen in 1878, being the election for members of the Forty-sixth Congress, resulted in a clear majority for the Democrats in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. For a season everything seemed to foretoken the complete restoration to power of the Democratic party. The leaders of that party were strongly hopeful of success, and entered the campaign of 1880 with unusual enthusiasm. The Republican National Convention of that year was held in Chicago on the 2d and 3d of June. The platform of principles adopted was largely retrospective. The history of the party during its twenty years of supremacy in the Government was recited as the best reason why its lease of power should be continued by the people. The platform reäffirmed and emphasized the doctrine of National Sovereignty as opposed to the theory of State Rights; declared in favor of popular education; advocated a system of discriminating duties in favor of American industries; ratified the Administration of Hayes; and arraigned the Democratic party as unpatriotic in principle and fraudulent in practice. Upon this platform, after the greater part of two days had been consumed in balloting, General James A. Garfield, of Ohio, was nominated for President; and Chester A. Arthur, of New York, for Vice-President.

The Democratic National Convention assembled in Cincinnati, on the 22d of June. The platform of principles declared adherence to the doctrines and traditions of the party; opposed centralization in the Government; adhered to gold and silver money and paper convertible into coin; advocated a tariff for revenue only; denounced the Administration as the creature of a conspiracy; opposed the presence of troops at the polls; praised Samuel J. Tilden for his patriotism; declared for free ships, and an amendment to the Burlingame Treaty as against Chinese immigration; and appealed to the acts of the Forty-sixth Con-

gress as proof of the wisdom and economy of the party. After adopting this platform, the convention nominated for the Presidency, General Winfield S. Hancock, of New York; and for the Vice-presidency, William H. English, of Indiana.

Meanwhile, the National Greenback party had held a convention in Chicago, on the 9th of June, and nominated as standard-bearers General James B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President; and General Benjamin J. Chambers, of Texas, for Vice-President. The platform of principles declared in favor of the rights of the laborer as against the exactions of capital; denounced monopolies and syndicates; proclaimed the sovereign power of the Government over the coinage of metallic and the issuance of paper money; advocated the abolition of the National banking system, and the substitution therefor of a legal-tender currency; declared for the payment of the bonded debt of the United States as against all refunding schemes; denounced land-grants; opposed Chinese immigration and the increase of the standing army; favored the equal taxation of all property, and unrestricted suffrage; demanded reform in the methods of Congressional procedure, and appealed for support to the sense of justice in the American people.

During the canvass of 1880 the Third Party movement reached its climax for the decade. The more rational part of the principles of the Greenback party had in them at this time a quality which demanded the assent of a respectable minority of the American people. The correctness of the principles referred to, their truth in theory and rightfulness in practice, entered so strongly into the political current of the time that they were wafted higher and higher, until finally the question of the right and power of the Government to make legal-tender paper money, absolutely, in time of peace as well as in time of war, was carried for judgment to the Supreme Court of the United States; was there argued by able Constitutional lawyers before a full bench, and was decided, with only a single dissenting opinion, in favor of the Greenback theory of legal-tender paper money and its validity, independently of coin redemption. But, politically, the party representing these ideas was doomed to failure. As the canvass progressed it became evident that the contest lay between the Republican and the Democratic party; also, that the long-standing sectional division into North and South was likely, once more, to decide the contest in favor of the former. That part of the Democratic platform which declared for a tariff for revenue only, alarmed the manufacturing interests and consolidated them in favor of the Republican candidates. The banking and bond-holding classes rallied with great unanimity to the same standard, and the old war spirit, aroused at the appearance of a "Solid South," insured a solid North against the Democracy. The election resulted in the choice of Garfield and Arthur. Two hundred and fourteen electoral votes, including those of all the Northern States, except New Jersey, Nevada, and four out of the five votes of California, were cast for the Republican candidates, and one hundred and fifty-five votes, including those of every Southern State, were given to Hancock and English. The candidate of the National party secured no electoral votes, though the popular vote given to Weaver aggregated three hundred and seven thousand, as against eighty-one thousand cast for Cooper and Cary in 1876.

The Administration of Hayes and the last session of the Forty-sixth Congress expired on the 4th of March, 1881. The closing session had been chiefly occupied with the work of refunding the National debt. About $750,000,000 of five and six per cent. bonds became due during the year, and to provide for the payment or refunding of this large sum was the most important matter claiming the attention of Congress. Late in the session a bill was passed by that body providing for the issuance by the Government of new bonds of two classes, both bearing three per cent. interest; the first class payable in from five to twenty years, and the second class in from one to ten years. The latter bonds were to be issued in small denominations adapted to the conditions of a popular loan. One provision of the bill required the National banks holding five and six per cent. bonds to surrender the same—the bonds having fallen due—and to receive instead the new three per cents. This clause of the law aroused the antagonism of the banks, and by every possible means they

sought to prevent the passage of the bill. The capitalists of the country in general pursued the same course—this, for the reasons that the loan was too popular in its character, and that the bonds were of so short a time that the Government would be able to control their redemption at its pleasure.

These considerations were specially repugnant to the bond-holders as a class. Nevertheless, on the last day of the session the bill for refunding, having been passed by Congress, was laid before the President for his signature; but his approval was withheld. A veto message was returned to Congress, and the advocates of the measure being unable to command the requisite two-thirds majority, the bill failed to become a law. Thus the session closed without any provision for the seven hundred and fifty millions of dollars in bonds falling due in 1881. The whole duty of providing for this large fraction of the public debt was remanded to another Administration and another Congress.

After retiring from the Presidency, General Grant, with his family and a company of personal friends, set out to visit the countries of Europe and Asia, and to make a tour of the world. Though the expedition was intended to be private, it at once attracted the most conspicuous attention, both at home and abroad. The departure from Philadelphia, in May of 1877, proved to be the beginning of a pageant, which, in its extent and magnificence, was never before accorded to a private citizen of any nation of the earth. Wherever the Ex-President went, he was welcomed with huzzas and dismissed with plaudits. First in England—at Liverpool, Manchester, London—and afterwards, in midsummer, in Belgium, Switzerland, Prussia, and France, everywhere the General's coming was announced by the thunder of cannon and a chorus of cheers. A short stay in Italy was followed by a voyage to Alexandria and a brief sojourn in Egypt. Thence the company proceeded to Palestine, and afterwards to Greece. The following spring found the General and his party again in Italy, and the summer carried them into Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. The next countries visited were Austria and Russia, while for the winter the distinguished tourists chose the south of France and Spain. Ireland was then visited, and in January of 1879 the company embarked from Marseilles for the East. The following year was spent in India, Burmah, Siam, China, and Japan. In the fall of 1879 the party returned to San Francisco, bearing with them the highest tokens of esteem which the great nations of the Old World could bestow upon the honored representative of the New.

The Census of 1880 was undertaken with more system and care than ever before in the history of the country. The work was intrusted to the general superintendency of Professor Francis A. Walker, under whose direction the Census of 1870 had been conducted. During the decade the same astounding progress which had marked the previous history of the United States was more than ever illustrated. In every source of National power, in every element of National vigor, the development of the country had continued without abatement. The total population of the Union now amounted to 50,152,866—an increase since 1870 of more than 1,000,000 inhabitants a year. The population of the great State of New York had risen to 5,083,173. Nevada, the least populous of the States, showed an enumeration of 62,265. Of the 11,584,188 added to the population during the last decade, 2,246,551 had been contributed by immigration, of whom about 85,000 annually had come from Germany. The number of cities having a population of over one hundred thousand inhabitants had increased from fourteen to twenty-five. The center of population had moved westward about fifty miles, and now rested near the city of Cincinnati.

The statistics of trade and industry were likewise gratifying to National pride. The current of the precious metals, which for many years had been constantly flowing from the United States to foreign countries, turned strongly in 1880 towards America. The importation of specie during the year just mentioned in excess of the exportation amounted to $75,892,111. During the greater part of the period covered by the census, abundant crops had followed in almost unbroken succession, and the overplus in the great staples peculiar to our soil and climate had gone to enrich the country, and to stimulate those fundamental industries upon which national per-

petuity and individual happiness are ultimately founded.

During the Administration of Hayes several eminent Americans passed from the scene of their earthly activities. Among these may be mentioned Senator Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana, who, after battling for many years against the encroachments of paralysis, died at his home in Indianapolis, November 1, 1877. Still more universally felt was the loss of the great poet and journalist, William Cullen Bryant, who, on the 12th of June, 1878, at the advanced age of eighty-four, passed from among the living. For more than sixty years his name had been known and honored wherever the English language is spoken. In his death one of the brightest lights of American literature was extinguished. On the 19th of December, in the same year, the illustrious Bayard Taylor, recently appointed American Minister to the German Empire, died suddenly at Berlin. His life had been devoted almost exclusively to literature, and almost every department of letters, from the common tasks of journalism to the highest charms of poetry, had been adorned by his genius. His death, at the early age of fifty-four, left a gap not easily to be filled in the ranks of literary toilers. On the 1st of November, 1879, Senator Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan, one of the organizers of the Republican party, and a great leader of that party in the times of the Civil War, died suddenly in Chicago; and on the 24th of February, 1881, another Senator, Matthew H. Carpenter, of Wisconsin, expired, after a lingering illness, at Washington City.



JAMES A. GARFIELD.

James A. Garfield, twentieth President of the United States, was born at Orange, Cuyahoga County, Ohio, November 19, 1831. He was left in infancy to the sole care of his mother, and the rude surroundings of a backwoods home. The boy gathered from country toil a sound constitution, and from country schools the rudiments of education. Under such discipline he developed unusual faculties, and became well known, even in youth, as a promising lad—afterwards as a skillful mechanic. Further on, we find him serving as driver and pilot of a canal-boat, plying the Ohio and Pennsylvania Canal. At the age of seventeen he attended the high-school in Chester, where he extended his studies to algebra, Latin, and Greek. In 1851 he entered Hiram College, in which institution he remained as student and instructor until 1854. In that year he entered Williams College, and two years afterward was graduated with honor. Returning to Ohio, he was made first a professor, and afterwards president of Hiram College. In this position he was serving at the outbreak of the Civil War, when he left his post to enter the army. Meanwhile, he had studied law, imbibed a love for politics, and been elected to the Ohio State Senate.

As a soldier, Garfield was first made a Lieutenant-Colonel, and afterwards Colonel of the Forty-second Regiment of Ohio Volunteers. He was soon promoted to a Brigadier-generalship, and did good service in Kentucky and Tennessee. He was made Chief of Staff to General Rosecrans, and bore a distinguished

part in the battle of Chickamauga. Soon afterwards, while still in the field, he was elected by the people of his district to the House of Representatives, in which body he served continuously for seventeen years. In 1879 he was elected to the United States Senate, and hard upon this followed his nomination and election to the Presidency.

In his inaugural address of March 4th, 1881, Garfield presented a retrospect of the progress of American civilization during the last quarter of a century. The country was congratulated on its high rank among the nations. The leading topics of politics were briefly reviewed, and the policy of the Executive department of the Government set forth with clearness and precision. The public-school system of the United States was recommended to the jealous care of the people. Regret was expressed for the estrangement of the South and for the heart-burnings of the Civil War, which still remained in the Nation. The maintenance of the present National banking system was recommended, and also the repression of the practices of polygamy. The President advocated, finally, the restriction of Chinese immigration, and the maintenance of the equal rights of the enfranchised Black men of the South.

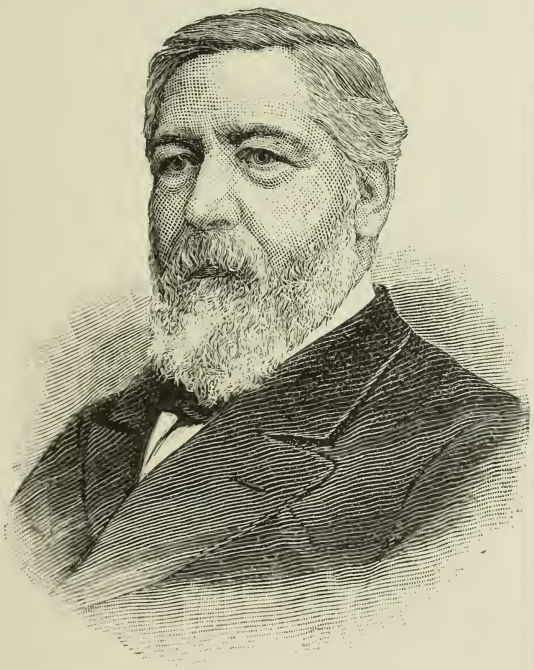
On the following day the President sent to the Senate for confirmation the names of the members of his Cabinet. The nominations were: For Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, of Maine; for Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom, of Minnesota; for Secretary of War, Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois; for Secretary of the Navy, William H. Hunt, of Louisiana; for Secretary of the Interior, Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa; for Attorney-General, Wayne MacVeagh, of Pennsylvania; for Postmaster-General, Thomas L. James, of New York. The nominations were promptly confirmed, and the new Administration entered upon its duties.

The first issue which engaged the attention of the Government after Garfield's inauguration was the proposed Reform of the Civil Service. This question had been inherited from the Administration of Hayes, under whom several spasmodic efforts had been made to introduce better methods in the selection of persons to fill the appointive offices of the United States. The real issue was—and has always been — whether the choice of the officials of the Government should be made on the ground of the character and fitness of the candidates, or on the principle of distributing political patronage to those who had best served the party; whether men should be promoted from the lower to the higher grades of official life, and retained according to the value and proficiency of their services, or whether they should be elevated to position in proportion to their success in carrying elections and maintaining the party in power.

The members of Congress, to whom the help of efficient supporters in their own districts and States seemed essential, and by whom the patronage of the Government had been mostly dispensed since the days of Jackson, held strongly to the old order of things, unwilling to relinquish their influence over the appointing power. President Hayes, after vainly attempting to establish the opposite policy, abandoned the field near the close of his Administration. The National Republican platform of 1880 vaguely indorsed Civil-service Reform as a principle of the party; and some expectation existed that Garfield would take up the policy of his predecessor. But with the incoming of the new Administration the rush of the politicians for office was unprecedented in the history of the country. The place-seekers, who claimed to have "carried the election," swarmed into Washington, and thronged the Executive mansion, clamoring for office, until all plans and purposes of reform in the civil service were crushed out of sight and trampled under feet of men.

This break from the principles of the Republican platform was soon followed with a serious political disaster, having its ultimate origin in the same question. A division arose in the ranks of the Republican party, which for a while threatened the disruption and ruin of that organization. The two wings of the Republicans were nick-named the "Half-breeds" and the "Stalwarts;" the latter, headed by Senator Conkling, of New York, being the division which had so resolutely supported General Grant for the Presidency in the Chicago Convention; the former, led by Mr. Blaine, now Secretary of State, and indorsed by the President himself, had control of the

Government and were numerically stronger than their opponents. The Stalwarts claimed their proportional part of the appointive offices of the Government, and the right of dispensing the same after the manner which had prevailed through several preceding Administrations—that is, the right to distribute the offices in the several States under the form of patronage by the Senators and Representatives of those States in Congress. The President, supported by his division of the party, and by the professed reform element in politics, insisted in naming the officers in the various States according to his own wishes and what he conceived to be the fitness of things.

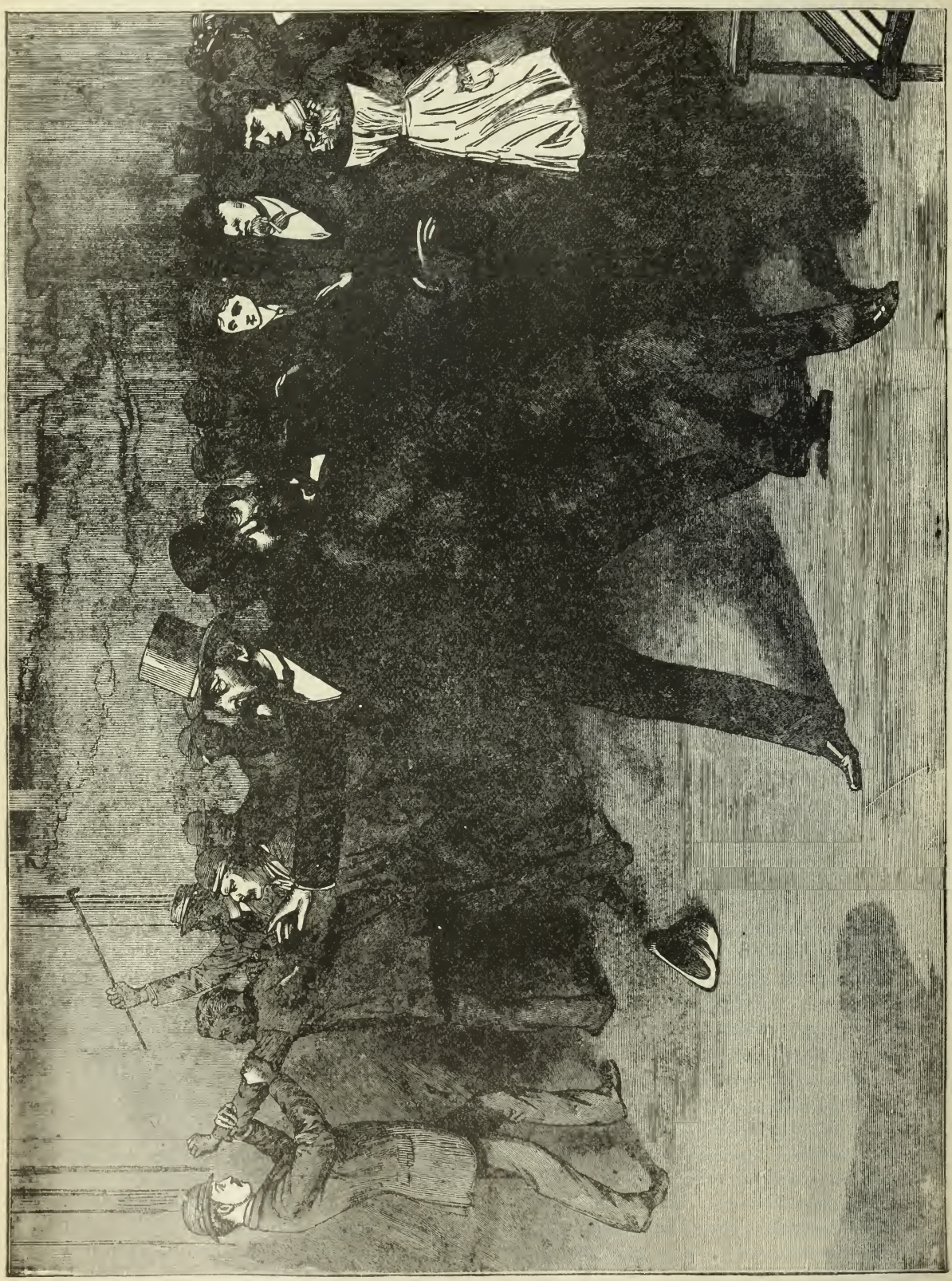


JAMES G. BLAINE.

The contest soon came to a crisis. The war between the two factions in the party broke out in respect to the offices in New York. The collectorship of customs for the port of New York is the best appointive office in the gift of the Government. To fill this position the President appointed Judge William Robertson, and the appointment was bitterly antagonized by the New York Senators, Roscoe Conkling and Thomas C. Platt, who, failing to prevent the confirmation of Robertson, resigned their seats, returned to their State, and failed of a reëlection. The breach thus effected in the Republican ranks was such as to threaten the dismemberment of the party.

Such was the condition of affairs at the adjournment of the Senate, in June. A few days afterwards, the President made arrangements to visit Williams College, where his two sons were to be entered for their education, intending to pass, after the Williams Commencement, a short vacation with his wife, who was sick, at the sea-side. On the morning of July 2d, in company with Secretary Blaine and a few friends, he entered the Baltimore Railway station at Washington, preparatory to taking the train to Long Branch, New Jersey. A moment afterwards, he was approached by a miserable political miscreant named Charles Jules Guiteau, who, from behind and unperceived, came within a few feet of the company, drew a pistol, and fired upon the Chief Magistrate of the Republic. The aim of the assassin was too well taken, and the second shot struck the President centrally in the right side of the back. The bleeding man was quickly borne away to the Executive mansion, and the vile wretch who had committed the crime was hurried to prison.

For a while the hearts of the American people vibrated between hope and fear. The best surgical aid was procured, and bulletins were daily issued, containing a brief account of the President's condition. The conviction grew day by day that he would ultimately recover. Two surgical operations were performed with a view of improving his chances for life; but a series of relapses occurred, and the President gradually weakened under his suffering. As a last hope he was, on the 6th of September, carefully conveyed from Washington City to Elberon, where he was placed in a cottage hotel only a few yards from the surf. Here for a brief period hope again revived; but blood-poisoning at length ensued, and the patient sank day by day. At last, on the eightieth day after the shot was fired, namely, on the evening of September 19th, the annivesary of the battle of Chickamauga, in which Garfield had won his chief military reputation, his vital powers suddenly gave way under exhaustion, and in a few moments death closed the scene. Through the whole period of his prostration, he had borne the pain and anguish of his situation with the greatest forti-



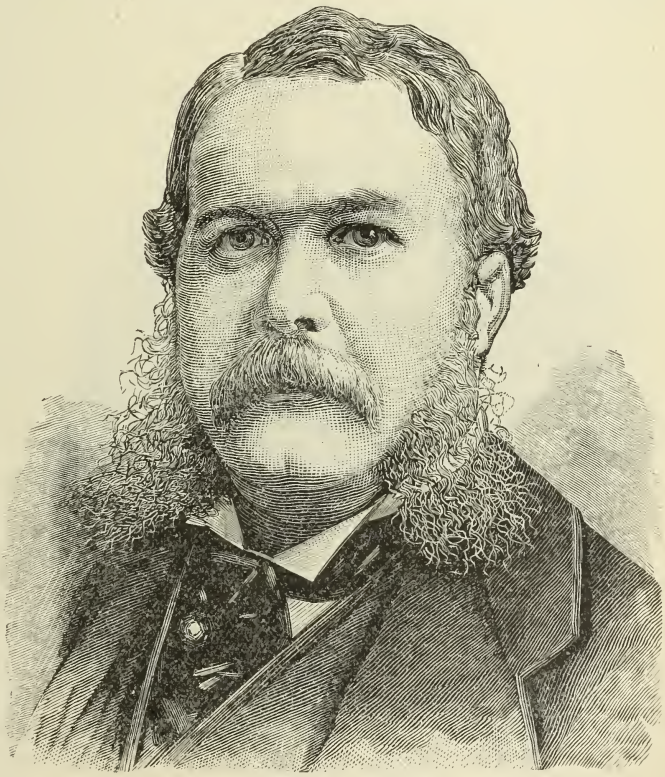
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ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD.

tude and heroism. Nor can it be doubted that the great crime which laid him low heightened, rather than eclipsed, the luster of his life.

On the following day Vice-President Chester A. Arthur, then in New York, took the oath of office, and immediately repaired to Washington. For the fourth time in the history of the Republic, the duties of the Chief Magistracy were devolved on the Vice-President. The funeral of Garfield was observed first at Washington, whither the body was taken and placed in state in the rotunda of the Capitol. Here it was viewed by tens of thousands of people on the 22d and 23d of September. Garfield had chosen Lake View Cemetery, at Cleveland, as the place of his burial, and thither the remains were conveyed, by way of Philadelphia and Pittsburg. As in the case of Lincoln's death, the processions and ceremonies *en route* became a continuous pageant. On the 26th of September the body was laid in its final resting-place. The day of the burial was observed throughout the country in great assemblies gathered from hamlet and town and city, all anxious to testify their sorrow for the calamity which had come upon the country in the President's death.

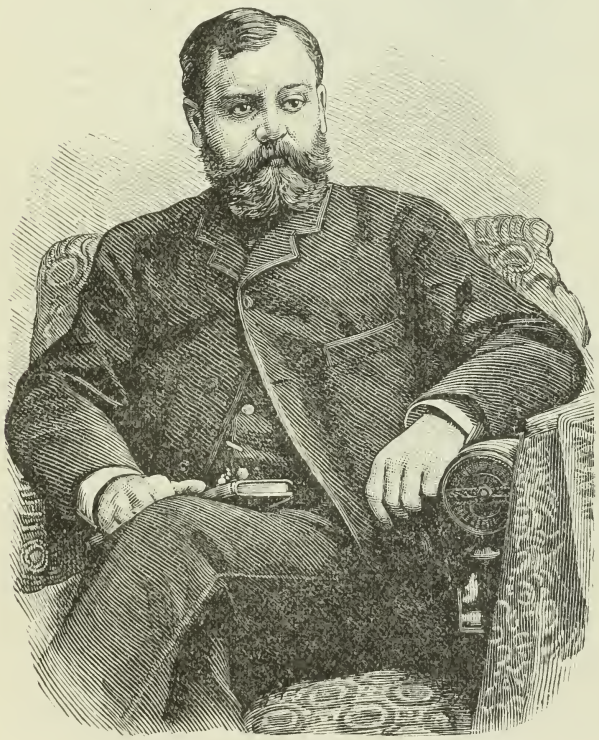
We may here pause to narrate briefly the further events connected with the assassination and the assassin. Guiteau proved to be a half-crazy adventurer—a fool. He at once proclaimed the work which he had done, acknowledging that he had shot the President, and saying that he did so merely *to remove him*, and save the country. And here began that extreme unwisdom of the authorities which characterized all the future proceedings. Two plain constructions of the case were possible: Either Guiteau was a sane man, in the ordinary sense of that word, and had committed the greatest and vilest of political assassinations; or else he was a lunatic, who, under the influence of an insane hallucination, had shot and killed the President. Plain common sense, prudence, patriotism, political sagacity, and the whole array of facts regarding the prisoner's character and conduct, pointed unmistakably to his lunacy, and to the second construction given above. But prejudice, anger, folly, short-sightedness, and the mere vengeful passions which flamed up in the excitement of the hour, all backed and aggravated by the criminal wickedness of the American newspapers—ready, for the sake of mere sensationalism, to espouse any theory or promote any course in order to keep the air white with their own miserable editions—conspired to establish the theory of Guiteau's sanity, with the appalling conclusion that the President of the United States *had been politically assassinated.* This theory was urged and preached with insane ferocity until it prevailed. The voice of reason was drowned, and the opportunity to save the American people from the indelible stain of political assassination, was scorned and put aside. Guiteau was indicted and tried for murder. During the whole course of the trial, the assemblage around the court-room in Washington was little less than a mob. The proceedings ended with a conviction, and a condemnation to death. Then followed another sensational imprisonment, and on the 30th of



CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

June, 1882, the wretch was taken from the jail to the place of execution and hanged.

Chester A. Arthur, thus called to be President of the United States, was born in Franklin County, Vermont, October 5, 1830. He was of Irish parentage; was educated at Union College, from which institution he was graduated in 1849. For a while he taught school in his native State, and then went to New York City to study law. He was soon admitted to the bar, and rose rapidly to distinction. During the Civil War he was Quartermaster-General of the State of New York, filling the



ROBERT T. LINCOLN.

office with great credit to himself and the Government. From 1865 to 1871 he practiced law in New York, and was then appointed collector of customs for that port. This position he held until July, 1878, when he was removed by President Hayes. Returning to the practice of his profession for two years, he was nominated and elected to the Vice-presidency. Then followed the killing of Garfield, and the accession of Arthur to the Chief Magistracy of the Union.

The assumption of the duties of the Presidential office by the new Executive was attended with little ceremony or formality. On the 22d of September the oath of office was a *second time* administered to him at the Capitol by Chief-Justice Waite. After this, in the presence of a few who were gathered in the apartment, he delivered an appropriate address, referring in a touching manner to the death of his predecessor. Those present, including General Grant, Ex-President Hayes, Senator Sherman, and his brother, the General of the Army, then paid their respects, and the ceremony was at an end.

In accordance with the custom, the members of the existing Cabinet at once resigned their offices. The resignations, however, were not accepted, the President inviting all the members to retain their places. For the time all did so, except Mr. Windom, Secretary of the Treasury, who retired, and was succeeded by Judge Charles J. Folger, of New York. Mr. MacVeagh also resigned a short time afterwards, and the President appointed as his successor Benjamin H. Brewster, of Philadelphia. The next of the old Garfield Cabinet to retire were Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, and Mr. James, Postmaster-General, who were succeeded in their respective offices by Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, and Timothy O. Howe, of Wisconsin. Mr. Lincoln—so great was the charm of that illustrious name—remained, as by common consent, at the head of the Department of War. Besides the changes here referred to, not much disposition was shown to revolutionize the policy of the Government by the new Administration. The people generally, without respect to party lines, gave a tolerably cordial support to him who had been so suddenly, and by so calamitous a method, called to the Presidency.

The new Administration inherited the troubles and complications of its predecessor. The first and one of the most serious difficulties of the time was the important State trial relating to the alleged Star-Route Conspiracy. Under the recent conduct of affairs in the Post-office Department of the Government, there had been organized a class of fast-mail

routes, known as the Star Routes, the ostensible object being to carry the mails with rapidity and certainty into distant, and almost inaccessible portions of the Western States and Territories. The law governing the letting of mail contracts restricted the action of the Postmaster-General and his subordinates to definite limits of expenditure; but one clause of the law gave to the department the discretionary power to *expedite* such mail routes as seemed to be weaker and less efficient than the service required. This gave to certain officers of the Government the opportunity to let the contracts for many mail lines at a *minimum*, and then, under their discretionary power, to "expedite" the same lines into efficiency at exorbitant rates, the end and aim being to divide the spoils among the parties to the contract.

This alleged Star-Route conspiracy to defraud the Government was unearthed during the Garfield Administration, and Attorney-General MacVeagh was directed by the President to prosecute the reputed conspirators. Indictments were presented by the grand jury against Ex-United States Senator Stephen W. Dorsey, of Arkansas; Second Assistant Postmaster-General Thomas J. Brady, of Indiana; and several others of less note. Mr. MacVeagh, however, seemed, in the conduct of the Department of Justice, to act with little spirit and no success. After his retirement from office, and the appointment of Brewster as Attorney-General, matters were quickened into sharp activity, and those indicted for conspiracy were brought to trial. After several weeks of stormy prosecution and defense, the case went to the jury, who brought in a verdict absurdly convicting certain subordinates of participating in a conspiracy, which could not have existed without the guilt of their superiors! This scandal, occupying the public mind in the summer of 1882, contributed much to the defeat of the Republican party in the State elections of the following November—a defeat so general as to remand, by overwhelming majorities, the control of the House of Representatives to the Democrats.

We may here turn aside from the course of political events—from the mere spectacular aspect of public affairs—to notice briefly some features of the beneficent progress of physical science. History, as a means of delineating the course of human events, is, within the present century, departing more and more from the methods of the old annalists, whose attention was wholly directed to the civil, political, and military movements of society. It is now beginning to be perceived that the sources of human happiness, the origins of human advancement, lie far removed from the fictitious splendors of public life. Yielding to this tendency in history, we shall here notice a few of those salutary inventions which have done so much in our day to add to the comfort, the prosperity, and the honor of the American people.

It is safe to aver that the recent rapid addition by inventive processes to the resources of physical happiness, and to intellectual development as well, is the most striking feature of the civilization of our time. At no other age in the history of the world has a practical knowledge of the laws of nature been so widely and so rapidly diffused. At no other epoch has the subjection of natural agents to the will of man been so wonderfully displayed. It may be truthfully averred that the old life of the human race is giving place to the new life, based on scientific research, and energized by the knowledge that the conditions of our environment in the world are as benevolent as they are unchangeable.

It has remained for the present era, and to American genius, to solve the problem of oral communication between persons at a distance from each other. A knowledge of the laws of sound and electricity has enabled the scientists of our day to devise an apparatus for transmitting, or at least reproducing, the human voice at a distance of hundreds, or even thousands, of miles. The history of the TELEPHONE must stand as a reminder to after ages of the inventive skill and scientific progress of the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century. This instrument, like many similar inventions, seems to have been the work of several ingenious minds, directed at nearly the same time to the same problem. The solution, however, may be properly accredited to Elisha P. Gray, of Chicago, and Alexander Graham Bell, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. It should be mentioned, also, that Amos E. Dolbear, of Tufft's College, Massa-

chusetts, and Thomas A. Edison, of New Jersey, likewise succeeded in solving the difficulties in the way of telephonic communication, or, at least, in answering practically some of the minor questions in the way of success.

The telephone may be defined as an instrument for the reproduction of sound, particularly the sounds of the human voice, by the agency of electricity, at long distances from the origin of the vocal disturbance. It is now well known that the phenomenon called sound consists of a wave agitation communicated through the particles of some medium to the organ of hearing. Every particular sound has its own physical equivalent in the system of waves in which it is written. The only thing, therefore, that is necessary in order to carry a sound in its integrity to any distance, is to transmit its physical equivalent, and to redeliver that equivalent to some organ of hearing capable of receiving it.

Upon these principles the telephone was produced—created. Every sound which falls by impact upon the sheet-iron disk of the instrument communicates thereto a sort of tremor. This tremor causes the disk to approach and recede from the magnetic pole placed just behind the diaphragm. A current of electricity is thus induced, pulsates along the wire to the other end, and is delivered to the metallic disk of the second instrument, many miles away, just as it was produced in the first. The ear of the hearer receives from the second instrument the exact physical equivalent of the sound, or sounds, which were delivered against the disk of the first instrument, and thus the utterance is received at a distance just as it was given forth.

As already said, the invention of the telephone stands chiefly to the credit of Professors Gray and Bell. It should be recorded that as early as 1837 the philosopher Page succeeded, by means of electro-magnetism, in transmitting *musical* tones to a distance. It was not, however, until 1877 that Professor Bell, in a public lecture given at Salem, Massachusetts, astonished his audience, and the whole country as well, by receiving and transmitting vocal messages from Boston, twenty miles away. Incredulity had no more a place as it respected the feasibility of talking to persons at a distance. The experiments of Gray at Chicago, a few days later in the same month, were equally successful. Messages were distinctly delivered between that city and Milwaukee, a distance of eighty-five miles, nor could it be longer doubted that a new era in the means of communication had come.

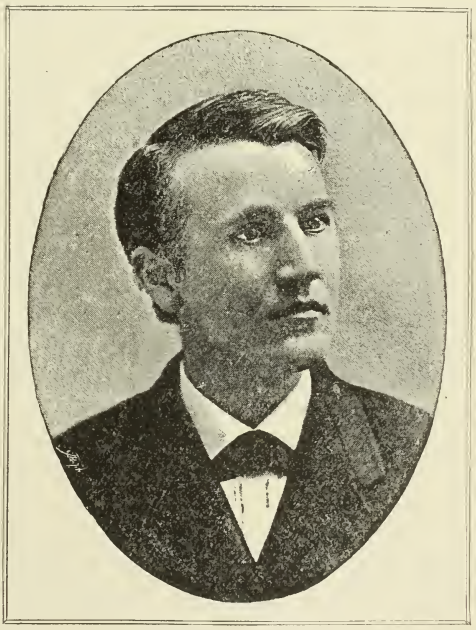
The Bell telephone, with many modifications and improvements, sprang into rapid use. Within reasonable limits of distance the new method of transmitting intelligence by direct vocal utterance, soon took the place of all slower and less convenient means of intercommunication. The appearance of the simple instrument was one of the many harbingers of the auspicious time when the constant interchange of thought and sentiment between man and man, community and community, nation and nation, shall conduce to the peace of the world, and the good-fellowship of the human race.

After the telephone came the PHONOGRAPH. The new instrument was in some sense the complement of its predecessor. Both inventions are based upon the same principle of science. The discovery that every sound has its physical equivalent in a wave or agitation which affects the particles of matter composing the material through which the sound is transmitted led almost inevitably to the other discovery of *catching* and *retaining* that physical equivalent or wave in the surface of some body, and to the reproduction of the original sound therefrom. Such is the fundamental principle of the interesting but, thus far, little useful instrument known as the phonograph. The same was invented by Thomas A. Edison, of Menlo Park, in the year 1877. The instrument differs considerably in structure and purpose from the *Vibrograph* and *Phonautograph* which preceded it. The latter two instruments were made simply to *write* sound vibrations; the former, to reproduce *audibly* the sounds themselves.

The Phonograph consists of three principal parts,—the sender or funnel-shaped tube, with its open mouth-piece standing toward the operator; the diaphragm and stylus connected therewith, which receives the sound spoken into the tube; and thirdly, the revolving cylinder, with its sheet-coating of tin-foil laid over the surface of a spiral groove to receive the indentations of the point of the stylus.

The mode of operation is very simple. The cylinder is revolved; and the point of the stylus, when there is no sound agitation in the funnel or mouth-piece, makes a smooth, continuous depression in the tin-foil over the spiral groove. But when any sound is thrown into the mouth-piece the iron disk or diaphragm is agitated; this agitation is carried through the stylus and written in irregular marks, dots, and peculiar figures in the tin-foil over the groove. When the utterance which is to be reproduced has been completed, the instrument is stopped, the stylus thrown back from the groove, and the cylinder revolved backward to the place of starting. The stylus is then returned to its place in the groove, and the cylinder is revolved forward at the same rate of rapidity as before. As the point of the stylus plays up and down in the indentations and through the figures in the tin-foil, produced by its own previous agitation, a quiver exactly equivalent to that which was produced by the utterance in the mouth-piece is communicated *backwards* to the diaphragm, and by it is flung through the mouth-piece into the air. This agitation is of course the exact physical equivalent of the original sound, or, more properly, *is* the sound itself. Thus it is that the phonograph is made to talk, to sing, to cry; to utter, in short, any sound sufficiently powerful to produce a perceptible tremor in the mouth-piece and diaphragm of the instrument.

Much progress has already been made towards the utilization of the phonograph as a practical addition to the civilizing apparatus of our time. It may be said, indeed, that all the difficulties in the way of such a result have been removed. Mr. Edison has carried forward his work to such a degree of perfection that the instrument may be practically employed in correspondence and literary composition. The problem has been to stereotype, so to speak, the tin-foil record of what has been uttered in the mouth-piece, and thus to preserve in a permanent form the potency of vanished sounds. Nor does it require a great stretch of the imagination to see in the invention of the phonograph one of the greatest achievements of the age—a discovery, indeed, which may possibly revolutionize the whole method of learning. It would seem clear that nature has intended the *ear*, rather than the eye, to be the organ of education. It is manifestly against the fitness of things that the eyes of all mankind should be strained, weakened, permanently injured in childhood, with the unnatural tasks which are imposed upon the delicate organ. It would seem to be more in accordance with the nature and capacities of man, and the general character of the external world, to reserve the eye for the discernment and appreciation of beauty, and to impose upon the ear the tedious and hard tasks of education. The Phonograph makes it possible to read by the ear instead of by the eye, and it is not beyond the range of probability that the book of the future, near or remote, will be written in phonographic plates and



THOMAS A. EDISON.

made to reveal its story directly to the waiting ear, rather than through the secondary medium of print to the enfeebled and tired eye of the reader.

But perhaps the most marked and valuable invention of the current age—the best calculated to affect favorably the welfare of the people, especially in great cities—is that of the Electric Light. The introduction of this superior system of illumination marks an epoch more interesting and important in the history of our country than any political conflict or mere change of rulers. About the beginning of the eighth decade of the century

the project of introducing the electric light for general purposes of illumination began to be agitated. It was at once perceived that the advantages of such lighting were as many as they were obvious. The light is so powerful as to render practicable the performance of many mechanical operations as easily by night as by day. Again, the danger of fire from illuminating sources is almost wholly obviated by the new system. The ease and expedition of all kinds of night employment are greatly enhanced. A given amount of illlumination can be produced much more cheaply by electricity than by any means of gas-lighting or ordinary combustion.

Among the first to demonstrate the feasibility of electric lighting was the philosopher Gramme, of Paris. In the early part of 1875 he successfully lighted his laboratory by means of electricity. Soon afterward the foundry of Ducommun & Co., of Mulhouse, was similarly lighted. In the course of the following year the apparatus for lighting by means of carbon candles was introduced into many of the principal factories of France and other leading countries of Europe. It may prove of interest in this connection to sketch briefly the principal features of the electric light system, and to trace the development of that system in our own and other countries.

Lighting by electricity is accomplished in several ways. In general, however, the principle by which the result is accomplished is one, and depends upon the resistance which the electrical current meets in its transmission through various substances. There are no perfect conductors of electricity. In proportion as the non-conductive quality is prevalent in a substance, especially in a metal, the resistance to the passage of electricity is pronounced, and the consequent disturbance among the molecular particles of the substance is great. Whenever such resistance is encountered in a circuit, the electricity is converted into heat, and when the resistance is great, the heat is, in turn, converted into light, or rather the heat becomes phenomenal in light; that is, the substance which offers the resistance glows with the transformed energy of the impeded current. Upon this simple principle all the apparatus for the production of the electric light is produced.

Among the metallic substances, the one best adapted by its low conductivity to such resistance and transformation of force, is platinum. The high degree of heat necessary to fuse this metal adds to its usefulness and availability for the purpose indicated. When an electrical current is forced along a platinum wire too small to transmit the entire volume, it becomes at once heated—first to a red, and then to a white glow—and is thus made to send forth a radiance like that of the sun. Of the non-metallic elements which offer similar resistance, the best is carbon. The infusibility of this substance renders it greatly superior to platinum for purposes of the electric light.

Near the beginning of the present century it was discovered by Sir Humphrey Davy that carbon points may be rendered incandescent by means of a powerful electrical current. The discovery was fully developed in the year 1809, while the philosopher just referred to was experimenting with the great battery of the Royal Institution of London. He observed—rather by accident than design, or previous anticipation—that a strong volume of electricity passing between two bits of wood charcoal produces tremendous heat, and a light like that of the sun. It appears, however, that Davy at first regarded the phenomenon rather in the nature of an interesting display of force than as a suggestion of the possibility of turning night into day.

For nearly three-quarters of a century the discovery made by Sir Humphrey lay dormant among the great mass of scientific facts revealed in the laboratory. In course of time, however, the nature of the new fact began to be apprehended. The electric lamp in many forms was proposed and tried. The scientists, Niardet, Wilde, Brush, Fuller, and many others of less note, busied themselves with the work of invention. Especially did Gramme and Siemens devote their scientific genius to the work of turning to good account the knowledge now fully possessed of the transformability of the electric current into light.

The experiments of the last named two distinguished inventors brought us to the dawn of the new era in artificial lighting. The Russian philosopher, Jablochkoff, carried the work still further by the practical introduction

of the carbon candle. Other scientists—Carré, Foucault, Serrin, Rapieff, and Werdemann—had, at an earlier or later day, thrown much additional information into the common stock of knowledge relative to the illuminating possibilities of electricity. Finally, the accumulated materials of science fell into the hands of that untutored but remarkably radical inventor, Thomas A. Edison, who gave himself with the utmost zeal to the work of removing the remaining difficulties in the problem.

Edison began his investigations in this line of invention in September of 1878, and in December of the following year gave to the public his first formal statement of results. After many experiments with platinum, he abandoned that material in favor of the carbon-arc *in vacuo*. The latter is, indeed, the essential feature of the Edison light. A small semicircle, or horseshoe, of some substance, such as a filament of bamboo reduced to the form of pure carbon, the two ends being attached to the poles of the generating-machine, or dynamo, as the engine is popularly called, is inclosed in a glass bulb, from which the air has been carefully withdrawn, and is rendered incandescent by the passage of an electric current. The other important features of Edison's discovery relate to the divisibility of the current, and its control and regulation in volume by the operator. These matters were fully mastered in the Edison invention, and the apparatus rendered as completely subject to management as are the other varieties of illuminating agencies.

It were vain to speculate upon the future of electric lighting. The question of artificial illumination has had much to do with the progress of the human race, particularly when aggregated into cities. Doubtless the old systems of lighting are destined in time to give place altogether to the splendors of the electric glow. The general effect of the change upon society must be as marked as it is salutary. Darkness, the enemy of good government and morality in great cities, will, in a great measure, be dispelled by the beneficent agent, over which the genius of Davy, Gramme, Brush, Edison, and a host of other explorers in the new continents of science has so completely triumphed. The ease, happiness, comfort, and welfare of mankind must be vastly multiplied, and the future must be reminded, in the glow that dispels the night, of that splendid fact that the progress of civilization depends, in a large measure, upon a knowledge of Nature's laws, and the diffusion of that knowledge among the people.

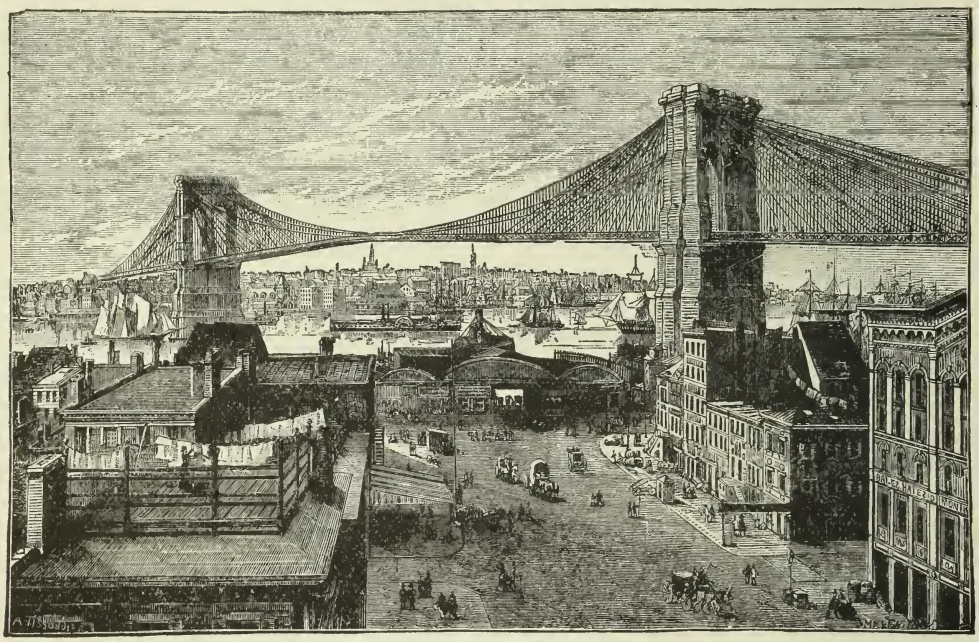
We may here notice, in a few brief paragraphs, some of the great achievements belonging to the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century in the matter of physical improvements. At no other time in modern history has civil engineering been turned to a better account than in the recent public works of the United States. First among these we may properly notice a few of the remarkable bridges which have been constructed within the period under contemplation. The principal place among such works may properly be given to the great Suspension Bridge over the strait known as East River, between New York and Brooklyn. The completion and formal opening of this work, which occurred on the 24th of May, 1883, was an event of so great interest as to evoke universal attention and elicit many descriptions.

The Brooklyn Bridge is the longest and largest structure of the kind in the world. The design was the work of the distinguished John A. Roebling, the originator of wire suspension-bridges, under whose supervision, and that of his son, Washington A. Roebling, the structure was completed.[1] The elder of these

[1] The personal history of the Roeblings, father and son, in connection with their great work, is as pathetic as it is interesting. The elder engineer was injured while laying the foundation of one of the shore-piers on the 22d of July, 1869, and died of lockjaw. W. A. Roebling then took up his father's unfinished task. He continued the work of supervision for about two years, when he was prostrated with a peculiar form of paralysis known as the "Caisson disease," from which he never fully recovered. His mental faculties, however, remained unimpaired, and he was able to direct with his eye what his hands could no longer execute. While thus prostrated, his wife developed a genius almost equal to that of her husband and her father-in-law. The palsied engineer, thus reïnforced, continued for five years to furnish the plans for the work. These plans were almost all drawn by his wife, who never flagged under the tasks imposed upon her. In 1876, Roebling was partly restored to health, and lived to hear the applause which his genius and enterprise had won.

two eminent engineers had already won for himself an enduring fame by the building of the first suspension-bridge across the chasm of Niagara, and also the still greater structure of the same character across the Ohio River, between Cincinnati and Covington. The latter structure, at the time of its erection, was by a thousand feet the longest of the kind in the world. The younger Roebling inherited much of his father's genius, and added a genius of his own. The construction of the bridge over East River could not have been put into hands more capable if all nations had been explored for engineers.

William C. Kingsley, President of the Bridge Trustees; and his predecessor in that office, Henry C. Murphy. The first plans and estimates were prepared in 1865. The company for the construction was organized two years afterwards. The capital was fixed at $5,000,000. The enterprise was not pressed with due vigor until 1875, when the work was taken up by the State of New York. A Board of Managers was appointed to bring the bridge to completion at as early a date as possible. Congress also patronized the enterprise by an act of June, 1869, authorizing the construction. The formal opening in May of



EAST RIVER BRIDGE.

The East River structure is what is known as a suspension bridge, being supported by four enormous wires, or cables, stretching from pier to pier in a single span, a distance of 1,595 feet. From the main towers to the anchorages on either side is 930 feet; from the anchorages outward to the termini of the approaches is, on the New York side, a distance of 1,562 feet; and on the Brooklyn side 972 feet; giving a total length of bridge and approaches of 5,989 feet. The total weight of the structure is 64,700 tons; the estimated capacity of support is 1,740 tons, and the "ultimate" resistance is calculated at 49,200 tons.

The Brooklyn bridge was first projected by

1883 drew the attention of the whole Nation to the metropolis, and proved by the interest which the event excited that even in America politics is not the best, at least not the only, vocation of mankind.

Perhaps the most notable example of the Cantilever Bridge as yet produced in the New World is the great structure of that order over the Niagara River, just above the village of Suspension Bridge, New York. It is the work of the distinguished civil engineer, C. G. Schneider, and is one of the most beautiful structures of its kind ever constructed. The bridge has a total length of 910 feet, and crosses the river with a single span of 470 feet.

The roadway is 239 feet above the water-level in the chasm below. The materials employed in the construction are steel and iron. The erection of any kind of staging in the river at this point was impossible, and what is called the "overhang" method of structure had to be adopted. Each of the great cantilevers were built out from the piers, section by section, until they had been advanced far enough from each side of the abyss to join their girders in the middle.

Still another of the most notable examples of successful bridge-building in the United States is that of the new Washington Bridge, extending from the upper extremity of Manhattan Island, across the gorge of the Harlem River to Westchester County, on the other side. The work is regarded as the most beautiful of its kind ever erected in America. The structure is of steel, and granite, and bronze. The chasm is spanned by two magnificent arches, having plate-girders of steel, each arch being from foot to foot a distance of 510 feet. The piers are of massive masonry, which rise to the level of the roadway. The viaduct is supported on vertical posts rising from the arches. The height of the roadway is 152 feet above the level of tide-water in the Harlem, being forty feet in excess of the like measurement under the East River Suspension Bridge. The approaches to the structure are broad viaducts of granite, carried on stone arches. All of the ornamentation is of bronze. The Washington Bridge was constructed in 1888–9, according to the designs and under the direction of the eminent civil engineer, Mr. William R. Hutton.

On the whole, the Administration of Arthur proved to be uneventful. The Government pursued the even tenor of its way, and the progress of the country was unchecked by serious calamity. In the domain of politics, we note here the gradual obliteration of those sharply defined issues which for the last quarter of a century had divided the two great parties. As a consequence, there was noticeable a healthful abatement of partisan rancor. It became every year more apparent that the questions at issue in the political arena were merely factitious, and that the clamors of partisanship were kept up by those who hoped to gather the spoils of the political battle-field. Nor might any discern, in this decade, how much longer those ill-founded cries of alarm might serve to hold the people in line under the old party names. For the time being, however, the man who plowed or kept the flock, the mechanic, the artisan, the merchant, continued to come forth at the call of party leaders, and to vote, as had been his wont, on issues that were more imaginary than real.

To this general fact, that party questions were no longer vital and distinct, there was one notable exception. It can not be doubted that the American people were, from 1880 to 1890, really and sincerely divided on the question of the TARIFF. Whether the true policy of the United States is that of a free-trade or a protective system was a fundamental issue, and the decision was postponed. The policy of gathering immense revenues from customs duties during the Civil War, and in the decade thereafter, had become firmly imbedded as a factor in the industrial and commercial systems of the country. A great manufacturing interest had been stimulated into unusual, not to say inordinate, activity. Practically the political parties had become so much entangled with the finances and the industries of the country that no party discipline could withdraw and align the political forces in columns and battalions as of old. The question was fundamentally as ancient as the Republic. Ever and anon, from the very foundation of the Government, the tariff issue had obtruded itself upon the attention of the people. It may not be deemed inappropriate in this connection to state and briefly elucidate the various views which have been entertained on the subject.

First, we have what is called the doctrine of FREE TRADE, pure and simple. The theory is, in a word, as follows: The indications of profitable industry are founded in nature. The hints and suggestions of the natural world are the true indications of mankind as to how the various industries which human genius have devised are to be most profitably directed. Thus, a rich soil means agriculture. A barren soil is the indication of nature against agricultural pursuits. Beds of ore signify mining; veins of petroleum, oil-wells; a headlong river, water-power; hills of silica, glass-works; for-

ests of pine, ship-masts and coal-tar; bays and havens and rivers, commerce. Free trade says that these things are the voice and edict of the natural world as to how human industry shall be exerted. The way to wealth, prosperity, happiness, is to follow the edict of nature whithersoever it calls. To go against human nature is to go against self-interest and against common sense. *Laissez faire*, that is, "Let alone," is the fundamental motto of the system—hands off, and no meddling with the plain conditions which are imposed on man by his environments. Let him who lives in the fecund valley till the soil and gather a hundred-fold. Let him who inhabits the rocky upland, by river-side or bed of pent-up coal, devote his energies to manufacture. Let each procure from the other by exchange the necessaries and conveniences of life which he could not himself produce but at a great disadvantage, and an irrational and needless expenditure of toil. Let the producer of raw material send it near or far to the manufacturer, and receive in turn the fabric which he must wear, even the food wherewith he must sustain his life. Why should he do otherwise? Why should either the man or the community struggle against the conditions of nature, and the immutable laws of industry, to produce the entire supply of things necessary for human comfort, convenience, and welfare? It is intended that men should live together in amity; that they should mutually depend one upon the other; that each should gain from the other's genius and exertion what he is unable to procure by his own endeavor and skill. Neighbors should be at peace. Different communities should not quarrel; should not put interdicts and checks upon the natural laws of intercourse and mutual dependency.. Nations should not fight. The harmonious order of civilization requires a world-wide exchange of products. Men are happier and richer, and nations are more powerful, when they give themselves freely to the laws of their environments, and toil in those fields of industry to which both their own dispositions and the benevolent finger of nature point the way.

The theory continues: All contrivances of human law which controvert or oppose these fundamental conditions of legitimate industry are false in principle and pernicious in application. If civil society assume to direct the industries of her people against the plain indications of nature, then society becomes a tyrant. The rule of action in such case is no longer free but despotic. All laws which tend to divert the industries of a nation from those pursuits which are indicated by the natural surroundings are hurtful, selfish, self-destructive, and, in the long run, weakening and degrading to the people. A tariff duty so laid as to build up one industry at the expense of another is a piece of barbarous intermeddling with both the principles of common sense and the inherent rights of men. If free trade makes one nation dependent on another, then it also makes that other nation dependent on the first. The one can no more afford to fight the other than the other can afford to fight it. Hence free trade as the great economic law among the nations. It is both sound in theory and beneficial in application. Hence a tariff for revenue only as the true principle of national action. It is the bottom economic policy of government relative to the interests of the people. Such is the general theory to which has been given the name of *Laissez faire*, but which is known among the English-speaking peoples by the more limited term, Free Trade.

The first remove from the doctrines above set forth is that of Incidental Protection. The primary assumptions of this theory are nearly identical with those of free trade. Nearly all of the propositions advanced by the free-trader are accepted as correct by the incidental protectionist. The latter, however, holds some peculiar doctrines of his own. He claims that men, as the doctrine of *Laissez faire* teaches, should labor according to the indications of nature, and that the attempt on the part of Government to divert the industries of the people from one channel to another is contrary to right reason and sound policy. But he also holds that since a tariff is the common means adopted by most of the civilized States of the world to produce the revenue whereby the expenses of government are met and sustained, the same should be so levied as to be incidentally favorable to those industries of the people which are placed at a natural disadvantage. He does not hold that any tariff should be levied with the *intention* of protecting and fostering a given

industry, but that in every case the tax should be laid for *public purposes only;* that is, with the intention of sustaining the State, and be only *incidentally* directed to the protection of the weaker industry. These last assumptions furnish the ground of political divergence between free-traders proper and incidental protectionists. The latter take into consideration both the fundamental conditions of the argument and the peculiar character of the industries of the people. They claim that given pursuits may thus be strengthened and encouraged by legislative provisions, and that natural and political laws may be made to coöperate in varying and increasing the productive resources of the State.

The third general view relative to this question is known as the doctrine of LIMITED PROTECTION. The word "limited," in the definition, has respect to a *time* relation. The fundamental difference between this theory and the preceding is this: The incidental protectionist denies, and the limited protectionist affirms, the wisdom of levying tariff duties with the *intention* and *purpose* of protecting home industries. The limited protectionist would have the legislation of the State take particular cognizance of the character and variety of the industries of the people, and would have the laws enacted with constant reference to the encouragement of the weaker—generally the manufacturing—pursuits. The doctrine of incidental protection would stop short of this; would adopt the theory of "let alone," so far as the original purpose of legislation is concerned; but would, at the same time, so shape the tariff that a needed stimulus would be given to certain industries. The limited protectionist agrees with the free-trader in certain assumptions. The former, as well as the latter, assents to the proposition that the *original* condition of industry is found in nature—in the environment of the laborer. But he also urges that the necessity for a varied industry is so great, so important, to the welfare and independence of a people, as to justify the deflection of human energy by law to certain pursuits, which could not be profitably followed but for the fact of protection.

This principle the limited protectionist gives as a reason for tariff legislation, which he advocates. He would make the weaker industry live and thrive by the side of the stronger. He would modify the crude rules of nature by the higher rules of human reason. He would not only adapt man to his environment, but would adapt the environment to him. He would keep in view the strength, the dignity, the independence, of the State, and would be willing to incur temporary disadvantages for the sake of permanent good. In the course of time, when, under the stimulus of a protective system, the industries of the State have become sufficiently varied, and sufficiently harmonized with original conditions, he would allow the system of protective duties to expire, and freedom of trade to supervene. But *until* that time, he would insist that the weaker, but not less essential, industries of a people should be encouraged and fostered by law. He would deny the justice or economy of that system which, in a new country, boundless in natural resources, but poor in capital, would constrain the people to bend themselves to the production of a few great staples, the manufacture of which, by foreign nations, would make them rich, and leave the original producers in perpetual vassalage and poverty.

The fourth general view is embodied in the theory of HIGH PROTECTION. In this the doctrine is boldly advanced that the bottom assumptions of free trade are specious and false. The influence of man upon his environment is so great as to make it virtually whatever the law of right reason would suggest. The suggestion of right reason is this: Every nation should be independent. Its complete sovereignty and equality should be secured by every means short of injustice. In order that a State may be independent and be able to mark out for itself a great destiny, its industries must afford employment for all the talents and faculties of man, and yield products adapted to all his wants. To devote the energies of a people to those industries *only*, which are suggested by the situation and environment, is to make man a slave to nature instead of nature's master. It may be sound reasoning for the people inhabiting a fertile valley to devote themselves *principally* to agricultural pursuits; but to do this to the exclusion of other industries is merely to narrow the energies of the race, make dependent the

laborer, and finally exhaust those very powers of nature which, for the present, seem to suggest one pursuit and forbid all others.

The theory of high protection continues thus: It is the duty of society to build up *many* industries in every locality, whatever may be the environment. If nature furnishes no suggestion of blast-furnaces and iron-works, then nature must be constrained by means of human law. The production of manufactured values should be so encouraged by tariff duties as to become profitable in *all* situations. Not only should every State, but every community and every man, be made comparatively independent. Every community should be able by its own industry to supply at least the larger part of its own wants. The spindle should be *made* to turn; the forge *made* to glow; the mill-wheel *made* to turn; the engine *made* to pant; and the towering furnace to fling up into the darkness of midnight its volcanic glare,—all this whether nature has or has not prepared the antecedents of such activity. And this can not be accomplished, or at least not well accomplished, in any other way than by the legal protection of those industries which do not flourish under the action of merely natural law. It is, in brief, the theory of the high protectionist that every community of men, by means of its own varied and independent activities, fostered and encouraged by the protective system of industries, should become in the body politic what the ganglion is in the nerve system of man,—an independent, local power, capable of originating its own action and directing its own energies.

There is still a fifth position occasionally assumed by publicists, and sometimes acted on by nations. This is the doctrine and practice of Prohibitory Tariffs. The idea here is that the mutual interdependence of nations is, on the whole, disadvantageous, and that each should be rendered *wholly* independent of the other. Some of the oldest peoples of the world have adopted this doctrine and policy. The Oriental nations, as a rule, have, until recent times, followed persistently the exclusive theory in their national affairs. The principle is, that if in any State or Nation certain industrial conditions and powers are wanting, then those powers and conditions should be produced by means of law. Internal trade is, according to this doctrine, the principal thing, and commercial intercourse with foreign States a matter of secondary, or even dubious, advantage. If the price of the given home product be not sufficient to stimulate its production in such quantities as to meet all the requirements of the market, then that price should be raised by means of legislation, and raised again and again, until the foreign trade shall cease, and home manufacture be supplied in its place.

True, there are not many of the modern peoples who now carry the doctrine of protection to this extreme. But it is also true that, in the endeavor to prepare protective schedules under the system of limited or high protection, it has not infrequently happened that the tariff is fixed at such a scale as *to act* as a prohibitory duty, and turn aside entirely the foreign commerce in the article on which the tariff is laid.

Such, then, are the fundamental principles which underlie the great controversy, and furnish the issues of political divergence in the United States. The question is as old as the beginnings of civil progress in the New World. No sooner was the present governmental system in our country instituted, than the controversy broke out in the halls of legislation. The second statute ever enacted by Congress under the Constitution was passed for the purpose of "providing a revenue, *and affording protection to American industry.*" The very necessities which gave rise to the Constitution were those relating to commerce, and interwoven with the tariff. From the beginning the question would not down. During the fourth and fifth decades of the century, the leading political agitations were produced by the revival of the tariff issue in our system. During the ascendency of Henry Clay, his so-called "American system" became, for a season, the bottom principle of Whig politics. In the ante-bellum epoch the Whig party continued to favor the protective system, while the Democratic party espoused free trade. After the war the question slumbered for a season. In 1880 a paragraph in the national platform of the Democratic party was inserted—not, indeed, with the intention of evoking an old controversy from oblivion—which, by declaring in favor of a tariff for revenue only, unex-

pectedly precipitated the whole issue anew, and contributed to, perhaps determined, the defeat of the Democratic ticket. Even in those States where Democracy was in the ascendant the growth of great manufacturing establishments had brought in a vast army of artisans, who, in spite of all party affiliation, refused to support a platform which, according to their belief, was calculated to injure, if not destroy, the very business in which they were engaged.

Both the Democrats and the Republicans, in the ensuing quadrennium made strenuous efforts to align their party followers on this question; but neither was successful. The event showed that the Democrats were by no means unanimous for free trade, and that the Republicans were equally far from unanimity in their support of protection. It was found that large numbers of Republican leaders, whose financial interests lay in the direction of commerce rather than in manufactures, espoused the free-trade doctrine. Never was party discipline more strained on any subject than in the Presidential campaigns from 1876 to 1888. Especially during the Administration of Arthur and his successor did the tariff question gather head, and the white crests of conflicting tides were seen along the whole surface of political controversy. Nor may the publicist and historian of the passing age clearly foresee the solution of the problem. One thing, however, may be safely predicted, and that is, that the question in America will be decided, as it has already been decided by Great Britain, according to *self-interest*. No people will, in the long run, act against what it conceives to be its interest for the sake of supporting a given theory. When some party in power, whatever that party may be, shall become convinced that the *interest* of the United States requires the abolition of all protective duties, and the substitution therefor of a system of tariff for revenue only, then, and not till then, will the *Laissez-faire* theory of political economy take the place of that which has thus far prevailed on this side of the sea.

Hardly had the crime of Garfield's murder been perpetrated, and the Presidency transferred to Arthur, before the issue of naming his successor was raised by the ever-busy swarm of American politicians. To the calm-minded observer it appears a thing of wonder that the people of the United States have thus far permitted themselves to be cajoled, hoodwinked, browbeaten, converted into slaves, by the ignorant hordes of interested adventurers who have arrogated to themselves the right of controlling the destiny of the American Republic. It can hardly be wondered that under the continuance of such a system a spirit of political pessimism has gained ground to the very verge of prevalence in the United States. Of a certainty, the party newspaper has been, and continues to be, the abettor and agent of Kakistocracy in America. And until the reign of that evangel of evil is ended, the people of the United States must continue to beat about blindly, moping and groaning under the despotism of the bad.

The year 1882 had hardly furnished a breathing time for the subsidence of passion until the great army of the interested went forth to arouse the country for another contest. In this haste might be seen the symptoms of fear, for it could not be doubted that both the political organizations had become alarmed lest through the failure of living issues the old combinations which had divided the country for a quarter of a century should go to pieces and leave the field to the people. But the time had not yet come for the breaking up of the political deeps, and the masses were still made to believe that the old questions were vital to the welfare of the country.

As the quadrennium came to a close, many prominent men were named in connection with the Presidential office. Among those most warmly advocated by the Republicans were James G. Blaine, of Maine; George F. Edmunds, of Vermont; President Chester A. Arthur; Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut; John Sherman, of Ohio; John A. Logan and Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois; and General William T. Sherman, of Missouri. Among the Democrats the leaders most frequently urged for the nomination in 1884 were Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts; Samuel J. Tilden and Grover Cleveland, of New York; Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania; Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware; Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio; John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky; Joseph E. McDonald and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana. Early in

1884, Chicago was selected as the place of both the National conventions. The Greenback-Labor party held its convention at Indianapolis, in the month of April, and nominated General Butler for the Presidency, and A. M. West, of Mississippi, for the Vice-presidency. The Republican convention met on the 3d of May, and, after a spirited session of three days' duration, nominated James G. Blaine, of Maine, and General John A. Logan, of Illinois, for the Presidency and Vice-presidency, respectively. The Democratic delegates assembled on the 9th of July, and on the 11th completed their work by nominating for the Presidency, Grover Cleveland, of New York, and for the Vice-presidency, Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana. The nominations on both sides were received with considerable enthusiasm; but a considerable faction in each party refused to support the National ticket.



GENERAL WILLIAM T. SHERMAN.

As the election of 1884 drew nigh, everything seemed to depend upon the electoral votes of New York and Indiana; and when the preliminary counting showed the latter State for the Democrats, the former became the single battle-field of the campaign. The event proved favorable to the Democrats, though their majority in the popular vote of New York was only 1,142. This small preponderance determined the result. It gave the vote of the Empire State to Cleveland and Hendricks, assuring to them 219 ballots in the Electoral College, against 182 votes for Blaine and Logan.

The sequel of the Presidential election of this year was less happy than generally happens under like circumstances. For six successive Administrations the Republican party had been in power. The quarter of a century covered by this ascendency had been by far the most important since the Revolution. The United States of 1884 had been completely transformed from the United States of 1860. The great, and, on the whole, salutary changes which had taken place in the social condition and civil polity of the American people were, as always happens in such cases, claimed by the dominant party as the result of its management and control of National affairs. As a matter of fact, the Republican party was itself the *result* of a growth and development in the United States—merely one of the *effects*, instead of the *cause*, of the changed order of things. But the leaders of that party were, in a considerable degree, honest in claiming that the tremendous and beneficial changes which had passed, like the shadows of great clouds over the American landscape, were attributable to the long period of Republican ascendency. To lose power, therefore, was political bitterness itself. For the Republican managers and office-holders to abdicate their

offices, and go forth among the people powerless, seemed to them the end of National greatness. Mr. Blaine himself, notwithstanding his equanimity and self-possession, felt keenly the humiliation of the overthrow. It was under his banner that his party had at last come to defeat. Soon after the election he delivered a speech which, far from being pacific in its tone, was, for the most part, a bitter invective against the South. The Republican newspapers, especially in the West, took up the hue and cry, and filled their columns with such matter as might well have appeared in the first year after the Civil War. By degrees, however, this feeling subsided, and near the close of Arthur's Administration the office-holders, as a class, began to trim their sails with the evident hope that the breezes of Civil Service Reform, to which the President-elect was pledged, might waft them still further on the high seas of emolument.

A short time before the retirement of Arthur from the Presidency, the command of the army of the United States was transferred from General William T. Sherman to Lieutenant-General Philip H. Sheridan. The former distinguished officer, one of the most talented and eminent soldiers of the century, having reached the age at which, according to an act of Congress, he might retire from active service, availed himself of the provision, and laid down his command. The formal papers with which he concluded his official relation with the army were marked with the same fervor and patriotism which had characterized all of his utterances since the time when he gave his services to the country in the dark days of disunion. Nor could it be said that the new General, to whom the command of the American army was now intrusted, was less a patriot and soldier than his illustrious predecessor.

The recurrence of the birthday of Washington, 1885, was noted for the dedication of the great monument which had been building for so many years at the Capital. The erection of such a structure had been suggested as early as 1799. Nor could it well be doubted that the American people would, in due time,



LIEUTENANT-GENERAL PHILIP H. SHERIDAN.

rear some appropriate memorial to the Father of his Country. The work was not undertaken, however, until 1835. In that year an organization was effected to promote the enterprise. But for a long time after the beginning, the work of building lagged, and it was not until Congress, taunted at last into action by the animadversions of the press and people, undertook the prosecution of the enterprise, that it was brought to completion. The cost of the Washington Monument was about

$1,500,000. It stands on the left bank of the Potomac, in the southern outskirts of Washington City. The structure was at the time of its erection the highest in the world. The shaft proper, without reckoning the foundation, is 555 feet in height, being thirty feet higher than the Cathedral at Cologne, and seventy-five feet higher than the Pyramid of Cheops in its present condition. The great obelisk is composed of more than eighteen thousand blocks of stone. They are mostly of white marble, and weigh several tons each. One hundred and eighty-one memorial stones, contributed by the different States of the



GROVER CLEVELAND.

Union, and by friendly foreign nations, are set at various places in the structure.

The dedication of the monument occurred on Saturday, the 21st of February. The ceremonies were of the most imposing character. A procession of more than six thousand persons marched from the base of the monument, along Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol, while salutes were fired from the batteries of the navy-yard. At the Capitol the procession was reviewed by the President of the United States. The concluding ceremonies were held in the House of Representatives, where a great throng of distinguished people had assembled — not so much to do honor to the occasion as to be honored by it. The principal oration, written by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, as well as the less formal addresses of the day, was well worthy of the event, and calculated to add—if aught could add—to the fame of him who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens."

Grover Cleveland, twenty-second President of the United States, was born at Caldwell, New Jersey, March 18, 1837. Three years afterwards he was taken by his father and mother to Fayetteville, near Syracuse, New York. Here, in his boyhood, he received such limited education as the schools of the place afforded. For a while in his youth he was clerk in a village store. Afterward the family removed, first to Clinton and then to Holland Patent. At the latter place his father died, and young Cleveland, left to his own resources, went to New York and became a teacher in an asylum for the blind. After a short time, however, the young man, finding such pursuits uncongenial to his tastes, went to Buffalo and engaged in the study of law. He was admitted to the bar in 1859, and, four years afterwards, began his public career as Assistant District Attorney. In 1869 he was elected Sheriff of Erie County, and in 1881 was chosen Mayor of Buffalo. His next promotion by his fellow-citizens was to the governorship of New York, to which position he was elected, in 1882, by the astonishing majority of 192,854—the majority being perhaps unparalleled in the history of American elections. It was while he still held this office that, in July of 1884, he was nominated by the Democratic party for the Presidency of the United States.

Much interest was manifested by the public in the constitution of the new Cabinet. On the day following the inauguration the nominations were sent to the Senate, and were as follows: For Secretary of State, Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware; for Secretary of the Treasury, Daniel Manning, of New York; for Secretary of the Interior, Lucius Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi; for Secretary of War, William C. Endicott, of Massachusetts; for Secretary of the Navy, William C. Whitney, of New York; for Postmaster-General, William F. Vilas, of Wisconsin; for Attorney-General, Augustus H. Garland, of Arkansas. The peculiarity of the appointments was that two of them were from New York. But the prejudice which

might arise on this account was fully counterbalanced by the high character and undoubted abilities of the men whom the President had chosen as the responsible advisers of his Administration.

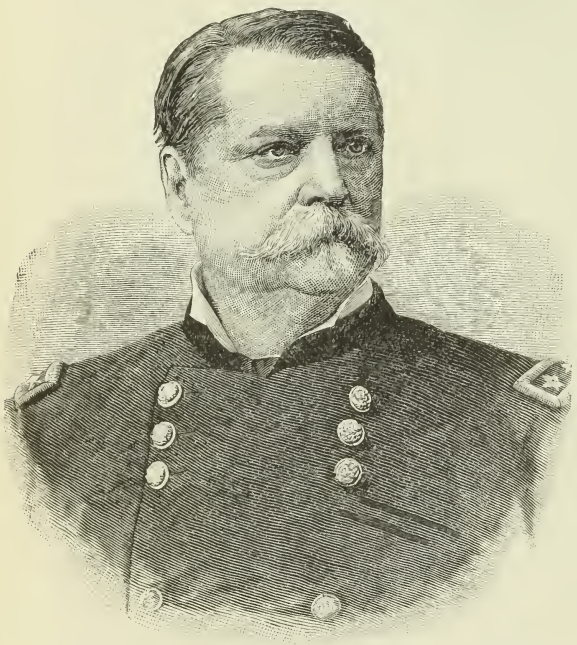
The most serious question which confronted the new President, and which continued to beset his course through the whole quadrennium, was the distribution of official patronage. The Democratic party had come into power on a platform distinctly enunciating the doctrine of reform in the civil service. From almost the beginning of the Government it had been the custom of the party in power to distribute to its own partisans all the appointive offices. This usage, well established since the days of Jackson, had been the origin and cause of the greater part of the abuses which had existed in the various departments of the Government. Extreme party men had claimed always that "to the victors belong the spoils" of office. Of late years, however, the best political opinion of the country turned with disgust from the gross practice of rewarding men for mere party services, and in the evenly balanced Presidential contest of 1880 and 1884 it became all important that both the dominant parties should conciliate, at least by professions of sympathy, the growing phalanx of civil service reformers. They it was who in the late election, believing in the sincerity of Cleveland, had thrown their influence in his favor, and thereby secured his elevation to the Presidency. He went into office pledged to carry out the views of those by whose suffrages he had been raised to power. These views, moreover, were his own; and it thus happened that the new Administration was launched with "Civil-service Reform" inscribed on its pennon.

In the political management of States by party ascendency, it ever happens that the practical application of the principles on which the party has come into power is attended with extreme difficulty. In the first place, the so-called principles are frequently formulated simply as a means to gather votes and reach success. After the election has been won and the party accedes to power, there is no further thought of carrying into effect the alleged "principles" by which party success has been achieved. In the contest of 1884 many of the Democratic leaders had upheld the banner of civil service merely as an expedient. To such elements of his party the President's sincere attempt at the beginning of his Administration to enforce the principles of the party platform by an actual reform in the system of appointments was little less than appalling. To them the declaration in favor of a better order of things relative to the appointive offices of the Government was purely nominal. They accordingly made a rush to gather the spoils of the victory which they claimed to have won. From the day of the inauguration a great crowd of office-seekers thronged the Capital, and the Chief Magistrate was besieged by hundreds and thousands of those whose principal claims to preferment were that they had served the party. During the first year of the new Administration it was a grave question whether or not the President would be able to stand by the flag of reform, or whether he would be driven to readopt the cast-off policy of satisfying with official appointments the hungry horde that surged around the Presidential mansion.

It was one of the peculiarities of the epoch upon which we here enter in American history that the memories and deeds of the Civil War seemed to arise again in the public mind by a sort of uncaused revival, the true origin of which it might be difficult to discover. Perhaps, on the whole, this renewal of interest should be chiefly ascribed to the fact that the great men whose genius had determined the destinies of that conflict now entered the shadows of old age, and became talkative about the stirring exploits of their youth and vigorous manhood. At this time began to appear that series of authoritative publications concerning the War for the Union, in which many of the leading participants related their part in the drama. This work, so important to the right understanding of the great struggle for and against the Union, was begun by General William T. Sherman, who, in 1875, published his *Memoirs*, narrating the story of that part of the war in which he had been a leader. This was not indeed the first of the publications on the subject. As early as 1870, Alexander H. Stephens, late Vice-President of the Confederacy, had completed his two volumes entitled the *War Between the*

States. In 1884, General Grant began the publication in the *Century Magazine* of a series of war articles which attracted universal attention, and which led to the preparation and issuance of his *Memoirs* in 1885–6. Similar contributions by many other eminent commanders of the Union and Confederate Armies followed in succession, until a large, able, and impartial literature was left on record for the instruction of after times.

The interest in the above publications was greatly heightened by the death, within a limited period, of a large number of the great Union Generals who had led their armies to



WINFIELD S. HANCOCK.

victory in the War of the Rebellion. It was in the early summer of the year 1885 that the attention of the people was called away from public affairs by the announcement that the veteran General, Ulysses S. Grant, had been stricken with a fatal malady, that his days would be few among the living. The hero of Vicksburg and Appomattox sank under the ravages of a malignant cancer which had fixed itself in his throat, and on the 23d of July he died quietly at a summer cottage on Mount McGregor, New York. For some months the silent hero, who had commanded the combined armies of the United States, had been engaged in the pathetic work of bringing to completion his two volumes of *Memoirs*, from the sale of which—such is the gratitude of Republics—the resources of his family must be chiefly drawn. It was a race, with death for the goal. Scarcely had the enfeebled General laid down his pencil until the enemy knocked at the door. The last days of Grant were hallowed by the sympathies of the Nation which he had so gloriously defended. The news of his death passed over the land like the shadow of a great cloud. Almost every city and hamlet showed, in some appropriate way, its emblems of grief. The funeral ceremonies equaled, if they did not surpass, any which have ever been witnessed. The procession in New York City was perhaps the most solemn and imposing pageant ever exhibited in honor of the dead, at least since the funeral of the Duke of Wellington. On August 8, 1885, the body of General Grant was laid to rest in Riverside Park, overlooking the Hudson. There, on a summit from which may be seen the great river and the metropolis of the Nation, is the tomb of him whose courage and magnanimity in war will forever give him rank with the few master spirits who, by their heroic deeds, have honored the human race, and by their genius have changed the course of history.

Within less than three months from the funeral of Grant another distinguished Union commander fell. On the 29th of October General George B. McClellan, organizer of the Army of the Potomac, at one time General-in-Chief, subsequently Democratic candidate for the Presidency, and at a later period Governor of New Jersey, died at his home at St. Cloud, in that State. The conspicuous part which he had borne during the first two years of the war, his eminent abilities as a soldier and civilian, and his unblemished character as a man and citizen, combined to heighten the estimate of his life and services, and to evoke the sincerest expressions of national sorrow on the occasion of his death.[1]

After another brief interval, a third great military leader fell in the person of General

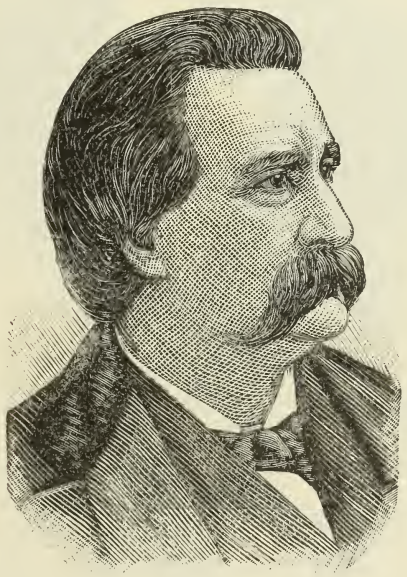
[1] The posthumous publication of *McClellan's Own Story*, under the auspices of his bereaved wife, is, on the whole, to be greatly regretted. As a contribution to the military—even the civil—history of the time, the work is valuable; but to

Winfield S. Hancock. This brave and generous commander was, at the time of his death, the Senior Major-General of the American army. Always a favorite with the people and the soldiers, he had, since the close of the war, occupied a conspicuous place before the public. In 1880 he was the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, and, though defeated by General Garfield, the defeat was without dishonor. His death, which occurred at his home on Governor's Island, on the 9th of February, 1886, was universally deplored, and the people omitted no mark of respect for the memory of him who, in the great struggle for the preservation of the Union, had won and borne the title of "Hero of Gettysburg." Thus have passed away the gallant Generals of the Army of the Potomac. George B. McClellan, Ambrose E. Burnside, Joseph Hooker, George G. Meade, and Winfield S. Hancock have, one by one, joined

"The innumerable caravan that moves
To that mysterious realm, where each shall take
His chamber in the silent halls of Death."

Before the close of the year 1886, still another among the greatest of the commanders of the Civil War ended his earthly career. Late in December, General John A. Logan, United States Senator from Illinois, fell sick at his home, called Calumet Place, in Washington City. His disease was rheumatism, to which he had been subject at intervals since his exposure and hardships in the early Western campaigns. After a few days' illness he became suddenly worse, sank into a comatose condition, and, on the 26th of the month, breathed his last. His military and civil career had been distinguished in the highest degree. At the outbreak of hostilities in 1861 few men did more than Logan to strengthen and unify the Union sentiment in the wavering Border States. His voice was a clarion, heard shrill and far above the confusion and uproar of the times. Resigning his seat in Congress, he had joined the first advance of the Union army, and fought in the battle of Bull Run. Without previous military training, he rose rapidly to distinction, and became the Volunteer General *par excellence* of the war. After the close of the conflict he returned to political life, and was chosen to the United States Senate. In 1884 he was nominated for the Vice-presidency on the Republican ticket with James G. Blaine. That ticket being defeated, he resumed his duties in the Senate, and remained at his post until his death. The ceremonies of the funeral and the general voice of the American press indicated in an unmistakable manner the enduring place which he had merited and won in the affections of the people.

In the meantime, a distinguished civilian had fallen from high office. On November 25,

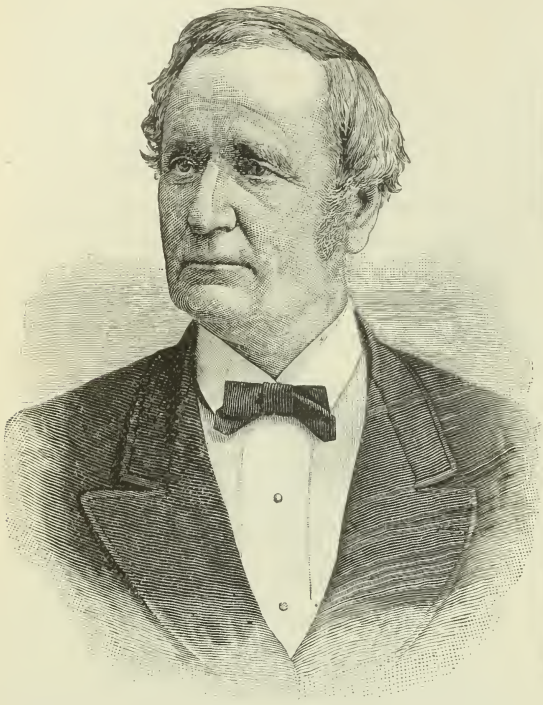


JOHN A. LOGAN.

1885, Vice-President Thomas A. Hendricks, after what was supposed to be a trifling illness of a single day, died suddenly at his home, in Indianapolis. The fatal message came in the form of paralysis. Not a moment's warning was given of the approach of that pale courier who knocks impartially at the door of the peasant and the portal of the great. The life of Hendricks had been one of singular purity, and the amenities of his character had been conspicuous in the stormy arena of American politics. The high qualities of the man, combined with his distinction as Governor, Senator, and Vice-President, drew from the people many evidences of public and private respect for his memory. The body of the dead states-

McClellan's memory the book is damaging. In a few matters the civilians in authority over McClellan—but not Lincoln—are put on the defensive; but, taken altogether, the apology, the eulogy, works by contraries and mars the General's fame.

man was buried in Crown Hill Cemetery, near Indianapolis, the funeral pageant surpassing in grandeur and solemnity any other display of

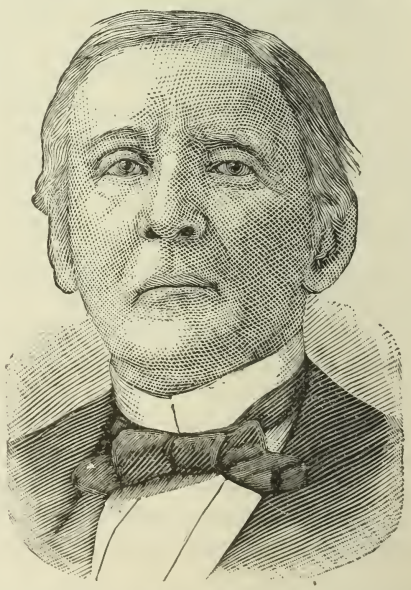


THOMAS A. HENDRICKS.

the kind ever witnessed in the Western States, except the funeral of Lincoln.

The death of the Vice-President was soon followed by that of Horatio Seymour, of New York. On the 12th of February, 1886, this distinguished citizen, who had been Governor of the Empire State, and in 1868 Democratic candidate for the Presidency against General Grant, died at his home in Utica. He had reached the age of seventy-six, and, though for many years living in retirement, had never ceased to hold a large share of the attention of his fellow-citizens. Still more distinguished in reputation and eminent in ability was Samuel J. Tilden, also of the Empire State, who died at his home, called Greystone, at Yonkers, near New York City, on the 4th of August, 1886. Mr. Tilden had lived to make a marked, perhaps an ineffaceable, impression on the political thought of the epoch. He had acquired within the lines of his own party an influence and ascendency far greater than that of any other statesman of his time. His intellectual force could not be doubted, nor could it be claimed that he failed to apply his faculties assiduously to the greatest political questions of the age.

Mr. Tilden was born on the 14th of February, 1814, and was thus in the seventy-third year of his age at the time of his death. He had been a prominent figure in his native State for fully forty years, and had held many places of public trust and honor. In 1870–71 he was among the foremost in unearthing the astounding frauds and robberies which had been perpetrated on the city treasury of New York, and in the following year was sent to the General Assembly, where his services were invaluable. In 1874 he was elected Governor of New York by a majority of more than fifty thousand votes. In the executive office he was one of the ablest and most thoroughgoing men who ever occupied the gubernatorial chair of the State. In 1876 he was nominated for the Presidency, and in the election of that year received a large majority of the popular vote, only failing of a majority in the Electoral College because of the tactics of the leaders of the party in power. Neither he nor General Hayes was clearly elected, the Democrats having carried two or three States with the shot-gun, and the Republicans, by the aid of the Electoral Commission, having



SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

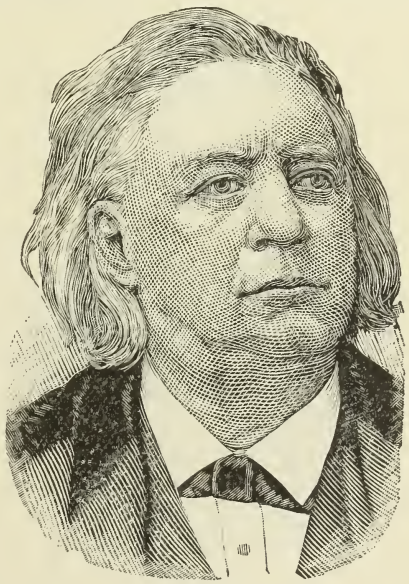
counted in the electoral votes of a State or two which they did not carry at all. After the contest, Mr. Tilden retired to private life,

but continued to guide the counsels of his party, and to influence public opinion, up to the date of his death. Perhaps one of his ablest—as it was his last—public paper was a general letter on the subject of "The Coast and Harbor Defenses of the United States," a publication which led to the legislation of the Forty-ninth Congress on that important subject. Thus, within the space of less than eleven months, four of those eminent American leaders, who had been candidates of the Democratic party for the Presidency of the United States, and the distinguished Vice-President, recently chosen by that party to the second place of honor in the Government, had fallen from their places in the ranks of the living.

To this list of the American great, whose activities have recently ended in death, must here be added the illustrious name of Henry Ward Beecher. To him, with little reservation, we may assign the first place among our orators and philanthropists. Nor is it likely that his equal in most of the sublime qualities of energy and manhood will soon be seen again on the stage of life. His personality was so large, so unique and striking, as to constitute the man in some sense *sui generis*. His kind is rare in the world, and the circumstances which aided in his development have passed away. That fact in American history—the institution of slavery—which brought out and displayed the higher moods of his anger and stormy eloquence, can not again arouse the indignation of genius. The knight and his dangerous foil sleep together in the dust.

Mr. Beecher had the happy fortune to retain his faculties unimpaired to the very close of his career. On the evening of the 5th of March, 1887, at his home in Brooklyn, surrounded by his family, without premonition or portent, the message came by apoplexy. An artery broke in that magnificent heavy brain that had been for more than forty years one of the greatest batteries of thought and action in the world; and the aged orator, nearing the close of his seventy-fourth year, sank into that deep sleep from which no power on earth could wake him. He lived until the morning of the 8th, and quietly entered the shadows. The sentiments awakened by his death, the circumstances of his sepulture, and the common eulogium of mankind, proved beyond doubt the supreme place which he had occupied in the admiring esteem, not only of his countrymen, but of all the great peoples of the world.

To this brief mortuary record, for the ninth decade of the century, must also be added some reference to the death of Morrison Remich Waite, Chief-Justice of the United States. His decease came at his home in Washington City, on the 23d of March, 1888. The event suggests and justifies the addition of a few paragraphs relative to the history and *personnel* of the great tribunal over which Judge Waite presided during the last fourteen years of his life.



HENRY WARD BEECHER.

In the formation of the Constitution of the United States, it was intended that the three General Departments of the Government should be of correlative rank and influence. The sequel, however, as developed in the actual working of our National system, has shown that the Executive and Legislative departments predominate, naturally—perhaps inevitably—over the judicial branch, and that, in the popular estimate at least, the Supreme Court is of small importance as compared with the Presidency and the two Houses of Congress. This disesteem of the judiciary is not verified by a broader and more philosophical view of the subject. The importance, especially of the conservative opinion of our

great National Court, in determining, at least negatively, the final validity of all legislation and all subordinate judicial decisions, can hardly be overestimated. The same may be said of the Supreme Bench, considered as the only immovable breakwater against the unscrupulous and rampant spirit of party. It is fortunate that the offices of our Chief-Justice and of the associate Justices are *appointive*, and are thus removed, in great measure, from the perfidy of the convention and the passion of a partisan election. It may be of interest to glance for a moment at some of the vicissitudes through which the Supreme Court has passed since its organization in 1789. The Court was then instituted by the appointment of John Jay as Chief-Justice, who held the office until 1796, when he gave place to Oliver Ellsworth. The latter remained in office until, in 1800, the infirmities of age compelled his resignation. Then came the long and honorable ascendency of Chief-Justice John Marshall, who presided over the Court from his appointment in 1801 to his death in 1835. This was the Golden Age of the American Supreme Court. From 1835 to 1837 there was an interregnum in the Chief-Justiceship, occasioned by the disagreement of President Jackson and the Senate of the United States. But in the latter year the President secured the confirmation of Judge Roger B. Taney as Chief-Justice, who entered upon his long term of twenty-seven years. It was his celebrated decision in case of the negro Dred Scott, relative to the status of the slave-race in America, that applied the torch to that immense heap of combustibles whose explosion was the Civil War.

After the death of Chief-Justice Taney, in 1864, President Lincoln appointed, as his successor, Salmon P. Chase, recently Secretary of the Treasury, and author of most of the financial measures and expedients by which the National credit had been buoyed up and preserved during the Rebellion. His official term extended to his death, in 1873, and covered the period when the important issues arising from the Civil War were under adjudication. To Chief-Justice Chase fell also, by virtue of his office, the duty of presiding at the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson. In 1874 the appointment of Morrison R. Waite as Chief-Justice was made by President Grant, and the death of this able jurist devolved on President Cleveland the duty of naming his successor.

Chief-Justice Waite was born at Lyme, Connecticut, on the 29th of November, 1816. From the public school he was transferred to Yale College, and was graduated from that institution in 1837. He then became a student of law, and, after completing his course, removed to Ohio, where he entered upon the practice of his profession at Maumee City. After serving one term, in 1849–50, in the Legislature of the State, he removed to Toledo, which became henceforth his home, until his duties as Chief-Justice called him to Washington City. He had been frequently solicited to become a candidate for office, but had adhered to his profession until 1871–72, when he accepted from President Grant the appointment as member of the celebrated Board of Arbitration, to sit at Geneva, in the adjudication of the Alabama Claims. Here he was associated with Charles Francis Adams, Caleb Cushing, and William M. Evarts; and, though he was less known to the public than they, he, nevertheless, bore himself with honor among his colleagues. Shortly after his return the death of Chief-Justice Chase opened the way for Mr. Waite's appointment to the highest and most important judicial seat in America; and to this august position he brought a character, talents, and attainments equal to the responsibilities of his office.

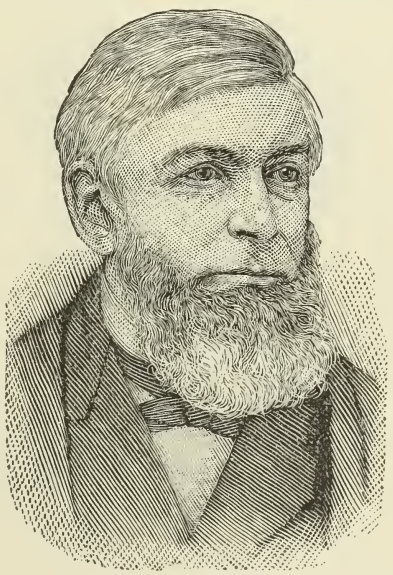
During his occupancy of the Supreme Bench, Chief-Justice Waite steadily rose in the esteem and confidence of the Nation. He was not, perhaps, a man of the highest order of genius or of the very highest rank as a jurist; but, on the whole, the office of Chief-Justice was rarely, if ever, more worthily borne than by its latest occupant. He was a man of equable and judicial temper, little disposed, if disposed at all, to look beyond the Supreme Bench to a possibly higher seat. His death was from pneumonia, and was so sudden as to be announced to the country by the same despatches which gave first information of his serious sickness. He died peacefully, at his home. His funeral was held first in the hall of the House of Representatives, and afterward from his old residence in Toledo, at

which city his remains were finally committed to the tomb.

The death of Chief-Justice Waite made way for the return to the supreme judicial office in the United States of some member of the political party which had long been out of power. Since the epoch of the Civil War the court had been filled almost exclusively with judges who, by political affiliation, belonged to the Republican party. The first distinctly Democratic appointment which was made in the last quarter of a century was the recent one of Judge Lucius Q. C. Lamar, who, by the nomination of President Cleveland, was transferred from the Secretaryship of the Interior to the Supreme Bench. It thus happened, in the vicissitude of things, that the two political theories which were opposed to each other in the War for the Union, and are still opposed by party name, became confluent in the high court of the Nation. This circumstance was to some a source of alarm and prejudice; but the fear was not well founded. Partisan dispositions are less potent and dangerous—if, indeed, they assert themselves at all—on the Supreme Bench of the United States. Thus far in its history the court has, as a rule, been as pure in its administration and methods as it has been great in reputation. The muddy waters of party conflict have only occasionally reached as high as the chambers of our honored tribunal; and the fear that it may be otherwise hereafter may hopefully be put aside as a groundless and spectral chimera of the hour. On May 1, 1888, the President appointed Judge Melville W. Fuller, of Chicago, to the vacant Chief-justiceship.

The impression produced by the death of Chief-Justice Waite had scarcely passed when the decease of another citizen, most noted for high character and great talents, called the public attention to the rapid disappearance of the Nation's most distinguished representatives. On the 18th of April, at the Hoffman House, New York City, Honorable Roscoe Conkling, Ex-Senator of the United States, died after a brief and painful illness. A local inflammation, resulting in the formation of a pus-sack under the mastoid bone of the skull, led to the cutting of the skull in hope of saving Mr. Conkling's life; but he succumbed to the fatal malady and the shock of the operation.

Roscoe Conkling was born in Albany, New York, on the 30th of October, 1829. After the completion of an academic course of study, he went as a student of law to Utica, in 1846. On reaching his majority he was admitted to the bar, and was soon afterward appointed to the office of County Attorney. From the beginning of his career his great talents and remarkable force of character were manifest. He made a profound impression, first upon the local, and then upon the general, society of New York. In 1858 he was mayor of Utica, and in the same year was sent to the National House of Representatives. He had already become an able politician, and was soon recognized as the leader of the Republican



MORRISON R. WAITE.

party in his native State. His rise was rapid, and his influence became marked in the affairs of the Government. He served for six years in the Lower House, and in 1866 was elected to the Senate. In that body he aspired to leadership, and gradually attained it, though not without many struggles and contests with the great men of the epoch. He was twice reëlected Senator—in 1872, and 1878; but in his third term, namely, in 1881, he found himself in such relations with the Garfield Administration as induced him to resign his seat. This step was regarded by many as the mistake of his political life. At any rate, he failed of a reëlection, the Administration party getting control of the Legislature of New

York, and sending another in his place. After that date, Mr. Conkling retired to private life, and took up with the greatest success the practice of his profession in New York City.

Roscoe Conkling was a man of the highest courage and stanchest convictions. He never shone to greater advantage than when leading the forces of General Grant in the Chicago Convention of 1880. He was a born political general. His will, and persistency, and pride, gave him a power which, if it had been tempered with greater urbanity, could hardly have failed to crown his life with the highest honors of the Nation. His talents rose to the region of genius, and his presence was magnificent—an inspiration to his friends, a terror to his



ROSCOE CONKLING.

enemies. As a summary of the results of his career, it may be said that, at the time of his death, none except his eminent rival, Mr. Blaine, might justly contest with him the proud rank of most distinguished private citizen of the United States.

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1886 had occurred one of the most serious labor agitations which had ever been witnessed in the United States. It were difficult to present an adequate statement of the causes, general and special, which produced these alarming troubles. Not until after the close of the Civil War did there appear the first symptoms of a renewal, in the New World, of the struggle which has been going on for so long a time in Europe between the laboring classes and the capitalists. It had been hoped that such a conflict would never be renewed in the countries west of the Atlantic. Such a hope, however, was doomed to disappointment. The first well-marked symptoms of the appearance of serious labor strikes and insurrections occurred as early as 1867. The origin of these difficulties was in the coal- and iron-producing regions of Pennsylvania and in some of the great manufactories of New England. For a while the disturbances produced but little alarm. It was not until the great railroad strike of 1877 that a general apprehension was excited with respect to the unfriendly relations of labor and capital. In the following year much uneasiness existed; but the better times, extending from 1879 to 1882, with the consequent favorable rate of wages, tended to remove, or at least to postpone, the renewal of trouble.

A series of bad crops ensued, and the average ability of the people to purchase was correspondingly diminished. The speculative mania, however, did not cease, and the large amounts of capital withdrawn from legitimate production and lost in visionary enterprises, still further reduced the means of employing labor. Stagnation ensued in business; stocks declined in value, manufactories were closed, and the difficulty of obtaining employment was greatly enhanced.

While these causes—half-natural, half-artificial—were at work, others, wholly fictitious, but powerful in their evil results, began to operate in the creation of strife and animosity. Monopolies grew and flourished to an extent hitherto unknown in the United States. On the other hand, labor discovered the salutary but dangerous power of combination. A rage for organizing took possession of the minds of the laboring men of the country, and to the arrogant front of monopoly was opposed the insurrectionary front of the working classes.

More serious still than the causes here referred to was the introduction into the United States of a large mass of ignorant foreign labor. The worst elements of several European States contributed freely to the manufactories and workshops of America, and a class of ideas utterly un-American became dominant in many of the leading establishments of the country. Communistic theories of society

and anarchic views of government began to clash with the more sober republican opinions and practices of the people. To all this must be added the evils and abuses which seem to be incident to the wage system of labor, and are, perhaps, inseparable therefrom. The result has been a growing jealousy of the two great parties to production, the laborer and the capitalist.

The opening of trade for the season of 1886 witnessed a series of strikes and labor imbroglios in all parts of the country. Such troubles were, however, confined for the most part to the cities and towns where labor was aggregated. The first serious trouble occurred on what is known as the Gould System of railways, reaching from the Mississippi to the South-west. A single workman, belonging to the Knights of Labor, and employed on a branch of the Texas and Pacific Railway, at that time under a receivership, and therefore beyond the control of Jay Gould and his subordinates, was discharged from his place. This action was resented by the Knights, and the laborers on a great part of the Gould system were ordered to strike. The movement was, for a season, successful, and the transportation of freights from St. Louis to the South-west ceased. Gradually, however, other workmen were substituted for the striking Knights; the movement of freights was resumed, and the strike ended in comparative failure; but this end was not reached until a severe riot in East St. Louis had occasioned the sacrifice of several innocent lives.

Far more alarming was the outbreak in Chicago. In that city the Socialistic and Anarchic elements were sufficiently powerful to present a bold front to the authorities. Processions bearing red flags, and banners with communistic devices and mottoes, frequently paraded the streets, and were addressed by demagogues who avowed themselves the open enemies of society and the existing order. On the 4th of May a vast crowd of this reckless material collected in a place called the Haymarket, and were about to begin the usual inflammatory proceedings, when a band of policemen, mostly officers, drew near, with the evident purpose of controlling or dispersing the meeting. A terrible scene ensued Dynamite bombs were thrown from the crowd and exploded among the officers, several of whom were blown to pieces and others shockingly mangled. The mob was, in turn, attacked by the police, and many of the insurgents were shot down. Order was presently restored in the city; several of the leading Anarchists were arrested, brought to trial, condemned, and executed on the charge of inciting to murder. Many precautionary measures were also taken to prevent the recurrence of such tragedies as had been witnessed in the Haymarket Square. On the following day a similar, though less dangerous, outbreak occurred in Milwaukee; but in this city the insurrectionary movement was suppressed without serious loss of life. The attention of the American people—let us hope to some good end—was called, as never before, to the dangerous relations existing between the upper and nether sides of our municipal populations.

The summer of 1886 was memorable in American annals, on account of that great natural phenomenon known as the Charleston Earthquake. On the night of the 31st of August, at ten minutes before ten o'clock, it was discovered at Washington City, and at several other points where weather and signal-stations were established, that communications with Charleston, South Carolina, were suddenly cut off. The discovery was made by inquiries relative to the origin of a shock which had that moment been felt, with varying degrees of violence, throughout nearly the whole country east of the Mississippi and south of the Great Lakes. In a few minutes it was found that no telegraphic communication *from any side* could be had with Charleston; and it was at once perceived that that city had suffered from the convulsion. Measures were hastily devised for further investigation, and the result showed that the worst apprehensions were verified. Without a moment's warning the city had been rocked and rent to its very foundations. Hardly a building in the limits of Charleston, or in the country surrounding, had escaped serious injury, and perhaps one-half of all were in a state of semi-wreck or total ruin. With the exception of the great earthquake of New Madrid, in 1811, no other such scene of devastation and terror had ever before been witnessed within the limits of the United States.

Many scientists of national reputation hurried to the scene, and made a careful scrutiny of the phenomenon, with a view of contributing something to the exact knowledge of mankind respecting the causes and character of earthquakes. A few facts and principles were determined with tolerable accuracy. One was, that the point of origin, called the *epicenter*, of the great convulsion had been at a place about twenty miles from Charleston, and that the motion of the earth immediately over this center had been nearly up and down—that is, vertical. A second point, tolerably well established, was that the isoseismic lines, or lines of equal disturbance, might be drawn around the epicenter in circles very nearly concentric, and that the circle of greatest disturbance was at some distance from the center. Still a third item of knowledge tolerably well established was that away from the epicenter—as illustrated in the ruins of Charleston—the agitation of the earth was not in the nature of a single shock or convulsion, as a dropping or sliding of the region to one side, but rather a series of very quick and violent oscillations, by which the central country of the disturbance was, in the course of some five minutes, settled somewhat to seaward.

The whole coast in the central region of the disturbance was modified with respect to the sea, and the ocean itself was thrown into turmoil for leagues from the shore. The people of the city were in a state of the utmost consternation. They fled from their falling houses to the public squares and parks and far into the country. Afraid to return into the ruins they threw up tents and light booths for protection, and abode for weeks away from their homes. The convulsion was by far the greatest that this continent has experienced within the historical epoch. The disaster to Charleston served to bring out some of the better qualities of our civilization. Assistance came from all quarters, and contributions poured in for the support and encouragement of the afflicted people. For several weeks a series of diminishing shocks continued to terrify the citizens and paralyze the efforts at restoration. But it was discovered in the course of time that these shocks were only the dying away of the great convulsion, and that they gave cause for hope of entire cessation rather than continued alarm. In the lapse of a few months the *débris* was



EARTHQUAKE AT CHARLESTON. Copyright, 1887, O. M. Dunham.

cleared away, business was resumed, and the people were again safe in their homes.

On the 4th of March, 1887, the second session of the Forty-ninth Congress expired by statutory limitation. The work of the body had not been so fruitful of results as had been desired and anticipated by the friends of the Government; but some important legislation had been effected. On the question of the tariff nothing of value was accomplished. True, a serious measure of revenue reform had been brought forward at an early date in the session; but owing to the opposition of that wing of the Democratic party headed by Samuel J. Randall, and committed to the doctrine of protection, as well as to the antagonism of the Republican majority in the Senate, the act failed of adoption. In fact, by the beginning of 1887, it had become apparent that the existing political parties could not be forced to align on the issue of free trade and tariff, and as a result no legislation looking to any actual reform in the current revenue system of the United States could be carried through Congress.

On the question of extending the Pension List, however, the case was different. A great majority of both parties could always be counted on to favor such measures as looked to the increase of benefits to the soldiers. At the first, only a limited number of pensions had been granted, and these only to actually disabled and injured veterans of the War for the Union. With the lapse of time, however, and the relaxation of party allegiance, it became more and more important to each of the parties to secure and hold the soldier vote, without which it was felt that neither could maintain ascendency in the government. Nor can it be denied that genuine patriotic sentiment and gratitude of the Nation to its defenders coincided in this respect with political ambition and selfishness. The Arrears of Pensions Act, making up to those who were already recipients of pensions such amounts as would have accrued if the benefit had dated from the time of disability, instead of from the time of granting the pension, was passed in 1879, and, at the same time, the list of beneficiaries was greatly enlarged.

The measure presented in the Forty-ninth Congress was designed to extend the Pension List so as to include all regularly enlisted and honorably discharged soldiers of the Civil War, who had become, in whole or in part, dependent upon the aid of others for their maintenance and welfare. The measure was known as the Dependent Pensions Bill, and though many opposed the enactment of a law which appeared to fling away the bounty of the Government to the deserving and the undeserving, the evil and the just, alike, yet a majority was easily obtained for the measure in both Houses, and the act was passed. President Cleveland, however, interposed his veto, and the proposed law fell to the ground. A strenuous effort was made in the House of Representatives to pass the bill over the veto, but the movement failed.

By far the most important and noted piece of legislation of the session was incorporated in the act known as the Interstate Commerce Bill. For some fifteen years complaints against the methods and management of the railways of the United States had been heard on many sides, and in cases not a few the complaints had originated in actual abuses, some of which were willful, but most were merely incidental to the development of a system so vast and, on the whole, so beneficial to the public. In such a state of affairs the lasting benefit is always forgotten in the accidental hurt. That large class of people who, in despite of the teachings of history, still believe in the cure of all things by law, and that mankind are always about to perish for want of more legislation, became clamorous in their demand that Congress should take the railways by the throat and compel them to accept what may be called the system of uniformity as it respects all charges for service rendered. It was believed in Congress that to take up this call, and champion the alleged cause of the people, would be one of the most popular measures of the period. The Interstate Commerce Bill was accordingly prepared, with a multitude of lengthy and involved clauses requiring a commission of great lawyers for their interpretation. It was enacted that all freight carriage across State lines within the Union should be at the same rate per hundred for all distances, and between all places, and under substantially the same conditions, and that passenger fares should be uniform for all persons.

It must be borne in mind that, in the very nature of things, railways are unable to carry freight at as small a rate per hundred, or passengers at as small a charge per mile, between places approximate as between places at great distances. It must also be remembered that in some regions it is many times more expensive to build and operate a railroad than in others. To carry one of these great thoroughfares over the Rocky Mountains is a very different thing from stretching a similar track across the level prairies of Illinois. It must still further be considered that, in the nature of the case, competition will do its legitimate and inevitable work at an earlier date and more thoroughly between great cities, even when remotely situated, than between unimportant points, however near together. The traffic and travel between two villages is not sufficient to create competition among the carriers. It is as absurd to suppose that railway tariffs can be the same between New York and Chicago as they are between two Missouri towns, as it is to suppose that butter can command the same price in an Iowa village that it does in the Quincy Market of Boston. What should be said of an attempt in Congress to make the price of wheat and pork uniform throughout the United States.

The Interstate Commerce Bill was conceived against all the natural, manifest, and undeniable principles of the commercial world. It was passed with the belief that all discriminations in the charges made by railways doing business in more than one State could be prevented by law. It was passed as if to amend or abrogate those natural laws of trade and traffic which, in their kind, are as absolute and as beneficial as the law of gravitation. It was passed with the ulterior design of securing to its promoters the support of that ignorant and embittered race of men whose prejudices are out of all proportion to their knowledge of human rights, or their recognition of the paramount interests of the whole people. It was passed under the pernicious anti-democratic theory of governmental paternalism, which says that men are infants or imbeciles, unable to care for themselves unless they are fed, and led, and coddled by some motherly government, of which they are the irresponsible offspring. It is safe to say that no other measure ever adopted by the American Congress was so difficult of application, or was so barren of results with respect to the interests which it was intended to promote. Disorder was the first-born of the Interstate Commerce Bill, and its last offspring was—apathy.

During the whole of Cleveland's Administration the public mind was swayed and excited by the movements of politics. The universality of partisan newspapers, the combination in their columns of all the news of the world with the invectives, misrepresentations, and counter-charges of party leaders, kept political questions constantly uppermost, to the detriment of social progress and industrial interests. Scarcely had President Cleveland entered upon his office as Chief Magistrate when the question of the succession to the Presidency was agitated. The echoes of the election of 1884 had not died away before the rising murmur of that of 1888 was heard.

By the last year of the current Administration it was seen that there would be no general break-up of the existing parties. It was also perceived that the issues between them must be *made*, rather than found in the existing state of affairs. The sentiment in the United States in favor of the Constitutional prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors had become somewhat extended and intensified since the last quadrennial election. But the discerning eye might perceive that the real issue was between the Republican and Democratic parties, and that the questions involved were to be rather those of the past than of the future.

One issue, however, presented itself which had a living and practical relation to affairs, and that was the question of PROTECTION TO AMERICAN INDUSTRY. Since the campaign of 1884, the agitation had been gradually extended. At the opening of the session, in 1887, the President, in his annual message to Congress, departed from all precedent, and devoted the whole document to the discussion of the single question of a *Reform of the Revenue System* of the United States. The existing rates of duty on imported articles of commerce had so greatly augmented the income of the Government that a large surplus had accumulated, and was still accumulating, in

the National Treasury. This fact was made the basis of the President's argument in favor of a new system of revenue, or, at least, an ample reduction in the tariff rates under the old. It was immediately charged by the Republicans that the project in question meant the substitution of the system of free trade in the United States, as against the system of protective duties. The question thus involved was made the bottom issue in the Presidential campaign of 1888.

As to the nominees of the various parties, it was, from the first, a foregone conclusion that Mr. Cleveland would be nominated for reelection by the Democrats. The result justified the expectation. The Democratic National Convention was held in St. Louis, on the 5th day of June, 1888, and Mr. Cleveland was renominated by acclamation. For the Vice-presidential nomination there was a considerable contest; but, after some balloting, the choice fell on Ex-Senator Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio. The Republican National Convention was held in Chicago, on the 19th day of June. Many candidates were ardently pressed upon the body, and the contest was long and spirited. It was believed, up to the time of the Convention, that Mr. Blaine, who was evidently the favorite of a great majority, would be again nominated for the Presidency. But the antagonisms which that statesman had awakened in his own party made it inexpedient to bring him forward again as the nominee. His name was, accordingly, not presented to the convention. The most prominent candidates were Senator John Sherman, of Ohio; Judge Walter Q. Gresham, of Chicago; Chauncey M. Depew, of New York; Ex-Governor Russell A. Alger, of Michigan; Ex-Senator Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana; and Senator William B. Allison, of Iowa. The voting was continued to the eighth ballot, when the choice fell upon Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana. In the evening, Levi P. Morton, of New York, was nominated for the Vice-presidency on the first ballot.

In the meantime, the Prohibition party had held its National Convention, at Indianapolis, and on the 30th of May had nominated for the Presidency General Clinton B. Fisk, of New Jersey, and for the Vice-presidency John A. Brooks, of Missouri. The Democratic platform declared for a reform of the revenue system of the United States, and reäffirmed the principle of adjusting the tariff on imports, with strict regard to the actual needs of governmental expenditure. The Republican platform declared also for a reform of the tariff schedule, but at the same time stoutly affirmed the maintenance of the protective system, *as such*, as a part of the permanent policy of the United States. Both parties deferred to the patriotic sentiment of the country in favor of the soldiers, their rights and interests, and both endeavored, by the usual incidental circumstances of the hour, to gain the advantage of the other before the American people. The Prohibitionists entered the campaign on the distinct proposition that the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors should be prohibited throughout the United States by constitutional amendment. To this was added a clause in favor of extending the right of suffrage to women.

As the canvass progressed during the summer and autumn of 1888, it became evident that the result was in doubt. The contest was exceedingly close. As in 1880 and 1884, the critical States were New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Indiana. In all of the other Northern States the Republicans were almost certain to win, while the Democrats were equally certain of success in all the South. In the last weeks of the campaign, General Harrison grew in favor, and his party gained perceptibly to the close. The result showed success for the Republican candidate. He received two hundred and thirty-three electoral votes, against one hundred and sixty-eight votes for Mr. Cleveland. The latter, however, appeared to a better advantage on the popular count, having a considerable majority over General Harrison. General Fisk, the Prohibition candidate, received nearly three hundred thousand votes; but under the system of voting no electoral vote of any State was obtained for him in the so-called "College," by which the actual choice is made. As soon as the result was known, the excitement attendant upon the campaign subsided and political questions gave place to other interests.

The last days of Cleveland's Administration and of the Fiftieth Congress were signalized by the admission into the Union of Four

New States, making the number forty-two. Since the incoming of Colorado, in 1876, no State had been added to the Republic. Meanwhile, the tremendous tides of population had continued to flow to the west and north-west, rapidly filling up the great Territories. Of these, the greatest was Dakota, with its area of one hundred and fifty thousand nine hundred and thirty-two square miles. In 1887 the question of dividing the Territory by a line running east and west was agitated, and the measure finally prevailed. Steps were taken by the people of both sections for admission into the Union. Montana, with her one hundred and forty-five thousand seven hundred and seventy-six square miles of territory, had meanwhile acquired a sufficient population; and Washington Territory, with its area of sixty-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-four square miles, also knocked for admission. In the closing days of the Fiftieth Congress a bill was passed raising all these four Territories—South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana and Washington—to the plane of Statehood. The Act contemplated the adoption of State Constitutions, and a proclamation of admission by the next President. It thus happened that the honor of bringing in this great addition to the States of the Union was divided between the outgoing and incoming Administrations.

Another Act of Congress was also of National importance. Hitherto the Governernment had been administered through seven Departments, at the head of each of which was placed a Cabinet officer, the seven together constituting the advisers of the President. No provision for such an arrangement exists in the Constitution of the United States; but the statutes of the Nation provide for such a system as most in accordance with the Republican form of government. Early in 1889 a measure was brought forward in Congress, and adopted, for the institution of a new department, to be called the Department of Agriculture. Practically the measure involved the elevation of what had previously been an Agricultural Bureau in the Department of the Interior to the rank of a Cabinet office. Among foreign nations, France has been conspicuous for the patronage which the Government has given to the agricultural pursuits of that country. Hitherto in the United States, though agriculture has been the greatest of all the producing interests of the people, it has been neglected for more political and less useful departments of American life and enterprise. By this act of Congress the Cabinet offices were increased in number to eight instead of seven.

Benjamin Harrison, twenty-third President of the United States, was born at North Bend, Ohio, on the 20th of August, 1833. He is the son of John Scott Harrison, a prominent citizen of his native State; grandson of President William Henry Harrison; great-grandson of Benjamin Harrison, signer of the Declaration of Independence. In countries where attention is paid to honorable lineage, the circumstances of General Harrison's descent would be considered of much importance; but in America little attention is paid to one's ancestry, and more to himself.

Harrison's early life was passed, as that of other American boys, in attendance at school and at home duties on the farm. He was a student at the institution called Farmers' College for two years. Afterwards he attended Miami University, at Oxford, Ohio, and was graduated therefrom in June, 1852. He took in marriage the daughter of Dr. John W. Scott, president of the Oxford Female College. After a course of study he entered the profession of law, removing to Indianapolis and establishing himself in that city. With the outbreak of the war he became a soldier of the Union, and rose to the rank of Brevet Brigadier-General of Volunteers. Before the close of the war he was elected Reporter of Decisions of the Supreme Court of Indiana.

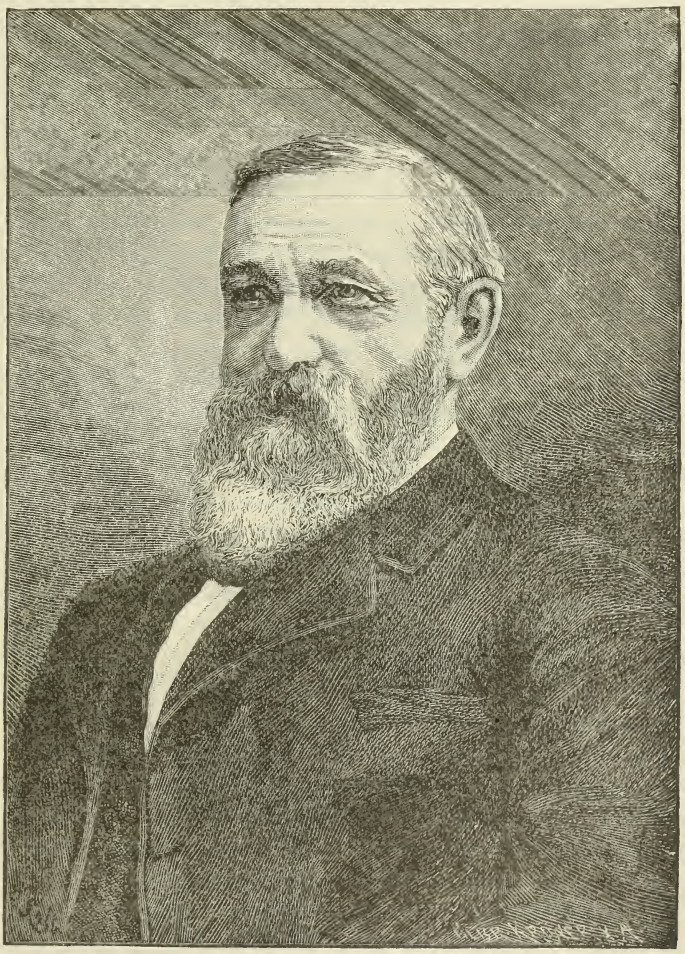
In the period following the Civil War, General Harrison rose to distinction as a civilian. In 1876 he was the unsuccessful candidate of the Republican party for Governor of Indiana. In 1881 he was elected to the United States Senate, where he won the reputation of a leader and statesman. In 1884 his name was prominently mentioned in connection with the Presidential nomination of his party, but Mr. Blaine was successful. After the lapse of four years, however, it was found at Chicago that General Harrison, more than any other, combined in himself all the elements of a successful candidate; and the event justified the choice of the party in

making him the standard-bearer in the ensuing campaign.

General Harrison was, in accordance with the usages of the Government, inaugurated President on the 4th of March, 1889. He had succeeded better than any of his predecessors in keeping his own counsels during the interim between his election and the inauguration. No one had discerned his purposes, and all waited with interest the expressions of his Inaugural Address. In that document he set forth the policy which he would favor as the Chief Executive, recommending the same general measures which the Republican party had advocated during the campaign.

On the day following the inaugural ceremonies, President Harrison sent in the nominations for his Cabinet officers, as follows: For Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, of Maine; for Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom, of Minnesota; for Secretary of War, Redfield Proctor, of Vermont; for Secretary of the Navy, Benjamin F. Tracy, of New York; for Postmaster-General, John Wanamaker, of Pennsylvania; for Secretary of the Interior, John W. Noble, of Missouri; for Attorney-General, William H. H. Miller, of Indiana; and for Secretary of Agriculture—the new department—Jeremiah Rusk, of Wisconsin. These appointments were immediately confirmed by the Senate, and the members of the new Administration assumed their respective official duties.

Within two months after Harrison's inauguration, an event occurred which recalled the mind of the American people to the striking incidents of the Revolutionary epoch. The event in question was the great CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE INSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC. The particular date selected was the 30th of April, 1889, being the centennial anniversary of the inauguration of Washington, at New York City. All of the ceremonies connected with the commemoration, in 1889, were associated, as far as practicable, with the scenes of the first inauguration. The event was so interesting in itself, and so distinctly National, as to warrant a few paragraphs descriptive of the scenes and incidents of the celebration.



BENJAMIN HARRISON.

The period extending from the year 1776 to the year 1789 was marked in the colonial history of the United States by several crises, different in kind, but each so well defined in character, as to be worthy of commemoration by the people of another and distant age. These critical periods were:

1. The Declaration of Independence.
2. The formation of the Constitution of the United States.

3. The adoption of the Constitution by the States.

4. The Institution of the New Government.

The Declaration of Independence was a *democratic* and *popular* revolution. By it, the allegiance of the Old Thirteen Colonies to the Mother Country was finally broken off. It was essentially destructive in its character. The first stages of all revolutions have this distinctive aspect. They destroy. It remains for a subsequent movement to rebuild. The revolution, in its first intent, abolishes and obliterates an existing order. It implies that the people have borne as long as possible some system which presses upon them, as if it were chains and fetters. It is to break the chains—real or imaginary—to throw off the fetters, that the revolution begins its career. Such was the case with our own destructive insurrection of 1776. It was leveled against the existing order, and was most happily successful.

In the second stage, we have another aspect. It was not long after the achievement of independence until the Revolutionary patriots came to see that mere independence was not enough; that mere destruction of popular abuses could not suffice for the future of America. Acting from these sentiments, the Fathers began to consult about rebuilding, or building anew, a structure in which civil liberty in America might find an abiding place. These discussions began almost as soon as independence was clearly gained. Washington and his friends earnestly debated the feasibility of a better system of government. Conferences were held, first at Mount Vernon, then at Annapolis; and finally a great convention of delegates was assembled at Philadelphia. This occurred, as we have said, in the summer of 1787. The result of the labors of this convention is well known. That strange compromise, called the Constitution of the United States, was produced and signed by the delegates, with Washington as their president. This, then, was the Epoch of Formation—the second of our Revolutionary crises.

Immediately after this event, a period of political agitation, the first real and general agitation known in the history of the United States, occurred. The new Constitution, laid before the States, was the bottom fact from which the stormy discussions of the next two years sprang. Should that Constitution be adopted? or should it be rejected, and the old Confederative system of government be continued as before? On these questions there was a division of parties, and the controversy waxed violent. All the Old Thirteen States were shaken from center to boundary-line.

In a former part of the present work,[1] the story of the adoption of the Constitution by the several States has been narrated; nor is it necessary here to repeat the well-known account of how, in State after State, a majority of the delegates was at last secured in favor of the new system of government. This epoch of agitation, of controversy, and the final adoption, is the third great crisis to which we have made reference as belonging to our Revolutionary history.

After the Constitution had been adopted by nine or ten of the States, came the striking event of the institution of the New Government. The paper model of that government existed in the Constitution itself. How Washington was unanimously chosen as first Chief Magistrate of the New Republic, is known to all the world. A Congress was constituted by the election of a House of Representatives and a Senate, in accordance with the provisions of the new instrument. All things were made ready, as an architect might prepare materials for a structure. Then came the actual building of the temple. The scene was in Old New York — the New York of a hundred years ago.[2]

[1] See Vol. III., pp. 619–620.

[2] New York City, at the time of which we speak, was limited to the lower end of Manhattan Island. It was no more than a speck in comparison with the Centennial Metropolis of the Nation. Its northern limits were marked by the present building of the New York *Times*. Immediately north of this lay a lake, called the Collect Pond, about sixty feet in depth, covering that part of the city now occupied by the Tombs. It is said that the capitalists, even the adventurers, of that day, were without faith as to the future extension of the city northward. The population was approximately forty thousand. Water was distributed to the citizens in hydrants, and drawn from what was known as the Old Tea-water Pump, standing at the head of Pearl Street. No system of public street-cleaning had been adopted. The streets were lighted with oil lamps. Much of the work was done by slaves, and slave auctions were at that time still a common occurrence.

It is an interesting historical by-study to note with care the varying sentiments with which the people of the United States contemplated the centennial return of the different crises above delineated. The masses were warm in their affections towards the *destructive* revolution accomplished by the Declaration of Independence and the war which followed. They took more interest in the fact of independence and the means by which it was accomplished than in any other part of the Revolutionary drama. With what zeal and success the centennial anniversary of the Declaration was observed in 1876, in the city of Philadelphia, has already been fully narrated.[1] The second centennial, that is, the centennial of the Formation of the Constitution, did not awaken in the United States any considerable degree of enthusiasm. The people took little interest in that part of our national history covering the development of our new institutional structure.

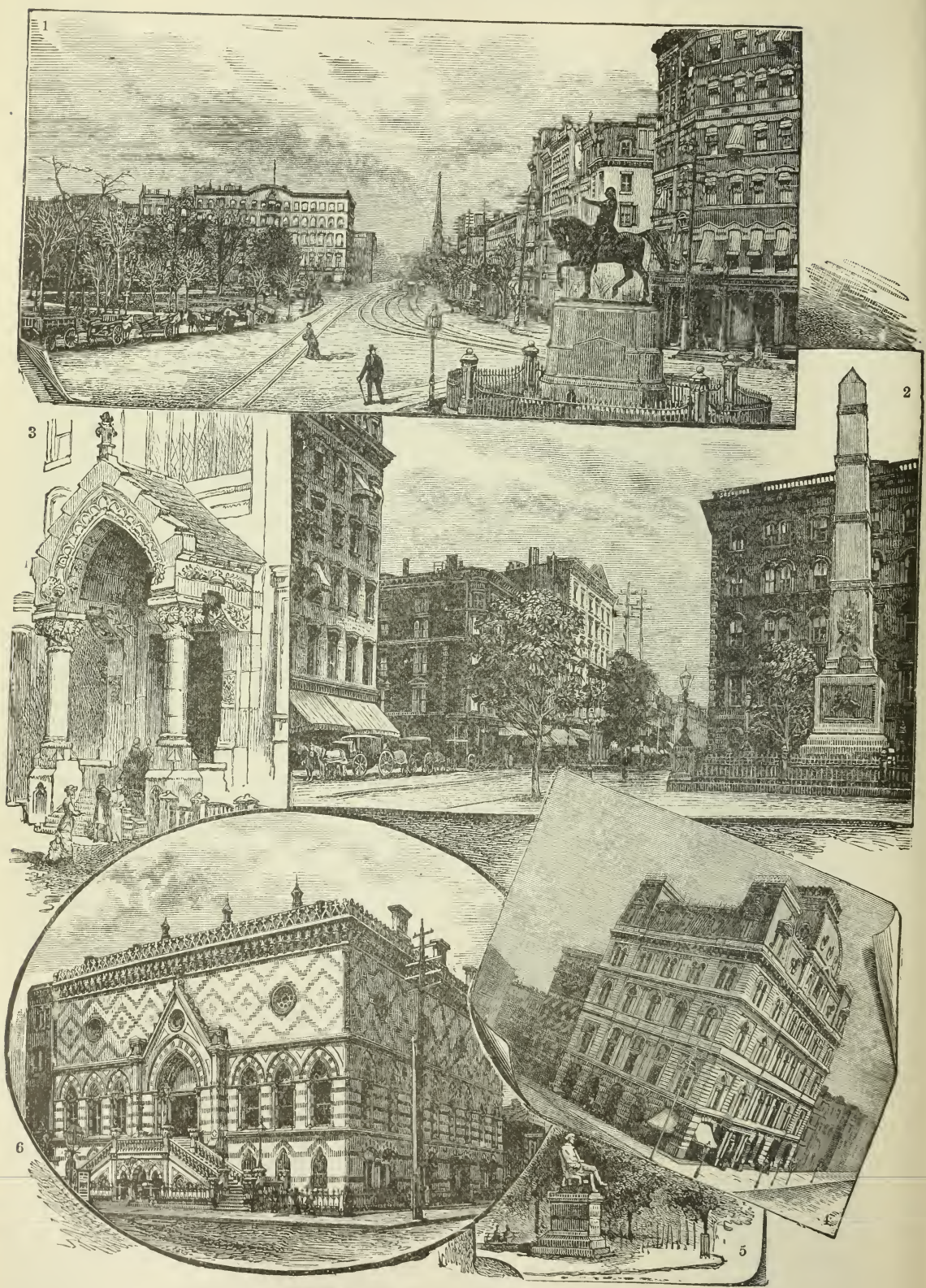
In 1887 there was in the city of Philadelphia an effort to commemorate the anniversary of the Constitution, and some local interest was excited in the event. But there was no wide-spread zeal, no throbbing of the popular heart over the coming of that anniversary. The same may be said with respect to observing the intermediate stages of the adoption of the Constitution by the States. No celebrations of more than local importance were held in any State in commemoration of this event. At the first, it was even doubted whether the centennial of the Institution of the Government itself could awaken sufficient public enthusiasm to warrant a national celebration.

Events, such as the formation of our Constitution, its adoption by the people of the States, and the setting up of the new form of government instead of the old, are not sufficiently spectacular and heroic to set the masses aglow, and to produce the requisite heat of a great national celebration. In New York City, however, the event of 1789 could not by any means be allowed to pass without an effort to impress upon the minds of the present generation the great movements of a century gone by. The New York Historical Society took the matter up, and as early as March of 1884 a resolution was adopted to undertake the enterprise of a centennial celebration, commemorative of the founding of the Government, and particularly of the inauguration of Washington as first President. Soon afterwards a public meeting was held at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, and formal steps were taken for the prosecution of the work. It was not, however, until the close of 1887 that the enterprise was espoused by the municipality. At that time a committee of forty-nine citizens, with Mayor Abram S. Hewitt as chairman, was appointed for the general supervision of the project; and many capitalists, military men, merchants, and others, gave their influence and their means for the promotion of the cause.

At an early date it was determined that the celebration should conform as nearly as practicable to the ceremonies attending the actual inauguration of Washington. About this central idea all the other features of the event were clustered. The celebration was totally different in character from the great industrial and art expositions which have constituted the larger part of national centennial displays and festivities. The jubilees of France, the great World's Fairs of England, and our own Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, in 1876, were of this kind. But in the case of the commemoration of the American Government, at New York, the feature of exposition was wholly omitted. Everything was designed to point backward to the events of a century ago, and to evoke, through the shadows of several generations, a vivid recollection of the manners and condition of the American people when the Republic of 1789 was instituted.

During the whole of 1888, and the first months of the centennial year, the preliminaries of the celebration were prosecuted with zeal. Meanwhile, the Presidential election had been held, in which the temporary ascendency of the Democratic party was replaced by Republican success. Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, was chosen President. Ex-President Cleveland retired at the close of his Administration to New York City, and became a resident of that metropolis. Happily enough, the incoming Chief Magistrate was intimately associated, in his family relations, with the great

[1] See pp. 188–190.



VIEWS IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

1, Union Square; 2, The Worth Monument, Madison Square; 3, Porch of the Church of Heavenly Rest; 4, The Masonic Temple; 5, Statue in Madison Square; 6, National Academy of Design.

events of the Revolution. His great-grandfather, also named Benjamin Harrison, had presided in the Colonial Congress when the Declaration of Independence was adopted, Mr. Hancock being absent from the chair on that ever-memorable day. The son of that distinguished statesman had become ninth President of the United States, and now the great-grandson was chosen by the election of the American people to the same high office and dignity.

It was decided by the committee to devote two days, namely, the 30th of April and the 1st of May, to the celebration. For a fortnight before these days, the great trains on the railways centering in the metropolis began to pour out an unusual cargo of human life. The throngs were gathered from all parts of the Republic, but principally from the Old Thirteen States. For three days before the opening of the celebration, the Atlantic coast was visited with great rain-storms, which threatened to mar all that had been attempted; but the skies cleared, the air became fresh, and the sunshine bright. The rise of the centennial morning was as auspicious as though it were the dawning of the first day.

We may here speak of the general appearance of the city. Every pains had been taken to put the metropolis into gala dress and to present to the eye the most inspiring spectacle. Never was a city more completely clad in gay apparel. Every street on both sides, as far as the eye could reach, was ornamented with flags and streamers, mottoes, and emblems of jubilee. In this respect Broadway and Fifth Avenue were the most elaborately and beautifully adorned. It is doubtful whether in the history of mankind a finer display has been made in the streets of any city. The decorations extended to every variety of public and private edifices. Scarcely a house on Manhattan Island but had its share in the display. Indeed, if one had been lifted in a balloon above old Castle Garden, sweeping northward with his glass, he would have seen flags on flags from the Battery to Spuyten Duyvil. Along both sides of the North River and East River, and in the islands of the bay, the universal emblems were flung to the breeze. And the purest of sunshine glorified the scene with a blaze of morning light.

Arrangements had been made for President Harrison, Vice-President Morton, the members of the Cabinet, and other prominent men connected with the Government, to go to the city from Washington. A magnificent train was prepared for the accommodation of the company, and in the early morning of the 29th of April, the distinguished party arrived at Elizabeth, New Jersey, and were presently conducted across the harbor in a gaily decked steamer to the landing on the New York side. The bay was covered with vessels, the ships of foreign nations vying with those of the United States in flinging their flags and streamers to the breeze.

The part assigned to President Harrison in the commemorative exercises was the part of Washington. On the arrival of the Chief Magistrate, he was tendered public receptions at several places in the city; and in the evening he attended a great ball in the Metropolitan Opera-house, which had been prepared in imitation of the Washingtonian ball, given on the occasion of the first inauguration, at which the Father of his Country led the first cotillion.

On the morning of the 30th of April the people of New York, and the hundreds of thousands of strangers gathered there, poured into the streets to witness the great military parade, which was the feature of the day. Meanwhile, in the lower part of the city, the exercises which had been planned in imitation and commemoration of Washington's accession to the Presidency were under way. Wall Street and Broad Street were packed with people. A great platform had been erected in front of the Treasury Building, now occupying the site of old Federal Hall, and marked by the presence of Ward's colossal statue of Washington. It was here that the oratorical and literary exercises took place. These consisted of a Centennial Oration by Hon. Chauncey M. Depew; also of an address by President Harrison, of a poem written by John Greenleaf Whittier, and of such religious services as were appropriate to the occasion.

The accessories were all in keeping with the occasion. President Harrison sat in a chair which had been Washington's. The table also was Washington's, and the Bible

which was laid thereon was that on which the Father of his Country had taken the solemn oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States. The Whittier poem was read by Mr. C. W. Bowen, secretary of the Citizens' Committee. The oration of Mr. Depew was of a high order, eulogistic of the present—the voice of a patriot who believes in the past and trusts the future. The address by the President was also able and patriotic. The exercises were closed with a benediction by Archbishop Corrigan, of the archdiocese of New York.



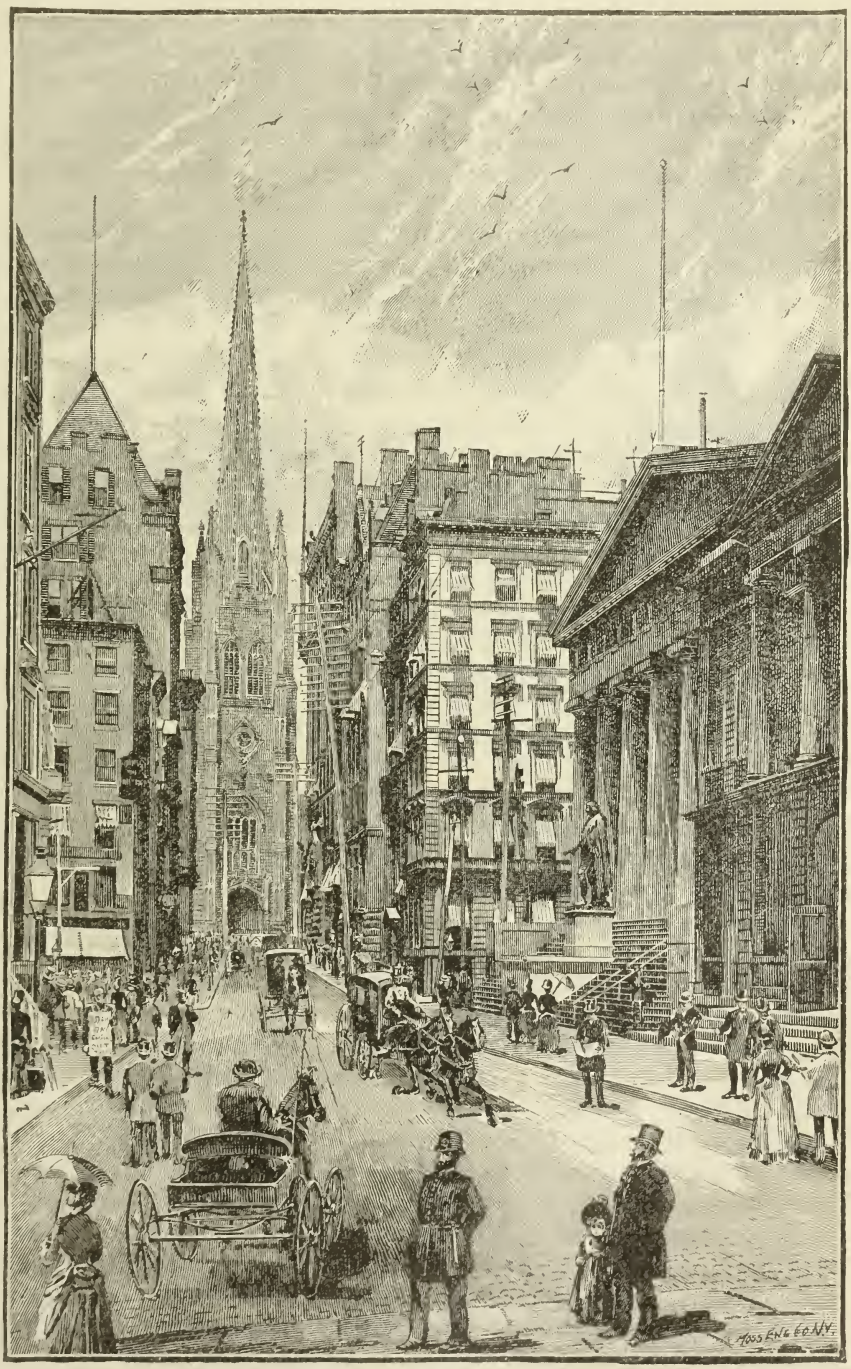
OLD FEDERAL HALL.

In the meantime, the military parade—greatest of all such displays in the United States, with the single exception of the review of the soldiers at Washington at the close of the Civil War—was in preparation for the march. The principal streets in the lower part of the city had been assigned for the formation of the various divisions of the parade. A number of magnificent carriages bearing the President, the Vice-President, the members of the Cabinet, and other distinguished representatives of the Government, swept up to the head of the column, and led the way to the great reviewing stand, which had been prepared on the west side of Madison Square, looking down into Fifth Avenue. Here the President and his companions took their places to review the column as it passed, and for six hours the Chief Magistrate stood up to recognize, in his official capacity, the passing squadrons of the greatest parade ever known in a time of peace west of the Atlantic.

It were difficult to describe the great procession. It was admirably managed—wholly military. The different divisions were arranged in files from eighteen to twenty-two men abreast. In many places the marching was in close rank, so that the knees of those in the rear rank fitted almost geometrically into those of the men in front. The passage was at the rate of more than nine thousand per hour. The best estimates place the number in line at over fifty-two thousand. Major-General John M. Schofield was commander-in-chief. The course of march was from Wall Street into Broadway; up Broadway to Waverly Place; through Waverly Place into Fifth Avenue; along that magnificent thoroughfare to Fourteenth Street; thence around Union Square to Fifth Avenue; and thence northward to Central Park.

Through all this distance, and on both sides of the street, was a solid wall of human beings, rising to the rear by every kind of con-

trivance which ingenuity could invent, so as to gain a view of the procession. The mass on the sidewalks was from twenty to fifty persons deep. In every advantageous position scaffolding, with ascending seats, had been erected for the accommodation of the multitudes, and not a seat was left unoccupied. At the street-crossings every variety of vehicle had been drawn up, and the privilege of standing on boxes, or sitting in carts, wagons, or hacks, was sold at high figures to the eager people who pressed into the crowd. Windows, and every other available point of view—house-tops, balconies, stoops, verandas—were crowded to their utmost capacity. In favorite localities, fabulous prices were charged for the privilege of looking from a window upon the passing cavalcade. The latter was, as we have said, preceded by the Presidential company. General Schofield, senior Major-General of the American army, as chief marshal, rode at the head of the column. After him, and leading the van of the procession proper, were over two thousand regulars—infantry and cavalry—drawn from the army; then came the cadets from West Point, whose marching, and uniform, and bearing, were of such excellence as to excite a chorus of cheers from end to end of the long march. Next followed the artillery and



SUB-TREASURY BUILDING, WALL STREET.

batteries of the regular army. Many of the guns, and much of the armor, was resplendent for its brilliancy. After these came the marines and naval cadets, a vast column of apprentices, whose march, by its peculiar rolling movement, denoted that the column had been recently gathered from the decks of ships.

Thus closed the first division of the procession—that is, those who were taken from the Army and Navy of the United States. Then followed the militiamen—the National Guards of the different States. At the head was a column of three hundred and seventy men from Delaware; for Delaware had been *first* of the Old Thirteen States to adopt the Constitution, and was thus given a place of honor on the Centennial Anniversary. The Governor of each State represented in the parade rode at the head of the division from his own Commonwealth. Most of the Governors were in civil attire. General Beaver, of Pennsylvania; General Fitzhugh Lee, of Virginia; and General John B. Gordon, of Georgia, were conspicuous at the head of their divisions. It was noticed that those who were present from the Southern States were received with unstinted applause. Governor Beaver rode at the head of the Pennsylvania troops, numbering fully eight thousand men. Then came Governor Green, with the soldiers of New Jersey, three thousand seven hundred strong; then Georgia, with General Gordon and his staff. The Foot Guards, from Connecticut, preceded by the Governor, numbered six hundred. Governor Ames, of Massachusetts, headed the column of one thousand five hundred from the Old Bay State—a noble division, containing the Ancient and Honorable Artillery of Boston, all uniformed after the most antique pattern. The men of Maryland were five hundred strong. Then came New Hampshire; then Vermont, with a division of seven hundred. Governor Richardson, of North Carolina, followed with a body of five hundred men. This division was fortunate in bearing an old flag belonging to North Carolina in the pre-Revolutionary epoch. After this came the great division of New York. Twelve thousand men, arranged in four brigades of eighteen regiments, one battalion, and five batteries, were the contribution of the Empire State to the great display. At the head of the line rode Governor David B. Hill. In this column the Seventh Regiment, made up of prominent men of New York City, and numbering over one thousand, was, perhaps, the most conspicuous single body in the whole procession. The Twenty-second Regiment vied with its rival; and it might be difficult to decide whether the palm for marching and other evidences of elegant training should be awarded to the West Point Cadets, the Seventh Regiment of New York, the Twenty-second Regiment of the same State, the squadron from the Michigan Military Academy, or the Twenty-third Regiment, of Brooklyn.

Behind this magnificent display of the military came the veterans of the Civil War, the men of the Grand Army of the Republic, headed by their Commander-in-Chief, General William Warner. These were arranged column after column to an aggregate of twelve thousand, according to the locality from which they were gathered, the rear being closed with a magnificent body of old soldiers, numbering nearly four thousand, from Brooklyn and Kings County, New York. It was already nightfall when this extreme left of the column passed the reviewing stand, and the parade for the day was at an end.

The evening of the 30th was occupied with one of the most elaborate and sumptuous banquets ever spread in the United States. For this purpose the Metropolitan Opera-house, in Broadway, had been procured and decorated. It was claimed by those experienced in such matters that the floral ornamentation of the hall was far superior in costliness and beauty to anything of like kind ever before displayed in the country. The boxes of the theater were adorned with the National colors and with the shields and coats-of-arms of the various States of the Union. Over the proscenium arch was a portrait of Washington, arranged in a cluster of evergreens and flowers. The auditorium was brilliantly illuminated, and the scene of splendor on every hand might well dazzle the eye and surprise the imagination of the beholder. The banqueters, embracing many of the chief men of the Nation, were seated at a series of tables, the first and principal one being occupied by the President of the United States, the Governor of New York, the Vice-President, the Lieuten-

ant-Governor, Chief-Justice Fuller, Judge Andrews, General Schofield, Admiral Porter, Senator Evarts, Senator Hiscock, Ex-President Hayes, Ex-President Cleveland, Bishop Potter, Speaker Cole of the New York Assembly, Secretary Proctor, Hon. S. S. Cox, General William T. Sherman, Clarence W. Bowen, and Elbridge T. Gerry, the last two representing the Citizens' Committee. At this table Mayor Grant presided, and read the toasts of the evening.

The feast began at nine o'clock in the evening. At the close, a series of brief addresses were delivered by the Governor of New York, Ex-President Cleveland, Ex-President Hayes, General Sherman, Senator Evarts, President Eliot of Harvard, James Russell Lowell, Senator Daniel, and others. The closing address was by the President of the United States. Nearly all the speeches were faultless in their subject-matter, eloquent in delivery, and worthy to be regarded as classics of the occasion.

The programme prepared by the Citizens' Committee embraced a general holiday of three days' duration, during which business was suspended throughout the city. On the 29th and 30th of April and on the 1st day of May the restriction was faithfully regarded. One might traverse Broadway and find but few business establishments open to the public. This was true particularly of the two principal days of the festival.

It now remains to notice the great civic parade of the 1st of May, with which the commemorative exercises were concluded. The design was that this should represent the industries, the progress, and in general the civic life of the Metropolis of the Nation and of the country at large, as distinguished from the military display of the preceding day. It was found from the experience of the 30th that the line of march was too lengthy, and the second day's course was made somewhat shorter. It is not intended in this connection to enter into any elaborate account of the civic procession of the third day. It was second only in importance to the great military parade which had preceded it. The procession was composed, in large part, of those various civic orders and brotherhoods with which modern society so much abounds. In these the foreign nationalities, which have obtained so large a footing in New York City, were largely prevalent. The German societies were out in full force. Companies representing almost every nation of the Old World were in the line, carrying gay banners, keeping step to the music of magnificent bands, and proudly lifting their mottoes and emblems in the May-day morning.

The second general feature of this procession was the historical part. The primitive life of Manhattan Island, the adventures of the early explorers and discoverers along the American coast, the striking incidents in the early annals of the Old Thirteen States, were allegorized, and mounted in visible form on chariots, and drawn through the streets. All the old heroes of American History, from Columbus to Peter Stuyvesant, were seen again in mortal form, received obeisance, and heard the shouts of the multitudes. From ten o'clock in the forenoon till half-past three in the afternoon the procession was under way, the principal line of march being down Fifth Avenue and through the principal squares of the city. With the coming of evening the pyrotechnic display of the preceding night was renewed in many parts of the metropolis, though it could hardly be said that the fire-works were equal in brilliancy, beauty, and impressiveness to the magnificent day pageants of the streets.

One of the striking features of the celebration was the ease and rapidity with which the vast multitudes were breathed into and breathed out of the city. In the principal hotels fully one hundred and fifty thousand strangers were registered as guests. More than twice this number were distributed in the smaller lodging-houses and private dwellings of New York and Brooklyn. Yet the careful observer abroad in the streets saw neither the coming nor the going. With the appearance of the days of the celebration the throngs were present; on the following days they were gone. The great railways centering in the metropolis had done their work noiselessly, speedily, effectively. It may well be recorded as one of the marvels of modern times that only two persons are said to have lost their lives in this tremendous assemblage, extending through several days, and that at least one of these died suddenly

from heart disease, while the manner of the death of the other was unknown. Such is the triumph which the mastery of the human mind over the forces of the material world has easily achieved in our age, under the guidance of that beneficent science by which the world is at once enlightened and protected from danger.

The close of the year 1888 and the beginning of 1889 were marked by a peculiar episode in the history of the country. An unexpected and even dangerous complication arose between the United States and Germany relative to the Samoan Islands. This comparatively unimportant group of the South Pacific lies in a south-westerly direction, at a distance of about five thousand miles from San Francisco, and nearly two thousand miles eastward from Australia. The long-standing policy of the Government, established under the Administration of Washington and ever since maintained, to have no entanglements with foreign nations, seemed in this instance to be strangely at variance with the facts.

During 1888 the civil affairs of the Samoan Islands were thrown into extreme confusion by what was really the progressive disposition of the people, but what appeared in the garb of an insurrection against the established authorities. The Government of the islands is a monarchy. The country is ruled by native princes, and is independent of foreign powers. The capital, Apia, lies on a bay of the same name on the northern coast of the principal island. It was here that the insurrection gained greatest headway.

The revolutionary movement was headed by an audacious chieftain called Tamasese. The king of the island was Malietoa, and his chief supporter, Mataafa. At the time, the German Empire was represented in Samoa by its Consul-General, Herr Weber, and the United States was represented by Hon. Harold M. Sewall. A German armed force virtually deposed Malietoa, and set up Tamasese on the throne. On the other hand, the representative of the United States, following the policy of his Government, stood by the established authority, supporting the native sovereign and Mataafa. The American and German authorities in the island were thus brought into conflict, and serious difficulties occurred between the ships of the two nations in the harbor.

When the news of this state of affairs reached Germany, in April, 1889, several additional men-of-war were sent out to the island to uphold the German cause. Mataafa and the Germans were thus brought to war. Meanwhile the American Government took up the cause of its Consul, and of King Malietoa, as against the insurrection. A section of the American navy was despatched to the distant island, and the ships of war of two of the greatest nations of Christendom were thus set face to face in a harbor of the South Pacific Ocean.

In this condition of affairs, on the 22d of March, 1889, one of the most violent hurricanes ever known in the islands blew up from the north, and the American and German war-vessels were driven upon the great reef which constitutes the only breakwater outside of the harbor of Apia. Here they were wrecked. The American war-ships *Nipsic*, *Trenton*, and *Vandalia* were dashed into ruins. The German vessels, *Adler*, *Olga*, and *Eber*, were also lost. The English vessel, *Calliope*, which was caught in the storm, was the only war-ship which escaped, by steaming out to sea. Serious loss of life accompanied the disaster: four American officers and forty-six men, nine German officers and eighty-seven men, sank to rise no more.

Meanwhile, England had become interested in the dispute, and had taken a stand with the United States as against the decision of Germany. The matter became of so great importance that President Harrison, who had, in the meantime, acceded to office as Chief Magistrate, appointed, with the advice of the Senate, an Embassy Extraordinary, to go to Berlin and meet Prince Bismarck in a conference, with a view to a peaceful solution of the difficulty. The Ambassadors appointed for this purpose were J. A. Kasson, of Iowa; William W. Phelps, of New Jersey; and G. H. Bates, of Delaware. The Commissioners set out on the 13th of April, and, on their arrival at the capital of the German Empire, opened negotiations with the Chancellor Bismarck and his son. The attitude and demand of the American Government was that the independence of Samoa, under its native sovereign, should be acknowledged, and guaranteed, by the great nations concerned in the controversy. The conference closed in May, 1889, with the res-

toration of King Malietoa, and the recognition of his sovereignty over the island.

The closing week of May, 1889, was made forever memorable in the history of the United States by the destruction of Johnstown, Pennsylvania. The calamity was caused by the bursting of a reservoir and the pouring out of a deluge in the valley below. A large artificial lake had been constructed in the ravine of the South Fork River, a tributary of the Conemaugh. It was a fishing lake, the property of a company of wealthy sportsmen, and was about five miles in length, varying in depth from fifty to one hundred feet. The country below the lake was thickly peopled. The city of Johnstown lay at the junction of the South Fork with the Conemaugh. In the last days of May unusually heavy rains fell in all that region, swelling every stream to a torrent. The South Fork Lake became full to overflowing. The dam had been imperfectly constructed. On the afternoon of May 31st the dam of the reservoir burst wide open in the center, and a solid wall of water from twenty to fifty feet in height rushed down the valley with terrific violence.

The destruction which ensued was as great as the modern world has witnessed. In the path of the deluge every thing was swept away. Johnstown was totally wrecked, and was thrown in an indescribable heap of horror against the aqueduct of the Pennsylvania railway, below the town. Here the ruins caught fire, and the shrieks of hundreds of victims were drowned in the holocaust. About three thousand people perished in the flood or were burned to death in the ruins. The heart of the Nation responded quickly to the sufferings of the survivors, and millions of dollars in money and supplies were poured out to relieve the despair of those who survived the calamity.

The year 1889 witnessed the assembling at Washington City of an International Congress. The body was composed of delegates from the Central and South American States, from Mexico, and the United States of America. Popularly the assembly was known as the "Pan-American Congress." The event was the culmination of a policy adopted by the United States some years previously. General Grant, during his Presidency, and in the subsequent period of his life, had endeavored to promote more intimate relations with the Spanish-American peoples. James G. Blaine, Secretary of State under Garfield, entertained a similar ambition. That statesman was accused of a purpose to create in the United States a policy similar to Disraeli's high-jingoism in Great Britain. The United States were to become the arbiter of the Western nations. To this end the Central American and South American States must be brought, first into intimacy with our Republic, and afterwards be made to follow her lead in warding off all Europeanism.

The death of Garfield prevented the institution of some such policy as that here vaguely defined. Nevertheless, in 1884, an Act was passed by Congress, authorizing the President to appoint a commission "to ascertain and report upon the best modes of securing more intimate international commercial relations between the United States and the several countries of Central and South America." Commissioners were sent out to the countries referred to, and the movement for the Congress was started. Not until May of 1888, however, was the Act passed providing for the Congress. The Spanish American nations responded to the overtures, and took the necessary steps to meet the United States in the conference. The objects contemplated were, first, to promote measures pertaining to the peace and prosperity of the peoples concerned; to establish customs-unions among them; to improve the means of communication between the ports of the States represented, and to advance the commercial interests and political harmony of the nations of the New World.

The Spanish-American and Portuguese-American States, to the number of nine, appointed their delegates, and the latter arrived in the United States in the autumn of 1889. President Harrison on his part named ten members of the Congress as follows: John F. Hanson, of Georgia; Morris M. Estee, of California; Henry G. Davis, of West Virginia; Andrew Carnegie, of Pennsylvania; T. Jefferson Coolidge, of Massachusetts; Clement Studebaker, of Indiana; Charles R. Flint, of New York; William H. Trescot, of South Carolina; Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York; and John B. Henderson, of Missouri. Mexico sent two representatives, namely: Matias

Romero and Enrique A. Mexia. Brazil, still an Empire, also sent two delegates: J. G. do Amaral Valente and Salvador de Mendonça. The representative of Honduras was Jeronimo Zelaya Fernando Cruz, the delegate of Guatemala, and Jacinto Castellanos of San Salvador. Costa Rica sent as her representative Manuel Aragon. Horatio Guzman, Minister of Nicaragua, represented his Government in the Congress. The Argentine Republic had two delegates: Roque Saenz Peña and Manuel Quintana. Chili sent two delegates: Emilio C. Varas and José Alfonso. The representatives of the United States of Colombia were José M. Hurtado, Carlos Martinez Silva, and Climaco Calderón. The delegates of Venezuela were Nicanor Bolet Peraza, José Andrade, and Francisco Antonio Silva; that of Peru was F. C. C. Zegarra; that of Ecuador, José Maria Placido Caamaño; that of Uruguay, Alberto Nin; that of Bolivia, Juan F. Velarde; that of Hayti, Arthur Laforestrie; and that of Paraguay, Jose S. Decoud.

The representatives met in Washington City in October. Committees were formed to report to the body suitable action on the subjects which might properly come before it for discussion. From the first the proceedings took a peculiarly practical direction. The great questions of commerce were at the bottom of the reports, the debates, and the actions which followed. Nor can it be doubted that the movement, as a whole, conduced in the highest degree to the friendship, prosperity, and mutual interests of the nations concerned.

At the same time, an International Maritime Conference, for which provisions had been made in the legislation of several nations, convened at Washington. In this case the States of Europe were concerned in common with those of the New World. All the maritime nations were invited by the act of Congress to send representatives to the National Capital in the following year, to consider the possibility of establishing uniform rules and regulations for the government of vessels at sea, and for the adoption of a common system of marine signals. Twenty-six nations accepted the call of the American Government, and appointed delegates to the Congress. They, too, as well as the representatives of the Pan-American Conference, held their sittings in November and December of 1889. The same practical ability and good sense, as related to the subjects under consideration, were shown by the members of the Maritime Conference as by those of the sister body, and the results reached were equally encouraging and equally gratifying, not only to the Government of the United States, but to all the countries whose interests were involved in the discussions.

The history of the United States has been traced in the present Book from the Treaties of Ghent and Vienna, in 1815, to the dawn of yesterday. The Republic has passed through stormy times, but has at last entered her second century of Nationality in safety and peace. The clouds that were recently so black above her have sunk behind the horizon. The equality of all men before the law has been written with the iron pen of war in the Constitution of the Nation. The Union of the States has been consecrated anew by the blood of patriots and the tears of the lowly. The temple of freedom, reared by the Fathers, still stands in undiminished glory. THE PAST HAS TAUGHT ITS LESSON, THE PRESENT HAS ITS DUTY, AND THE FUTURE ITS HOPE.




MAP XXIII.
ENGLAND & WALES
English Miles
0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70
Towns of over 100,000
thus LONDON &c.
from 50,000 to 100,000 underlined
from 10,000 to 50,000
below 10,000
County Towns
Railways shown thus
Canals
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
GLASGOW
EDINBURGH
Berwick
Coldstream
Kelso
Holy I.
Farne Is.
Belford
Wooler
Alnwick
Coquet I.
Rothbury
Otterburn
NORTHUMBERLAND
Bellingham
Morpeth
Blyth
Tynemouth
South Shields
Sunderland
NEWCASTLE
Gateshead
Hexham
Allendale
Longtown
Carlisle
Brampton
Wigton
Aspatria
CUMBERLAND
Maryport
Workington
Whitehaven
Cockermouth
Keswick
Penrith
Appleby
WESTMORELAND
Shap
Ambleside
Kendal
Windermere
Coniston
Ravenglass
Broughton
Ulverston
Dalton
Barrow
Walney I.
Lancaster
Morecambe Bay
Fleetwood
Blackpool
Lytham
Preston
Chorley
Bolton
Wigan
Southport
Formby Pt.
LANCASHIRE
Blackburn
Burnley
Colne
Skipton
Settle
Clitheroe
Ingleton
Harrogate
Ripon
Thirsk
Northallerton
Leyburn
Richmond
Darlington
Stockton
Hartlepool
Sealham
Chester le Street
Durham
DURHAM
Bishop Auckland
Barnard Castle
Redcar
Saltburn
Middlesborough
Guisborough
Yarm
Whitby
Robin Hood Bay
Scarborough
Filey
Flamborough Hd.
Bridlington
Grt Driffield
Hornsea
Beverley
Withernsea
Spurn Hd.
Grt Grimsby
Saltfleet
Louth
Alford
Horncastle
Burgh
Wainfleet
Tattershall
Boston
Lincoln
Gainsborough
Market Rasen
Retford
Worksop
Rotherham
Doncaster
Barnsley
Wakefield
Pontefract
Goole
Selby
Howden
Otley
Ilkley
Wetherby
Knaresborough
Harrogate
Masham
Bedale
Helmsley
Pickering
Malton
Thorne
Crowle
Glanford Brigg
Barton
Hull
Market Weighton
Driffield
Pocklington
York
Wolds
Holmfirth
Huddersfield
Dewsbury
Halifax
Bradford
Leeds
Keighley
Otley
Tadcaster
Selby
Penistone
Sheffield
Stocksbridge
Glossop
Hyde
Stockport
Manchester
Salford
Oldham
Rochdale
Bury
Wigan
Warrington
Liverpool
Birkenhead
Chester
Northwich
Macclesfield
Buxton
Bakewell
Matlock
Derby
Nottingham
Lincoln
Castleton
Chesterfield
Mansfield
Newark
Grantham
Stamford
Peterborough
Wisbech
Spalding
Holbeach
Sleaford
Ashbourne
Uttoxeter
Burton
Lichfield
Tamworth
Nuneaton
Rugby
Coventry
Leicester
Loughborough
Melton Mowbray
Oakham
Uppingham
Kettering
Wellingborough
Northampton
Towcester
Daventry
Banbury
Brackley
Buckingham
Aylesbury
Thame
Wallingford
Abingdon
Oxford
Witney
Chipping Norton
Moreton in the Marsh
Stow on the Wold
Cirencester
Tetbury
Malmesbury
Chippenham
Devizes
Marlborough
Hungerford
Newbury
Basingstoke
Andover
Whitchurch
Alton
Farnham
Guildford
Godalming
Dorking
Reigate
Epsom
Kingston
Richmond
Hounslow
Uxbridge
Windsor
Slough
Maidenhead
Henley
Reading
Wokingham
Bracknell
Staines
Chertsey
Weybridge
Esher
Leatherhead
Croydon
Bromley
Sevenoaks
Tonbridge
Tunbridge Wells
Maidstone
Ashford
Hythe
Folkestone
Dover
Deal
Sandwich
Margate
Ramsgate
Canterbury
Faversham
Whitstable
Herne Bay
Rochester
Chatham
Gravesend
Dartford
Erith
Woolwich
Greenwich
Deptford
Lambeth
Westminster
Chelsea
Fulham
Hammersmith
Kensington
Paddington
Hampstead
Highgate
Islington
Hackney
Stratford
Barking
Romford
Ilford
Chelmsford
Brentwood
Epping
Harlow
Bishop's Stortford
Hertford
Ware
Hoddesdon
Cheshunt
Enfield
Barnet
Edgware
Harrow
Watford
St Albans
Hemel Hempstead
Berkhamsted
Tring
Leighton Buzzard
Dunstable
Luton
Hitchin
Baldock
Royston
Biggleswade
Sandy
Potton
Bedford
Kimbolton
Huntingdon
St Ives
St Neots
Cambridge
Ely
March
Wisbech
Downham
Swaffham
Thetford
Brandon
Newmarket
Bury St Edmunds
Stowmarket
Ipswich
Woodbridge
Aldeburgh
Saxmundham
Framlingham
Halesworth
Beccles
Lowestoft
Yarmouth
Great Yarmouth
North Walsham
Cromer
Holt
Fakenham
Aylsham
Wymondham
Attleborough
Norwich
Diss
Harleston
Bungay
Eye
Stowmarket
Sudbury
Hadleigh
Colchester
Manningtree
Harwich
Clacton
Frinton
Walton
Brightlingsea
Maldon
Southend
Rochford
Billericay
Grays
Tilbury
Purfleet
Dartford
Sevenoaks
Westerham
Oxted
Godstone
Reigate
Dorking
Guildford
Godalming
Haslemere
Petersfield
Midhurst
Chichester
Arundel
Worthing
Shoreham
Brighton
Lewes
Uckfield
Hailsham
Eastbourne
Pevensey
Battle
Hastings
Rye
Winchelsea
Tenterden
Cranbrook
Hawkhurst
Staplehurst
Headcorn
Lenham
Ashford
Romney
New Romney
Dungeness
Folkestone
Hythe
Dover
Deal
Sandwich
Ramsgate
Margate
Whitstable
Faversham
Canterbury


ENGLISH CHANNEL
BRISTOL CHANNEL
ST. GEORGE'S CHANNEL
CARDIGAN BAY
CARMARTHEN BAY
St. Brides Bay
Milford Haven
Worms Hd.
St. Gowens Hd.
St. Davids Hd.
Strumble Hd.
Skomer I.
Ramsey I.
Bardsey I.
Lundy I.
Hartland Pt.
Lands End
Lizard Pt.
Start Pt.
Portland Bill
Portland I.
St. Catherine Pt.
Needles
Ventnor
Selsea Bill
Beachy Head
Dungeness
North Foreland
Goodwin Sands
Calais
Boulogne
Dieppe
Somme R.
Strait of Dover
30 Miles
75 Miles
Herne Bay
Margate
Ramsgate
Deal
Sandwich
Folkestone
Hythe
Rye
New Romney
Winchelsea
Hastings
St. Leonards
Pevensey
Eastbourne
Newhaven
Brighton
Worthing
Littlehampton
Bognor
Chichester
Arundel
Portsmouth
Southampton
Lymington
Christchurch
Poole
Weymouth
Lyme Regis
Sidmouth
Exmouth
Torquay
Brixham
Dartmouth
Salcombe
Plymouth
Devonport
Falmouth
Penzance
St. Ives
Truro
Redruth
Padstow
Tintagel Cas.
Hatherleigh
Stratton
Ilfracombe
Barnstaple
Bideford
Exmoor
Tiverton
Honiton
Axminster
Crewkerne
Ilminster
Taunton
Bridgewater
Wells
Glastonbury
Bruton
Shepton Mallet
Frome
Trowbridge
Westbury
Warminster
Salisbury
Stonehenge
Salisbury Plain
Wilton
Shaftesbury
Blandford
Sherborne
Yeovil
Ilchester
Basingstoke
Whitchurch
Andover
Alton
Farnham
Guildford
Godalming
Winchester
Petersfield
Horsham
Reigate
Dorchester
Bridport
Beaminster
Axminster
Honiton
Credition
Exeter
Teignmouth
Ashburton
Totnes
Dartmouth
Launceston
Okehampton
Dartmoor
Moreton
Davidstow
Liskeard
Looe
Fowey
Austell
Falmouth
Helston
Redruth
Truro
Camborne
St. Ives
Penzance
Lands End
Tintagel Cas.
Padstow
Bodmin
Launceston
Okehampton
Hatherleigh
Stratton
Bideford
Barnstaple
Ilfracombe
Lundy I.
Hartland Pt.



Book Twenty-Second.

GREAT BRITAIN.

CHAPTER CXXVII.—LAST TWO HANOVERIANS.

THE smoke of the Battle of Waterloo rolled back to the borders of Belgium, and then to the confines of Europe. A field of desolation was revealed without a parallel in modern history. The wrecks lay heaped on every coast. It was at once apparent that a bloody transformation had been effected among the Western nations. Nor might the prescience of statesman or philosopher discover in the existing condition the true results of the Revolutionary conflict.

One of the first facts discoverable in the then condition of Western Europe was that GREAT BRITAIN had been least of all shaken from her political moorings. It was discerned, as the roar of battle receded to the horizon, that England had, even through the epoch of turmoil and violence, held on her tedious and labored course, like a heavy ship, toiling with the breakers, battered with the storms, but, nevertheless, essentially sound in her structure. It could but be acknowledged, moreover, that Great Britian only had emerged from the conflict of twenty years' duration with military honor and civil precedence. It was by the indomitable courage of the English soldiers, as much as by the half-accidental coming of Blücher, that the Imperial eagle of France had been struck to the dust on the plateau of Mont St. Jean. Through his whole career, the Corsican had found no other foe which he so much dreaded as England. With that all-prevailing discernment wherewith he surveyed the field of Europe and made it the chess-board for his mighty game, he recognized that the player who sat in the fogs of the British Islands was his real antagonist. He well knew that the free institutions of England, as well as the native vigor of the English race, had conspired to develop in the Saxon Isles a civil and military power of which even his Imperial France might well stand in awe. During the whole period of the Republic, the Consulate, and the Empire, the Government of Great Britain maintained an attitude of sullen and unyielding hostility, first to the republican tendencies of the French Nation, but more particularly to Napoleon himself. On many occasions the conduct of England towards France was of a kind not to be justified in honorable diplomacy. Sometimes, indeed,

the English ministry crossed the border-line of perfidy in its proceedings with Bonaparte. But in such instances the English people, considering the character and principles of the foe with whom they had to deal, found little difficulty in framing a justification for the course pursued by their rulers.

In other respects the policy of Great Britain was more honorable, more commendable. As a rule, she stood stoutly to her time-honored principle of non-interference in the affairs of other States. Nor did she, after Waterloo, notwithstanding her anger and heat of blood, at any time assent to the project of the dismemberment and partition of France. And what is of much more importance, she declined, though strongly urged to such a course, to become a party to that unholy Holy Alliance, whereby her chief partners in the last great struggle with Napoleon now proposed to direct the destinies of Europe. It may be profitable to the reader in this connection to elucidate in brief the genesis and character of the so-called Holy Alliance.

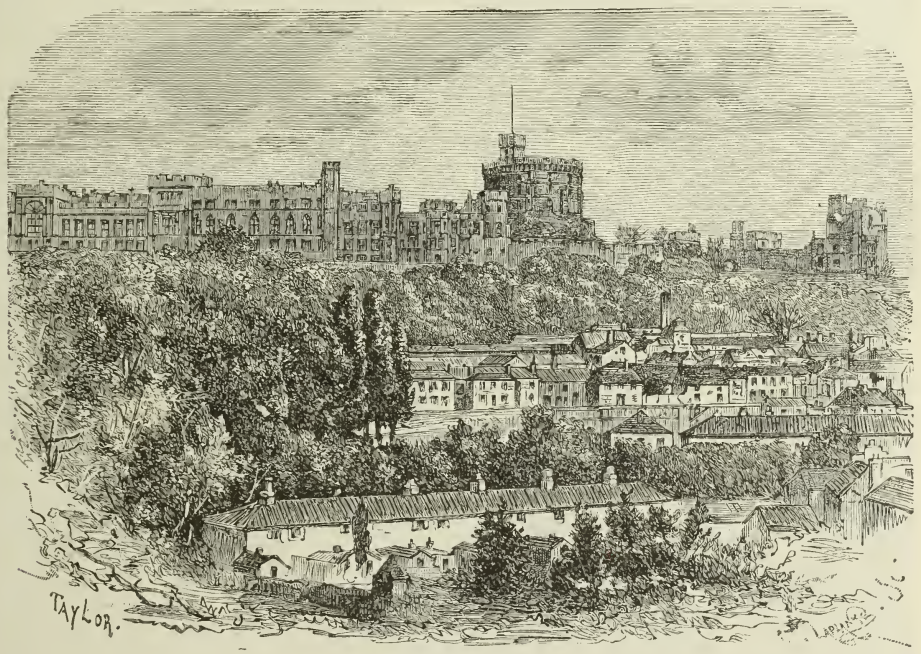
Madame the Baroness Krüdener was a Russian princess, born in Riga, an adventuress in her palmy days, and a mystic when her palmy days were over. From the age of thirteen she traveled through the principal cities of Europe. Her wealth was great, her accomplishments many. At length princes and kings became her playfellows, and, in some sense, her toys. After 1803 she resided mostly in Paris. Afterwards she returned to Riga, and devoted herself to religious mysticism. Again at Paris, in 1814, we find her in her salon, receiving the visits of monarchs. She became a prophetess—the Cassandra of the modern Ilium. She foretold the vicissitudes of the last year of the Napoleonic *régime*. Alexander of Russia met her at Heilbronn a month before Waterloo, and became infatuated with her and her doctrines. Henceforth, for several years, she moved the Czar according to the impulse of her reverie and purpose. Strange that this woman should have contributed so novel a chapter to the history of modern Europe as that recorded in the pages of the Holy Alliance!

It was on the 26th of September, 1815, that the league so-called was made. The parties to the compact were Alexander I., of Russia; Emperor Francis, of Austria; and Frederick William III., of Prussia. To the Alliance, however, nearly all the other Powers, except Rome, England, and France, soon acceded. It is said that the terms of the compact were arranged for the most part by Alexander, acting under the immediate inspiration of Madame Krüdener. The Czar was then in Paris, and was in almost constant companionship with the prophetess. The Alliance aspired to be no less than a new basis for the political order and conduct, not only of Europe, but of the world. The compact assumed to be the application, and we might say the codification and real presence, of the principles of Christianity considered as a means and method of political action. Henceforth, civil government was to be a distinctly religious affair, Christian in all its sanction and proceedings. The States of Europe were to conduct their affairs on the basis of Christian amity and fellowship; and we, the hereditary princes of Christendom, are to be the patriarchs and fathers of the people. It might be difficult to know to what extent the royal figure-heads who completed and signed the Alliance were self-deceived in respect to the nature and inevitable tendencies of their agreement. But the whole philosophical meaning and purport of the compact might well be summed up in the one dreadful word—*despotism*.

The three monarchs signed the Alliance in September of 1815. But the contents of the agreement were not known to Europe until the 2d of February, 1816, when the paper was published in full in the Frankfort *Journal*. One of the special features of the instrument was that by which all members of the Bonaparte family were to be forever excluded, not only from the throne of France, but from all the sovereignties of Europe. The monarchs were very sincere in their project, as we shall hereafter see, in their conduct towards the republican and revolutionary movements of 1820–24. The Republicans of Naples and Piedmont, of Spain, and of France herself, shall feel, in full force, the results of the scheme contrived by Krüdener and Alexander. Not until the latter has been called to his account—not until fifteen years have passed away and a new revolution in France shall have driven the Elder Branch of the House of Bourbon into

perpetual exile—shall the effects of the Holy Alliance sink into the earth and disappear.

To the everlasting credit of Great Britain be it said, that she had no part or lot in the compact. She stood out against all blandishments. No inducements could be offered, no motive suggested, to seduce her from her immemorial policy of non-interference in the affairs of foreign States. George Canning, at that time British Minister of Foreign Affairs, sought with all his might and influence to counteract the effects of the hypocritical compact by which it was sought to combine the



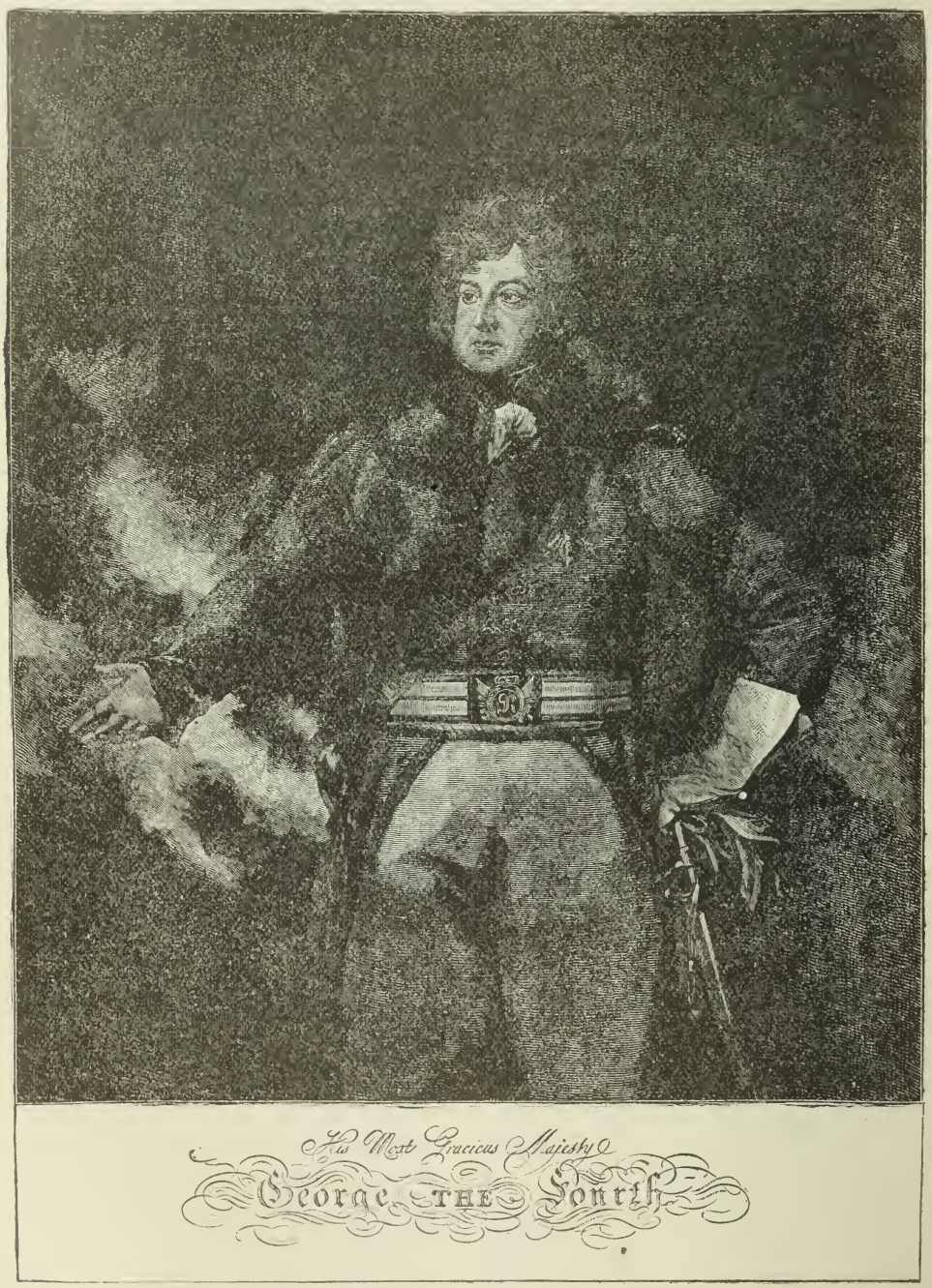
WINDSOR CASTLE.

powers of Europe in a universal family despotism.

No adequate idea can be acquired of the political and civil history of Great Britain in the period immediately succeeding the Napoleonic wars without taking into consideration the character of the reigning dynasty. The first two princes of the line of Hanover-Brunswick had been foreigners—Germans, speaking the German tongue, understanding but little of the genius and tendency of English institutions. With the accession of George III., however, a new era opened up, a new policy on the part of the young and popular sovereign. It is not the place in which to review the reign of George III., to note the governmental theories which he inherited and assiduously cultivated to the close of his reign. Owing to his recurring paroxysms of insanity, that reign may be said to have ended with the establishment of the Regency in 1811. George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales, became Regent in consequence of his father's malady, and by the act of Parliament. It is a noticeable fact in the history of England that the Heir-Apparent to the throne nearly always, during his minority, and up to the time of his accession, adopts the political principles and espouses the cause of the Opposition. The leaders of the party, so-called, have always adopted the policy of seducing the Prince, if possible, from the political principles of the reigning king. This was true especially of the Prince Regent, who, in his younger years, fell under the dominion of the Whigs. He sought the society of his father's opponents in Parliament, and was initiated by Fox and Sheridan, not only into the principles and practices of the Whig sanctum, but also into the social excesses and vices of which those leaders were the easy chiefs.

It was under this Regency that the international crisis of 1815 was reached and broken on the plain of Waterloo. However great the glory that came to England by that event, it

could hardly be said that the military splendors of the time focused near the throne. The madness of the nominal king was heightened by his blindness, and on the 29th of January, 1820, he passed away, being then in the eighty-second year of his age, and the sixtieth of his reign. His body was laid away with funeral pomp in the royal vaults at Windsor Castle. We may here pause for a moment to notice the character and disposition of his successor, George IV.



George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales, who now acceded to the throne, with the title of George IV., was the first of the nine sons of George III. From his birth he had been noted for his comeliness of person. He had

an ease of carriage and a grace of manner which gained for him at an early age the sobriquet of "the Gentleman George;" but long before he reached his majority it was known, not only to England, but to all Europe, that the veneering of accomplishments which incased the Heir Apparent was only a transparent gloss through which all manner of vices and excesses played hide-and-go-seek within. The story of the Prince's life can not be repeated on the pages of respectable literature. He plunged at will into the whirl of all vicious excitement. He did not stop short of the grossest profligacy; and to this he added the habit of falsehood to an extent that made his name proverbial. Even his plighted faith could not be trusted. The political agitations in the midst of which he was nurtured, and which might have well provoked the highest powers of his mind, had to him no attractions. Schooled in everything that Fox and Sheridan had taught him in his youth, he flung himself at full length into the pool of vice, and rejoiced in it as though it were a sea-bath in summer. At last he fell in love with Mrs. Fitzherbert, who had been twice a widow at the age of twenty-five. Him she led on until she drew him into a private marriage, which became the *scandalum maximum* of the age. The nation was in a turmoil over the event. Fox, misled by the Prince as to the facts in the case, went openly to the House of Commons and denounced the story as a malicious falsehood. The Prince's salary was raised from fifty thousand pounds to sixty thousand, and Parliament gave him a hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds to discharge his debts; induced thereto by the falsehood which Fox had given to the House of Commons.

But the story of the Prince's personal life need not be pursued. On coming to the throne in 1820, it was expected that a Whig ministry would be at once called to the conduct of affairs. But the king dealt doubly with those who had been his friends, and sought, by means of a coälition, to make easy sailing through a sea of political apathy. He had already adopted the same policy during the Regency. He disliked George Canning, to whose energy of character much of the success of the British Government during the Revolutionary epoch must be attributed. Nor can it be doubted that the king's unfriendliness and the indisposition of Canning to take part in the Parliamentary proceedings against Queen Caroline, induced the statesman's temporary withdrawal from the Ministry.

During the greater part of the reign of George IV. the Government was conducted under the ministerial leadership of Earl Liverpool. The latter had acceded to office after the assassination of Perceval, in 1812; and he remained at the head of the Cabinet until 1827, when his declining health compelled him to retire. It was, however, to the energy, we might say the unscrupulous vigor, of the Marquis of Londonderry, better known as Lord Castlereagh, that the success of the home management of Great Britain must be attributed at this epoch. The latter statesman had become leader of the House of Commons as early as 1812. He became the guiding spirit of the foreign policy of the Government during the last years of the Napoleonic era, and for fully a decade remained in the ascendant. He it was who represented the king at the second Treaty of Paris, and signed the compact of peace in 1815. He was, perhaps, the only one of the great political leaders of his time who remained in the favor of the Prince Regent, as he had been always in favor with George III. He was the personal adviser of the new king, and traveled abroad with him into Hanover, in October of 1821, meeting there, in International discussion, the Prince Metternich. This, however, was the end of his career. Castlereagh's intellect gave way under the pressure of overwork and a highly nervous organization, and on the 12th of August, 1822, he committed suicide with his penknife.

The general character of the history of England, in the period from 1815 to 1825, can not be understood without the survey of the whole of Europe. After the treaty of Vienna, Great Britain shared somewhat in the exhaustion, not to say the apathy, which supervened in all parts of the Continent. The passions—political, social, military, governmental—which had flamed and roared around the squares of Wellington, subsided into an almost absolute quiet in the five ensuing years. Despotic governments were, for the time, easily restored, and a flock of legitimate princes,

rushing back into the vacuum about the thrones of their ancestors, found, for a brief season, as comfortable seats as any kings had occupied since the Middle Ages.

But the halcyon epoch of Bourbonism was of short duration. No more than half a decade elapsed after the battle of Waterloo until the flames of revolution, caught from the great conflagration in France, began to shoot up in little jets in almost every country of Western Europe. This revival of the revolutionary spirit, however, did not seriously appear in England. Her insular position, and the spirit of her people and institutions, were alike unfavorable to the political insurrections which, at this epoch, broke out in nearly all the Latin States.

But Great Britain could by no means avoid constant connection with the affairs of the Continent. The first foreign entanglement of the British Government after the treaty of Vienna, sprang from the necessity under which the Government found itself to resist and resent the work of the Holy Alliance in the Spanish Peninsula. Of all the restored sovereigns, none settled back into his seat more comfortably than did Ferdinand VII., of Spain. The methods of government which were reïnstituted belonged, in that country, to the sixteenth century rather than to the nineteenth. The opposition of the liberal party was unavailing to check the abuses and extravagance of the reign. Finally, in 1819, the Spanish king, in order to replenish his wasted exchequer, sold Florida to the United States. Presently a revolt broke out at Cadiz. The insurrection spread; the peasants of the provinces rose in arms, and, in 1822, the popular movement resulted in the election of the patriot Riego as President of the Cortes.

Such was the condition of affairs when the cause of Ferdinand was espoused by the Holy Alliance. France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia took the astounding course of formal armed intervention in the affairs of Spain. Nothing could be more cheering to the political optimist than to see Great Britain in this emergency turning squarely about, and in the very face of her recent allies protesting by the resolute mouth of Canning against the Spanish intervention. Though her protest was unavailing for the time, it nevertheless served the purpose of a warning against such work in the future, and pointed with a menacing index to the downfall of the Alliance.

This complication of England relative to Spain had not been unraveled until the kingdom became profoundly interested in the affairs of Greece. Here again the leaning of the British Nation, not radical, but ever inclining to the side of political liberty, was strikingly manifested. It is not the place to recount the fortunes of the Greek Revolution which broke out in 1821, and again in 1824. It is sufficient to note that the attitude of Great Britain was consistent with her record. In no country did the society of the Philhellenes find so congenial a seat as in England. The Government confronted Turkey; and Mr. Canning, no less than Lord Byron and other British patriots, stood stoutly for the independence of the Greeks. While the monarchs of the Continent feared the rising of the Greeks as another eruption of that fearful democracy which had jostled so many from their thrones, Great Britain deliberately promoted the cause of Grecian liberty. This policy was persistently adhered to until the summer of 1827, when the situation of affairs in the East led to the appointment of ambassadors by Great Britain, France, and Russia, to consider the questions at issue. A conference was held in London in the beginning of July, and on the 6th of that month a compact was signed, in accordance with which the nations concerned would proceed to terminate the Turco-Grecian War. A joint expedition was fitted out, consisting of English, French, and Russian vessels, and sent into the Eastern Mediterranean.

The object in view was to compel the Sultan to grant an armistice pending the determination of the conditions of peace. The allied armament reached the Bay of Navarino on the 20th of October. The Sultan promptly and emphatically declined the mediation of the Powers, and the issue came at once to the arbitrament of battle. Meanwhile, Ibrahim Pasha received large reïnforcements from Egypt, and was ordered to put down the Greek insurrection at every hazard.

The captains of the allied fleets, however, had received orders not to permit the further destruction of the Greek insurgents. The com-

manders of the squadron therefore bore down upon the Turkish Admiral, who had taken his position at the bottom of the Bay of Navarino, where a battle was opened by a discharge from the Turkish guns. The conflict became general and continued furiously for four hours, when the workd was done. The squadron of the Ottomans was blown to fragments.



BATTLE OF NAVARINO.

Scarcely anything remained but the *débris* of ships floating on the agitated sea. Thus by a single stroke the Greek crisis was ended, and the way prepared for a permanent settlement of affairs in the East.

We may here pause for a moment to speak of, at least, one of the great measures of Sir Robert Peel. That statesman entered the enfeebled ministry of Lord Liverpool in 1822. In that year he became Home Secretary of England, in which relation he was called upon, first of all, to administer coërcive measures for the discontent of Ireland. In that country already, and in the House of Commons, a strong sentiment was developing for Catholic emancipation; and, for the time, Peel was constrained by his office, and perhaps by his convictions, to lead the opposition to this movement. On this question he was defeated in the House of Commons in 1825, and sought to retire from the Ministry; but his services could not well be spared. He soon found a work more in accord with his faculties and spirit, in reforming and humanizing the criminal code of Great Britain. The history of this reform constitutes of itself a chapter in

the evolution of English civilization—a chapter which would reach back for its material to the times of the Pagan ascendency in the British Islands, and would draw to itself from the Middle Ages, and subsequently, a great part of English history. The reader of the present age is aware, in the light of a dim apprehension, that the bottom principles of English law, especially on its criminal side, were deduced from the customs of barbarism; but he can hardly be aware of the extent to which all the elements of that barbarism continued vital in the code of Great Britain down to the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

The cruel savagery expressed in that code can hardly be described in language. It would require an artist's brush, and the blood-dripping canvases of a great gallery, to reveal the cruel scheme of the criminal law under which the English race groaned from age to age, and from which the inveterate conservatism of that people forbade them to be delivered. As late as a time within the memory of men yet living, the offenses still punishable by death under the statute law of England were innumerable. If, in the last years of the Napoleonic era, the death penalties due, under the jurisprudence of the kingdom, had been inflicted as the law demanded, the highways of the kingdom would have been well-nigh a continuous gibbet, and a large percentage of the people hangmen by profession. Out of the very necessity of things, the judges had been driven to the continuous use of respite, in order to avoid the death penalties which they were obliged to pronounce from day to day. At every assizes, large numbers of criminals, whose lives had been demanded by the law for petty offenses, many of which have now ceased to be criminal at all, were respited by the judges because of the sheer impracticability of continuous executions. And yet, under this shocking condition of affairs—such was the profound hypocrisy of the age—the law-making and law-administering powers of Great Britain stood stubbornly against every effort at reform, hugging the barbaric abuses which they had received from a pagan ancestry, as though those abuses were the very palladium of English liberty.

At the epoch of which we speak, the lives of almost all criminals brought to the bar of justice lay at the mercy of the court. As late as 1807 the theft of a pocket-handkerchief from the person was still a capital offense. If a soldier or a mariner, so unfortunate as not to have a pass from the magistrate or the commanding officer, durst beg for bread enough to keep him alive until he might reach his post, his life was demanded by the law. Nor might any elaboration of details adequately represent the revolting cruelties of the system of jurisprudence which was still maintained and practiced to the close of the reign of George III.

It was in the first years of the present century that that great legal reformer, Sir Samuel Romilly, appeared in Parliament, and undertook the work of reforming the English criminal code. To him, perhaps more than to any other Englishman, must be ascribed the conception of the great task of reëstablishing the criminal jurisprudemce of Great Britain on a new basis of tolerable humanity. The reader will readily recall the fact that in France the reform of the criminal code had been gloriously accomplished in the last decade of the preceding century amidst the flame and roar of revolution. He must also remember that it was from Mirabeau, that titan of destruction and reform, that Sir Samuel Romilly derived the larger part of those humane principles of which he became the advocate and expounder in the House of Commons. What, therefore, must have been his chagrin when, after having managed to secure the repeal of the statute of 8 Elizabeth, chap. 4, whereby petty theft was made a capital offense, he was obliged year after year to see his bills for the abolition of other equally sanguinary statutes thrown out of the House of Lords, rejected with disdain by the statesmen and publicists of his time, and himself viewed askance as the enemy of society!

The work of Sir Samuel Romilly was taken up and carried into the intellectual world by the distinguished scholar and jurist, Sir James Mackintosh. Him the versatile Macaulay has chosen to call "the father of English jurisprudence." Mackintosh, however, was a scholar and thinker rather than a parliamentarian; and however great and salutary his work may have been in reforming the *mind* of Great

Britain, his influence on the criminal code was but feeble and indirect. Such was the status of affairs when the ascendency of Sir Robert Peel became an acknowledged fact in the British Parliament.

The temper and temperament of Sir Robert were well adapted to the work which he now received from the hands of Romilly and Mackintosh, and which he was destined to carry forward triumphantly. That work was completed, or at least begun, in five principal Acts which Peel introduced into Parliament, and which he defended on the 9th of March, 1826, in one of the most able and effective speeches of the century. The formulation of the new principles of jurisprudence was the work of Peel's hand and brain; but the principles of the reform he had received from his predecessors. His great strength and capacity as a legislator lay in his ability—his power almost unrivaled—of gathering the essentials of other men's creations, and of giving thereto the form and force of statute law.

We may not suppose that the reform of the English code, to which we have here given considerable space, was by any means complete and final under the work of the statesmen and publicists above referred to. It is indeed out of the question that anything should be complete and final in the legislation and jurisprudence of England. A race of people who out of the nature of their own feelings derive little—almost nothing—from abstract reason, and everything from experience and tentative movements in this direction and in that, must needs march in the rear of a people like the French, who are nothing if not rational. But at the same time, the English people, though their progress is slow and tortuous, march *securely*, and rarely lose by relapse and retrogression what they have once gained under the law of experience.

We here come to one of those ever-recurring ministerial crises in which the civil history of England so much abounds. The year 1827 marked the limit on Lord Liverpool's ascendency. The Premier fell sick, and through his illness, rather than by inefficiency, his Ministry was broken up. In this emergency George Canning was sent for by the king, and placed at the head of the Government. But Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington, and other leading Tories, refused to support the new Premier, and Canning was obliged to solicit the support of the Whigs. Peel had already become the rival of Canning, and to this, rather than to any divergence in the policy of the two statesmen, their separation must be attributed. Canning, however, did not long live to hold the dubious ascendency which he had reached. In August, 1827, he died; and in the following January a new Ministry was constituted under the leadership of the Duke of Wellington.

Another death, occurring at nearly the same time with that of Canning, had an important influence on the course of the reigning dynasty. Frederick, Duke of York and Albany, second son of George III., and heir to the crown after the reigning king, died, and his title and right were transferred to the Duke of Clarence, who was destined soon to accede to the throne as William IV. It was one of those circumstances above the will and purpose of man, by which the European dynasties have been so frequently deflected into unforeseen channels, producing many times anomalous results and complications in the royal families.

The Duke of Wellington was induced to accept the office of Premier by the solicitations of the king. At the time of his accession to office, the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts was already pending in the House of Commons. The measure was violently opposed by the Tories; but Wellington, to the great disappointment of many of his political followers, advised the House of Lords not to offer further resistance to a measure which must ultimately prevail, and the act was accordingly carried. It was soon found, however, that even this concession could not secure the retention of the Liberal elements in the Cabinet. A quarrel broke out between the duke and Huskisson, and the Liberals withdrew from the Ministry. It was believed that the cause of Catholic emancipation would now be permanently checked; but the election of O'Connell, in 1828, proved conclusively, even to Wellington and Peel, that that cause must inevitably prevail. It was seen that further resistance to the removal of the cruel disabilities to which the Catholics had long been sub-

jected, would lead to turmoil and violence, if not to civil war, in the kingdom.

But, before beginning an account of the measures by which Catholic emancipation was finally effected, we may here turn briefly from the consideration of affairs in the home Government of Great Britain to speak of the foreign relations of the kingdom. To this decade, namely, the third of the century, belongs the history of the extension of British territory and domination in the East by the conquest of Burmah. It might have been foreseen that, in the nature of things, the establishment, and the extension, of the British power in India, and the well-known warlike and aggressive disposition of the Burmese, would, sooner or later, bring the two nations into conflict. It was on the north-eastern frontier of Bengal that the opposing powers at length came together in hostility. The Burmese were, at that time, making war on Assam, and it was in resistance of this movement that the British, in East India, opposed a barrier of force.



GEORGE CANNING.

After some desultory fighting, war was declared, in February of 1824. An expedition was sent out from India, under command of Commodore Grant and Sir Archibald Campbell. In May of 1824 the armament entered the Irawadi River, and came before the Burmese city of Rangoon. War now broke out in earnest, the British gradually penetrating

into the interior, the Burmese, with their half-barbarous methods of warfare, falling back before the invasion. Bandoola, General of the Burmese army, collected a force of sixty thousand men, and, in the latter part of 1824, fought several battles with the British army, about five thousand strong, in which the latter, though so greatly inferior in numbers, were nearly always victorious. On the 2d of April, in the following year, the city of Donabew was taken by Sir Archibald, and here Bandoola was killed. Later, in the same month, Prome was captured by the British, and, on the 17th of September, an armistice was concluded for a month.

Later in the year, an army of sixty thousand men advanced against the British from Ava, the capital. But the latter held out under repeated attacks, in none of which were the Burmese more than partially successful. A decisive battle was fought on the 1st of December, and negotiations for peace were immediately opened. It was soon found, however, that the Burmese were insincere, and hostilities broke out more violently than ever. In January of 1826, Sir Archibald Campbell advanced on Ava, the Burmese capital. On the 9th of February, a decisive battle was fought near the ancient city of Pagan-Myo, in which the British were completely victorious. The defeated enemy now came quickly to terms, though many acts of violence and hostility still told of the unsettled condition of affairs in the country. The Treaty of Yandabo put an end to the war, and became the basis of the large accession of territory known as British Burmah. The Burmese sovereign was obliged to give up Aracan, together with the provinces of Mergui, Tavoy, and Yea; to yield all of his claims to the kingdom of Assam and the contiguous States, and to pay a large indemnity for the expenses of the war. The strength, vigor, and resistless impact of the British power borne on the vehicle of Sir Archibald's small army against an ancient and populous kingdom, more than ten thousand miles distant from the seat of the English Government, was but another illustration of the vitality and enterprise of that warlike race which has fastened the crooked flukes of its anchors under the chalky walls of the British Islands.

Returning to the home affairs of the kingdom, we may properly present in this connection some fuller account of the agitation which now arose relative to the penal disabilities under which the Roman Catholics of England and Ireland had been placed by the Act of Union. Now it was that the great agitator and reformer, Daniel O'Connell, appeared on the scene, and began, with vehement invective and unanswerable argument, to demand the removal of the penalties against his Catholic countrymen. He instituted a society called the Catholic Association, small at first, but growing slowly to larger proportions, and spreading to all parts of the United Kingdom. In 1828 he was elected for Clare to the House of Commons, an event which foretold the success of the cause which he advocated. A measure embodying his principles of reform was introduced and carried through the House of Commons against the most strenuous opposition; but the bill was rejected in the House of Lords. The excitement rose to such a pitch as to endanger the peace of the country; and in Ireland the fires of civil war smouldered, ready to burst into flame. In 1828 the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, which had been in force since the time of Charles II., was, as we have said, carried through Parliament, in a bill introduced for that purpose by Lord John Russell.

It was believed by the Tories that so great a concession as was implied in this measure would satisfy the Catholics and bring quiet to the Kingdom. But the event proved otherwise. With the triumphant election of O'Connell to Parliament, the agitation broke out anew. It was claimed that the reformatory measures thus far promoted had been intended to favor only the Protestant Dissenters of Great Britain, and that nothing short of the removal of the legal disabilities of the Catholics would suffice. It was clearly in defiance of the statute forbidding the admission of Romanists to Parliament that O'Connell was elected to that body. The crisis was reached when the time came for the Irish agitator to take his seat in the House of Commons. The Ministry, backed by the Protestant clubs which had been formed in most parts of the Kingdom, determined to exclude O'Connell from his place. When this project was known,

party animosity was fanned to a white heat. The public became so convulsed that an appeal to arms seemed inevitable, unless the Government should yield. It was in the face of this alarming condition of affairs that the Ministry, at the opening of the Parliamentary session of 1829, was obliged to retreat. It was perceived by the Tory leaders that it would be better for the Government to bring forward a bill of their own motion to relieve the Catholics of their disabilities than to be driven to such a course by the impending revolution.

In accordance with this prudential scheme, a bill was at once prepared, which had the effect of arousing all the deep-seated prejudices of the Kingdom. The Tory Ministers were denounced as traitors, not only to their party, but to the Constitution of Great Britain. Many of the extreme partisans refused to follow their leaders further in the direction of reform. The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel became the objects of bitter dislike to the Ultra-Tories, and the latter statesman was actually defeated for reëlection by the University of Oxford. Nevertheless, on the 13th of April, 1829, the RELIEF BILL was passed, and for the first time in one hundred and fifty years the Roman Catholic subjects of Great Britain were made equal before the law with the other people of the Kingdom. Henceforth the discrimination against them extended no further than to their exclusion from the offices of Regent, Viceroy of Ireland, and Lord Chancellor of the Kingdom.[1]

George IV., who had personally resisted to the last the recent measures of reform, was correspondingly humiliated at his own and the defeat of his Tory Ministry. His health was already greatly enfeebled. He presently retired from the public gaze, and sought seclusion in the shades of Windsor Castle. The worn-out debauchee took no further interest in public affairs, and the public responded by taking as little interest in the affairs of the king. The latter was taken seriously ill early in the year, and died on the 26th of June, 1830. The Duke of Wellington, who was not wanting in power of personal analysis, and was no flatterer of men, living or dead, summed up the qualities of the deceased monarch as follows: "He was the most extraordinary compound of talent, wit, buffoonery, obstinacy, and good-feeling—in short, a medley of the most opposite qualities, with a great preponderance of good—that I ever saw in any character in my life." Of his reign, however, though short and little distinguished for glory, it may be said that hardly any other decade in the history of England has been more marked for the many practical reforms which it witnessed, for the advance of all liberal sentiments in society and State, and for the diffusion abroad of more humanizing tendencies, than was the otherwise feeble and unsteady reign of George IV.

The late king left no legitimate children to inherit his title and crown.[1] His brother, the Duke of York and Albany, was long since dead. The next elder of his brothers was William Henry, Duke of Clarence, who now acceded to the throne, with the title of WILLIAM IV. He had been a sailor in his boyhood, serving with distinction under Admirals Digby, Rod-

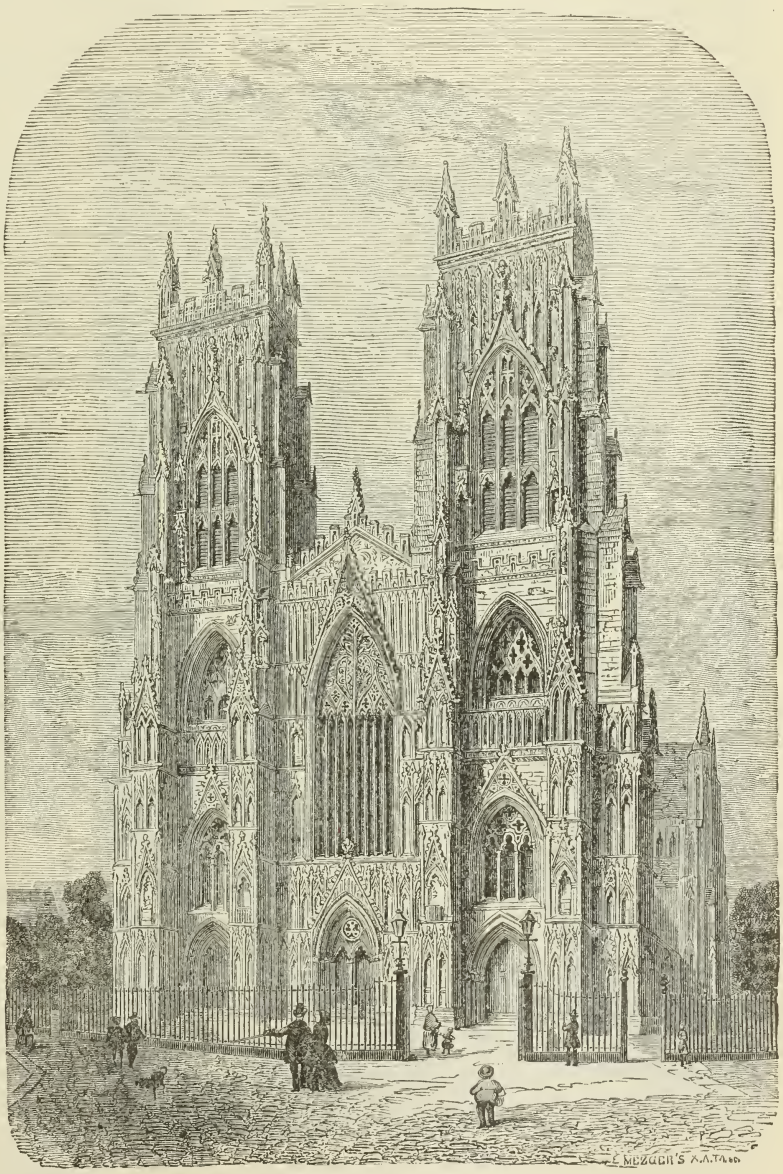
[1] By a strange coïncidence the venerable Cathedral of York, the pride of the Church of England, was almost destroyed by fire at the very time when the triumphant Catholics were hailing the passage of the Relief Bill through Parliament. It seemed that the violence done to the Mother Church by Henry VIII. and the Reformers of the Sixteenth Century, was about to be avenged by the concurrent ravages of party strife and the devouring elements.

[1] As for Queen Caroline, she also had gone to the land where shameless persecution could no longer assail her. She had, after the infamous trial to which she had been subjected in the House of Lords, been permitted to resume her title of Queen, but was forbidden to enter Westminster Hall on the day of her husband's coronation. It was the death-stab in the woman's bosom; she pined for nineteen days, and yielded her shattered life to the elements. Even this was not the end of the dark fatality that overhung her career. Her daughter, the Princess Charlotte Augusta, was wedded, in 1816, to Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, afterwards king of the Belgians, but on the 6th of November in the following year she died in the agonies of child-birth—an event that wrung from the stern soul of Byron one of his sublimest stanzas:

> Peasants bring forth in safety! Can it be,
> O thou that wert so happy, so adored!
> Those who weep not for kings shall weep for thee,
> And Freedom's heart grown heavy, cease to hoard
> Her many griefs for ONE; for she had poured
> Her orisons for *thee*, and o'er thy head
> Beheld her Iris! Thou, too, lonely lord
> And desolate consort—vainly wert thou wed!
> The husband of a year, the father of the dead!

ney, and Nelson. But during the reign of his brother he had lived the life of a private gentleman at Bushy Park. Unfortunately, the life of William had not been such as to justify any hopes that might be entertained of reforming and redeeming the general character which was now borne throughout Europe by the princes of Hanover-Brunswick. Some idea of the moral and political principles by which the new king was likely to be guided may be had from a scrutiny of his conduct while a member of the House of Lords. While sitting in that body, he had defended the recklessness, the extravagance, and debauchery of his brother, the Prince Regent. He had spoken in favor of the Bill of Divorcement, by which that alleged gentleman proposed to put away forever from her royal seat and inheritance the unfortunate Queen Caroline. He had denounced the proposed emancipation of the slaves, as against the laws of justice and the interests of humanity. In his private life his relations were hardly more well-timed and respectable than those of his brother, the Regent. He had become enamored with a certain Mrs. Jordan, an actress by profession, with whom he lived for nearly twenty years, the union being broken off at last for merely political reasons. In 1818 he had taken in marriage Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen, who, in course of time, obtained a great influence over her easy-going husband. But no family sprang from the Prince's legitimate marriage, and he was destined to be left at the end of his reign, as his brother George IV. had been, without an heir capable of inheriting the crown.

William IV. came to the throne at a time when the agitation for reform in all the legislative and administrative methods of the King-



CATHEDRAL OF YORK.

dom was rife. It seemed at this epoch that the energies of the nation, long consuming themselves in war, had turned suddenly against the rough barriers and impediments to civil liberty, which the Middle Ages had entailed on modern England. No sooner had the Catholic question been settled by the conces-

sion of the rights which had been withheld from that large body of British subjects since the times of the Restoration, than another question of still more vital importance was presented to the English people. This was the question of a reform of the British Parliament, particularly of that part of the system which related to the basis of representation in the



WILLIAM IV.

House of Commons. In times past this basis had been determined rather by landed estates than by population; but the whole growth of the civil polity of England had been in the direction of an enlargement of popular rights—a drifting away from those feudal ideas upon which representation had so long been founded.

The history of the evolution of the British Parliament would, in its details and philosophy, involve the greater part of the history of the English-speaking race. Originally, the House of Lords had been deduced from the Witenagemót of the Saxon kings. The Witenagemót was, at first, an assemblage of the great men—literally, the wise men—whom the sovereign was wont to call into council. It was an assemblage of the *Witan*, or Wise Men, of the Kingdom. It consisted of temporal lords, of earls, of dukes, of barons, of archbishops, and bishops, and abbots, brought together, and constituting a body of magnates, from whom the king was wont to seek advice and support in times of trouble. The House of Commons had arisen from a very different source, and had been of slower development. Its origin is to be sought in the Anglo-Saxon *moots*, or meetings, consisting, at first, of such voluntary assemblages of freemen as might be essential to the welfare of the tribe. The first of the moots was the *town*-moot, which included the assembled freemen and cultivators of the folk-lands, gathered together to regulate the civil affairs of their township, their village, or parish. Next came the *burg*-moot, being an assemblage of the principal men of the burgh, for the purpose of administering municipal affairs. The *hundred*-moot had a still more important place in the English system. It comprised the reeves and chief freemen gathered from the several townships and burghs within the limits of the so-called Hundred. Above this assembly was the *shire*-moot. It was a body gathered from the shire or county, having an ealderman for its president, and exercising jurisdiction over the several hundreds comprised within the shire. The body was composed of a reeve and four freemen from every hundred. Its members can hardly be said to have been elected, at least not by such methods as would constitute a modern elec-

tion. But they were sent to the various moots by the common voice, and by methods which had in them the germ of a true election.

In many emergencies it became desirable for the mediæval kings of England to call not only the Great Council or House of Lords, but also the Commons—that is, representatives from the various moots above described—to assist and support the sovereign in his wars, and to give him counsel in the general affairs of his government. The student of history will readily recall the fact that the Commons of the Western European kingdoms were, in the times of which we speak, an extremely modest folk, very little disposed to interfere in the affairs of state, timid in all political matters, slow to convene even at the sovereign's call, and meek in his presence. In England, however, on account of the peculiar structure of society, the Commons grew into greater prominence than in any other country. A burgess or middle class sprang up, in whose hands much wealth was at length accumulated. They it was who henceforth must, in large measure, furnish the revenues of the Kingdom. As a consequence, the English Commons were more frequently called by the king to assist him with their presence and their means. For several centuries there was an approximation between the two Houses of Parliament. But at length the growth of the Commons alarmed both the king and the lords, and in the reign of Edward III. the two Houses were formally separated. The organization of each became more definite, and each henceforth pursued its independent lines of development.

The reader may perceive, in the situation here prepared, the elements of that great conflict by which, at the middle of the seventeenth century, the monarchy and aristocracy of England were for a while subverted. In the Second Revolution, of 1688, the House of Commons was again triumphant. It became the most powerful and regular legislative body in all Christendom. But the point of peculiar interest to the student of history is that the old barbaric constitution of the Commons had been, through all stages of the evolution, preserved as the fundamental basis of the House. Such was the astonishing conservatism of the English race that the abuses which had flowed down in the stream of popular government were preserved along with the uses and advantages of the organization. Aye, more; the abuses of the system were hugged and embraced with as much fervor as were the true principles of progresss, enlightenment, and freedom which constituted the vital part of the Parliamentary system of government.

At length, however, the gradual growth and diffusion of political enlightenment made it impossible for the abusive part of the system longer to survive. This crisis was reached in the beginning of the fourth decade of the present century. The reformatory spirit was already abroad in the Kingdom. The effort to repeal the more obnoxious of the disabilities which had long been imposed on the Catholics made manifest the abuses which were intermingled and blended with the very structure of the House of Commons; and no sooner had the repeal been passed, than the reforming party turned upon the House itself, with the determination to exorcise the evils under which that great body was laboring as the governing force of England.

The very foundation had to be broken up. It was perceived that the vice was deep-seated, reaching down to the very basis on which the House of Commons rested. The various boroughs of the Kingdom, from which the representatives sitting in the House were drawn by election, had been mapped out long ago, and, though the population had fluctuated from side to side; though great communities had been planted where none existed before; though other great communities had, in the mutations of industry, under the landed system of Great Britain, and in answer to the calls of commerce, disappeared from the places where they did exist, the old basis of representation still prevailed; so that the House of Commons no longer represented the England of the present, but the England of a mythical past. Large cities had sprung up where hitherto there was no dweller. Such were Liverpool, Manchester, and Leeds, which, though inhabited by teeming thousands, were absolutely unrepresented in Parliament. The ancient boroughs knew no such cities, and conservative England had thus far respected her ancient boroughs—must respect them still! Many old districts had become well-nigh depopulated; but conservative

England still regarded her old districts—must regard them still! Such, for instance, was the rotten borough of Gratton. Such was the borough of Old Sarum, which no longer contained a single house, and yet it continued to be represented *by two members of the House of Commons.* Such boroughs were the so-called "pocket" boroughs; for they might well be carried in the *pocket!* Liverpool had no representative; Old Sarum had two representatives. At length the sturdy artisans of the great manufacturing towns determined no longer to endure the abominable mockery of representative government in which they, the bone and sinew of England, had no part or lot. Popular leaders at once took up the clamor. The recent success of the political revolt in behalf of the Roman Catholics furnished the example—gave encouragement to the movement. A popular belief was diffused abroad that the movement could but be crowned with success. But against it all, the reäctionary party, the conservative, obstructing element in British politics, that ancient Toryism which had through so large a period of British history controlled, or antagonized, the destinies of the kingdom, set themselves with the firmness and obstinacy of the immovable rocks in the Hill of Taric.

It happened at this particular juncture that the affairs of Continental Europe tended much to strengthen and intensify the popular movement in England. In the very year of the accession of William IV. to the English throne, the roused-up people of France disposed of *their* king by a most summary process. At the same time a rebellion occurred in Belgium, which led to the severance of that important power from the dominion of Holland, and the establishment of an independent kingdom under the rule of Leopold, of Saxe-Coburg, who received the crown, in July of 1831, with the title of Leopold I., King of the Belgians. In these movements of the Liberals of the Continent, the people's party of England was quick to discover the omens of success. On the other hand, the English Tories found in the destruction of the continental systems, with which they sympathized, every reason for distrusting popular government and adhering to the past. To the Liberals of Great Britain Louis Philippe, of France, was a pleasing character to contemplate; to the Tories he was a menace, a specter.

Thus it was that the great project of reforming the basis of representation in the British House of Commons became the all-absorbing question in the first years of William IV. The measure met with the greatest opposition in the body to which it was directed. A ministerial crisis was precipitated by the foolish declaration of the Duke of Wellington against the proposition for Parliamentary reform. He was suddenly deprived of the confidence of the country, and a coälition of the Whig party with those who had followed the political fortunes of Canning was formed. The Wellington Ministry was dissolved, and in November of 1830 the king summoned Earl Grey to form a new Cabinet, pledged to carry out the reformatory policy. It is believed that the earl himself had but little sympathy with the popular cause; but he was willing, on assuming the leadership of the Government, to promote at least certain features of the proposed Parliamentary revolution.

The Reform Bill, so-called by preëminence over all other Parliamentary measures having like purposes as their end, was accordingly prepared, and, on the 1st of March, 1831, was laid, by Lord John Russell, before the House of Commons. Then it was that "storming fury rose," such as, perhaps, was never heard before in that turbulent arena where so many of the battles of English liberty have been fought and won. The bill passed to its second reading, and through its second reading, by a majority of one vote. It was seen by the advocates of the measure that it was destined to failure, and Parliament was dissolved with an appeal to the country.

The English Nation was now shaken to its center. A new Parliament was returned much more favorable to the bill than was the preceding. The second reading of the act was now carried by a majority of one hundred and thirty-six. The third reading was pressed, and the act went triumphantly through the House of Commons. Earl Grey carried the bill to the Lords, where it was rejected by a majority of forty-one. Here, then, the issue was made up. The landed aristocracy of Great Britain planted itself squarely in the way of reform, and the question was whether

the ancient prejudices of the kingdom, represented in the House of Lords, would yield to the popular, and now overwhelming, pressure in the House of Commons, or whether, on the contrary, the popular party, bearing the banner of reform, and backed by the decisive results of the recent Parliamentary election, would be hurled back, routed, overthrown.

It can not be doubted that the last months of 1830–31 witnessed in England a crisis more serious and alarming than anything which had been known since the Revolution of 1688. The radical reformers and the Ultra-Tories were ready to decide the issue by civil war. Between the extremists, however, rose the Grey Ministry, carrying with it the great moderate party of Englishmen, who, though determined on reform, still sought to reach the result by methods short of revolution. In the emergency two courses, and only two, were open to the Government. There was between the two Houses of Parliament what, in more recent phraseology, would be denominated a political "deadlock." This might be broken either, first, by a declaration from the House of Commons that the assent of the lords was *not necessary* for the passage of the bill; or, secondly, by creating under royal prerogative a sufficient number of new peers to bear down the adverse Tory majority in the Upper House. Each of these methods is objectionable in the last degree. To declare the assent of the House of Lords unnecessary was revolutionary. To create the new peers would be to drown the House of Lords and destroy its distinctive character. With much reluctance it was determined by the Ministry, on the 1st of January, 1832, to demand of the king the creation of the new peers. Under this menace the Tory Lords receded somewhat, and the bill was allowed to pass its second reading. But when it came to the third reading, the passage of the measure could not be forced, and the Grey Ministry resigned.

Wellington was now asked to form a new Cabinet, and undertake the Government. But the task was hopeless. After a single week of such political turmoil as has rarely been witnessed in Great Britain, the king was obliged to send again for Earl Grey, and recommit to him the destinies of the State. That Minister and Lord Brougham went to the king in person, demanded of him the power to create the new peers necessary to the passage of the Reform Bill through the House of Lords, and compelled the king to put his assent *in writing*, as follows: "The king grants permission to Earl Grey and to his Chancellor, Lord Brougham, to create such a number of peers as will be sufficient to insure the passing of the Reform Bill, first calling up peers' eldest sons.—WILLIAM R., Windsor, May 17, 1832."

The event showed that the extremity which was thus provided for was not demanded. The Tory lords saw at last the expediency of yielding a little to save much. Accordingly,



LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

when the Reform Bill came to its final passage before the Lords a sufficient number of the peers, headed by the Duke of Wellington, *voluntarily absented themselves* from the House to permit of the passage of the Act by a majority of eighty-four. Thus on the 7th of June, 1832, the Bill for the Reformation of the British Parliament became the law of the Kingdom, after a struggle, which, at several of its phases, had brought the country to the very verge of revolution. The peril had been emphasized in many instances by actual violence. Time and again popular indignation had broken forth against those leaders of the Tory party who were impeding the progress of the Reform.

In London the palace of the Duke of Wellington was assailed by a furious mob, with whom not even the memories of Waterloo could prevail any longer. Nottingham was burned to the ground, and a large part of Bristol destroyed by insurgents beyond the control of the authorities. But as it became evident that the reformatory movement would succeed, as the Tories shrank before their opponents, a better temper prevailed, and the ship of State at length outsailed the storm and anchored in clear water.

Perhaps no other measure ever adopted by the British Parliament was more salutary in its effects than was the Reform Bill of 1832. It was a new era from which many other reformatory projects were to date their origin and possibility. By the Reform Bill, the so-called pocket and rotten boroughs were disfranchised. No longer might some landed nabob carry in his pocket several Parliamentary votes, behind which there was no constituency. Other decayed boroughs, while they did not actually lose their representation in the House of Commons, had that representation greatly reduced. The votes thus gained from the disfranchised boroughs, were redistributed to the counties and manufacturing towns to which an adequate representation had hitherto been denied. The whole disfranchisement extended to fifty-six boroughs and about thirty small towns. The general effect was that of equalization, by which the populous counties and the cities were given their just equipoise in the House of Commons.[1] Certain property qualifications on the suffrage were allowed to stand. Indeed, in the light of the liberal principles which now prevail in England and the United States with respect to the rights and prerogatives of citizenship, we can but be surprised that the very moderate principles incorporated in the Reform Bill of 1832 should ever have been regarded as radical or extreme. The right of voting in the English boroughs was still restricted to the tenants of houses worth ten pounds a year. Properties under this valuation, or rather the holders of the same, lay as before, under complete disfranchisement. In the counties, tenants paying a rental of fifty pounds per annum were entitled to suffrage, while freeholders having an income from their own lands of forty shillings, or landed property worth ten pounds a year, were permitted to vote under the provisions of the bill. Such were the general features of the reform by which the Parliamentary representation in the House of Commons was determined for the ensuing thirty-six years.

We now come to consider the legislation of the so-called Reformed Parliament, which began its existence in 1833. The liberalizing tendencies which had been produced and disseminated during the period of agitation, now speedily bore their fruits. No sooner had the House of Commons again assembled than a bill was brought forward for the abolition of slavery in all the colonies and possessions of Great Britain. In this case, the agitator was William Wilberforce, Hull, one of the enthusiasts of humanity, at that time a member of the Commons for the county of York. During the greater part of his life he had been engaged in projects looking to the abolition, first, of the slave-trade, and then of slavery itself. As early as the ascendency of William Pitt, Wilberforce, in conjunction with that statesman, sought to secure the abolition of the slave-trade in the British dominions. No great step, however, was taken in this direction until 1807. Pitt, in the meanwhile, died, and Wilberforce struggled on against the selfishness of men and the prejudice of ages. He was already in the last act of his life when the Reformed Parliament, under the inspiration and leadership of Brougham, Buxton, Clarkson, and many other philanthropists, who had heard the cry of the oppressed, took up his unfinished task, and, as his life went down in the shadows, the *Mene Tekel Upharsin* of slavery was seen in burning letters over against the wall. Even then the slaveholders of the Kingdom rallied all their powers to defeat the measure; but the gale of public opinion blew hard against them, and they and their cause went down together. A month after the death of Wilberforce, when, from the mountain-top uplifted high, he had caught across the river one certain glance of the radiant landscape, the Emancipation Bill was passed, and human slavery met its quietus throughout the British dominions. It could not be said, how-

[1] Ireland gained, under the new apportionment, five additional members in the House.

ever, that the slaveholders suffered greatly from the loss of their alleged "property." The plan of abolition was so gradual in its application, and the steps taken so ample to remunerate those who were supposed to have suffered financially by the destruction of servitude, that none might well complain. Those who had held slaves were allowed therefor an aggregate compensation of twenty millions of pounds. The emancipation, moreover, was postponed to such dates as were supposed to be convenient for the masters. Slave children under six years of age were to become free in the summer of 1834; slaves of the field, in seven years; and domestic servants, in five years from the passage of the act. It was estimated that the slaves of the Kingdom, for whom a compensation was given to the owners, numbered, at the time of the passage of the Emancipation Bill, about eight hundred thousand.

Daniel O'Connell now reäppeared on the stage of British politics, and became one of the leading figures of the scene. The ascendency which he had acquired during the agitation for the repeal of the penal disabilities of the Catholics, now carried him to the front of another movement, still more important and radical in its character. England for three centuries had been a Protestant State. The Reformation had entered into combination with the whole frame of civil society. In no other State of modern Europe had the religious institutions of the country been blended more completely with the political structure than in the major island of the Kingdom. Ireland, on the other hand, was a Catholic country. Into the Western Island the Reformers of the sixteenth century had never been able to penetrate. The Celtic race proved itself most loyal and devoted to the Mother Church. Hardly might it be said that Spain or Portugal, or Italy herself, had remained more profoundly infected with the Holy Faith, as dispensed from the chair of St. Peter, than had Ireland.

This divergence and antagonism in the religious system of the people of the two islands constituted in the fourth decade of the present century, as it had done for generations, and as it does to the present day, the insuperable bar to political and social sympathy between the English and Irish races. At the reformatory epoch, of which we are here presenting a sketch to the reader, the leaders of the Catholic, we might say, the Irish, party in the United Kingdom, were elated by their success in securing the passage of the Repeal Bill. They had shared in the more recent excitements attendant upon the reformation of the British Parliament. They were for many reasons emboldened to strike out for a more radical reform, and in Daniel O'Connell they found the impersonation of the cause.

The two most offensive symbols of the subordination of the Irish people to the British Government were the Established Church, and the System of Tithing by which it was supported. The Episcopalian Establishment was as fixed in Ireland as in England. It sat brooding over a people who were utterly alienated from it. The Irish were Catholics, but they must support the Church of England. That Church existed among them for its own good. In many parts of the country the Establishment was represented merely by the buildings, the clergymen, and the parish. Parishioners there were none. To support such an institution, foreign in every particular to the genius and sympathies of the people—to support it by taxes and rentals laid heavily and perpetually upon the Irish Catholic peasantry—was an iniquity so palpable as to be monstrous in the estimation of posterity.

Against this whole system of foreign ecclesiastical domination, O'Connell now raised his voice. He demanded the disestablishment of the Church in Ireland. He demanded that the tithing system, by which that Church was supported, should be abolished; that the dioceses should be broken up, and the bishops and priests of the Church of England left to such free support as they might still obtain; that the Establishment, in a word, should henceforth be made to rest on its own basis, just as the Mother Church rested, in the island.

At this time a state of affairs had supervened in Ireland on the religious side of society very similar to that which existed in England before the passage of the Reform Bill. O'Connell's measure was in the nature of an ecclesiastical reform, by which inequalities of taxation and similar abuses were to be removed. But the propositions of the

reformer were met with violent opposition in Parliament and throughout the country. The wrath of the prelates of the Church of England, and those who were associated with them in interest—backed, as they were, by the Tory party, and all the prejudices born of conservatism—rose to the pitch of violence. The agitation was fanned to a flame. The Ministry of Earl Grey tottered under the assaults of its adversaries. Meanwhile, the first fruits of the agitation, as always happens in such cases, were bitter to the taste. The Irish peasantry, outraged for generations by the intolerable exactions of the English Establishment, broke into revolt. In many places the country was terrorized by the excesses of the insurrections. Crime and bloodshed were in the path of those who now avenged themselves for the wrongs which had been inflicted upon them. At the first, the British Ministry endeavored to assert itself and maintain the asendency of the ancient order by the passage of a COËRCION BILL, the object of which was to suppress the Irish movement by force of arms. But the measure, as might well have been foreseen, only aggravated the evil which it was designed to mitigate.



DANIEL O'CONNELL.

In the midst of the confusion the Ministry of Grey went to pieces on the rocks. The Earl resigned, and was succeeded in office by William Lamb, better known as Lord Melbourne. But he also was unable to weather the storm. After a brief and unsteady effort to hold the helm, he was obliged, though supported by the king, to give place to a new Conservative Ministry, under the leadership of Sir Robert Peel. This movement, however, was as unstable as its predecessor. The appeal to the country which was now made resulted in the overthrow of Peel and the reäppointment of Melbourne as Premier, in 1835. In the meantime, however, Parliament had attempted to cast a tub to the Irish whale by adopting a measure of partial reform. An act was passed by which ten of the bishoprics in Ireland were abolished, and the revenues of the Church reärranged on a basis approximating to justice.

This was the epoch of the ascendency of Daniel O'Connell in the House of Commons. As a debater he had become preeminent. This, too, in his old age; for he was beyond fifty when he entered Parliament. The analysis of his character and purposes has been difficult, even when the same have been

illumined by the light of subsequent events. It seems to have been his policy to demand much, and to accept for his countrymen whatever he could get. His oratory was rude and boisterous; his invective a thing to be dreaded, even by the greatest and most callous Parliamentarians of his time. As a field-speaker, it is doubtful whether any man of the century has been his superior. He swayed the multitudes of his excitable countrymen at his will, and was given by his admirers the hardly too extravagant epithet of the "Uncrowned King."

It is to the era which we are here considering that we may properly assign the beginnings of another measure of reform in the administration of Great Britain. Parliament was now, for the first time, called upon to wrestle with the great question of pauperism. The existing Poor Laws of the country were such that the number of those claiming public charity of the kingdom increased from year to year. The disease was seen to be aggravated by the very means which had been adopted to allay its ravages. The amount annually appropriated for the support of paupers had run up to the enormous sum of seven millions of pounds, and still the cries for gratuitous support increased and multiplied. It was under the Administration of Lord Melbourne that the reform of the Poor Laws was undertaken by Parliament. The measures adopted were successful only to a limited degree; but they had the merit of leading in the right direction. The new statute forbade the further payment of benefits to able-bodied paupers in their own homes, and required all those who demanded an entire or partial support at the hands of the public, to enter the work-houses, and earn by labor what they sought, and had previously received, as a gratuity.

In the year 1835 still another impetus was given to the car of reform, by the passage through Parliament of the MUNICIPAL ACT. This measure was especially designed to ameliorate the condition of towns and cities. The act was a sort of sequel to the Reform Bill of 1832. It was provided that the taxpayers of municipal corporations and boroughs might elect a body of town councilors, and that the latter might choose one of their own number as chief magistrate of the corporation. The principle of local self-government was thus, with great advantage, introduced and applied among the municipal populations of Great Britain.

Sharp after this came the passage, in 1836, of what was known as the TITHE COMMUTATION ACT, by which it was provided that a fixed rent, to be determined by the average price of corn for the seven preceding years, should be substituted for the irregular tithes, which had hitherto been collected in the parishes. Some of the English dioceses were, at the same time, reformed, and, in other bills, it was enacted that marriages might thereafter be solemnized in the churches of Dissenters.

In the early part of the reign of William IV. much ill-feeling was created in Great Britain and Holland by the conduct of the former country towards the latter. The difficulty was entailed as one of the consequences of the Belgic Revolution of 1830–32.

King William I., of Holland, naturally looked to England for sympathy in his contest with the revolted Belgians. What, therefore, were his chagrin and resentment to find the whole influence of the British Government thrown on the side of the insurrectionists, and to see the crown of the kingdom of Belgium conferred on Leopold, son-in-law of the late king of England. To the student of history, however, this course of the British Government will not appear astonishing or unnatural. From time immemorial it has been the ill-disguised policy of England, in the maintenance of her own ascendency, to give her sympathies to the revolutionary party in foreign States; this to the extent of encouraging the rupture of rival kingdoms up to the point when the revolution itself becomes a menace to British interests. It was in pursuance of this political habit that in 1835 the encouragement of the British Government was openly given to Isabella of Spain, at that time engaged in a civil war with her uncle, Don Carlos. A division of the English army, under command of General Evans, was sent into the Spanish Peninsula, and took active part in upholding the child-queen of the kingdom.

On the whole, the Ministry of Lord Melbourne was inefficient, and the times of its ascendency uneventful. The Premier himself

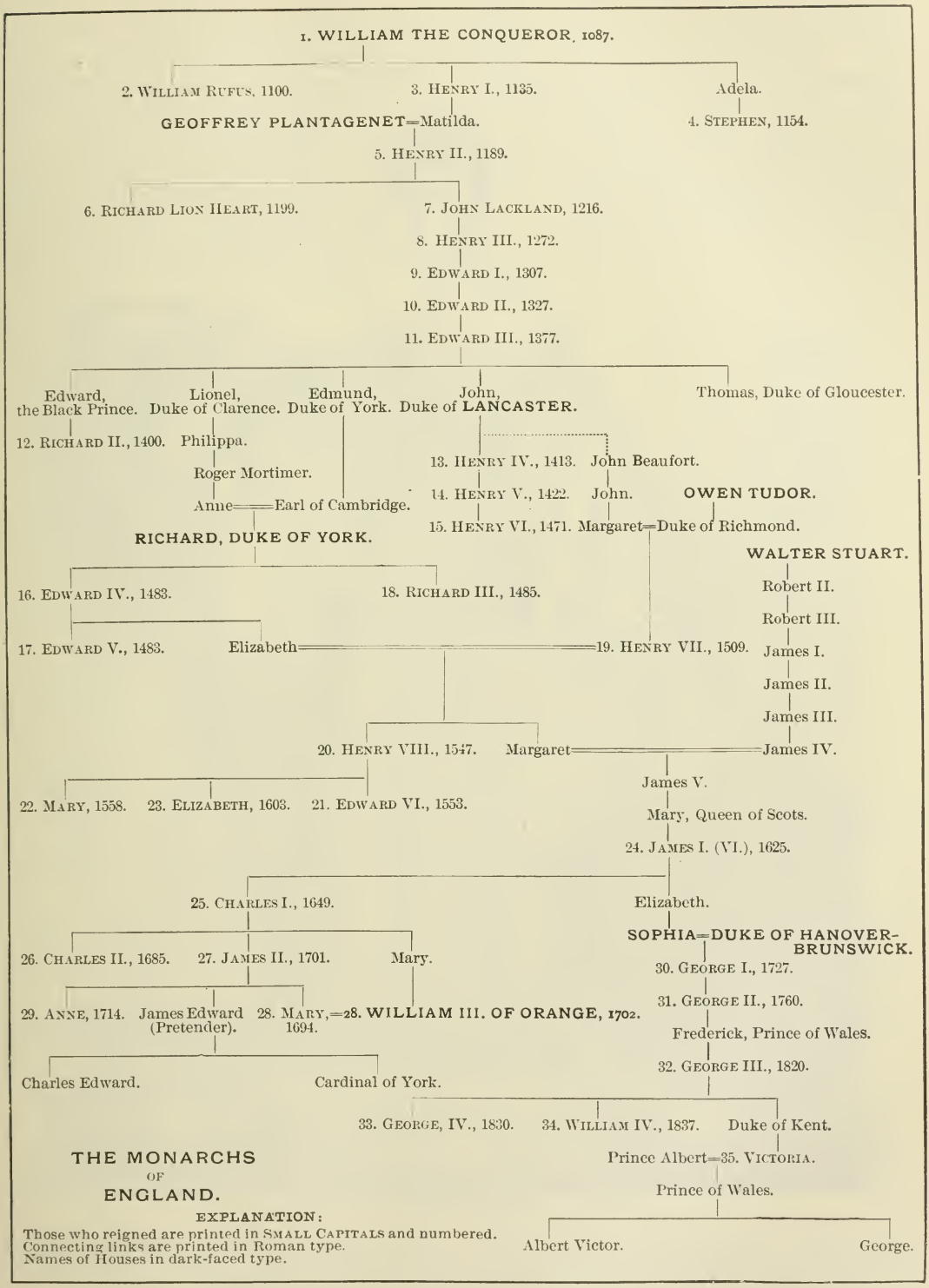
owed his high place in the Government to negative rather than positive qualities. He has been pronounced by political critics to have been deficient in insight and in energy; and his political influence must be referred, not to his own strength, but to conditions independent of his will, and to the concurrence of fortunate circumstances. It was the happiness of Melbourne, however, to form the connecting link between the reign of William IV. and the girl-sovereign who succeeded him.

As for the king, his life was now rapidly waning. In the last years of his reign he exercised only the slightest influence on the course of events. William began to show signs of debility in May of 1837. It was found that he labored from a fatal affection of the heart. Declining for several weeks, he came to his death on the 20th of June, in that year. He died, as his brother before him had died, with no legitimate children; and the large family of alleged illegitimate heirs were, of course, excluded from the throne. It belonged to the Melbourne Ministry to steer the ship of State from the narrow and stormy seas of an unpopular reign into the ocean—almost shoreless—of the Victorian epoch; an ocean wide and free—not, indeed, without its seasons of storm and tempest, but for the most part fanned with gentle breezes from infinite regions, and crowned with the radiance of sunlight.

CHAPTER CXXVIII.—EPOCH OF CHARTISM.

THE reader of history must be constantly surprised with the vicissitudes through which the Royal Houses of Europe have been fated to pass. Time and again we have the recurring phenomenon of a princely family in full bloom suddenly struck with blight and barrenness. Who could have foreseen that the House of Tudor, represented in the vigorous and passionate Henry VIII., could have so suddenly and strangely descended into extinction and oblivion? Who could have anticipated the equally sudden descent of the House of Stuart into the female line? And who can contemplate without wonder the determination of nature that not one of the seventeen children of Queen Anne should reach maturity? Why should Henry, six times wedded to fertile queens, be unable to perpetuate the name of Tudor? Why should Anne be mocked as if she were a fruitful tree, doomed to bear forever, but dropping its unripe and blasted apples to the earth? So also we view with astonishment the sudden decadence of the family of George III. Nine sons are born to him, and two of them in turn wear his crown, and yet at the death of William IV., in June of 1837, not a single male child of the legitimate blood of the English Guelfs, not a single true cion of that House of Hanover-Brunswick, which had been transplanted from Germany to England, remained to inherit the crown. Edward, Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III., had been laid with his fathers since 1825. To his surviving family, however, by the established laws of English descent, the monarchy must now go for a sovereign. And that sovereign was found in the person of the Duke of Kent's daughter, the Princess ALEXANDRINA VICTORIA, and to her the crown descended without the shadow of dispute.

The Princess at this time was seventeen years and one month of age. She had been the heir-presumptive during the reign of her uncle William IV. Her education, in the meantime, was intrusted to the Duchess of Northumberland, by whom the Princess was removed from the degrading influences of the court, and carefully trained for the duties alike of queenhood and womanhood. Her development had been carefully guarded, and she had grown up a virtuous, intelligent, and prudent girl, fitted by every kind of discipline for the exalted rank and trying duties of her station. Nothing in history presents a stronger



contrast than is afforded by the sentiments, the instincts, and purposes of the maidenly bosom of Victoria on the day of her accession, and the passions floating in that purlieu of filth and abomination, which swelled and broke in a surf of indescribable offensiveness around the English throne during the last two reigns.

The circumstances of the inauguration of

the young Queen were such as to awaken the enthusiastic admiration of her subjects. Her youth and inexperience, and her fortunate ignorance of the world, it had been supposed, would leave her a helpless novice in the royal seat. But she at once showed herself to be ready for the occasion. On the day of her accession she bowed to the lords in waiting, read her own speech aloud in the clear, musical tones of girlhood, showed neither fear nor embarrassment, blushed crimson red when her two aged uncles knelt to kiss her hand, and won the hearts of all. Peel declared himself amazed at her manner and behavior, at her deep sense of the situation, at her firmness under trial. The war-battered Wellington said gruffly that he could not have wished a better performance from his own daughter. On coming to power, the new Queen rejected the name Alexandrina, which had been given her out of compliment to the Emperor of Russia, and signed herself simply VICTORIA R., the name by which both herself and her epoch, one of the most important in English history, will ever be remembered.



QUEEN VICTORIA.

The maiden ruler who was thus called to the throne of England was the thirty-fifth in order of succession from William the Conqueror, and the fifth Queen Regnant of the United

Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The contingency which had been provided for on the accession of George I. had thus at last arrived. Under the constitution of the Dukedom of Hanover-Brunswick, the princes of that line must be male; for the Salic Law, prevalent immemorially in Germany as well as France, excluded women from the throne. Accordingly, when George I. was called by Parliament to the sovereignty of Great Britain, it was provided that so long as a male heir remained to wear the crown, Hanover and England should be governed by a common king; but in case the English crown should fall into the female line, then Hanover should revert to some other branch of the family in which the male line was still preserved. The event had come. The daughter of the Duke of Kent had inherited the English throne. Hanover was accordingly severed from its political relations with Great Britain, and on the accession of Victoria became an independent power. Duke Ernest, of Cumberland, was chosen king.

The new sovereign of England came into power under the auspices of the Tories. Lord Melbourne was still Prime Minister. The Queen herself sympathized in her youth, as she has always done, with the Tory party, and the Ministry of that party remained in power as it had been in the closing years of George IV. A new Parliament was created by an appeal to the country, and the result showed that the Tory, or, as it now began to be called, the *Conservative*, party had a slight gain in the elections. If we should glance into the English Parliament at this time, we would discover in that body an array of political talent, not to say genius, which could hardly be surpassed in the palmiest days of British history. The foremost man of all was, doubtless, Lord Henry Brougham, at that time fifty-eight years of age. Perhaps no abler or stronger character has appeared in the arena of statesmanship within the present century. He was a great orator, as that term is used, to describe not only the temporary influence of the speaker over those whom he addresses, but also to signify a solidity of subject-matter and cogency of reasoning, such as may well influence the thought of readers in another age and country. Brougham had risen to the Chancellorship in 1830. In 1835 he was left out of the Whig Ministry, and, during the remainder of his career, pursued an independent course on all questions of the day, wielding, in his old age, a free-lance, which he hurled with the power of a giant. After him, the second place among the Parliamentarians of the time has been assigned to Lord John Lyndhurst, who, as a debater, has had few superiors in the British House of Lords. Lyndhurst was the son of John Singleton Copley, an American painter of the Colonial times, and was born in Boston, in the year 1772. He was a Tory by politics, a statesman by profession. Without the aggressive force of Brougham, without his ruggedness of character and stormy disposition, he nevertheless rose easily to a high plane of influence in British affairs, and maintained it through a long and eventful life. In the House of Commons of this time might be seen sitting, for the city of London, George Grote, the historian of Greece. There, also, was Edward Lytton Bulwer, destined to the peerage. In the same body appeared, for the first time, the eccentric and foppish Benjamin Disraeli, for whom destiny had reserved the task of making his august Queen Empress of India. William E. Gladstone had then seen five years' service in the House. Lord John Russell had just begun his career as leader of his party. There were Palmerston, and Peel, and Stanley, O'Connell and Sheil, shouting to the charge for the emancipation of Ireland. It has been remarked that of the great names who were destined, in the next forty years, to be blazoned on the escutcheon of British Parliamentary history, only four—Roebuck, Cobden, Bright, and Macaulay—were wanting in the Parliament which assembled when Victoria took the scepter.

The Government of the Queen inherited from its predecessor all of the reformatory tendencies of the age. Those tendencies had not yet satisfied themselves by taking organic forms in the English Constitution. But for a brief season the reformatory movements were checked by the diversion of the attention of the Government to the affairs of Lower Canada. In that country an insurrection broke out in 1838, and the Government found itself under the necessity of suspending the colonial constitution, in virtue of which Canada had her

civil existence. In order to secure a better administration in the Province, John George Lambton, Lord Durham, was selected as a new Governor, and to him was assigned the difficult task of quelling the insurrection, pacifying the people, and reörganizing the Government. On repairing to America and assuming his duties in Canada, he was so unfortunate as to adopt measures beyond the limits of his instructions, and perhaps beyond the limits of present application to the then conditions in Canada. The ordinances which he prepared for the government of the Province were subsequently taken as the basis of Canadian nationality, but they were disapproved by the House of Lords; whereupon the Governor was so deeply offended that, without waiting to be recalled, he abandoned his post and returned to England.

Nor did the event fail to justify, in some measure, what had seemed to be the rashness and impractical temper of Lord Durham. Powerful friends at home approved and defended his course. His report on the condition of affairs in Canada was one of the ablest papers of the times, and Parliament was soon obliged to adopt the very policy which the discarded Governor had attempted to maintain in his brief and extraordinary administration.

The period of history upon which we are now entering was marked in the history of all countries by the great extension of scientific knowledge. It was the epoch, rather, in which scientific knowledge began to be extensively *applied* in all industrial and commercial enterprises. It was, in short, the dawn of the new era of contrivance and invention. The augmentation of the productiveness of human labor in almost all departments of industry became perceptible from the fourth decade of the century, and the volume of applied force was destined to increase and widen through the whole Victorian Age. It were difficult, indeed, as it is always difficult, to point out with exactitude the beginnings, the true origins, of the great discoveries and inventions which have so vastly multiplied in our times. Perhaps we should cite the last quarter of the eighteenth century as the general date of the scientific discoveries which began to be utilized fifty years afterwards. The discovery of oxygen-gas by Priestley, in 1774, might almost be said to be the first stage in the natural sciences. What, indeed, had mankind actually known about the true constitution of nature up to the time of Priestley and Franklin? The scientific men of this and the subsequent age, however, were explorers and discoverers rather than inventors. It is with the application of discovery, the adaptation, or, if we may so say, the incorporation of the principles by which phenomena are governed into physical contrivance, that we are here to consider and illustrate.

One of the greatest of the achievements to which we refer was the extension of Steam Navigation—particularly the navigation of the Atlantic Ocean by steamships—and the establishment by this means of regular lines of communication between Europe and America. The Atlantic Ocean was first traversed experimentally by a small steamer called the *Savannah*, in 1816. The vessel was constructed at New York, was successfully steered to Liverpool under the propulsion of steam, and constituted the brief experimental wonder of the times. The next voyages accomplished by the same agent were made a few years later between Holland and the Dutch West Indian colonies. It was, however, in the early part of the year 1838 that the practical feature of ocean steam navigation was demonstrated on a large scale. In that year the British-built steamships *Sirius* and *Great Western* made their trial voyages across the Atlantic. The first trip of the *Great Western* was made from Bristol to New York in fifteen days. The *Sirius* steamed out from Cork and reached the American metropolis in seventeen days on her trial trip. It was the demonstration of a great problem, the favorable solution of which was destined to exercise a vast influence, not only on the commercial affairs of nations, but on the nations themselves by the extension of intercourse and the stimulation of internationality. This was particularly true of that feature of the improvement which related to the transmission of the oceanic mails. Nor will the patriot reader on this side of the Atlantic fail to recall with pride the fact that the Mother Country, essentially maritime as she is, at the bottom of her greatness, was constrained to draw upon the genius of the American Republic for the first suggestions and demonstrations

of the practicability of propelling vessels by steam-enginery.

The same pride may well be inspired by the story of the indebtedness of the Mother Country to her daughter in the matter of applying the electrical current as a means of communication. In England, the first to make such application of electricity was Sir Charles Wheatstone, at that time professor of experimental philosophy in King's College, London. It was in June of 1836 that Wheatstone produced what may be called the rudimentary telegraph. In that year he took out a patent "for improvements in giving signals and sounding alarms in distant places by means of electric currents, transmitted through metallic circuit." Similar discoveries had already been made by our own Professor Morse, but it does not appear that Wheatstone was indebted for his contrivance to the American inventor. Both philosophers were working out, independently, the solution of the same problem. With Wheatstone was associated Mr. Cooke, an Englishman of scientific attainments and business experience, whose practical abilities were joined with those of the philosopher in his patent for the first electrical apparatus of the telegraphic kind in England.

It should be observed, however, that the work of Wheatstone was limited to the sounding of signals at a distance, and did not reach to the conveyance of information by means of language. The latter achievement was the work of Morse, as has already been delineated in another chapter. In the matter of the railroad, however, the first actual production belonged to England. There it was that Stephenson led the way into the new continent of commerce and travel. The London and Birmingham Railway was not, however, opened in its whole length until 1838, fully sixteen years after the successful opening of the first line, eight miles in length, to the Hetton colliery. An act for the transmission of the English mails by railway was passed through Parliament in 1838, and thenceforth the development and extension of the system was rapid and constant until it became universal.

We come at this same period in English history, to one of those remarkable features in civilization dependent in part on physical contrivance and in part on civil administration. We refer to the establishment of what, in English parlance, is called The Penny Post. The methods of transmitting the mails by irregular and local agencies, such as had been in vogue since the Middle Ages, continued in operation in Great Britain to within the memory of men still living. The idea of a general postal system, operating at cheap rates under direction and control of the Government, did not enter the mind of any British statesman until after the accession of Victoria. Even then the project had to be carried to Parliament, and persistently advocated by a man wiser in his generation than any member of that body, before the feasibility of the scheme was acknowledged and adopted. The experiences of Sir Rowland Hill—for to him all mankind are perpetually indebted for the conception of a cheap and universal postal system—were almost identical in his dealings with the British Parliament and advocacy of his proposed measure before that body with those of Professor Morse before the American Congress. The scene in either instance of these two pioneers before the two great representative law-making bodies of the English-speaking Nations may well remind one of the attitude of Columbus, surrounded with a group of bigoted monks and ignorant school-men, and trying to reveal to their bat-winged imaginations the glories of a New World!

It was in the year 1839 that the Chancellor of the Exchequer laid before Parliament a proposition in which it was declared expedient to reduce the postage on letters to one uniform rate of one penny charged upon every letter of a given weight. The measure also proposed the abolition of the franking privilege hitherto possessed by members of Parliament, and the restriction of franking to such official documents as must be transmitted by the officers of Government. The striking feature of the proposition was that it reversed the existing theory in regard to the transmission of matter by mail. Hitherto the receipts from the post-office department had many times fallen short of the expenditure. The prevalent systems of mail-carrying were so imperfect and irregular, that many of the leading business houses in Great Britain had chosen to employ private parties to carry their mail from city to city. By this means, and

by many others, the aggregate receipts of the post-office department were reduced to a figure as meagre as the system itself was contemptible. Whenever from any such causes a deficiency had arisen, it had been the custom of the department *to advance the rates* of postage, believing that thereby the aggregate receipts would be increased. It remained for Rowland Hill to demonstrate the fallacy of this position and demonstrate the truth of the reverse. In 1837 he published a pamphlet entitled *Post-office Reform; its Importance and Practicability.* It was one of those rare productions which, by their invincible logic and cogent array of facts, make a conquest of the human mind. Hill's work fought its way even into Parliament. The post-office authorities decried the project. The Postmaster-General denounced it in the House of Lords as a visionary scheme. When Parliament took the matter up, and, in spite of itself, began to admit the truthfulness of Hill's demonstrations, the officials of the department assented to try the project, but hedged against the consequences. Sydney Smith satirized the enterprise with his usual bitterness. Nevertheless, the ministry gave way under the impact of the truth. The great commercial cities caught a glimpse of the benefits of the new system, and poured their petitions in its favor into the House of Commons. A bill was brought in embodying the scheme of Rowland Hill, and on the 10th of January, 1840, the act for the establishment of postage at the uniform rate of one penny per letter of not more than half an ounce in weight, was adopted against the strenuous opposition of a large party in both Houses of Parliament. And it may well surprise posterity to know that among the names of those most bitterly antagonistic to the act were those of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel. The country and the world immediately responded to the new system by pouring an increased volume of revenue into the post-office department of every nation where cheap postage, after the manner devised by Sir Rowland Hill, has been adopted as a method of administration.

We here approach one of the most remarkable episodes in the political history of England. It was in the year 1838 that the extraordinary social and industrial upheaval known by the general name of CHARTISM occurred. It is doubtful whether any other agitation of like kind, more general, more profound, more heated, had shaken the fabric of British society than was the sudden and unexpected insurrection of the masses in favor of what was known as "the People's Charter." This name was given to a brief summary of political principles said to have been drawn up by Daniel O'Connell, in the year above named, and handed by him to the Secretary of the Workingmen's Association, with the remark: "There's your charter; agitate for it, and never be content with anything less." It is proper, first of all, to state concisely what were the principles of political action summarized in the People's Charter.

The document in question contained six brief formal propositions, which were as follows:

1. We demand Universal Suffrage — by which was meant rather Manhood Suffrage than what is now known as universal suffrage, meaning the ballot in the hands of both sexes. This, the Chartists did not demand.

2. We demand an Annual Parliament—by which was meant the election of a new House of Commons each year by the people.

3. We demand the right to Vote by Ballot—by which was meant the right of the people to employ a *secret* ballot at the elections instead of the method *viva voce.*

4. We demand the Abolition of the Property Qualification now requisite as a condition of eligibility to Membership in the House of Commons.

5. We demand that the Members of Parliament shall be paid a salary for their services.

6. We demand the Division of the Country into Equal Electoral Districts—by which was meant an equality of *population*, as against mere territorial extent.

Such, in brief, was the code of political doctrines under which the Chartist reformers of 1838 went forth to agitate the country.

To the reader of to-day it must appear a matter of astonishment that the representatives of the working classes of Great Britain should have been called upon, at a time within the memory of men still living, to defend and advocate political principles so self-evident and common-sense as those declared in the Charter;

and his wonder must be raised to amazement when he is told that the whole governing power of Great Britain, the King, the Ministry, the House of Lords, the House of Commons, the Tories as a party, the Whigs as a party, and—all party divisions aside—the great Middle Class of Englishmen set themselves in horrified antagonism to the Charter and its advocates, as though the former were the most incendiary document in the world, and the latter a rabble of radicals gathered from the purlieus of the French Revolution. How can such an incredible fact in the present-century history of Great Britain be explained and interpreted?

In the first place, the great Reform Bill of 1832 had proved a signal failure. This is said with respect to the workingmen of Great Britain—to the masses of the people. That bill had been agitated in the first place by the well-to-do Middle Class of Englishmen. The battle for the standard in the Parliamentary war of 1828–32 was between the Middle Class and the Aristocracy. The former fought for an extension of their rights; the latter for the maintenance of their exclusive privileges. But in that contest neither the representatives of the Middle Class nor the representatives of the Aristocracy had had the slightest care for the interests of the working masses—for the rights of the real people of England. Nevertheless, the real people had been profoundly agitated by the Middle Class orators and statesmen, and had been led to believe that the Reform Bill was intended to remove the evils under which the workingmen of Great Britain toiled on in the obscure drama of poverty from birth to death.

The real people of England were thus enlisted in favor of the reform measures of 1832, and followed the banners of Earl Grey, Sir Robert Peel, and Lord John Russell. But what was the chagrin, mortification, disappointment, and, presently, the rage of the workingmen when, after the passage of the Reform Bill, they began to perceive that, so far as themselves were concerned, the measure had been a delusion and a snare. They saw, after five years of bitterness, that though great benefits had been derived from the bill by the Middle Class, no benefit whatever had reached themselves. They beheld, moreover, the Whig party withdraw from them and stand aloof, as though it would affiliate with that very Aristocracy from whose hands the Reform Bill had been so hardly wrung. Henceforth in the ears of the toiling masses the word *Reform*, used in connection with the Parliamentary measures of 1832, sounded as a mockery, and the mention of it began to awaken on the features of all workingmen, from the hard-handed artisans of London to the soot-smutted miners of Wales, a sardonic grin, presently stiffening into a frown of unspeakable hatred. Such was the principal antecedent of the agitation which arose under the Charter.

Other causes coöperated with the principal cause. The amendment to the Poor Laws, while correct in principle and ultimately vindicated in practice, for the present worked hardship and engendered dissatisfaction. Beyond all this, the working people of England were, at this time, ignorant to the last degree. They knew only in a certain vague way that they were oppressed, that they were suffering. They knew enough to perceive that the products of their toil went to enrich the landed gentry, or to fill the coffers of great merchants and manufacturers. Superstition had not yet loosened its hold upon the popular imagination. Ignorant leaders came forth like apparitions, first, to deceive, and then disappoint, the masses. One of these, by the name of Thom, a bankrupt brewer and half-madman, appeared in Canterbury, proposing to lead the people. He called himself Sir William Courtenay, of Powderham Castle, Knight of Malta, King of Jerusalem. Multitudes followed him about, until presently, near the gates of Canterbury, he and some of his principal followers, at the head of a large body of rioters, were shot dead in a conflict with the militia. But the fanatics who followed his banner believed that their leader would come forth by resurrection, and at length conduct them to social happiness and plenty. The industrial districts of England were rife with such delusions, and the existence of the insurrectionary tendency among the working-classes was used by the Middle-Class Whigs as an excuse for inclining to the side of conservatism, and for locking with strong chains the wheels of the car of reform.

But there were not wanting in England certain brave spirits warmed with the enthusiasm

of humanity, fearing not the menace of political ostracism, dreading not even the dungeon and the gibbet, who took up the People's Charter, so-called, and went forth among the masses to defend and advocate its doctrines. Among these, several names were conspicuous. First of all may be mentioned Feargus O'Connor, who was, perhaps, the most popular and vehement of all the Chartist leaders. Thomas Cooper, a poet of no mean capacity, a philanthropist in word and deed, buoyed up the cause of Chartism with tongue and pen. In the eighth decade of the present century the lecture-goers of the United States were called, time and again, to hear the silvery tones of the voice of an aged Englishman. He was a veritable Saxon. His full beard and mustache were long and white. He was short and thick in figure, of florid complexion; and those fierce blue eyes, which he had taken by heredity from his Teutonic ancestors in the Hollowlands along the Baltic, by turns blazed with the fierceness of his earnest convictions, or beamed with the benignity of his generous spirit. Great were the themes which he presented on the American platform. Eloquent was the old man as he delineated some of the leading vicissitudes of English history, or portrayed the thrilling crises of Continental society. Without note or memorandum, he spoke for hours without a pause, and his hearers sat enraptured. On his last round before the free people of the West, the old man's right thumb was covered with the black stall which concealed the incipient felon destined to cause his death. He is gone. It was Henry Vincent, the Chartist orator, who, in 1828, suffered imprisonment in Wales for advocating the People's Charter.

Chartism became popular throughout England. The chief seats of the agitation were in the manufacturing and commercial cities. In all such situations the Chartists became numerous and powerful. The leaders, as a class, were men of the highest respectability and most earnest purpose. In some instances, mere factionists and adventurers, having everything to gain and nothing to lose, threw in their fortunes with the cause, and generally brought disgrace upon it. But for the rest, the movement was directed by an intelligent enthusiasm for which it would be difficult to find a parallel as the prime motive of any other political agitation. It can not be denied—and it was a fact, indeed, gloried in by the Chartist reformers themselves—that the multitudes who followed in the wake were men of low degree, drawn from the mines and factories, the dirty streets of cities, and the humble shops of country villages. This mass, however, constituted a large part of the English *people*, and their struggle for emancipation was among the noblest of the popular excitements of the century.

The methods, moreover, adopted by the Chartist leaders to secure their ends were in the highest degree commendable. The orators went from city to city, from village to village, speaking to the throngs that gathered to share a common enthusiasm and to hear discussed the principles of the People's Charter. Torch-light processions, popular dinners, and multitudinous gatherings became the order of the day, and the movement presently gathered such head that the Government, not without reason, grew apprehensive of a political upheaval in the kingdom. As a rule, all the English artisans and the producing classes, properly so-called, espoused the Chartist cause. The Ministry and Parliament became alarmed, and strenuous measures were adopted to prevent the further spread of the excitement, and to trammel up the consequences of the work already done.

The Chartist meetings began to be broken up, and the leaders to be prosecuted. One of the severest crises was that attendant upon the effort to release Henry Vincent from prison at Newport. For this purpose a vast force of workingmen was crudely organized, under the leadership of a Newport trader by the name of Frost. He was assisted by several others, and his forces were arranged in three columns, to converge on Newport at a certain hour of the night; but the movements of the rude insurgents were so irregular that only the column headed by Frost arrived at the scene of action at the appointed time. This division was confronted by the city authorities, and a collision occurred, in which the workingmen were dispersed. Frost and the other leaders were taken, tried, convicted, and condemned to death. The sentence was not carried into execution, but was commuted into banishment

for life. Three of the leaders were sent to the penal colonies; but in course of time the animosity of the Government was cooled, and those of the condemned Chartists who had not died in the interim regained their freedom.

It were long to follow the destinies of the agitation during the next ten years. The movement ebbed and flowed. Those of the Chartist leaders who had espoused the cause through an unselfish enthusiasm, inspired by sympathy for the woes of the English masses, held stoutly on. Persecutions and prosecutions did not appall them; imprisonment, and even death, did not suffice to still their voices. We shall hereafter see that as late as 1848 the Chartists, as a party, were as numerous and powerful, as capable of shaking the country with their tread, as they had been in the spring-tide of the agitation.



VIEW OF JAMAICA.

The Ministry of Melbourne now tottered to its fall. The circumstance which was destined to give the *coup de grace* to that rather long-lived and little sensational Cabinet related to the administration of affairs in the island of Jamaica. It grew out of the abolition of slavery in that country, and of a struggle between the old masters and the freedmen, not unlike the chaos which ensued in the Southern States in the decade succeeding the American Civil War. On the whole, the Imperial Government of Jamaica, that is, the Governor, the Council, and the other royal officers, favored the maintenance of the rights of the enfranchised classes in the island. But the Assembly, representing the old dominant master-class of the people, planted themselves against the freedmen, and a clash thus arose in the heart of the Government.

The question was one which greatly puzzled the Ministry; but the Gordian knot was cut at length by an act suspending or abrogating the Jamaican Constitution. This measure was violently opposed by Sir Robert Peel and the Conservatives on the one side, and by the Radicals on the other. The latter now constituted a considerable body in Parliament. They had, in the times of the Reform agitation, followed the Whig banner with enthusiasm; but,

like the Chartists, of which they were really the representatives, they had eaten the wormwood and drank the gall of bitterness and disappointment on account of the small outcome of the Reform movement to popular liberty. The combined attack of the two wings was more than the Melbourne Ministry could stand. The Premier resigned his place, and suggested to the Queen that she call Sir Robert Peel to the head of the Government.

Between the larger paragraphs of English greatness are interlarded many paragraphs of English littleness. We here come to one of those extraordinary episodes in the Parliamentary history of Great Britain which may well excite a smile on the lips of posterity. The young Queen of the United Kingdom had her royal household after the manner of her ancestry. Among the personages composing the household, two of the most important were the Ladies of the Bed-chamber. This delicate office of personal and intimate attendance on the Queen had been given to the wife of Lord Normanby and the sister of Lord Morpeth, afterwards Lord Carlisle. These two noblemen had both been holding high offices under the Whigs. The first had been Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and the second, Irish Secretary in the same Administration. But these officers had, of course, gone down with the Whig Ministry of Melbourne. The question was whether the wife of the one and the sister of the other, Ladies of the Bed-chamber to the Queen, should or should not go out of place with the Ministry. When Sir Robert Peel went to the Queen to accept from her the office of Premier, he thought he discovered a specter, two specters indeed, in Her Majesty's bed-chamber. He conceived that the retention of two eminent Whig ladies in closest attendance upon their royal mistress would break the efficiency of the new Conservative Ministry about to be formed. He, therefore, rather abruptly and without due tact, demanded that the Queen's ladies-in-waiting should share the fate of the fallen Ministry.

The young Queen was shocked at the proposition. She had become greatly attached to the ladies who were now regarded as a menace to Sir Robert and his Conservatives. She accordingly consulted with Lord John Russell, and, on his advice, replied to Sir Robert that she could not consent to a course which she conceived to be contrary to usage, and which was so greatly repugnant to her feelings. Sir Robert thereupon refused to accept the Government, and made a high-sounding oration in Parliament in defense of his position. A Ministerial crisis was thus produced, and the Queen was obliged to recall Lord Melbourne to the head of the Government. The excitement growing out of this "Question of the Bed-chamber," as it was called, spread through the country, and a considerable interval elapsed before Parliament swung back into its customary mood.

The return of Lord Melbourne to the head of the Government was only for a brief season. On resuming office he was still confronted with the Jamaica Bill. That measure had to be modified and remodified under the dictation of the Opposition, until its leading features were tinkered away. Even these beatings about could not save the already discredited Whig party from rout and overthrow. The Ministry staggered on for a brief season, and was driven finally from power to make way, in September of 1841, for the accession of Sir Robert Peel and the Conservatives.

The attention of the British public could but be called, at an early date, to the question of the succession. Here, indeed, was a Maiden Queen on the throne of England. As for the rest, the English Guelfs were well-nigh extinguished. The great family of George III. had come to this: a modest, quiet, and not uncomely young woman on the English throne. Nor was the Queen herself unmindful of the situation. Girlish fancy, as well as Imperial duty, had suggested to her the desirability—the necessity—of marriage. To her credit be it said, that she was totally devoid of that unwomanly pride which flamed in the bosom of Elizabeth Tudor, making her prefer the singleness and selfishness of royal power to the charms of wifehood and motherhood. At the opening of Parliament, in 1840, Victoria appeared in person, and declared her intention to be married to her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. The young Majesty said in her speech, that she trusted that the step which she was about to take would be conducive to the interests of her people as well as to her own domestic happiness. It was

known that the royal marriage thus announced was, both on the Queen's part and the part of the Prince, an affair of the heart, rather than an affair of royal and political convenience.

The event fully justified public expectation. Prince Albert was eminently worthy of the trying station to which he was called. His situation was peculiar in the last degree. From one point of view, it seemed that the law of nature was reversed and made of no effect by the Constitution of Great Britain. The Prince was the husband of the Queen, but the law of affection came in to rectify and amend the hardship to which the husband was subjected; and there can be no doubt that while the Queen henceforth held the scepter over his head, he to the end of life held an equally imperial scepter over her heart.

It may well be asked, especially in a Republic like ours, what part or lot Prince Albert, in such a situation, had, or could have, with respect to the public affairs of the kingdom. Was he simply a cipher by the side of that significant unit, the Queen? or might he be reckoned among the political and civil forces of the reign? In the first place, the Prince was by nature and discipline a gentleman and scholar. The domestic pursuits charmed him from his boyhood. In his intellectual preferences he chose art and education as the two subjects most congenial to his taste, and to these elevating branches of culture he devoted himself with assiduity. He became the patron of many of the noblest enterprises of the Victorian era; and although never what might be called a popular prince among the people to whom he was set in such strange relation, he nevertheless exercised on the men and manners of his time a most wholesome influence, the effects of which have not yet passed away. Nor may we overlook his equally salutary, though indirect, influence on the Queen, and through the Queen on the Ministry, the Parliament, the whole Administration of Great Britain. In this respect he was a moderating and conservative force, checking, as far as he might, the evil consequences of party legislation and the rage of politics. He was in all respects a cautious, prudent man, little disposed to interfere, except with affectionate advice, in the affairs of the

august personage by his side. His patronage of art and learning endeared him in a high degree to the intellectual classes of England. Painters and poets sought his company, and scientific men, laboring in the dark mines of truth from which new laws of the world are drawn forth and elucidated for the benefit of mankind, turned ever to Prince Albert as to a wise counselor and steadfast friend.

Some of the incidents of the Prince's career, after his union with the Queen, may well be narrated. At the outset he was subjected to a humiliation in Parliament, by the



PRINCE ALBERT.

reduction of the proposed annuity of fifty thousand pounds to thirty thousand pounds—this the work of the Tory Opposition. His good sense, however, led him to make no sign, and presently afterwards he received the great compliment of being declared Regent in case of the Queen's death with issue. In this case the Opposition joined with the Ministry, and the act was passed by unanimous vote. It can not be doubted that the measure contributed not a little to the dignified estimate which was henceforth placed on the Prince by the English people. Ever afterwards he constituted a kind of outside Privy Council to the

Queen and extant Ministry; nor would it be easy to point out, in the twenty-one years of his life subsequent to the royal marriage, a single instance in which his influence was exercised to the hurt of the British Nation.

Meanwhile, the Prince set his mind on the accomplishment of many improvements and reforms in the existing order. In the early years of his ascendency he undertook, among other things, to effect the abolition of dueling in the army. The Prince's project contemplated the establishment of a system of Courts of Honor, before which the difficulties constantly arising between officers and among soldiers, might be arbitrated without appeal to the barbarous code duello. In this work he secured the coöperation of the Duke of Wellington, and, although the measure of establishing courts failed of adoption, the attitude of the Prince, and of those statesmen who espoused his views, prevailed over the brutal usages of the past to the extent of their extinction. Dueling, as a practice among public men and soldiers, disappeared from English society, if not as a direct result of the enlightened agitation started by Prince Albert, at least coïncidently with the effort which he made in that direction.

Following the course of events, we come now to consider the history of the so-called Opium War between England and China. The circumstances leading to this unfortunate and disgraceful catastrophe had their root partly in the industrial and political constitution of the Chinese Empire, partly in the commercial transactions of the British East India Company; but, more properly, in the wanton avarice and conscienceless policy of the Home Government of Great Britain. The matter at issue related to the introduction and sale of opium by British traders in the ports of China. Such importation had begun under the auspices of the East India Company, and was carried on by that gigantic corporation until 1834, when the charter and exclusive rights of the company expired. Meanwhile, the opium-trade had become important. Many districts in India produce the poppy in exuberant abundance. The drug drawn therefrom was carried by the ships of the Company to the Chinese ports, and sold to native merchants, under whose encouragement the opium-smoking habit spread rapidly among the people. The Imperial Government took the alarm, and adopted the policy of excluding the opium-ships from all the harbors of China.

The measures looking to this end were reasonable in the highest degree. The right of the Chinese authorities to protect the people of the Empire from the disastrous effects of the opium-habit could not be gainsaid with the slightest show of reason. The trade in opium had, meanwhile, passed from the monopoly of the British East India Company to the general merchant-marine of the kingdom. At this time the ports which were open to English commerce and English intercourse in general were Canton and Macao. In these ports of entry the British Government had planted superintendents, whose conduct, instead of being directed with judicial fairness and in accordance with the principles of international law, was wholly biased by the interests of the illicit trade of their countrymen.

Nor did the Home Government in this emergency take the first step towards the maintenance of right and honor in its dealing with the Chinese authorities. Even when Captain Elliott, chief superintendent in the port of Canton, made one appeal after another to the Ministry for instructions covering the discharge of his duties, he received no reply. Matters were allowed to drift in their own pernicious course. The British traders became bolder and bolder, discharging enormous cargoes of the deadly drug under the very eyes of the Chinese officers. After a while the Government sent out a dispatch to Captain Elliott, telling him virtually that those who traded in opium against the edict of the Emperor would have to take the consequences; that the British authorities would not interfere to protect those merchants who were engaged in the illicit trade, but that they must bear such losses as their own persistency and the execution of the Chinese laws might entail. This was equivalent to saying that the British traders in the East might provoke a war with China, with the implied inference that, *after the war was begun*, Great Britain would defend her interests without looking into the justice or injustice of the conflict. It was clear that as soon as hostilities should be precipitated, excesses would be committed by the Chinese, unac-

quainted as they were with the usages of European warfare, and that the Home Government of England would be obliged to take up the cause of its traders and other subjects on the coast of China.

The war came on. The Imperial officers in the Chinese ports demanded that the introduction of opium should absolutely cease, and that the cargoes now in store should be given up for destruction. At length, in 1839, Captain Elliott was constrained to comply with this demand. It was agreed that all the opium then in the hands of Englishmen should be surrendered to the native officers, and he also exacted a pledge—of no validity—from the merchants that they would cease to traffic in the drug. Accordingly, on the 3d of April, in the year just named, 20,383 chests of opium were given up to the mandarins, and, under direction of the Imperial Commissioner Lin, were destroyed. It was this event—though the same had been brought about in virtual conformity with the instructions which Captain Elliott had received—that precipitated hostilities. A declaration of war was made by the English Government in 1840, and the East Indian fleet was sent to the Chinese coast. Native armies were thrown into the field; but in the conflict which ensued they were like sheep for the slaughter. There could be but one result. What could the diminutive, undisciplined, half-armed men of the Orient, though fired with the valor of Spartans, do before the shining bayonets and vomiting cannon of Great Britain?

As a matter of course, the English were constantly victorious. In the first year the British fleet captured the town of Chusan, and in 1841 the Bogue Forts were easily taken. It is narrated that when one of the Chinese towns was captured, the Tartar general, in the hour of defeat, shut himself up in his house, and ordered his servants to burn him to death. It was the custom of the routed Chinese to drive their wives and children into wells and ponds, and then cut their own throats in the very frenzy of their hopeless rage. When the British squadron sailed up the river Peiho against the Chinese capital, some futile efforts were made at negotiations, but the movement came to naught. The important city of Ningpo, distant somewhat from the sea, was taken, and then Amoy, far to the south, fell into the hands of the British.

Not, however, until an army was planted in front of Nankin, did the Imperial Government realize the hopelessness of further resistance. Negotiations were again opened, which soon resulted in a treaty—a treaty as one-sided in its provisions as the war had been in its results. The island of Hong Kong was ceded to Great Britain. It was agreed that British consuls should be established in the five great ports of Canton—Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai—and that those places should be thrown open to British traders. Finally, an indemnity of four and a half million pounds sterling was wrung from the Chinese Government as the price of the war, and to this was added another large sum to pay for the opium which had been destroyed at the outbreak of hostilities. The treaty was as humiliating to the Chinese as the war itself had been an outrage to their nationality. If there be a single instance in the recent history of mankind more highly illustrative of the possible meanness, avarice, and arrogance of the strong—an example of the willful persecution and unmerited punishment of an unoffending people by one less numerous, but more mighty than themselves—it is that of the Opium War of Great Britain with China.

We are now come to the epoch in British history when the Melbourne Ministry, the ascendency of which had reached well back into the last reign, tottered and fell. The Whig Government, represented by this Ministry, had been for some time in a moribund condition. If we glance into Parliament at the close of 1840, we shall see a Government respected by no party, not even by itself; yet the Whigs clung to power. Time and again the Ministry was beaten on important votes in the House of Commons; but Lord Melbourne still clung to his office. It was a time of temporizing and political expedients, most of which were adopted merely for the purpose of holding the party in power. In the many months of the decadence of the Ministry, however, several measures were either originated or promoted, the value of which after times have been quick to perceive and augment.

First among the popular movements belonging to this time may be mentioned the

establishment of a System of Public Education in Great Britain. In this important enterprise we see again illustrated the ever-recurring fact that in the British system of state and society, everything is the result of growth. It might be impossible to point out a single striking feature in the great nationality of the England of the present day which has not proceeded from some germinal beginning in the past, been promoted in the planting and development by the courage and foresight of a few progressive Englishmen, opposed and assailed by the majority, pushed up and out against such opposition by the inherent vitality of the measure, and brought finally to efflorescence and fruiting by that simple law of social evolution against the operation of which neither men nor nations can prevail. So it was in the case of the project for the establishment of a system of public education.

It was in the year 1834 that the first grant of public money was made by Parliament for the education of the children of the people. It was the meagre sum of twenty thousand pounds a year. Even this pittance, given forth from that treasury which had poured out immemorially its multiplied millions and billions for the prosecution of wars, was virtually a contribution to the Church of England rather than to the common people. There had been organized in connection with the Established Church what was called the National School Society. There also existed another body, called the Foreign School Association, which actually went so far in the direction of radicalism as to admit to its benefits children of all Christian denominations. While the efforts of the National School Society were directed wholly to the educational work of the Church of England, the sister organization went so far as to promote the education of the children even of Dissenters.

It was into the hands of these two societies that the annual Parliamentary appropriation of twenty thousand pounds was directed; and by these two societies the money was expended up to the year 1839. To this time no effort whatever had been made in Great Britain to extend, under the patronage of the Government, the advantages of education to the masses of the people. Up to this time a scheme looking to a system of common secular education reaching to the poor would have been regarded with horror by the most progressive statesmen of the country. In 1839, however, a bill was introduced by Lord John Russell, increasing the annual appropriation to thirty thousand pounds, and at the same time providing that the distribution of the funds should be transferred to a Committee of the Privy Council. Hitherto the money had been annually distributed precisely where it was not needed, and withheld from the very places which were crying to Heaven for such assistance. Under the new scheme of disbursement the method was reversed, and the benefits of the measure extended to those poor and crowded localities which were thronged with the children of the people. It was actually conceded that the aid of the law might be extended to schools in which the Roman Catholic version of the Bible was read! The measure was at once vehemently assailed by the Opposition. It was declared that to extend the aid of the Government to schools not under the control and direction of the Church of England was an outrage on the Constitution of Great Britain, a menace to religion and morality, a measure for the propagation of heresy and incendiarism in both Church and State.

Great was the clamor over Lord John Russell's Bill. The measure at length prevailed, and the foundations were thus laid for the great system of popular education since established and developed in Great Britain. But we can not pass from the subject without noting with amazement, and for the instruction of all who are interested in studying the evolution of enlightenment among the nations, and especially the slow progress of the coming dawn in the brains of the great, that the Russell Bill was opposed in Parliament with both the voices and the votes of Sir Robert Peel, Lord Stanley, William E. Gladstone, and Benjamin Disraeli. Nor may we pass without mentioning the other fact, that the measure contemplating the establishment of secular schools in the United Kingdom was supported by Daniel O'Connell and Smith O'Brien—a fact giving as good cause for pride among the Irish people as may ever be given to the present on account of anything done in the past.

Some honor may therefore be claimed for the Melbourne Ministry as having had under its

patronage and direction the first formal measure for the secular education of the English people. Meanwhile, an incident in the history of the Parliamentary government of this epoch may well be cited as illustrative of the tendencies of civil procedure. It was the law of Parliament that the reports of its committees should be published for the information of the body and the people. A certain prison report, made near the beginning of 1840, contained a paragraph denouncing a book published by a certain Stockdale, as a work at once disgusting and obscene. For this publication the author of the book brought suit for libel against the Parliamentary printers, and obtained judgment against them. But the House of Commons refused to acknowledge the validity of a judgment against its officers or agents for doing what the House had directed them to do. An issue was thus made between the Queen's Bench on the one side, and the Commons on the other. The sheriffs, ordered to carry out the judgment of the Court, were arrested by authority of the House, and for some time it looked as though the High Court of England and the House of Commons would end the matter by arresting and imprisoning each other! At length, however, Parliament gained the day, and an act was passed exempting, for the future, the officers of the House from such interference and prosecution as they had recently suffered. The incident is cited here to illustrate the general law that under the governmental and civil systems, established by the English-speaking race, conflicts and disputes between the Legislative and the Judiciary nearly always conclude with a victory of the former over the latter.

Still another historical incident may serve to show the spirit and manner of the times. If we look in on London in the year 1840, we shall find no public institution more worthy of commendation, more honorable to the genius of the English people, than the British Museum. The institution was, by the law of its government, open to the public, but on Sundays it was closed. In July of the year just referred to, Joseph Hume, an enlightened and progressive member of the House of Commons, hoping on the principle of counter-attraction to draw large numbers of people of the poorer class away from the purlieus of vice and degradation, and to raise them somewhat to a higher and purer plane of thought by the contemplation of the grand and beautiful, introduced a bill that the British Museum and the National Gallery of Art should be opened at certain hours on Sunday. Mr. Hume carefully provided that the opening should be *after* the conclusion of divine service in the churches and, more particularly, "at such hours as *taverns*, *beer-shops*, and *gin-shops are legally opened*." The proposition was met with invective and the appeal to the *odium theologicum*. Mr. Hume was denounced as a covert enemy of the Sabbath day, a foe to the Church, and a dangerous man to society, because he had introduced a bill which might serve to draw some thousands of people on Sunday afternoons from the sacred association of the gin-shops to the degrading influences of the British Museum!

Passing from these minor incidents in the civil history of the Kingdom, we come to consider a very important and serious aspect of foreign affairs. It was at this time that Great Britain was drawn by her interest, and under the policy which she had prescribed for herself, to a stern and warlike interference in the affairs of the East. The scene was Egypt and Syria. In the former country the ruler, at this epoch, under the general suzerainty of the Turkish Sultan, was the famous Pasha Mehemet Ali. He was a warrior, a statesman, a man of genius, despising the Sultan, his master, and having a general contempt for the methods of government employed by the Sublime Porte. It is quite likely that Mehemet Ali was ambitious of establishing an independent sovereignty. Quite like him in character and abilities was his adopted son, Ibrahim Pasha, General of the Egyptian army. To him Mehemet Ali looked for the conduct of his wars.

The Porte, at this time, had fallen into that chronic decline which, though seemingly destined never to destroy, has, since the beginning of the century, fatally afflicted the Ottoman Empire. The outlying provinces and dependencies of Turkey were subject to the prey of whoever might go forth to ravage. To Mehemet Ali, Syria was the inviting field. He carried thither his victorious arms, and made a conquest of the country. The Sultan

was constrained for a while to let his powerful vassal have his way, but at length, in 1839, declared war against him. A decisive battle was fought, and Ibrahim Pasha gained a great victory over the Turks. The Sultan died. Capitan Pasha, Admiral of the Ottoman fleet, deserted to the Egyptians, and the event of

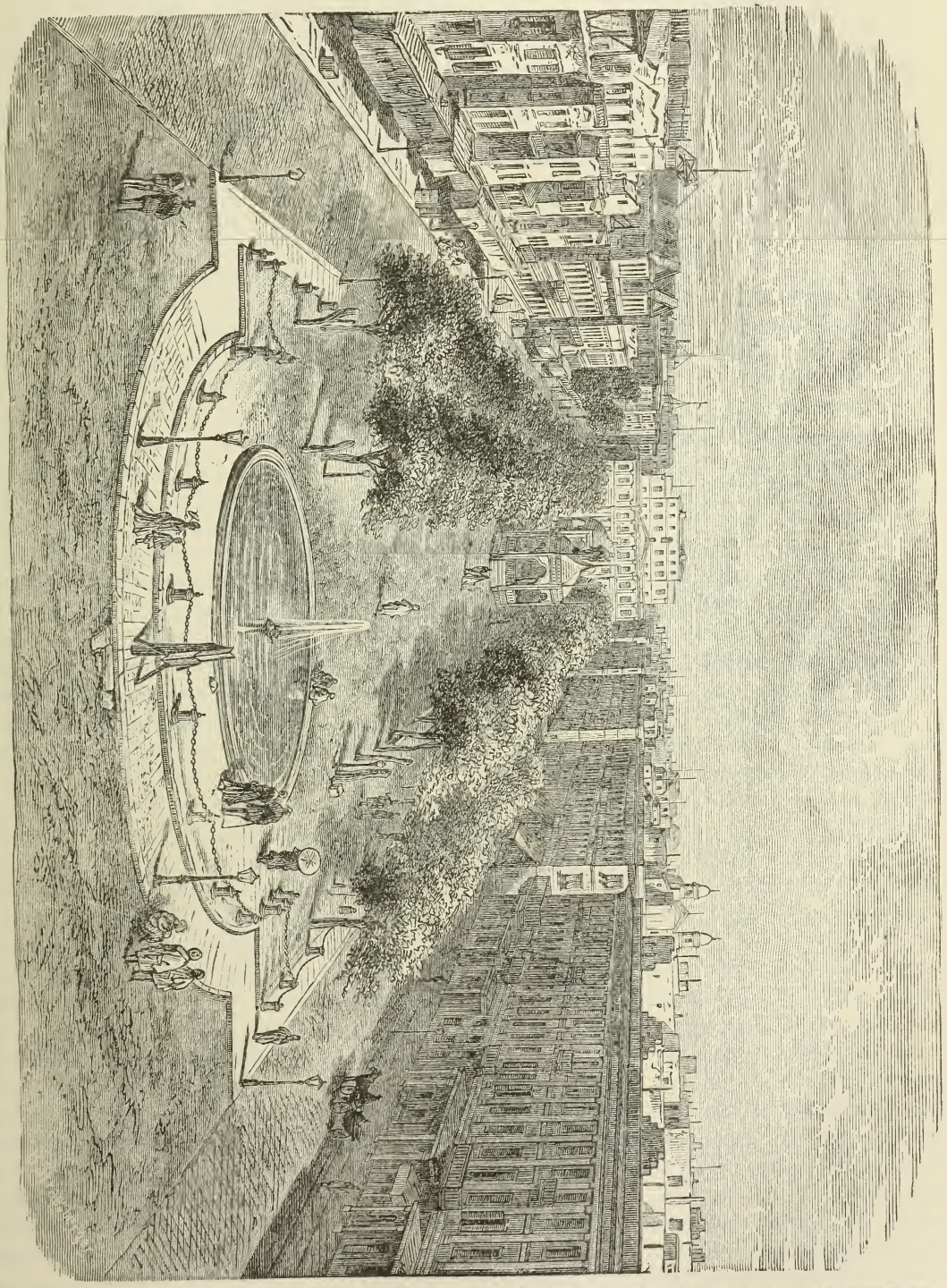


MEHEMET ALI PASHA.

Egyptian independence, with the consequent loss to Turkey of all the countries around the eastern and south-eastern borders of the Mediterranean, knocked at the door.

It will be remembered that the well-known policy of the Western Powers, particularly of England, was, at the time of which we speak, and since has been, to maintain the political and territorial integrity of the Turkish Empire. It is not the place in which to explain the origin and true nature of this theory, which has been so prominent in the diplomacy of the States of Western Europe during the greater part of the present century. It is germane, however, to the question immediately before us to note the fact that, of all the Western Kingdoms, Great Britain was most devotedly and consistently attached to the principle of maintaining the unity and independence of the Ottoman Power. On the other hand, France was least devoted to the same principle. Prussia and Austria were devoted to it in a general way. Russia was

devoted to it, not devoted to it in a measure, as suited the interest and passion of the hour. The reader of general history will readily recall the fact that, since the days of Peter I., more particularly since the days of Catherine II., the Russian power has been slowly but surely, like one of the avalanches of the Alps, sliding down from the north-east upon the lowlands of the Ottoman. It will also be remembered that the necessity, or



PALACE OF MEHEMET ALI

seeming necessity, of resisting this pressure had been the mainspring of the policy adopted by the Western Powers to uphold the integrity and autonomy of Turkey.

The threatened establishment of an independent Egypt under the sovereignty of Mehemet Ali seemed to contravene the general purpose of Western Europe, and England resolved to interfere. An English fleet was accordingly despatched to the Mediterranean, and uniting with the Turkish squadron, proceeded to the bombardment of Acre. An English army in Egypt, allied with Turkish and Egyptian forces, attacked the strongholds of Mehemet, and drove him thence with great losses. Ibraham Pasha, though he had shown himself more than a match for the native armies of the Orient could not resist the impact of British bayonets and British cannon. Mehemet Ali was obliged to give up the hopeless contest, and to content himself with a restricted government in Egypt. All of his Asiatic conquests were wrested from him and restored to the Porte. Ambassadors representing the parties to the controversy came together in London, and in July of 1840 the terms of settlement were arranged and signed by the Western Powers.

They were signed by all but France. In that country Louis Philippe was now king, and Adolphe Thiers was his Minister of State. It was the belief of Thiers that the whole business in Egypt had been fomented and managed by Great Britain in her own interest. The belief was not without foundation. Thiers was enraged at beholding the covert elevation of the British standard in the East. He conceived that France had been disparaged in the whole course of the Egyptian complication, and that the disparagement was the careful work of Great Britain. He declared his purpose of going to war sooner than submit to the humiliation of his country. The king, however, and the government as a whole, refused to follow the bellicose Prime Minister, and he was at length obliged to resign his office. M. Guizot acceded to the leadership of the French Cabinet, and in July of 1841 the Treaty of London was signed by the representative of France. Thus, for the decade which we are here considering, was the Eastern question disposed of under the auspices of England.

During all these events, the Whig Ministry of Melbourne stumbled on in paralytic fashion to the inevitable downfall. The straw which at last broke the camel's back was a proposition introduced by Lord Russell, then in the Ministry, with regard to regulating the trade in corn.[1] His proposition was to establish a duty at a fixed rate of eight shillings the quarter on wheat, with proportional rates for the other cereals, rye, barley, oats, etc. His proposition was a concession to the principle of free trade, which was just then beginning to claim, as it never had claimed before, the attention of the British public. Being so, the proposition of Russell was in the nature of an explosive with a lighted fuse in the mid-camp of the Ministry. Melbourne, and the rest who were vehement protectionists, must either follow for the free-trade modification of the corn laws, or else combat the proposition of Russell and give up their offices. Such was the condition of affairs when at last Sir Robert Peel, in June of 1841, brought forward the proposal in the House of Commons of a direct vote of want of confidence in the Ministry. The resolution was adopted by a majority of one. Parliament was dissolved. The Tories came back in the early autumn with a great accretion of strength. Melbourne and his colleagues resigned, and a new Conservative Ministry was organized under the Premiership of Sir Robert Peel.

The auspices of the new Tory, or, as it was now called, Conservative Government, may be said to have been favorable at home, unfavorable abroad. It was in the early days of Sir Robert's Administration that the news began to be borne to London of the direful disasters which had overtaken the British authorities, civil and military, in Cabul. The city so-called is the capital of the State of the same name, in the northern part of Afghanistan. If we look into this far region, in the year 1837, we shall find on the throne of Cabul a native prince by the name of Dost Mohammed. He was, in a certain sense, a usurper; that is, he had led a popular revolution against Shah Soojah Moolk, the old so-called legitimate sovereign of Cabul, and had expelled both him and his house.

[1] The reader well understands that *corn*, in the English phraseology, is the generic name for the several varieties of cereal grains, and not particularly of the grain so called in America.

Dost Mohammed established himself in the kingdom, and set his brothers and sons at the head of the petty subject States—this with the enthusiastic approval of the popular revolutionary party.

The reader might well ask by what possible construction of international politics this course and condition of affairs in Cabul could be of the slightest interest to Great Britain. Why should England concern herself in the least about the destinies resulting from a revolution in a petty kingdom in Northern Afghanistan? A full answer to these questions would require the exposition of many international policies and a mass of details which might well fill a volume. It is sufficient for our purpose to summarize the leading features of the complication; to express, if we may, in a few paragraphs, the essence of this far-off Asiatic imbroglio. First of all we must consider the British East Indian Empire. This vast Power, at the time of which we speak, was already stretching out its long and sinewy arms from Calcutta over the Indian populations, numbering in the aggregate much more than a hundred millions. Some of the provinces of India were actually subject to the authority of Great Britain; others had alliances of friendship and dependence with her; and still others, while maintaining a show of independence, were overawed by her presence and scepter.

One of the countries thus dependent by alliance with the East Indian Government of Great Britain, was the Punjaub. This great province, embracing the Upper Indus Valley, lay next to the borders of Afghanistan. The Ameer of the Punjaub was a friend and dependent of the East Indian Government. It was to him, for friendship and protection, that the overthrown Shah Soojah, of Cabul, with the members of his family and a few of the princes who had adhered to his cause, fled after the revolution effected in Cabul by Dost Mohammed. Such was the situation, viewed from the English side of the landscape.

Consider, in the next place, the colossal power of Russia. There she lies, with extended dominions, like a great shadow, aye, like a great substance, over all the north-western parts of Asia. Her policy of territorial aggrandizement was well known and well dreaded at the time of which we speak. Friendly were her relations with the Shah of Persia. The Czar patronized the Shah, treated him like a small kinsman, used him like a friendly puppet, protected him, encouraged him, finally put him out as a feeler in the direction of Afghanistan. In other words, it was on the line of Cabul that the conflicting interests, or rather ambitions, of Great Britain and Russia met in the East, as they had already met in the West, on the line of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. The figure is sufficiently ridiculous; but at this time Russia was the monkey of Asia; Persia was the cat; Cabul was the cat's-paw, and India was the oven, in which were roasting the English chestnuts. To complete the fiction, a lion was lying by the door of the oven!

All this was by hypothesis. Overt acts as yet there had been none. But the situation was such, in the estimation of both Great Britain and Russia, as to make it desirable to have the alliance of Dost Mohammed. At this time there was resident at that monarch's court a certain Alexander Burnes, kinsman, though the name be differently spelled, of the poet Burns, of great memory. The Englishman had gone from India into Afghanistan and Cabul. There he found Dost Mohammed favorable to an alliance with England. But he also found the emissaries of Russia at the court, busy with their schemes and temptations. Dost Mohammed desired, as the sequel has shown, to go with England. But, through some perversity and blindness, the British East Indian Government had determined to undertake the restoration of Shah Soojah, the obsolete king of Cabul, to the throne of his ancestors. This, of course, compelled Dost Mohammed to fall over towards the side of Persia and Russia. At this juncture the Governor-General of India, in pursuance of his folly, sent out an army by way of the Punjaub to conduct Shah Moolk back to his dominions. The policy of Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, in this particular, had the full concurrence and support of the Home Government of Great Britain. The British force was under command of Sir W. Macnaghten, whose second in command was General Elphinstone. It appears that there was on the part of the leaders of the expedition the

ulterior object of obtaining for themselves diplomatical positions at the Court of Shah Soojah, whom they were carrying along with them, like an East Indian idol, to be set up again in his palace at Cabul. Lofty ambition



DOST MOHAMMED KHAN.

on the part of Sir W. Macnaghten to be envoy extraordinary at such a court, in such a place, under such conditions!

In the meantime, hostilities had begun by an attack of the Persians on the city of Herat, popularly designated as the "key of India." The place is situated on the lines of communication between the plateau of Asia and the valley of the Indus. It lies five hundred and fifty miles eastward of Cabul. In 1837, Herat was besieged by a Persian army of about thirty-five thousand men. The native prince, in defending his city, was assisted by Colonel Eldred Pottinger, Commandant of the British garrison in Herat. It was to his abilities and courage, rather than to the valor of the native troops, that the Persian force was held at bay and finally beaten off.

By the beginning of October, 1838, Sir W. Macnaghten had collected his forces west of the Indus, and thence set out on his ill-starred expedition for the restoration of Shah Soojah to the throne of Cabul. The movement to the interior was valiantly resisted by Dost Mohammed and his sons. The half-wild Afghan soldiery, though unable to stand in battle before the disciplined army of Great Britain, nevertheless fought as for their altars and native land. It was manifest from the first that so far from any uprising of the people in favor of Shah Soojah, Dost Mohammed held the complete and universal allegiance of his subjects. They rallied to his standard, and threw themselves in the advance and on the flanks of the British army. They planted themselves in the town of Ghuznee, where they resisted the whole force of their enemy, suffering a siege until what time the British, by heaping bags of gunpowder against one of the gates and blowing open the wall with an explosion, rushed through the breach and took the town. The Afghans retreated, and the way was opened to Jelalabad, which was defended by the celebrated Akbar Khan, one of the sons of Dost Mohammed.

This city was also taken after much hard fighting. The invaders then came to Cabul, from which Dost Mohammed escaped into the open country. Macnaghten's idol, Shah Soojah, was reinstated in his ancient palace; but it was evident from the first that he would have to be maintained in place by the British army. Dost Mohammed rallied his forces and returned to the contest. On the 2d of November, 1840, he fought with the British army a decisive battle, in which only the En-



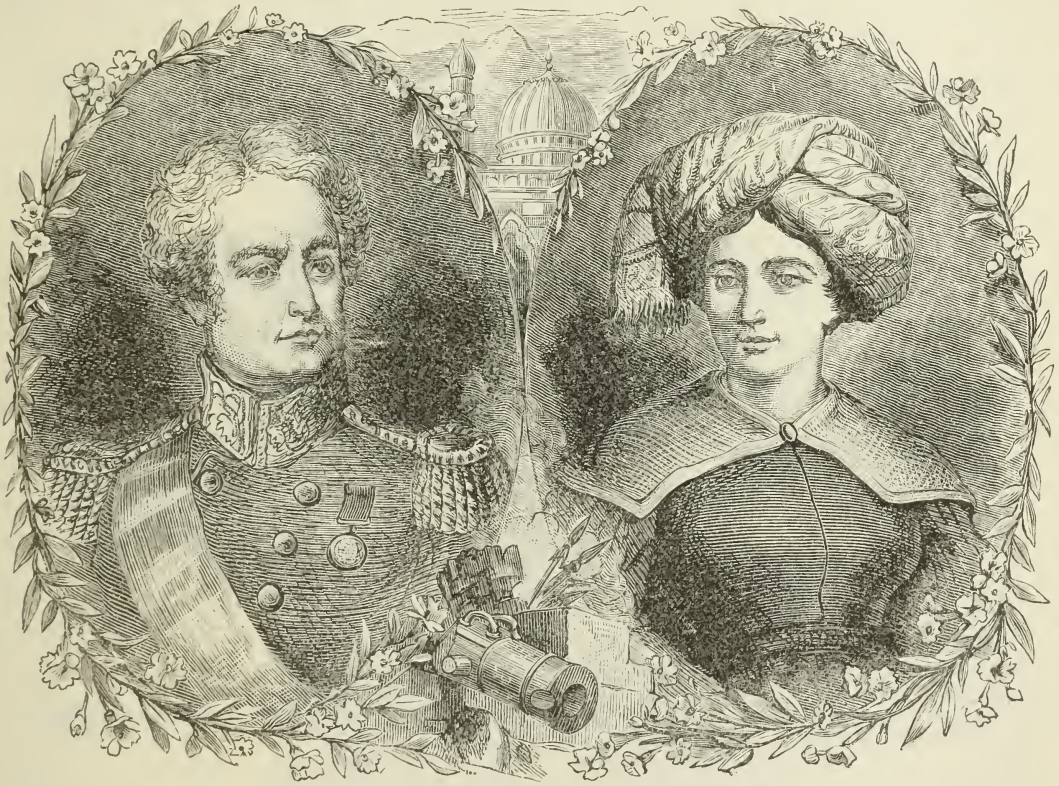
AKBAR KHAN.

glish artillery prevented the Afghans from winning a clear victory in the field. They were, however, defeated, and on the evening of the same day, Dost Mohammed, of his own accord, rode to the British head-quarters, an-

nounced himself as King of Cabul, and surrendered as a prisoner of war.

The downfall of Mohammed, however, by no means ended the contest. The British army lay in its cantonments at Cabul for a full year, upholding a dubious peace. On the anniversary of Dost Mohammed's battle, namely, November 2, 1841, a popular insurrection broke out in Cabul, which, for violence and horror of details, was almost unparalleled. When Alexander Burnes undertook to appease the rage of the insurgents, he and his brother and with the knives of the Afghans. The hacked and disfigured body of the murdered Englishman was exhibted as a trophy in the bazars of Cabul. Shah Soojah soon afterwards met a similar fate.

The command of the British army was devolved on General Elphinstone, and to him Abkar and his chiefs now dictated whatever terms they would. It appears that in this dreadful emergency the spirit of the British officers and men gave way. They fell into a condition of semi-despair, from which they never



SIR ROBERT AND LADY SALE.

their company were attacked and cut to pieces. Then the flames of revolt broke out on every hand. Akbar Khan became at once the bad and the good angel of the insurrection. He led it, and, at the same time, restrained the savage instincts of his followers to a sort of half-civilized warfare, which was still too horrible to be depicted in language. Sir W. Macnaghten and several of his officers were at length invited to a conference with Akbar and his chiefs. An altercation ensued, and Macnaghten and his companions were butchered recovered. General Elphinstone even went so far as to appeal to the consideration of Akbar Khan and the Afghan troops! Nor does it appear that Akbar himself was unwilling to show the courtesies of victory to the vanquished. But the chieftains and the half-savage Afghan soldiery could not be restrained. A treaty was made, the terms of which were dictated by Akbar and accepted by Elphinstone. The British army should at once, and without delay, withdraw from Afghanistan to Jelalabad, take up the garrison at the latter

place, leave the country forever, give up hostages for the fulfillment of the compact, receive a conduct on the retreat, cross the Indus out of sight, go.

It was now the dead of winter, 1841–42. The army, about sixteen thousand strong, including the allied natives, and bearing along the wives of the living officers and the widow of the murdered Macnaghten, as well as their children and other helpless creatures who had come out with the expedition from India, left Cabul to make its way through the dreadful pass called the Koord Cabul, a horrible mountain gorge five miles in extent, traversed by a roaring torrent now frozen into a glacier, and covered with impassable accumulations of snow. It were long to tell the story of that awful march. It may well be within the limits of truth to aver that, for horror and despair, no other such retreat is known in the history of the world! The fugitives toiled on through the snows, freezing, starving, dropping dead of despair, thinned at the rear and on both flanks by the cruel bullets of treacherous foes, and finally coming against an impassible barricade which the Ghilzyes had thrown up across the pass. Akbar Khan, either trying to buy off his own chieftains from their purpose, or else to put the English still further in his power, demanded that the wives and children should now be given up as the price of liberation for the army. Lady Macnaghten, Lady Sale, whose husband, Sir Robert, was at that time commandant at Jelalabad; Mrs. Stuart, Mrs. Trevor, with her seven children, and some others were accordingly surrendered, in the heart of the Asiatic desolations, to the compassionate keeping of Akbar and his retainers! The remnant of the army was then permitted to pass; but it was the passage of death. The force melted away. Finally it dwindled to a handful. The column was still on the road to Jelalabad, where General Sale was holding out against the enemy; but Akbar Khan had compelled Elphinstone, as commander in chief, to agree that Sale should evacuate Jelalabad, join the fugitives, and fly from the country. But there were soon no fugitives to join. Arriving within a few miles of Jelalabad only six men out of the sixteen thousand were alive. Five of these were struck down before the fortress was reached. Doctor Brydon was the solitary fugitive who at last tottered up half-dead against the gate of Jelalabad to recite the story of the most appalling disaster, the most

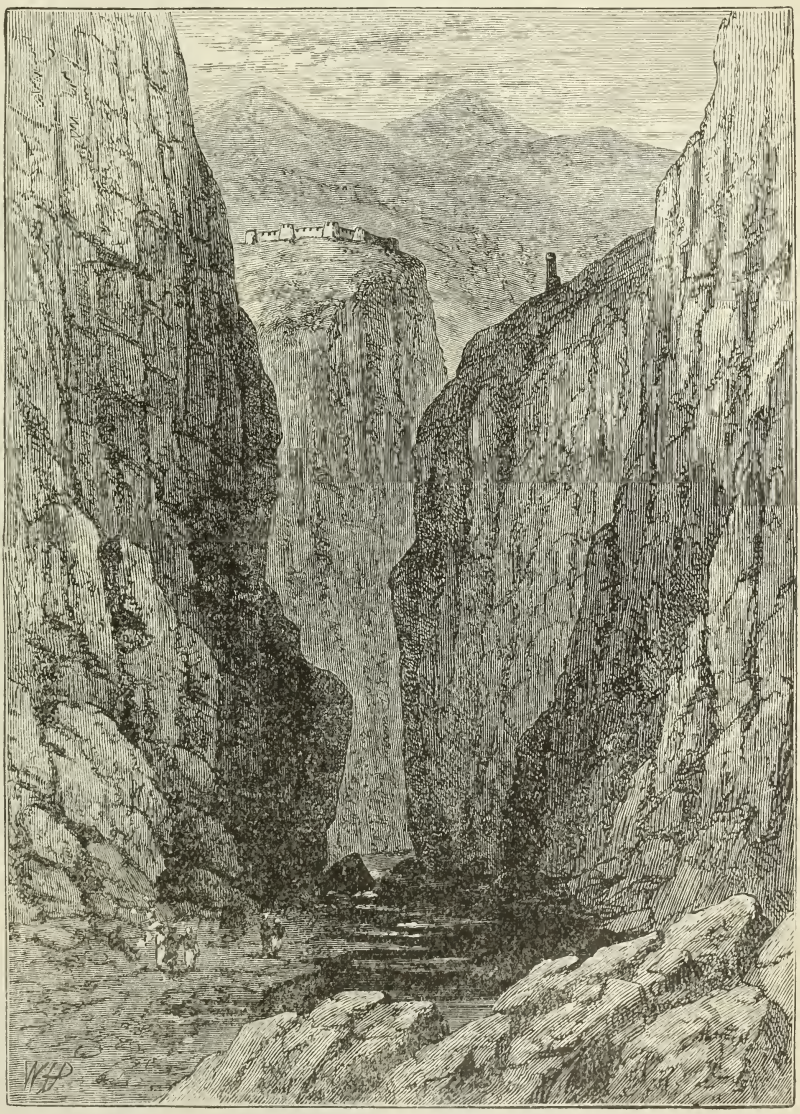


ARRIVAL OF DR. BRYDON AT JELALABAD.

shameful overthrow, the most cruel destruction, which had ever overtaken a British army.

The sequel is soon told. Akbar Khan had had his revenge. Even the raging fury of his chieftains must have been satisfied. The tide of disaster was stayed at Jelalabad. General Sale refused to recognize the validity of the terms which had been extorted from Elphinstone. He defended the city, and the Afghans were driven back. General Pollock, who had been defending the Khyber Pass, came to the rescue. General Nott, commandant of the British forces at Candahar, set out for the front to restore the fortunes of the British cause. General Sale, having driven back the enemy, was enabled to march out of Jelalabad. Everything foretokened a speedy recovery.

But there was nothing to recover. The body of Shah Soojah, stripped of its barbaric jewels, and hacked and gashed with sabers, had long since been thrown into a ditch at Cabul. Shah Soojah was no longer a factor in international politics. Meanwhile, Lord Auckland's term as Governor-General of India expired, and Lord Ellenborough was sent out by the Home Government to supersede him. Of course, it was easy to reconquer Afghanistan. In September of 1842, General Pollock's army reëntered Cabul. A few signal acts of vengeance were inflicted on the Afghans. Their great bazar, in which they had exhibited the mutilated body of Sir W. Macnaghten, was razed to the ground. An expedition, under command of General Sale, was sent out, in the hope of recovering the English women and children who had been given up to the enemy. After many vicissitudes, the hostages were found in the Fortress of Bemeam, in the far wild region of the Indian Caucasus, and all of them who remained alive were restored to their friends and kindred. It was indeed the chief glory of the campaign that General Sale was able to rescue his wife and her wretched companions from captivity. As for the rest, the consequences, or at least the benefits, of the war were naught. Dost Mohammed came up out of his exile in India, and was



THE KHYBER PASS.

restored to the throne of Cabul, to become the ally of Great Britain! Nor were the general international relations of the principal Powers, whose jealousy had led to the conflict, in any wise materially altered by its issue. An army of sixteen thousand men had sunk in despair and death, amid the horrors of the Koord Cabul, with no appreciable advantage arising from the awful sacrifice.

We may now return to consider the progress of events in the Home Government of Great Britain. Just as the last echoes of the disasters of Cabul were heard in England, a new agitation broke out, of which the consequences have not yet wholly disappeared. Daniel O'Connell arose, and stood again on the stage of British politics; and his figure, his attitude, his speech, were more alarming to English conservatism than ever before. It is doubtful whether any other personage has ever appeared in the arena of Parliament in whom were concentrated so many of the elements of the storm as in O'Connell. He was a man of majestic presence; an orator by nature; the Celt of the Celts; stern and yet humorous; bitter in his antagonisms; firm in his friendships; loving Ireland with passionate devotion; a Catholic, but not a Papist; a friend of freedom and humanity; an agitator by nature; a reformer by practice. He was already sixty-eight years of age. He had not entered Parliament until he was fifty-four. But when he did come, it was the apparition of a new force, the rising up of a new figure on the stage, to whom the greatest Parliamentarians did either obeisance of admiration or menace of antipathy and hatred.

The connection of Daniel O'Connell with the Reform Bill of 1832, and particularly with the act repealing the disabilities of the Catholics, has been noted already. He became in that work and subsequently the coädjutor of the Reformers in the House of Commons. He supported the Ministry of Lord Melbourne, and in many emergencies gave material aid to the Whig party. He, like other liberal statesmen of his time, had hoped and expected great things from the reform measures of 1828–32; but, like the rest, he had been sorely disappointed. He, too, had quickly perceived that the reform had not yet struck down to the real people of England. Moreover, he was quick to discern that the support which he had given to the Whig Ministry had not been reciprocated by the party. He saw that the Whigs were afraid of him; that their party was disparaged in the estimation of the British public by his support; that whereas Lord Melbourne and his following were willing to avail themselves of the aid of O'Connell in emergencies, they were equally willing to know him not when the emergency was passed. It thus happened that in the interval between 1832 and 1842, O'Connell thought much and profoundly on the most radical of all questions affecting the political destinies of his country.

That question was simply this: Whether, on the whole, the political and civil union of Ireland with England was an advantage or a disadvantage to the former country, a blessing or a curse to the Irish people. Right or wrong, he came to the conclusion that the Union was a curse; that the woes of Ireland in the first third of the present century were largely traceable to the position of subordination into which she had been forced against her will; and that the only remedy, the only prospect of recovery for Ireland, was the repeal of the Union between that country and England. He took his stand accordingly. He went boldly into the House of Commons, and to the people of both islands, and declared his purpose to have the Act of Union annulled. He announced prophetically that the year 1843 should be known in history as the "Year of Repeal," and that agitation was the order of the day.

We may revert for a moment to the time and circumstances of the event by which the political destiny of Ireland had been merged with that of Great Britain. In the last stormy decade of the eighteenth century the people of that island had, as a rule, shown no undue loyalty to the British crown. The society of "United Irishmen," in sympathy and almost in league with France, had had an extensive influence in its work of agitating for Irish independence. At length the English Government bore down heavily on the Irish insurgents, and after the loss of about twenty thousand men, and the expenditure of more than thirty million pounds sterling, suppressed the revolt. Many of the Irish patriot leaders were con-



REUNION OF THE CAPTIVES OF CABUL.

demned and executed. By the year 1799 the insurrection was at an end, and a state of quiet in which there was a mixture of torpor and despair supervened in Ireland. Then came the Act of Union, by which it was provided that the two islands should henceforth be merged in a common government under the title of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; that the existing English dynasty should continue in authority over both alike; that the United Kingdom be represented in a single Parliament; that Ireland be granted therein a representation in the House of Lords of twenty-eight temporal peers, and in the House of Commons of one hundred representatives; that the Irish Episcopal Church be merged with that of England; that manufactures and commerce should be on the same footing in the two islands; that the national expenditure be in proportion of *fifteen* for England to *two* for Ireland, for twenty years; and that the existing law courts should be maintained, with an appeal from the Irish Chancery to the House of Lords. This great Act for the future administration of the United Kingdom was passed in 1800, and went into effect on the first day of the present century.

Under the Act of Union, Ireland entered on her career of subordination to Great Britain. It was a career of alternate passion and apathy, of excitement and torpor, of sporadic insurrections and spasms of loyalty. It can not be doubted that the Act of Union was, in the first place, forced upon the people of the island against the wishes of four-fifths of the population. It is almost equally certain that at no time, even to the present day, could the measure have received the assent of a majority. At the time which we are here considering, the Union had been in force a little more than forty years. O'Connell came to the deliberate conclusion that it could be and should be repealed. Nor could it well be said that the means which he adopted to this end were inefficient, or that his method was one of political unwisdom. In fact, he had studied thoroughly the genius of English institutions, and no one knew better than he the character of the antagonists with which he had to deal. His plan was essentially that of the Chartists. It was agitation, open and above board; discussion of the question before the people, an appeal to justice, and afterwards to that profound prejudice of race which had existed immemorially between his countrymen and the people of England.

The excitement which now arose surpassed any thing in the previous history of Great Britain, except only those fiery passions which swept the country during the two revolutions of the seventeenth century. O'Connell set up his battle-flag in the House of Commons and his rallying standard in Ireland. The contest evoked all the volcanic fires of his nature. The Irish rose by thousands and hundreds of thousands to his call. No orator of this, or perhaps of any, century has so swayed the multitudes of his countrymen. The tides ebbed and rolled like those of the sea. In England the opposition to O'Connell and his party was kindled to a white heat. Never were such denunciations heard in any other civilized country as were launched at the head of the great Irish agitator. To the alarmed upper-classes of English society, whether Whig or Tory, O'Connell became the *bête noire* of the epoch. They hurled at him every epithet which party malice could invent. They called him the "Big Beggarman," and traduced his character in all the figures and forms of speech. But to the excitable Irish he was the "Uncrowned King." He planned in Ireland a series of mass-meetings, which were successful to an extent never known in any other country. Thousands, tens of thousands, finally hundreds of thousands, poured from hut and hamlet and town to the places of the great assemblages. Ireland was not wanting in spots consecrated by patriotic memories. Tradition had hallowed many a place as the scene of great deeds, in the old heroic days when wild Irish chieftains had led their subdued clans in the struggle for freedom. O'Connell adroitly chose such places for the meetings of the people. One great throng was assembled at Kilkenny, where rose the old round tower of St. Canice's Cathedral. Another meeting was held in the orator's native county of Kerry, where, in the midst of his thrilling oration, he turned about, and appealed to "yonder blue mountain, where you and I were cradled." Again, at Mullaghmast, an innumerable multitude was gathered, whom the speaker fired by referring to a still more

burning memory. "Here," said he, "three hundred and ninety Irish chieftains perished;" and then went on to describe the betrayal of the old heroes of his countrymen by the hated Saxons, who had invited them to a banquet.

Ireland was now shaken to its center. The means for carrying forward the peaceable revolution began to be provided. A popular subscription, called the "rent," was taken up, which aggregated forty-eight thousand pounds. All the while the leader counseled his followers to maintain the peace, to indulge in no acts that might stain the history of the sacred cause. Under the magic of his influence, they obeyed him as children might obey a venerated father.

Meanwhile, the Government became alarmed. All Ireland was in peaceable insurrection. True, among the vast multitudes which had arisen at O'Connell's call, many were ready for violence, ready for the revolution by the sword and fire. But such audacious fraction of the whole was held in check by the dictatorship of the master. "Every man," said he in proclamation, "who is guilty of the slightest breach of the peace is an enemy of me and of Ireland." But the Government could no longer with safety to itself—so it was decided by the Ministry—refrain from interference with the revolutionary movement. Greatest of all O'Connell's meetings was that which he appointed to be held at Clontarf. Recently a monster gathering had been held on the Hill of Tara, where stood the stone used for the coronation of the ancient kings of Ireland. But at Clontarf, near Dublin, the scene of the great victory which the Irish had gained aforetime over the Danes, it was proposed to hold, on the 8th of October, 1843, a political meeting, which of itself should give reality and sanction to the revolution. It was proposed to bring together at this place a human sea, composed of five hundred thousand Irishmen, devoted to the cause of a peaceable severance from the dominion of Great Britain.

The preparations went on effectively. It could not be doubted that the meeting was destined to be the greatest assemblage ever held in the British Islands. Nor can there be doubt that O'Connell was fully able to sway the multitude to his will, and that his purpose was wholly peaceable. But the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland saw the thing in a different light. With the sanction of the Home Government he accordingly took steps to prevent the assemblage. He issued a proclamation on the day before the meeting, declaring that it was calculated to excite well-grounded apprehension that those engaged in the movement had in view the alteration of the laws and Constitution of England by physical force. He therefore warned the people not to attend the proposed meeting; to stay at their homes; to disperse each to his own place. Military preparations were made to carry out the edict and prevent the assemblage. The Irish were already gathering in heavy masses from all directions. A dreadful collision with untold destruction of human life was at the door. In the emergency, O'Connell again showed his imperial ascendency over the minds of his countrymen. He sent out a proclamation on the eve of the meeting declaring that the orders of the Lord Lieutenant must be obeyed; that the authorities must not be resisted by force; that the multitudes must return to their homes. The order of the leader was universally obeyed, and the meeting at Clontarf did not take place.

Great, however, was the chagrin of many of O'Connell's followers. The more radical had hoped that a conflict would be precipitated—much as our fathers had forced the hand of Great Britain on the slope of Bunker Hill. The great division of younger Irish patriots went sullenly to their homes, and O'Connell never regained his mastery over their minds. As for the victorious Government, it at once proceeded to make the most of its advantage. Prosecutions were instituted against O'Connell and his leading coadjutors. He and his son, John O'Connell, also Sir John Gray, and Sir Charles Duffy, with some others, were arrested and brought to trial on a charge of stirring up disaffection among the Irish people, and exciting them to insurrection against the Constitution and Government of the United Kingdom. O'Connell conducted his own defense, but not with the vigor which he had displayed in the open field. He and his associates were convicted. O'Connell himself was sentenced to imprisonment for a year, and to pay a fine of two thousand pounds. The rest were condemned to punishment less

severe. O'Connell immediately appealed to the House of Lords, and by that body the sentence of the court below was reversed. The convicted men were set at liberty, and the crisis was at an end.

It can not be doubted that the influence of O'Connell over his countrymen waned from the time of the Clontarf catastrophe. His natural forces were expended in this final contest in favor of Irish independence. He remained in the House of Commons until 1846, making his last speech in that body on the 3d of April, in this year. It was noticed that the fires of his stormy oratory were already quenched. He became a subject of melancholia. Foreseeing the end of his life, he withdrew from the public gaze and set out for Rome, where he hoped to die. Just as the first gloom of the potato famine began to settle on his country, he departed for Italy. Arriving at Genoa, he could go no further. There, on the 15th of May, 1847, the most remarkable Irishman of the present century ended his tempestuous career.



SIR ROBERT PEEL.

In the meantime, the Administration of Peel had taken up and disposed of several important matters claiming the attention of the English people. It may be noted, however, in the light of the retrospect, that the legislation of the times was directed rather to social than to political questions. This fact is illustrated in the bill brought into Parliament by Lord Ashley for the allevation of the conditions of life among the miners of Great Britain. It is probably true that until within the distinct memory of men still living, the life of the English miner was one of the most terribly degraded existences known in history. It is impossible to conceive of any condition of human hardship and depravity more appalling in itself, more horrible in its consequences, than that which was present in the collieries of England and Wales. This was especially true of the women and girls who were compelled to toil their lives away in dark, damp mines, where the sunlight never penetrated, where comfort never came. It was shown by a Parliamentary investigation of the state of affairs in the coal-mines, that women and girls were hitched instead of mules to the coal-carts, and obliged to draw them through the filth and grime of narrow passages, until not only all semblance of womanhood, but the very lineaments of humanity were obliterated. It was revealed, that under these conditions, a state of immorality existed in these subterra-

nean caverns too awful in its manifestations to be discussed even for the instruction of after times. Lord Ashley procured the passage of an Act by which the evils in question were abolished. In 1842 a bill was passed providing that, after a limited period, no woman or girl should thereafter be employed in the mines and collieries of England.

Two years afterwards, the Factories Act was passed, by which the daily hours of toil of children under thirteen years of age were reduced to six and a half, but the clause of the bill reducing the working hours of men to ten failed of adoption. It has been remarked by those who have studied carefully the debates attendant upon these measures, that a large proportion of English Parliamentarians, backed by perhaps a majority of the middle and upper classes of the people, deeply reprobated the fact and tendencies of Lord Ashley's bill. It was urged that to prevent women and girls from pursuing the horrid life to which they had been condemned hitherto in the mines was an abridgment of the natural rights of Englishmen to labor in what manner they chose—an attempt to annul the necessary laws which should govern the relations of the employed and the employés.

It was to this period that the first effort to establish Secular Universities in the United Kingdom must be referred. We have already seen how the project for the establishment of Common Schools was resisted; how the Church of England contested the measure by which her monopoly of the child-mind of the realm was to be broken up. The same kind of prejudice and bigotry displayed itself in full force when the project for the establishment of the Queen's University in Ireland, with three colleges subordinate thereto, was laid before Parliament. It was proposed that the new institution should be entirely undenominational in its character, its management, its teachings. For once the proposition had the effect of bringing into union the combined forces of Catholicism and the Established Church. The Catholics, constituting fully five-sixths of the Irish people, and the Episcopal Establishment, embracing the remainder, were equally vehement in resisting and resenting the proposal for the establishment of what both parties chose to denominate a "godless" institution.

At this time Wales was thrown into a violent excitement by an insurrection of the common people against the Toll Roads, on which the ever-increasing rates of toll became a burden no longer tolerable. The movement against the roads and the managers took one of the most grotesque and singular forms ever witnessed. Some one discovered a passage in the twenty-fourth chapter of the Book of Genesis, as follows:

"And they blessed *Rebekah*, and said unto her, Thou art our sister; let thy seed possess the *gate* of those which hate them." Of a certainty, this must mean that the *toll-gates* of Wales should be *possessed* by the seed of Rebecca! An association was accordingly formed, called the Daughters of Rebecca, whose business it should be to possess the gates. Since an effective corps of rioters could not well be organized out of women, it became necessary to extemporize the daughters by putting men into women's clothing. Such was the aspect of the riots. The assaults on the toll-roads were made by night. The insurrection rather gained the day, for although the rioting *Daughters* of Rebecca were presently suppressed, their doings had been sufficiently significant to induce the passage, by Parliament, of an act for the abolition of the exorbitant tolls.

Another struggle between human right and human authority was fought out at this time in a peculiar manner. The Italian patriot, Joseph Mazzini, was, at the date of which we speak, resident as an exile in London. He was engaged in political correspondence with the Sardinian and Austrian Governments for the promotion of the cause of the emancipation of Italy. Knowledge of such correspondence was brought to Sir James Graham, Home Secretary for the Government, and, by his command, Mazzini's mail was arrested, his letters opened, and his communication with foreign States thus cut off. The question was whether or not, under the Constitution, such right of pillaging private mails existed; and, though the conservative spirit rather favored the exercise of such a prerogative by the Government, it was accompanied with such a nudge in the ribs of Sir James Graham and the Ministry as signified, when rendered into English: This right exists; but let it never

be exercised again,—a peculiarly English solution of the question.

In 1843 an alarming difficulty, arising out of comparatively trifling circumstances, threatened the peace of Great Britain and France. Missionaries had made their way into the island of Tahiti, in the South Pacific, and had so far succeeded as to convert and educate the young Queen Pomare, sovereign of the island. The French also were busy in that far region, and by various means succeeded in inducing the native queen, notwithstanding her partiality for England, to put herself under the protection of France. This done, the French Admiral, cruising by the island, compelled Pomare to hoist the flag of his country above her own.



ISLE OF TAHITI.

The queen thereupon appealed to Victoria for protection, for a guarantee of her independence. The French Government disavowed the act of its admiral in Tahiti, but an unfriendly feeling was fomented in both France and England over the question, and the bad blood of the day came near finding vent by the sword. The difficulty was at length settled by the restoration of the rights of Queen Pomare, and the war spirit subsided. Nor will the American reader fail to note, for his interest and instruction, the Tahiti incident of 1843–4 as almost in exact analogy with the crisis through which our own country and Germany have recently passed, relative to the Samoan Islands.

The Ministry of Peel was destined to be wrecked in a peculiar manner. The great industrial question, involving the policy of England as it respected her existing laws on the subject of protection to the home industries of England, was the reef on which Sir Robert's ship finally went to pieces. The issue here opened before the reader is one of the widest and most interesting in the history of civilized nations. We have already, in a previous chapter, discussed the question of Free Trade and Customs Duties for Protection to Home Industry in our own country. This was the question, which now arose with peculiar significance in the history of Great Britain. It can hardly fail of interest that we should, at the very beginning, take for a moment a higher point of view, and note, with perfect impartiality, some of the bottom principles and conditions out of which this great industrial problem has arisen.

Consider, first, the British Islands with respect to the industrial conditions which have been impressed upon them by the hand of nature, and, in a secondary sense, by the progress of civilization. These islands are of small extent. In the distribution of minerals, no other country has surpassed them. In the distribution of agricultural lands, these countries are limited. They are insular, hemmed in by the sea, having no expansive background of broad territories. The country, moreover, is mountainous; broken in nearly all parts into irregularities of surface, forbidding to the

agricultural instincts of men. In other parts we have marsh-lands, great sluggish rivers, and originally over the whole landscape a heavy, almost impenetrable forest. It was natural in such a situation that mining, manufacturing, and commercial industries should spring up and flourish from the earliest days. Here were almost limitless supplies of block-tin, of iron, of copper, of coal, of all the concomitants of those industrial pursuits which relate to the extraction of minerals and their combination with labor in the higher forms of value.

In such a country the agricultural pursuits must inevitably lag in the rear of the other progressive industries. This natural fact, tending to the disparagement of agriculture in England, was aggravated by the peculiar organization of English society. The establishment of the feudal system, and the building up thereon, in after times, of the most powerful landed aristocracy in Europe have tended ever since the Middle Ages to concentrate the ownership of lands in Britain in the hands of a few; and this tendency has still further retarded the agricultural interests of the kingdom. Out of these facts it was found, long before the close of the seventeenth century, that the agricultural pursuits were so disparaged in England as to call for legislation in their behalf. In 1670 a Corn Law was passed, imposing a duty on the importation of the cereal grains. It was a measure intended to stimulate the production of those grains at home, rather than a device for revenue. Let the reader, moreover, observe with care that the Corn Law was from its incipiency a measure of the barons and lords, a project of the country squires to increase the receipts from their estates. The lands were sublet by the landlords to their tenants, the peasantry of England. With the increase in the price of grain thus artificially produced, the tenants would be able to bear a higher rate of rent. Thus the coffers of the land-owning class would be filled with an increased volume of revenue, drawn ultimately from the consumers of breadstuffs. But the consumers of breadstuffs were mostly the manufacturers, the miners, the artisans, the shop-keepers, and the merchants. The country peasantry were indeed few in numbers, as compared with the multitudes who, under the laws of nature and industry, had accumulated, and were still accumulating, in the manufacturing and mining districts.

Thus came in the Corn Law as an artificial agency to stimulate the production of grain in Great Britain. During the whole of the eighteenth century the policy adopted by the Act of 1670 continued in force. It became the immemorial usage of Great Britain to assess and collect large customs duties on all imported grains; so that at the beginning of the modern era the Protective system had become what might be called a part of the British Constitution.

Consider, on the other hand, the natural and artificial conditions present in the United States of America. It would be difficult to find in the same a single element of the problem which is not directly the reverse of the corresponding fact in Great Britain. Here there is a continent of rich agricultural lands. They are spread out from ocean to ocean, from the Lakes to the Gulf. It is estimated that the Mississippi Valley alone contains two billions of arable acres. On the whole, the distribution of minerals in our country is not proportionally abundant. The deposits, though rich enough, and even inexhaustible, are far apart. In some regions, coal and iron are present together. Copper lies on one coast; lead is far distant. Tin, there is none at all east of the Rockies.

It is not needed that we should review *in extenso* the industrial features which nature has impressed on our country. Suffice it to say, that in almost every particular they are the exact reverse of those of England. Here the agricultural interest foreran all other forms of industry. The manufacturing and commercial interests have lagged behind. Agriculture has been at a natural advantage in the industrial development of the United States. Manufactures have been at a natural disadvantage. It thus has happened that the policy adopted by the American Government, and ratified by the people, of encouraging the weaker, namely, the manufacturing interest, has been the exact reversal of the policy of England. In this country, the suggestion and motive of the Protective System has always proceeded from the manufacturing and artisan classes. Here the protected article has been

the product of workmanship, rather than the product of nature; and its increased price has been drawn ultimately from the agricultural classes, who have constituted the body of consumers.

These paragraphs have been inserted in this connection for the purpose of elucidating for the American reader the whole question before us, but more particularly to account for the fact that the Protective System was for more than a hundred and fifty years naturally and inveterately pursued in Great Britain with respect to *agricultural products*, while in the United States it has been followed, not with equal persistency, but still persistently, with respect to the *manufacturing industries*. The brief study here presented may serve to show how it is that the sentiment of Free Trade originated in the very heart and soul of the English manufacturing towns; was fostered there; was promoted from those places as centers by a manufacturers' propaganda, and finally forced, as a permanent policy, on the British Parliament, against the fiercest opposition of the landlords and country squires of the Nation; while on this side of the sea, the sentiment of Free Trade has had its origin and propulsion from the producers of those great staples which are developed from the soil—has made its way, in so far as it has progressed at all, against the whole force of the manufacturing interest, and has been unable to the present day to gain an ascendency in the American Congress because of the superior compactness and solidarity of the manufacturers of the country.

We now return from this digression to consider the destiny of the Corn Laws in England. In 1815 the old statute of 1670 was reënacted by Parliament. Under the new law the ports of England were absolutely closed against the importation of foreign grain; that is, such was the *effect* of the law. In some cases the price of wheat was raised to nearly five dollars a bushel. It is needless to say that the crowded people of the manufacturing towns cried out fiercely against such prices, and it was only by an amendment to the Corn Laws, by which a sliding scale, as it was called, was substituted for the Act of 1815, that the clamor of the starving populace was stilled for a season. It was in the nature of this sliding scale to adjust the duty on grain to existing prices, so that when the prices rose to a certain level the duty on foreign importations should cease. The intent and aim of the policy were simply to preserve and maintain a high price on the English cereals, so that they might be produced notwithstanding the disadvantages under which such production had been placed by nature.

From 1815 to 1841, it may be said that both Whigs and Tories were equally devoted to the Corn Laws in both theory and practice. They were so in theory, because it was accepted as a truism not any more to be doubted than an axiom in mathematics, that the Protective System, as such, was a necessary part of the true nationality of England. It was accepted in practice, because it seemed at least superficially to accomplish a given result. Self-interest was thought to be subserved by such a law. We have seen how the Corn Laws proceeded from the agricultural, or rather the land-owning, side of the British public. If we glance at the constitution of Parliament, at the epoch which we are here considering, we shall be no longer surprised at the compactness and force of the Protective System as it related to agricultural products. Every member of the House of Lords was a large land-owner, and fully five-sixths of the members of the House of Commons were in the same category. Parliament was a land-owning institution. It was virtually based on land-ownership. At first sight, it will appear strange in the extreme that in a country marked out by nature for the most successful development of all manufacturing industries, the evolution of the governing body in civil society should have been wholly from the side of land. But the student of history will readily recall the Norman conquest, the distribution of the lands of the Island by William and his followers in sixty thousand fiefs, the establishment of the feudal system, the ever-growing disposition of the people during the Middle Ages, and subsequently, to attach importance to land-ownership, and will easily understand the anomaly of a land-owning Parliament in a manufacturing and commercial country.

The circumstances to which we have here referred will throw additional light on the struggle of 1832. That contest was simply

for the enfranchisement and representation of the manufacturing towns. It was for the disfranchisement of the decayed landed constituencies. Until that time, it might almost be said that the manufacturing interests of Great Britain were unrepresented in the governing body of the realm. If they were represented at all, it was because of their subordinated importance to the landed interests of the kingdom. What, therefore, must have been the indescribable prejudice and antagonism against which the propagandists of the Anti-corn-law League must battle in the attempted reversal of public opinion, and for the substitution of the principle of Free Trade instead of the Protective System, which had prevailed immemorially!

Nevertheless, that indefinite thing called public opinion did, between the years 1841–46, change over from the old system to the new, from the dogmas of Protection to the theory and practice of Free Trade. The revolution was accomplished, as nearly all such changes are in England, by agitation. The movement began, as we have said, from the manufacturing towns. It had its heart in Manchester. Leeds and Birmingham became coadjutors in the work. The agitator, the great inspiring spirit of the oncoming battle, was Richard Cobden. He had been brought up as a warehouseman in London. When about the age of thirty, he traveled much in foreign lands, observing carefully the industrial condition of all peoples. He then became a partner in a cotton-printing establishment near Manchester, and at length distinguished himself as a pamphleteer. It was but natural that he should become deeply impressed with the disparaged condition of the manufacturing industries of the country.

At length, in the year 1838, a commercial crisis occurred in the town of Bolton-le-Moors, in Lancashire, and nearly all the business interests of the place, and the surrounding region, went to wreck. Three-fifths of the manufacturing establishments were shut up on account of the disaster. More than five thousand workingmen were thrown out of employment, left homeless, and without the means of securing a subsistence. In this appalling condition, the suffering masses were confronted in a startling manner with the effects of the Corn-law System. They perceived that they must starve because of the exorbitant prices of breadstuffs, and that these exorbitant prices were the product, not of the relation of supply and demand, but of the law of Parliament. From this time forth the agitation broke out, and Cobden was the torch-bearer of the new light. Meetings to secure the abolition of the Corn Laws began to be held in the manufacturing cities, and able speakers instructed the people in the laws of political economy. Now it was that John Bright took his stand by the side



RICHARD COBDEN

of Cobden. In Parliament almost the sole apostle of Free Trade was Charles Villiers, a man of aristocratic lineage, but a sound convert to the doctrines of Free Trade. Daniel O'Connell himself, now near the sunset, threw some of the last energies of his life into the agitation for the abolition of the Protective System. Milner Gibson, a Tory in his antecedents, joined the league, and W. J. Fox, a Unitarian minister, popular and eloquent, added his influence to the cause.

At first, however, the effort of those who had organized the Anti-corn-law League and

established the Free Trade Hall in Manchester, seemed almost as hopeless as the struggle of a swimmer to ascend Niagara. The whole volume of national influence, of national practice and tradition, roared and rushed in the face of the agitators, and seemed to bear them down with an overwhelming pressure. But they were not destined to be swept away. Circumstances favored, as they have rarely favored, the cause of the reforming party. That most unanswerable of all arguments, human misery, came to the aid of the propaganda. Wretchedness, woe, want, starvation, despair, uttered their voices, and the cry at length reached the profoundest recesses of prejudice and conservatism. It reverberated through the Kingdom. The towns were shaken at first, and then the country-side began to heave and swell. It was not, as we have said, the voice of man, but the voice of hunger, of thirst, the clamor of women and children for bread. We have just seen how at Bolton-le-Moors the appeal of starvation was first made on account of a commercial crash. But it was at once seen that any other city, in which the manufacturing interest predominated, and where thereby dense masses of population had been drawn together, might suffer a like catastrophe at the mere wave of a wand. It was perceived that the whole manufacturing and artisan industries of Great Britain were saved from sliding into the horrible pit only by such temporary shores and props as might be at any moment broken and knocked away. Even Parliamentarians must see it and shudder. Even the great landowner, secure in his estates, with his multiplied tenantry, and his herds of Teeswater bullocks, must hear the cry in his fastness, and tremble at the possible consequences.

But to mere commercial disaster, and the serious consequences following in the wake, a far more dreadful circumstance was now to be added. The summer of 1845 in Ireland was unusually wet and cold. As the season wore on, it became certain that the potato-crop was about to prove a failure. It was noticed, on digging into the hills where the young bulbs were swelling to maturity, that a peculiar rot had attacked them, and that already, in midsummer, a considerable part of the expected product had been destroyed. In a country of such various resources as the United States, where the failure of some single product occurs with scarcely a notice except in the census, where the abundance of other things makes up for the deficit, and the well-sustained tide of life sweeps on without a check in its flow or diminution in its volume, it is almost impossible to conceive of the dismay and horror with which the people of Ireland, in this summer of 1845, must have regarded the impending failure of the potato. Before the season was yet well advanced, or the full extent of the disaster more than vaguely conjectured, the Relief Committee of the Mansion House in Dublin issued a paper in which it was declared that no reasonable conjecture could be formed with respect to the limit of the effect of the potato disease, and that the destruction of the entire crop seemed an imminent possibility.—Let us look for a moment at the condition of the Irish peasantry.

A great majority of the Irish were dependent absolutely, at this time, upon the potato for subsistence. This was particularly true of all the people in the southern and western parts of the island. In the North country some other articles—oatmeal in particular—were eaten; but apart from this, the potato was the be-all and the end-all of the Irish peasants' resources. It will surprise the American workingman to know that, in 1845, not a few of the Irish peasants, but all of them, lived, not principally or in the main, but *wholly, exclusively*, on the potato. Such a thing as meat, or any other of the more concentrated forms of human food, was absolutely unknown in the Irishman's home. His meal was of the potato only. All of his meals were so. He had nothing else. His children grew to manhood and womanhood, and then to old age, without ever having once in their lives known the taste of meat-food. In such a condition, what shall we say of the terror which the gloomy, wet summer of 1845, and the spread, ever-increasing and widening, of the potato-rot must have inspired among the crowded populations of the ill-omened island?

The cry was soon heard across the channel. At first the country squires of England, satisfied in their abundance, were disposed to deny the story of the famine, to put it off as a scare, as a hobgoblin conjured up by the Opposition



THE IRISH FAMINE—SCENE AT THE GATE OF THE WORK-HOUSE.

and the Free Traders; but the specter would not down, and the shadow thereof soon fell across the obdurate and conservative conscience of Great Britain. Such was the condition of affairs that John Bright, speaking of the crisis afterwards, declared that Famine itself had joined the Free-Trade cause.

But why the cause of Free Trade? For the reason that the grains which all the world stood ready to pour into the harbors of starving Ireland were excluded therefrom by the Corn Laws of Great Britain. Even if not excluded, the price was so exorbitantly high as to be beyond the reach of the Irish peasantry. The Corn Law thus stood, like the tree of Tantalus, with its boughs hanging low and laden with abundance over the heads of the Irish people, but ever beyond their reach. Grain must take the place of the potato, or the Irish must starve. But grain can not be substituted as the food of the people so long as the present prices are maintained. The present prices are the result of the Corn Laws. Therefore, the Corn Laws must be abolished, and that speedily, for starvation is an exigency which, if not met at once, need not be met at all.

Such was the tremendous argument with which the Free Traders were reïnforced in the autumn of 1845. Meanwhile, Cobden, Bright, and Villiers had gone on with the argument in the abstract, with the appeal to the judgment and understanding of the English people. Under their appeals, during the last five years, a large and influential following of Free Traders had been organized outside of the pales of party. Free Trade was their one great principle. To them the shibboleth of *Whig* or *Tory* was no longer anything. They did not care to pronounce it at all, but stood ready to join their forces with either party if thereby the abolition of the Protective System could be secured. The Whigs, who now constituted the Opposition, were naturally more inclined to the doctrine of Free Trade than were the Conservatives in power. But as a matter of fact, the foundation of both parties was undermined, and each awaited the catastrophe. Sir Robert Peel and his Ministry had come into power under the distinct pledge of supporting the existing system of industry. In particular, they had promised that the Corn Law should be upheld. It had been noted, however, that Sir Robert, in his public utterances on the subject, was disposed to regard the Corn Laws as *exceptional*, and a suspicion crept over the country that at heart and in theory Sir Robert was more of a Free Trader than a Protectionist. Cobden and his followers looked upon the matter in this light, and calmly awaited the issue.

Such was the condition of affairs when famine knocked at the door, and the Government was obliged, *nolens volens*, to take its stand and declare a policy for the immediate relief of the country. On the opening of Parliament, in January of 1846, Peel went boldly to the front and outlined the legislation which he should undertake. It consisted in brief of the gradual, and yet speedy, abolition of the Corn Laws, and with it virtually the whole system of Protection. Of course, the policy was only dimly suggested in the Premier's speech at the opening of the session; but the outline was sufficient, and the Conservative party had before it the alternative of being dragged at the wheels of the chariot of Free Trade, or of finding for itself a new leader in place of Sir Robert Peel.

The situation and the occasion have ever since been memorable in the Parliamentary history of Great Britain. The Conservative Ministry, with the exception of Lord Stanley, had all gone over with Sir Robert, agreeing to support him in carrying out the new policy of the Government. For the moment it seemed to the landed interests of Great Britain, and especially to the representatives of that interest in Parliament, though they still constituted an overwhelming majority of the whole, that the end of all things had come; that the league of the manufacturing towns with commercial disaster and domestic distress at home, and with the potato famine in Ireland, had won the day over the ancient order of society, and was about to stamp the residue under foot. Only one avenue of escape seemed open. If a new leader could be discovered to rally to the breach and reörganize the shattered Conservative ranks, all might yet be well.

The leader came like an apparition. On the night when Sir Robert Peel, having abandoned the cherished principles of the Conservative party, foretokened in his speech the

adoption of the Free-Trade policy, and when the Conservatives, without a voice, still sat under the paralysis of the hour, a strange figure arose in the House of Commons, and began to thunder against Sir Robert Peel in a perfect storm of invective and bitter sarcasm. It was that fantastic Hebrew, Benjamin Disraeli, who, from being the butt of the House of Commons, now suddenly arose to the rank of leadership, from which the vicissitudes of fully thirty years could hardly suffice to shake him. The world knows the history of the man; how he had entered Parliament as a Radical; how he had made himself, by his quaint apparel and loud ways, a mixture of peacock and jackdaw; how he had been hooted down without finishing his maiden speech; how he had persevered against every species of prejudice, from the deep-seated prejudice of race to the gad-fly prejudice of mere manners; how he had gained in spite of all; how he had drifted over to the Conservative benches; and finally how, on the memorable night above referred to, he had suddenly sprung open like an automatic knife, and cut his way to the very heart of the temporizing policy of the Prime Minister. From that hour unto the day of his death, Benjamin Disraeli never ceased to be the idol of the old conservative landed aristocracy of Great Britain. Henceforth he stood for the ancient system; for the monarchy as a general fact, and for the Queen as a particular instance; for the feudal land-tenure of the aristocracy; for privilege and prerogative; for the House of Lords; for the Established Church, and for every fact and principle in the British system of society and government whereby that system might better be maintained in its ancient solidarity and grandeur.

Notwithstanding the brilliancy of Disraeli's attack on Peel; notwithstanding the sudden rally of the Protectionist party, and its quick recovery of all that might yet be saved from the wreck, there was no hope that the tide could be stemmed, that the determination of the country to substitute Free Trade for the Protective system could be thwarted or turned from the purpose. Until this end should be accomplished, the Ministry of Peel must live. The new scheme of the Government was quickly perfected and laid before Parliament. It was not a declaration for immediate Free Trade. The measure proposed by the Ministry still included the imposition of a duty of ten shillings a quarter on wheat, so long as the price should not exceed forty-eight shillings. Above that figure, the duty was to be reduced, until at fifty-three shillings a quarter, the tariff should stand at four shillings only; this arrangement for the time. At the end of three years the *system* of protection on grain was to be abandoned *in toto*. It was foreseen that, when once abandoned, protective duties could no more be revived. It was also clearly discerned that the protective principle, as applied to the production of sugar, and other agricultural as well as a few manufacturing interests, must go along with the major concession in the case of grains. The legislation of the hour meant, in a word, a complete revolution and reversal of the ancient industrial policy of the British Government, with the substitution for the time-honored system of Free Trade, pure and simple. In Parliament, the Protectionists, still vital, and now under the leadership of Lord George Bentinck and Disraeli, made a strong rally against the bill proposed by the Ministry. But the measure was passed in the House of Commons on the 15th of May, 1846, by a majority of ninety-eight votes. In the House of Lords the bill was carried through by the support of the Duke of Wellington, and became henceforth the law of the realm.

The Ministry of Sir Robert Peel had now but a month to live. While the Anti-corn-law agitation had been going on in England, the disaffection in Ireland, though less spectacular in its manifestations than before, had become more dangerous. In that distracted island the pangs of famine had sharpened the fangs of political antagonism, and there were blood-stains in the pathway. Crime came in the wake of the great movement which O'Connell had brought so nearly to success. The younger and more thoughtless of the Irish patriots sought to accomplish by terrorism what the leader had failed to achieve by reason and remonstrance. It became necessary for the Government to exert itself in some way against the lawlessness which was prevalent in many parts of Ireland. To this end a Coërcion Bill came from the Ministry, and was laid before the House of Commons. It was proposed to suppress by force the

disaffections of the Irish people. It was to the Government of Sir Robert Peel a dangerous, and, as the sequel proved, a fatal expedient. The immemorial policy of the Whig party had been against the principle of coërcion as applied to social disturbances among the subjects of Great Britain. The Chartists, and after them the Free Traders under the leadership of Cobden, had themselves so many times felt the weight of persecution that they also arrayed themselves against



LORD GEORGE BENTINCK.

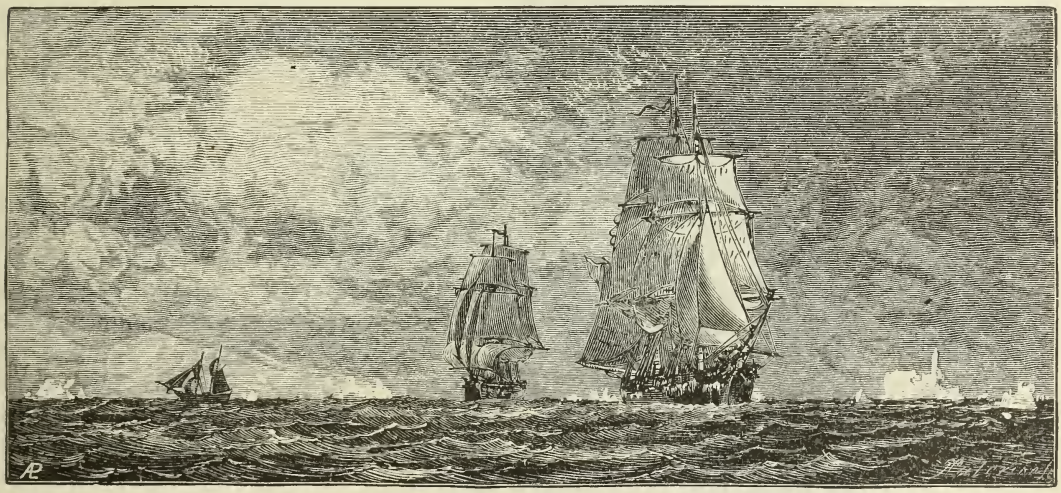
the principle. As for the Protectionist wing of the Conservatives, now under the leadership of Lord George Bentinck and Disraeli, their rage against Peel and the Ministry knew no bounds; and while, as a rule, they would have adhered to coërcion as a principle, they were ready to abandon consistency if they might by any means overturn the Government of Peel. Finally, the Irish representatives were, of course, bitterly opposed to the coërcion of their countrymen. There thus accumulated in the Opposition so many elements of power that when the Coërcion Bill was put on its passage, June 25, 1846, the Ministry was defeated by a majority of seventy-three votes.

Sir Robert Peel thereupon put his resignation in the hands of the Queen, and Lord John Russell was named as his successor. The new Cabinet included Lord Palmerston, as Foreign Secretary; Sir Charles Wood, as Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Grey, as Secretary for the Colonies; and Sir George Grey, as Secretary for Home Affairs. The brilliant Thomas Babington Macaulay had a seat in the Cabinet, as Paymaster-General for the Government.

Meanwhile, during the progress of the record in the preceding pages, an incident of a very different kind had occurred in the history of Great Britain. It was at the middle of the fifth decade that the attention of the British public was first seriously drawn to the possibilities that lay hidden in the Arctic Regions. In the very summer of the beginning of the Irish famine an enterprise was projected which was destined, before the movement should subside, to add largely to the geographical information of mankind. It was at this date that the daring adventurer, Sir John Franklin, undertook his voyage of polar discovery. This remarkable sea-captain had already achieved renown by his voyages and explorations. As early as 1819 he had been sent to the Arctic Seas by the Hudson Bay Company; a voyage which detained him three and a half years, and extended to a distance of nearly six thousand miles. Afterwards, in 1836, he was made Governor of Van Dieman's

Land, in which office he conducted the affairs of the Islanders with the greatest success. At the time of undertaking his great Arctic voyage—that on which his fame with posterity seems to depend—he was already in his sixtieth year. The inspiration of the enterprise was the hope of discovering a north-western passage into the Pacific Ocean. Two ships, the *Erebus* and the *Terror*, were fitted out, and in May of 1845 Sir John sailed on the ill-fated voyage. His ships were last seen by the Esquimaux, in July of the same year. From that date they disappeared forever from sight.

The interest of nearly all nations was excited by the uncertainty which shrouded the fate of Franklin and his companions. In the United States especially profound sympathy was evoked, and efforts, not a few, were put forth for the discovery and possible rescue of the Arctic explorers. We have already seen in the preceding Book how the Grinnell expedition, and afterwards the expedition of Dr. Elisha Kent Kane—most eminent of American Arctic travelers—was fitted out and despatched into the North Seas. Little, however, was accomplished towards the discovery of Franklin, although the knowledge of mankind respecting the regions of the North Pole was extended and many times multiplied. It was not until 1859 that the ship *Fox*, under Captain McClintock, sent into the Arctic Ocean by Lady Franklin, had the good fortune to steer in the track of the lost sailors of Great Britain. It was discovered that Sir John had died in June of 1847, and that his companions had perished to a man among the rigors of the frozen zone.



EREBUS AND TERROR OUTWARD BOUND.

It was early in the Administration of Lord Russell that the peaceable relations of France and England were seriously disturbed by a marriage project which was said to be French in its origin, but Spanish in its application. The reader on this side of the sea may well wonder how such a question as a marriage, even the marriage of a queen, could be thought to jeopard the peace of Europe. But when we regard the peculiar constitution of the European kingdoms, and particularly the dynasties which control them, we need not be so much astonished that the Inter-marital relations of the Royal families should be regarded as important. The student of history will not fail to remember that, in some instances, the law of descent, by which the place of the crown is determined in hereditary governments, has, by sheer force of its own workings, produced an almost intolerable result. At one time it appeared that Charles V. was to receive by legitimate inheritance the larger part of Continental Europe. If the so-called Balance of Power among the European States is to be preserved, then the sovereigns who wear the crowns may well be constrained to give heed to the marriage compacts by which the crown is to be deflected in this direction or in that.

At the time of which we speak, young

Isabella II., of Spain, who had now reached the age of sixteen, was thought to be eligible for marriage. It had long been the policy of France, as far as practicable, to keep up the union of blood and interest between the French and Spanish Bourbons. The attempt to do so had, in more than one instance, been the cause of war. It might have been thought that, with the accession of the younger branch of Bourbon, in the person of the Citizen King of France, the traditional policy would have been abandoned. But Louis Philippe, and Guizot, his Minister of State, seem, on the contrary, to have strongly desired that the young Queen of Spain should be wedded to a French Prince. The king himself had two eligible sons who might aspire to Isabella's hand. The elder of these was the Duc d'Aumale, and the younger the Duc de Montpensier. It happened, moreover, that the Spanish Queen had a marriageable sister, the so-called Infanta, Princess Maria Louisa, who must also be provided with a husband.



ELIJAH KENT KANE.

The intrigue of Louis Philippe was far-reaching in its character. His programme contemplated the marriage of Isabella to her cousin, Francisco de Assis, and the coïncident marriage of the Duc de Montpensier and the Infanta. It was conjectured by the plotters that Isabella herself in such a union *would die childless*, and that, in that event, the Spanish crown would descend to the offspring of Montpensier. He, after the Duc d'Aumale, was heir to the crown of France. Thus was to be provided the *possible* union of the two crowns on the head of an Orleans Prince of France.

As soon as the purpose of the French Court with respect to the double marriage was blown abroad, it created great excitement at other European capitals. England herself, though insular and to a great degree disentangled from Continental alliances, was deeply offended at the proposed union between the French and Spanish royal families. The project led to remonstrances and diplomatical correspondence not a little. It happened that at this time Victoria passed over to the Continent, and made a visit to Louis Philippe at Eu. During the interview, the king straitly disavowed for himself and his Minister the purpose of having the Spanish Infanta married to his son, at least, until what time, by the marriage of Isabella and the birth of offspring to her, the descent of the Spanish crown should be provided for. Nevertheless, in course of time, the double marriage project was carried out perfidiously, as was believed at most of the courts of Europe. Isabella was wedded to her cousin, Francis of Assis, and on the same day

the Infanta, Maria Louisa, was married to the Duc de Montpensier. England was beaten by the intrigue. She must either submit to the successful manipulation of the French Government, or else go to war. It is not likely that in any event she would have chosen the latter course. But her indignation was extreme, and she expressed her displeasure in the strongest terms consistent with peace.

The careful reader of history, however, will have noted the small effect of such schemes as this supposedly dangerous double marriage. Never was the truth of the principle more cogently illustrated that in the instance before us. The elaborate provision which Louis Philippe was making for the inheritance by his posterity of the crown of both France and Spain was soon blown utterly away. The Revolution of 1848 in France put both himself and his sons forever out of sight. Living in exile in England until the day of his death, he must often have contemplated from a distance the humiliating and ridiculous outcome of his intrigue relative to the Spanish crown. Even if the Revolution of 1848 had never occurred, the result would have been the same; for at length the marriage of Queen Isabella and her cousin was blessed with the birth of a son—against the expectations and hopes of the French Court, whose dignitaries had contrived the marriage. These events—the expulsion of Louis Philippe and his family, and the birth of a legitimate heir to the Spanish crown—served to convert the anger of England, first into indifference, and then into contempt.

We are now arrived at that period in English history when Chartism was destined, after one huge effort to force itself as a modifying principle into the Constitution of Great Britain, to sprawl into oblivion and be seen no more. The effort in question was made in 1848. It was in this year that the energies of all Europe seemed, by gathering and compression, to explode in a universal revolution. We shall hereafter narrate, on a larger scale, how in nearly all the European capitals, insurrection put his bugle to his lips, and blew a blast which, in instances not a few, startled the legitimate kings from their seats, and sent them flying by day or night into foreign lands. Paris was the scene of such a revolt, which ended in the downfall of the House of Orleans and the erection of a republic. Berlin was the scene of another such insurrection, almost successful, against the reigning dynasty. Brussels likewise suffered revolt, though the king of the Belgians, by a wise declaration that if his people did not wish him for their sovereign, then he himself had no wish to reign longer, snatched the bolt from the clouds and conducted it harmlessly to the earth. All around the horizon the thunder of revolution was heard, and even England felt the jar.

In that country, however, the conditions, civil, social, and political, were very different from those of the Continental Powers. England had stability, equanimity, equipoise. Her foundations were laid deep on the very concrete of barbarism. Her structure had been raised experimentally. It had been built, here a little and there a little, remodeled, altered much in details and slightly in general plan. But it was essentially the same colossal fabric which had grown into shapeliness and grandeur, if not into political beauty, through ages of development. On that structure many centuries had wrought. On it the Conqueror had used his battle-axe, and the Plantagenets their swords. The war-hammers of York and Lancaster had resounded on the wall. Tudor had reared one battlement, and even Stuart had contributed something to the magnificence of the pile. William Henry of Orange had gone round about it, and the four Georges and William of Hanover-Brunswick had at least *slept* in the stately chambers of the edifice. Now Victoria had added grace and womanhood, and the coping-stones were not without glory. Nor may we ever forget that, under the shadow of the great temple, that rude creature, called *English Liberty*, had grown and flourished.

Wherefore England was not easily disturbed. She was with difficulty shaken by agitation. Least of all was she amenable to the argument of insurrection. Tongue-force and pen-force she might indeed fear and feel; but sword-force not at all. Out of all which circumstances came English indifference to the political revolt of 1848. Nevertheless, the Chartists, who for a decade had maintained their cause in the manufacturing districts and great cities, imagined that now had come the day of salvation. Now was the hour in which, as

Englishmen, they might gain, by peaceful agitation, or, at most, the display of physical force by numbers, the democratic rights which they sighed for, and which seemed to be the rare-ripe fruit of insurrection in the Continental States.

So the Chartist agitation broke out anew. The movement was augmented by the misfortunes through which England had recently passed. O'Connell's great campaign for the repeal of the Union had ended in defeat; but the discontented spirits of both Ireland and England were not stilled. The agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws had indeed been successful. But the Reform legislation of 1832 had brought only disappointment and mockery to the working democracy of England. The ranks of Chartism were augmented from nearly all the columns of discontent, and it was believed by the leaders that the time had now come, when, by a single great rally, they might bear down Parliament, and constrain the Government to yield to their demands.

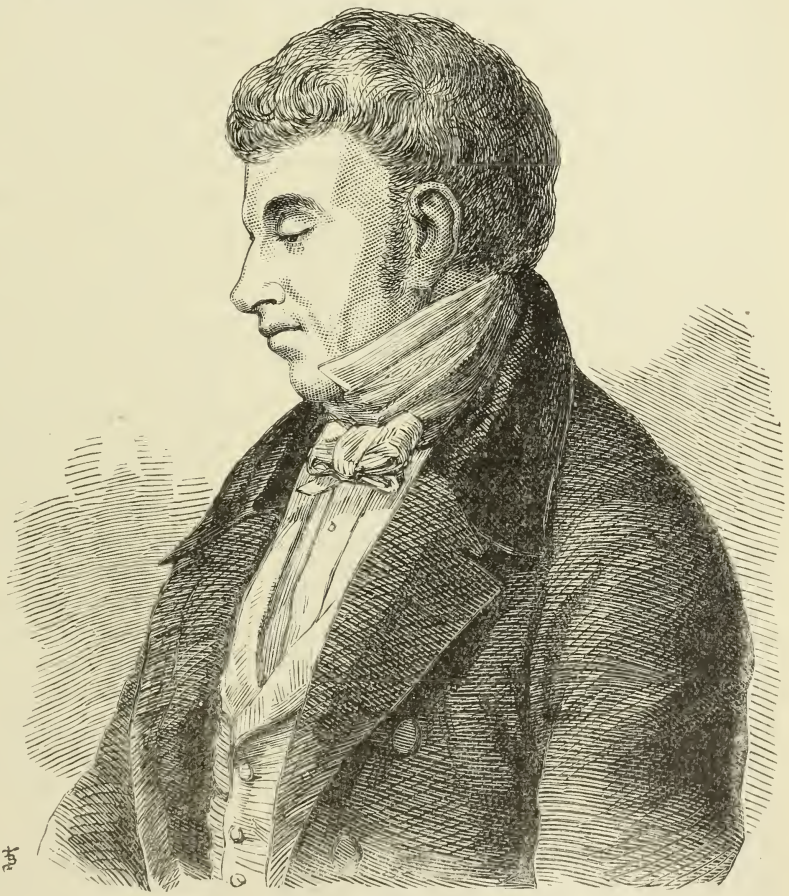
In pursuance of this general policy, the Chartists proceeded to prepare a monster petition to the House of Commons, demanding that the principles of the People's Charter should be acknowledged by that body, and incorporated in the Constitution of the realm. It was arranged that the petition should first be signed by millions of English workingmen, and that it should then be carried to the House of Commons by a delegation at the head of a procession, which it was hoped to swell to the number of five hundred thousand persons. For this purpose, the multitudes were to assemble on Kennington Common, on the 10th of April, 1848. The Chartists hoped to make the demonstration by far the most formidable which had been known in the political history of mankind. It was believed that half a million of people could be brought together and arranged in a single procession. At this time Feargus O'Connor was the acknowledged leader of Chartism, and he was to be the moving spirit of the multitude. The fatal defect in the whole proceeding was that the Chartists themselves had no clear idea of the *After That.* Suppose the House of Commons will not hear our petition, will not yield to our demand, will not feel the display of force and numbers. What then? Shall we fight? Shall we peaceably disperse to our homes, and leave the English Government to ridicule both our procession and ourselves? It was precisely the same difficulty which had wrecked the cause of repeal in the hands of O'Connell. The younger and fiercer spirits who followed that storm-breathing Irish Achilles, would fain have fought; but the older, the wiser, the more conservative, including the leader himself, and vast majority, sought the end only by appeal, by argument, and by the olive-branch.

So also with the Chartists. Meanwhile, however, there was great alarm in London and throughout the kingdom. There were rumors of insurrection in every city. But, as usual, the event soon showed that the crooked flukes of the British anchors had fast hold of the ledges under the sea. The defense of the metropolis was intrusted to the Duke of Wellington. Military preparations were made to maintain the peace, and if need be, to break up the Chartist demonstration. About two hundred thousand militiamen were enrolled for the occasion, and before the day of the meeting it was evident that the demonstration was doomed to failure.[1] Instead of a half million, only twenty thousand, or at most twenty-five thousand persons, assembled on the Common. Orders had been issued by the Government forbidding the formation of the procession, as having for its purpose the disturbance of the peace of the realm. Feargus O'Connor advised his followers to obey the mandate. He and some of the Chartist leaders proceeded, however, to present the huge petition to the Commons. But the effect was naught. It was boasted that the papers contained seven million signatures. But this statement was found to be greatly exaggerated. Fewer than two millions of names were found, and of these many were spurious and fictitious. Nevertheless, it could not be said that a paper signed by a million of earnest Englishmen was absurd. The Chartist movement was a failure, not because of the political principles on which it was projected, but because those principles were already

[1] Among those who served as special policemen on this memorable occasion was at least one notable personage—no other than Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, soon to be President of the French Republic, and afterwards Emperor Napoleon III.

virtually acknowledged in the heart of England, and were destined, in so far as they were valid and applicable to the political condition of Great Britain, to be rapidly incorporated as elements of the Constitution. At least three of the six articles of the Chartist charter were soon adopted by Parliamentary approval. The principle of Manhood Suffrage is virtually a part of the English Constitution. The right of voting by Secret Ballot, deposited in a ballot-box, has also been acknowledged as a part of the *modus operandi* of all British elections. In like manner, the Property Qualification imposed on candidates for Parliament, against which the Chartists so vehemently and justly declaimed, has long since been abolished. It is an anachronism in politics to insist on the doing of a thing already done — on the acknowledgment of a principle already acknowledged. As in America the struggle of the Greenback party for predominance as a party ended in failure, though the principle for which all rational Greenbackers contended — namely, that the Congress of the United States has the right and power, independently of the fact of war, to make absolute paper money, and to constitute the same a legal tender in the payment of all debts not specifically otherwise provided for—was ultimately, and almost unanimously approved by the Supreme Court, and driven into the Constitutional interpretations of our Republic; so the Chartist agitation as an organic political party movement collapsed, ended in dust and smoke, though the principles for which the Chartists contended were approved, not only by the intelligence and conscience of the English Nation, but by Parliamentary adoption.

The correlative agitation in Ireland, however, was destined to run on for a considerable period. Daniel O'Connell now slept in a quiet grave under the blue skies of Italy. The younger and more enthusiastic division of the Irish patriots, after the collapse at Clontarf, parted company with the Conservatives, and continued to propagate the doctrines of Repeal and Revolution. The party thus constituted now took on the name of YOUNG IRELAND, and devoted itself with assiduity to the emancipation of the Irish people from the control of England. The *Nation* newspaper was established as the organ of the propaganda, and William Smith O'Brien became the leader of the new party. Belonging as he did to the upper class of society, being a man of wealth and rank, he was able to give to the cause a strong impetus. Associated with him was Thomas Francis Meagher, who had



WILLIAM SMITH O'BRIEN.

fame as an orator—a thing always essential to agitation in Ireland. Two other leaders of great prominence also appeared in the persons of Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, founder of the *Nation*, and John Mitchel, an Irish revolutionist, pure and simple. To these men the party of Young Ireland now looked for counsel and direction.

Around the nucleus here defined was immediately gathered much of the intellect of the island. Especially did the young men fresh from the universities rally to the call for the independence of their country. They contributed to the radical newspapers the keenest part of their intellectual product in both prose and verse. Some were for going farther, and some not so far. All were for the repeal of the Union, and the establishment of Irish independence by revolution. But what did the revolution mean? It was the old difficulty over again. Did revolution mean outright rebellion, downright war, the unsheathed sword, battle and blood and death? Or did it mean something less than these?

Here the party divided. The more radical of the radical took to the leadership of Mitchel. That great insurrectionist established a new newspaper called the *United Irishman*, and it was at once perceived that around this truly revolutionary standard was gathered the body of Young Ireland. Mitchel's newspaper soon surpassed the *Nation* in influence and circulation, as it surpassed it from the first in vehemence and bitterness towards the British Government. The new organ teemed with the wildest diatribes and invectives. Rebellion was openly advocated as the only remedy for the ills of Ireland. Even the measures by which the war was to be carried on were discussed with all the bravado of anarchy. Methods of destroying British soldiers and their abbettors in civil society were explained with as much coolness as though they had been the methods of the butcher's stall. Articles appeared in the *United Irishman* demonstrating the usefulness of vitriol as an agent of destruction. Mitchel and his correspondents rose to the high pitch of fanaticism, and it became evident that they meant to provoke the English Government to a collision.

Meanwhile, an actual revolution had broken out in Paris, and discharged the Orleans princes from all further service. The event was hailed in Ireland as a sure precursor of a general revolution, in the course of which the Celtic Island must of necessity achieve its independence. O'Brien and Meagher went to the French capital to solicit from Lamartine, then almost supreme in State affairs, his sympathy and patronage in the matter of the Irish revolution. At length, matters in Dublin and in other parts of the Island came to such a pass that it was no longer optional with Government whether they would or would not proceed to the issue and trial of strength with the Irish insurrection. The Lord-Lieutenant had good reason for regarding Mitchel's paper as not only seditious, but incendiary. Still, according to current statutes, it was a difficult matter to proceed against the rampant editor and his establishment. Though his paper gave from day to day deliberate instruction in the art of killing, which, under the circumstances, appeared very much like the art of murder, there had been as yet no such overt acts as would warrant his arrest for crime. Anything short of criminal prosecution went for nothing when directed against the favorite leaders of the people; for they immediately freed themselves from duress under the law of bail, and became more active than ever.

In Parliament, it was deemed that the emergency called for speedy and severe remedies. A bill was accordingly hurried through, making all written incitement to crime a felony under the statutes. It was a deadly blow aimed at the Irish insurgents; but Mitchel at least was undaunted. He went on more violently than before, and was arrested and thrown into prison. Even from his cell he hurled defiance at the Government, and urged his countrymen to rescue him from the clutches of tyranny. But the outside party was wanting in courageous leadership. Mitchel was tried and found guilty. Standing in the dock, he made a furious and defiant speech, and went down game under a sentence of fourteen years' transportation to the Bermudas. He was hurried out of Dublin, and as the ship which bore him from sight dropped behind the horizon, the hope of a successful Irish insurrection disappeared.

The condemnation and banishment of their most courageous leader roused the animosity of

even the more moderate party of young Irelanders, and they all took on the character of rebels against the Government; not rebels indeed in fact, but rebels in spirit and purpose. Smith O'Brien, Meagher, and others left Dublin and went to Ballingarry, where they were surrounded by a crowd of insurgents, whom they brought into a state faintly resembling military discipline. The Tipperary police stood against the insurgents, and were attacked by them. O'Brien's forces obliged the posse to take refuge in a cabin, and there assailed them with such rude arms as they possessed. The police fired from the windows, and several of the assailants were shot down. The remainder at length dispersed. It was a trivial affair, rescued from ridicule only by its serious consequences. O'Brien was pursued to Thurles, where he was taken. Meagher and two others were soon afterwards captured in the mountains. A court was called at Clonmel, and in September of 1848 the prisoners were found guilty. O'Brien was sentenced to be hanged, *beheaded, and quartered*; for such was the still merciful statute of Great Britain relative to treason. Meagher was likewise sentenced to death, with the added horrors of mutilation. Standing in the dock, the brave young Irishman cried out, with uplifted hand and steady voice: "Even here, where the shadows of death surround me, and from where I see my early grave opening for me in no consecrated soil, the hope which beckoned me forth on that perilous sea whereon I have been wrecked, animates, consoles, enraptures me. No, I do not despair of my poor old country, her peace, her liberty, her glory."

The sentences of the condemned men were commuted into other forms of punishment. O'Brien was to be transported for life. All of the convicts were sent to Australia, from which, in course of time, both Mitchel and Meagher effected their escape. O'Brien refused to avail himself of the opportunities to get away, and was at length pardoned; first, on condition of not returning to England or Ireland, and afterwards unconditionally. As to Sir Charles Duffy, he was twice brought to trial, and twice the jury refused to convict. The prosecutions ended with the condemnation and expulsion of the leaders. Young Ireland was broken up, and another element was added to the now chronic despair of the Irish people.[1]

It may well be supposed that the consequences of all the agitation and disasters which had visited the unfortunate Island would tell in some phenomenal manner on the destinies of the Irish race. The country had first been shaken from center to circumference by the voice of O'Connell, and heated with his arguments for the repeal of the Union. The discouragement which ensued after the failure of this movement, was profound. Then came the potato famine, in which hunger and disease and death ravaged, without check, through some of the most fertile parts of the Island. This was followed, hard after, by the Young Ireland insurrection, by the clamor for revolution, and the vague hope that, in some way, the yoke of England might be thrown off, and Irish happiness be secured by the way of Irish Independence. This hope also was completely blasted. The Irish patriots were doomed to see their favorite young leaders escape the death penalty only by transportation to the South Atlantic. It can not be wondered at that the

[1] The ultimate fate of the leaders in the Irish Rebellion is worthy of particular note. Smith O'Brien, after his final return to Ireland, retired to Wales, and died there in 1864. Mitchel, on his escape, came to the United States, and resided in Richmond, Virginia. When the American Civil War came on, he became a violent partisan of the South. But after the war he removed to New York, and thence went back to Ireland. He was elected to the House of Commons, was refused admission to the body, and was elected again. It appeared for the time that there was to be a serious conflict between the rights of his constituency and the prerogative of Parliament. Mitchel, however, was already sinking to the grave, and before the controversy was ended he had found that rest in which, according to the epitaph of Swift the "savage indignation" could pursue him no farther. Duffy became a member of the House of Commons, and was afterwards Prime Minister of the Colony of Victoria. Smyth rose to Parliament, and was an honored and distinguished member. McGee went to Canada and became a Minister of the Crown, until what time he was struck down by an assassin. Martin, who reached a seat in Parliament, held consistently to his old political and revolutionary principles to the day of his death. Thus, through strange vicissitudes, and in distant regions, though not unhonored in its final day, expired and passed from memory that remarkable body of misdirected patriotism called Young Ireland.

people of the Island gave up in despair, and began to look abroad for some possible escape from the horrors of the situation.

There, beyond the Atlantic, they caught a glimpse of a broad and open land, from which rumor had brought back, on liberal wings, the report, not only of plenty, but of freedom. It is a sad day in the life of man when the strong tie which binds him to native land, snaps asunder; when he is constrained to turn his back on the home of his ancestors, to go on shipboard, and see behind him, in the gloaming of the first evening, the green shore of his own country sink behind the sea. The Irish Emigration to America, which now ensued as the legitimate consequence of the hardships to which the nation had been exposed, while it was one of the most striking examples of voluntary expatriation ever known, was by no means a surprising event. Behind the emigrants were famine, pestilence, landlordism, robbery, the oppressions of the British Government — every compulsive force that might well drive a people into exile. In the course of two or three years from the beginning of the potato famine, the country was depopulated at the rate of about a million souls per annum. Nearly the whole tide was poured into America. The exiles of Erin, generally in rags, were seen by hundreds and thousands in the streets of the American sea-board cities, from which they gradually distributed themselves into the interior, chiefly along the line of the great railways and canals, which about that time were in construction, and finding employment and profitable wages at the hands of public contractors.

It is from this point of view that the problem of Ireland in America henceforth is to be considered. It can not be doubted that the great emigration contributed many unfavorable elements to American life. It could not be expected that ship-loads of half-starved Irish peasants, uneducated, inexperienced, of low estate, unfed in all their lives with other food than the potato, could at once and favorably assume the duties of Republican citizenship. Our own system has been largely to blame for the vices that came with the Irish exodus. But the appearance of these people has not been an unmixed curse. In the first place, something is due to the principle of internationality—to that principle which demands the exposure and distribution of our own good, of our own strength, to those who have it not, of whatever clime or race. We may not forget the incalculable benefits which the Irish emigrants received from their contact with our people and institutions. Then, again, we may well consider the material advantage to ourselves. If virtue, indeed, flowed from the hem of our garments at the touch of Ireland, strength was given back into our own constitution from the wound made in our soil by the Irish spade. The addition of so large a body of cheerful and patient laborers to our own strained resources of physical force must by no means be overlooked in considering the general features and character of the problem. Finally, it shall not be forgotten that in the day when American institutions—aye, the very existence of the American Republic—was staked on the gage of battle; when the day of conflict came, and the free system of representative government on this side of the sea was under trial of the sword; when everything which the American heart holds dear was at jeopard in the smoke and blood and carnage of Civil War,—then the Irish contingent contributed its full quota to the Union Army, and on every field, from the Rappahannock to the Ozark Mountains, Irish life was freely and gratefully given under the Star-banner which had received and guarded the exiles of 1850 in the dark day of their banishment.

While the attention of the British Parliament had been principally drawn to the events narrated in the preceding pages, other matters of less importance, but still of interest to the reader, had occurred. Among these, one of a peculiar sort may be mentioned as illustrative of the nature and tendencies of British legislative thought at the epoch before us. The incident referred to had many of the features of that remarkable Martin-Koszta Affair to which the reader's attention has been directed in a former chapter. Beginning with a merely personal matter, the event which we are now to consider was, as in the case of Koszta with our own country, destined before its close to bring forth and elucidate many important principles of international law and comity.

The affair in question arose in distant Greece, and was based ultimately upon the rights of British citizens resident abroad. Greece was, religiously considered, under the sway of the Eastern, or so-called Greek Catholic Church. That Church, as the Roman Church in the West, had its superstitions many and its traditional practices many, of which a certain usage was annually to burn an effigy of the traitor, Judas Iscariot. This ceremony was performed in connection with the Easter celebration in each year. It was generally an uproarious performance, at which the ruder citizenship was given license, not only to contribute to the burning of Judas, but to indulge in other half lawless amusements. At length the authorities of Athens concluded to abolish the ceremony. Accordingly, in 1847, the police were instructed to prevent the annual celebration. The movement was seriously resented by the people, and a mob arose headed by two sons of the Greek Minister of War. The insurgents came at length to the spot where the Judas was to have been burned, but, being deprived of the annual sports which they had been wont to enjoy, they turned aside to find some actual Judas on whom they might be revenged. Such a Judas was not far to seek. It chanced that there was resident near the scene a certain Jew named Don Pacifico, whose house the angry mob attacked and destroyed. But Don Pacifico had the prudence and craft of his race. He was a Portuguese by descent, born at Gibraltar, but a citizen of Great Britain. It was the latter circumstance, that is, his being a subject of the British crown, that now stood him well in hand. He accordingly made up an inventory of his losses, which he estimated at the very liberal figure of thirty-two thousand pounds sterling. He also claimed that among his papers, which had been destroyed by the mob, there were certain documents establishing the indebtedness of the Portuguese Government to himself in many additional thousands of pounds. The event showed that the imagination of Don Pacifico had been thrifty in the last degree, and that his legitimate claim would have to be reduced to a small fraction of what was shown in his inventory. But the principle was all the same, and Don Pacifico loudly demanded that the Greek Government should compensate him for his losses. He also appealed to the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, and, being a subject of the British crown, his claim was taken up and indorsed by the Minister. Thus the issue was made between Great Britain and Greece. Palmerston, at that time Secretary for Foreign Affairs, formulated a series of claims, at the head of which was set that of Don Pacifico, and demanded that the Grecian Government should liquidate the whole or abide the consequences.

The Greek authorities, however, were little disposed to allow the validity of the claims, whereupon a British fleet was despatched to the sea-port of Athens to compel payment. In the emergency, Greece appealed to France and Russia to aid her against the unjust demand of Great Britain. Both of those governments had been somewhat offended at the precipitancy of England in displaying force in the harbor of a friendly power. The English Ministry was accused of a covert disposition to loose herself from the engagement by which the independence of Greece had been guaranteed at the establishment of the Greek monarchy. France was more mild-mannered, and proffered her good offices in the settlement of the difficulty. It appears that the English Ambassador at Athens proceeded, in conjunction with the representative of France, to adjust and allow so much of the claims of Don Pacifico as might be valid, but at the same time Lord Palmerston went ahead to force a settlement in his own way.

All of these circumstances combined to give an occasion for the Opposition in Parliament to attack the foreign policy of the Government, and the methods of Lord Palmerston in the Greek affair in particular. Palmerston, however, defended himself and the course which he had taken, in a masterly speech in the House of Commons, and the policy of the Foreign Office was upheld by a great majority. The claim of Don Pacifico, reduced to more moderate proportions, was at length discharged by the Greek Government, but only after the controversy had dragged along till all parties were anxious to be freed from its further consideration. A difficulty which came near leading at one time to serious consequences was finally eliminated from the thought of the

nations concerned by the diversion of their attention to other questions and interests.

In the course of the debate in Parliament on the matter of Don Pacifico and his troubles in Athens, Sir Robert Peel made his last speech in that great body, where he had been so long distinguished, and for several years supreme. It was in the early morning of June 29, 1850, that the eminent statesman left the House of Commons for the last time. He was a member of the Royal Commission, which had been constituted to superintend the great Industrial Exhibition in Hyde Park, the preparations for which were making at that time. Sir Robert attended a meeting of the Commission, and then visited the Queen at Buckingham Palace. On leaving the latter place, he was thrown from his horse, and becoming entangled in the bridle, was crushed under the animal's knees and hoofs. His injuries were fatal, and, after suffering for three days in great agony, he died, on the 2d of July. The event produced a shock throughout the kingdom. It was proposed that the dead statesman should be buried in Westminster, but Peel had provided otherwise in his will. In that document he had stipulated also that no member of his family should accept any title or other mark of honor on account of the services which he had rendered to the country. For this reason, when the offer was made to elevate Lady Peel to the Peerage, the honor was declined. Nor will the republican reader of the New World fail to do obeisance to the sterling spirit of the man who could thus deliberately rest the reputation of his family with posterity on his own unaided name.

Just at the time of which we speak, the interest of all England was excited by a proceeding of the Pope of Rome relative to his alleged jurisdiction in Great Britain. The reader must in this connection recall hurriedly the history of the English Church. He must remember how closely, from the day of its birth, that Church had been identified with the political Constitution of the Kingdom. The Reformation in England had run a course very different from the destinies of the same movement on the Continent. Every part of the Establishment had now been for a long time interwoven with the civil fabric until not only the independency, but the very existence of the one seemed to be involved with that of the other. The Church of England had from the middle of the sixteenth century rested heavily on Catholicism. It had remained for the nineteenth century to remove most of the disabilities under which the Catholics had long groaned, and to introduce a reign of comparative toleration. No sooner, however, was the weight lifted and Rome set free, than she began her old-time tactics for the recovery of her supremacy. Strange to say, moreover, at this very time, a reäction in favor of the Mother Church was discovered in the very heart of Episcopalianism. Several of the leading ecclesiastics discovered a sudden liking for the ceremonials, to say nothing of the dogmas, of Rome. It was noticed that, in the highest places of the Church, an unusual honor began to be paid to the saints. The sign of the cross was made as reverently by Churchmen as by Catholics, and the claim of infallibility was instituted. It was observed that some of the bishops read the liturgy in a manner and tone strongly in sympathy with the Latin chant of the Roman priest; and at last it was recommended in some dioceses that auricular confession be made, and that penance be done and absolution granted for sins. This was indeed *Sancta Ecclesia Rediviva!* It only remained to elevate the host to complete the transformation. In the autumn of 1850 the people of England suddenly awaked to find that their National Church was apparently slipping back into the open portal of "the Flaminian Gate."

Pius IX. was quick to discern and to appreciate the advantage which this movement seemed to promise. He accordingly issued a letter or bull, dividing England into dioceses, to be placed under the control of one Archbishop and twelve Suffragans. More than this—and this was the gravamen of his offense—he proceeded to authorize the bishops and archbishops to take their names or titles *from the name of the dioceses* to which they were respectively assigned. This sounded very much like the assumption of a certain indefinite *territorial* dominion over the diocese, rather than that merely ecclesiastical authority against which no one could raise objections. The assumptions of the Papal bull were immediately

backed by a pronunciamento of Cardinal Wiseman, the new Catholic Archbishop of England. The pastoral letter which he now addresssed to his subjects was, according to its superscription, "given out of the Flaminian Gate at Rome." The communication, which was ordered to be read publicly in all the Catholic Churches of London, was little less than insolent. It declared that "the beloved country"—meaning England—"had been received to a place among the fair Churches which constituted the splendid aggregate of the Catholic communion." It went on to say that Catholic England had been restored to its true orbit in the ecclesiastic firmament, etc.

Now it was, however, that the matter was overdone. The English people suddenly sprang up in indignation against the Papal assumptions, and the Island rang from shore to shore with loud denunciations of the whole impudent scheme, which had seemingly been devised for the restoration of the country to the dominion of Rome. Lord John Russell, at the head of the Ministry, wrote a general letter, in which he called the attention of the people of England to the insidious plot of the Pope against the principles of the Reformation, and against the still greater fact of English liberty. By the opening of Parliament in 1851 the public temper had become so much aroused that the Ministry were impelled, as much by the force of the popular voice as by their own convictions, to take some action against the scheme of the Pope and Cardinal Wiseman. To do so, however, was a step attended with great difficulty. In the first place, England had now openly adopted the principle of universal toleration in matters of religion. In the next place, it was seen by the leading minds that even the extraordinary pretensions and claims, which had recently been set up with respect to Papal dominion in Great Britain, were idle and empty, void of effect, the mere sound of brazen cymbals.

But the real difficulty in dealing with the question lay in the peculiar division which then existed in Parliament. In that body there were three political parties, the Whigs, the Conservatives, and the so-called Peelites. The latter had belonged, for the most part, to the Conservative party, but had adhered to Sir Robert Peel in the matter of Free Trade, and had thus parted company with the Protection division, representing, in general, the landed aristocracy of Great Britain. When the Peel Ministry gave way, it was not the accession of the Whigs; the overthrow of the recent Government was personal rather than political. Besides the three divisions already mentioned, there was a strong Irish contingent, and this, since the passage of the Reform measures by which the disabilities resting on the Catholics had been removed, was made up almost exclusively of Catholic members. Any measure now proposed by Lord Russell against the assumptions of Rome would be at once assailed, for purely political reasons, by Disraeli and the Conservatives proper, while the Irish party, which, in general, had coöperated with Sir Robert Peel on everything *except* religious questions, would, of course, oppose the Ministry in a measure directed against Rome.

As to the party in power, it was itself made up of extremes. Those who strongly adhered to the Church of England were rampant for the enactment of strenuous measures against the Papal interference. Of this kind were all the prelates and their following, both in and out of Parliament. At the other extreme of the Ministerial party were those moderate statesmen, who were indifferent to the vaporings of Rome, and would have been glad if the question had never been brought into the House of Commons. It was in the midst of these embarrassments that Lord John Russell brought before Parliament the so-called Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, by which it was proposed to prohibit Catholic Bishops from the use of all such titles as, being derived from their dioceses, might hint at temporal, that is, territorial, jurisdiction. To accept of any such title was made a crime, under a penalty of a hundred pounds for every such assumption. The measure in this form, however, could not be passed through Parliament. The bill was so amended as to omit the more stringent clauses, and, even in the emasculated form, was only accepted as an end to the controversy. It does not appear that the Roman hierarchy was much disturbed or impeded by the measure. The statute continued in force, or, rather, *not* in force, until 1871, when it was quietly abrogated by the same body which had adopted it twenty years before.

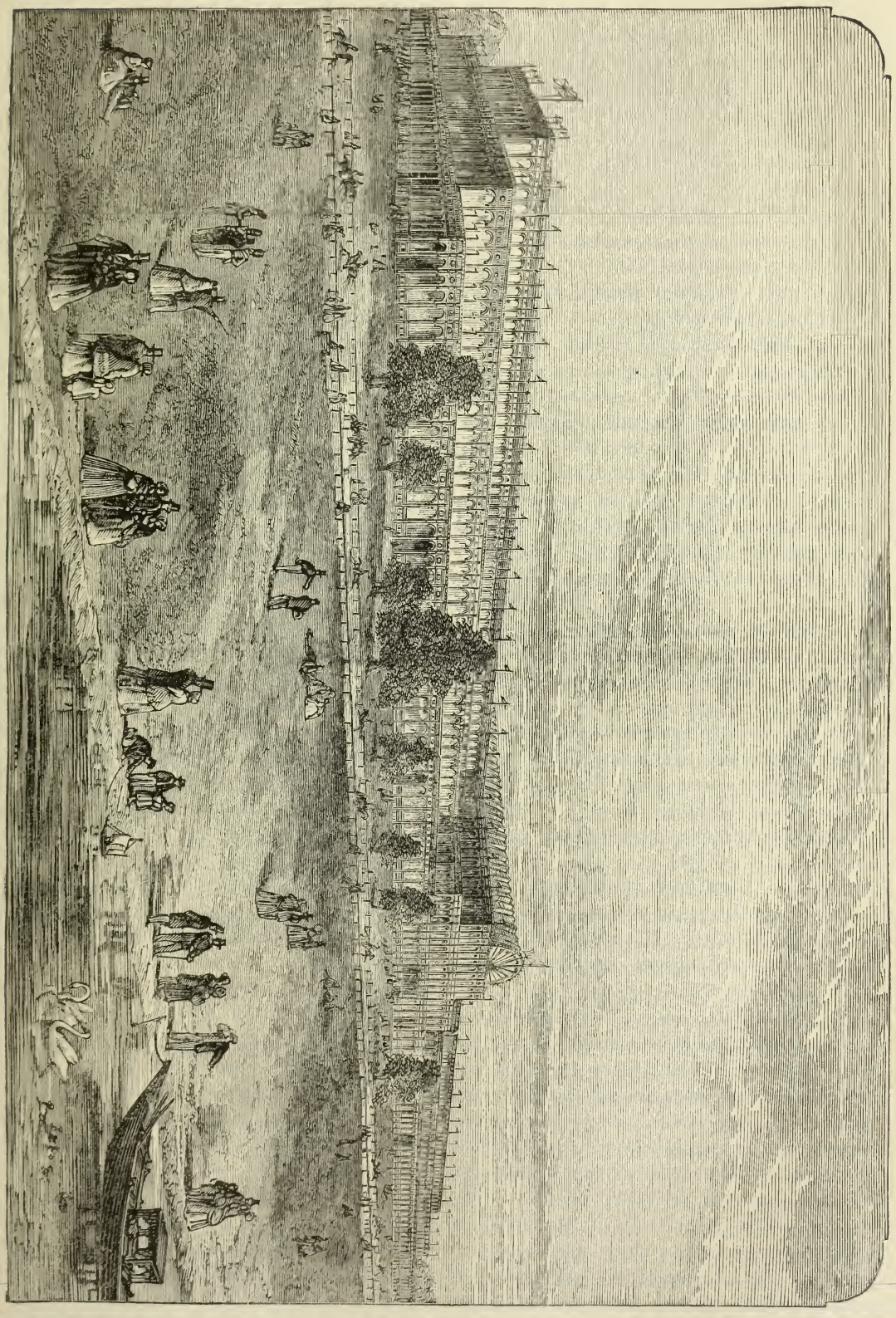
CHAPTER CXXIX.—FROM HYDE PARK TO BOSPHORUS.



E have now arrived at a year in the history of England in which society made a new departure from its beaten course. It is not often that the student of the social evolution is permitted to see the beginnings of things. As a rule, he is obliged to content himself with following the lines of force already operative in affairs, without being able to discover exactly their origin. In 1851, London, or, rather, all England and the world, were destined to witness, in Hyde Park, the first great INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF ARTS AND INDUSTRIES. The project certainly originated with Prince Albert, Consort of the Queen. We have seen, in a former place, to what an extent the interests and sympathies of the Prince were devoted to the industrial and artistic side of life. His position in English society, his ample wealth, his power and influence in public affairs, gave him abundant opportunity to study out measures for the promotion of such matters as he conceived to be of benefit to the people. It was out of these antecedents that the concept of the Hyde Park Exhibition arose in his mind. He conceived that, if by some means, a plan could be devised for bringing together, under suitable conditions, the choice products, manufactures, and artistic achievements, not only of the English people, but of all civilized States, the reflex effect of such an exposition must be salutary in the highest degree. Albert was preëminently a practical man; but he also had, in some good measure, the inspiration of philanthropy, and was even capable of dreaming of a better age. He imagined that if such an Exhibition as he contemplated could be successfully carried out, it would tend to produce, by acquaintance, a better understanding among the nations, suggest friendly counsels among them, and discourage war—all this, in addition to stimulating a healthful rivalry among the various peoples in the matter of their industries and arts. Thus even might the reign of Violence be ended, and the reign of Peace be ushered in. It can hardly be doubted that the Prince, and those immediately associated with him, were carried forward against extreme opposition and almost insuperable difficulties, by the pleasing hopes which they entertained of the betterment of mankind by the work they had in hand.

It was on the 21st of March, 1851, that Prince Albert, speaking at the Lord Mayor's banquet in the Mansion House, set forth in a happy and not unpoetical way, the project of the Exhibition. In concluding his address he declared that it should be the end of the enterprise to "give the world a true test, a living picture, of the point of industrial development at which the whole of mankind had arrived, and a new starting-point, from which all nations will be able to direct their further exertions." The proposition of the distinguished speaker met with an immediate and hearty acceptance by many of the public men present, and before the end of the banquet the first formal steps were taken for the promotion of the enterprise.

But no such measure has ever been projected in Great Britain without at once awakening the antagonistic forces which slumber ever at the door. In that country, the party method of advocacy and opposition is applied to everything. It might be said, without exaggeration, that if the Premier of England should lay before the House of Commons a resolution that men ought to be good and happy, the leader of the Opposition would be ready with a reply; the debate would be sharp and protracted, and the majority for the measure would be determined by a division of the House! For this reason, progress in England is laborious in the last degree. The course towards better things is rendered tortuous and difficult. The streams of national life flow like water underground—turned in this direction and in that by the nature of the media, percolating through gravel-beds, deflected by misplaced strata, and finally issuing through hitherto undiscovered orifices in unexpected



CRYSTAL PALACE, 1851.

places, on unknown hill-sides. Let the reader, however, fail not to note that, by such a process, the waters are purified and the springs rendered perennial in their flow.

No sooner was the Prince's project known than opposition arose in every quarter. First of all, it was said that a World's Fair, held in London, would bring to the metropolis a melange of all nations. With them would come their vices and diseases, and the people would become infected with both. In particular, it was urged that the Red Republicans of the Continent would come over in swarms, and that their presence in London would excite the revival of Chartism, Irishism, Revolutionism, and every other political calamity. It was even urged that the English home would be invaded, English altars polluted, English wives and daughters turned from the practices of virtue by the unscrupulous, bearded adventurers who would gather in the metropolis. In the next place, the British press, from the London *Times* all the way round to *Punch*, broke loose with invective and ridicule to such a degree that at times it seemed the Prince and his project would be blown away in a common blast of contumely and laughter.

It may well be admitted that many real difficulties attended the enterprise, even after the Royal Commission, with Prince Albert at the head, was appointed to carry it forward. In the first place, an embarrassment arose in the matter of securing a suitable site for the Exhibition. Hyde Park was at length chosen; but the most strenuous efforts were made to prevent its use by the Commissioners, for the purpose. It was argued that the beautiful park would be forever despoiled if it were opened to the vulgar hordes who would come tramping from every quarter to the monster fair. But the Commissioners at length carried the day, and the park was selected as the scene of the Exposition. In the next place, some colossal structure was required in which the arts and industries of the contributing nations might be displayed properly. This was a serious question; for it might well be asked how any edifice, under any method of building, could be reared and put under roof with sufficient capacity for the contemplated display.

The difficulty was met by the genius of Sir Joseph Paxton. It had been at first suggested to attempt the construction of a huge building of brick and stone. But the objections to such a structure were obvious. A building of the kind must at the best appear like a monster factory or warehouse. Besides, it was doubtful whether the requisite strength could be secured in a construction of the kind, to say nothing of the admission of light. It was a happy inspiration which brought to Sir Joseph's mind the idea of a building of iron and glass. He conceived that a CRYSTAL PALACE, to use his own language, might be constructed which would meet, in the happiest manner, all the requirements of the Exhibition. The event showed the entire wisdom of the plan proposed. A great palace of iron and glass, for the display of the industrial and artistic products of mankind, was successfully constructed, and London was at length gratified, not to say glorified, with the sight of the completed structure.

Meanwhile, public opinion had, to a large extent, veered around to the Prince's quarter. From the first the Queen had ardently promoted the cause in which her husband had so heartily embarked. She felt for him and all his projects as much enthusiasm and devotion as her calm and somewhat sedate, though womanly, spirit was able to entertain. As it became evident that the Exhibition was destined to be successful, and as the opening day of the Great Fair approached, the zeal of the people and exhibitors rose to the level of the occasion. The pleasing duty of formally opening the Exhibition was justly allotted to Prince Albert. It was really a great day in the history of England, and of the Western nations, when the Royal procession was formed from Buckingham Palace to Hyde Park. It was estimated that the way thither was lined with fully three-quarters of a million of people, and, at the opening hour, no fewer than thirty thousand were seated under the shining roof of the Crystal Palace. The Queen herself attended proudly with her husband, and her glowing account of the opening ceremonies may well be repeated as an adequate description of the scene. "The great event," said Her Majesty, "has taken place—a complete and beautiful triumph—a

glorious and touching sight, one which I shall ever be proud of for my beloved Albert and my country. . . . The park presented a wonderful spectacle—crowds streaming through it, carriages and troops passing, quite like the Coronation-day, and for me the same anxiety—no, much greater anxiety, on account of my beloved Albert. The day was bright, and all bustle and excitement. . . . The Green Park and Hyde Park were one densely crowded mass of human beings, in the highest good-humor, and most enthusiastic. I never saw Hyde Park look as it did—as far as the eye could reach. A little rain fell just as we started; but, before we came near the Crystal Palace, the sun shone and gleamed upon the gigantic edifice, upon which the flags of all nations were floating. . . . The glimpse of the transept through the iron gates, the waving palms, flowers, statues, myriads of people filling the galleries and seats around, with the flourish of trumpets as we entered, gave us a sensation which I can never forget. . . . The sight as we came to the middle was magical—so vast, so glorious, so touching. One felt, as so many did whom I have since spoken to, filled with devotion—more so than by any service I have ever heard. The tremendous cheers; the joy expressed in every face; the immensity of the building; the mixture of palms, flowers, trees, statues, fountains; the organ, with two hundred instruments and six hundred voices, which sounded like nothing; and my beloved husband, the author of this peace festival, which unites the industry of all nations of the earth,—all this was moving indeed; and it was and is a day to live forever."

The Exhibition extended from the 1st day of May to the 15th of October, when the ceremonies of the display were formally closed by Prince Albert. From first to last, Hyde Park and Crystal Palace were thronged to their capacity. At times it was estimated that quite a hundred thousand persons were within the precincts. Even financially the enterprise was crowned with success. In the beginning the money requisite for projecting so great a work had been raised by private subscription. Afterwards, a large guarantee had been provided against the possible losses attendant upon the Exhibition. But at the close the treasury was full, and a large sum was left as profits to be expended by the Commissioners.

We shall not fail to note the exemplary results of the World's Fair in Hyde Park. It was the first of many such displays; nor could it be doubted, as the event has so well attested, that all civilized States would covet the distinction and glory of eclipsing the first International Fair. The Hyde Park Exposition was soon followed by a similar display in Dublin, and by another of painting and sculpture in Manchester. The city of Paris, under the auspices of the Second Empire, held two great International Expositions; and under the Republic, two others of still greater grandeur have been given. In 1862, England did herself the honor of a second Exhibition, in Kensington. In 1873, Austria came to the front with her Exposition at Vienna; and in 1876 the Americans availed themselves of the centennial anniversary of their Independence to set forth at Philadelphia one of the grandest and most successful of all the International Exhibitions.

In the meantime, in the course of the thirty-eight years that have elapsed since the first display of the kind, nations and people have come to a truer understanding of the real significance and value of such enterprises. The roseate expectations which were at first entertained, that such comings together of the peoples of different countries would usher in a reign of peace and fraternity for all mankind, have disappeared in the light of the reality; but much has remained of solid value, of progress and humanity, as the residue of International displays. They have grown in favor, and may well be regarded as a permanent element in the civilization of the future.

The date in English history made famous by the Hyde Park Exhibition is memorable in Parliamentary annals for the rise to influence and promised ascendency of Henry John Temple, better known by his title of Lord Palmerston. We have already seen him taking his station, in 1846, as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in the Ministry of Lord John Russell. That position he held during the Revolutionary year, 1848. At that time he was obliged, in virtue of his office, to give constant attention to the relations of Great Britain with almost every Continental power.

Europe was in a state of active eruption, and the extent to which England might be affected thereby was problematical even to English statesmen. The condition of affairs on the Continent changed like the varying figures of a kaleidoscope, and Lord Palmerston must needs be on the alert in the Foreign Office of Great Britain lest the kingdom should be shaken from her moorings by the agitations abroad.

For these great duties and responsibilities, Palmerston was both fitted and unfitted—fitted by intellect and training; unfitted by disposition. He was naturally quick-tempered, impulsive, and self-willed, not to say aggressive, in disposition. In the stormy time of the European upheaval he nevertheless conducted the affairs of the Foreign Office with great ability. But it was soon discovered in the Russell Cabinet that Palmerston was disposed to run his department of the Government without much respect to either the Premier or the Queen. In instances not a few he conducted important negotiations, and sent out despatches, without submitting them to the revisory rights of his colleagues or the sanction of the sovereign. As a result, when things went badly, the Government was held responsible for measures which it had not approved. A break was thus produced, which was in the nature of a fracture between Palmerston and his fellow-ministers, but a real rupture between him and the Royal family. When the Prince-President, Louis Napoleon, effected his great *Coup d'Etat*, at the close of 1851, very serious consequences were entailed by the recklessness of Lord Palmerston. It had been the settled policy of Great Britain to move with extreme caution with respect to recognizing the validity of the proceedings of Prince Napoleon. When that personage, however, had accomplished his purpose by revolution, Lord Palmerston, in an imprudent conversation with the Polish Minister, at London, expressed his hearty approval of what Napoleon had done. The remark was immediately conveyed to the French Minister, and by him despatched to his Government, at Paris. England seemed thus to be committed to the policy of recognizing the *Coup d'Etat* whether she would or not. Likewise, on the occasion of the visit of Kossuth to London, Lord Palmerston, who, in the conduct of the Foreign Office, had done his best to support the fortunes of the Hungarian Revolution, had been deterred from giving a formal reception to the fugitive Kossuth only by the remonstrance of the Cabinet. When thus balked in the expression of his sympathy for the political exile, he was still so imprudent as to accept an address from a body of English Radicals, who had held a meeting in honor of Kossuth, and adopted resolutions including an expression of animosity and contempt for Austria. By accepting this paper from their hands, Palmerston was put into the attitude of approving the animadversions which some of his countrymen had uttered against the Austrian Government.

The Queen and the Prince Consort were much offended at the proceedings of the refractory Minister. Her Majesty had long since had occasion to send to Lord John Russell a memorandum, expressing her displeasure at the treatment which she had received from the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and also adding explicit directions for his conduct thereafter. Palmerton's course in declaring his approval of the *Coup d'Etat* of Napoleon brought affairs to an open rupture. Lord Russell, with the concurrence of the Queen, after having obtained an acknowledgment from Palmerston that the report of his expressed views relative to the Paris Revolution was correct, addressed the Minister a formal note, notifying him of his dismissal from office. This summary proceeding was the source of great excitement both at home and abroad; and when Parliament convened, in February of 1852, the whole question was debated with vehemence and acrimony. The course of Lord Russell, however, was overwhelmingly approved by the House of Commons, and Palmerston was, for a season, remanded to retirement, if not obscurity.

The circumstance of the recent French Revolution, by which Louis Napoleon paved his way to Empire, was destined, in its English correlations, to be the rock on which the Russell Ministry went to pieces. There had arisen in England a feeling of unrest and insecurity on account of the supposedly defenseless condition of the Kingdom. By a sort of instinctive movement, the public mind was seized with the passion for organizing and dis-

ciplining a kind of National Guard against the possible emergencies of the time. The gathering, discipline, and equipment of voluntary militia companies became the order of the day, and for the nonce it seemed that Great Britain was to become a camp. There was actual dread of a French war, and the sentiment of the nation was focused in a ballad from the Laureate, addressed to his countrymen:

There is a sound of thunder afar,
Storm in the South that darkens the day—
Storm of battle and thunder of war;
Well, if it do not roll our way!
Form, form; riflemen, form!
. . . . . .

Let your Reforms for a moment go;
Look to your butts, and take good aims!
Better a rotten borough or so,
Than a rotten fleet, or a city in flames!
Form! form! Riflemen, form!
Ready, be ready to meet the storm.
Riflemen, Riflemen, Riflemen, form!

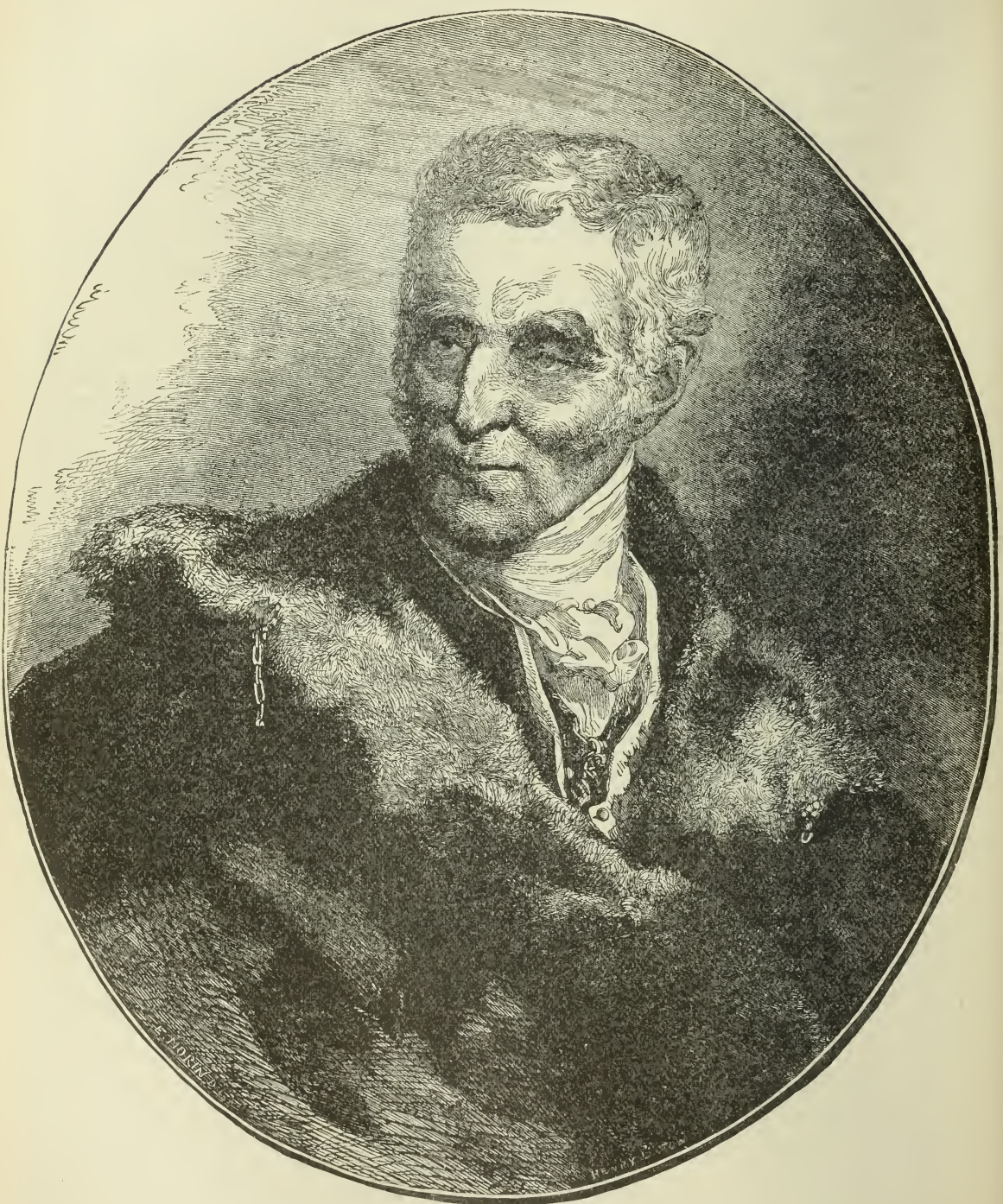
Form, be ready to do or die!
Form in Freedom's name and the Queen's!
True, that we have a faithful Ally.[1]
But only the Devil knows what he means!
. . . . . .

The military movement referred to in Tennyson's lyric had thus far been of a popular character. The idea had possessed the people that there was insecurity, and that England must prepare herself against the threatening condition of the Continent. Many men were yet living who had fought at Waterloo; many more who remembered that fatal cataclysm. Now there was come into the field another Bonaparte, nephew of the Corsican. His recent proceedings among the French showed that he would scruple not at any means of restoring the Napoleonic *régime*. All this was particularly alarming to the England of 1852. When Parliament met, it was necessary that the Ministry should respond to the voice of the country by some action promotive of the general military organization of the Kingdom. A Militia Bill was accordingly prepared by Lord John Russell, and laid before the House of Commons. The debate thereon at once revealed the fact that the proposed statute had been badly devised. One clause, which made the organization of the militia *local* in character, rather than general, was particularly unfortunate. The attack on the Ministerial Bill was general and from all quarters, and, to the surprise of the Government, a majority was against them. Palmerston, who was now out of the Ministry, made a powerful and characteristic speech against the policy of Lord Russell, and the latter, without prolonging the controversy, resigned his office. In the existing condition of parties in Parliament it seemed almost impracticable to form a new Ministry at all; but the Queen, in the emergency, called to her aid the Earl of Derby, and under his leadership the Administration was reörganized.

The new Prime Minister was not wanting in great abilities; but he had extreme difficulty in bringing into his Cabinet men of equal character with himself. The portfolio of the Treasury was given to Disraeli, who soon showed himself, contrary to all expectation, to possess the same genius for figures and schedules which he had already displayed in the wider domain of general politics. The Ministry was somewhat conglomerate, not made up on strict party lines, but by selection and expediency. If Palmerston could have been induced to join it, sufficient power might have been developed in the Cabinet to extend the Government indefinitely. But as things stood, the end of the current Administration was seen from the beginning; the Derby Ministry was a *pis aller* from the first, and on account of its obscure membership was designated as the "Who? Who? Ministry."

A Parliamentary incident of the time serves well to illustrate the peculiar movements of the public mind in England, and the resoluteness with which opinion in that country is sometimes confronted by the individual will. In 1847 Thomas Babington Macaulay, the historian, had lost his seat in the House of Commons. For some time he had sat in that body as the representative of Edinburgh, and had reflected fame on his constituents by the brilliancy of his talents. At length, however, he gave offense to his rigid and exacting people by supporting a bill for a Parliamentary grant to the Royal Catholic College of Maynooth, in Leinster, Ireland. Accordingly, when the election came round, Macaulay's name sank to the third place on the poll-book of Edinburgh, and he was, fortunately for him-

[1] Meaning LouisNapoleon Bonaparte.



DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

self, and still more fortunately for the interests of historical literature, remanded to private life. Proud in his humiliation, he refused to stand for any other constituency, and Edinburgh, equally stiff in her resolve, was slow to recall her offending favorite to her service. At length, however, her resentment gave place to common sense, and it was signified to Macaulay that if he would offer himself, he should be again elected to Parliament. Not he. If the electors of Edinburgh should choose, of their own volition, to return him to the House of Commons, he would heed their call. "I should not," said he in answer, "feel myself justified in refusing to accept a public trust offered to me in a manner so honorable and so peculiar." He was accordingly elected by a great majority, and at the opening of the session, in 1852, again took his seat in Parliament.

It was in this same autumn that the aged Duke of Wellington reached the end of his eventful career. He died quietly in Walmer Castle, on the 14th of September, 1852, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. He was among the last survivors of that Revolutionary Era, in which he had been so conspicuous and heroic a figure. More than thirty-seven years had elapsed since, on that stormy and tumultuous June afternoon, on the plateau of Monte Saint Jean, he had said: "Rise, Guards, and charge!" A whole generation had passed away since the great military Captain of England had issued from that sulphurous uproar of Waterloo, to be, in some sense, the Arbiter of Western Europe. In the interval, he had been called often to the councils of his country, where the simplicity of his character and his touching, almost fatherly devotion to the Queen, rather than any great political talents, were displayed. In his last years he drew to himself, in a remarkable degree, the veneration and affection of the English people. This was particularly true in London, where his face and form were known to almost every workman of the streets. So great was his reputation that the people called him, by preëminence, "The Duke," as though there were no other duke in the kingdom. After reaching much beyond his fourscore years, he went down to the grave in full honor, and, after life's fitful fever, he slept well. His funeral called forth almost the entire population of London, and the pageant of that day was unrivaled by anything which had ever yet been witnessed in the British Isles. The muse of Tennyson took wing, and his song said

Bury the Great Duke
With an empire's lamentation;
Let us bury the Great Duke
To the noise of the mourning of a mighty nation—
Mourning when their leaders fall,
Warriors carry the warrior's pall,
And sorrow darkens hamlet and hall.

Where shall we lay the man whom we deplore?
Here, in streaming London's central roar.
Let the sound of those he wrought for,
And the feet of those he fought for,
Echo round his bones for evermore.

We have already remarked the temporary character of the Derby Ministry. The elections of 1852, though slightly in favor of the Administration, had no emphasis. On the reopening of Parliament, the onus of the Government fell on Disraeli, Minister of the Treasury. We have seen above that his opening pass in the management of his Department had been, in a measure, successful; but on that occasion he had merely temporized with the great questions of the revenue, which he must now discuss in accordance with some permanent policy. Disraeli had now completely abandoned the principles of Protection and become as sound a Free-trader as any. It was necessary that some alterations should be made in the income taxes of the Kingdom; that the same should be greatly reduced, if not abolished, in the interest of the landlord class. In order to make up for the resulting deficit in the revenue, Disraeli proposed a reduction of the malt-tax, and other modifications in the existing schedule. In presenting the budget to the House of Commons, he made an elaborate and able speech, again exhibiting the vast resources of his genius and acquirements. But another, as strong as he, stood at the door, and no sooner had the Minister concluded his speech, than William E. Gladstone rose to reply. Notwithstanding the great effect which Disraeli's address had produced on the House, his rival bore him down in the debate, and the Derby Ministry, beaten on the resulting vote, were obliged to resign. The conflict on this occasion was the first passage at arms in the struggle for leadership between Disraeli and Gladstone—a duel of Parliament-

ary giants, which was destined to continue with exciting alternations of victory and defeat for twenty-four years, until what time the Queen should remove her favorite from the arena by raising him to the peerage as the Earl of Beaconsfield.

With the downfall of the Derby Ministry, a Coälition Cabinet was formed under the leadership of Lord Aberdeen as Prime Minister. Lord Russell was again called into the Government as Secretary of Foreign Affairs. Palmerston, who had been the agent of the latter statesman's overthrow, now became his colleague, accepting the office of Home Secretary. Gladstone was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, this being his first entrance into the Cabinet. The place which he accepted was, as we have seen, the most difficult, not to say dangerous, office in the Administration; but the new Minister entered upon his duties with the confidence of a veteran, and it was at once perceived that his abilities in handling the difficult problems of finance were as conspicuous as they had already been shown to be on the wider plain of general politics.



VIEW OF THE BOSPHORUS.

We have now arrived at that epoch in the history of England, when the attention of the people and the Government was drawn away from the home affairs of the Kingdom to the greatest and most perplexing international controversy which has troubled Europe in the present century. It is doubtful, indeed, whether any other fact in the diplomacy of the kingdoms of Modern Europe since the rise of statecraft, has been so great a menace, so far-reaching in its ramifications, and so difficult of settlement, as that so-called EASTERN QUESTION, on an account of which we are now to enter. It has involved the entire fabric of Europe, and a considerable portion of Asia, in the folds of a complication which neither the talons of France nor the spear of St. George has as yet prevailed to loose.

Of this vast complication, Turkey is the heart and center. She holds in general the south-eastern parts of Europe and the approximate regions of Asia. So far as her position is concerned, it is such as to give her undisputed control of those narrow waters which separate the Asiatic dominions from the countries of Southern Europe, and such control has been guaranteed by treaties many, for more than a century. At the upper limit of European Turkey, the river Danube discharges by many mouths into the Black Sea. Following the coast of that stormy water southward, we come to Constantinople, on the Bosphorus, a strait much narrower and more easily controlled than that of Gibraltar. Then, through the Sea of Marmora, we make our way, through the Dardanelles, into the Archipelago, and thence into the free waters of the Mediterranean.

The advantage of the situation was clearly discerned by the Roman Cæsars. Constantine and his sons selected that old Byzantium, lying on the point of land next the Bosphorus, and looking into Asia Minor, as the seat of the Eastern Empire. In the City of Constantine, so founded and so patronized, the Roman power long maintained itself after the Eternal City of the West had gone down before the assaults of the Barbarians. It was within a few years of the birth of Columbus that the last Eastern Cæsar, still bearing the name of Constantine, yielded his scepter to Mohammed II. and his army of Ottoman Turks. The name of the conqueror was sufficiently significant. What Abdalrahman and his Saracen host had been unable to accomplish on the field of Tours, more than seven centuries before, that was now effected at Constantinople by the Ottoman Emperor and his fierce soldiery. Islam was set up in Europe. The Crescent shone on high above the dome of St. Sophia.

The conquest of Constantinople was more,

far more, than a mere victory of Islam over Christianity. It brought the warlike Ottomans to predominance in Eastern Europe. Than these no fiercer or more courageous soldiers battled in the sixteenth century. They were the descendants of the iron-forgers of the Altais. They had themselves been converted to the profession of the Prophet with the sword and battle-axe of Arabia. Then, in turn, they had become the most zealous and successful propagandists of the new faith. Mohammed organized his empire from the capital which he had conquered, and the Ottoman Power was an established fact in Europe.

The Turks were, from the first, Asiatics, not Europeans. They had the thought and habitude of the Orient. With the Occident they had nothing in common. Their religion was not more foreign to Europe than themselves. The whole history of the Turkish power appeared from the first in the nature of a historical displacement, by which a part of Asia had been thrown, as if by a geologic convulsion, among countries of a different type and origin. To the rest of Europe the Turks were an everlasting menace. Up from the South-east, by successful wars, they made their way towards the heart of Europe. There was no nation as far west as the Atlantic that did not, as late as the close of the seventeenth century, have serious apprehensions of what might come to pass from the aggressions of the Ottoman Power.

The Turks, for more than three hundred years, maintained their isolation among the States of Europe. They assimilated in no particular with the civilization of the West. Nor might it well have been foreseen what would be the condition of Eastern Europe in the nineteenth century if the Ottoman had not lost his power and ambition. But at length he sickened. Paralysis came, in body, soul, and member. The Oriental habit at length predominated over the ethnic forces of the race. The sons of the iron-forgers became Orientals pure and simple. Mohammedanism and opium wrought together in the deterioration of the Turk, until he became the creature whom we see to-day.

In the next place we must take into consideration the condition of the subject peoples over whom the Ottoman scepter in Europe had been extended. Those of the southern part of European Turkey, with the exception of the Greeks and Albanians, generally yielded to the sway of Islam, and were gradually assimilated to the dominant power. But in the Danubian countries the people of the subject States retained their profession of Greek Catholicism. The provinces in this region remained Christian under Mohammedan rule. As a general thing, the Ottomans were little disposed to persecute for mere opinion's sake. Particularly after the decay of the Turkish political power had well set in, did the authorities of the Sublime Porte act tolerantly towards the Christian subjects of the Empire, so long as the latter lay quiet under the system of Government which the Sultans had established. Up to this point, therefore, the reader will hardly discover the outlines of those threatening complications which, under the name of the Eastern Question, have so much distracted the States of modern Europe.

Thus much, however, is but the beginning of the problem. In the next place, consider the Russian Empire. We speak here of that European Russia extending from the Ural Range to the borders of Germany, and from the Caucasus and the Black Sea on the south to the Arctic Ocean. Within this almost infinite domain a vast power, political and ethnic, emerged suddenly to view at the close of the seventeenth century. That Inspired Barbarian, Peter the Great, appeared on the scene, and became one of the principal actors. He put himself at the head of the Slavonic race, organized an Empire on a large scale, left the old inland capital of Moscow, made his way to the Gulf of Finland, and planted there his new seat of Government. It was clearly his policy to issue and bring with him, among the civilized States of the West, the new Muscovite power, which he had created rather than inherited. In this stupendous scheme he beat about somewhat at random, and made many and grave mistakes. One thing he clearly perceived, and that was that the inland barbaric character of the Muscovite dominion must give place to a new system, which should be maritime, and therefore commercial, in its character, and international in its relations. The possession and development of sea-board emporia was a *sine qua non* in the scheme of the Czar.

In a word, there was, must be, for this new Imperial Russia, *an outlet to the ocean*, and thence to the world. The project was rational in the highest degree, and from the day of its conception until the present, the enterprise of Peter I. has never ceased to be the dream and purpose of his successors.

Let us now see how Peter's plan might be carried into effect. In the first place, it would be possible to make a way to the south-east by the conquest of Persia, through Afghanistan, into the valley of the Indus, and thence to the great waters of the Indian Ocean. But the draught on Peter's mind was not in that direction. The great States with which he desired to compete lay westward. The international system into which he would enter was European, not Asiatic. We shall see, however, that at a later age, when the British East Indian Empire was so forward in development as to check the Russian movement, the Czar Nicholas actually sought, partly by diplomacy and partly by force, to make his way through Afghanistan into India. The great disaster to the British arms in Cabul, an account of which already has been given, was, as we have seen, the direct result of the Russian policy in its Eastern application. In the second place, Czar Peter might take possession of the Black Sea, and from that vantage work his way by conquest through the Turkish dominions westward to the Ægean. Or, by varying the scheme, he might take his course directly to the Bosphorus, overwhelm Constantinople, take possession of the straits, and thus send his ships freely into the Mediterranean.

It must be remembered, however, that to deal thus with Turkey, in the first years of the eighteenth century, was a very different measure from a similar aggression after the lapse of a hundred and fifty years. But still a third course was open to Peter, and this he chose to follow. He might select the Baltic as his means of exit into the Atlantic, in which case his new capital must be founded on that coast. This was accordingly done—a measure which may be regarded as the greatest of the Czar's mistakes. The event soon showed that vast inter-commercial relations could not well be established between Russia and the Western kingdoms by way of the Baltic Sea. St. Petersburgh was too far away from the fortieth parallel of latitude to become a great commercial emporium. No doubt Peter the Great was constrained to pursue the course which he finally chose, in his attempted exit to warm water and the freedom of the world. The destruction of the Ottoman Power at that time was too serious a matter to be rashly undertaken. But considered as a fact, the establishment of the Russian capital on the Gulf of Finland was an error in policy which the whole force of the Empire has not yet been able to correct.

As long ago as the times of Empress Catherine, the embarrassment of the situation was severely felt. That imperious personage, ablest, perhaps, of the woman sovereigns known in history, perceived clearly that St. Petersburgh, considered as the emporium of the Empire, was a failure. We may now see clearly how Catherine chafed and fretted on account of the barriers against her progress in the only directions whither she desired to go. Over one of the gates of St. Petersburgh, on the side looking towards the Black Sea, she put up this inscription: "*The Way to Constantinople.*" But that way was too arduous even for the ambition of the Czarina and for Suwaroff. Perceiving the impracticability of a conquest of Constantinople in her day, she cast a longing eye to India, and in the last year of her life we find her, in pursuance of this ambition, engaged in planning the invasion and conquest of Persia. Death cut short the enterprise, and the great drama which was on in France drew the attention of her successors to the stirring events in Europe.

But notwithstanding the mistake of Czar Peter, notwithstanding the defeat or failure of many of the plans of Catherine II., the Russian Empire continued to grow and expand with marvelous rapidity. Already in the age of Frederick the Great the military resources of Russia were observed with amazement and some consternation by the Western Powers. It is doubtful whether any other great Empire has become vast, and regular, and strong, in so few generations as have elapsed since the apparition of Russia among the European nations. Already in the closing years of the Napoleonic era the tremendous impact of the Russian power made Europe tremble. It was

against that monstrous structure that the Grand Army of the Corsican broke itself into pieces, while the Boreal tempests roaring out of Lithuania hid the residue under the snows forever. The Muscovite had come.

Henceforth Russia, by her force and vehemence, inspired a dread in all the Western States. It should not be said that France and England *feared* the power of the Czar; but there was constant apprehension of his aggressiveness. The Russian dominions were wide enough, and had a population sufficiently vast to constitute a physical terror to Eastern Europe, and the passions which were known to slumber in the breasts of the Romanoffs might well inspire alarm in the domain of diplomacy.

At the time of which we speak the Russian crown was worn by Emperor Nicholas I. He was at this time fifty-six years of age. He was a son of that Paul I. whose assassination, in 1801, was so fatal a circumstance to Napoleon. Nicholas, as all the Czars, and particularly the Czarina Catherine, had done before him, looked with ever-longing eyes upon the Bosphorus, and the possible exit by that route into the warm waters of the Mediterranean. It could hardly be said to be a secret in any part of Europe that the Czar desired the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire. The decadence of that power had, in the meantime, been still more clearly manifested than in the first quarter of the century. But the Western Powers had now come to look upon Turkey as a barrier to the progress of Russia, a sort of buffer between the ram's-head of Muscovism and the walls of European civilization on the East. Turkey might suffice to deaden the stroke and distribute its effects, so that they should not be felt in the West. Nor was Nicholas himself at all careful in the matter of concealing his desires and purposes. The Russian Czar was, as yet, too little removed from the honesty of barbarism to be a good diplomatist, and thus thought it no harm to speak to the representatives of the Western States relative to the probable dismemberment of Turkey. He did not perceive that his open cupidity would jar on the diplomacy of the West. Calling to mind the easy process of International spoliation which his grandmother, Catherine II., had had with Austria and Prussia in the division of Poland, he conceived that the same method might well and cordially be adopted by himself, Napoleon III., and Victoria.

Czar Nicholas was not wanting in great ability. His dark and piercing eyes easily saw the situation, but did not see the temper of those with whom he had to deal. He thought that the only thing to be done was to gain a colleague or two in the matter of shaking the Ottoman tree, assured, as he was, that the ripe fruit would fall richly to the ground. He discerned, moreover, that his fellow, his true coädjutor in the work before him, was Great Britain. Austria had been already subordinated to his purpose. Prussia he felt sure of securing to his interest. France he did not so greatly regard, because of the revolutionary condition of affairs in that country. But England was a necessity, and he accordingly began his overtures to her. As early as 1844, on his visit to London, the Czar plainly told the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen, at that time Secretary of Foreign Affairs, what he thought ought to be done in the event of the approaching dissolution of Turkey. It seems that the courtesies of the occasion required the English statesmen to be silent, and the Czar mistook their silence for assent. Accordingly, on his return to St. Petersburgh, he had his Minister of State to prepare a memorandum of the "arrangement" which he supposed he had made with Great Britain. Afterwards he opened up correspondence with England, calling the attention of that Power to his supposed understanding with her, and demonstrating the course which Russia and Great Britain should take together when the cataclysm should occur in Turkey. From these negotiations England either drew back, or again answered with silence.

The reader will not fail to perceive some of the reasons why Great Britain had, before the epoch at which we have now arrived, become profoundly anxious that the political and territorial integrity of the Ottoman Power should be maintained. In her anxiety, the strongest element was doubtless her desire to hold her commercial ascendency in the Mediterranean. Let the student look attentively at the map of that great Inland Sea, and the

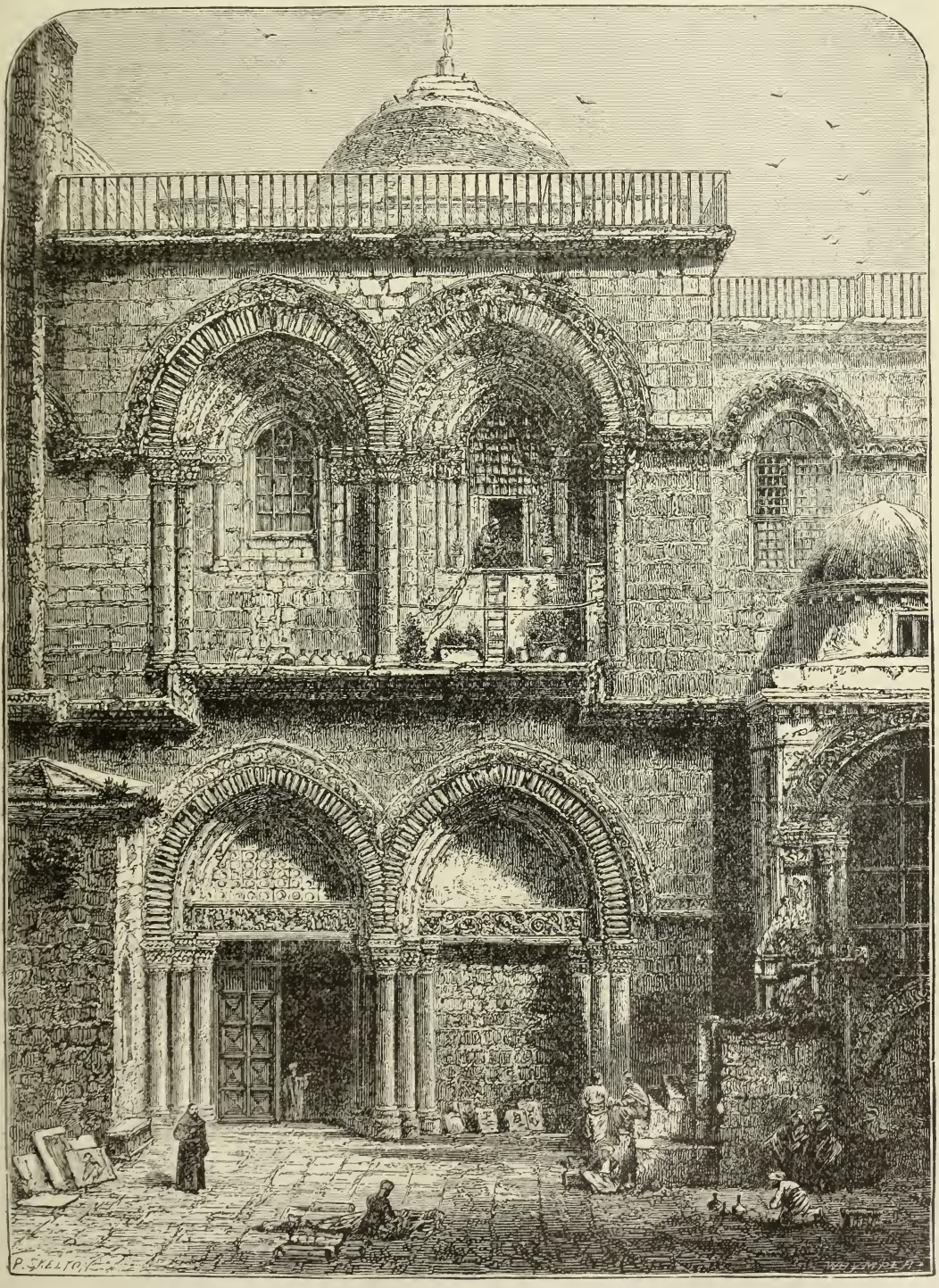
position of the European States relative thereto. Let him observe how, on the rock of Gibraltar, Great Britain has set her fortress, commanding the western entrance. Let him note the analogy between Gibraltar and the Bosphorus. The latter is the eastern entrance to the Mediterranean. If England could control that strait, she would be absolutely mistress of the situation. Note the fact that, at the south-eastern angle of the Mediterranean, Great Britain has managed, since the beginning of the century, to hold the upper hand. Could she accomplish the same at the north-east extremity, her sovereignty of the whole region of the Mediterranean would be complete.

It was not to be supposed, however, that in the case of the dismemberment of Turkey, the control of the Bosphorus would fall to England. That must inevitably be the portion of the Czar. Though that personage might willingly concede to England the establishment of her dominion in Egypt, together with the possession of Candia and other notable advantages in the East, he would inevitably take for himself the Danubian provinces, and the control of the Bosphorus. For this reason England strongly desired that Turkey, her ally and friend, not to say her dependent, should retain her place among the nations, and keep her paralytic grip on the only channel leading from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean. Great Britain would stand behind the Sublime Porte, and guarantee its autonomy and the independence of Turkey. If England could not herself obtain possession of the Bosphorus, she would see to it that the possession of the Bosphorus should remain in the hands of her ally and dependent. She would make Turkey her proxy, and would do by her what she could not openly do herself. While seeking to avid open and deliberate responsibility in the matter in hand, she would adopt, nevertheless, the old law maxim applicable to the question: *Qui per alium facit, facit per se.*

We must now take into consideration still another aspect of this multifarious Eastern Question. Glance for a moment at the old Turkish town of Jerusalem. There the rivalry between Russia and the Western Powers was based wholly on religious differences. Within the Holy City the Greek Catholic Church and the Roman Catholic Church were set face to face, and the bitterness of their rivalry was proportional to the folly of the superstitions which divided them. The Greek Church had its fountain-head of authority in St. Petersburgh, and the Roman Church looked to the Eternal City as the seat of its government. In Jerusalem many of the sacred places were held by the Greeks; others, by the Latin monks representing Rome. In times past the protectorate of the Latin monks in Jerusalem, and, in general, the guardianship of Christian interests in all Syria, had been conceded to France. The protectorate of the Greek Church, in its whole extent, belonged to Russia. It thus happened that when a Greek ecclesiastic fell into a quarrel with a Latin monk, in Jerusalem—a quarrel relative to the Church in Bethlehem, the Sanctuary of the Nativity, the Tomb of the Virgin, the Stone on which the body of Christ was anointed, or the Seven Arches of the Mother of God—the Greek priest had behind him the Czar of Russia, and the Latin monk the ruler of France. Not without the profoundest elements of instruction is this picture of the array of the greatest political powers of modern times behind the poor, pitiful, obsolete superstitions rampant in an old Syrian town.

The matter, however, was sufficient to furnish a pretext for the antagonism of France and Russia. But yet it is due to civilization to say that a more powerful and valid reason was found for French hostility. The accession to power of Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was accomplished, as we shall see in a succeeding chapter, by means at which a scrupulous ruler would have startled. But Napoleon did not scruple. He went straight forward, and accomplished his purpose. No sooner had he done so, however, than he found it necessary to distract the attention of the French people from the rather shocking manner in which he had come to power. Having made a success of the *Coup d'Etat*, he must now obliterate the memory thereof by a *coup de gloire*. Foreign war was almost a necessity of the situation; and a Latin monk in Jerusalem, quarreling about his monopoly of the Anointing Stone, constituted as good an excuse as any. It should be remembered, also, that France, in particular France under the scepter of

Napoleon III., had a *recollection*, as it respected Russia, which she desired to quench. She still remembered the year 1812, and waited for the opportunity to write the Malakhoff instead of the Bridge of Beresina. It has been one of the peculiarities of the French people that their attention thus can be diverted from the hardships occasioned by political convulsions at



CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER.

home to the glorification of the name of France by victory in foreign wars.

Still another element must be introduced into the complication. We have seen already that a large part of the subject populations of the Ottoman Empire were Christians of the Greek Catholic faith. They were thus subject, ecclesiastically, to the Russian Primate of the Church, and were under the protection of the Czar. These people were also Slavonic in their origin, and were thus divorced in their race sympathies from the Turks. The Danubian Principalities were more Russian than Turkish in manner and custom and ethnic preference. Among these elements of sympathy felt by the peoples inside of European Turkey for Russia and her system, the religious identity constituted the safest and surest pretext which the Czar might seize upon as a claim for interference, and this he adopted as his argument with the Western Powers in justification of his proceeding.

In the meantime, however, Nicholas made a final open overture, in the hope of securing the assent and coöperation of England. Up to the beginning of 1853 the Czar still believed that the Government of Great Britain was in virtual accord with his own on the question of how Turkey should be disposed of in case of her dismemberment. In January of that year, while he was in attendance at a ducal party, given by his friend the Archduchess Helen, to which the diplomatical corps at St. Petersburgh was invited, he plucked aside the English Ambassador, Sir Hamilton Seymour, and openly revealed to him, in a free conversation, his views relative to Turkey. He expressed his wish that the Danubian Principalities should become independent under his own protection. The Turkish Power, as such, was to cease to exist. The Czar disavowed any purpose of occupying Constantinople; but it was clear from the conversation that that metropolis was no longer to constitute a barrier to his exit into the Ægean. All Southeastern Europe was, according to the Czar's plan, to be reörganized, under the auspices of Russia and England. Nicholas told Sir Hamilton that, so far as he was concerned, Great Britain might take possession of Egypt and Candia as her part of the spoils. He did not seek to have the work done by treaty, but simply by an informal agreement of the parties.[1]

The effect of these radical propositions upon the English Ministry may well be imagined. The British Government informed Nicholas that they could not be a party to the spoliation of Turkey. The Government of the Porte was in friendly alliance and under treaty stipulations with Great Britain, and the diplomatical morality prevalent among the Western States, would by no means permit such a proceeding on the part of England as that contemplated by the Czar. That sovereign was thus, in a sense, mated at the outset; but he immediately fell back upon his right to exercise a protectorate over the several millions of Christians who were subject to Ottoman rule. On this point he expressed himself with determination, and in defense of his course and purpose, he confidently set forth the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, which had been concluded by Empress Catherine and the Sultan in 1774. According to the terms of this instrument, the Ottoman Government had conceded to the Czar the right "to protect constantly the Christian religion and its churches; and also to allow the Minister of the Imperial Court of Russia to make, on all occasions, representations, as well in favor of the new church in

[1] It was in the course of this ever-memorable conversation between the Czar and Sir Hamilton Seymour that Nicholas, in a very animated and witty manner, struck off a phrase which was destined to pass into the diplomatical and common language of the times, and, indeed, to remain forever as a peculiar expression in the historical jargon of the Nineteenth Century. The Czar, addressing Sir Hamilton, said: "We have on our hands a *sick man*—a very sick man; it will be a great misfortune if, one of these days, he should slip away from us before the necessary arrangements have been made." From the moment this conversation was divulged, Turkey became known by the epithet of the "Sick Man." If one may be permitted to smile at national decay, and to enjoy the wit of an Emperor, then indeed may the pungent phrase be accepted as one of the happiest conceits which was ever uttered. The "Sick Man" of the East has survived nearly forty years, but the truthfulness of the Czar's phrase is as clear to-day as it was in January of 1853. It only remains to say that the "necessary arrangements" to which the Czar referred had respect to what England and Russia were expected in a friendly way to do on the occasion of *the funeral!*

Constantinople, of which mention will be made in the Fourteenth Article, as in favor of those who officiate therein, promising to take such representations into due consideration, as being made by a confidential functionary of a neighboring and sincerely friendly Power." Under this compact, the Czar now took his stand, and, in the resulting correspondence, Lord John Russell, perhaps inadvertently, admitted the correctness of the position which Nicholas had assumed. Addressing Sir Hamilton Seymour, on the 9th of February, 1853, Lord Russell said: "The more the Turkish Government adopts the rules of impartial law and equal administration, the less will the Emperor of Russia find it necessary to apply that exceptional protection which his Imperial Majesty has found so burdensome and inconvenient, though, no doubt, prescribed by duty and sanctioned by treaty." It would therefore appear clear that, according to the Treaty of 1774, and by the admission of Lord Russell relative thereto, the Czar did have the right of interference in the Turkish Principalities for the protection of the Greek Christians resident therein.

It was not long, however, until England awoke to a realization of the fact that to grant the Czar's construction of the Treaty of 1774 was virtually to give away the whole question. That construction was, that the Russian Emperor had a *general* right of interference on behalf of the Greek Christians throughout the Turkish dominion. There, for instance, at the extreme south of European Turkey, were the Greek Principalities, with about fourteen millions of people, nominally Christians. What should be done with these? Should it be admitted that the Greeks, on the line of their religious sympathies, might accept the general protectorate of the Czar to the virtual abrogation of their allegiance to the Turkish sovereign? This would indeed seem to be the meaning of the concession which the Porte had made to Catherine the Great. The Western Powers, however, and England in particular, chose to put another and very different sense into the Treaty of Kainardji. The English interpretation of that instrument now was that the Sultan had merely conceded the Russian Minister at Constantinople the protectorate *of a certain Greek church* in that city, and that no general right or prerogative of the Czar respecting the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire had been granted.

Nevertheless, the Czar went straight ahead with his scheme of interference. Other matters had now been cleared away. The dispute between the Latin monks and the Greek ecclesiastics in Jerusalem had been easily settled. But the demands of the Czar relative to the Turkish Christians were urgent, and would take no denial. Nicholas despatched Prince Mentschikoff to Constantinople to extort from the Sultan a guarantee that certain reforms should be at once made in his administration relative to his Christian subjects. These demands were deemed by the Porte to be unreasonable; and Mentschikoff withdrew. The Czar thereupon ordered two divisions of his army to cross the Pruth into Turkish territory, and to hold the country until the Sultan should accede to the demands made upon him.

Meanwhile, diplomacy was busy at the problem. Ambassadors from England, Austria, France, and Prussia, met at Vienna to wrestle with the question of peace and war. Though Russia had already invaded the Turkish dominions, she continued to represent herself as peaceable. She would have peace; but guarantees must be given; and Turkey must concede the Russian protectorate over her Christian subjects. The diplomates were disposed to yield to the Czar's demands, and a memorandum was prepared in accordance with his wishes. The question seemed at the point of solution, and peace about to be secured, when everything was suddenly changed by the action of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, at that time Minister Plenipotentiary of Great Britain at Constantinople. He pointed out to the Sultan, with great force and clearness, the results which were sure to follow his acceptance of the proposed new treaty. He urged the Porte to fight, and showed conclusively that, in the event of war, the Western Powers, and particularly England and France, must espouse the Turkish cause, and that, in that event, the autonomy and independence of the Ottoman Empire would be secured. His views prevailed; and the memorandum of the Vienna Convention was accordingly rejected. With that rejection, war be came a certainty, and the solution of the Eastern Question, to which

we have here allotted so much space, was remanded to the sword.

There was now, during the later part of 1853, a brief interval of that kind of negotiation which precedes a war after the same has become a certainty. When Turkey refused to accept the proposal of the Vienna mediators, she offered to strike out certain offending words in their memorandum, and to put therein a clause which would be acceptable. But this modification was rejected with scorn by Russia. Meanwhile the Emperor of the French had not only joined fully in the purposes of England, but was clearly covetous of leadership in the coming conflict. Under this sentiment, he wrote a letter to Czar Nicholas, urging him in a somewhat lofty strain to keep the peace of Europe, and closing with a threat that in case the peace was broken, he and his Ally, the Queen of England, would regard war as a measure of necessity and justice. To this the Czar replied that he was acting under the plain stipulations of former treaties. From this position he would not recede, and that, should Russia be forced into a conflict, the Emperor of the French would find her as able to defend herself in 1854 *as she had been in* 1812! With such pleasant reminders the two Imperial personages sought to soothe each other's feelings when they had determined to fight.

In the meantime, however, war had actually begun. Glance again at the map of the Black Sea and the surrounding countries. It will be seen that the northern and eastern shores belong to the Russian Empire, while the southern coast is held by Turkey. Each nation had its fleet in these Euxine waters, the Russian squadron having its base at Sebastopol in the Crimean Peninsula on the north; and the Turkish fleet holding a like relation in the town of Sinope on the southern shore. It had now become clear that Russia, in order to make sure of the neutrality of Austria, must withdraw her arms from the Danubian Principalities into which she had penetrated; for the Austrian Emperor was averse in the highest degree to such occupation by the forces of the Czar. It was also clear that hostilities must break out on the Black Sea. The English and French fleets and armies were already on their way to the East. As soon as they should arrive at the entrance to the Dardanelles, the Sultan, having control of that narrow strait, and also of the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus itself, would, under his prerogative, open those waters for the passage of the allied squadron into the Black Sea. Nature and civilization had conspired to make that water and the adjacent shores the seat of the impending conflict.

Russia now sought to precipitate hostilities and to gain advantage before the arrival of the French and English forces. She accordingly allowed the Russian commander in the Black Sea to hover about Sinope with a view of provoking a battle. The provocation was readily, almost anxiously, accepted. On the 30th of November, 1853, the Turkish fleet sailed out from Sinope and anticipated the Russians in giving battle. The result was the annihilation of the Turkish squadron, and the bombardment and destruction of Sinope. The news of the conflict created great excitement in England and France, and the war spirit flamed high. Soon afterwards all diplomatical correspondence was broken off. The Russian Ambassadors were ordered home from Paris and London, and those of England and France withdrew from St. Petersburgh. Declarations of war were mutually made by Turkey, Great Britain, and France, as Allied Powers on the one side, and by Russia on the other. It remained to decide the issue by the arbitrament of battle.

It is not purposed in this connection to give an account of the Crimean War. A narrative of that conflict will be reserved for the chapter devoted to the history of Eastern Europe in the present century. It has been the purpose in the current narrative to make clear the antecedents of the conflict between the Allied Powers and Russia in the Black Sea, by reciting with tolerable fullness the principal features of the Eastern Question—a question which, for ages to come, must continue to elicit the keenest interest on the part of all students of history. The narrative has been given, as it were, from the British point of view,—this for the reason that Great Britain properly may be regarded as the leading factor in the maintenance of the Turkish cause, and the principal contributor to the very imperfect solution of the questions involved in the war. We may now revert for a moment to the

progress of affairs in the Home Government of England.

The Ministry of Lord Aberdeen had been primarily disposed to peace. It will be remembered that Lord Palmerston had accepted office in the Cabinet, but it was as Home Secretary. In the duties of his position he devoted himself assiduously to several questions of much importance in the domestic economy of England; but apparently gave little attention to the foreign affairs of the Government. The sequel showed, however, that his eye was steadily fixed upon the progress of events in the East, and also that he did not agree with his colleagues in their peaceable dispositions. Such a state of affairs in the Cabinet was sure to produce a rupture. Lord Aberdeen was a man of peace, and Gladstone, Secretary of the Exchequer, was in sympathy with the views of the leader. Those views predominated for a while in the policy of the Government, and it was in accordance with this policy that the futile efforts for peace had been made by the four Powers in Council at Vienna.

Meanwhile, however, the war spirit prevailed more and more in Great Britain, and Lord Palmerston, better than any of his colleagues, discerned the drift of public sentiment and the inevitable course of events. At length the news arrived that the Turkish fleet had been destroyed in the furious conflict off Sinope. The official reports of the battle showed that four thousand Turks had been reduced by slaughter to four hundred, and that of this handful not a single man had escaped without a wound. Though the battle had been fought fairly enough, the press of Western Europe described the engagement as "The Massacre of Sinope." The news in England was like the pouring out of a tank of oil on a bonfire. Lord Palmerston urged the Cabinet to move forward with decision to a declaration of war. He advocated the sending of an armament immediately into the Black Sea; for, with his usual breadth of understanding, he had discerned that that water was to be the seat of the impending conflict.

At the first his radical views were not accepted, and he resigned his office. For the moment the real cause of his retirement was dissembled; but the country soon perceived that Palmerston had gone out because his views relative to affairs in the East could not be impressed on the Cabinet. Those views had now become the sentiments of the English people, and it was not long till the Aberdeen Ministry was borne down by public opinion. The policy of Government fell into line with the common voice, and Palmerston was at once recalled to office. He was not destined at the first, however, to give actual direction to the war, which was declared by Great Britain in March of 1854. It was not until the 5th of February in the following year, when the inefficient Ministry of Lord Aberdeen had gone to pieces, that Palmerston was called, not indeed to the War Office, not to the Secretaryship of Foreign Affairs, but to the position of Premier of England. Under his auspices the Crimean War, in the course of the ensuing year, was brought to a successful conclusion. After the accession of Palmerston, there was never any further complaint of inefficiency in the support of the British cause, and when it came to settling the controversy at the Treaty of Paris, in 1856, the influence of the English Premier was conspicuously predominant.

Before proceeding, however, with the narrative of the foreign relations of Great Britain under the Palmerston *régime*, we may well notice a few of the important domestic questions which came under his supervision while holding the office of Home Secretary. One circumstance which has been much dwelt upon is the fact that Lord Palmerston, much more than any other British statesman of the age, had received and accepted the results of the teaching of that new natural science which was, at that time, scarcely more than germinal in the public mind. He adopted and endeavored to apply these results in his Administration, and excited much antagonism by his common sense and straightforward dealings with domestic, and even religious, questions of the time. It was in the year 1853 that the cholera, worst of Asiatic scourges, made its appearance in many parts of Europe, and at length broke out in Edinburgh. That city was at the time poorly drained, without adequate sanitary provisions of any kind, given up to neglect and dirt; in a word, well prepared by the ignorance of man for the ravages of an infectious disease. The scourge

came, and the Presbytery of the city concluded, after their manner, that it might best be stayed by a national fast. Accordingly, in the fall of the year above named, the Presbyters, by their Moderator, addressed a letter to Lord Palmerston, Home Secretary of the Kingdom. The document was so worded as to bear the character of an appeal to the nation, and of a rebuke to the Home Secretary for his implied negligence in proclaiming the fast for which the letter was ostensibly a petition. What, therefore, was the astonishment of the Presbyters and of the public generally, when Lord Palmerston replied from



LORD PALMERSTON.

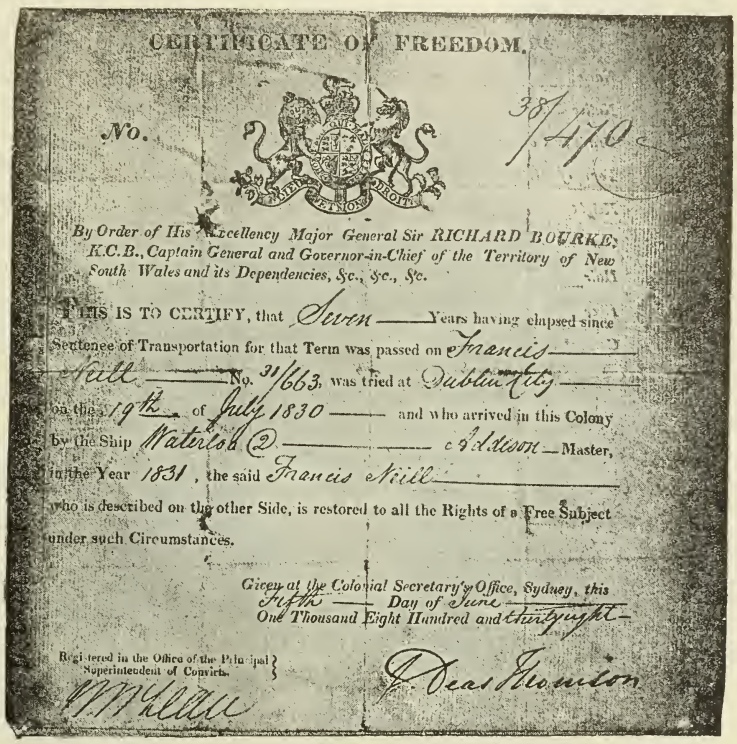
the stand-point of a man of science? He informed the Moderator, and, through that official, the Presbytery and the general public, that, according to his views of the natural world and of the system of government established for mankind, the weal or woe of the human race depends upon the observance or neglect of the beneficent natural laws under which men are born and live and die. He informed the petitioners that the cholera was not the result of the Divine anger, but of the sowing of pestilential germs in the filth which had accumulated, through their ignorance and neglect, around their own homes, and that the scourge, if combated at all, must be met on its own field, and vanquished by the application of scientific and sanitary agents. In the conclusion of his letter, the Home Secretary expressed himself and the principles by which his office was governed as follows:

"Lord Palmerston would therefore suggest that the best course which the people of this country can pursue to deserve that the further progress of the cholera should be stayed, will be to employ the interval that will elapse between the present time and the beginning of next spring, in planning and executing measures by which those portions of our towns and cities which are inhabited by the poorest classes, and which, from the nature of things, must most need purification and improvement, may be freed from those causes and sources of contagion which, if allowed to remain, will infallibly breed pestilence, and be fruitful in death, *in spite of all the prayers and fastings of a united but inactive nation.*"

Perhaps this reply of Lord Palmerston to the Presbytery of Edinburgh is the first public document of its kind, the first to suggest openly the substitution of rational and scientific methods, instead of religious humiliations, for the remedy of physical evils, which has appeared in the documentary history of the English-speaking race.

In other particulars, Lord Palmerston was equally remarkable in administering the duties of his office. It was during his ascendency in the Home Department that the plan of transportation as a punishment for felonies gave way, and the ticket-of-leave system was established. It is known to all the world how Great Britain, by her transportation of criminals to Australia and other remote regions, had half-unwittingly built up penal colonies, and how these colonies had reformed themselves, gradually substituting law for license, and becoming well-ordered plantations. To continue to pour into such reformed settlements the filthy ooze of London, was to defile the colonies back to their original condition. Protests arose from the settlements of New South Wales against the continuance of a system so ruinous to the reviving virtues of the colonists.

At length such protests were heard by the Home Government, and, as a means of alleviating the distress of her foreign settlements, Lord Palmerston invented the ticket-of-leave. This meant, in a word, that those convicts in the penal colonies who exhibited evidences of reformation, might receive from the authorities tickets entitling the holders to go free, returning, should they choose, to their homes in England. The measure proved to be salutary. Great numbers of the ticket-of-leave men became good citizens, both at home and abroad, and the plan was made an entering wedge for the abolition of the whole system of transportation.


CERTIFICATE OF FREEDOM.

No. 38/4470

By Order of His Excellency Major General Sir RICHARD BOURKE, K.C.B., Captain General and Governor-in-Chief of the Territory of New South Wales and its Dependencies, &c., &c., &c.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY, that Seven Years having elapsed since Sentence of Transportation for that Term was passed on Francis Neill No. 31/663, was tried at Dublin City on the 19th of July 1830 and who arrived in this Colony by the Ship Waterloo (2) Addison Master, in the Year 1831, the said Francis Neill who is described on the other Side, is restored to all the Rights of a Free Subject under such Circumstances.

Given at the Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney, this Fifth Day of June One Thousand Eight Hundred and thirty eight

Registered in the Office of the Principal Superintendent of Convicts.

A TICKET-OF-LEAVE.

Lord Palmerston also secured the adoption of measures by which London and other great manufacturing cities of the Kingdom were freed from the smoke and soot of the factories. Such establishments were obliged, by law, to introduce contrivances for the consumption of their own smoke, thus relieving the public. Still another important measure was that by which the grave-yards in London were shut up against the further accumulation of dead bodies. Lord Palmerston seems to have felt a scientific horror for the further poisoning of the earth by the deposition of the dead in unsuitable localities. In one instance, application was made to him for the burial of a distinguished ecclesiastic under the roof of one of the sacred structures. The Secretary replied with the declaration, that he could not see any possible advantage in having the decomposition of a dead body going on under the feet of the living. In denial of the request, he urged that the pavements of a church were the last place in the world for the burial of the dead. The Minister concluded that England was the last civilized country in which people still insisted in accumulating the putrefying bodies of the dead amid the dwellings of the living. "As to burying bodies under thronged churches," said he, "you might as well put them under libraries, drawing-rooms, and dining-rooms."

CHAPTER CXXX.—SEPOY REBELLION.

FROM 1854 to 1856, the attention of Great Britain was almost wholly absorbed with the events of the Crimean War, and with the terms of the treaty by which that conflict was concluded. We shall hereafter notice the conditions of settlement. For the present, we pass on to consider the next great event in which the history of England found expression in foreign lands. This was THE SEPOY REBELLION IN INDIA. The outbreak of the insurrection belongs to the year 1857. The revolt and its suppression covered some of the most tragical circumstances which history has been called to record in modern times. In order to understand the fundamental character and shocking incidents of the insurrection, and of the methods employed by Great Britain for the restoration of order in India, the ground must first be cleared with one or two preparatory studies of the state of Indian civilization, and of the style of the British Government at the time of the outbreak.

The field which here opens before us is of almost infinite extent. The peoples of India are descended from the most ancient branch of the Aryan race. Long before the Hellenic tribes set foot in Europe, the Indic shepherds had built in the valleys of the great rivers of the East the institutions of society and religion. Nations multiplied in this far region of the earth. Wars and transformations and reconstructions innumerable ensued, even before the days when the horsemen of Alexander confronted the elephants of Porus. A mere outline of the history of India, from the time when the Macedonian conquest revealed the mysteries of the East to the nations of the West, down to the time when the Portuguese ships, in the early part of the sixteenth century, began to visit the coasts "of Ormuz and of Ind," would occupy a whole chapter of the present work. We must here reduce the whole to a summary.

Many nations and peoples grew and flourished between the Himalayas and the western seas. Empires rose and passed away. The Indian populations increased to a hundred millions, and then to more than two hundred millions. Under Timour the Great, whose reign covered the greater part of the fourteenth century, India was conquered and consolidated; her peoples were brought under a single sway, and the Mogul, or Mongol, dynasty was established at Delhi. The successors of Timour continued to reign in the ancient capital down to the time of the Portuguese conquests in India. The hereditary sovereigns of Delhi retained at least a nominal authority over vast and populous regions, and were little disturbed by the impact of European adventurers on the sea-coasts. At length the Portuguese banner was pulled down from the place where it stood in the East, and the flag of Holland was raised in its stead in the Indies. The Dutch ascendency was soon followed by the French, and finally by the English.

It were long to tell the story of the British East India Company; of the foot-hold which it gained on the western coast, and more particularly on the Bay of Bengal. The history of the planting and extension of the commercial, and finally the political, interests of Great Britain in India, is full of incidents most highly illustrative of the power and persistency of the race. At length the Government of the East India Company gave place to that of a Governor-General and other officials sent out from England. A hundred years had now elapsed since Lord Robert Clive had organized what we are henceforth entitled to call the British East Indian Empire. The primitive seat of the Government was at Hooghly, an ancient Indian town on the river of the same name; but this place was at length abandoned for Calcutta, which became the capital and the port of India. From this maritime nucleus the strong arms of English authority were ultimately stretched out over two hundred millions of native subjects in the East.

In the middle of the present century the

Indian dominions of Great Britain were organized under three principal territorial divisions or presidencies. The first of these was Bengal; the second, Bombay; and the third, Madras. From the capitals of these countries, with a few thousand officials, civil and military, the administration of all India was conducted. The native princes still existed, still held a certain rank and authority over their respective peoples. Above them all was the aged King of Delhi, lineal descendant of the great Timour, representative of the Mogul dynasty, nominal Emperor of India.

With these native sovereigns and princes, and with the peoples under them, the Government of Great Britain temporized from year to year. It must not be forgotten that the primary business of England in India had been commerce. It might almost be said that such has been her business in the world. But to maintain her commercial ascendency in India and in the adjacent seas, required many expedients and a vast expenditure of force. One of the most effective of these expedients was the organization and discipline of native armies under English officers. It was found that the Hindus made good soldiers, and were glad to accept service and compensation at the hands of the Government. The military establishment thus created and maintained as the right arm of British authority was vastly cheaper and hardly less efficient than would have been an army of native soldiers sent out from England. But it had in it the potency of all dangers. Many local difficulties had occurred of such character as to give Great Britain warning of worse things possible. At the time of the destruction of the English army in Cabul, symptoms of a general disaffection were noticed in several of the subject provinces; and had it not been for the speedy and completely successful rally made by the Government, and the triumphant conquest of Cabul before the very face of all India, it were hard to predict what other disasters might have followed in the train.



DIAMOND HARBOR, HOOGHLY.

Of all the East Indian armies that of Bengal was most dangerously composed. It had been enlisted almost wholly of High-caste Hindus, a class of the people more intelligent and high-spirited, though not less superstitious, than were the others below them in rank. The extent to which all the people of India were subject to superstition is known as an objective notion to the whole world. But the bitterness and obduracy of the social and religious prejudices which pervaded every rank and class of the population can never be appreciated and understood but by him who has studied the phenomena on the spot of their

production. The class-name by which the native soldiers of Hindu derivation in the Bengal army were known was SEPOYS. As we have said, they constituted an excellent but dangerous soldiery; excellent, because of their easy discipline and courage in fight; dangerous, because of their superstitions and that peculiar sublety of character for which the word *Indian* is the best definition.

At the first, the Sepoy army had been to a considerable extent officered by captains chosen from themselves. But, in course of time, nearly all the commands were taken by English officers, who might thus easily rise to rank. This was a cause of jealousy on the part of the native soldiers. We must not understand that the whole military force of Bengal was made up of the Brahmin caste. Low-caste men were also recruited. Some regiments were filled up in good part with Mohammedans. Between these various elements present in the army of natives there was constant hatred, and almost equally constant difficulty. The idea of any affiliation between the different castes was repugnant to the sentiment of all. The extent to which the Brahmin soldier despised and abhorred his countrymen of Low-caste condition can not be explained to the people of the Western nations or understood by them. The Mohammedan, under the influence of his Arabian religion, looked with like contempt and horror upon the character of the Brahmin. In only one thing could all be said to agree, and that was in a certain covert detestation of the English officers and of the British Government, by which they were held down and checked in their native impulses and passions.

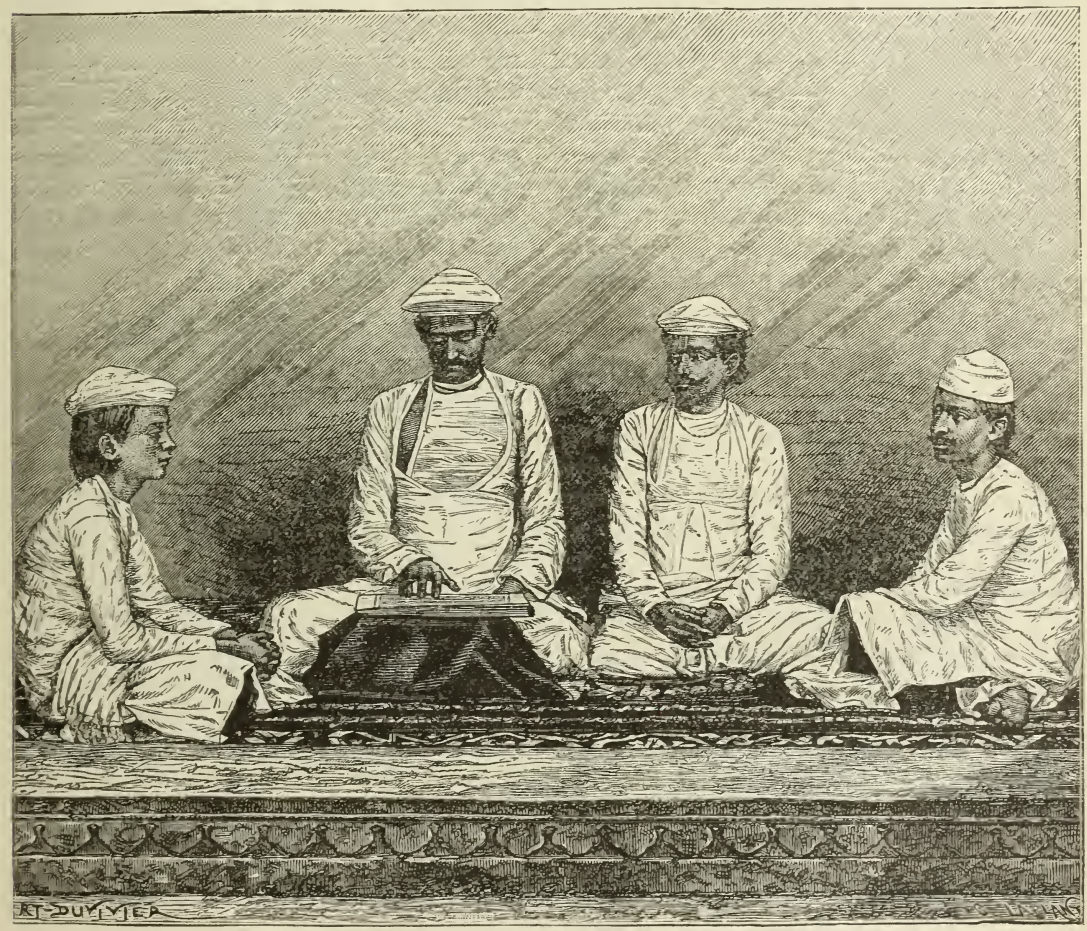
We may well look still further into the composition of the native armies of India. In the Bengalese regiments, a great majority of the soldiers were, as we have intimated, High-caste Brahmins; but in the armies of Bombay and Madras, a majority of the men were of other derivation—Mohammedans and Low-caste recruits of many orders. As originally organized, the Indian soldiers were under enlistment for service in India only. Foreign service they were not expected to perform. This is said of the Bengalese army, not of the native troops in Bombay and Madras. The latter might be called to serve abroad. The British authorities at length determined that the exemption hitherto conceded to the Sepoys



NATIVE OFFICERS OF THE BOMBAY ARMY.

of Bengal was a mistaken measure. Accordingly, in 1856, a change was made in the military regulations, by which foreign service as well as home duty was exacted of the Bengalese forces. The Sepoy was put upon the same level and discipline with the soldier of Madras and Bombay. This change was greatly resented in the army of Bengal, which had hitherto been regarded as a favorite of the Government. The Sepoy felt that he had been degraded by being reduced to the rank of the soldiers of the North-west, whom he was accustomed to regard as so far beneath himself.

The High-caste Brahmin Sepoy was in the highest degree exclusive in all his habits and sentiments. The social system made his family relatives as numerous as a clan. All these were bound together by the principles of caste, which could not be loosed. It was customary for Sepoys of a common blood and name to get together in large numbers in a given regiment, where, by associating together, they could better preserve the usages and gratify the pride of their caste. The nature of military discipline, however, is communal. Each soldier under command is even as his fellow. When the regimental line is formed and the order given, it is impossible that caste should assert itself. When off duty, however, the Sepoys at once fell under the dominion of their prejudices, and the customs of caste were immediately observed. The Brahmin soldier cooked his food apart, ate it apart, slept apart, would not converse or communicate in any manner with the soldier of a caste different from his own. Besides these differences and divisions, the presence of Mohammedanism added to the hatred and animosity which burned in the breasts of the soldiers. Religious prejudices augmented and intensified the



BRAHMINS OF BENGAL.

bitterness which existed among the castes on the score of social stratification.

At first view it would appear that an army constituted as was that of Bengal could not be disciplined or kept in subordination at all. But not so. Under British authority and management the military forces were brought to good discipline and made highly effective. The wise Government played off the prejudices and passions of the native soldiers so as to make a balance of animosity. The hatred of one party for another was put in equipoise against the hatred of the other for it. Over both the sword of England was easily extended, and, though the condition was one of great danger, the authorities of Calcutta and the Home Government of Great Britain were alike free from serious apprehension.

To the circumstances already narrated other causes of disaffection and mutiny must be added. The territorial and political management of India had been greatly changed, not to say revolutionized, under recent administrations. We have already referred to Lord Clive as the great organizer of British power in the East. After him, the most energetic and powerful of the East India Governor-Generals was Lord Dalhousie. He was appointed to office in the latter part of 1847, and immediately began to extend the influence and rationalize the methods of government by which the Hindu populations were kept in order.

We may not here enumerate the various measures which Lord Dalhousie made effective during his administration. The greatest of all his schemes was the annexation of the Northern and North-western provinces of India. Thus were the Punjaub, Nagpore, Sattarah, Jhansi, Berar, and Oudh incorporated with the British dominions. Lord Dalhousie reformed and reorganized territories as large as the major kingdoms of Europe, and handled populations, governments, and laws as though they had been the subjects of committee reports in the common council of an English town. The British system of cheap postage was introduced into the country. Railroads began to be built of greater extent than were possible in the narrow limits of the British Isles. A telegraph was carried from Calcutta to Agra, thence to the river Indus, and finally to Bombay and Madras. Under these improvements, civil, political, and social, the ancient institutions of the country gave way, and what may well be called New India arose in place of that old India which had been handed down from Alexander to the Mogul Emperors, and from the Mogul Emperors to modern times.

It is needless to say that the great and salutary administration of Lord Dalhousie was an offense against the ancient prejudices of the Hindus. They began to feel themselves shaken from the very ground. It appeared to the imagination of the Brahmin that the end of all things was approaching; that the venerable system of society, which had its ultimate roots among the mysteries of the Vedic Hymns, was about to pass away. He saw the ancient kingdom of Oudh, which the East India Company had agreed to defend, abolished under the radicalism of Dalhousie; the honored chiefs converted into dependents and sycophants, and the old King of Oudh himself dethroned and transferred to a pensionary residence near Calcutta. All of these proceedings were of a character to excite and alarm the conservative peoples, among whom it was a principle of action to conceal their real sentiments and passions under the garb of acquiescence and docility.

The British Government, however, felt no fear. The officials in India went straight ahead with the administration, civil and military, heeding not the lessons which might well have been drawn from the frequent local disturbances and mutinies which they had to suppress. Improvements were freely introduced from England. At length it was determined to replace the old-style, ineffective muskets with which the Sepoy armies were supplied, with Enfield rifles. A cargo of these arms was accordingly sent out, and the same were distributed to the Sepoy soldiery.

We are now arrived at that stage in the progress of affairs when only a fortuitous circumstance was needed to fire the magazine. When a revolution breaks out, it is the wont of historians and people to seize upon the particular fact whereby the train is lighted, and to call that fact the *cause* of the revolution. Such a view of the case is as superficial as to say that the spark in the ship's hold, lighting at first a few grains of powder, then

sputtering a few moments in zigzag lines as the flame runs into the magazine, is the cause of the explosion; or to regard the overturning of a coal-oil lamp by the widow's cow, in an obscure stable-shed, as the *cause* of the burning of Chicago. Nevertheless, the point of ignition may well be regarded as critical, and the mistaken theory which ascribes thereto a causative influence on subsequent events



PORT OF CALCUTTA.

may be overlooked, along with similar errors peculiar to the human understanding.

The Enfield rifles then, put, as we have seen, into the hands of the Sepoys, brought with them the incidental circumstance which was to perform the part of a match in the coming conflagration. The fact to which we here refer has become celebrated among the peculiar episodes of modern history. The Enfield rifles were fed with cartridges, and in the preparation of the cartridges the manufacturers employed both the tallow of cattle and the fat of swine. The cartridges were *greased*, to the end of making them impervious to moisture and to facilitate their movement in the barrels of the rifles. Now the cow is the sacred animal of the Hindu superstition. To eat her, or to treat her body or parts with disrespect, is one of the highest forms of sacrilege. As for the hog, he is held as abominably unclean by both Hindus and Mohammedans. In the loading of the rifles, the manual of arms directed that the crest of the cartridge should be bitten off with the teeth before inserting it in the chamber of the weapon. To the Sepoys, to touch, and especially to taste, the flesh or any of the products of the hated swine, is to be defiled almost beyond the hope of purification. Of course, the British authorities had not intended to do violence to the prejudices of the Sepoy

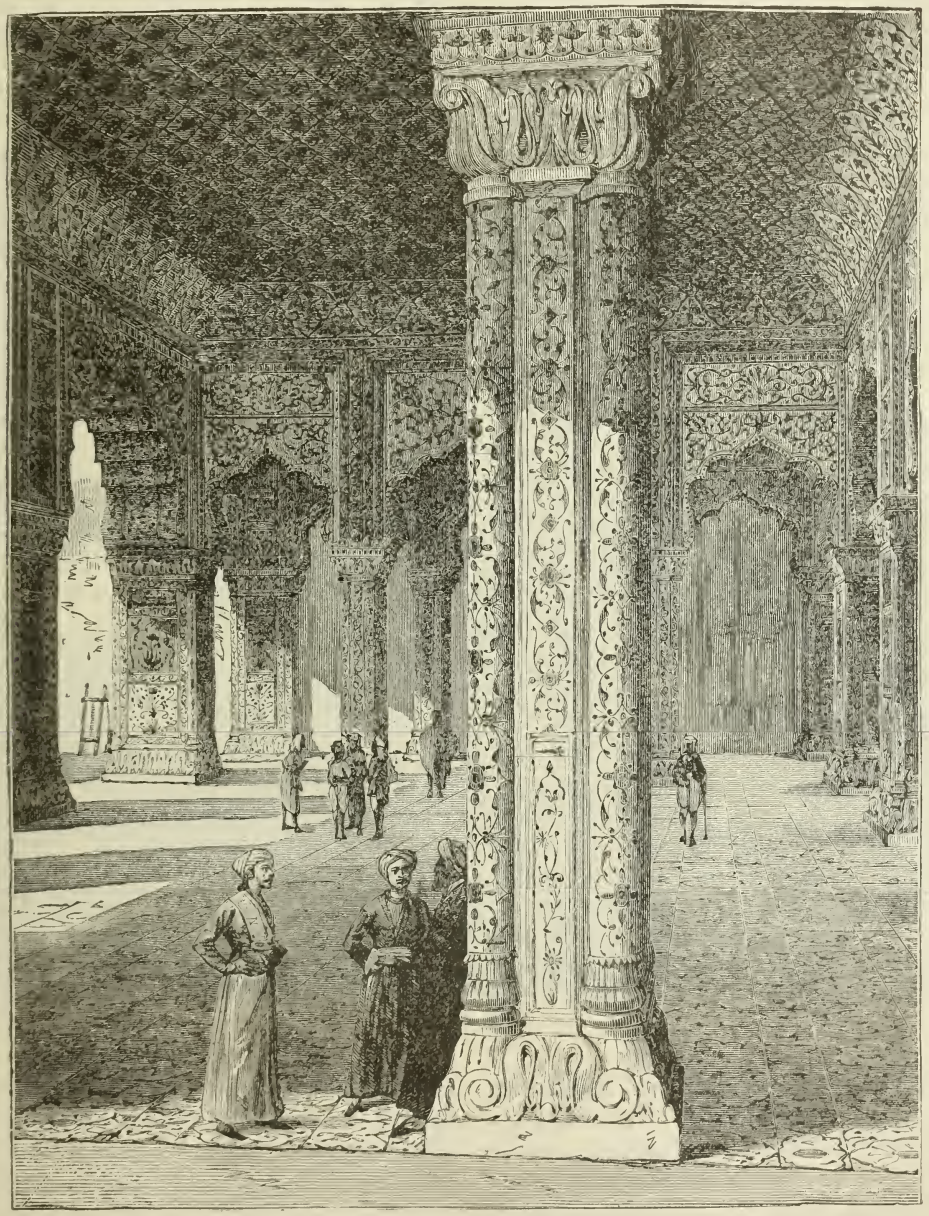
soldiers, and it has even been denied that the cartridges contained the offensive substances. But the probability is that the denial was an afterthought intended to trammel up the consequences. "Give me a drink," said a Hindu one day to a Sepoy soldier of a higher caste. It was at a spring or well. The Sepoy looked upon the other with a glance of loathing, and was about to pass on. Should the rim of his canteen or cup be forever polluted by touching the lips of a vulgar creature of the lower caste? "You are very particular about your caste to-day," said the Hindu. "Perhaps you do not know that every time you bite off your cartridge *you take the fat of a hog into your mouth!*"

The Sepoy, horror-struck at what was said, told his companions. The papers of the cartridges were examined, and were found to be greased. The storm of insurrection broke out in a moment. The spark had fallen into the ship's hold, where the combustibles were accumulated, and the explosion followed. Nevertheless, the officers of the Government made, at first, strenuous efforts to put out the insurrection by peaceable means. The incident to which we have referred above occurred in the latter part of 1856, at the town of Meerut, a military post of considerable importance, lying a short distance from the ancient city of Delhi, between the rivers Ganges and Jumna. The first insurrection of the Sepoys was in the nature of a panic, rather than hostile mutiny. The officers of the army first sought by denial of the pollution of the cartridges to stay the revolt; and when this did not avail, an order was issued, in January of 1857, that the rifles should be served with cartridges of a different manufacture, in which the purity of the materials was guaranteed. The Governor-General issued a proclamation to the army, in which assurances were given that no offense was intended against the principles of caste or the religious customs of the country. But the mischief was done, and the spirit of mutiny spread from regiment to regiment, until at the opening of spring, 1857, the whole Sepoy army was infected. In the emergency, which was now manifest, some of the regiments were disbanded. In other cases, the leaders of the spreading revolt were executed. When the Bengal cavalry at Meerut were served with a supply of new cartridges, they refused to use them—this against the assurance of the officers that the cartridges contained no impure materials. The recusant Sepoys were accordingly arrested, brought to trial and condemned, some to imprisonment, and some to banishment. The convicts were put in irons in the presence of their countrymen, and were sent to the prison of Meerut.

On the following day, May 10, 1857, the mutiny broke out in earnest. The native soldiers marched from their barracks, stormed the prison, released their condemned fellow-soldiers, and shot down the English guard that attempted to stay their progress. The revolt flamed high. The English rallied as large a force as they could, returned the charge, and the mutineers were driven out of their cantonments. The whole body of the insurrection then broke out of Meerut, and rolled off in the direction of Delhi.

The events which now rapidly ensued showed conclusively that the insurrection had been fomented for a definite purpose, and that purpose was no less than the recovery of National Independence. As soon as the insurgent soldiery could reach Delhi, they immediately proceeded to draw the old king or emperor from his Oriental seclusion in the palace of his ancestors, the Grand Moguls, and to proclaim him Emperor of India. The antiquated sovereign had been subsisting in Eastern splendor by means of the pension which had been granted to him, in the first place, by the East India Company, and afterwards continued by the Government at Calcutta. As we have said, the King of Delhi was the descendant and representative of whatever remained of the great Mogul dynasty, which had been established over all India by Timour Lenk. There was therefore a certain rationality and legitimacy in the notion of restoring the obsolete sovereign to the throne of his ancestors. Meanwhile, the mutiny gathered head. The Sepoy troops, holding the barracks at Delhi, broke into insurrection and joined the mutineers who had come from Meerut. The British contingent was obliged to give way before the revolt, and the ancient palace of the Mogul sovereigns of India, shining in the brilliant light of a May morning, was again inhabited by a native Emperor.

Down to Benares, and thence to Calcutta, the rumor of the insurrection was borne on the wings of the wind. Conceive of the condition of affairs in that far capital, when the story was promulgated of the successful rising of well-grounded panic which ever distracted an English colony. The British people, officials and other, now resident in Bengal, numbered in all fewer than a hundred thousand. This mere handful, by comparison, was expected to hold



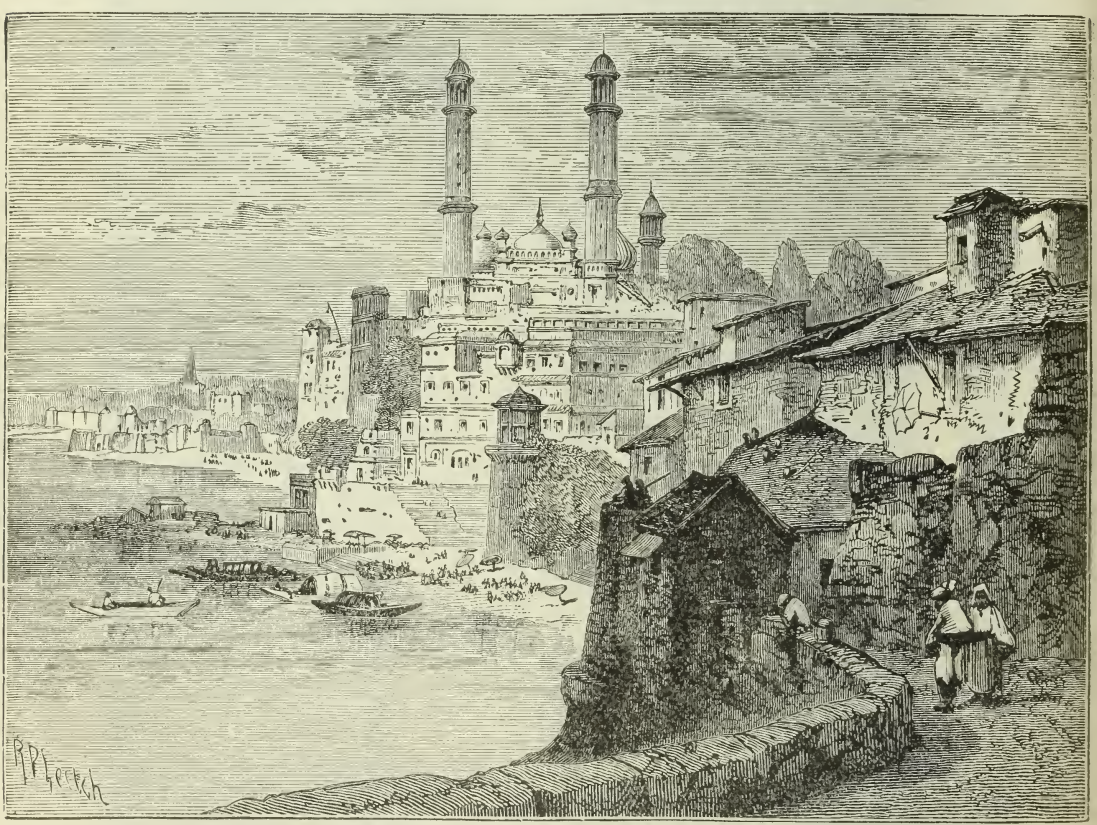
THRONE-ROOM, PALACE OF DELHI.

the Sepoy army at Meerut and Delhi. Lord Dalhousie had now been succeeded in office by Lord Canning, as Governor-General of India. Upon him, and the officers of Government associated with him, was devolved the duty of staying the progress of the most dreadful and in subjection multiplied millions of natives in hot insurrection against the Government. An incredible alarm spread among the English of Calcutta, wild rumors of horrible massacres of women and children filled the air. The people were frenzied, and rushed to the Gov-

ernment House, almost insane with fear, crying for protection, and clamoring for vengeance, not only against the Sepoys, but against the Hindus in general. Terror heightened the confusion, and the wonder was, and is, that Lord Canning was able to hold the panic in check, and, at the same time, take the first measures for the restoration of order.

It has been mentioned that the dethroned King of Oudh had been transferred by the Government, during the administration of Lord Dalhousie, to a pensionary residence at Garden Reach, near Calcutta. The suspicion at once arose that the deposed sovereign, who, in case of the success of the revolt would be restored to his kingdom, under the sovereignty of the Emperor of Delhi, was in the conspiracy. Acting upon this apprehension, Lord Canning ordered the King of Oudh to be taken from his palace and held, for the time being, as a kind of hostage in Fort William, which was the military residence of the Governor-General himself. As for the rest, he sought to allay the frenzy of the people, and in particular to check the violence of the proceedings which were urged by the officers of the Government, and by the English generally, against the natives. As yet there had been no revolt at Calcutta; but the frantic populace were ready to proceed against the Hindus as though the latter had already committed the most horrid crimes recorded in the brutalities of history.

The same spirit was exhibited in a still more marked degree when the news at length reached England. The inhabitants of the Home Kingdom put no bounds to their rage and fury. The reports which went flying abroad were frightfully exaggerated, and the people well-nigh lost their self-control in discussing measures of revenge. The English newspapers of the summer of 1857 teemed with editorials and contributions, in which the most cruel methods known to the barbarities of mediæval warfare were openly advocated as the proper means of redress in India.



BENARES.

As soon as Lord Canning succeeded in restoring some slight confidence and order in Calcutta, he instituted such measures as might best shore up the shaken Government of India. He perceived at a glance that to wait for the coming of a British army from the Home Kingdom, ten thousand miles away, would be to wait for destruction. Unless something could be done long before a British army could come to the rescue of the East Indian Empire, the Government of England in Hindustan would either be trampled in blood or cast into the Bay of Bengal.. In the emergency, fortune stood Lord Canning well in hand. He was sufficiently acquainted with all the movements on the vast board of Empire to be able to see what pieces—here a knight, and there a castle—might be seized by himself and made available against the enemy. In his sore trial he remembered that at that very day an English armament, which had been sent out weeks before for a descent on the ports of China, was already on the Indian coast, within his reach. He accordingly took the great responsibility of arresting the squadron *en route*, and diverting it to the greater need of India. The Chinese imbroglio might well be left to settle itself as it might, or to remain perpetually unsettled, in the presence of the appalling condition of affairs at Calcutta and Delhi.

But the stopping of the English armament was not the only measure which Lord Canning adopted for the salvation of the Government and people. Early in this year, Sir James Outram had been sent with an army on an expedition against Persia. He made short work with the campaign. Meeting the enemy at Khushab, he inflicted upon him a decisive and overwhelming defeat, ending the war with a blow. Him Lord Canning now remembered and summoned with all speed to return to India. In this matter, also, fortune favored the movement. Telegraphic communication had been effected by Lord Dalhousie between Calcutta and Lahore, capital of the Punjaub. Thither Lord Canning sent on its way to General Outram the following despatch: "WE WANT ALL OUR BEST MEN HERE." Never was a truer telegram urged by the electric current to its destination. Outram responded with alacrity. Bringing his army with him, he returned speedily, and on his arrival at Calcutta, was appointed to the command of the two divisions of the Army of Bengal.



SIR JOHN LAWRENCE.

We may here notice a few of the leading incidents of the spread and development of the insurrection. The Punjaub was saved from the revolt, or at least from its worst effects, in a marvelous manner. That province at

the time was under authority of Sir John Lawrence. That officer, however, was not at Lahore, when, on the 11th of May, the news was borne thither of the mutiny at Meerut. In his absence the command of the capital rested on Colonel Robert Montgomery. The British army at that place lay at the time in the cantonments known as Mecan Meer, about six miles from the city. The army consisted of more than five thousand men, of whom about thirteen hundred were British regulars. It could not be discerned by the English authorities whether or not the native troops would remain loyal or join the revolt. The situation was one of great peril. The officers did not dare to let matters drift along until an unquenchable mutiny should flame up around the very quarters where they were established. On the other hand, it was not just, perhaps not expedient, to assume that the native troops would mutiny. It was resolved, however, by the authorities, not to risk everything on the hope that the Sepoys would remain loyal and obedient. The presumption on the other side was so strong that it was determined to mate the mutiny at a single move.

On the evening on which the intelligence of the insurrection at Meerut was brought to Lahore, a great ball, half civil, half military, had been projected. It was decided that the entertainment should proceed as though nothing perilous was at the door. During the night the officers made preparations for the following day. A military parade and review was ordered for the early morning. In the arrangement for the same the artillery, heavily loaded with grape, was planted in a certain position before which, in one of the evolutions of the review, the Sepoy regiments must present themselves in line. The English soldiers, at the moment when the Sepoys should come into this position, were to be behind the twelve guns of the batteries, and the artillerymen were to stand at their posts with lighted matches. The plan was carried out to the letter. When the four thousand native troops whirled into the fatal position which had been contrived for them, they were halted, and the command was given *to stack arms!* It was the alternative of obedience or death. The Sepoys perceived at a glance that the European soldiers had them in their power. They obeyed



VIEW OF LAHORE—THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

the command, and stacked their arms, and the latter were immediately borne away to the cantonments. In the lower Punjaub the English were equally successful in manœuvering the Sepoys out of power, and in saving the Province from serious rebellion.

In Oudh, however, a very different result was reached. That great Province was destined to fall under the dominion of the rebels, and to become the scene of some of the most tragic events recorded in modern history. It was on the 30th of May that the insurrection broke out in the city of Lucknow, the ancient capital of Oudh. At this place the British army, made up in large part of Sepoys, was under command of the Governor, Sir Henry Lawrence. When the rebellion showed itself he strove with great energy to stay the insurrection, and to expel the insurgents from the city. But this effort was in vain. It must be remembered that Lucknow was a city with a population of more than two hundred thousand, and to hold down this enormous mass of rebels with a small body of English soldiers was an impossibility. The Governor, therefore, fell back before the revolt, and posted himself in the Residency, or military head-quarters of the Government, a short distance from the city. Here he was immediately besieged by overwhelming numbers. All through June he held out with extraordinary courage. But he was not destined to witness the result of the struggle. On the 2d of July, while he was reclining in his tent, a shell burst through, exploded, and shattered his limbs so terribly that not even amputation could save his life. He died two days afterwards, and the garrison was left to defend itself without his able and courageous direction.

Soon after the events just described, a message was carried to Lucknow from Sir Hugh Wheeler, commandant at the city of Cawnpore, distant about fifty miles. This important place, memorable forever for the horrors of this summer, lay on the south bank of the river Ganges. Here was stationed a division of the army, made up, as usual, of a fraction of English soldiers and a great majority of Sepoys. Cawnpore was regarded as one of the most important military stations in Upper India; nor must the reader fail to remember, in his attempt to realize the course and character of the Indian Mutiny, that Cawnpore is distant from Calcutta more than six hundred miles.

The English military force of the city num-



BRITISH RESIDENCY AT LUCKNOW.

bered only about three hundred men, including the officers. The Sepoys in the ranks numbered fully three thousand, including the Fifty-third and Sixty-fifth Regiments of Infantry, the Second Regiment of Bengal Cavalry, and a company of the First Artillery. There were, however, in Cawnpore about a thousand other English residents, of whom a large number were women and children. Considering the whole population as a mass, about one in fifty was of European birth. It was the misfortune,

or one of the many misfortunes, of the situation, that Sir Hugh Wheeler, upon whom so great a responsibility devolved, was already seventy-five years of age. He was, moreover, a man by nature and discipline but little capable of facing the dreadful emergency which had now arrived. He had been fully warned of the spread of the revolt. When the rebellion broke out at Meerut, and soon afterwards at Lucknow, Sir Henry Lawrence sent word to his subordinate at Cawnpore to make every preparation to meet and repel the coming revolt. But Sir Hugh Wheeler was unable to grasp the situation. The position in which he planted his forces was ill-chosen, and the defenses which he prepared were little better than contemptible. Some mud walls, about four feet in height, were thrown up as a protection for the garrison. But the intrenchments were so slight that a horseman would have little difficulty in passing them at a bound.

Within this most miserable situation, the English commander gathered the fated company of Eûropeans, who must maintain themselves against the multiplied thousands of enraged and triumphant enemies. There were, in all, within the fortifications, about four hundred English soldiers. Of non-combatants, some four hundred and sixty-five, including the civil officials, the railway managers, merchants, and shop-keepers of Cawnpore, were gathered into the pen. Of grown women, married and unmarried, wives and daughters of the English officers and residents, there were two hundred and eighty; and the remainder were children. Such was the situation when the native host of insurgents, composed largely of the ruffian element, always aggregated about large cities, encompassed the English position and began the siege. It was in the face of this emergency that Sir Hugh Wheeler appealed to Sir Henry Lawrence for assistance, and appealed in vain. Before the extent and full horror of the situation was known, the shell from the enemy's battery had relieved Sir Henry of all the responsibilities and dangers of plan and march and battle.

Now it was that Sir Hugh Wheeler made the fatal mistake of calling to his aid another ally whose name has become infamous in the history of our century. About twelve miles distant from Cawnpore, up the River Ganges, lies the little town of Bithoor. This place had been, previously to the annexation of Oudh by the English, the seat of one of the princely dynasties of the great race of the Mahrattas. At the time of the English accession in Oudh the throne of Bithoor was occupied by a certain prince named Báji Ráo. He was overtaken in evil, perhaps treasonable, projects, and was dethroned for his misconduct. The English authorities, however, permitted him to retain a palace in Bithoor, and gave him in his retirement a pension of eighty thousand pounds. Báji Ráo still claimed to be the Peshwa of Punah. He had no son of his own loins, but, in accordance with the custom of his countrymen, he had adopted a son who should inherit his estates, and at length conduct his funeral rites; for this the tradition of the Mahrattas prescribed as a necessary antecedent to the blessedness of Nirvana. By Indian law, an adopted son has all the rights, privileges, and rank of a natural heir. The youth chosen by Báji Ráo as his successor bore the name of Dandhu Panth, but is universally known in history by his official name or rajah-title of Nana Sahib.

At the time of the outbreak of the mutiny, this Nana Sahib, claiming all the rights and emoluments of his adoptive father, was resident in petty princely state at Bithoor. Unwisely, however, the English Government, at the death of Báji Ráo, had cut off the pension, and the Nana Sahib was left to the inheritance of his father's personal estate only. At this he was enraged; but, Indian-like, he dissembled his passion and abided his time. It were long, indeed, to give the story of the efforts made by Nana Sahib to regain his pensionary inheritance. In pursuance of this end he sought the aid of a young Mohammedan, named Amizulah Khan, resident at his court, and used him henceforth as his emissary and representative. Amizulah Khan went to London, and, being well educated and extremely handsome in person, cut for a season a remarkable figure in English society. But his mission was vain. The British Government refused to restore the Nana's pension, and Amizulah Khan at length returned to India. It thus happened that Nana Sahib, ex-Rajah of Bithoor, though in outward friendship and alliance with the English, bore about in his

breast a smothered volcano full of hot pitch and sulphurous fire.

It was to this dangerous, able, and revengeful Indian Prince that Sir Hugh Wheeler, already at the door of desperation, now applied for assistance. Nana Sahib readily accepted the call, and came speedily at the head of his army into Cawnpore. For a few days the Nana made a pretense of coöperating with the English; but he was soon persuaded by his countrymen to put himself at their head, crush the hated foreigners, and thus recover the ancient sovereignty of Punah. So in the city he assumed command of the mutineers, and was thenceforth the chief of the insurgents in the region of Cawnpore. Under his direction the siege was pressed. Nana Sahib notified the English commander that on the 12th of June his position would be assaulted. The attack was made, and such was the courageous fighting of the four hundred soldiers behind the mud works, that the Hindus were repulsed with large losses. The garrison also suffered. From day to day, a shower of balls was poured incessantly into the inclosure. The water supply of the garrison was limited to a single well, and this spot was under direct fire of the enemy. Whoever went thither to get water for his thirsty comrades, or for the famishing women and children, did so at the peril of his life. Rarely did such a martyr return from his mission without streams of blood pouring from his bullet wounds.

Meanwhile, insurgents from the surrounding districts of Oudh joined themselves to the forces of Nana Sahib, and another assault was made on the intrenchments. But again the thousands of the enemy were driven back. Each British soldier had now not only his own life, but the lives of the women and children in his hand. There was no alternative but that of victory, and so the charging soldiers of Oudh fell headlong with the British balls in their breasts, and the assaulting host rolled back in confusion. It became apparent to Nana Sahib, not only that the English works could not be carried by storm, but that his own hold as a leader of the rebellion was loosened by failure. He accordingly sent Amizulah Khan and another officer to tender to the English favorable terms of capitulation. Starvation was already at hand, and it was determined to accept the overture. Terms were accordingly agreed upon, by which it was stipulated that on condition of surrender, all of those Europeans in Cawnpore who had not been in any way connected with the acts of Lord Dalhousie should retire from the city, and receive safe conduct to Allahabad. The English General, and the officers and men under his command, had no apprehension of the astounding treachery which constituted the basis of this agreement. The Hindus had long since adopted the habits and usages of civilized warfare. It had been a long time since, within the borders of India, the general rules by which armies are fought and surrendered, had been violated. But the capitulation of Cawnpore was now to constitute such an exception as should make the civilized world start back in horror.

It was arranged that the retiring garrison should be put on barges and conducted down the Ganges. At the appointed time, the whole company, military and civil, men, women, and children, were marched out of the miserable pen of death, where they had so bravely defended themselves, and were led to the boats at the river's edge. The embarkation was made, and the barges were loosed from the bank. Along the shores were gathered a vast multitude of Sepoys with their arms in their hands. Just as the boats were turning into the stream, the blast of a trumpet was heard, and instantly the straw-thatched roofs of the barges were seen in flames. The treacherous ruffians who managed the boats had only waited for the signal to dash lighted torches into the roofs, and then, jumping overboard, swam ashore. In another moment the crowds on the barges were made the targets for thousands of muskets. The flames spread. Every discharge from the shore struck down scores in death. The bottoms of the boats were instantly filled with the dead and dying. No language can describe the horror of the scene. Nearly the whole company perished miserably in blood and fire. Only a single boat-load drifted into the river and was about to be borne away by the current. Further down the stream this barge was recaptured, and about ninety persons were taken back into Cawnpore as prisoners. Of those who had embarked only four men escaped to tell the story. Those who were retaken

were at once divided, the men from the women and children, and the former were shot to death. The helpless remainder were thrown into a small prison-house, where they were set to work to grind corn and serve their captors.

For a while the outrages done to this despairing company of English women and children were limited to such indignities as came of imprisonment and servitude. But Nana Sahib and his lieutenants were not yet satisfied with their revenge. Already divisions of the British army had begun to penetrate the rebellious provinces, and Nana Sahib perceived that it was the beginning of the end. He resolved, however, that the prisoners in his hands should perish. One of his body-guards, in uniform, with two Sepoys and two Mohammedans, was sent to the prison to carry out the mandate of horrid butchery. The five murderers entered, with drawn swords, and slashed and hacked and stabbed until the room was packed with the dying and dead. The awful shambles remained in that condition until the following morning, when a second company came, dragged the mutilated bodies forth, and cast them, after they had stripped from them the remnants of clothing, into a dry well which gaped open near at hand. As the bodies were seized for this final plunge from the sorrows and sufferings of life, it was found that a few of the women were not yet dead, and at least one of the children *tried to run away!* It was the acme of horror. Some time afterwards, when the English soldiers retook Cawnpore, they were obliged to look down, with rage and tears, into that awful pit, and recover therefrom, as best they might, the mangled forms of beautiful women and helpless children whom the Sepoys had there consigned to the final ignominy. Till the history of Great Britain shall fall into the oblivion of the eternities, the recollection and story of the Cawnpore massacre will still be revived and repeated, as the most horrid incident of warfare belonging to the nineteenth century.

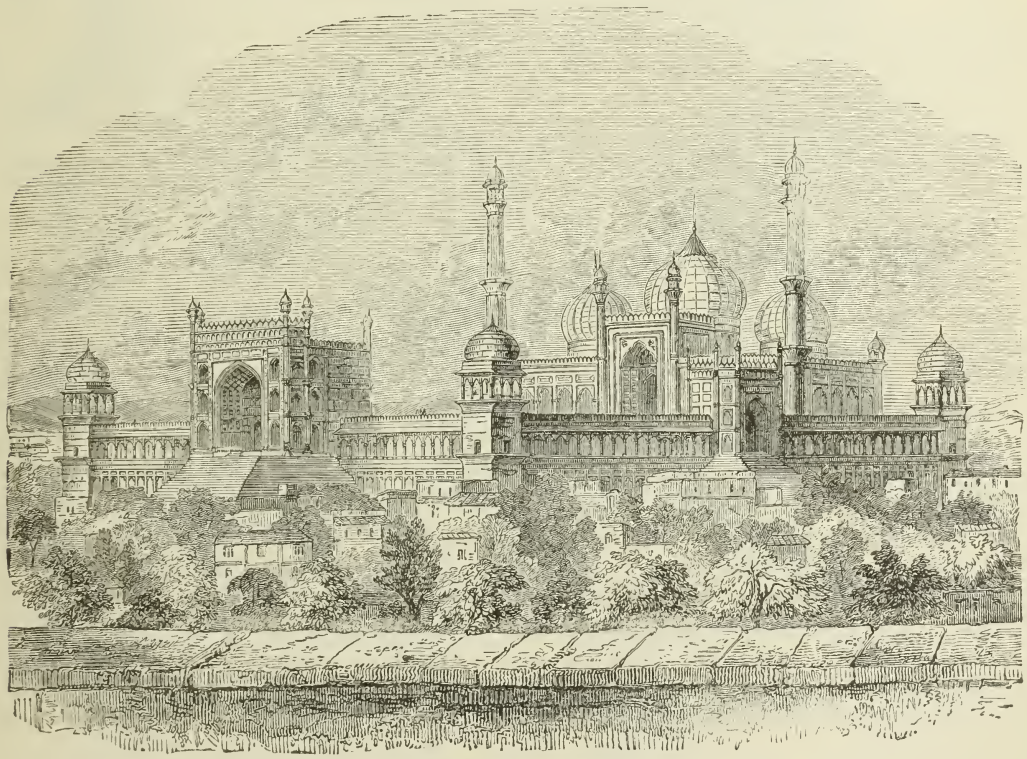
It may interest the reader to know something of the future of Nana Sahib. When the English marched back on Cawnpore, he was still in command of the rebellious forces. He had the courage to fight with the British army in a desperate battle, in which he was completely defeated, and his forces scattered in all directions. He thereupon fled into Cawnpore, and thence to his own palace at Bithoor. It is said that, on arriving there, he completed the infamy of his life by the murder of a captive woman who had been spared for his own purposes from preceding butcheries. This done, he mounted his horse and fled from Bithoor forever. He well knew that the avenging angel was in the wake of his flight. He made his escape into the wild district of Nepal, and was never heard of afterwards. Rumors of his whereabouts were sometimes borne to the British authorities, but were always found to be groundless. Nana Sahib had forever vanished from the sight of those who, even if they had laid the avenging hand upon him, could never have wreaked on his treacherous life a fitting retribution for his crimes.

We may now pass from the insurrection proper to consider the reconquest of the rebellious districts by the English. It is just to say that, after the first wild hours of panic, the energies of the British race were never more heroically displayed than in the work of recovering India from the clutches of the mutineers. It will be remembered that everything of military and civil procedure had to be directed from Calcutta. Communications between the revolted provinces were, in a great measure, cut off, and the Government was under the necessity of urging forward the various military divisions from Lower Bengal as a base. It was clearly perceived that the first point to be gained in the reconquest of the country was the recovery of Delhi. That place was logically the seat of the rebellion. There old Bahádur Shah had been proclaimed as Emperor of all India. His sons had been assigned to the command of the various divisions of the Sepoy army, and the latter, to the number of more than fifty thousand, had taken possession of Delhi. All the Europeans and Eurasians, with the exception of about fifty, nearly all of whom were women, had been expelled from the city, and rebellion was rampant and victorious in all the region round about. Even the fifty prisoners were soon brought forth from their place of confinement to be butchered, in cold blood, in the court-yard of the palace.

The command of the expedition for the recovery of Delhi was given to Sir Henry Bar-

nard, who advanced into Oudh with an army numbering about ten thousand. He first met the insurgents in force at Badli-ka-Sarai, fought with them a hard battle, and won a complete victory. He then made his way to Delhi, and took up his position on a ridge overlooking the city. For the time, however, it was impossible to recapture the stronghold from the enemy. On the 23d and 25th of August, bloody battles were fought with the mutineers, who, sallying out in overwhelming numbers, sought to carry the British position. At length, in the early part of September, which he was presently taken to be banished to Rangoon. Thus fell and disappeared the last lineal descendant of Timour the Great. Delhi was at once put under military government. Order was restored, first in the city, and then in the surrounding regions. By the beginning of the following year the British authority was sufficiently established to admit of the restoration of civil government in Delhi, and the rebellion in this quarter was at an end.

The reader will not have forgotten the dreadful condition in which the small English garrison at Lucknow was left after the death



GRAND MOSQUE AT DELHI.

the heavy batteries arrived, and the defenses of the city were soon battered down. On the 14th of the month an assault was ordered, and Delhi was carried by storm. It was not, however, until after six days of almost incessant fighting that the different districts in the city were all recovered. The terrible character of the struggle may be known from the extent of the British losses, which were a thousand and twelve men killed, and nearly four thousand wounded. As soon as victory was declared for the English, the old Emperor shut himself up in the tomb of Hamáyun, from of Sir Henry Lawrence. Before the fall of that brave commander he had carefully calculated the chances, and had decided that hope for his command lay in the defense of their position at the Residency to the last day and the last man. It was known that the British authorities would put forth every effort for the rescue, and that *some time* during the autumn the sound of British cannon in the distance would announce the morning of deliverance for all who might then survive. It happened that when Sir James Outram was recalled, as we have seen, from his Persian

campaign, one division of his army, under command of Sir Henry Havelock, was ordered to proceed to Allahabad, to put down the revolt in that region, and afterwards to act in support of Sir Hugh Wheeler, at Cawnpore, and Sir Henry Lawrence, at Lucknow. This hazardous work could never have been assigned to abler hands or a more courageous spirit. Havelock was on the march by the beginning of July. On the 12th of the month he fought his first battle with the enemy at Futtehpur, and won a victory. On the 15th he had two successful engagements with the Sepoys. On the 16th he came to Cawnpore. In battle after battle he was victorious in this district of the Oudh, and sought by every possible means to strike out in the direction of Lucknow. But his forces were insufficient for the hazard, and he was obliged to await the arrival of General Outram with another division of the army. When the latter came, the campaign for the relief of Lucknow was at once renewed. Although General Outram was in supreme command, alike of civil and military affairs, he refused to supersede Havelock in the field, declaring that to the latter should remain the glory of recovering the capital and rescuing the garrison from the merciless clutch of the Sepoys.

We may here transfer our station to the inside of the Residency at Lucknow, and share in our sympathies the sufferings and trials to which the garrison was subjected during the fearful summer and fall of 1857. The siege, the defense, and the relief have become ever memorable in the annals of the century. We have seen how, in the dawn of the great mutiny, Sir Henry Lawrence took the wise precaution to withdraw his soldiers and the English population of Lucknow from the city to the Residency, and to make there his preparations for the coming storm. It was by the wisdom of Lawrence in these trying days that the possibility of salvation from the same fate which befell the garrison at Cawnpore was secured. He made the most of the days of peace and the incipiency of the rebellion by the construction of strong defenses around the Residency, and by storing therein, in places of security, the largest supply of provisions which it was possible for him to gather. Thus prepared, he awaited the outbreak, wisely choosing to defend himself in his chosen place rather than to attempt to cut his way through the enemy's country in the hope of escape.

Then came the tempest. The first shock was ably and successfully resisted. Though the besieged were under constant fire, and were pressed on every side; though their numbers were diminished daily by death and wounds and disease, yet the onsets of the Sepoys were successfully resisted, and each successive assault was repelled. We have already spoken of the fatal accident by which Sir Henry Lawrence, losing his life, rose to perpetual fame. The command of the garrison was transferred to General Inglis, and the defense continued to be bravely conducted. On the 20th of July the mutineers made another assault on the English position, but were again hurled back with great losses. The same thing happened on the 10th of August, and eight days afterwards, the Sepoys, in overwhelming numbers, and with desperate courage, a third time attempted to carry the Residency by storm. But the attack was met with the usual spirit, and the rebels were driven back with heavy losses. During the remainder of August, though the siege was pressed with ever-increasing vigor, the undaunted garrison held out courageously. On the 5th of September, the first rumors of the approach of Havelock were wafted into the Residency. That General, accompanied by Outram, had fought his way along the Cawnpore road during nearly the whole of August. It was not, however, until the 22d of September that the coming army of relief reached the Alambagh, a strong position and military station about four miles distant from the Residency. This place was held and strongly defended by the Sepoys. But the attack of the English, on September 25th, could not be resisted. The Alambagh was taken by storm, and the besieged garrison, in the inclosure of the Residency, could already hear the sounds of victorious battle. Leaving a small force behind to hold the Alambagh, Havelock pressed on to the relief of the pent-up garrison. Through the remaining miles he fought a continuous battle with the Sepoys, and on the 26th of the month, planted himself in front of the gates of the Residency, and then broke through.

Great was the relief and great the rejoicing

RELIEF OF LUCKNOW.

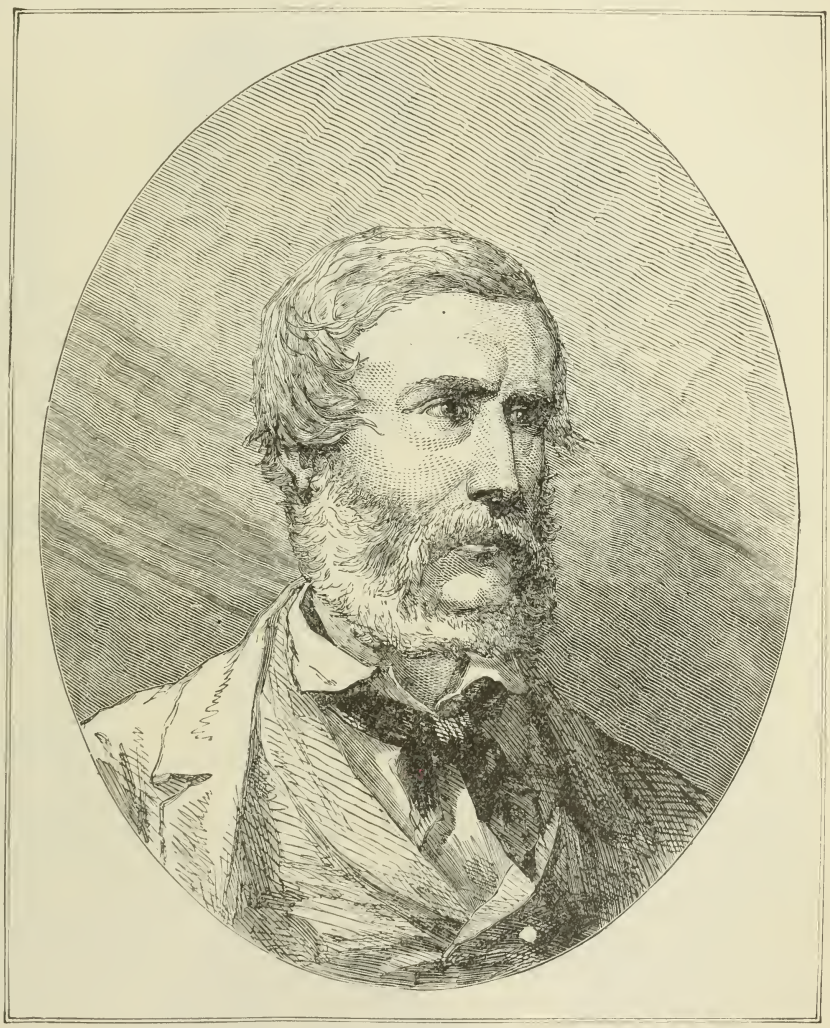
within the fortifications; but the event soon showed that the end was not yet. Though the garrison was strongly reinforced, though the danger that the Residency might be carried by storm and the defenders be given up to butchery was for the time removed, yet from another point of view the peril of the situation was hardly less than it had been during the summer months? The forces which Havelock and Outram had been able to bring with them were by no means sufficient to warrant a withdrawal from the defenses and exposure to the open country. The numbers within the inclosure of the Residency had been greatly increased, but the consumption of supplies was correspondingly augmented. On the whole, the peril was only lessened and postponed, rather than removed. Nor were the besieging hosts greatly discouraged. The Sepoys had learned to fight. Their long contact with the British army had given them courage and discipline. They also perceived that they had put everything on the cast of the die. They understood well enough that in case of the failure of the mutiny, Great Britain would visit upon them a terrible punishment for their rebellion, treacheries, and murders. They fought with desperation, and the English garrison found no relief by day or night. A storm of bullets and cannon-shot poured constantly on the defenses, and the losses of the besieged were severe. The hot sun of the Indian summer and autumn scorched the sufferers in the inclosure with burning heat. Disease and wasting added to the ever-accumulating sorrows. Battle was before the gates, pestilence in the air and water. Not only was the whole force of the English again shut up within the defenses of the Residency, but the small garrison which Havelock had left in the Alambagh was also besieged, and could hardly hold its own against the constant assaults of



ATTACK ON THE ALAMBAGH.

the enemy. Through the whole of October the brave garrison kept up the defense, and lived on hope of another succor, which was sure to come.

Meanwhile, in distant England, Lord Palmerston had called Sir Colin Campbell, the hero of Balaklava, from his retirement, and on the 11th of July, conferred on him the command-in-chief of the British forces in India. "When will you be able to set out for the seat of war, Sir Colin?" said Palmerston. "Within twenty-four hours," was the reply; and on the evening of the 12th, the new commander left England for Calcutta. He arrived at the latter city on the 13th of August, and with great energy prepared an expedition for the relief of the British garrisons in Oudh. His forces consisted of six thousand men, supported with an artillery contingent of thirty-six guns. What arrangements had been made in the South, what relief might be expected from the direction of Calcutta, was unknown to the sufferers at Lucknow; but they well knew that they were not forgotten, and that the day of retribution would come at the last.



SIR HENRY HAVELOCK

Sir Colin's army at length reached Cawnpore, and from that point proceeded by the same route which Havelock had taken to Lucknow. Like his predecessor, Campbell also had to fight his way, and it was not until the 10th of November that he was able to open his guns against the besiegers of the Alambagh. That place and another similar position, called the Dilkusha Palace, lying south-east of Lucknow, were immediately carried. The garrison which had been so hardly pressed in the Alambagh was relieved, and the British army was free to march for the Residency.

It is narrated that on the 16th of November, when the shadow of despair seemed ready to descend on Havelock and those who were under his protection, a little Scotch maiden, daughter of an officer, fell asleep in the shade of the rampart. Suddenly she sprang up, and, clapping her hands, ran with flying plaid, crying out as she came: "Dinna ye hear it? Dinna ye hear it? It's the slogan of the Highlanders!" Her quick ear had caught in

the distance the sound of the Scottish bagpipe, shrilly piping at the head of the coming regiments the well-known air, *The Campbells are Coming!* True or false, the incident is one of the most picturesque which can be selected from the vast panorama of history. The cry of the Highlanders' pibroch was indeed the premonition of victory. Sir Colin Campbell carried one after another of the rebel strongholds around the city, and, in six days from the Alambagh, fought his way to the gates of the Residency. The forces within and without the defenses were joined, and the second relief of Lucknow was accomplished.

It was at once determined by Sir Colin and his associate commanders that the non-combatants in the Residency must be saved by withdrawal from the place. To make this movement was still a matter of great hazard, for the Sepoys hung in multitudes on every quarter. On the 19th of November the English batteries were opened furiously on the strongest position held by the enemy, as though an assault were about to be ordered. While the cannonade was kept up, Campbell and Havelock ordered the quiet withdrawal of the garrison and non-combatants to the Dilkusha Palace and the Alambagh. The movement was effected without disaster, and the retreat from Lucknow was safely begun.

An incident of these days cast a gloom over the British Empire, and emphasized the close of a heroic life. On reaching the Alambagh, Henry Havelock could go no further. He was exhausted. Battle and toil, hunger, thirst, anxiety, sleeplessness, and finally disease, had done their work. On the 24th of November the hero died. Three days afterwards the Queen of England, little knowing the uselessness of the honor which she gave, bestowed on him the title and dignity of a Baronet. The honor descended to his son; nor might it be said that such a distinction was needed by him who had found his final rest in the soil of the old kingdom of Oudh, under the fiery glare of the sun of India.

The rest of the story of the suppression of the great mutiny may be briefly told. There could be no further massacres of women and children in Oudh. It was now soldier to soldier, or rather one soldier against many, for the Sepoys were nearly always from four to ten times as numerous as the attacking English forces. As soon as he was free for action, Sir Colin Campbell marched again for Cawnpore. In that city the English cause had, of late, fared badly. Cawnpore had been placed, after its recovery by the English, under command of General Windham. Not long afterwards, the Hindu Governor, or Scindia, of Gwalior gathered an army of insurgents, and advanced on Cawnpore, hoping to recapture the city from the British garrison. General Windham marched out to meet the Scindia, and was worsted in battle. He was obliged to fall back to his defenses, and the rebels succeeded in reöccupying Cawnpore. Such was the condition of affairs which called urgently for the presence and aid of Sir Colin Campbell. He marched at once against the place, himself at the head of one division, and Sir Hope Grant leading another. The enemy were thus doubly attacked, and Cawnpore was finally restored to English authority.

The event which we have just described occupied the closing months of 1857 and the opening of the next year. During the winter, Lucknow was held by the Hindus in full force. In other quarters of the horizon the sky had cleared. It was perceived, even by the enemy, that the British power in India was unshaken, and that the day of retribution was at hand. In the presence of these facts the rebellion was dissolved into its original elements. At Lucknow, however, the mutiny drew to itself all of its remaining resources, and the duty was devolved on Sir Colin Campbell of carrying this last fortress of the revolt. With the opening of spring the campaign was undertaken for the recapture of the capital. The British army again reached Lucknow about the middle of March, and on the 19th of the month fought with the Sepoys the last great battle of the war. The English were completely victorious. About two thousand of the mutineers were killed outright in the engagement. A hundred cannon were taken from the rebels, and the army of insurgents, broken into fragments, was scattered in all directions. Lucknow was completely recovered. Nor did the Sepoys make any further serious efforts for the recapture of the ancient capital of Oudh.

In the last conflicts of the war, several

eminent soldiers lost their lives. Among the rest may be mentioned Sir William Peel, who was seriously wounded in the battle before Lucknow, and who shortly afterwards died of small-pox at Cawnpore. Another hero of fiery character and strange career, who fell in the last battle, was Colonel Hodson, known in India as "Hodson of Hodson's Horse." His career had been one of singular recklessness and daring. He it was who, after the recapture of Delhi, had, with the help of Hindu spies, penetrated the tomb of Hamáyun, where the last of the Mogul Emperors had taken refuge. In that retreat, Hodson, with his own hand, seized the fallen monarch, drew him forth, and delivered him to his horsemen to be borne away to the head-quarters of General Wilson. Hodson also captured the three royal princes of Delhi, and in a fit of rage had them condemned to death. He then took a carbine from the hands of one of his men, and shot the princes dead, leaving their bodies before the gates of Delhi. During the rest of the war, he had gone through all hazards and perils, to fall at last by a Sepoy bullet in the hour of final conquest. The



OUTRAM, CAMPBELL, AND HAVELOCK.

reader may not have forgotten that out of the disasters of Cabul, ending in the total destruction of a British army, and of all who were dependent on its protection, a single man had escaped to carry the news of the horror to Jelalabad. That man was Dr. Brydon, who lived through the siege of Lucknow, enduring all the hardships and sufferings of that dreadful situation, to be rescued with the garrison, and to be mentioned with praise in the report of the campaign as one of the heroes of Lucknow, who had taken part in both sorrow and victory, to be remembered "as an example of the invincible energy, and enduring courage of British soldiers."

Nearly all of the leaders who had distinguished themselves—and who had not?—were honored with titles and dignities and pensions. Several of the Generals were made Baronets. Sir Colin Campbell was raised to the peerage, with the title of Lord Clyde. During the rest of his life, which extended to 1863, he enjoyed a pension of two thousand pounds a year. At the scenes of the principal events of the war, memorials were erected by the Government to commemorate the valor and sacrifice of those who died in the massacres and battles. The Residency at Lucknow bears witness in many of its details and surroundings to the tragic events, to the valor and the glory of 1857. There, to the present day, may be seen the ruined works, behind which the heroes who fought under Havelock, stood and battled for the flag of England. There may be seen the old mosque and the magnificent banyan-tree through whose branches the Sepoy bullets whistled during the siege. There, near at hand, rises the significant mound, its sides ter-



HODSON SEIZING THE KING OF DELHI.

The year 1858 witnessed the reëstablishment of civil authority in Lucknow. The mutiny was at an end, and the power of Great Britain in the East was presently more firmly fixed than ever before. The nation was not ungrateful to those who had upheld the cause of the country in those almost impenetrable regions ten thousand miles from London.

raced and covered with the fragrant flowers of India, while on the further slope rise the feathery bamboos which overshadow the last resting-place of two thousand British soldiers who died of battle and pestilence in the siege of Lucknow. At Cawnpore, over the horrid well whose open mouth received the mutilated bodies of the murdered women and children, a memorial has been erected; while round about the spot a beautiful garden, planted with flowers and shrubs, and protected by a wall, preserves the memory of those who perished under the swords of the murderers sent to their bloody work in the prison-house by the Rajah of Bithoor.

With the subsidence of the rebellion in India, a difficult and serious task was left on the hands of the Government. By what means should a reörganization of those vast populations be effected. In the first place, the question of retribution must be met. It was resolved by the authorities, civil and military, that a distinction should be made between those who had merely participated in the mutiny, contending openly with the British forces in battle, and those who had taken part in the many horrid massacres, of which the Sepoys had been guilty. As far as practicable, this distinction was carried out in the punishment of those who fell into the power of the British. The Hindu soldiers who were taken, and whose hands were not stained with butchery and assassination, were treated as prisoners of war. But those who had been guilty of massacre were at once destroyed by being blown alive from the mouths of cannon. In extenuation of this severity, which had in it so strong a flavor of barbarism, the explanation was given by the British authorities that the Sepoys, under their peculiar superstitions, cared little or nothing for the mere fact of death, but were horrified at the thought of mutilation. The method of military execution was deduced from this theory; but after times have hardly consented to the wholesale and savage process by which the guilty Sepoys were obliterated.

After the first rigors of the military method were passed, the civil government proceeded as best it might with the reörganization of the country. In March of 1858 Lord Canning issued to the inhabitants of Oudh a proclamation, in which he defined, with much severity, the measures by which they might be restored to conditions of peace. It was set forth that all chiefs and landowners who should at once surrender to the British Commissioner



MEMORIAL AT CAWNPORE.

should be spared, provided only that they had not been guilty of massacre or assassination. The proclamation of the Governor-General went on to say that any further indulgence which might be extended to the people of Oudh, and indeed their whole condition thereafter, must depend on their own course in surrendering themselves to the justice and mercy of the British Government. The general effect of the proclamation was to confiscate the lands of all who had taken part in the mutiny, and

this signified the whole population; for there was not perhaps one in a thousand of the landowners in all Oudh who had not been engaged in the Rebellion. It was perhaps not intended by Lord Canning that the penalty should be so rigorously exacted as might be inferred from the proclamation. It was the purpose rather to make the people understand that the British Government, in the exercise of prerogative which had arisen out of the war, had become the original proprietor of the lands of Oudh, and that all who henceforth held or owned such lands must do so under a title derived from the Crown of England.

As soon as the policy of the Governor-General was known in England a violent controversy arose relative thereto, and the discussion in Parliament did not end until the Government of India was revolutionized. Lord Ellenborough and most of the Ministry antagonized the principles of Lord Canning's proclamation, and motions were introduced in both Houses of Parliament to substitute a new policy for that of the Governor-General. To the American reader, the condition of affairs and the controversy relative thereto, may well bring to mind the divisions between the Executive and Congress in the work of reconstructing the Southern States at the close of the Civil War. It appeared that, in the case of Lord Canning, he had sent certain private and explanatory letters to England in connection with the proclamation, and that these were withheld until the break was made between the Governor-General and the Ministry. Since no other policy could be substituted for that proposed by Canning, the latter officer went straight ahead to meet the difficulties before him according to his own methods.

It soon appeared that the measures proposed were not in effect so severe as they were theoretically. The people of Oudh, particularly the landowners, were now thoroughly willing to accept the best terms of settlement which might be had at the hands of the Government. It was found that Canning's policy was the remedy for many of the ancient abuses with which the people of the Province had been afflicted. The somewhat dependent position in which the land-owners were placed, gave opportunity for an extension of rights and influence among the village communities. In fact, the domestic revolution was more in form than in substance. There had always existed in Oudh a proprietary right of the kingly and feudal governments in the lands of the country, and the transfer of this proprietary right to Great Britain did not, after all, so greatly disturb the status of the landlords and the village tenantry.

Meanwhile, the whole question of the present condition and future government of India was under full discussion in Parliament. In the preceding pages many references have been made to that famous East India Company, under whose auspices the civil and govermental development of India had taken place. As early as 1595, what was called "A Company for Remote Parts," was formed in Amsterdam, and was presently chartered, with the general privilege of trade with the East Indies, for twenty-one years. Afterwards the charter was extended to 1644. Still again, in 1655, the rights of the Company were revived, and continued till the year 1700. We have already seen how, with the maritime ascendency of England, dating from about the middle of the seventeenth century, the power of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French in the far East, gave way before the greater vigor and aggressiveness of the English fleets. Even before this event, in the year 1599, Queen Elizabeth had granted to "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading with the East Indies," a charter for fifteen years, conceding to the corporation the exclusive right of commerce with all the countries from the Cape of Good Hope eastward to the Straits of Magellan, excepting only such coasts and islands as might already be occupied by some friendly European State. Such was the origin of that great corporation which was destined to furnish, in after times, some of the most important, and, at the same time, most romantic, chapters in the history of the British Empire.

In the time of Cromwell an effort was made to set free the trade with East India. But the attempt was futile; and the charter of the Company was renewed by the Protector, and again by Charles II. In 1698 a second company of like character with the original was formed; but a few years afterwards the two were merged under the title of "The United Company of Merchants trading with the East

Indies." The government of the Company was in the hands of a Governor and a Board of Directors, varying in number at different times and under different statutes. In 1708 three Local Councils were established in India, one for Madras, one for Bombay, and one for Calcutta. During this century, the political and territorial relations of the Company were vastly extended in Hindustan. In 1757 the government of the corporation succeeded in deposing the nabob of Bengal, by which act great and rich provinces were secured. It was in 1761 that the defeat and virtual expulsion of the French from India enabled the Company to pursue with still greater freedom its policy of aggrandizement. Soon afterwards that most remarkable episode in the history of the country, the administration of Warren Hastings occurred, to be followed by his impeachment and the consequent revelation, to the mind of England and all Europe, of the tremendous resources, the vast extent, the complicated governmental system, the antique civilization, and limitless populations of India. Henceforth it was seen that the East India Company, as a private corporation, could not be left independent of governmental control, to pursue its own course in the management of an Empire as great in wealth, and many times greater in population, than the Home Kingdom of Great Britain. Accordingly, on the proposition of William Pitt, a Board of Control was appointed for India, to consist of the two principal Secretaries of State, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and such members of the Privy Council as the sovereign might designate. The Company's charter, however, was, in 1793, extended by act of Parliament to the year 1814. Indeed, the monopoly of trade in the East, which had been so long conceded to the Company, was not abolished until April of 1834.

If, then, at the time of the Indian mutiny, we glance at that Government which experiment, statute, and commercial interest had conspired to form through the two and a half preceding centuries, we shall find the Administration to be composed of a Board of Directors, part of whom were nominated by the Crown, and part chosen by the Company. The Crown Directors had a right of reviewing all decisions made by the general Company. The Governor-General of India was an officer of the Crown, though he might be recalled by the Company. The system was complicated in the last degree, and in some particulars was vague and incomprehensible. As early as 1852, Lord Ellenborough had recommended that the governmental prerogatives of the Company be transferred to the Crown.

It remained, however, for the Indian mutiny to rouse Parliament and the country to the necessities of the situation. Four years previously the civil patronage which had belonged to the Company was taken away, and placed under the same competitive system which prevailed in the civil service of Great Britain. At the very beginning of 1858, before civil government was restored at Lucknow, Lord Palmerston brought in a bill for the transfer of all the civil and political authority of the East India Company directly and absolutely to the Crown of England. The measure contemplated the appointment, by the British Home Government, of a President and Council of eight members for the Administration of India. Before the bill could be passed, however, Lord Palmerston was thrown out of office by circumstances to be narrated hereafter.

He was succeeded by Lord Derby, with Lord Ellenborough as Secretary for the Colonies. A new bill was prepared, more complicated and less practical than that proposed by Palmerston. In the course of the discussion which ensued, it was found that the Ellenborough bill was virtually devoid of merit. At length Lord John Russell, whose clear judgment had so many times discovered a way through like perplexities, prepared a bill called "An Act for the Better Government of India." In it provisions were made that all the territories, all the civil and political rights, hitherto held and exercised by the East India Company, should be transferred absolutely to the Crown of England. The principal administrative officer was to be known as the Viceroy, or Governor-General. He was to be appointed by the Crown. A Council for India, consisting of fifteen members, was to be appointed, eight of whom were to be chosen by the Crown, and the other seven were conceded to the Directors of the Company. There was also to be a Council Resident in India, for the immediate support and assistance of the Vice-

roy. The act was passed on the 1st of September, 1858. The Queen was proclaimed sovereign of India, and Lord Canning, in recognition of the ability and fidelity with which he had discharged the duties of his office in the most critical epoch through which the British Government had yet passed in the East, was appointed first Viceroy of India. The civil revolution thus effected marked the beginning of a new era in the development of the British East Indian Empire—a movement which may be said to have reached its culmination when, in April of 1876, Queen Victoria, under the auspices of Disraeli, received the crown and title of Empress of India.

Reference has been made above to the sudden downfall of the Palmerston Ministry. The cause of the unexpected collapse of the Government was known and read of all. On the 14th of January, 1858, the Italian exile, Felice Orsini, for some time resident in England, but who had more recently gone over to the French capital, had taken his station near the entrance of the Grand Opera-house, and thrown under the carriage of Louis Napoleon and the Empress an explosive bomb. The Emperor and Eugenie escaped unhurt, but ten of the exposed by-standers were killed, and a hundred and fifty-six wounded. A full account of the attempted assassination of the French ruler will be given in the following chapter. In this place the event is to be considered only in its relations to England, and particularly to the Palmerston Government.

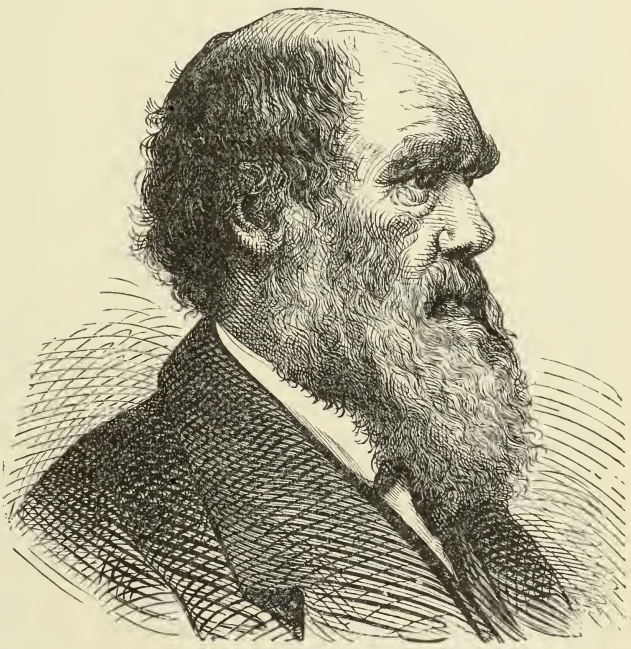
It was at once known that for some time Orsini had lived, publicly and privately, in England. It was discovered that his bombs had been manufactured in Birmingham. Orsini had spoken much in many parts of the Kingdom, urging the British Government to espouse the cause of Italy against Austria. These circumstances, and many other incidents of the attempted assassination, were noised, not only in England and France, but throughout Europe. For the time, the immemorial policy of Great Britain in making the country a haven and asylum for political refugees from every part of the world, was subjected to the severest criticism. In France especially were animadversions offered, from quarters high and quarters low, on that type of Government which absorbed into itself the half-murderous malcontents from all other nations. In England there was some sympathy with these views—some disposition to adopt a more stringent policy relative to the political aliens who had found, or might hereafter find, asylnm in the Kingdom.

At the head of this opinion stood Lord Palmerston himself. His attitude in this particular must be interpreted from his peculiar constitution. Ever since his entrance into public life his politics had been divided into two parts, the first part being devoted to liberalism in England, and the other part to absolutism abroad. Lord Palmerston was therefore allied at many crises of his career with those European rulers who had least footing in the actual sympathies of Great Britain. Thus it was in the case of Napoleon III. It will be remembered that Lord Palmerston had already had a notable fall from the English Ministry, in 1852, on occount of his unseasonable defense of the *Coup d'Etat*. In the case of the Orsini affair, the English statesman's partiality again stood stoutly forth. In accordance with his own disposition, and under the stimulus of communications received from the French Cabinet, he brought into the House of Commons a bill known as "The Conspiracy-to-murder Bill." The act was in the open face of the whole antecedent policy of Great Britain. It contemplated the transference of conspiracy to murder from the list of misdemeanors to the category of felonies, with the penalty of penal servitude in periods extending from five years to the life-time of the convict. At the first view it would appear that the measure covered the case; but when we take into consideration the immemorial policy and law of the English-speaking race, to the effect that an overt act, and *not* a contemplated or prepared crime, is necessary to constitute a felony, we shall see the untenable character of the Bill proposed and defended by Palmerston. Many of the ablest Parliamentarians at once perceived the anti-British character of the measure. Particularly did John Arthur Roebuck hold up to the hostile judgment of the House the proposed statute. At length, Milner Gibson threw his influence against Palmerston, and when the Bill came to a vote for the second

reading, it failed by a considerable majority. It only remained for Lord Palmerston to resign his office. He, who at the beginning of the year had been as firmly planted in power as any Prime Minister who had conducted the Government for the last quarter of a century, suddenly lost his hold by his sympathy for the ruler of France, and by confounding the misdemeanor of *plotting* a crime with the actual commission of the crime itself.

The American reader will hardly fail, in perusing this significant paragraph, to call to mind the similar effort made, and still making, in his own country, with respect to anarchism. In the United States the British theory of free asylum has been cordially, fully, and righteously adopted. Any other course on the part of the American Republic would be to belie the very principles on which the Republic is founded. No movement in our country has been more pitiably contemptible than that which proposes to regard the United States as meant exclusively for the selfish promotion of the interests of those who have the good fortune to be born American. True, every human government must first care for its own; but the American Government can not stop with this narrow construction. The United States exists for the world, for mankind, for an enlarged human liberty. It must needs be that offenses will come under such a system. The Anarchists in American cities plotted to commit crime. In a most conspicuous instance, crimes were committed. The authorities might proceed either against the conspiracy or against the murderous deed done in Haymarket Square. The conspiracy was a misdemeanor. The bomb-throwing was a felony. As a matter of fact the Anarchists were convicted of conspiracy, and were *not* convicted of throwing the bombs. They were tried for murder, and were convicted of anarchy! The attempt made in several quarters to stretch the principles of American law, so that plotting and conspiring to commit crime shall be put into the category of felonies, along with the overt acts of riot, murder, and assassination, is one of the most dangerous fallacies with which recent jurisprudence has been afflicted—a principle by far more evil in itself and pernicious in its tendencies than the evil which it is intended to remove.

Before his final exit from office, Lord Palmerston had the good fortune to decorate his crest with a feather from the East. The feather was plucked from the abundant plumage of China. Canton had at last been taken by the allied French and English fleets. How long the military operations on that far coast had been suspended or balked by the troubles and disasters of the British Empire, the reader may well infer. For it will not be



CHARLES ROBERT DARWIN.

forgotten how, at the outbreak of the East Indian War, Lord Canning had put forth his hand, and in the emergency diverted the English armament, which had been sent out to China, from its intended purpose and brought the fleet to his own assistance. Of small importance was it to Great Britain that the Chinese coast should be broken at the cannon's mouth, in comparison with the great crisis in India. But with the lapse of time Outram and Campbell and Havelock were successful in India. The great insurrection of the Sepoys was beaten into the earth; order was restored, and the Government, as we have seen, reconstructed on a broader and

more rational basis. Thus relieved, from her embarrassments, Great Britain found herself free to join the French in a vigorous prosecution of the war on China.

The Emperor Napoleon had meanwhile found a reasonable cause for his hostility in the cruel treatment which had been visited by the Chinese on a company of French missionaries. Napoleon III. was in a frame of mind for the prosecution of a foreign war. The French Nation had found some measurable gratification of pride in the issue of the conflict in the Crimea, and in the ability of the Emperor to bring the ambassadors of the great Powers together under his auspices in the Treaty of Paris. But it was necessary for him to continue his foreign enterprises to the end, that the French might be still further elated with his government. Thus England and France bore down in general armament upon China, and struck at Canton. It was no great matter that European fleets should prevail over the rude and primitive defense with which the Chinese were able to protect their city. Canton was bombarded and taken. At this time the Imperial Commissioner, Yeh, was in the city. The allies succeeded in running down the Oriental dignitary, and capturing him in his retreat. To him, in his obstinacy, the British authorities chose to refer the recent hostilities and destruction of life and property. Nor could it well be doubted that the cruelty and recklessness of his administration had been such as to justify severe measures against him. It was said that in a recent Chinese rebellion he had ordered the ignominious execution of one hundred thousand rebel prisoners. Yeh was accordingly treated as a political prisoner; was sent to Calcutta, and kept in confinement until the following year, when he died.

Canton taken, it remained to reëstablish peace. To this end Lord Elgin, on the part of Great Britain, and Baron Gros, on the part of France, were empowered by their respective Governments to form a new treaty with China. The policy of non-intercourse adopted by the Imperial Government was one of the chief causes of offense, and against this the European ministers protested to the extent of securing the establishment of embassies at the Chinese Court. It was also agreed that China should henceforth have representatives at St. James and Versailles. It was provided that the Christian religion should henceforth be tolerated in the Chinese Empire, and that certain of the Chinese rivers should be accessible to the merchant-vessels of England and France. As to the expenses of the war, payment therefor was, as a matter of course, exacted from China. Lord Palmerston was able, in his official capacity, to inform his countrymen of the success of the military operations in the East, before the political eclipse into which he was now to enter.

Before concluding the present chapter, we may well pause to note a single event in the intellectual and scientific progress, not only of the British people—not only of the English-speaking race—but of all civilized nations. It was in the year 1859 that the greatest of modern naturalists, Charles Robert Darwin, published his *Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection.* The work produced an immediate and vivid sensation among the thinking people on both sides of the Atlantic. The new doctrine of the Natural History of Life was at once assailed with all manner of adverse and acrimonious criticisms, with every variety of argument and prejudice. In the course of a few years, no fewer than three hundred and twelve authors had published works on the subject, a great majority of which were devoted to the attempted refutation of the hypothesis, which now gained the name of Darwinism. But it seemed that the united antagonism of a thousand assailants was insufficient to beat down the small and modest treatise which the naturalist had put forth, embodying his views as to the methods by which the various forms of animal and vegetable life on the earth have been evolved into their present aspect and activities. The ensuing quarter of a century was largely occupied in the scientific world with the debate, which was waged, with ever-increasing advantage on the side of the Darwinans; nor may it be well denied, as the controversy subsides, that a new era has been reached in the history of the human mind, as it respects its fundamental concepts of the processes and movements by which the varieties of animated being on the earth have appeared and reached their present development.

CHAPTER CXXXI.—SUFFRAGE REFORM AND AMERICAN COMPLICATION.



ITH the fall of Palmerston, Lord Derby again came to the head of the Government. With him were associated Benjamin Disraeli, as Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Stanley, as Secretary for the Colonies; Lord Malmesbury, as Secretary of Foreign Affairs; and General Peel, as Secretary of War. Of these, by far the strongest and ablest leader was Disraeli, whose coming ascendency in the Government of Great Britain might be easily discerned. One of the first expedients of the new Cabinet was *not* to do what its predecessor proposed to do. This principle was applied at once to the Conspiracy Bill, which was allowed to die of inanition. As for the rest, the attention of Parliament was at once directed to the question of the removal of the remaining political disabilities of the Jews.

It was very fitting that one himself by birth a Jew, though nominally a Christian, should be leader of the House of Commons in the day when the final emancipation of his race was effected. It is difficult for the man of to-day, who has the English language as his birthright and the principles of English liberty as his bulwark, to understand the bitter, causeless, unreasoning prejudices of race which still held from the exercise of human rights, at so late a period of British history, so large and influential a class of people as the Jews. It seemed as though a considerable portion of the legislation and jurisprudence of England had been specially contrived for the oppression and distress of the Jewish race. As late as 1830, almost all the rights of citizenship were positively denied to Jewish subjects. No office, civil, military, or corporate, could be held by a Jew. The profession of law, whether as barrister or attorney, was closed against him. A Jew was forbidden to teach school, and might not even serve as janitor of a school-building! He was interdicted from voting, and was, of course, excluded from membership in either House of Parliament. It is almost inconceivable that the mere bar of race descent should have been made the instrument of such degradation and oppression; and the wonder is still greater that the measures which were from time to time brought forward for the removal of the load with which every Jew was encumbered, should have been met with violent opposition, even in the House of Commons.

After the year 1830, however, the question of reform would not down. Bills were introduced at every session for Jewish emancipation, and at length public sentiment rallied to the cause. The English people, as such, went over to the side of the Jews, but Parliament—the House of Lords in particular—still refused to concede the removal of the disabilities. It was in the first year of the reign of Queen Victoria that the Jews first gained admission to certain executive offices. A Jew might be a sheriff, a constable, a hangman. It was at length perceived that pressure would have to be exerted upon Parliament from without. The friends of Jewish emancipation adopted the policy of electing certain citizens, otherwise qualified, but of the Jewish race, to the House of Commons. This was by no means difficult to do. In 1847 the Baron Lionel Rothschild was elected as one of the members for the City of London, and another Hebrew, named David Salomons, for the borough of Shoreham. At this time the House of Lords had just rejected by a strong vote the proposition for the extension of full citizenship to the Jews. Baron Rothschild, who was a man of the highest character, thereupon resigned his seat, and Salomons was refused admission.

It must be understood that the anti-Jewish prejudice in Parliament had found its last barricade in the oath which, according to existing statutes, was required of all those who were inducted into office. This oath required allegiance to the British crown as supreme in State and Church, abjuration of all foreign jurisdictions, and faithful discharge of the

given official duties; and to this was added, as a clause of sanction, "on the true faith of a Christian." Behind this clause the conservatism of England took refuge. It was of course the custom of infidels, skeptics, atheists, *et id omne genus*, to take this oath without compunction; but honest Jews would not subscribe such an obligation. Great Britain took no offense at hypocrisy or perjury, provided only the applicant would swear, using the words "on the true faith of a Christian."

In the meantime, Baron Rothschild and David Salomons, the latter recently elected from Greenwich, again presented themselves for membership, and offered to subscribe the oath with the invidious clause omitted. But the point was not yielded, and both the members sought to take their seats in spite of the bar against them. Both were excluded, Salomons with considerable violence, and Baron Rothschild with such gentle force as the officer of the House might use towards one of high degree.

For several years the contest dragged on, until, finally, in 1858, a bill was introduced by Lord John Russell, providing that the official oath might be *modified* when it was to be administered to Jews. The measure was passed by the House of Commons, but was rejected in the House of Lords. At length, however, the substance of the act was accepted in both Houses of Parliament, and henceforth the Jews were admitted to all official relations on taking such a modified oath as was acceptable to their consciences and consistent with their religious faith.

Almost coïncidently with the Act just named, namely, the act of the Parliamentary session of 1858, another measure of reform was adopted, by which a long-standing scandal was removed from the governmental polity of Great Britain. It will be remembered that the great Reform Bill of 1832, while it had greatly equalized representation and extended the franchise among the middle classes of Englishmen, had done nothing to ameliorate the political or social condition of the workingmen. They who had expected so much from the legislation of Earl Grey received nothing at all. The English masses had asked for bread; Parliament gave them a stone. They asked a fish, and were given a serpent. For twenty-six years the poorer people of Great Britian had stretched up their hands to the branches of that fallacious tree, called by preëminence the Reform Bill, and had plucked only the apples of Sodom.

Time and again the more liberal statesmen of England had moved in the direction of reviving and extending the principles of that Reform Bill of 1832, more particularly as it affected the character of the House of Commons. The time had now arrived when another of the great principles for which the Chartists had contended was to find its way into the Constitution of Great Britain. The old abusive statute which required as a qualification that members of Parliament should possess a certain amount of landed property, was still in full force. This is to say, the letter of the law was in force, but not the spirit. It has been the peculiarity of the whole institutional, and especially the constitutional, development of the British Empire, that the current legislation and all existing administrative and judicial proceedings have been encumbered and weighted down with a mass of obsolete statutes, many of which had their origin amid the half-barbarism, the bigotries and brutalities of the Middle Ages. As a result, every reformatory movement in Great Britain has been hobbled and retarded, drawn from its course to right and left, or jerked backwards on its haunches, by the long and strong thongs of ancient precedent, time-honored restriction, and irrational, or at least unreasoning, conservatism. In every instance the Old Man of the Sea has compelled the youthful Sindbad to mount on his shoulders, and ride him backwards towards the past.

These circumstances must account for the slow and toilsome progress of all reformatory movements in England. In the case before us, the Past had decided that land-ownership was a necessary qualification for membership in the British Parliament. Civilization had long since outgrown this restriction. Chartism had denounced the principle, and the conscience and judgment of England recognized the justice of the denunciation. But still the letter survived. At length a state of circumstances supervened which made it necessary to obviate the law by fraudulent practices. That stubborn spirit of conservatism for which, in

all ages, the British Saxon has been so noted, refused to admit that the law should be repealed. That indeed would sweep away a landmark of the past. Subterfuge and fraud were accordingly adopted in order that the will of England might be done in the face of the English law. It became customary for the candidates who were before the country for election to Parliament, and who were not themselves land-owners, to obtain the nominal and temporary transfer of properties to themselves, holding the same until after election and qualification for duty in Parliament, and then deeding back to the real owners what they had held in trust. This method of "beating the law" became so common that a large proportion of the members of the House of Commons might be justly charged with holding their seats by a process which, applied to any ordinary relation of life, would have been denounced as mere fraud.

The reader will find in these conditions an example of the many similar perplexities which have tended to produce and foster in the public life of Great Britain a species of political hypocrisy, of which the English people themselves appear to be but half conscious. In the midst of some such embarrassment, it is in vain that even the greatest English statesman should arise, point out the nature of the evil, and demand, with the most cogent argument and appeal to conscience, the abrogation of the offending statute. The political machinery of England, and more particularly the peculiar spirit of the people, will not tolerate such a direct, manly, and rational method of abolishing abuses. Parliament must beat around the question, adopt subterfuges, offer amendments, and finally choose some half-way expedient, under which it is hoped that the injurious usage of the past will *expire*, rather than be destroyed. In the instance before us, the effort was made, from time to time, to abolish the property qualification for members of Parliament. One act proposed to substitute a declaration, instead of the oath hitherto required of the candidate, that he was a land-owner; as though the declaration were a feebler and less hurtful form of falsehood than the direct and robust perjury of the oath.

In the next place it was sought to make the property qualification general, by substituting a requirement that the Parliamentarian should possess, not necessarily landed property, but a fund of some kind equivalent to six hundred pounds a year for a county constituency, or three hundred pounds for a borough. But this measure by no means removed the tendency to fraud. It was more easy indeed for some rich friend to loan, *pro tempore*, a sufficient sum to a moneyless candidate than it had been to make to him a fraudulent transfer of landed property. The abuse was aggravated by the amendment, and the House of Commons continued to be filled in good part with those who had obtained their seats in the open face of the law. The condition was made still more abusive by the fact that the members of Parliament from Scotland were free from the property qualification. Those who were chosen to represent the great Universities were also exempt from the action of the pernicious statute.

In the year 1858 it was found that about sixty members of the House were in their seats by the force of a fraudulent declaration. It happened at this session that one poor member, who had come in in the usual way, was unfortunate enough to fall into the clutches of the law. Once in the hands of an English court, there was no escape. His fellow-members came at once to see the precipice on which more than half a hundred others were standing. The votes of these were necessary to the Ministry. Therefore the Government by a herculean effort, and under compulsion, must abolish the sacred old statute which, since the days of Queen Anne, had required a landed property as a qualification for membership in the Commons. To Locke King, a member of the House, belongs the honor of having prepared and introduced the measure by which Parliamentary membership was made henceforth to depend on the man rather than on land-ownership.

The year 1859 was noted in the history of England for the founding of the great American Colony of British Columbia. The measure was the virtual beginning of English civilization in the vast regions lying north of the westermost parts of the United States. At the time of which we speak, the office of Secretary for the Colonies was held by Sir

Edward Bulwer Lytton, and from his rich and capacious understanding arose the project of opening on the far Pacific a new field for the exercise of the energies of his countrymen. The new territory, to which the name of British Columbia was given, was bounded on the south by the parallel of forty-nine degrees and forty minutes, being the boundary-line of the United States; on the east by the principal chain of the Rocky Mountains; on the north by Simpson's River and the Finlay Branch of Peace River; and on the west by the Pacific. In course of time, Vancouver's Island was annexed to the new Province; and, after twelve years of independent colonial existence, British Columbia itself was added to the Dominion of Canada. Thus in the year 1871, British America on the north was carried through in one broad band, as the United States had already been, from ocean to ocean.

It was under the administration of Lord Lytton in the colonial office that a striking revival of interest occurred in Great Britain with respect to that group of Grecian Islands called Ionian. These Islands are seven in number, beginning with Corfu on the north, and extending around the western coast of Greece to Cerigo, off the southern extremity of the peninsula. They are essentially Hellenic, geographically, ethnically, historically. But for a long time the Ionian group had been the subject of covetous contention among the Latin States of Western Europe. About the beginning of the present century, Bonaparte, on more occasions than one, made the Ionian Islands the subject of special clauses in his treaties. At the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, the Islands were granted nominal independence under the protection of Great Britain. Corfu was the capital. The chief administrative officer was a British Lord High Commissioner, appointed by the Government. Under him was a legislative body, consisting of a Senate of six and an Assembly of forty members. It was not long until the Greek revolution broke out. After a hard and murderous conflict, the independence of the country was achieved, and King Otho, a German Prince, was put on the throne under the protection of the Great Powers.

Henceforth the populations of the Ionian Islands, themselves of Grecian origin, strove by every means in their hands to identify themselves with the Mother-land of Greece. The protectorate of Great Britain now constituted a bar to such a movement. The Ionians, from year to year, grew more and more restless under what was in every essential a foreign domination. It became a serious matter to Lord Lytton how he should continue a satisfactory administration in the Islands. He at length determined to send out as a Commissioner Extraordinary to Corfu, William E. Gladstone, who was recognized as a Philhellene, and might for that reason be most acceptable to the Islanders. It was at the close of 1858 that Gladstone went on his mission. It appears that the Islanders at once leaped to the conclusion that the new Commissioner had come to them in the character of a liberator. He was received with great enthusiasm by the impetuous patriots of Ionia, and had great difficulty in making them understand the true nature of his mission. The general effect of his presence in the Islands was to increase the agitation in favor of a union with Greece. At the close of the Gladstone episode the discontent at the foreign protectorate was greater than ever, and the succeeding Lord High Commissioner had great difficulty in maintaining peace.

At length, however, the difficulty was solved by a natural evolution, the results of which were satisfactory to all parties. In October of 1862, a popular revolution occurred in Athens, by which King Otho was remanded to private life. In his place was chosen Prince George of Denmark, son of Christian IX., and brother to the Princess of Wales. The fact that the brother-in-law of the future sovereign of Great Britain was thus chosen king of the Hellenes, at once modified the views of the English Government relative to the maintenance of the protectorate over the Ionian Islands. It was conceded by Lord John Russell, then in office, that the Islands should belong henceforth to the kingdom of Greece. Accordingly, in 1863, the protectorate was finally relinquished, and the little Ionian Republic was merged with the mother country of Hellas. A fortunate marriage settlement had accomplished a result which otherwise would hardly have been effected but by the agency of war.

We may here enter upon an account of the final conflict by which the Right of Suffrage was extended to the workingmen of England. Time and again we have referred to the ineffectiveness of the Reform Bill of 1832, considered as a measure of enfranchisement and genuine extension of popular rights. It would appear strange that a people of the liberty-loving antecedents of the English race should, in their historical career, have exhibited so many symptoms of apprehension relative to the suffrage. It would seem axiomatic that a country possessing so great and powerful an organ of liberty as the House of Commons would revert instinctively to manhood's suffrage as the very palladium of the system of free government. But, on the other side, we have to take into consideration the composite character of English society and English institutions. We must remember that, from the days of the Tudors, from the days of the Plantagenets, aye, from the days of the Conqueror himself, England had been, politically considered, an aristocracy. There was the king. There was the House of Lords. There was the graduated order of nobility. There was the landed gentry, by far the most powerful and resolute of its kind in all Europe. These parts of British society were fixed and established by the traditions of centuries.

All these elements of England's strength and greatness were set against the principle of general suffrage. While the Commons grew, the aristocracy opposed their growth. Nevertheless, the whole history of Great Britain, since the Revolution of 1688, has been the history of the gradual rise and ever-imminent supremacy of the House of Commons. Back of this development has been heard evermore in the distance the cry of the common man—the appeal of the masses for their constitutional rights and just influence in the Government. At the time of which we speak, the liberal elements in Parliament were sufficiently numerous, could they be marshaled into a single phalanx to bear down the Conservative Ministry, and to carry an extension of the suffrage by a *coup de main*. But the divisions among the Liberal and Radical elements in the House, generally forbade such a union of effort.

At the close of the sixth decade of the century, Benjamin Disraeli was the undisputed leader of the Conservative Party. Each year seemed to add a new demonstration of his great abilities, a new display of his powers in the Government. At this date Europe fell into commotion and war. It looked for a season as though Napoleon the Little was about to turn the tables on his critics and satirists, and to justify his claim to the war-boots and cocked hat of Napoleon the Great. It is not the place in which to enter on a narrative of those stirring events in the course of which a United Italy was to emerge from the smoke of battle, and the rising crest of Hohenzollern be seen above the turmoil of Sadowa. Suffice it to say that, in these events, Great Britain seemed to have no part or lot. Such a situation has always been annoying to English statesmen. Under such circumstances they feel that the prestige of Great Britain is lost, or at least diminished. It is a sentiment with which the great mass of the English people sympathize in a profound degree. To all Britons it seems unnatural and unhistorical that any great thing should happen in Europe in which England has no master part.

Such was the condition of affairs in 1859. The crisis in Europe required that the English Government should do something at home which might satisfy the *amour propre* of the people by compensation for the noise abroad. In such an emergency, *Reform* is the cry with which a Ministry must attract to itself the continued interest of the nation. But how should a Conservative Minister cry Reform? To the genius of Disraeli the dilemma was sufficiently embarrassing, but not confounding. He perceived that reform must be taken under the patronage of the Government, and for the present he might almost say, *L'etat c'est moi*. So he became a Reformer, and introduced into Parliament a bill for the extension of the suffrage. It was his theory that the franchise might be extended laterally; that is, to considerable classes and groups of disfranchised Englishmen, who, so to speak, flourished in the same stratum with those who, under the Reform Bill of 1832, already had the right of suffrage. Below this stratum lay that other and profoundly deep formation, the English lower classes—the workingmen, the peasantry, the operatives, the miners of Great Britain.

It was not the purpose of Disraeli to dip down into the great sea. His measure by no means contemplated the enfranchisement of the masses. In fact, the bill proposed was in the nature of another tub thrown to the British whale. The act provided that in boroughs, all persons having property to the amount of ten pounds a year, in funds, or stocks of the East India Company; all persons who had on deposit sixty pounds in savings bank; all persons receiving pensions to the amount of twenty pounds a year; also all professional men, such as doctors and lawyers, alumni of the universities, ministers, school-teachers, etc., should become enfranchised. Another clause of the bill provided that the conditions of suffrage in counties and boroughs respectively should be equalized — a provision which had in it the elements of right and justice. But in its principal features the bill was little better than an absurdity. It was at once seen that many of the persons seemingly admitted to the franchise by the new measure were already enfranchised. Under existing statutes, a lawyer or a physician, as well as a country landlord, had the right of suffrage, provided the property qualifications were sufficient. Again, it was seen that one having the requisite funds in a savings bank might, in one year, be a voter, and in the next year, by the mere fact of withdrawing and profitably investing his money, even in a cottage provided for his young wife, would thereby be disfranchised.

Nevertheless, Disraeli brought all of his resources to the defense of his bill. A fiery and protracted debate ensued in the House of Commons, until, at length, Lord Russell thrust a sword into the whole proceeding by offering a resolution to the effect that the House of Commons would not be satisfied with any readjustment of the franchise which did not provide for a greater extension of the suffrage to the English people than was contemplated in the Ministerial Bill. Over this resolution, there was a sharp and decisive struggle, and the Government was defeated by an emphatic majority. Thereupon Parliament was dissolved and a new election was held, at which, though the Conservatives gained slightly, the decision was against the Ministry. The Conservatives were driven out of office by a vote of a want of confidence.

At this juncture the two leading statesmen in Parliament, after Disraeli, were Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell. Neither of these, indeed, might be considered as second to the recent leader of the House. It were more fitting to say that Disraeli had, by genius and persistency, thrust himself into the same rank with Palmerston and Russell. The Queen, however, called to her aid Lord Granville, and directed him to form a Cabinet. It was soon discovered that this could not be done. Lord Russell would not enter the Ministry of Granville, preferring to serve under his great rival, Lord Palmerston. The latter was accordingly once more summoned by the Queen to take charge of the Government. He accepted the trust, and from June of 1859 to his death, in October of 1865, remained in the high office of Premier. Nor will the reader of our times fail to look back with admiration upon the veteran statesman, already in the seventy-fifth year of his age, resuming, at the call of his sovereign, the severest duties and heaviest responsibilities which can be imposed, under the existing constitutions of the civilized States, upon any ministerial officer.

In the new Cabinet, Gladstone became Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Secretaryship of Foreign Affairs was assigned to Lord John Russell. The Home Office was given to Sir George Cornewall Lewis. The place of Minister of War was allotted to Sidney Herbert; the Colonial Secretaryship, to the Duke of Newcastle; the Secretaryship for Ireland, to Edward Cardwell; and the Secretaryship for India, to Sir Charles Wood. The Presidency of the Board of Trade was offered to Richard Cobden; but the latter, ever at variance with Lord Palmerston, on account of his foreign policy, would not accept the place,[1] and the same was assigned to Milner Gibson.

No sadder incident was known in the

[1] It was on this occasion that the somewhat celebrated *mot* of Cobden was delivered. He urged that he could not accept office under Palmerston on account of the severe strictures which he had made on that statesman's course and conduct. It was answered that Lord Russell, who had just accepted the Foreign Office, had been, in a former crisis, equally severe in denunciation of Palmerston and his policy. "Yes," replied Cobden, indifferently, "but *I meant what I said.*"

history of this year, 1859, than the death of Lord Macaulay. On the 28th of December he fell from his place in Parliament, to be consigned on the 9th of the following month to his rest, near the statue of Addison, in the Poets' Corner of Westminster Abbey. His life had been one of singular intellectual activity. As was said by Johnson of Goldsmith, he had touched almost every variety of literature, and had touched nothing which he did not adorn. We may not pause, in this place, to recount the story of his life. It is doubtful whether a more brilliant intellect has passed across the sky of England within the present century. He had not only the genius of a great literary man, the acumen of a scholar, the accomplishments of a parliamentarian, the gifts of a statesman, but also the soul and spirit of a profound humanity which linked him strongly to his age.

In no incident of his career was the greatness of Macaulay more conspicuous than in his labors as President of the Commission for the Revision of the Penal Code of British India. Though he was then but a young man, being but thirty-three years of age, the work which he produced is conspicuous in the jurisprudence of the century. The Criminal Code which he prepared is still a part of the constitution of the British East Indian Empire. In it are reproduced, in a form at once concise and beautiful, the spirit and "real presence" of the law of England, in which Macaulay was so profoundly versed. He had the honor, besides, of introducing a new era in historical literature. Though his history of England is not more accurate than the works produced in the last half of the eighteenth century, though it is not free from the political bias and passionate vehemence of the author, it, nevertheless, introduced another style of historical writing, the usefulness and success of which have been demonstrated by the ever-widening popularity of the production. Nothing so brilliant, so varied, so lucid in treatment, so masterly in style and diction, had ever before appeared in English prose. Within thirty years of the appearance of the *History of England*, the sale of the work had reached in Great Britain a hundred and forty thousand copies, and it has been alleged that in the United States no other book, with the single exception of the Bible, has ever had so wide a distribution.

We have already narrated the circumstances under which the Ministry of Lord Palmerston came into power. The Government, in his hands, was destined to pass through perilous emergencies in the course of the six years which lay before. In the first place, the relations of England with France, or more properly with the governing power in France, became strained. It would be difficult to explain, from the stand of consistency, the course which Great Britain had pursued towards the Bonaparte family in the relations of that family to the French throne. In the first place, England, in common with the other powers, had registered her vow at the Congress of Vienna, that no Bonaparte should henceforth occupy a European throne. That family was to be eradicated root and branch. In course of time, England perceived that she had no more affection, even for the Citizen King, than she had for the Napoleons. One of them had at least had the merit of greatness. When that Bonaparte, who had recently done police duty in the streets of London, and who, as the student prisoner of Ham, had occupied his time in composing a political pamphlet on the *Extinction of Pauperism*, suddenly stepped across the Channel to be President of the French Republic, and then Emperor Napoleon III., Great Britain first shaded her eyes with her hand, then said she would not endure it, then endured it, and, finally, applauded. Within two years from the time when the parvenu Prince took on him the French crown, England was his faithful ally in the Crimean War.

At the close of that conflict, Great Britain had some difficulty in preventing France from monopolizing the glory. Soon afterwards she became exceedingly distrustful of Bonaparte. She watched his movements with ever-increasing dislike. Now she saw him enter upon a victorious war with Austria. She saw him create a Duke of Magenta, on the field of that name, *à la* Napoleon the Great. She heard with astonishment the word Solferino, and then, with greater astonishment, the word Villafranca. She perceived that the whole Italian scheme had, in the last act, been pur-

posely given over to miscarriage, and she was sufficiently angered to have taken the sword if a suitable excuse could have been found for the use of that weapon. It was another one of those emergencies in which it appeared to England that her prestige was giving way. Nevertheless, for the time being, she was obliged to use her glass and see in the distance, with as much equanimity as she could command, the war-eagle of Bonaparte, the sword of Victor Emanuel circling in the horizon, and Count Cavour wearing the crown of European diplomacy.

It has been observed already that in such a situation, Great Britain always attempts to counteract by some form of home activity the effects of those foreign enterprises in which she bears no part. In the present instance, the Ministry became especially active, and the first form of subject-matter on which they seized was the construction of a new commercial treaty with France. The measure was somewhat sensational both in itself and in the methods employed for its accomplishment. The negotiations, instead of proceeding from the Foreign Office and going through the hands of the British Minister at Paris, appear to have originated with John Bright, and to have been conducted privately by Richard Cobden directly with the French Emperor himself.

France had, as a rule, been opposed to Great Britain on what may be called the general theory of commerce. The French political economy inclined strongly to Protection, while that of Great Britain had gone over, soul, body, and member, to the principle of Free Trade. The particular matter now in hand was to secure from Napoleon such abrogation of the existing restrictions on commerce between Great Britain and France as could not, in all probability, be secured from the French Government, apart from the will and preference of the Emperor. Cobden succeeded, in his personal discussion and correspondence with Napoleon III., in bringing that personage very nearly into accord with his own views. It can not be doubted that the ante-Imperial residence of Louis Napoleon in England had made him in some measure a convert to the English theory of political economy. The terms of a treaty were accordingly framed in which great concessions were made to the principle of Free Trade. The duties which had been previously laid by the two Governments on importations of each other's goods were either wholly abolished or greatly reduced. The tariff on English coal and coke, raw iron, tools, machinery, yarns, flax, and hemp, was so far reduced as to make their importation into France virtually free; while, on the other hand, the duties on light French wines were abolished—a measure which led at once to a remarkable increase in the consumption of such drinks in Great Britain. It was noticed, moreover, as a striking evolution in social economy, that the heavy alcoholic liquors, which had hitherto been used in such excessive quantities in England, were reduced in consumption in corresponding ratio. Nor will the socialist of our own age and country fail to record as an important fact that drunkenness and its correlated and dependent forms of vice were greatly diminished by the substitution of the light French wines for the fiery beverages which the English people had formerly used.

When the new commercial treaty was brought before Parliament, it was subjected to a hot fire from the Opposition. But the advocacy of Gladstone and his followers prevailed. The compact conceived by Bright and Cobden passed into statutory form, and both countries were, presently, well satisfied with the working of the scheme. At the same time, the Ministry were busily engaged in promoting a measure of internal economy of the same general character with the French treaty. When the general principle of Free Trade became the policy of Great Britain, certain conspicuous exceptions still remained as witnesses and landmarks of the ancient system. Among others of the kind, the duty on paper had never been abolished. As a result, all departments of industry having the use of paper, of printed paper in particular, as their bottom fact, were stilted up above the horizon of low prices which prevailed with respect to all other values. It remained for the Palmerston Ministry to attack and level this standing example of the old Protective system.

The leadership of this movement fell to Gladstone. His proposition to abolish the

duty on paper was met with every form of argument and influence which the paper interest could invent and employ. The position assumed was, that the manufacture and use of paper was exceptional to the general principle of Free Trade; that book-making and newspaper production were of a different nature from those other departments of industry in which free competition might be left to work out its own results; that it was not desirable that cheapness should prevail in literature and journalism, lest books and newspapers should become the cheap vehicle for the universal dissemination of all things bad and dangerous among the English people. The Ministry, however, prevailed over the Opposition, and the bill was carried through the House of Commons. When the same was laid before the House of Lords, that body took the unusual responsibility of voting adversely on the measure. A violent controversy arose over the action of the Lords in refusing their assent to a measure which the House had approved, relative to the revenues of the kingdom. For the time, the abolition of the paper duty was held in abeyance, and it was not until the following session that the measure was finally adopted.

It will be remembered that the project on which the recent Conservative Ministry had gone to wreck was the bill prepared and advocated by Disraeli for the "lateral extension" of the suffrage. It will be recalled how the Liberals combined against the proposed Act, and defeated it. It must be borne in mind that the movement of Disraeli for the reform of the franchise was in accordance with what he perceived to be the determination of the English people. He sought to patronize and satisfy the public sentiment with a measure which seemed to do without doing—which ostensibly granted, but granted not. With the accession of Lord Palmerston, the new Ministry inherited from its predecessor the very embarrassment which Disraeli and his colleagues had been unable to surmount. The Liberals must now try to appease the country with some measure of reform. A bill was accordingly prepared at the session of 1860, providing that the property qualifications for the franchise in counties should be reduced to ten pounds, and in boroughs to six pounds. The measure also contemplated a new apportionment of the seats in the House of Commons. Twenty-five of the boroughs, represented at the time by two members each, were reduced to one member each. The membership thus gained was distributed to the larger counties and towns. Another feature of the bill was the proposition that in every county or borough represented by three members in Parliament, the third member should be chosen by the minority, that is, the Opposition. It was the beginning of that still debated feature of popular government, the minority representation. The method to be employed in securing the given result was the simple requirement that in boroughs electing three members, each elector should vote for two candidates and only two.

But the new Reform Bill was destined to a peculiar fate. The Opposition, under the leadership of Disraeli, assailed the measure with vehemence and ability. It was soon discovered that the proposed Act was peculiarly Gladstonian in its origin, development, and defense. It was also believed that Lord Palmerston had no heart or interest in the matter. It became doubtful whether the Liberals could be aligned in support of the Ministerial Bill. After the debate had proceeded to a great extent, the bill was remanded for the consideration of the committee, and was finally withdrawn from the House. In the meantime, other great interests had supervened, which drew the attention of the nation to events beyond the sea; the question of reform was given over to another Cabinet and a more convenient season.

Early in 1860 the long-standing difficulty between Great Britain and China took still another phase of development. Arrangements had been made between the two countries for a settlement of all existing troubles by means of a treaty. Even the terms of the treaty had in the main been agreed upon at Tien-Tsin, and it only remained that the formal ratifications of the compact should be exchanged as preliminary to peace. It was provided in the treaty that the ratifications, so called, should be exchanged at Pekin. In March of 1859, Frederick Bruce, a brother to Lord Elgin, was sent as Envoy Extraordinary to China, with a view to the ratification of the settle-

ment. Meanwhile, a strong feeling of opposition had arisen in China to having the treaty ratified *at the capital.* The Emperor and his Government were averse in a high degree to having the ambassadors of foreign nations at his court. For a considerable period, France and England had been in alliance in the Chinese war, and the negotiations consequent thereon, and French ambassadors were to accompany those of England to Pekin.

The British Government, knowing the indisposition of the Chinese Emperor to admit foreign representatives to his court, sent orders to the English Admiral commanding in Chinese waters to accompany the embassy with an armament. When the squadron thus provided for arrived at the mouth of the Peiho River, by which the commissioners were to ascend to the capital, it was found that the Chinese had obstructed the entrance and planted batteries commanding the approach. The English vessels undertook to force their way through, and were repulsed with heavy losses. Another expedition had to be fitted out before the way could be cleared, and much hard fighting took place before the European army came within reach of Pekin. Negotiations were renewed, and the ratification of the treaty was exacted of the Chinese Government *at the capital.* In the meantime, a company of Englishmen, who had been sent under a flag of truce within the enemy's lines, had become involved in a difficulty, been seized by the Chinese, and subjected to such cruel treatment that half of the number had died. As a measure of retaliation for this outrage, Lord Elgin ordered the Chinese Summer Palace, a magnificent collection of buildings, picturesquely situated in a park on the outskirts of Pekin, to be destroyed. Within the Palace had been collected, through centuries and ages, the archæological, historical, and artistic treasures of China. No such other collection of rare and time-honored materials—no such other assembly of pagodas and temples, of grottoes, lakes, and bridges, of terraces, groves, and labyrinths—existed anywhere in the world. And yet by an act of wanton destruction, for which all future ages will hold Lord Elgin to account, the whole marvel of Chinese greatness was swept away. What good end might be subserved by such an act of vandalism in the most populous capital of all Asia, has never yet been discovered.

The difficulty with China was not the only Oriental trouble in which Great Britain was at this time involved. A civil war broke out in that part of Syria which is dominated by the Lebanon; and the conflict was of such a nature as to draw both England and France to the rescue. It were impossible, perhaps, for an American reader to apprehend fully the conditions present in Syrian society at the time of which we speak. Suffice it that there existed in that country the ancient Christian sect called the Maronites, representatives from the earlier centuries of our era of Roman Catholicism in the East. There also was the nation of the Druses, a sect which may be defined as heretical Mohammedans. Over both was established a Turkish Government, subject to the Sublime Porte. Between the Maronites and the Druses, though at some periods in their career they had been in alliance, rivalries, enmities, hostilities, had sprung up, and each party regarded the other as its enemy in chief. In May of 1860, one of the monks of the Maronites was murdered, and it was believed that a band of Druses were the doers of the deed. The Maronites made an attack on the suspected party, and several of the Druses were killed. Then the Druses rose in considerable numbers, fell upon the Maronite villages in the vicinity of Beyrout, and destroyed them. They then besieged a large town near Mount Hermon, and when the Maronites within were hard pressed, the Turkish Governor ordered them to surrender, under promise of protection. The infuriated Druses, however, attacked the prisoners and destroyed them to the last man. The Druse population of Damascus also rose against the Christians, and a massacre ensued in which it was estimated that two thousand persons were cut down by the swords of the Mussulmans.

It was the news of these proceedings that seemed to call on England and France to interfere in the affairs of Syria. The other Powers of Western Europe agreed to a compact under which order in the Lebanon should be restored under the French and English flags. A squadron was sent out by the allies to the Syrian coast, and the Druse insurrection was quickly quelled. Presently afterwards,

ambassadors were sent to Constantinople, by whom it was decided that henceforth a Christian Governor, under the suzerainty of the Sultan, should rule the insurgent populations of Northern Syria. The whole disturbance and its conclusion was another illustration of the complete decadence and imbecility of the Turkish Government in the lands over which it had long exercised authority. Soon after the settlement of the difficulty, the Turkish ruler, Abdul-Medjid, died, and was succeeded, on the 25th of June, 1861, by his brother, Abdul-Aziz, who was destined to signalize his accession to the throne with promises of greatness and reform, and to end it, after sixteen years, by suicide.

It fell to the Ministry of Lord Palmerston to conduct the Government of Great Britain during the whole period of the American Civil War. It was an epoch critical in the last degree. In the light of the retrospect, it would appear that at no crisis in modern times have the fortunes and the welfare of the English-speaking race been more seriously imperiled than in the years 1861–62. The conduct of England towards the American Republic in that great crisis has been much discussed in every civilized country, particularly in our own. The American people have not yet recovered from the shock and strain to which they were subjected by the course of that great insular nation with which we are in strongest affinity of language, institutions, and laws. The animosities transmitted from our War of Independence had long since died away.

The Revolutionary soldiers had gone to sleep in the soil of the country, which they had helped to create eighty-five years before. Their descendants had returned to their ancient ethnic sympathies with the Mother Country, and a feeling had supervened that the whole English race had, so to speak, embarked for a common destiny.

When the secession of the Southern States began, in the winter of 1860, when a Southern Confederacy was organized and war proclaimed as the means by which it was to be perpetuated, the National Government and a great majority of the American people looked instinctively to Great Britain for a liberal measure of support and confidence. There were good reasons why such expectations should be entertained. It was already felt, on this side of the sea, that the institution of slavery was deep down in the bottom of our National controversy. With that institution the whole movement and destiny of the Confederate enterprise were from the first involved. True, the National Government had not as yet drawn the sword against this final cause of all our woe. It was said, indeed, that it was not meant to attack and destroy the peculiar institution. But the saying was one of those unconscious or half-conscious falsehoods in which the purposes of nations are so many times concealed or denied. As to Great Britain, her antipathy to slavery had long since become constitutional. It was not at all doubted in America that England was sincerely and thoroughly committed to the policy of the abolition of human servitude in every part of the world. She had publicly announced to the nations that the touch of the slave's foot on the soil of Great Britain made him free forever. She had gone so far as to foster and promote in this country that Anti-slavery Society, at the existence of which the South had taken such mortal offense. In a thousand instances she had justly denounced American slavery as a shame and burning disgrace to the great people by whom it was fostered. It could but be expected, therefore, that when the seceded States had banded themselves together under a governmental compact in which slavery was openly declared to be the chief corner-stone, England would throw the whole weight of her influence into the scale against what she must logically regard as a conspiracy for the maintenance of slavery. It was fondly believed throughout the North that consistency, national instinct, devotion to free political institutions, and every other motive, would act as a compulsive force to hold Great Britain in sympathy with the cause of the United States, against secession and the Confederacy.

But what were the facts as they were developed from the very outbreak of our Civil War? Great Britain at once placed herself in the precise attitude towards the United States on the one side and the secession cause on the other, which she would have assumed if two friendly nations, of equal rank

and like antecedents, had gone to war on the Continent. She declared neutrality. With what must always appear to America an indecent and eager haste, she recognized the belligerency and the equal war-rights of the seceded States. She assumed precisely what Gladstone declared to be the case, namely, that Jefferson Davis and his fellow-statesmen of the South had created a nation in a day. Without waiting to see what course the National Administration would pursue, without pausing to observe what kind of a method the National Government would take in order to put down the insurrection, what kind of a blow might be given to the revolt, she rushed *in medias res*, and on the 8th of May, 1861, in less than a month after the first cannon-shot had boomed from the land-batteries of Charleston against the walls of Sumter, the English proclamation, by Lord John Russell, recognizing the perfect equality of the two parties to the conflict, was issued. The American people were astounded to know that the Government of the United States had been placed by Great Britain on an exact level with what a great majority regarded as an inexcusable insurrection.

Such was the situation considered somewhat in the abstract. Concrete acts soon followed which tended still further to establish the unfriendliness of Great Britain to the United States, and to intensify the ill-feeling on both sides of the Atlantic. The Battle of Bull Run was fought, and the National army was thrown into a panic. The news of the disaster flew to England, was published everywhere, and was received with a burst of enthusiasm, as though some international event of the happiest augury had occurred. The jubilation was out of all proportion to the occasion. It was declared that the bubble had burst—the "bubble" being nothing less than the American Republic. Lord Palmerston referred to the retreat of the Union army on Washington as the "unfortunate and *rapid* movement of the Northern soldiers." The highest governmental officers indulged in the bitterest sarcasm on the National cause and its upholders. Every conceivable falsehood was circulated to the prejudice of the Government of the United States and the character of the Union army. On the other hand, the South was lauded in all the forms of rhetorical exaggeration. The Southern soldiers were heroes; the Northern soldiers were poltroons. The South was chivalrous, liberty-loving; the North was mercenary, mean. At times, the Kingdom was in a roar of delight. Confederate victories were heralded, and Union successes falsified out of the record.

All these things, when the rumor and report thereof were borne back to America, produced in the Government and among the people their legitimate results. Before the close of the summer of 1861, hatred of the Mother Country had supervened wherever the Stars and Stripes were still the emblem of a respected nationality.

We may now consider the causes for the conduct of Great Britain with respect to our Civil War. What reasons existed for her thus planting herself in antagonism to the United States? Was there any justification or excuse for the course of England in giving her sympathy and virtual support to the cause of the Confederacy? First of all, Great Britain had, in common with other nations, the sentiment which, under such conditions as then existed in the United States, is fallaciously called *fair play*. The South was the weaker party. When a fight is on, it is the weaker party that, right or wrong, receives the sympathy of the world. To this extent England can only be said to have acted after the manner of other nations. In the next place, the *interest* of England seemed to her at the time to require the speedy success of the Southern Confederacy. It was out of the States of the South that the greater part of raw cotton which was consumed in the English factories was drawn. A large industrial interest in Great Britain was directly dependent on the regular continuance of this supply. It is difficult in America to appreciate how completely, not only the operatives proper, but almost the whole people, in such manufacturing cities as Manchester were dependent on the regular delivery of raw cotton in that mart. At the very outset the Government of the United States saw the necessity of closing the Southern ports. This could only be done by the process called blockade. According to International Law, a nation may blockade the ports of an enemy, but not its own ports.

At the outbreak of the war the United States was not disposed to admit that the Southern States were an "enemy" in the technical sense of that word. When the blockade was stretched around the Southern coast and became ever more rigorous, it was still held by the Government that the Southern States were in the character of insurrectionary provinces. There was much that was illogical in the situation. However necessary it was to establish and maintain the blockade, it was hardly logical to do so without doing precisely what Great Britain had been so seriously blamed for doing at the very outset, namely, recognizing the complete belligerent rights of the Confederacy.

This palpable break in the policy of the National Government was quickly seized by Great Britain and France as a warrant for the unfriendly course which they were pursuing. In the former country, the condition was aggravated by the immediate cessation of the supply of cotton, and the wide-spread distress consequent thereon in the manufacturing districts. Had it not been for the strong republican sympathy which existed among the people of Lancashire and in other industrial districts of similar character, it were hard to say what evil results would have immediately ensued. It was the astonishing *non sequitur* of the situation that the workingmen of Manchester, who were the real sufferers on account of the blockade, were the best friends which the United States had in England; while, on the other hand, the worst enemies of the National Government were the country squires and Tory aristocrats, who did not themselves feel even an inconvenience on account of the war in America.

It was not long, however, until Great Britain found a much more tangible basis for her hostilities. The Southern Confederacy had been quick to perceive their advantage in England and France. While all the rest of Europe was on the side of the National Government, the sentiments of those two nations from whom, as Mother Country and "Traditional Friend," we had most to expect, were wholly averse. This fact was quickly seized upon by the Confederate Government in the belief that a recognition of the independence of the South could be obtained. To accomplish this end, it was necessary to send abroad ambassadors to the courts of England and France. The story of the outgoing and capture of Mason and Slidell has already been recounted. In the present chapter we are considering the matter only from the English point of view. The act of Captain Wilkes in running down the *Trent*, and in taking from under the protection of the British flag the two envoys of the Confederacy, and then allowing the steamer to go on her way, was irregular and illegal from beginning to end. Nevertheless, the deed was applauded to the echo in the United States. Public meetings were held in Tammany Hall, New York, and in Faneuil Hall, Boston, at which strong indorsement and high compliment were given to Captain Wilkes for his heroic fracture of the law of nations. The National House of Representatives, with equal ignorance and patriotism, blinded by the one and fired by the other, actually passed a vote of thanks, and ordered the presentation of a sword to the commander of the *San Jacinto* for his capture of the "traitors," Slidell and Mason.

Great Britain, well knowing that the thing done was against International Law and an insult to the English flag, made all haste to improve the occasion. Her wrath knew no bounds. She demanded the release of the Confederate ambassadors, and an apology for the act of Wilkes, and was courteous enough to give the United States *seven days* in which to choose between peace and war! Of course, Mason and Slidell were liberated and sent to their destination; but the animus of Great Britain had been so unhappily displayed that there was no further hope of the restoration of good feeling during the continuance of the war. By the insane passion which the British Government displayed, it betrayed itself, and it was known henceforth, by the Government of the United States and by the whole American people, that England only waited for an opportunity to do the Nation the greatest harm in her power.

But we are still under the necessity of looking deep down into the sea of motive, and of discovering there, if we may, the ultimate reason of British hostility to the United States. That ultimate reason is to be found in the deep-seated antipathy of England to the

republican form of government as developed in our country. The organization of political society on this side of the Atlantic had been on too liberal a scale to be pleasing in the British Isles. Even that limited monarchical system, which is the boast of the dominant classes in England, could but feel a mortal offense at the successful demonstration of republicanism in America. We are here on the ground of the true explanation. Great Britain had subscribed, for centuries, a historical allegation to the effect that Hereditary Monarchy, an Aristocratic organization of society, a Graduated Order of Nobility, a stratification of the people into classes, the permanent maintenance of a political and social difference between the upper and the under man, are the prerequisites of English liberty and English perpetuity. But the United States had established political liberty, and were about to demonstrate its perpetuity on a splendid scale. The American Republic had become what Lord Bacon might have defined as a "forth-showing instance" to all nations and peoples.

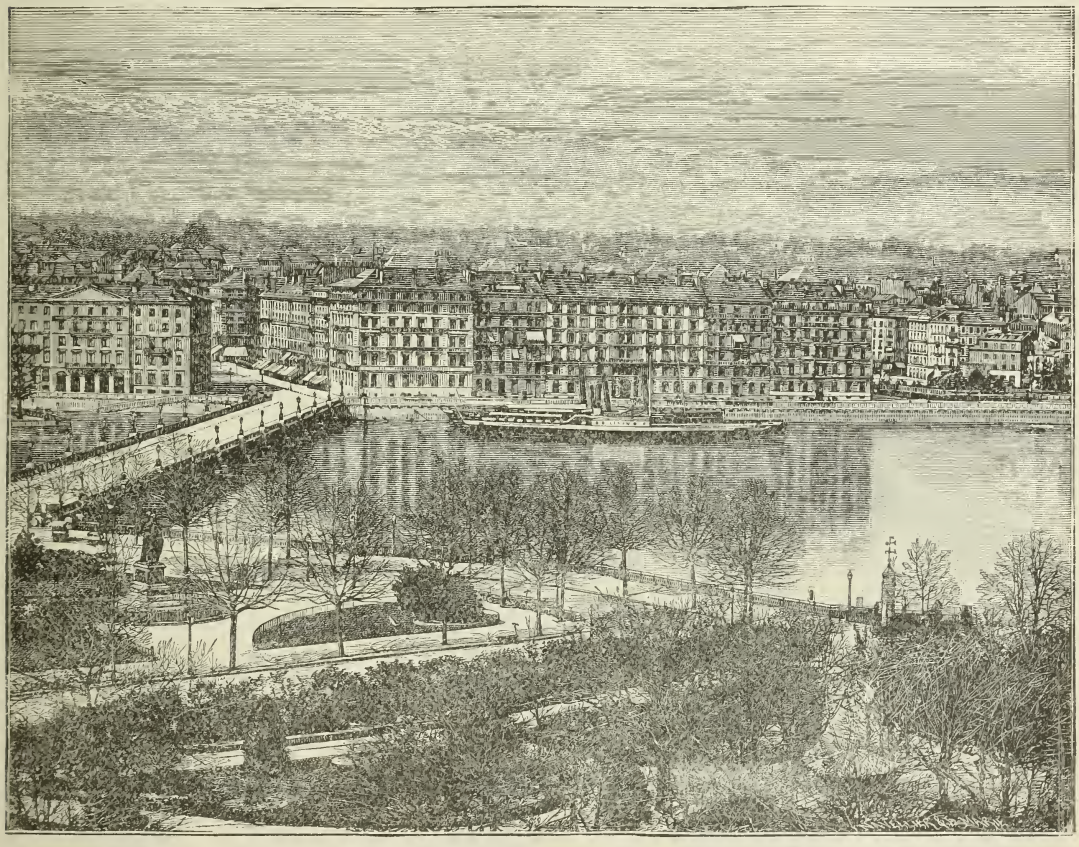
All this appeared to be in the nature of a refutation of the English order and theory of society. While Great Britain would never have confessed that she regarded our republican institutions as a menace to her own, it is nevertheless true that such was her unconcious or half-conscious sentiment. As a matter of fact and in brief, Great Britain desired and hoped that the American Republic would go to pieces, and that the judgment of the English-speaking race would thus be obliged to revert to and reäccept the ancient order of political society as embodied and illustrated in the British Constitution. If we say that such a sentiment, entertained by all the governing classes in England with respect to the United States and their destiny, was *mean* in the lowest degree, we must also admit that it was *natural* in the highest degree.

The limits of the present chapter do not permit a further expansion of the subject. British society, by which is meant all the ruling and dominant parts of society, fixed itself inveterately in support of the cause of the South. Henceforth, the North, that is, the National Government, expected nothing from Great Britain except her sneers and ill-concealed animosity. It happened, however, that destiny was preparing for all this a remedy, or at least a compensation. Under the British Constitution and in accordance with the immemorial usages of the Kingdom, many things may be done in England at which other peoples would startle and take alarm. It was the policy of Frederick the Great, publicly announced in a witty aphorism, embodying the understanding between himself and his people, that they should say whatever they pleased, and he would do whatever he pleased. It might almost be said that this policy has been reversed in Great Britain; that is, that the sovereign may say whatever he pleases, and the people do whatever pleases them. In the case before us, it pleased the ship-builders of Great Britain to constitute themselves a naval base for the Southern Confederacy. Scarcely had the war begun until adventurers and emissaries from the Confederate States began to use the dock-yards of Great Britain as the field of their operations. The Confederate States had no navy. They had no commerce on the high seas. The United States had both. The policy of the Confederates therefore fell naturally into the work of purchasing and sending forth privateers. In the beginning the United States would fain have remanded all such business to the category of piracy. But, unfortunately, the National Government had itself for a long time resisted the international movement for the abolition of privateering. Her folly in this respect now returned to plague the inventor. The Government could not consistently fulminate the decree of piracy against a species of warfare which she herself continued to recognize with favor.

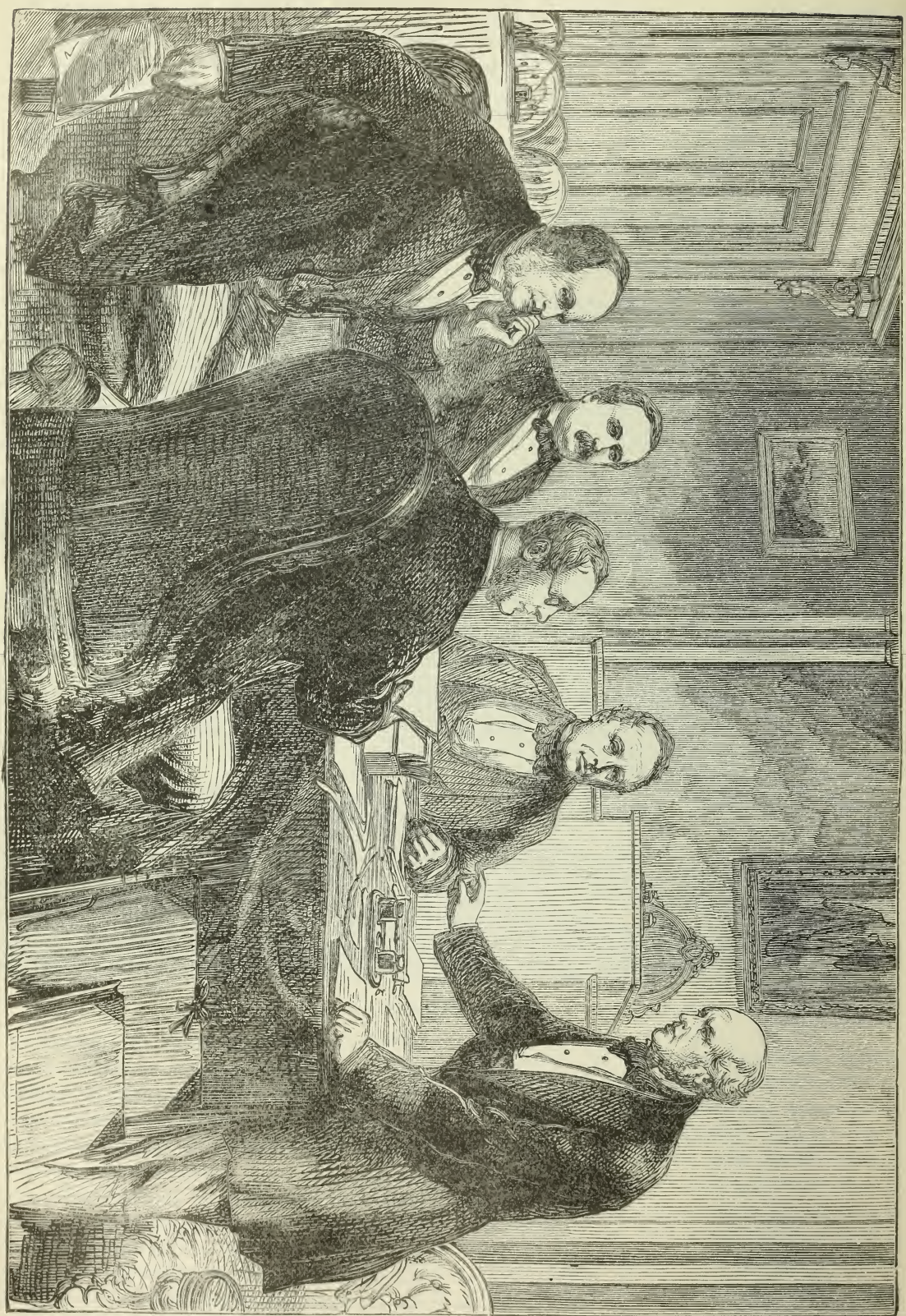
Behind this covert the Confederate Captains went forth to build, to buy, and to burn. A narrative has been given already of the course and fate of the Confederate cruisers. It is sufficient, in this place, to point out the fact that of the seven principal vessels which got afloat on the high seas, and which, for longer or shorter periods, did havoc with the merchant marine of the United States until the latter was extinguished, *five* were notoriously and openly built in the dock-yards of Great Britain. There, also, they were equipped and manned.

The outrage of such a proceeding was a stench in the nostrils of the nations. The consequences entailed thereby have been outlined already in the history of our own country. It may suffice, in this connection, to remark upon the wisdom of Lincoln, and the good fortune of the United States in having at the court of St. James, in these days, that magnificent exemplar of American diplomacy, Charles Francis Adams. His steadiness in the dark day of trial, his equanimity and firmness, his clear insight of the situation, his constant remonstrances with Great Britain, his patience under her continued policy of wrong-doing, and his final declaration and protest to Lord John Russell, when the two Confederate rams were about to put to sea, that "this is war," with the full warning that he then gave to the British Government that the *consequences* of all this flagrant injustice must, in the nature of things, be treasured up unto a day of settlement,—must ever bear witness to the common opinion of his countrymen that no other Adams, as diplomatist or statesman, is worthy of a higher rank than he.

It may not be deemed inappropriate to depart from the chronological order of events in order to follow the sequel of the cruise of the *Alabama*, and of the connection of Great Britain therewith. An account has been presented, in a former chapter, of the Treaty of Washington, of May, 1871, and of the provision made therein for a Court of Arbitration, to be convened in December of the same year, at Geneva, Switzerland, for the purpose of determining the validity or invalidity of the claims of the American Government against Great Britain, for the destruction of the commerce of the United States by the Confederate cruisers. The event proved to be the most important in the history of modern diplomacy. The Geneva Tribunal was constituted on the 15th of December, 1871. The appointment of the five arbitrators had been left, one each, to the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, Italy, Switzerland, and Brazil. The



GENEVA, SWITZERLAND.



GENEVA TRIBUNAL

judges appointed were, on the part of England, Sir Alexander Cockburn, at that time Lord Chief-Justice of the Kingdom; on the part of the United States, Charles Francis Adams; on the part of Italy, Count Frederick Sclopis; on the part of Switzerland, M. Jacques Staempfli; and on the part of Brazil, Viscount d'Itajuba. The counsel for Great Britain were Lord Tenterden and Sir Roundell Palmer, afterwards Lord Selbourne. The counsel for the United States were J. C. Bancroft Davis, William M. Evarts, Caleb Cushing, and Morrison R. Waite. The court, in its entirety, was the most august and able tribunal which international jurisprudence has called into being within the present century.

After the organization was effected, and the statement of the causes of the two great nations had been made, the court adjourned until June, 1872, from which time the sessions were continuous to the close, in September of the same year. The proceedings awakened the profoundest interest, not only in the nations specially concerned in the controversy, but throughout Christendom. The pleadings and arguments were, from beginning to end, a battle of the giants, in which the representatives of the United States gained steadily to the close of the contest. Near the beginning, an action was taken by which "Three Rules relating to Neutral Nations," were formulated, which, while they have not as yet been generally incorporated into the law of nations, became the basis of the settlement and the final award of the court. These rules are as follows:

"A neutral Government [under such circumstances as existed at the time of the American Civil War] is bound—

"1. To use due diligence to prevent the fitting out, arming, or equipping within its jurisdiction of any vessel which it has reasonable ground to believe is intended to cruise or carry on war against a power with which it [the neutral government] is at peace; and also to use like diligence to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to cruise or carry on war as above, such vessel having been specially adapted in whole or in part within such jurisdiction to warlike uses.

"2. Not to permit or suffer either belligerent to make use of its ports or waters as the base of naval operations against the other, or for the purpose of the renewal or augmentation of military supplies, or arms, or recruitment of men.

"3. To exercise due diligence in its waters as to all persons within its jurisdiction, to prevent any violation of the foregoing obligations and duties."

The principles of international conduct here enunciated were, in the first instance, brought before the court tentatively as covering the position and claims held by the United States. After the discussions were concluded, these rules were fully adopted by the court in a special stipulation of the treaty, as follows: "And the high contracting parties agree to observe these rules as between themselves in future, and to bring them to the knowledge of other maritime powers, and to invite them to accede to them."

After a three months' session, the decision of the tribunal was reached, on the 14th of September, 1872. All the members of the court, with the exception of Sir Alexander Cockburn, signed the report and the award. The English Lord Chief-Justice wrote a long dissenting opinion; but his views were, of course, of no effect on the general decision of the court. That decision constituted what is known in diplomacy as the GENEVA AWARD. The general position assumed by the United States was fully substantiated, with the exception of the somewhat extravagant claims made by the National Government under the title of "consequential damages." As a final and complete settlement of the so-called "Alabama Claims," a sum in gross of fifteen million five hundred thousand dollars was awarded to the United States, as full and complete compensation for the damages done to her commerce and nationality by the English-built, English-equipped, and English-manned privateers of the Southern Confederacy.

Returning from this anticipation of events that were to come as the legitimate fruits of British sowing, we note the continued animosity of the English-ruling classes towards our National Government to the very close of the war. With the exception of Bright and Forster and a few others, such as the Duke of Argyll, all the public men of England remained wedded to their idols. The newspaper

press of the kingdom seemed to be given over to a delusion that it might believe a lie. The stream of misrepresentation with regard to the progress of the American War continued to flow back full to the end. If anything could have equaled the completeness of the collapse of the Confederacy in the early spring of 1865, it would have been the still more utter collapse of public opinion in Great Britain. All the cherished dreams of the dominant party in politics and society suddenly burst like a bubble, and faded into viewless air. Great Britain awoke one day to the shocking realization that there was no longer anywhere in the world her darling Southern Confederacy, but only the American Union, one and indissoluble. It may well be hoped that the lesson was sufficient, and that the arrogance, selfishness, and unconscionable self-esteem which had conspired to throw the kingdom and the English people into a vicious attitude and malign relation with the largest political division of the English-speaking race, and to pour the embers of heart-burning and distrust into many millions of patriotic breasts on this side of the Atlantic, have been forever extinguished in the heart of the British Nation.

The Palmerston Ministry survived until after the close of the Civil War. Though the difficulties of the Government of Great Britain were the most serious, they were not by any means the only foreign embarrassments with which the Cabinet of Palmerston had in those days to contend. In 1863 the Danish complication with Germany relative to the Provinces of Schleswig and Holstein led to hostilities and the clamor of arms. Denmark, as we shall hereafter see, was hard pressed by her more powerful neighbors. The project of severing the disputed Provinces from the Danish crown struck coldly on the consciousness of Great Britain. The integrity of Denmark had been guaranteed by the Congress of Vienna, to which both England and France were parties. Consistency seemed to require that Great Britain should now prevent Austria and Prussia from breaking the balance of power. The Prince of Wales had but just married the Princess Alexandra, daughter of the King of Denmark, thus presenting her full of youth, beauty, and almost every charm and virtue known to womanhood, as the future Queen of Great Britain. The marriage was as popular as the Princess was attractive to the British public. The Danish Government believed that dependence might be placed on Great Britain as a buttress of support in the war with Germany. The British Ministry took up the cause of the Danes, and was ready to declare war; but in so doing, the coöperation of France was a necessary condition of success. Lord Russell accordingly became a suitor to Napoleon III. to join him in the work of maintaining, by arms, the integrity of the Danish dominions. But what was the surprise of the English Ministry when the Emperor of France coldly refused the overture! Great Britain suddenly found herself in the humiliating, not to say ridiculous, attitude of a rejected suitor. The Danes were, out of the necessity of the situation, left to fight their own battle, and the English Cabinet was left to face the sarcasms of Disraeli, and the attacks of the whole Conservative party in and out of Parliament.

It was in this emergency that Lord Palmerston fought and gained his last battle in the British House of Commons. On the 4th of July, 1864, Disraeli challenged the very existence of the Ministry by introducing a resolution to the effect that the Queen's Government had failed to maintain the policy of upholding the integrity and independence of Denmark, had lowered the just influence of England in the capitals of Europe, and had thereby diminished the securities for peace. On these propositions the adroit author of them made a powerful and effective speech, and it appeared for the time that the Government would be beaten. There could, indeed, be little doubt that the arraignment of the Ministry by Disraeli with respect to the mismanagement of the Danish question was a true bill. A considerable fraction of the more advanced Liberals had long been dissatisfied with Palmerston and his whole foreign policy. It appeared for the nonce that the veteran statesman, whose memory of great things reached back to Austerlitz, was about to be humiliated in the last year of his life. It is probable that such would have been the result if the issue had been fought out on the line proposed by the leader of the Opposition. But in the emergency, an amendment was

proposed by Kinglake, by which the question was carefully transferred to the safer ground of a *general* approval or disapproval by the House of the Palmerston Government. This gave opportunity for the aged Prime Minister to defend himself and his measures in the last speech which he was ever to make in Parliament. He was already eighty years of age; but his genius, as the event soon proved, had not yet taken flight. He spoke for a long time with his usual cogency, taking advantage, with all his old-time skill, of the peculiar conditions and temper of the House. His influence prevailed.

"Slow sinks, more lovely ere his race be run,
Along Morea's hills, the setting sun."

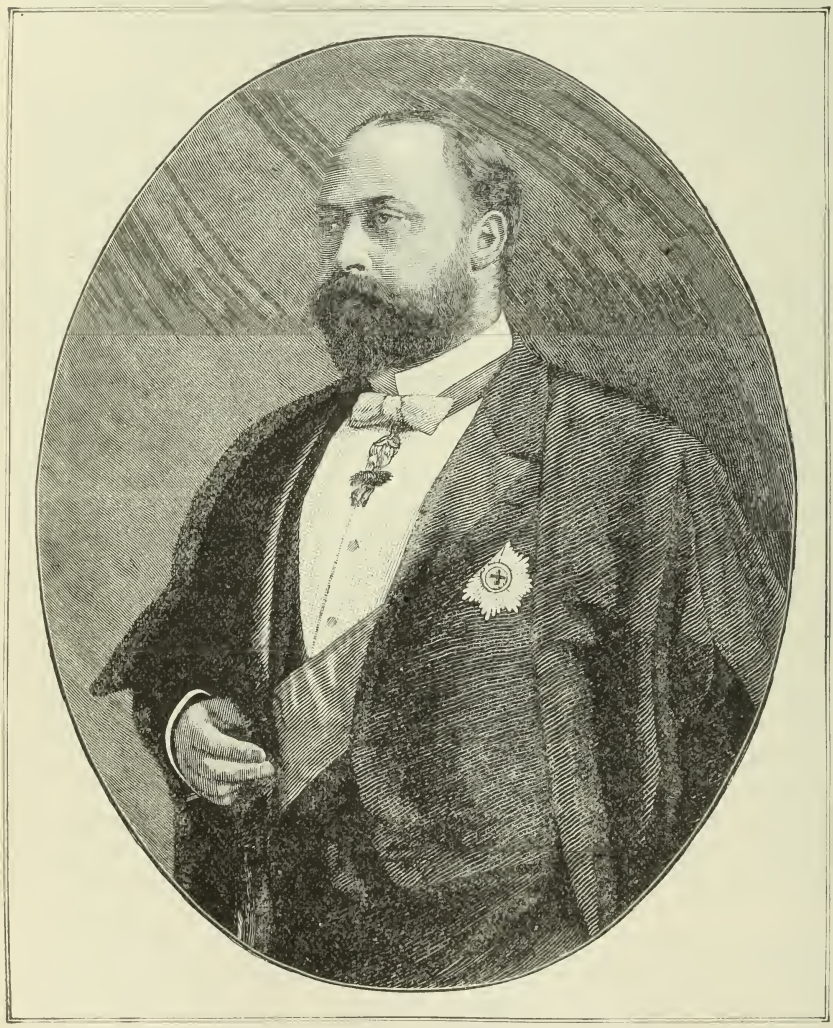
The proposition of Kinglake in support of the Ministry was adopted by a clear majority, but it was the last day of the glory of Endymion. During the session of 1865 it was perceived by all that Palmerston's career was at an end. He began to totter with feebleness, and became almost blind. He was still able on his eightieth birthday to ride on horseback to the Hilsea fortifications, and make a personal inspection of the works. At an earlier period in the same year he had ridden from Piccadilly to Harrow, a distance of twelve miles, in a single hour—a feat which may well emphasize not only the extraordinary vigor of the man, but also testify to the unconquerable force and longevity of the English race at its best estate. From his last Parliamentary contest, Palmerston retired to his residence, called Brocket Hall, where, after a short illness, he expired on the 18th of October, 1865.

Before finally dismissing this period of English history, covering the relations of the Kingdom with the United States during the Civil War, we should not fail to notice the domestic cloud which, in the meantime, had settled darkly over the Royal Palace. After a wedded life of unclouded serenity through a span of twenty-one years, the Queen was now fated to enter the shadows of perpetual widowhood. Before speaking in particular of the death of the Prince Consort, we may properly refer, with praise, to the fact that, in the midst of the storm and passion of the times, when it seemed that all England was in a roar of delight over the supposed collapse of the American Union, Prince Albert had the wisdom and generosity to maintain, by voice and action, his well-known friendliness to the United States. At the time, it was not known in our country how steady and valuable a friend we had lost in the death of the Queen's husband. After events have set the matter right, and the memory of the Prince Consort will long be green on this side of the Atlantic.

The pure domesticity of the Royal Family during the life of the Prince has already been emphasized. Viewed politically, and with respect to the perpetuity of the reigning dynasty, the marriage had been so successful as not only to satisfy but well elate the friends of the House of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. No fewer than nine children, strong, vigorous sons and daughters, all of whom grew without accident or distress to manhood and womanhood, were born of the fortunate marriage. The eldest of these was the Princess Victoria, born in 1840, wedded at the age of eighteen to the Crown Prince of Prussia, more recently German Empress and widow of Frederick III. The second was a son, Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, born in 1841, to whom, in 1863, was given in marriage the Princess Alexandra of Denmark. In our own day he still stands, as from his birth, heir expectant to the crown of England. The third was the Princess Alice, born in 1843, and married in 1862 to Prince Louis of Hesse-Darmstadt. The fourth was Alfred, born in 1844, Duke of Edinburgh in 1866, to whom was married, in 1874, the Grand Duchess Maria, daughter of Alexander II. of Russia. The Princess Helena was born in 1846, and was married, in 1866, to Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein. The fourth daughter, Louise, was born in 1848, and was wedded, in 1871, to the Marquis of Lorne. The third son, Arthur, was born in 1850, and Leopold, the fourth son, in 1853. Beatrice, the last heir of the House, was born in 1857. The younger, as well as the elder Princes and Princesses, have been distributed in marriage among the oldest Houses of Europe; and if the England of the present day has found some reason to be querulous about the heavy pensions which have had to be settled on the multiplied and multiplying descendants of

Prince Albert, she has, on the other hand, under her own theory of human government, great cause to rejoice at the fact that the extinction of the reigning dynasty, or any serious trouble with respect to the descent of the Crown, seems to be either wholly impossible or a great way off.

Prince Albert the Consort promised a long life. While he could not be called a very robust or vigorous man, he, nevertheless, bore good health, and was of strictly temperate habits. In the first days of December, 1861, he contracted cold, and was thrown into a fever. At first little attention was paid to his ailment; then it was known that he was seriously, though it was not thought dangerously, ill. On the night of the 14th of December, however, the great bell of St. Paul's began to toll, and with the morning light it was published from Windsor Castle that the Prince Consort was dead. He had expired having the Queen, the Prince of Wales, and the Princesses Alice and Helena by his bedside. The event served to bring his high character and blameless life into strong relief, and into a still bolder contrast with the dark background which had been painted socially and morally by the preceding kings and princes of the House of Hanover-Brunswick. To the Queen herself, the death of her husband was an immedicable wound. She entered with sorrowful serenity that career of grand widowhood which has now lengthened out to nearly thirty years, during which her chief domestic consolation has been in the great family of sons and daughters, at whose head she still sits in the dignity of royal motherhood.



PRINCE OF WALES.

The death of Lord Palmerston was not the end of the Liberal Government. A modification was, of course, necessary in the Ministry, and it was expected by the public that the Cabinet would be entirely reconstructed. The Queen named Lord John Russell as Prime Minister; and that statesman, now seventy-three years of age, assumed the direction of Government. The only other change made in the Ministry was the calling of Lord Clarendon to occupy the place made vacant by Lord Russell in the Secretaryship of Foreign

Affairs. The leadership of the House of Commons still devolved on Gladstone. The general effect of these changes was slight; but the student of Parliamentary history could not fail to discern in the signs of the times an approaching, perhaps imminent, Ministerial revolution.

For the time being, however, public attention was drawn away from the evolution of home politics to the serious, calamitous, disgraceful condition of affairs in Jamaica. Just two days after the death of Lord Palmerston, Governor Edward John Eyre, of that Island, reported to the Colonial Secretary the outbreak of an alarming insurrection of the negro population under his government. It were, perhaps, a thankless task to undertake, in this connection, a thorough analysis of the antecedents, causes, and conditions of this revolt. Perhaps we may best sum up the whole by saying that the insurrection had its roots in the institution of slavery, and that its immediate cause was the injustice and tyrannous conduct of the British Government in the Island. We have already explained that, with the abolition of slavery, a state of affairs had supervened in Jamaica very similar to that with which the Government of the United States was for many years embarrassed after the downfall of the Confederacy. The lands of the Island had been held, under the ancient *régime*, in large tracts by white landlords, who cultivated their estates by means of slave labor. In course of time, much of the land was deteriorated in fertility and value. Parts of the estates were thrown out to the commons, ceased to be cultivated, and were overgrown with thickets.

When slavery was abolished, the ex-slaveholders of Jamaica, who were now obliged to pay wages to the negroes for their labor, found it expedient to permit the Black men to occupy and cultivate for themselves, the abandoned lands just referred to. Nearly all of such lands were by this time encumbered with delinquent taxes and quit-rents, which had accumulated against them. The general condition on which the negroes were permitted to occupy was that they should discharge all delinquencies of tax and rent that might have accrued. This was done in a great number of instances, and the Black men thus acquired for themselves a kind of property right which it is difficult to define. At length the industry of the Blacks brought the lands again into cultivation, and thereby restored their value. Whereupon, the original owners or their representatives came forward to reclaim their estates, which the negroes had occupied and improved. In order to dispossess the latter, a process was resorted to very similar to that employed in more recent times in the eviction of Irish tenants by their English landlords. It was resistance to this process of dispossession by eviction, with all of its aggravating circumstances and injustice, that led to the negro insurrection of 1865.

The revolt began on the 7th of October, at a place called Morant Bay, in the southeasternmost part of the Island. There had been at this town some previous disturbances, and Governor Eyre now sent thither a squad of troops to aid the authorities in the arrest of the offenders. On the 11th of the month the magistrates held a meeting in the Court-house Square of Morant Bay, where they were protected by a small body of volunteer soldiers. While the proceedings were under way, the Court-house was attacked by a large force of rioting negroes armed with bludgeons and corn-knives, and eighteen persons, including the principal officer of the county, were killed. Meanwhile, the troops sent by the Governor approached, and the rioters dispersed in all directions. No further effort at resistance was made or thought of by the negroes, who were doubtless dazed at their own success. The whole country, however, was at once declared under martial law, and the authorities, under direction of the Governor, proceeded to hunt down the rebels, and to hale them before courts-martial for punishment.

What followed is one of the most disgraceful chapters in the colonial history of the British Empire. Such another carnival of inexcusable butchery was hardly ever held under the auspices of any power claiming to be civilized. No rebels in arms were found by Governor Eyre's soldiers anywhere; but capture, hanging, flogging, and burning became the order of the day for many weeks together. No age, sex, or condition was exempt from the cruelties and brutalities to which the terrified negroes were subjected.

According to the report of a Royal Commission, which was presently sent out by the Home Government to inquire into this reign of terror, no fewer than four hundred and thirty-nine persons were actually put to death with hardly the form or mockery of justice! The same report showed that six hundred others, many of them women, some of whom were about to become mothers, were cruelly, bloodily, mercilessly whipped with wire cats-o'-nine-tails, until scores of them were ready to die.



JAMAICA INSURRECTION.

It was also shown that a certain George William Gordon, a Baptist negro minister of good character, who had the courage to stand up for his race, and to hold some sort of buckler in the face of their enemies, was arrested, condemned to death, and hanged, with scarcely the semblance of evidence against him, and with none of the ordinary means of legal defense in his hands.

The news of all this produced, as well it might, a great sensation in England. John Stuart Mill took up the cause of the Islanders, and the prosecutions were at once brought to an end. An elaborate document, covering the theory and application of martial law, was prepared by Lord Chief-Justice Cockburn. Eyre was removed from the governorship of Jamaica, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Storks. A measure was at once agitated for a complete reformation of the government of the Island. In December of 1866, an act was passed by the Jamaican Assembly, requesting the Queen to take such steps as would abrogate the existing order and secure the benefits of a local, civil autonomy in the Island, similar to that which existed in the other colonial governments of the Empire. Thus was the ancient constitution under which, during more than two hundred years of abuses and wrongs, Jamaica had been misgoverned, overthrown and abolished. A new order supervened, by which even the composite and divergent populations of the Island were brought at length to a condition resembling harmony and progress.

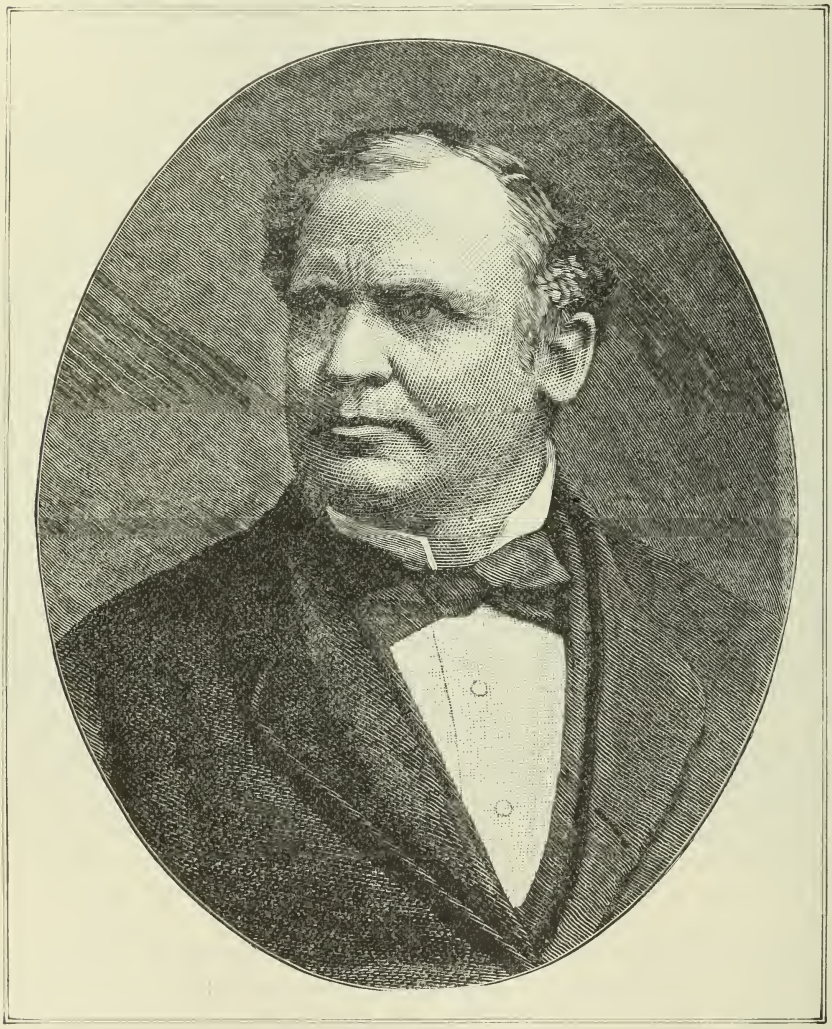
CHAPTER CXXXII.—FENIANISM AND DISESTABLISHMENT.

IT was not under favorable auspices that the quasi-Liberal Ministry of Lord Russell assumed the task of Government at the close of 1865. There were in the kingdom at that date many elements of discouragement and discontent. Superficially, the prosperity of the year was greatly disturbed by the cattle plague which had spread through several parts of the Island, and had swept away more than forty thousand animals. Even this large loss was not the whole. Science was baffled in dealing with the contagion, and it was found necessary to prevent its further ravages by killing whole herds of cattle in the exposed counties. It was a time of social and financial alarm. The premonitory rumors of the Fenian conspiracy in Ireland had reached the Government and the people. Asiatic cholera was making its way westward, stage by stage, through the sea-ports of the Mediterranean. The foreign relations of the Kingdom, while not positively disturbed, were suffering at the extremities, like the *antennæ* of some huge insect thrust out far into hospitable regions. There were also premonitions of a financial panic—a thing particularly dreaded by the great commercial interests of the Kingdom. Deep down under all this was the profound discontent of the masses with their political condition. The question of a reform of the franchise, which had been postponed during the whole of the Palmerston *régime*, was ever ready to assert itself. It was known that Gladstone, who was now the dominant Liberal in the Cabinet, and Bright, who was the master spirit out of the Cabinet, both seeing eye to eye on the question of a general reform of the suffrage, had long postponed the renewal of the attempt to reach the lower classes with the ballot, and to secure a more equitable apportionment of the seats in the House of Commons.

The season at length arrived for the work to begin. At the opening of the session of 1866, the speech from the throne drew the attention of Parliament formally to the extension of the suffrage as one of the duties incumbent upon Her Majesty's Government. It devolved on Gladstone to lead in the contest. Accordingly, on the 12th of March, in the year just named, he brought before the House a Ministerial Bill, in which it was proposed to reduce the property qualification on the franchise from fifty pounds to fourteen pounds in the case of suffrage in the counties, and from ten to seven pounds for the boroughs. There were other clauses in accordance with which the franchise, under certain conditions, was to be extended to lodgers, to those having deposits in savings banks, and certain other classes of persons. Considered as a whole, the bill was very mild in its provisions, insomuch that the Radical reformers felt for it a measure of contempt, while the Conservatives, being now in the Opposition, set themselves against the measure as a mere matter of politics. It came to pass, at length, that some of the discontented and extreme Liberals banded themselves together and demanded of Gladstone the radical and substantial amendment of the pending bill. The Ministry found itself between two fires. The dissentient Radicals were known as the *Adullamites*, so-called by John Bright from their malcontent disposition; for David had once, in the day of trouble, hidden in the cave of Adullam, and called to him "every one that was in distress, *and every one that was discontented.*" The Adullamites, though from an entirely different motive, joined with Disraeli and the Conservatives, and when the Gladstone bill came to a vote it was defeated. It only remained for Lord Russell and the members of the Cabinet to put their resignations into the hands of the Queen. The Liberal Ministry was at an end, not indeed for attempting to carry a reform of the franchise through Parliament, but because the measure which they proposed was so tame as to create no

enthusiasm, having the name of reform without the substance.

A new Conservative Cabinet was now constituted, with Lord Derby for Prime Minister. While himself a statesman of great abilities, the real leadership fell, as before, to Disraeli, Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Parliamentary struggle which now ensued was one of the oddest episodes in the political history of Great Britain. The recent Liberal Ministry had been pledged to a reform of the suffrage, and had failed, being overwhelmed by the Opposition under the leadership of the very man who had now, by the success of the Conservatives, inherited the unsolved question. The far-sighted Disraeli had, in fact, for many years hedged against the very situation in which he now found himself. He had always, in the Parliamentary debates, merely acted the part of a destructionist with the measures proposed by the Liberals. He had said little against the reform of the suffrage as a principle. His attacks had been upon this measure and that proposed by the Liberals. His political expediency and adroitness now stood him well in hand.



LORD DERBY.

The people, in the meantime, had stirred up the kingdom with a reform agitation almost unequaled in extent and vitality. Great meetings were held everywhere, and the most far-seeing of them who upheld the ancient order saw the handwriting on the wall. It was no longer to be doubted that the workingmen of Great Britain were in terrible earnest in the matter of gaining the right of suffrage. The Reform League became active as never before. The agitators in London prepared to hold a monster meeting in Hyde Park, for the discussion of the question of extending the franchise. The leaders of the movement were careful to keep within the forms and spirit of the law; but the Government, in a moment of folly, undertook to prevent the meeting. On the morning of the 23d of July, 1866, when the head of the column of Reformers reached the gates of Hyde Park, they found them closed. A large division of the multitude hereupon turned aside to Trafalgar Square, where the masses were addressed by John

Bright and other orators. But before the close of the day, a vast throng had assembled around the inclosures of Hyde Park, where the half-intentional pressure of the crowd on the iron railing caused it to give way for a considerable distance, and the human flood poured in. The people scattered at once by thousands through the park, running and shouting and triumphing in a license which otherwise did little harm. There were fisticuffs and broken heads, mutually delivered by the police and the rough citizenship, but otherwise the demonstration ended with night-fall, and London, on the next morning, examining her vitals, found every organ in its place and performing its usual functions.

It was in the face of all this that the Derby Ministry must now stand or fall. In the emergency, it occurred to Disraeli that the time had arrived for a new chapter in British politics. Hitherto, it had always been the principle of political action that the party in power should hold to its dogmas and defend them until overthrown by an adverse Parliamentary majority. The Conservatives and Liberals had always stood each to their batteries until the guns were silenced by a veritable charge and victory of the Opposition. In the present instance, it occurred to Disraeli that it would be just as well for the Conservatives to become reformers themselves, and thus gather the wind out of the Liberal fleet, leaving it becalmed at sea. Why should a Conservative Ministry go out of power and office on such a slight technicality as political consistency? It appears that the age and time and occasion were ripe for such a change in the ethics and methods of British politics. Wherefore, Benjamin Disraeli, Conservative leader of the House of Commons, walked boldly into the arena, and declared that the Derby Government would itself take up and promote a reform of the franchise.

On the 5th of February, 1867, the Queen's speech from the throne, at the opening of Parliament, had declared to the Commons and Lords that their attention was about to be directed to the method of the representation of the English people in Parliament, and to an extension of the elective franchise. In accordance with this policy, which had doubtless been inspired by himself, Disraeli announced that the Government would, first by a series of resolutions and afterwards by a formal bill, undertake the measures on which England had determined. On the 11th of February the preliminary skirmish was opened. The leader of the House proposed his resolutions, some of which were platitudes, others truisms, and still others absurdities. It was a business, however, in which Disraeli was thoroughly at home. He kept the interest of the House by this means until the 25th of the month, when he brought in a Reform Bill, quite similar in its provisions to the one on which he had overthrown the Russell Ministry in the preceding year. The franchise in boroughs was to be reduced from ten pounds to six pounds. That in the counties was to be fixed at twenty pounds. A great number of instances of individual and professional extensions of the suffrage were enumerated; but, on the whole, the Bill was the same in method and spirit as that which the recent house had refused to accept at the hands of Gladstone.

On this measure the debates were taken up anew. Many amendments were offered, to which, while Disraeli declared he would never consent, yet he consented. The struggle over the measure as a whole continued until the beginning of March, when three members of the Ministry, refusing to follow Disraeli further, resigned and went out of office. On the 18th of the month another surprise was administered to the House by Disraeli's introducing a second Bill in place of the first, the provisions of which—that is, of the new Bill—were so radical and thorough-going as fairly to take the breath of both Parliament and people. Nevertheless, it was perceived that the manager understood the situation, and that the stormy elements around him were only the sport of that Machiavellian wit, for which no parallel can be produced in the history of modern times. It was at once perceived that the country was to have its way. Even the Radicals, or some of them, took the alarm at the thorough-going character of the measure before the House. John Bright, who had favored the first Bill proposed as the best which the spirit of the age demanded or would bear, set himself in opposition to the second Bill on account of its apparently revolutionary character. With the progress of the debates,

however, it became clear that the measure would be adopted. A few amendments were forced through the House, and other modifications were made or accepted by the Ministry. But on the 15th of August the Bill was finally put on its passage, and was carried through the Commons by a fair majority. Disraeli had succeeded in his new scheme of outdoing the Liberals in their own chosen field of agitation and reform.

Thus, after the lapse of about thirty years, another of the great principles of the People's Charter was admitted into the Constitution of Great Britain. In accordance with the new Bill, all male householders in English boroughs who were assessed for the relief of the poor, and all resident lodgers who had been so for one year, and paying a rental of not less than ten pounds annually, were admitted to the franchise. In the counties the possession of a property yielding an annual value of five pounds was the requisition. Those who occupied lands or tenements paying a rental of twelve pounds a year were enfranchised. The great principle of the Bill was Household Suffrage. It was not the purpose and intent of the measure that all manner of men in the bottom of society should be allowed to vote, but the provisions were such that all the English householding peasantry were admitted to the suffrage. On the question of a redistribution and apportionment of the seats in the House of Commons, much was also accomplished. Many of the small boroughs hitherto represented in Parliament were disfranchised, and others were reduced in their representative capacity. At the same time the great and populous municipalities, such as Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Leeds, received additional representation according to their increased importance in the Kingdom. The University of London was granted a member in the House of Commons. The principle of minority representation was established to this extent, that in every borough entitled to three members of Parliament, the elector should vote for two candidates only, the effect of which was to secure the third candidate for the minority. In London, which by the provisions of the Act was entitled to four members in the House, each elector might vote for three, which would leave in this instance the fourth member for the minority.

It only remains to note the extension of the Reform Bill, in the following year, to the electoral methods of Scotland and Ireland. In the former country, the measure adopted was essentially identical with that of England, with the exception of the clause relating to the assessment for the poor, which was omitted. The Scotch apportionment of members in the House of Commons was also amended by an increase of representation. In Ireland, similar provisions were made as to the qualifications for the suffrage, but no improvement was attempted with respect to the representation in Parliament. It was thus, after a struggle which had extended through a whole generation, that the principles of popular liberty, expressed in a broader and freer exercise of the right of suffrage, were at last accepted as a necessity by the political parties, and were interwoven with the constitutional fabric of Great Britain. Nor will the thoughtful reader fail to observe with interest and instruction that new political expediency, devoid doubtless of the moral quality, but highly successful in application, whereby the genius and craft of Disraeli were enabled to compel the British Conservatives of 1867 into the service of the greatest and most salutary civil reform of the age and country.

We are now at the threshold of another of those remarkable chapters which record the struggles of the Irish people against the political authority and social domination of Great Britain. No extended narrative, or even recapitulation, can here be undertaken of the numberless political conspiracies, secret organizations, and widely extended plots whereby the Celtic population of Ireland have time and again striven to free themselves from the thralldom which they profess to be galled withal. The origin of such movements is to be found deep down in the ineradicable prejudices of race and religion. Perhaps the prejudice of race alone might be overcome; perhaps the prejudice of religion alone might be obviated; but the prejudice of race *and* religion has thus far constituted an insurmountable barrier to the affiliation and unity of the Irish and English peoples.

As early as 1858 the first rumors of the

existence of the Fenian societies were whispered in Great Britain and America. The Fenian Brotherhood may be defined as a secret politico-military organization based on the fundamental motive of the independence of Ireland. The tradition of such an order is as old as Ireland itself. The name *Fenian* is given in the Ballads of the Irish Fili, or Bards, as the name of certain miltary clans which fought for the native kings of the Island, long before the beginnings of authentic history. There is a period in the primitive development of the Irish race which may properly be called the Fenian Period, when the native sovereigns of the race, surrounded by their clans, battled for independence of each other or supremacy in Ireland. Out of these ancient traditions the Celts have always been eager to gather inspiration in their endless contests with the Saxons.

It was a happy conceit which led the discontented of 1857 to choose for their new political association the ancient name of Fenian Brotherhood. We must remember that, for more than ten years, the population of Ireland had been escaping in shoals to the American coasts. The exiles of Erin in the United States entered quickly and with enthusiasm into their new relations as citizens of the Republic; but they did not cease to turn with longing eyes to the green Mother Island across the Atlantic. To the restless Irishmen of the American cities, their new situation seemed to provoke some effort in behalf of the Old Country. At length, in 1847, in the city of New York, the Fenian Brotherhood was founded by Michael Doheny, John O'Mahoney, and Michael Corcoran, afterwards a Brigadier-General in the Union Army. The head-quarters of the society was in Union Square. At this time an order of like character existed in Ireland under the name of the Phœnix Society. Its founder was James Stephens, who, in 1858, came to America; and the two societies were merged into one, under the presidency of O'Mahoney. Correspondence between the Irish and American Brotherhoods was at once greatly extended. It became the order of the day to raise funds in America for the support of the Irish cause. The leading spirits from this time until the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States, were O'Mahoney and Stephens, who went back and forth between Old Ireland and New Ireland, establishing new chapters of the Brotherhood, and rapidly extending its influence, not only in the Mother Island, but throughout the United States and even into British America.

At this juncture of affairs, the secession of the Southern States occurred. The side of the American Republic, so to speak, was torn out by the Confederate leaders, and the gleam of bayonets was seen everywhere in the North and the South as the marshaling lines of blue and gray soldiers swept into the field of battle. When the armies were organized, it could but be observed that the regiments, especially those from the great cities, had in them a large percentage of Irish soldiers. In the Confederate ranks the eager Celtic countenance was seen in every line, though the numbers were not so great as in the armies of the Union. It was evident that, for the time, the Fenian enthusiasm had found vent in the unfortunate war for and against the Union of the States.

If we look closely into the heart of the question, we shall find the large Irish contingent in the Union army cherishing a secret or half-revealed hope and expectancy that, in the course of the conflict, Great Britain would so conduct herself as to bring on an Anglo-American war. We have seen how fatally near was that hope to a realization. The Irish-Americans who fought for the Union, and even those who fought against it, perceived that a war between the United States and England meant, in all probability, the revolt and independence of Ireland. We may well suppose that when the affair of the *Trent* was amicably settled, there was a certain heart-sinking in the breasts of thousands of Irish-American soldiers—a feeling of disappointment that they had thus been deprived of the opportunity of marching, under the Stars and Stripes, against a British army in Canada.

Canada? Aye, that was, indeed, the region to which the Fenian gaze was now directed. The Civil War in the United States ended with the complete restoration of the Union. Fenianism sprang up anew. Far and wide the Brotherhood extended its divisions. In

almost every considerable American town, there was a Fenian lodge and muster-hall. Great sums of money were transmitted to Ireland, and in March of 1867 a general rising of the Irish people was planned and awaited. The scheme contemplated an Irish insurrection against which the British authorities would, of course, at once proceed with vigor and animosity. Hereupon, the vast army of Fenians in the United States would arise in its might, and precipitate itself on Canada. The pressure on Ireland by the British soldiers was to be counteracted by a still greater pressure in Canada by the American-Fenian army. In fact, the movement began to look exceedingly portentous. It can not be claimed that the politico-military plan adopted by the Fenians was irrational or even impracticable. Doubtless it would, in any event, have ended, finally, in failure; but it would have been at such excessive cost and distress to Great Britain as to have led, in all probability, to a great change in the civil administration of Ireland, or, possibly, to the independence of the country. The trouble and weakness of the whole movement lay in that fatal want of practical ability, in that overzeal and absence of prudent foresight, which have marked all similar enterprises undertaken by the Celtic race. There is undoubtedly in this respect an ethnic weakness in the Irish people, for which it is difficult to account on any other ground than that of a race-inaptitude for the management and conduct of large affairs.

In the crisis under consideration, the proposed rising in Ireland ended in mere agitation, dust, and smoke. It has been noted by critics friendly to the Irish cause at this juncture, that the first days of March, 1867, were marked in Ireland by an unprecedented fall of snow, obstructing all the roads, filling the fields fence-deep with impassable snow-beds, packing the mountain gorges and coverts of the peasantry to such an extent that for nearly two weeks, including the date appointed for the insurrection, all formidable gatherings and musterings of the Fenians were made impossible. Only in a few places in the counties of Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Tipperary, and Louth, did any actual rising take place. The insurrections were local, feeble, easily suppressed by the police. For the rest, the insurgents were quickly scattered, and their leaders arrested and brought to trial. One of the most prominent of these was Colonel T. F. Burke, who, from being a valued Confederate soldier, had gone back to Ireland and England to be one of the leaders of the expected revolt. On the 23d of November he was arrested, along with another Fenian Captain named Casey, and the two were lodged in the Clerkenwell prison. Shortly afterwards a barrel of powder was exploded against the outer wall, producing a shock as if of an earthquake. Six persons were killed; eleven others were mortally wounded, and about a hundred and twenty others received injuries of greater or less severity. Five men and one woman were arrested for the crime. The woman and one of the men were soon released for want of evidence against them. Three of the other men were tried and acquitted; but the fifth was condemned and executed in spite of the most strenuous efforts made in his behalf. Colonel Burke was himself condemned to death; but a public meeting was held in St. James's Hall, London, and a powerful and convincing speech was delivered to the multitude by John Stuart Mill, who pleaded eloquently for clemency to the prisoner. The evidence against Burke had never been conclusive as to the commission of any crime, and the sentence of death was not carried into execution.

In a short time another startling event occurred, being the successful attempt of a band of Fenians in Manchester to rescue two prisoners, who were in a van, in charge of the police, on the way to jail. The van was stopped in the street in open day. One of the Fenians, in the attempt to shoot the lock off of the door, had the misfortune to kill a police officer who was inside. The doors were then opened, and the two prisoners, named Kelly and Deasy, making their escape, were seen no more. Of this offense against the law, five of the Fenians were found guilty, and were condemned to die. It was at length discovered that one of the condemned men had had absolutely nothing to do with either the plot or the crime. One other of the convicts also escaped the death penalty; but the remaining three, Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien,

were executed. All of them went to their death like heroes. The news of the executions was carried to the countries on both sides of the Atlantic, and the Fenians were more than ever enraged against the English Government.

In the meantime, the Fenian cause in America had run its course. In the first place, a quarrel broke out in the Brotherhood, and two separate societies were formed, professing the same general objects and principles, but at enmity with each other. From this time forth the plans of the American Fenians went always from worse to worse. One of the favorite schemes of the order was the invasion of Canada. This part of the programme was now favored by one wing of the Fenians and disapproved by the other. At length the former party went ahead on the line of its own purpose, and threw forward a body of armed men to the Niagara River. On the night of May 31, 1866, that stream was crossed, and Fort Erie was occupied by the invaders. The Canadian volunteers who came against them were defeated and dispersed. It appeared for the moment that the war had actually begun; but at this juncture the Government of the United States came to the front, forbade any further exodus of the Fenians, and arrested the leaders of the movement on the American frontier. By this time the Canadian authorities had rallied and sent forward a body of troops. The Fenians on the Canadian side were overpowered, and many of them, under sentences of courts-martial, were shot. Some by retreating, succeeded in recrossing the Niagara, and saved themselves by flight into the interior. By the close of the year 1868 the excitement had subsided; and though the Brotherhood was maintained for a considerable period afterwards, the *motif* of the enterprise was gone, and the word Fenian lost its terrors, not only in America, but also in Great Britain.

Coïncidently with this race disturbance occurred in England the first serious break of civil society with the TRADES-UNIONS. It were difficult to point out the beginning of such associations in Europe. It is certain that the attempt would carry us far back into mediæval times, and perhaps to the classical ages. The general cause of Trades-Unionism, however, is not far to seek. It might almost be said that the fact is concomitant with property itself. Certain it is that the appearance of Trades-Unions is a perfectly natural phenomenon in all those countries whose people are sufficiently advanced to have a division of labor and a distribution of values. It is equally certain that the appearance and development of unionism have ever been the signal for the alarm and relentless opposition of the so-called upper classes of society. The Trades-Union has been, from the hour of its birth, the *bête noire* of capital and capitalists. In England the guilds of trade have had a peculiarly stormy career. The whole feudal system, dominant in the civil and social constitution of Great Britain, has from the first set itself with relentless animosity against the very existence of Labor Unions.

Viewed from the side of the laborer, such organizations appear to be not only natural, but inevitable. The laborer, at a certain stage of his evolution, marks the example which capital has already set him, in the organization of those who purchase and employ industry. In every country the employers' Unions have forerun by a considerable date the Unions of the working classes. It is indeed a peculiar sort of economic logic which concedes to the employer the right and privilege of combining with his fellow in order to produce results against the natural laws of trade, and which at the same time forbids the artisan to enter into a like combination with his fellow-workmen to secure himself against the effects of the combinations above him.

The English Trades-Unions had their first formidable apparition in the great manufacturing towns. It was in Sheffield, Manchester, and Birmingham that the presence of trade combinations began, at the epoch which we are now considering, to manifest themselves in a manner well calculated to alarm the existing order. As early as 1855, certain secret acts of violence of a peculiar character began to be known and rumored through the kingdom. The character of the things done pointed to the Trades-Unions as their origin. A charge of powder would be fired with a fuse by night against the house of some laborer who had opposed the principles or practices of the Union with which he was allied by his calling. The family of a workman would be ter-

rorized by some kind of foray or attack, designed to frighten the offending household out of the community. Sometimes the workman himself was beaten; sometimes his tools were broken up and destroyed. The phenomena were, in short, precisely such as have more recently become familiar in every American city where labor organizations exist, and where striking has been adopted as the method of obtaining redress of grievances.

The outrages against life and property referred to above began in Sheffield, but the same facts soon afterwards appeared in Manchester and other manufacturing cities. In 1867 an investigation was begun under the auspices of a Parliamentary Commission, and many scandalous practices were brought to light as a part of the method of the Trades-Unionists. But the inquisition had not proceeded far until it was demonstrated that the practices in question had been provoked by the long-standing abuses of society. The reader of to-day may well be surprised to know that less than a quarter of a century ago, within the distinct memory of men not yet beyond the middle stage of life, all such organizations as Labor Unions were absolutely outlawed in Great Britain. The statutes of the realm not only did not recognize the right of such associations to be formed and to exist under protection of the laws, but actually forbade all such associations as unlawful, pernicious, dangerous to the peace of society. Not only this, but the whole dominant public opinion of England held the same ground and taught the same principles. There was not an influential public journal, not a respectable pulpit, not a judicial tribunal, in the Kingdom of Great Britain wherein any other principle than that of absolute prescription of Trades-Unionism was either declared or tolerated. Nevertheless, the Unions did exist. They were a natural growth—just as they have been in America—of the existing industrial conditions. But their being a natural product of the established order did not prevent the ruling classes of society from the attempt to put them down both by suasion and by force.

We may not here enter upon the history of the struggle which ensued. It extended from 1667 to 1875, the agitation broadening and deepening until public opinion was gradually shaken into a better frame. Parliament was obliged to abandon the old proscriptive theory, and to frame new statutes in which the rights of workingmen were acknowledged fully, and fortified by law. The new statutes were, as usual in English legislation, of a very moderate and conservative character. Organized society conceded just so much to the individual, just so much to the masses, as was necessary to the ends of peace—nothing more. The principles of the new laws were, first of all, the recognition of the absolute equality of contract on the part of workmen and their employers. Should there be an infraction of this principle on the part of either, the other might proceed against him by legal process for the recovery of damages. The rule of imprisonment for the mere violation of industrial principles was abrogated; a workman might no longer be imprisoned except for the actual commission of crime. At the same time, the rights of general society were strictly guarded. Those who were employed, for instance, in the service of the municipality, as in the management of the water-supply or gas-supply of a city, might not, with impunity, break their contract to do service to the hurt of the people at large. The new rules were in some respects severe, or at least just, as it respected employers. The latter were no longer autocrats. They might no longer, at the suggestion of caprice or anger, violate the agreements which they had made with workmen—no longer use them and abuse them at their will.

Another important principle, as it respected the Trades-Unions, was established by the legislation of 1875. The rule of striking against the reduction of wages, or for other hardship, was frankly and fully conceded; but the right of strikers to go beyond their own act to interfere with other workmen, to forbid the prosecution of the enterprise which they had abandoned, to break, destroy, and persecute, as a means of bringing employers to a settlement, was denied and interdicted. On the whole, the legislation of the period marked an important stage in that industrial evolution through which all civilized people are now passing, in the course of which, ere the work be fully done, the wage-system of labor itself must either be radically modified, or else

give place *in toto* to that coöperative system of industry which appears to be the destiny of the times to come.

We may here turn briefly from the home history of England to notice another foreign war in which she was engaged. Our attention in this instance is directed to Abyssinia, and to the career of King Theodore III., Emperor, or *Negus*, of that country. The story is another of those remarkable episodes in which the foreign relations of Great Britain in the present century so much abound. In the first place, it must be remembered that Abyssinia is a Christian rather than a Mohammedan State, and that the people are thus, on the side of their religious sympathies, allied somewhat with the peoples of the West. In the next place, it should be remarked that, on the ethnic side, the Abyssinians are out of union with the Nigritian races, and even with the Arabs. The race descent is rather Hamitic than otherwise, and the development of the country, civil and political, has throughout been, to a certain degree, anomalous.

The Government is monarchical. King Theodore, nearly fifty years of age at the time of which we speak, had himself obtained the throne by usurpation. His character might well remind us of some of the great historical personages of antiquity. He is represented as having had much of the native talent and all of the eccentricity and barbaric passion of Peter the Great. Theodore was, however, by no means a barbarian. He had lofty purposes and great ambitions. His generosity, when his anger was not kindled, knew no bounds. He had, in some measure, the ken of a statesman. He would have been glad to enter into relations—civil, political, and marital—with the Western peoples. At one period in his career he strove, with much anxiety, to open a personal correspondence with no less a personage than Her Majesty, the Queen of England. He would be her lover, and would lead Victoria from her weeds of widowhood to the splendors of Oriental nuptials, the richness of Oriental apparel, the gorgeousness of an Oriental crown. It does not appear that the serious Queen of Great Britain was greatly moved by the worship of her African adorer. It is even doubtful whether his missives ever reached the steady eyes of the Royal mistress of Windsor Palace. At all this, Theodore, in the true lover's mood, became greatly angered. He could not conceive why it was that the Queen of England should not desire his devotion; and if even a partial concept of the difference betwen him and the Queen—between his people and hers—did enter his consciousness, it was only to aggravate the evil.

This King Theodore had his capital in the city of Magdala, a natural stronghold, situated about two hundred miles from the Gulf of Aden, latitude 11° 22′ N., and longitude 39° 25′ E. Here was reared by nature a vast Basaltic plateau to the level of nine thousand one hundred and ten feet above the sea. On this plateau a second elevation rises about one thousand feet; and on this, with precipitous sides all around, was built the Abyssinian capital, a place which Cæsar might well have described as "fortified by the nature of the ground." Theodore was a man of military ambition. He had a treasury and an army, the latter composed of nearly a hundred and fifty thousand men of war. The sea-port of Magdala is the island and town of Massowah, in the Red Sea, a short distance from the African coast. It was in this island that the agents and representatives of the British Government first made the acquaintance of King Theodore, first became familiar with his methods and principles of Government.

The king, at the beginning, conceived a great liking for the few English officers who came to his shore. This was particularly true of the British Consul Plowden, who, from Massowah, had given material aid and counsel to Theodore in the matter of putting down an insurrection. Plowden joined the king in this work, and was unfortunately killed by the Abyssinian insurgents. The character of the monarch was well illustrated in what ensued. When the rebellion was suppressed, he deliberately ordered the execution of more than a hundred rebels, as a sort of sacrifice to the memory of his friend, the Consul. Soon afterwards Captain Cameron was sent out to Massowah to take the vacant consulship. He adopted the opposite policy from that of his predecessor, and would have little to do with the king of Abyssinia. The latter had already become jealous and suspicious of England and of all Englishmen. The Queen would not



(104) EMPEROR THEODORE GIVING AN AUDIENCE.

answer his love-letters, and he resented the insult. The suspicion of Theodore grew hot against Captain Cameron, and presently, in an hour of inadvertent wrath, he ordered the arrest of all the British within his reach. Cameron himself was taken; and the news flew to England that British subjects had been thrown into Abyssinian prisons under the capricious rage of an African despot.

At first an effort was made to open negotiations with Theodore, with a view to securing the liberation of the captives. It was a delicate work, for the fear was constantly present that the prisoners might suffer a wholesale slaughter by the king's orders. An embassy was constituted of Mr. Rassam, British representative at Aden, Lieutenant Prideaux, and Dr. Blanc, who, making their way to Magdala, opened negotiations with the king, only to be seized in turn and added to the other prisoners. It was perceived that a military invasion for the liberation of the captives was the only remedy. In such an emergency Great Britain never hesitates. The Cromwellian rule of action was that every Englishman shall be protected if it requires every other Englishman to do it. The Government of Lord Russell immediately sent despatches to Sir Robert Napier, Commander-in-Chief of the British army in Bombay, to transfer his forces to the Abyssinian coast, and bring Theodore to his knees. The expedition landed at Mulkutto, on Annesley Bay, in the autumn of 1867, and the advance was thrown forward under command of Colonel Merewether. The English General adopted the plan of making friends with the Abyssinian chieftains, and many of them, tired of the despotism of Theodore, made common cause with the British.

The expedition into the interior, however, was one of great hazard. The advance proper began in January of 1868; but it was not until April that a force of three thousand men debouched into the plateau before Magdala. Meanwhile, the native monarch had displayed great skill and courage. Though a large part of his army had broken away by mutiny, he defended himself with a courage and heroism worthy of success. On the 10th of April a pitched battle was fought, the Abyssinians coming on to the charge with the ferocity of wild men, and much of the discipline of the civilized. But courage and enthusiasm were as naught before the discharges of British musketry and cannon. About two thousand of the Abyssinians were killed or wounded. On the north side of Magdala, sitting like a fortress on a rock, a narrow approach was found, and a British storming-party, making its way to the summit, shattered the city gate and rushed in. Theodore had taken his stand at the post of danger, behind the gate, and when the portal was broken, he put himself forever to rest with the rough consolation of suicide. The English prisoners already had been sent in safety to the British camp. Lord Napier at once proceeded to the complete demolition of Magdala. Not one stone was left upon another. The widow of the king and her son were carried away by the victorious invaders. The mother died in the British camp, and the son was taken to England. There he was educated at the charge of the Queen, and was sent to India; but he died before maturity, and the House of Theodore III. was extinguished. The expedition, conducted by Sir Robert Napier, was regarded in England as one of the most complete military successes ever won by British arms in the East. The commander was made Baron Napier of Magdala, and received a pension during the remainder of his life.

We have now arrived at that period in the recent history of England, when the whole narrative is colored and impregnated in every part with the spray from Ireland. From the date which we have now reached, namely, the close of the sixth decade of the century to the present day, there has been no time when the principal tone and rhythm of British politics have not been derived from the ethnic, social, civil, and religious relations of the people of the two Islands. We already have remarked upon the ineradicable differences between the Irish and English nationalities. Prominent among these divergent sentiments and dispositions has been the religious discord which has sounded immemorially on the two sides of St. George's Channel.

It is not needed to recount in this connection the circumstances which, extending through many centuries, have wrought out a

completed Protestantism in England and a perfect Catholicism in Ireland. It is sufficient to note the fact of the divergence, and of the irreconcilable character of the two parties to the controversy. In the present century the Irish peasantry has been as profoundly and ardently Catholic as even the common folk of Italy, Spain, or Portugal. Here the priest of the Mother Church has remained supreme. Here the ancient tradition has flourished, and the ancient worship has been preserved in its fervor and reality. The inquirer, after a candid survey of the field, may well turn aside and say: "What place is there for Protestantism in such a country as this? What righteousness, other than that which is native to the genius of this race, can here be planted and made to grow?" The extension of the Episcopal Establishment over the people of Ireland has been a mockery from the first day. If the world be indeed in process of evolution into better and higher forms, then the support of English Episcopalianism by the people of Ireland, against all of their instincts and volitions, has been from the beginning destined to cease, and to be remembered only as an intolerable injustice, borne impatiently for a season.

These ideas continued to obtrude themselves into British politics. The Conservative party opposed their progress and dissemination. That party, now in power in the House of Commons, sought by every means to prevent the reöpening of questions relative to the Irish State Church. It could be foreseen that quietude and the mere continuance of the existing system by sufferance were the only means of maintaining it longer. To debate such a question is always to destroy the abuse. Hitherto, only a few radical members of Parliament, willing to hazard the consequences of extreme ideas, had ventured to pronounce the word Disestablishment. But that term could no longer be discarded from the vocabulary of British politics. On the 16th of March, 1868, a debate broke out in Parliament based on a resolution introduced by John Francis Maguire, and bearing on the general condition of Ireland. In the course of Maguire's speech, he spoke of the Irish Episcopal Establishment as a "scandalous and monstrous anomaly." The question at once caught fire. It was perceived by the Liberal leaders of the House that the time had come for the introduction of another great reform. On the 30th of the month just mentioned, Gladstone introduced a series of resolutions declaring that the Established Church in Ireland *should cease to exist;* that it was not desirable for the Government of Great Britain to support that Church after the revenues derived from the Irish people should be taken away; and that the Queen be asked to surrender her interest in the temporalities of the Irish Church.

The debate was now opened in earnest. It was perceived that in the speeches of the Conservatives, the speakers hardly dare venture upon the defense of the existing ecclesiastical order in Ireland. Even party discipline, energized by the leadership of Disraeli, was not sufficient to bring the Conservative party to the further active maintenance of the abusive and intolerable system which had so long prevailed in the Celtic Island. At length the question came to the direct issue, and Gladstone's resolution in favor of disestablishment was adopted, in the House of Commons, by a majority of sixty-five votes.

The Conservatives, however, were unwilling, in the existing condition of affairs, to give up the Government. It was determined by Disraeli and the other leaders of his party, that an appeal should be made to the country. At the close of July, Parliament was accordingly dissolved and a new election ordered for the following November. The question of disestablishment was debated before the people, and the result of the elections showed quite an increase in the Liberal majorities. The Conservative ministry resigned, and a new Cabinet was formed under the leadership of Gladstone. Even John Bright was brought into the Government as President of the Board of Trade. Everything went forward at full tide. The Queen's speech indicated to Parliament that the Ministry would undertake important legislation relative to the State Church in Ireland. On the 1st of March, 1869, the Prime Minister brought in a bill in which it was provided that the Irish Church as a State Establishment should cease to exist—that it should become simply a free Episcopal Church, resting on the same general

conditions with the other Dissenting organizations in the country.

The result of the measure, if adopted, would be, first of all, that the Irish Bishops in the House of Lords should lose their seats. The Church of Ireland, being reduced from all political relation, could no longer be represented in one of the Parliamentary bodies. The general effect of the proposal was the complete severance of the Episcopal Establishment in Ireland from the State Church of England. Many provisions were made in the Bill for the preservation of the existing interests and vested rights of Irish Churchmen. The Government, however, if successful, would find little difficulty in meeting all the expenditures and prospective outlay from the large sums which must, under the provisions of the measure, revert to the treasury of the Kingdom. As a prudential principle, it was provided in the Bill that, after all just claims had been met, the remaining fund coming into the hands of the Government should be reserved for the promotion of various enterprises among the Irish people.

On these propositions a great debate ensued. The Conservative Opposition adopted the policy of saving—if that should be possible—the existence of the State Establishment in Ireland, and of granting, as a concession to public opinion, only such concessions as might not under any conditions be longer withheld. But the triumphant Liberals, led forward in solid phalanx by Gladstone, marched straight ahead for the principal position held by the defenders of the Past, determined to be diverted by nothing from the victory which was now within their power. On the 26th of July, 1869, the Ministerial Bill, having been adopted by the House of Commons and accepted by the House of Lords, received the assent of the Queen, and the Irish Church was struck from its foundations. It was provided in the Act that an interval should elapse before the measure should go into effect. The Establishment was permitted to continue on the old basis until the 1st of January, 1871—this to the end that the multifarious relations by which the ecclesiastical organization was bound to secular society in Ireland might be gradually and harmlessly broken and dissolved. The legislation, considered as a whole, was one of the most important acts of Parliament within the present century, and, as the event has shown, was but the introductory stage in the vast and profound agitation which has extended to the present day with respect to whole structure of Irish society.

It had been foreseen by the Liberal Ministry that the movement which they had started could not be stopped with the simple disestablishment of the Irish Church. There were at least two other great questions lying at the very bottom of the condition of Ireland



WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE.

which must of necessity spring into view and demand solution as soon as disestablishment was accomplished. Gladstone had had the courage to announce at the outset that the Liberal policy contemplated still further advances in the direction of Irish reform. The two great issues to which reference has just been made were, first, the system of LAND TENURE, and, secondly, the SYSTEM OF EDUCATION, in Ireland. It could but be foreseen that a proper solution of each of these questions must, in its turn, be as revolutionary in nature and extent as was the disestablishment of the

Church. But Gladstone and his followers were undaunted by the prospect before them, and went forward at once to attack that ancient and deep-seated Irish land system which has constituted a problem in the political history, not only of Great Britain, but of the whole English-speaking race. How the evils which have been handed down through centuries of abuse, accumulating from generation to generation, stiffening into usage first and into law afterwards, twining by many ramifications around the Constitution of Great Britain, and having the general effect of reducing the Irish tenantry to a lower and ever lower level of hardship, cruelty, and injustice with respect to the lands which they have immemorially occupied, but could not own, may be abrogated by legislation and replaced with a new system at once rational, liberal, and just—has been a question greater, perhaps, than the abilities of any statesman or group of statesmen which England has yet produced. Nevertheless, this was the question which the Gladstone Ministry was now obliged to face. By their own act the issue had been thrown into the arena, and the Liberal Government must stand or fall on the result.

The courage with which the Prime Minister now took up the system of land tenure in Ireland was worthy of all praise. Whatever may be said of the wisdom or unwisdom of the remedies which were proposed, nothing can be said against the spirit and resoluteness with which the Government took up the question of alleviating the ills of the Irish peasantry by bettering their relations with respect to the lands on which they lived. Nor may we well appreciate the condition of the agitation which was now begun in Parliament and throughout the country, without pausing to review, in a few paragraphs, the existing system of land tenure in Ireland.

In the first place, the use of the word *system* in this connection, is hardly justified by the conditions to be examined. It could hadly be said that there was a "system" of Irish landownership. There were many features about the condition of land tenure which were unmistakable. Some of these features were so common as to be recognized almost everywhere in Ireland, but many others were local and peculiar. The whole social, political, and industrial condition of this unfortunate country had been transmitted, like most other corresponding facts in England, from the Middle Ages. But the hardships of original barbarism had been aggravated by a hundred other hardships, extending through several centuries. Among these hard conditions may be mentioned, first of all, the fact of war. Ireland had been invaded, devastated, conquered, time and again, by the dominant people. One Irish revolt had followed another, and each revolt had, in its turn, been put down by the same hand and the same method. Irish insurrections and suppressions had become a monotonous fact in the history of the Island from the times of Henry VII. to the age of Victoria.

Of all the conditions of Irish society, changed by recurring British conquests, the most constant and destructive was the confiscation of the lands. Originally, the Irish people, like other mediæval peasantry, had owned their lands. But by conquest, they had lost possession. First one province, and then another, in revolt would be invaded, and, as a penalty for insurrection, the lands would be subjected to confiscation. We may not here enumerate the occasions and circumstances of the various land-seizures by which the Irish people were ultimately dispossessed—despoiled of their own homes. But dispossession became the prevalent condition throughout Ireland—this in the face of the fact that the Island is agricultural in nearly all of its natural suggestions. The same is true of the development. From an immemorial day the Irish Celts have been tillers of the soil. They were, moreover, from the earliest times, strongly *attached* to the soil. Hardly any other people have had a stronger home instinct. The Irishman is never, by preference, a rover. He has little of the adventurous spirit by either sea or land. On the contrary, he fixes himself by ethnic preference to a certain district, a certain locality, a certain home. However poor the condition may have been in which the Irishman in recent centuries has found himself in his own country, he has never been wanting in ardent attachment even to the hard lot which human history has assigned him. To him the green sod, the surrounding hills, the

intervening vales, the blue smoke ascending from the hut where his father lived before him, the humble hamlet in the distance, the spire of his own church with its ever-ringing bell, have constituted a landscape dearer than any other in the scenery of the world. Of his own choice he leaves it never. Of his own will, he holds fast to the soil out of which he deduces his whole existence. There is not in all Western Europe or the two Americas another people so devoted to *the earth*, so constant in handling that precious dirt out of which all things grow and blossom, as are the Irish peasants.

Of cities and towns, on the other hand, Ireland has but few. After Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Limerick, and Waterford, the remaining cities may be passed without mention. Great manufacturing interests do not exist here. No vast aggregations of artisans, tradesmen, or miners are found. The population is distributed on the lands as a tenantry, or at most gathered in small hamlets and villages, which rarely expand into the proportion of towns. How great therefore to this people the hardship of dispossession! How extreme the penalty of living and toiling ever on lands which they may never own! How degrading the conditions of that perpetual rent-paying system, removed by only one degree from positive servitude! All this is to say that, in process of time, and by many methods, the principal of which was confiscation, the Irish lands passed into the hands of foreign, that is, English, owners, and by these same processes and methods the Irish people were reduced to the place of renters, fixed upon the soil by a series of regulations devised by British landlords in their own interest, and held down under the weight of ever-increasing poverty and debasement.

Such, on the one hand, was the system of English landlordism, and such, on the other, the subjection of the Irish rent-paying peasantry during the whole of the present century down to the time of the Gladstonian reforms. While on the religious, that is, the ecclesiastical, and on the political side, the condition of the Irish people had been alleviated by several Parliamentary acts, on the industrial and land-renting side nothing whatever had been accomplished. It is probably true, on the contrary, that in 1869 the conditions of land tenure in Ireland were aggravated with more evils and poisoned with more injustice and cruelty than at any previous date in the history of the country. It had come to pass—as was said of the slaves in America—that the Irish tenants had no rights which British landlords were bound to respect. Lord Palmerston is credited with having said that tenant-right was landlord-right, which was equivalent, if true, to an utterance of the most absolute slavery. Another aphorism of like kind ran in this wise, that tenant-right was landlord's *wrong*, as much as to say that every symptom and claim of right and privilege, to say nothing of equality, on the part of the tenant, was an utterance not only of disloyalty, but of incendiarism and crime.

It is difficult for people living in America, and will at length be difficult for people living in Great Britain, to understand the complete autocracy of English landlordism as late as the sixth decade of the current century. The landlord had all power; the tenant, none. If the latter fell into a still more abject poverty than that which he had inherited; if he could no longer, from misfortune, disease, or decrepitude, discharge the ever-accruing rentals which his foreign master exacted,—he was subject to that dreadful process called *eviction*: that is, he might be turned out, ejected, expelled from his home, and the poor residue of his goods be hurled after him by a summary process of police, and without respect to season or condition. The history of eviction in Ireland could never be written. It is a tale of woe among the lowly—a record of heartlessness and selfish avarice applied to the suffering bodies and lives of the weak, with a relentless cruelty for the expression of which human language is wholly inadequate. The vices of the system reached to the very bottom. It was *itself* a vice of monstrous proportions, and its corrupting and degrading influence had gone on until a point had been reached beyond which it was impossible for the grinding despotism of the master-class to exact anything further.

One of the greatest curses attendant upon this universal land tenantry was the curse that it inflicted on the soil itself. It is in the nature of all such crimes to bend around at

the last, like the fabulous serpent with the tail-dart, and sting itself fatally in the head. The working of the system discouraged—almost interdicted—all effort at the improvement and development of the Irish lands. In the case of a thrifty peasant who, by excess and skill of industry, brought his lands into higher cultivation and superior productiveness, the landlord was always quick to discover his advantage by imposing a higher rate of rent. The more the tenant toiled, the more he was taxed. The more he produced, the heavier burden was imposed upon him. On the contrary, the improvident were rather encouraged than stimulated to industry. It might almost be said that in Ireland it was better to hold poor lands under half cultivation, and to keep the improvements thereon at a minimum and in a state of decay, than for the occupant to employ his energies only to be taxed down again to the lowest possible level. It was inevitable that under such conditions all agricultural enterprise should sink away; that everything should revert to desolation; that the renter's cot should stand in the midst of brambles and waste, rather than be improved and preserved for the benefit of foreign landlords.

These landlords were absentees. They lived in another island, across a water narrow enough for the collection of rent, broad enough to conceal the condition of the Irish peasantry from the open inspection of the English people. The ruling classes always possess the means of information and the processes by which it is distributed. The newspaper of modern times belongs to the upper man. The under man has no voice; or if, having a voice, he cries out, his cry is lost like a shout in the desert. Capital, in the places of power, seizes upon the organs of public utterance, and howls the humble down the wind. Lying and misrepresentation are the natural weapons of those who maintain an existing vice and gather the usufruct of crime.

The fact should here be recorded that, in a single county of Ireland, the land tenure was somewhat more tolerable than that described above. In the county of Ulster, tenant-right was not wholly the right of the landlord. For reasons that can not be enumerated here, the people of this part of Ireland had, in the course of generations, obtained a better order than could be found in any other part of the Island. This is the part of the country which is circled by the North Channel, lying over against Scotland. Doubtless the industrial system of the latter country, and particularly the methods of land tenure therein, passed over by community of race, and insured, at length, a state of affairs more happy, or at least less abusive, than otherwise would have prevailed. In Ulster the tenants had a few rights which landlords were obliged to respect. The privilege of eviction, which the master-class exercised at will in other parts of the Island, was here restricted to the case of non-payment of rent. The tenure was rather that of a lease than of mere tenantry-at-will. The occupant of the land might hold it indefinitely, and transmit to his son after him. He might go so far as to sell out his rights by quitclaim, and the landlord was obliged to recognize the purchaser as his renter under the same rights and conditions which had held with respect to the former tenant. Many other slightly favorable circumstances in the land-tenure system of this part of the country, made the holdings of the tenants much more valuable and satisfactory than those present in the other counties. As a result, the country was better improved. It could but be noticed that just in proportion as the conditions of land-holding were ameliorated, not only were the lands brought into a higher state of cultivation and increased productiveness, but the peasants who dwelt thereon were raised to a higher plain of contentment, industry, and happiness.

Such, then, were the aspects of the case as they were presented to the Gladstone Ministry at the beginning of 1870. On the 15th of February in that year, the Prime Minister laid before Parliament his celebrated IRISH LAND BILL. The measure was, to a certain extent, revolutionary; for it was based on a new theory of land tenure, fundamentally different from that which had hitherto prevailed. It contemplated the abrogation of those absolute and arbitrary rights which the landlords had claimed and exercised. The new theory was, that tenantry of land was a copartnership in production; a part of the benefits belonging to the tenants as well as to the landowners.

The aspect of affairs in Ulster gave the hint and outline of the new legislation. One of the most oppressive and iniquitous features of the prevalent system in the larger part of Ireland, was the claim of the landlord to the improvements made on the lands held by the tenant. In such improvements there is always a certain fixedness which gives to the landowner an advantage over the tenant. When the latter is at length evicted, or removes at his own will to another estate, the improvements which he leaves behind represent a considerable part of all the labor which he has exerted during his occupancy. These improvements he must, to a great extent, surrender to the estate which he abandons.

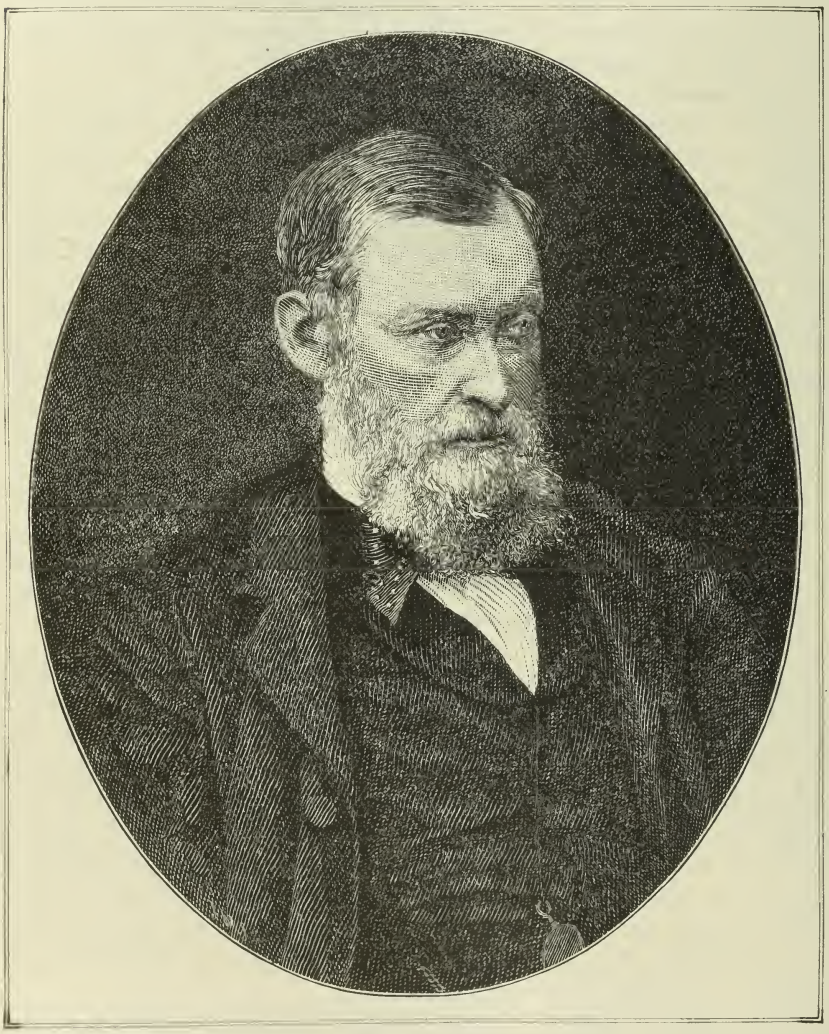
The rule in Ireland had been peculiarly distressing and unjust. All compensation to the tenant for the properties which he had created on the estate of the landlord was refused. The new legislation was directed to the cure of this injustice. But the principal object was to annul that prerogative of the landlord by which tenants might be evicted at will. Under the provision of the measure, the dispossessed or removing tenant might claim and collect by law a just compensation for the improvements which he had, in whole or in part, put upon the estate. But his great advantage was in the clause which forbade his eviction so long as he continued to pay his rent. On these great and salutary principles the debates in Parliament were conducted. The Conservatives did less to obstruct the measure than they had done in the matter of the disestablishment of the Irish Church. Strangely enough, a part of the opposition to the Bill came from the Irish members of the House, who, while recognizing the great advantages to be gained by the Act, regarded it as not sufficiently thorough-going to meet the demands of the existing conditions. On the 2d of June, 1870, the Land Bill was passed by Parliament, and on the 1st of the following August the royal assent was given to the measure.

CHAPTER CXXXIII.—REFORMS OF THE EIGHTH DECADE.

IT WILL be remembered that the third branch of reform which the Gladstone Ministry had promised, related to the Higher Education in Ireland. But before this part of the governmental scheme could be brought into form, an agitation had arisen on the whole question of education, particularly the primary education, in England. It began to be recognized as a fact already known to educators in other lands, that the elementary education in England was the poorest, most irregular, and inefficient to be found in any of the Western nations above the grade of Italy and Spain. For fully a half century the German States and the United States of America had been far ahead of England in their systems of primary instruction. In England there was, indeed, no *system* at all. The children of the nation received their instruction in schools which were supported in part by private gifts; in part, by endowments; in part, by governmental aid; and, in a few instances, by local taxation. In all of the schools, religious, or rather sectarian, influences and interests had prevailed to the extent of working the greatest hardships and injustice to the children of all the Non-conformists of the Kingdom. The latter had no rights under the law in schools which were not created and maintained by themselves.

The general condition was such as to be a scandal, not only to Great Britain herself, but to the nineteenth century. It was on the 17th of February that William E. Forster, Vice-President of the Council on Education, brought into Parliament an Education Bill providing for a general system of public elementary instruction. As might be expected in such a country as England, and among such a people as the English, the proposed measure looked, first of all, to the principle

of compulsion in attendance at the public schools. Few things are pleasing to the British mind that have not in them the predominating element of authority. The Forster Bill provided that all children in England and Wales should, between the ages of five and twelve years, be compelled to attend the public district schools. The execution of this clause was, however, left to the option of the School Boards of the respective districts; that is, if in any place the Board should decide in favor of compulsion, that should be the rule. But if the decision should be against compulsion, the attendance was to remain free, as before.



WILLIAM E. FORSTER.

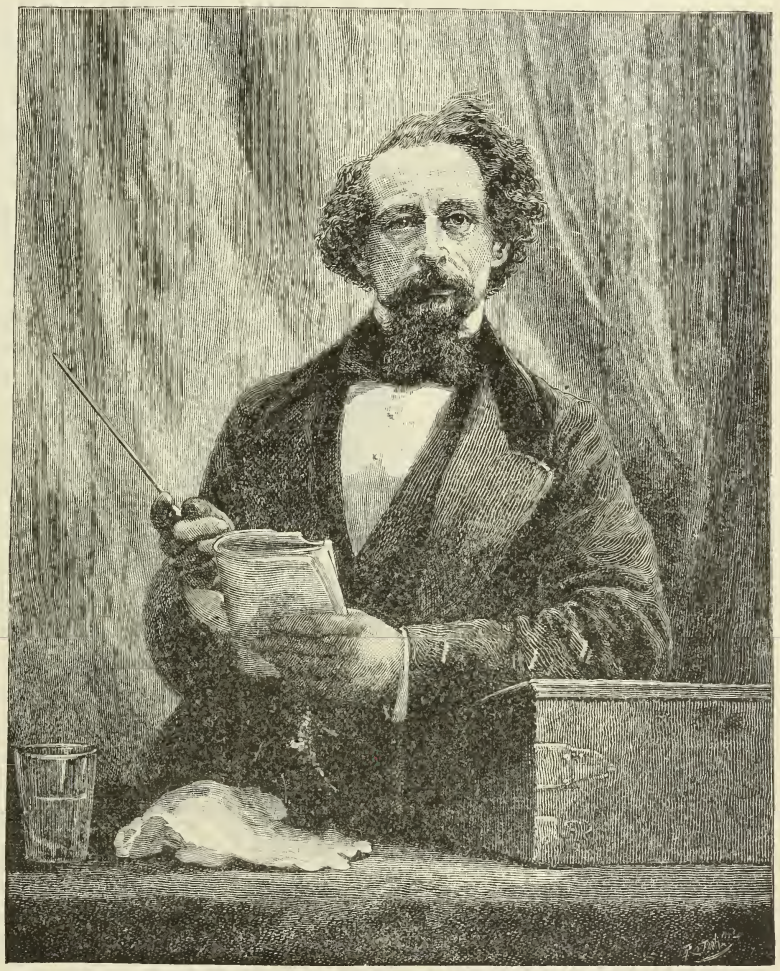
The Bill contemplated the establishment and maintenance of a public free-school 'in every district. The funds for the support of the same were to be derived from three general scources; first, from a local tax, levied under the direction of the School Board for that district; secondly, from direct grant out of the treasury of the Kingdom; and, thirdly, from such fees as were paid into local treasuries by persons not otherwise entitled to the privileges of the schools in those districts. As to the existing system, it was preserved as far as practicable, and carried over under the new methods. It was not found expedient that all, or even a large part, of the existing schools should be destroyed, but rather reörganized under the new law.[1]

As might have been anticipated, the greatest opposition to the new system was made on account of its secular character. Ultra-religionists of every shade and character took arms against a measure which, if successful, would break their own narrow monopoly of the public schools. Church-of-England men opposed the Forster Bill, because the State Establishment might be injured by the secular education of the people. Roman Catholics

[1] Charles Dickens, of great memory, lived to see the educational agitation which was now on, but not its consummation in the new statutory acts of the epoch. Doubtless, in his last days, his mind reverted with ever-increasing pleasure to the reform which his genius and pen had so powerfully contributed to bring about in the educational system of Great Britain.

opposed it, because they rejected the principles of secular education *in toto*. The Non-conformists also antagonized the measure, because they held it unjust that themselves should be taxed to educate the children of others in doctrines of religion and society which they did not accept. This, indeed, was a most serious break which Forster had to consider; for the Non-conformists represented in Parliament were the adherents of the Gladstone Ministry, and their votes might, ere-long, be necessary for the maintenance of that Ministry in power. So great was the opposition to the measure that the Bill was more than once saved from defeat by the aid of certain Conservatives who had the same interest in the cause of education, and were as much devoted thereto, as the Liberals themselves. The Bill was finally adopted, and it was not long until the benefits of the new system were so manifest that the voice of carping and prejudice was stilled forever.

Circumstances had meanwhile supervened which induced the Ministry to continue the educational reform in England before attempting the solution of the Irish educational problem. The next measure undertaken was embodied in the so-called University Tests Bill, and was directed to the correction of abuses existing at Oxford and Cambridge. It is an instructive lesson to study the origin and development, the principles and methods, of the two great English Universities. Noting the difference between the spirit and organic law which prevailed in these institutions from the later Middle Ages down to a time within the memory of men still living, and the spirit and organic law which ought to prevail at any university of liberal learning in any civilized age or country, we can but be impressed with the amazing progress in the direction of liberty and the emancipation of man which our most recent period has exhibited. Why it is that universities show a natural tendency to become the last hold of conservatism and bigotry; why it is that liberalism, freedom, emancipation, all the concomitants of the real progress of mankind, receive as a rule so cold a reception in the halls of the higher learning; why it is that all narrowness and littleness find there a warm accord; why it is that the Past is there enthroned and the Future ever expelled; why it is that the birds of ill-omen, the owls of semi-barbarism, and all the denizens of the night take refuge and hatch their young under the eaves and roofs of ancient



CHARLES DICKENS.

universities,—are questions which require much philosophy and not a little equanimity, on the part of the modern inquirer, to solve.

At Oxford and Cambridge the abuses of mediæval darkness were strongly intrenched. Until a recent day, dissenters in religion were excluded from the advantages of those venerable institutions. Only the elect of the Established Church might gather there the treasures of classical learning, the wealth of scientific principles, the lore of philosophy, the honeyed sweets of Hymettus. It remained for the Gladstone Ministry to break down the middle wall of partition, and to admit all Englishmen on terms of equality and justice, not only to the advantages of learning afforded at Oxford and Cambridge, but also to the honors which those institutions had to confer and the ambitions which they had to inspire. It is a fact worthy of note that the Bill by which the ancient restrictions were removed and the law of free competition substituted therefor, was *three times* passed by the House of Commons before it was finally accepted, with many grimaces and expressions of discontent, by the House of Lords. There sat the Bishops of the Established Church, last to yield to the pressure of humanity, last to accept the generous principles of a larger liberty.

Before considering the attempt of the Government in 1873 to reform the Irish University system, we may well note a few of the leading measures which had, in the meantime, occupied the attention of Parliament and the country. First of these was the Ballot Bill, introduced into the House of Commons by Forster, in February of 1871. Hitherto, the method of voting at the polls in Great Britain had been *viva voce*. Each elector was required to speak aloud at the voting-place his choice of men and measures. It may be seen at a glance how many and serious are the objections to such a system. If society were of a uniform consistency throughout; if it were organized on truly republican principles, so that every elector might stand on terms of perfect equality with every other; if, in other words, the under man had as little cause to fear the upper man as the upper man has to fear him,—then the method of open voting might be preferable to the secret ballot. It may be said in favor of the former system, that in a free country it is a positive stimulus to independence of political character, that the voter be required to go openly to the polls and declare his choice aloud in the hearing of witnesses. It is not unlikely that, in course of time, society will return to this method, because of its independent and man-making character. Of a certainty, no citizen of a free government ought to be under the slightest constraint in the matter of publicly declaring his preference at the polls. The right to do this is, indeed, the very essence of civil liberty.

But, practically, the question has to be considered in relation to the existing condition of society. Even in the United States such a social system has supervened as to make it dangerous for the under man openly to declare his choice. In Great Britain, where the social stratification is more universal and obdurate, the danger of voting *viva voce* is correspondingly aggravated. We have already seen how the Chartists fixed upon the secret ballot as one of the six articles of the People's Charter. From the time of the Chartist agitation down to the epoch which we are here considering, the question of the ballot had never ceased to be revived by the Radicals in the House of Commons. Nor had the common people ever relinquished the hope that the safeguard of secret voting would, at length, be conceded to them. In the Ballot Bill proposed by Forster, it was provided that hereafter, at each election, official voting papers should be prepared and distributed at the polling-places. The method of election was, that the voter should go to the polls where his registry was determined, and there deposit his secret vote in the box from which, at the close of the polls, the ballots were to be taken and counted by the proper officers.

The reform contemplated in the measure was greater than might appear to an American reader, long accustomed to similar usages of the ballot-box in his own country. Many of the corruptions, intimidations, and abuses which had prevailed under the old system in Great Britain were abolished under the new. But the Bill was forced through Parliament against the strenuous opposition of the Conservatives in the Commons and the still more unreasoning hostility of the Lords. It may be

noted that in the debates attendant upon the passage of the Act, the question of extending the ballot to women was frequently advocated, and was by no means regarded as so dangerous an innovation as the same measure has been reckoned to be by Conservatives in America.

Still another project, which was carried out under the auspices of the Gladstone Government, was the reformation of the British army. In that department of the public service, as in every other, abuses had crept in and had become so crystallized by long prevalence, that their eradication seemed almost impossible. This was especially true with respect to the manner of obtaining commissions in the army. These, instead of being the reward of a military education or of valor in the field, were purchased by those who were able to pay the price, and the usage had so long prevailed that the transaction had come to be regarded as other business methods of the public market. The British officer purchased his commission. He held it as long as he chose, subject, of course, to the discipline of the army, and then sold his rank to some other aspirant, who, henceforth took his place in the service.

It is to the credit of the British Government that this crying abuse did not originate in an Act of Parliament, but in a Royal warrant, wherein the privilege of purchasing commissions was granted by the sovereign. It is needless to say to how great an extent merit was discouraged and demerit promoted under such a system. It was determined by the Liberal Ministry that the practice of purchasing commissions should cease. In the summer of 1871 a Bill for the Reörganization of the Army was introduced by Cardwell, Secretary of War, and, after a hot debate, was adopted on the 3d of July in that year. The House of Lords, however, taking advantage of the fact that the session was near its close, refused to concur, and the Government suddenly found itself balked in the work of reform. It remained for Gladstone, however, to discover a way through the embarrassment, and at the same time to set the ministerial foot with some emphasis on the recusant House of Lords. He boldly declared that the sovereign, under direction of the Government should, of her own prerogative, cancel the Royal warrant on which the abuses in the army were dependent. This was accordingly done; but the daring procedure on the part of the Ministry created great excitement, and, on the whole, tended to weaken the hold of the Prime Minister even on his own followers in Parliament.

We have now arrived at that period in recent English history when the Alabama Claims, held and urged by the Government of the United States against Great Britain, were brought to settlement before the Geneva Tribunal. An account of the proceedings before this august court, and the judgment given thereby against Great Britain, has already been presented. At the same time, England was shaken by the throes of Continental Europe. Now it was that the Emperor Napoleon III. entered upon the last rash act of his astonishing career. He declared war against Prussia for a cause which posterity must ever hold ridiculous. His armies were defeated, and his Empire went down with himself amid the fire and smoke from the crater of Sedan. Nominally a prisoner for a brief season at Wilhelmshohe, he soon left the land of his captivity and repaired to England. There, with the dethroned Empress and his son, the Prince Imperial, he took up his residence at Chiselhurst, where, on the 9th of January, 1873, he died, being in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

Resuming the broken narrative of the Educational Reform in Great Britain, we come to consider the effort made by the Gladstone Ministry, in 1873, for the passage of the Irish University Bill. At the opening of Parliament the Queen had indicated in her speech the importance of the subject to which the attention of the two Houses was to be directed. The measure proposed was the work of Gladstone, and upon that statesman devolved the duty of defending the plan which he had devised for the betterment of the Higher Education in Ireland. That country, like England, had two principal universities. The first was the University of Dublin, old and well established, thoroughly interwoven in all its laws, usages, and management with the Church of England, or rather, the Episcopal Church in Ireland, of which it constituted the educational expression. As a matter of course, the Catholics were excluded from its benefits. This is to say that Dublin University was open to the

elect one-fifth of the Irish people—the fifth composed in large measure of Englishmen and their immediate descendants—while to the other four-fifths all of its fountains were sealed. The second institution was the comparatively recent Queen's University, an account of the founding of which has been given already. This university was a strictly secular establishment; and in that system of government, also, the Catholics had neither part nor lot. In a word, the university privileges of Ireland, with the exception of those furnished by a small Catholic University, established and supported by themselves, were totally denied to the Irish Catholics in their own country. The Catholic youth might indeed enter the Queen's University; but that institution was conducted on principles which no Catholic could accept without breaking with his Church, and such a course could not rationally be expected of a people so ardently devoted to the interests of their own religion.

The Bill proposed by Gladstone must, if possible, meet the contradictory conditions existing among the Irish people. The project was one of extreme difficulty. The Gladstonian idea was to remove from Dublin University its denominational character, and at the same time to make it central and paramount to all the other colleges in the Island. Dublin was to be the center and sun of the system. This made necessary the removal from the institution of the Faculty of Theology; for it was absurd to suppose that the young men of Ireland could pass the ordeal of that body of instruction. In the next place, it was necessary to strike from the curriculum such departments of inquiry as Moral Philosophy and Modern History; for it could not be hoped that any professor in the world was sufficiently adroit to give instruction in that system of ethics which was deduced from theological dogmas, without putting at naught both the facts of psychology and violating every sentiment of those to whom he should address his instruction. The general result therefore was, that Dublin University, though indicated as the center of the Irish system, was to be considerably reduced in the extent and variety of its curriculum. Such a measure could but offend, not only the University itself, but the whole Episcopalian system of which it was a part. The event soon showed that the smaller institutions, some for one reason, and some for another, were in like manner offended; for where is the university or college which, under the inspiration of localism, is not fain to regard itself as supreme? Where is the college which voluntarily enters into a system where its own place is that of perpetual subordination?

We may not here enter into all that was said in the great debates between the Liberals and the Conservatives relative to the Irish University Bill. It had been noted already that the Gladstone Ministry was losing its hold upon Parliament and the country. Occasional elections for filling Parliamentary vacancies had told against the Government. Here and there the Conservatives gained a member. The Opposition, under the leadership of Disraeli, began to display unusual spirit. There were dissensions in the Ministry itself, and the mistakes, which not a few had been made by the dominant party during the last four years, were skillfully paraded by the Conservative orators. Perhaps, moreover, there was something in that political restlessness which, in all free or semi-free countries, so frequently displays itself in the change of leaders for the mere sake of changing. In the present instance, it can not be doubted that England had been constantly agitated since the accession of Gladstone to power, and now the country was tired of agitation. It was clear to the Ministers themselves that their days in office were numbered. When the Irish University Bill was put on its second reading in Parliament, it was defeated by a majority of three votes. The majority was, of course, composed of the Conservatives, the Radical Irish party, and other disaffected Liberals. The Gladstone Ministers resigned their offices, and the Queen called Disraeli to form a new Cabinet. The latter declined the service, for the reason that it was not clear to him that he could command a majority in the House of Commons. The Gladstonians were accordingly recalled to office. The Cabinet was reconstructed, and the Government dragged on feebly for a season.

This method, however, was not to the liking of the Prime Minister. He determined to regain all or to lose all by dissolving Par-

liament and appealing to the people. The announcement of this determination was a complete surprise. The elections which ensued were hardly begun until it was clear that a great political reäction had taken place throughout the country. The bottom motive in it all was simply the English fear that the car of Reform propelled by the Liberal party was pushed too fast and too far. That political timidity for which the British Nation has been proverbial since its emergence from the Middle Ages, again prevailed to check the progress of those salutary movements which had marked the history of the last six years. The Liberals were defeated at the polls, and the Conservatives came back to the House of Commons with a majority of fifty members.

The Gladstone Ministry now made haste to retire, and Disraeli was at once installed as Prime Minister. Thus, in the spring of 1874, that extraordinary and eccentric personage, that genius born of an Oriental race in the foggy island of Britain, was for the last time placed in one of the proudest political positions to which the statesmen of modern times may aspire. The Cabinet which he constructed was one of great ability. Lord Cairns was made Chancellor; Lord Derby, Secretary of Foreign Affairs; Lord Salisbury, Secretary for India; Lord Carnarvon, Secretary for the Colonies; Mr. Cross, Secretary for Home Affairs; Mr. Hardy, Secretary of War; Mr. Hunt, Secretary of the Admiralty; Sir Stafford Northcote, Chancellor of the Exchequer. As for Gladstone, he virtually retired from sight, coming into the House of Commons only at intervals, and speaking little on the questions proposed by the new Government. The lately triumphant Liberals went into a political eclipse, which, in the course of the next three years, threatened to be total, if not perpetual.

For a season after the accession of the Conservative Ministry, no striking display of force was seen under the new political order. One of the first contests in Parliament was over a measure introduced into the House of Lords by the Archbishop of Canterbury for the Regulation of Public Worship. We have already had occasion to refer to the ecclesiastical movement, which had been observed in the Episcopal Establishment towards the Church of Rome. The impulse in this direction had had its origin in the extreme High Churchism of the University of Oxford. As a result, an excess of Ritualism had appeared in many of the first churches in the Kingdom, insomuch that the difference between the Episcopal worship therein and the ceremonies in the Catholic cathedrals consisted chiefly in the distinction. But not all, not even a majority, of the Churchmen of the Establishment followed in the wake of this movement. Many held back, preferring the simpler and severer forms of worship which had been handed down from the reign of Edward VI. As a result, there came to pass great and perplexing diversities in the religious manners and doctrines of the people—this inside of the Established Church. The existing ecclesiastical law was not sufficient to prevent the divergences of practice and belief, and an appeal was made to the civil law to regulate what the Church Courts could no longer control. A spirited debate ensued on the Archbishop of Canterbury's Bill, and the measure was at length forced through Parliament by the dominant party. But it was soon discovered that, so far from accomplishing the expected results, so far from bringing the methods of worship and doctrine to a common standard, the Act proved to be a mere nullity, standing in the statute as the expression of a wish and purpose rather than as a vital energy.

The next governmental measure which demanded the attention of Parliament was a bill for the protection of them that go down to the sea in ships. It had come to the attention of the public that a large part of the vast merchant marine of Great Britain was unseaworthy—unsafe as a vehicle of commerce and passage. The existing laws on the subject were imperfect, ineffective. Indeed, the current legislation was of a character to aggravate the abuse; for the laws of insurance provoked and perpetuated the evil. The shipowners little cared to bear the expense of marine improvements and of such outlays as were requisite to keep their ships in repair, for the reason that they were well insured, and, in hundreds of instances, it was actually profitable to the owners that their vessels should go to the bottom of the sea. But this method of security and gain involved the loss

of valuable merchandise and still more valuable human lives. The agitation against the existing abuse was led by Mr. Plimsoll, a philanthropic member of the House of Commons, and after fiery and angry debates, extending to midsummer, a bill was finally passed for the better protection of English seamen and English commerce.

With the year 1875 there came into modern British history a new condition, which may be defined as Imperialism. The appearance of such a fact in the midst of a democratic age and a people politically progressive may be accounted for by three circumstances. The first of these was that ever-reviving Eastern Question, by which the attention of England was drawn away from the Home Islands, and from Western Europe, to the countries of the East—to Egypt, to Crete, to Greece, and to the Ottoman Empire. Familiarity with the course of events in those far lands brought of necessity, out of the Levant, a certain modicum of Eastern ideas, which, though they might never grow in English soil, were nevertheless planted there in political conservatories, and looked on with some wonder as interesting exotics. The second circumstance was the existence of the British East Indian Empire, and the relations of that vast country and of those multitudinous populations with the Russian Power. As far back as the days of Lord Clive, more particularly as long ago as the times of Warren Hastings, the British mind perceived certain gorgeous outlines, certain splendid cumuli in the Oriental heavens, under the shadow of which the existing social and political sentiments of Great Britain were somewhat modified. In the third place, we may refer the half-formed Imperialist concepts of these days to the Prime Minister of England. Disraeli was undoubtedly one of the most gorgeous and spectacular of modern statesmen. Himself of Eastern descent, his mind naturally inclined to the vast and splendid, not to say the factitious, in national character. Few men of the century have cherished and followed vaster and higher ambitions than he. Soon after his accession to power, it became evident that his dreams were of many colors, and of a foreign cast. One of the striking manifestations of this disposition came to the surface at the opening of Parliament in 1876. The Prime Minister announced that the Queen of England was about to add to her royal titles that of Empress of India. The proposition was strongly opposed by many of the Liberals, and was, perhaps, distasteful to a majority of the English people. The pressure from without was, in this respect, so emphatic that the Ministry agreed that the new honor and title should not be employed in the Home Kingdom of Great Britain, but only abroad; that is, in India itself. There were many statesmen so stout in their English preferences as to argue that the Imperial diadem of the Indies, made new, so to speak, for the occasion, was no addition to the crown of Alfred and the

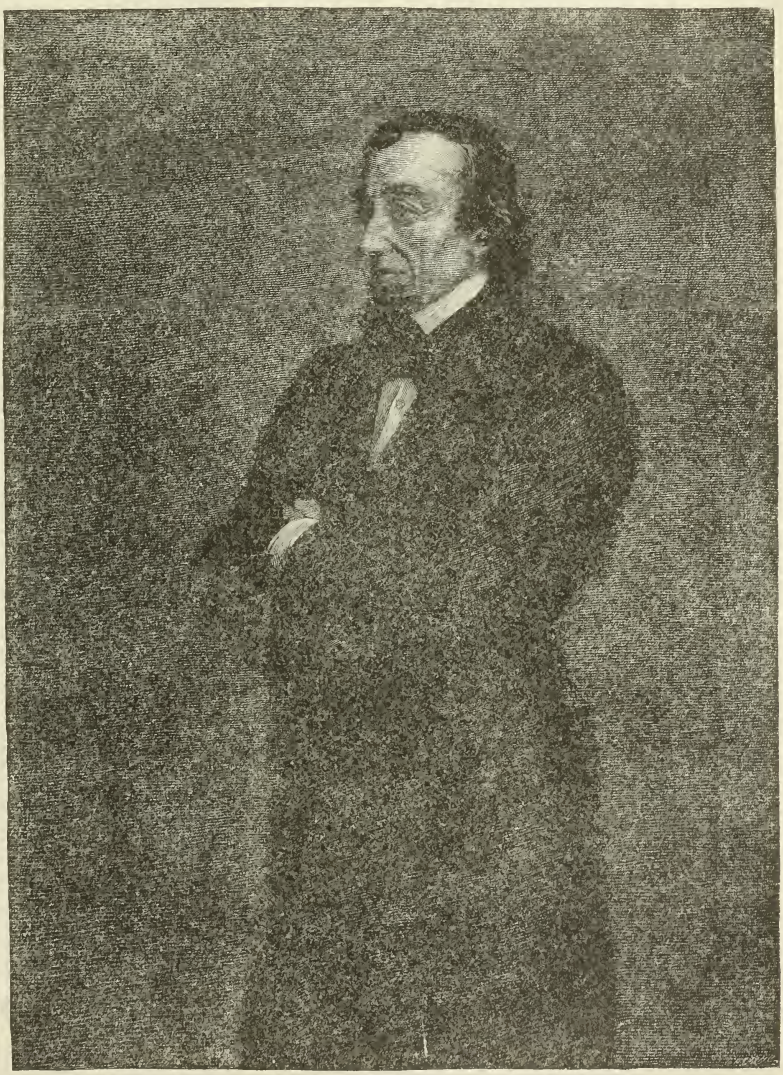


VICTORIA, EMPRESS OF INDIA.

Conqueror, of Plantagenet and Tudor. But the splendor-loving Prime Minister had his way, and Victoria reigned as Empress of India.

It is in evidence that the Queen of England greatly admired and honored the remarkable personage at the head of her Government. We may not assume that this admiration was personal, or that it was even a reciprocal sentiment for the Prime Minister's loyalty and devotion to herself. The daughter of the Duke of Kent has never been sentimental. Her German descent and English education, as well as the traditions of the English crown, have conspired to make and to keep her one of the most practical of great women. Her admiration for Disraeli rested rather upon that strong conservatism which he displayed in politics and his fidelity to the royal and aristocratic order in Great Britain. To these elements of English nationality none was more faithful than he.

It was natural under these conditions that the Queen should devise some distinguished honor for the man who had served her Government so long and well. If the honor were ever to come, the time was at hand to confer it. Disraeli was already in his seventy-first year. At that age a statesman can hardly be blamed for looking back upon the hard-fought battle of life, and for considering the expediency of a brief day of rest ere the curtain fall. In such a condition of affairs an English leader naturally looks to the peerage. Already, in 1868, the Queen had signified her desire to make Disraeli a Peer of the realm. But at that date he did not feel that the time had come for his retirement from that great arena, the House of Commons. He accordingly declined the honor for himself, but accepted for his wife the title and dignity of Viscountess of Beaconsfield. In 1876 the conditions were altered. On the 11th of August in that summer, being then in the full tide of his power and renown, he made his last speech in the House of Commons, and it has been noted that the closing words of the speech were "the existence of that *Empire.*" On the following morning it was announced throughout England that Benjamin Disraeli had been created a Peer under the title of



EARL OF BEACONSFIELD.

the Earl of Beaconsfield; nor was the honor less distinguished for the fact that it once had been tendered to Edmund Burke, and by him declined.

The American reader will not understand that such a change of relation as that through which Lord Beaconsfield passed in 1876 implies the disappearance of the actor from public life. It means in England that his active career in Parliament, more particularly in the House of Commons, is at an end. In the case of Beaconsfield, he was destined yet to appear in one of the most dramatic spectacles of the last quarter of the nineteenth century; namely, in the Congress of Berlin. We shall not in this place, but rather in a subsequent chapter, narrate the revival of the Eastern Question in European politics, the war between Turkey on the one side and Servia and Montenegro, inspired by Russia, on the other; the conference at Constantinople; the progress and incidents of the Turco-Russian War; the issue of that conflict; and, finally, the assembly and deliberations of the International Ambassadors at Berlin, in July of 1878. All these matters belong rather to the recent history of Eastern Europe than to the annals of Great Britain. It is sufficient in this connection to record the fact that the interests and reputation of England were sustained in the Congress of Berlin by the Earl of Beaconsfield in a manner most satisfactory to the nation. The British public saw with delight her representative standing in that great conference face to face with Prince Bismarck, his equal in intellect and almost his equal as a diplomatist.

We here draw near the close of the chapter covering the most recent events in English history. It only remains to present an outline of a few additional movements to bring the narrative to a close. It is exceedingly difficult to give a true historical estimate of those tendencies and aspects of society lying immediately under our own observation. In such a case, perspective is wanting, and the mind of the writer is unconsciously swayed by the dominant temper and passion of the day. On the Parliamentary side, the greatest by far of all the more recent agitations in England is that suggested by the words HOME RULE. The expression was not new. Ever since the union of Ireland with England at the beginning of the present century, an occasional demand had been made for the creation of an Irish Parliament, as a means of dissipating the chronic discontent of the people of that Island. It was believed by a small body of public men, that, without any general disturbance of the so-called Imperial system by which Great Britain and Ireland were held in union, a Parliamentary body might be properly permitted in the latter country, having jurisdiction and prerogative in all matters of local legislation. This would signify, in a word, that the vexed and vexing question which had so much disturbed the Great Parliament with respect to the affairs of Ireland might be remanded constitutionally to an Irish House of Commons, for satisfactory settlement.

As early as 1868, Disraeli himself, in a canvass of the country, had spoken of an agitation at that time appearing in Ireland for the measure afterwards known as Home Rule. An Irish political organization already had been effected under the name of the Home Rule League for the promotion of this cause. During the eighth decade which followed, and running beneath the events narrated in the preceding pages, was this new form of agitation. At length the parties in England began to consider the question, and to divide on the new issue presented in Irish politics. Meanwhile the Government got on its hands two petty African wars, an account of which will be given presently. The great conflict between Turkey and Russia came and went. In 1877 a period of business depression came, to be followed with that inevitable distress and discontent among the common people which always train after commercial panics and collapses. The winter of 1878 was one of great severity. There is one fact in modern society which, perhaps fortunately for the world, political parties can not explain away. No lie, however adroit, can make a hungry man believe that he is full. No loud-mouthed professions of devotion to the cause of the suffering on the part of a dominant faction in Government can make the sufferers follow longer the banners of pretenders. It is for this obvious reason that the days of distress are always days of political revulsion. In 1878 and 1879 the poorer people of the kingdom, especially in Ireland, felt the pangs of hunger, and, resorting to the

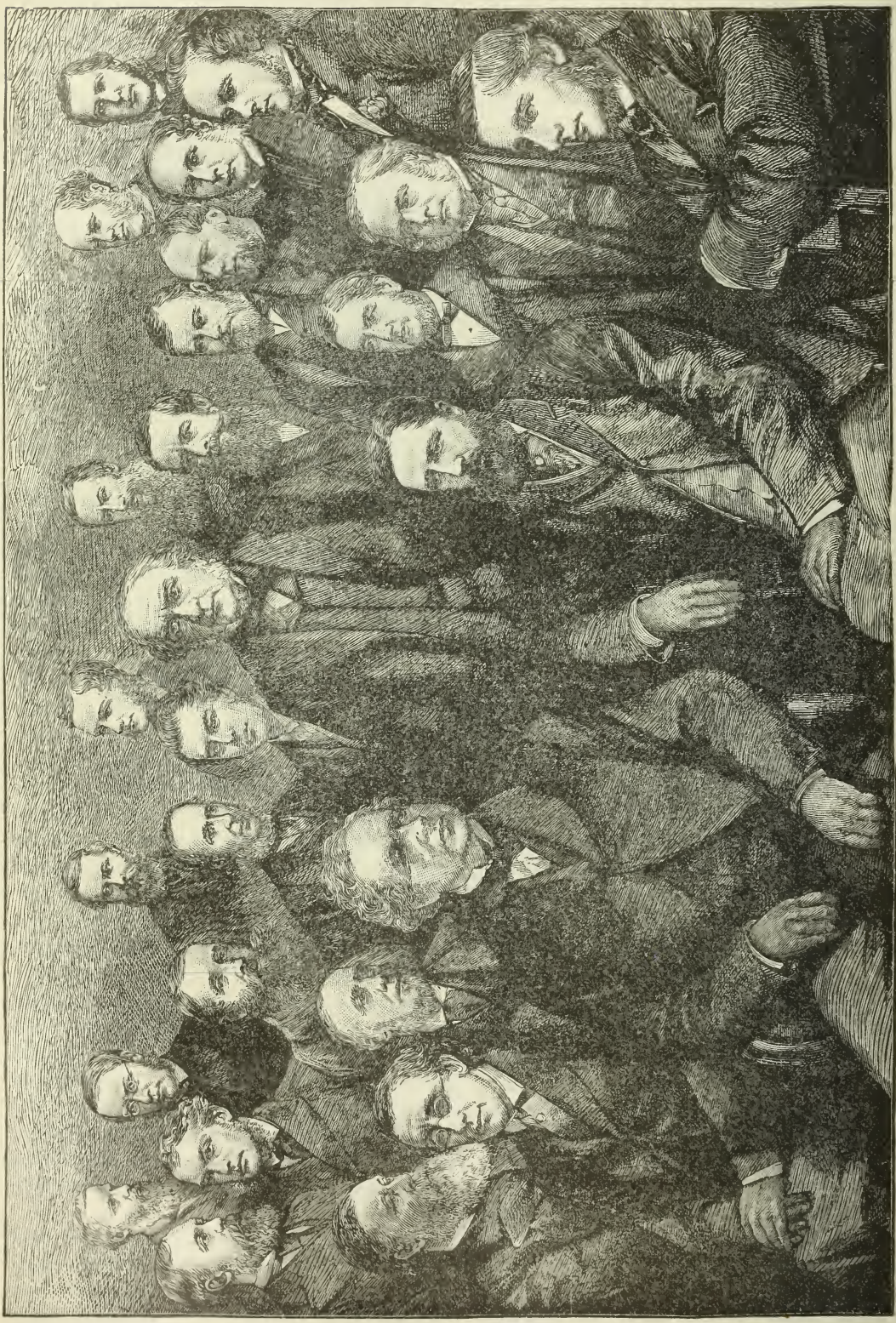
sublime fallacy of pain, they laid the blame of their condition on the Conservative Government. Many other circumstances, which may not be enumerated here, added to the popular discontent and the consequent weakening of the Ministerial party.

As to the Liberals, we have seen how complete and dispiriting was their downfall in 1874. With the retirement of Gladstone no competent leader of the Opposition could be found, and the Liberal party went from bad to worse, until, in 1876 and 1877, it may be said to have reached the nadir. But it is in the nature of political vicissitudes that the bottom point of decline is the point of reaction and revival. The Liberals emerged at the very time when the Conservatives, weighed down by the unfortunate condition of the country, began to sink. The Home Rule agitation lay like a bank of clouds across St. George's Channel. The time had come; Gladstone suddenly loomed up from his retirement, where he had amused himself, in the meantime, with controversial essays against the Papacy, and challenged, not only the policy, but the existence of the Conservative Government. He defied the Ministry and dared them to submit themselves and their measures to the people. The challenge was not at the first accepted. The Parliament was already nearing its Constitutional limitation. At length the Ministers were rather provoked and taunted into a dissolution and an appeal to the people. The same occurred in March of 1880, and the elections followed soon afterwards. As soon as the results began to be declared, it was evident that one of the greatest political reäctions ever known in England had taken place. The Conservatives were routed. When the smoke cleared up, and the footings were made, the triumphant Liberals came out of the contest with a majority of a hundred and twenty members, and the humiliation which they had suffered six years before was visited in double measure upon their opponents.

At the first, it seemed that the shock had been felt as high as the Throne itself. The Queen, in so far as she was permitted under the English Constitution to have political sentiments, was heartily with the Conservatives, and it may not be doubted that she felt not only a woman's mortification, but a Queen's grief, at the Liberal triumph. Her feelings in this respect were still further wounded by the fact that Gladstone must again be called to the head of the Government. This result she was human enough to try to obviate. She first sent for Lord Hartington, and requested him to form a new Cabinet; but that nobleman was unwilling to assume a responsibility which he knew to belong to the great leader of the Liberals. The sovereign then called Lord Granville; but he also declined, for the same reason which had prevailed with Hartington. It only remained for the Queen to yield to the inevitable, and summon Gladstone again to power. This accordingly was done, and a new Ministry was constituted, into whose hands some of the most important issues of the age were remanded at once for solution.

But we may properly here turn aside from the stirring Parliamentary dramas about to be enacted, to present an outline of those two mimic African wars in which the British Government became involved during the ascendency of Beaconsfield. The first of these was the Ashantee War. The petty African kingdom of Ashantee lies on the interior of the Gold Coast, eastward from Liberia. It comprises an area of about seventy thousand square miles, and a population of more than a million. The capital is Coomassie, at a considerable distance from the coast. Here the native monarch held his court in a sort of barbaric splendor. The Ashantee Kingdom was organized on the basis of a military aristocracy. A number of petty lords had each his local court and government. Many of the usages of the Ashantees are repulsive to the sentiments of Europeans. The practice of polygamy is universal, and the constitution of the kingdom assigns to the monarch an exact maximum of three thousand three hundred and thirty-three wives. The religion of the land demands human sacrifices, such offerings being made in the belief that the dead are in need of servants and attendants in the other world.

For a long time the Ashantees had held relations with the Dutch on the African coast. From them the king, by treaty, received an annual tribute in return for the advantages which the Dutch miners had in the country.



THE LIBERAL MINISTRY OF 1880.

In order to understand the situation we must take into consideration also the Fantees, whose territory lay between Ashantee Land and the Gulf of Guinea. The Ashantees and the Fantees were kinsmen by race descent, and had been in alliance, but at length became estranged and hostile. The territories of the two States were divided by the river Prah, and across this stream warlike excursions were frequently made, the one people into the country of the other. On two or three former occasions the English had been at war with the Ashantee nation, and in one conspicuous instance had suffered a disastrous and humiliating defeat. On the 7th of August, 1826, Sir Charles McCarthy, then in charge of British interests on the Gold Coast, fought a battle with the army of the Ashantee king, ten thousand strong, at Dudowah, was defeated by the negroes, and himself slain. Only about fifty men of the whole force succeeded in reaching the English head-quarters in Fantee Land, which was the base of operations.

Of course, Great Britain soon brought the Ashantees to terms, compelling the king to pay an indemnity of six thousand ounces of gold, and to give up his son as a hostage. A British protectorate was established over Fantee Land, and all the other petty dependencies between the river Prah and the sea. In 1843 the Crown of England assumed the government of this part of the coast, and from that time forth there was mutual suspicion and mutual misunderstanding between the Europeans and the Ashantees. At length, in 1867, an arrangement was made between the English and the Dutch, by which all the forts of the latter lying eastward of the Sweet River were surrendered to Great Britain, while all the English forts west of that river were given to the Dutch. By this transaction the king of Ashantee lost the annual stipend which had been paid to him for the rights of occupancy by the Dutch. As a conseqence, he justly claimed that the English, in taking control in place of the Dutch, had assumed their obligations to himself. But this claim was disallowed or neglected by the



COOMASSIE.

British authorities, and became the basis of hostility.

The immediate occasion of the outbreak of the war, however, was the act of one of the Ashantee chieftains, in decoying four Europeans into his town and making them prisoners. The British Governor demanded the surrender of these captives, and the demand was refused by the Ashantee king. Several other circumstances aggravated the difficulty. The Fantees were in alliance with the English, or rather under their protection, and this fact was a source of alarm and jealousy on the part of the king of Ashantee. His ill-feeling grew to such a pitch that, early in 1873, he took the hazardous step of crossing the Prah with an army, thus invading the land of the Fantees. By this act he was brought into direct contact with the British, and the Home Government was constrained to send out an army to bring the refractory nation to submission. The command of the expedition, which was sent out in the fall of 1873, was given to Sir Garnet Wolseley, who reached the Gold Coast in the beginning of October, and found an army of Ashantees, forty thousand strong, ready to oppose his progress. But if they had been four hundred thousand strong they could hardly, by their half-savage methods of warfare, have stayed the British invasion of their country.



GENERAL SIR GARNET WOLSELEY.

On the 20th of January, in the following year, the English crossed the Prah, and entered Ashantee Land. They met and defeated the native army in two or three battles, and on the 4th of February reached Coomassie. The Ashantee king was now glad to make what terms he might with the conqueror. Everything must be done with the utmost haste. It was well known to Sir Garnet that a month's delay in that region would be fatal to his army; for the fevers and other maladies to which Europeans were subject in the African summer were far more fatal than the exigencies of battle. The English commander accordingly exacted his terms in haste, and set out for the coast. Coomassie was burned. An indemnity of fifty thousand ounces of gold was agreed to by the king, and the latter was obliged to

renounce his claims of sovereignty over the petty States which had hitherto been subject to him. He was also obliged to grant freedom of trade between his capital and the coast, and to keep open the highway from Coomassie to the river Prah. Finally, he must agree to renounce and abolish the practice of human sacrifice. Sir Garnet Wolseley then retired from the country, and the expedition returned to England.

More important by far was the war with the Zulus of South-eastern Africa. Zulu Land lies to the north of the colony of Natal. It has a sea-line of about a hundred and thirty miles, and includes among its population several important tribes. The country is to a great extent aboriginal in both its people and productions. The wild animals peculiar to the region represent several African types, such as the antelope, the rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, the buffalo, and the lion. The people are brave, warlike, energetic. At the time of the outbreak of the Zulu war, the king of the country was Cetewayo, or Cetshwayo, as it is sometimes written. For a considerable period he had been on terms of friendship and intimacy with the English, but was in constant difficulty with the Boers, or half-Dutch peoples of the adjacent Transvaal Republic. The same thing was true of other native tribes, some of whom were always at war with the Boers. It appears that the civil affairs of the Transvaal were badly managed. When Sir Theophilus Shepstone was sent out as Governor of the British colonies on this part of the African coast he was led to believe that the Boers desired to pass under the dominion of Great Britain. He accordingly published a declaration to the effect that the Transvaal Republic had become a part of the British Dominion. It thus happened that England, by an act of usurpation, inherited the quarrels and difficulties of the Boers with their neighbors. The Zulus were greatly alarmed by the new aspect of affairs, and became suspicious and jealous of everything done by the Europeans in their part of the country.



PONTOON BRIDGE OVER THE PRAH.

One of the disputes between Zulu Land

and the Transvaal Republic was with respect to the ownership of a small territory lying between the two States. The matter was referred to the decision of British Commissioners, who made the award in favor of the Zulus. But the new British Governor, Sir Bartle Frere, refused or neglected to execute the terms of the settlement. Cetewayo was surprised and angered that the English authorities, after having decided the question in his favor, should be guilty of what seemed to him—and to all the world—to be an act of bad faith. Hostilities broke out. The English Governor demanded that the Zulu army should be disorganized and dispersed. Cetewayo refused to acquiesce, and the British forces began an invasion of the country of the Zulus. On the 22d of January, 1879, a severe battle was fought and the English were utterly defeated. The disaster was humiliating in the last degree, and was, as a matter of course, soon retrieved. A new force under command of Lord Chelmsford, again marched into Zulu Land, routed the barbarians, captured the king, and brought the war to an end before the middle of autumn. The native monarchy was abolished, and a civil government, known as the New Republic, was organized in its stead. As for the dethroned king, he was remanded to imprisonment, but the principal native chieftains, who had been his subjects, were permitted to remain in local authority.



CETEWAYO, IN ENGLISH GARB.

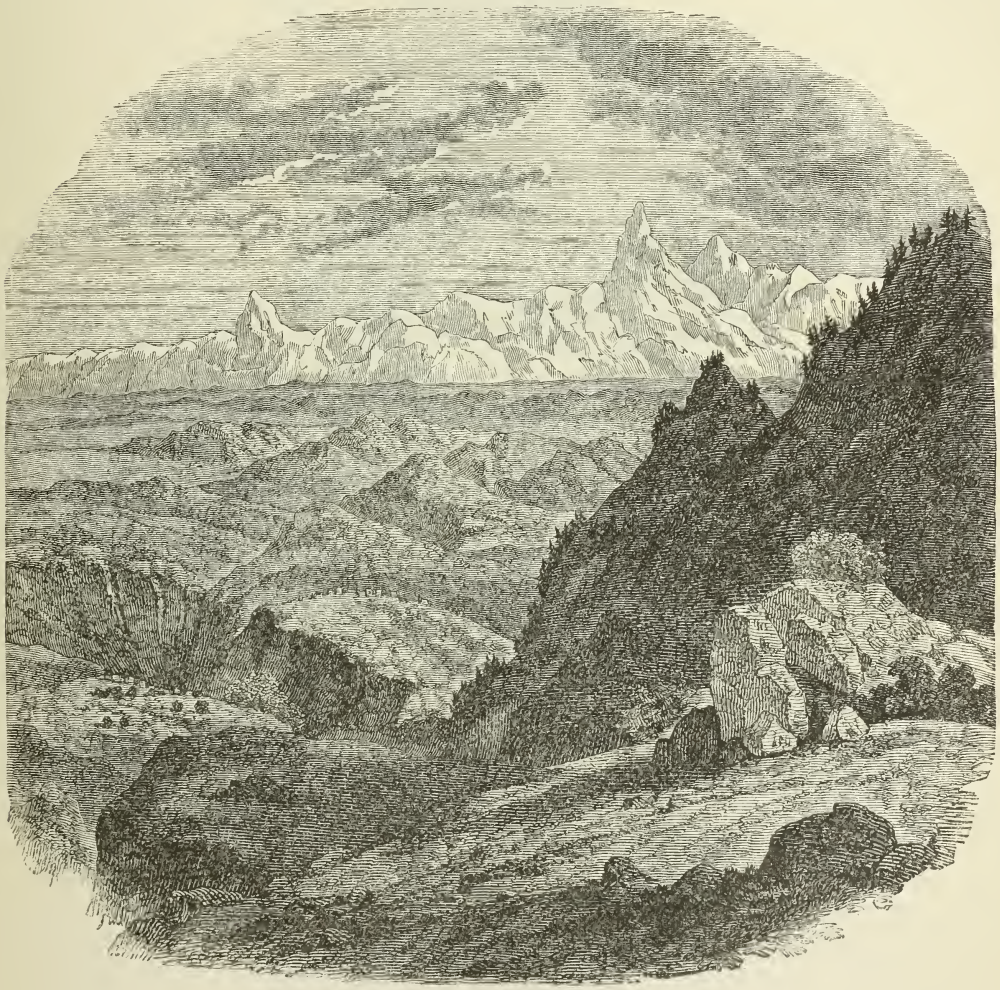
One of the principal incidents of this petty and by no means honorable war, was the death, in one of the skirmishes with the Zulus, of the Prince Imperial of France. An account has already been given of the retirement of Napoleon III., with Eugenie and their son, to Chiselhurst, in England. There, for about seven years, the education of the Prince was conducted at the military school of Woolwich Arsenal. After his graduation he would fain see actual warfare. The Prince appears to have had in him much sentiment and romance. When the Zulu war broke out, several of his classmates were in the army of Lord Chelmsford, and the Prince, at his own earnest request, was assigned to a place on the General's staff. In this relation he entered Zulu Land, and exhibited during the campaign much military spirit. He was assigned, on a certain occasion, to the command of a reconnoitering party, having the duty of determining the situation of affairs about twenty miles from camp. While on this expedition, his company was surrounded by a large force of Zulus, and in the effort to cut his way through, the Prince was killed. His body was taken back to England, and deposited in the Memorial Chapel at Chiselhurst, beside the sarcophagus of his father.

The death of the Prince was a severe shock, almost a death-blow, to the hopes of the Bonapartists of France, who had looked to the son of Napoleon III. as the embodiment and impersonation of all Imperial expectations for the future. But the world at large was less concerned with the political effect of the Prince's death than with the shocking calamity which it brought to the beautiful but now widowed ex-Empress of the French. To her the loss of her son was the final stroke. Nothing in history—that is, in its merely personal parts—is more melancholy and affecting than the spectacle of this lone woman, fallen from glory, a widow in a foreign land, stripped of her Imperial diadem, her husband dethroned and dead, and now, at last, her promising and gallant son cut down in the wild chaparral of South-eastern Africa, stabbed to death with twenty wounds, and hacked into mutilation with the assagais of the Zulus.

At the very time these events were occurring in South Africa, England found herself again at war in Afghanistan. The situation and relations of that country with respect to the British East Indian Empire have already been described. In every instance in which the Eastern Question, by disturbing the peace of Europe, has brought the ominous name of Russia to the attention of the Western Powers, Great Britain has taken the alarm with respect to her Indian frontier on the side of Afghanistan. The latter country

has seemed to Russia to constitute a sort of south-eastern passage into India, just as the Bosphorus has constituted the south-western passage into the countries of Southern Europe. The gravitation of the Russian Empire has pressed in both directions, bearing alike on the Punjaub and the Ottoman dominions. In both directions the pressure had been distressing—as far as any physical force may be said to be distressing—to Great Britain. For about fifty years she has suffered alarm and dread on account of her exposure in this direction. It was so on the occasion of the difficulties which culminated in the Turco-Russian War. The aggressions of Russia brought to England serious apprehensions that the settlement which followed the Crimean invasion of 1855 would have to be reviewed by the same methods as before. The conflict with Turkey seemed to imply another Anglo-Russian war, and the expectation of such an event was for a while rife in Great Britain.

It could not well be doubted that, in case of the outbreak of hostilities between England and Russia, the armies of the Czar would pour down by way of Persia, through Cabul or the passes of the Hindu Kush, and precipitate themselves on India. It was therefore of great hypothetical importance to the British Government to hold Cabul as an outpost and dependency against Russian aggression. It will be remembered that after the overthrow of Dost Mohammed, the government of Cabul finally went to his son, called Shere Ali. It was now deemed of importance that an English mission and embassy should be estab-



HINDU KUSH MOUNTAINS.

lished at the court of Shere Ali, so that the Home Government might be constantly informed of the movements of Russia in that remote region, and more generally that the influence of Great Britain might be and remain paramount in Afghanistan.

To this end it was arranged that an expedition in the character of a peacable embassy, but really bearing with it the potency of war, should be despatched from India to Cabul. It was known that the Russian Government had either sent or was about to send an ambassador of its own to the court of Shere Ali, and the English were determined not to be behind in establishing their mission at the same place. The expedition accordingly set out from Peshawur, in September of 1878, and came to the frontier lines dividing Afghanistan from India. Here they were met by messengers from Shere Ali, interdicting the further advance. Since the British Embassy came in a peaceable character, the forbidding of its progress into Cabul was easily construed into an insult and act of hostility. As a matter of fact, the expedition at once took the character of an invasion, and the movement, supported by military force, continued until Cabul was again occupied by British soldiers. Another division of the army took possession of Candahar, and the Government was soon in condition to dictate its own terms of settlement.



SHERE ALI.

At this juncture Shere Ali died, and was

succeeded by his son, Yakoob Khan. The latter made haste to confer with the British authorities, and at a place called Gandamak a new treaty was made and signed, on the 5th of May, 1879. It was agreed that the Ameer should grant new boundary-lines for British India, and that he should be compensated for the cession by the payment from the treasury of British India of sixty thousand pounds. It was also agreed that, for the concessions thus gained by Great Britain, she should hereafter regard Cabul as under her protectorate, and should support that country against all foreign enemies. The establishment of the English mission at Cabul was also granted by the Ameer, and Sir Lewis Cavagnari became the representative of England at the Court of Yakoob Khan. Everything seemed to have turned out in perfect accord with the plans and purposes of Great Britain.



HAZARAH, FROM NORTHERN HIGHLANDS—AFGHAN WARRIOR.

Scarcely, however, had the English Embassy been planted in Cabul until a revolt broke out, very similar to that which had happened in the case of Sir Alexander Burnes, in

the days of Dost Mohammed. The English representatives and other officers in Cabul were attacked by the insurgents and murdered. The atrocity was in every respect shocking, and another British army had to be sent into Afghanistan to quell the insurrection. The English forces a second time fought their way without serious resistance to Cabul, which was entered and taken on the 24th of December, 1879. Yakoob Khan was, of course, deposed, made prisoner, and sent to India to await his trial on a charge of perfidy and massacre. The rebellion was completely suppressed, and British garrisons were established in the country to hold, as if it were an outpost, the conquered province of Cabul.



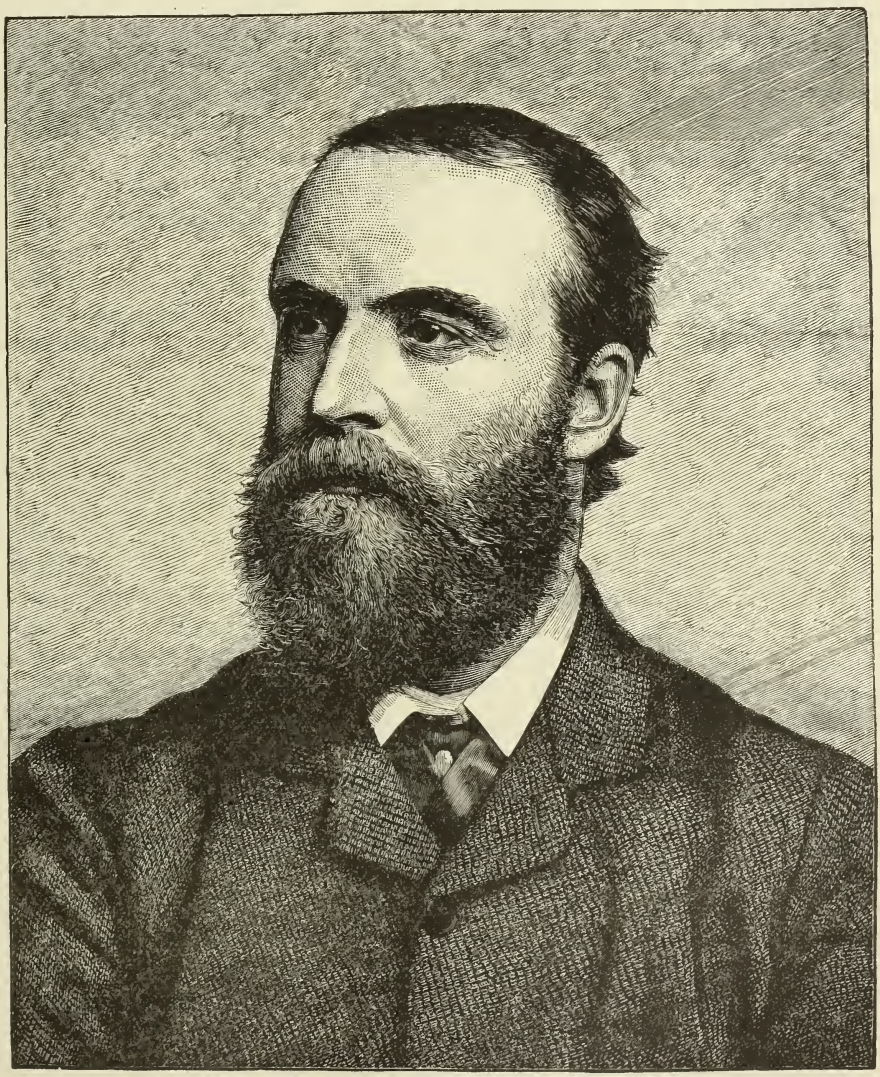
YAKOOB KHAN.

It was soon perceived, however, that the subjugation was only real in the near neighborhood of the garrison. The remainder of the people were restrained from hostility only so far as the danger of punishment was felt. The question thus arising from the occupation of Afghanistan, and the proposed establishment of a new frontier-line for British India on that side, were transmitted by the Government under Disraeli to the Liberals under Gladstone; and the issues arising from the controversy have not, to the present day, been satisfactorily adjusted.

CHAPTER CXXXIV.—BATTLE FOR HOME RULE.

WITH the opening of the Parliamentary session of 1881 began the last great contest with which the recent history of England is concerned respecting the civil and domestic condition of Ireland. The Home Rule party, as a party, now made its formal apparition in the House of Commons. On most questions of national policy the new party was in natural sympathy with the Liberal Ministry, and on the Irish question the Liberals were in natural sympathy with the new party; but the vicissitudes of politics destroyed, or reversed, these natural relations. The Home Rulers

were brought around to the side of the Conservatives in opposition to the Government, and the Gladstone Ministry had to content itself with Liberal support only. At the head of the Home Rule party appeared a new leader in the person of Charles Stewart Parnell. The body of his following was made up exclusively of Irishmen, many of them poor men and of small reputation in the political world, while a few, such as the historian McCarthy and Mr. Shaw, were already leaders of note and influence. All, however, were profoundly devoted to the cause of Ireland, and to this cause every other principle, every other policy, was made subservient.



CHARLES STEWART PARNELL.

In the Government, that is, in the Ministry, the Home Rulers had no part or lot. At the first their faction was, as much as possible, ignored by both the dominant parties, but this method of dealing with the men of one idea soon had to be abandoned. A state of affairs had now supervened in Ireland which could no longer be put aside or hidden under the cloaks of the Ministry. Suffering had come—want, distress, passion, rebellion, hatred, every specter that arises at the conjuration of tyranny, around the huts of the lowly. The celebrated Land League was formed, having for its object the alleviation of the hardships of the Irish tenantry, without much regard to the existing laws. Crime began to express the prevailing sense of the people. Outrages were done to life and property, and the Government was obliged, by the mere stress of the existing conditions, to take up the difficulties of Ireland, to present therefor some sort of remedy.

In January, 1881, it was thought necessary to pass a Coërcion Bill against the Irish tenants and members of the League, whose lawless, or at least unlawful, proceedings took constantly a bolder form. The measure proposed was, in its leading principle, a suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*, permitting the officers, in any district designated by the Lord-Lieutenant, to arrest and imprison without judicial

process the disturbers of the peace. At the same time a new Land Bill was announced, which was merely an extension and amendment of the Act of 1870, by which the tenant-right of Ulster had been made the standard for the whole of Ireland. With the introduction of these measures into Parliament, the Home Rulers adopted the policy of Obstruction; that is, they systematically impeded the consideration and passage of the bills by every parliamentary artifice and expedient known to English usage. The Constitution of the House of Commons was such as to give great liberty in this respect. In that body everything had hitherto been conceded to the freedom of debate and the rights of the minority. There was no rule for the "previous question," or other expedient for bringing a pending question to vote, so long as a member continued to debate it or offer amendment thereto. Even the motion for "closing the debate" at a given time was amendable, and might itself be debated.

The Home Rulers in Parliament at this time numbered thirty-seven. They determined that the Coërcion Bill should not be brought to a vote, and from the 6th of January to the 2d of March the debate was prolonged. It was seen by the Ministry that some measure, even if it were without precedent and actually unconstitutional, must be adopted in order that the will of the majority might be legally expressed. The method finally employed was found in the prerogative of the Speaker. It was agreed that, on the 2d of March, he should arbitrarily announce that the debate was closed, and that the vote should thereupon be taken. This was accordingly done against the uproarious opposition, the protests, and cries of "privilege," on part of the Home Rulers. The Bill was carried, and measures were at once instituted under its provisions for the suppression of violence in Ireland.

On the day following the passage of the Coërcion Bill the leaders of the Irish party were forcibly expelled from the House of Commons, and at length three of the members, including Parnell and O'Brien, were thrown into prison, where they remained until the following year. It is in the nature of British public opinion to undergo reäction, to take on a different complexion under every change of condition, and to express the altered state of affairs in some new political theory. No sooner had the Government triumphed over the Home Rulers, no sooner were the leaders imprisoned, than sympathy for them and their cause began to be expressed, not only by the public, but in the Ministry itself. The composition of the Liberal party at this time was peculiar. The members composing it were graduated in their political opinions all the way down from a strict conservatism at the one extreme to a rank radicalism at the other. The Liberals of the latter type had all along been in sympathy with the Irish cause. There was danger that Gladstone would lose largely by disintegration on both wings of his army. On the whole, he himself inclined towards the Radical and Reformatory camp; but for a while the exigencies of the Government required of him a prudent conservatism, lest he might lose what may be called the upper division of the Liberal party.

The Government now went on with other legislative enactments bearing on the Irish cause. The Land Bill was passed, by which it was hoped to stop the clamor of the Irish tenantry. It was soon seen, however, that the measure was of little avail. What would at a former period have satisfied the tenants was now, when they were aroused to the point of war, neglected and disregarded by them as a scheme to defraud them of their rights. The cry had now been raised for the absolute nationalization of the Irish lands, which meant, of course, the destruction of the very principle of English landlordism. The foreign land-tenure became ever more precarious. Partly by the poverty of the people, and partly by recusancy, the rents fell into arrears. There was almost a universal refusal to pay any longer the immemorial tax which the peasants owed to the landlords. Violence became the order of the day. Outrages against life and property multiplied. Evictions were resisted, and it seemed at times that the foreign domination was about to be ended by a universal insurrection of the peasants against their masters. In a single month, in the summer of 1882, no fewer than five hundred and thirty-one outrages were reported against the system of foreign landlordism and that status in Ireland by which landlordism was upheld.

It was in this condition of affairs that the astute Gladstone perceived the necessity of a change of policy. The Coërcion Bill expired in October of 1882. It had proved a signal failure. The Arms Bill, under the provisions of which the Irish people were to be disarmed, and which had resulted in the surrender of their weapons by all the better classes, and in the concealment of arms by the lawless and the criminal, had also completely failed of the intended results. All the measures which the Government had thus far taken to suppress violence, restore order, bring the country again into a state of contentment, or even acquiescence, had proved abortive. The Land League seemed about to triumph over Parliament and the country.

It was at this juncture, that communications were begun between Gladstone and Parnell, who was still in prison. An alleged "treaty" was formed between the two, in which it was understood that the Irish leader would be content with a bill abolishing Arrears of Rent, and with a just extension of tenant rights. These being conceded, the Home Rulers would join the Government in the attempt to restrain the Land League, or rather the lawless adherents of that body, from further violence and crime. It was in April of 1882 that Gladstone threw out the first hints in the House of Commons that a new policy might be expected, and that the release of the Irish prisoners was contemplated as a measure of pacification. By this time the Irish jails were well filled with persons who had been arrested on suspicion under the suspension of Habeas Corpus, and in accordance with the Coërcion Bill. More than eight hundred persons, many of them of excellent character, had been imprisoned. It was known to the Government that it was needless to bring the suspected persons to trial before Irish juries. Of a certainty, such juries would never convict their fellow-countrymen of crime for committing acts in which they themselves had either actually participated, or with which they were in sympathy. The law in such cases required that the jury should be drawn from the vicinage, and this assured to the prisoners a trial before their neighbors and friends. The Government, therefore, was obliged to hold the suspected persons by a suspension of the Habeas Corpus; but this could not continue forever; and now for the first time the policy of conciliation was to be tried.

Unfortunately, at this very juncture, an event occurred which threatened to undo the very history and tendency of the times. In the lawless period, which it was hoped was now about to close, many murders and assassinations had been committed. At the time of which we speak Lord Frederick Cavendish, who was holding the position of Financial Secretary of the Treasury, was appointed Chief Seecretary for Ireland, to succeed Mr. Forster, whose antipathy to the Irish cause had been so great as to lead to this change in official relations. With Lord Cavendish as under Secretary, was appointed Thomas Henry Burke, a man of distinction, who was also supposed to be friendly to Ireland. The new officers were sent out, and arrived in Dublin. On the evening of the 6th of May, 1882, as they were driving in Phœnix Park, in that city, they were attacked by four murderers, partly disguised under slouched hats. It is thought that Mr. Burke was the first to fall under the knives of the assassins. It appeared that Lord Cavendish sought to defend his friend from the assault, and, in doing so, he too was stabbed to death. Many persons were sitting or walking within a few hundred feet of where the crime was committed, and yet the assassins were enabled to mount a car and drive from the park without discovery. A considerable quantity of gold coin, bank-notes, and other valuables were found on the bodies of the murdered men, and it was perceived from the first that the assassination had been for political, and not for mercenary, motives.

A great sensation was produced by this event throughout Ireland and Great Britain. It was natural, inevitable, that the crime should be charged to the Land League. Parnell, Davitt, and others who might speak authoritatively for that association, made haste to deny for it all connection with the murder of Cavendish and Burke, and to denounce the crime in the strongest terms. Nevertheless, the Land Leaguers and the Home Rule party had to bear the odium of the assassination. As a matter of fact, the Land League, as such, was organized on a plane altogether too high for the patronage or justification of such deeds

as that done in Phœnix Park. But the organization had drawn after it the very draff and offal of Irish discontent. Such associations must needs have about them a *penumbra* of crime. They are created for the correction of abuses, the removal of oppression, the attainment of justice. But all this implies that there is abuse, oppression, injustice; and these, in their turn, imply that kind of resistance which, in the hands of the ignorant and vile, takes the form of crime.

The murder of the Irish Secretaries, in the country to which they had been sent, was a great shock to the Government. Parnell had now been liberated from prison, and soon returned to his place in the House of Commons. In that body violent denunciations were poured upon his head, and it was demanded of him and his colleagues that they should wash their hands and the hands of the League of all complicity in the great crime. The course of Parnell was such as might have been expected from a brave, high-spirited man. In his reply he scarcely deigned to disclaim knowledge or participation on the part of himself and his friends in the assassination of Cavendish and Burke, saying that all defense of himself and his party, and of the principles of his party, was impossible in such a court as the English Parliament. His cause was prejudged. His judges were his enemies and the enemies of his people; nor was he anxious under such circumstances to justify himself at the bar of British opinion. At that bar he was condemned already—both he and his cause. He was responsible only to the people of Ireland. It was to the public opinion of that country that he made his appeal. Crime was crime, by whomsoever committed. As for the rest, he stood for the cause of an oppressed people. For that cause he had suffered an unjust imprisonment, and for that cause he and his party were now maligned, slandered, and reduced to the category of criminals.

It could but be that the Irish party suffered greatly in the ordeal through which they now passed. It could but be that the Government was held back from its natural gravitation in the direction of Home Rule, and it could but be that the justice and reasonableness of the position held by Parnell and his associates must become constantly more evident even in the high places of England. The embarrassment of the Ministerial party was extreme. They had a fair working majority through the whole of 1882, and the same in 1883; but the incidental elections which occurred at intervals in Ireland showed that the Land League was predominant in that country over all other forces combined. The Home Rule party gained at the Irish elections, and their numbers increased to over seventy. It was evident that their strength was likely, erelong, to enable them to hold the balance of power between the two major parties in Parliament, and thus virtually either to direct the course of legislation, or to stop proceedings altogether.

It can not be doubted that in this situation of affairs the Liberal party, though in the majority, had before it the alternative either of depending on the Conservatives for support against the common enemy, or else of entering into combination with that enemy in order to keep the Conservatives from again coming into power. As for the Home Rulers themselves, they had one definite object in view, and that was the nationalization of Ireland. To this, with them, all other questions were subordinate. For this they were willing to enter into combinations with any party soever, so that their one great end might be attained. It could hardly be doubted, however, that Gladstone himself, whose influence over the Liberals was so great as to constitute an authority, would never enter into a treaty with the Conservative leaders against the Irish cause. It became, therefore, a question when and how the Parnellites and the Liberals would combine in the work of a radical reform on behalf of Ireland.

Such, in general, was the aspect of English history from the Parliamentary side in the year 1883. During the session which extended to the beginning of summer in that year, the condition of parties and of policies was not materially altered. The attention of the Home Government began to be drawn to the very serious consideration of the affairs of Egypt. In that country a war had broken out, some account of which will be given near the conclusion of the present chapter. In Ireland the policy of the Government had done something toward the restoration of order. The outrages, for which the preceding year

had been memorable, were in great measure suppressed; but it could not be said that the determination of the Home Rulers was weakened or in any wise diverted from their one great object. Then followed the vacation of Parliament during the summer months, and until the beginning of October.

At the next session the Parnellites were in full force. An element of weakness had, in the meantime, made its appearance in the Society of Orangemen, who, being Protestant, and seeing their Catholic fellow-countrymen wholly given up to the work of land reform and nationalization, naturally fell into their traditional opposition. The Irish leaders sought zealously, during the after part of 1884, to allay the merely religious prejudices of their countrymen, to the end that a united Ireland might compel the English Ministry to the adoption of such measures as the Home-Rulers advocated. In the meantime, a serious break had occurred in the Government on the immemorial question of the franchise. It had been determined by the Ministry, in answer to the call of the country, that still another effort should be made for the more complete enfranchisement of the English people. It had been found that even the Liberal measures of 1867 required revision and amplification to meet the demands of the working-classes of Englishmen. A new Franchise Bill was accordingly prepared, and passed by a decisive majority through the House of Commons. As has always happened in the case of such legislation, the House of Lords disapproved of the proposed extension of the suffrage, and in this particular case refused their assent to the Bill. The Ministry had to accept the defeat of their measure for the time, and it was only after an additional Act covering the distribution, or, as Americans would say, the reäpportionment of the new seats provided for under the Franchise Act had been adopted, that the Lords withdrew their opposition, and assented to the measure as a whole.

But by this time the foreign relations of Great Britain had become so critical as to demand the best skill of the Government in the prevention of great wars. For a season, it appeared that England and Russia were to try their prowess on the side of India. Egypt was in an uproar. Khartoum fell, and Charles George Gordon went to his death at the hands of the Mahdi's assassins. All these things called for immediate and extraordinary exertions. Armies must be at once equipped and sent to Egypt. The strain upon the Ministry became extreme. The Government was accused of all manner of neglect with respect to British interests in the East, particularly in Egypt. The London *Times* cried out that no words were sufficient to express the disgust of the people at the weakness and folly of the Administration. "The country," said that organ of Conservative opinion, "is obliged to confess that everything has been done that could be done to add to the risks of defeat. Advice has been spurned, time wasted,and opportunity lost."

The Queen, in her speech to Parliament, had indicated the necessity for greatly increased expenses, and, to provide for these, it became necessary to increase the revenues of the Kingdom. A new budget was presented in June of 1885, in which the policy of the Government was defined. It was proposed that the increased expenditure of the ensuing year should be met by placing a duty of a shilling a gallon on beer, to be retained for one year from the date of the Act. The measure was advocated by the Secretary of the Exchequer, but the Conservatives opposed the budget on the ground that all the additional expenditure could have been provided for by a slight increase of the duties on tea and the light wines. It was argued that ale and beer were the drinks of the common people, and that the Ministerial Bill proposed to put on them the expenses of the Egyptian war. The debate on the adoption of the budget was concluded by Gladstone on the evening of the 5th of June, when the Bill was put on its second reading in the House of Commons. Much to the surprise of the country at large, and in all probability to the Government itself, the budget was rejected by a majority of twelve votes. Precedent has established the rule in the British Parliament, that a defeat of the budget signifies the end of the Ministry proposing it. It is not clear that such was the intent of the House of Commons in the present instance; but Gladstone, nevertheless, determined to follow the precedent, and he and his fellow-Ministers accordingly

tendered their resignations to the Queen. The same were accepted by Her Majesty, who immediately sent for the Marquis of Salisbury, and intrusted him with the duty of forming a new Conservative Ministry.

Such was another remarkable example of the vicissitude which may be expected at intervals in the political history of Great Britain. It would have been thought impossible, only a few months before, that the Gladstone Government could be overthrown in any present emergency. The philosophy of the question lay in the fact that, on the whole, the statesmen of the Liberal party in England have not shown themselves the equal of the Conservatives in the management of foreign affairs. On the other hand, the Conservatives have fallen far short of the Liberals in the Home Administration of the Kingdom, and in all measures of progress and reform. It can hardly be doubted that the attention of the Gladstonian party had been almost wholly fixed upon domestic questions, and, in particular, on the establishment of some satisfactory and permanent policy for the settlement of the difficulties with Ireland. This withdrawal of the attention of the Government from the multifarious foreign complications in which the whole modern history of England is involved, contributed to the disaster of Khartoum, left the public mind uncertain as to the ability of the existing Government to cope with the trouble in Afghanistan, and led to the withdrawal of the support of thirty or forty members of the Liberal party from the Ministry in the matter of the budget. Though the proposition of the Government to increase the revenues by the taxation of beer and spirits was eminently proper, though the Ministry, with all of its outside difficulties and inside dissensions, was still full of vitality and force, the Conservatives and the Parnellites, by combining their cohorts and gaining a modicum of support from disaffected Liberals, succeeded in overwhelming the Government with an adverse vote on the budget, and the Gladstone Ministry was at an end.



MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

The Ministerial crisis in the British system frequently signifies the defeat of the victors. In the present case, the triumph of the Conservative party was of dubious import. The victory was achieved in the very face of impending measures which threatened to divide and wreck the Liberal party. The time had arrived when it was necessary either to abandon or renew the Suppression of Crimes Act, under the operation of which the peace, or at least the quiet, of Ireland had been for a while secured. It was the disposition of the Gladstonians with respect to reviving this measure that led the Parnellites to vote with the Conservatives against the Ministerial budget. It was clear that the Home Rule

party would prove to the Salisbury Government a broken reed. Little were the Parnellites concerned about anything except the cause of Ireland, and that was the very issue which the Conservatives, more than the Liberals, would have avoided. The Home Rulers had thus at last worked their way into a position where they could defeat and overthrow a Ministry of either party at will, and it became evident that their political aim was to beat down first one, and then the other, until the cause of Home Rule for Ireland should be at length adopted by one of the parties as a means of keeping itself in power.

There was another reason, also, why the Earl of Salisbury hesitated under such conditions to accept the responsibility of the Government. The Parliament of 1880 had now nearly expired, and a new election was at hand. Gladstone himself had foreseen the impending struggle before the people, and it is not improbable that he was less averse to the adverse vote on his budget than might have been supposed. Be that as it may, it was clear that, during the remainder of the existing Parliament, the Salisbury Ministry must adopt a temporizing and conciliatory policy with the Irish party, and, by vigor abroad and Conservatism at home, win, if possible, from the Gladstonians a victory at the ensuing election. In the canvass that followed, there was a disposition on the part of both Conservatives and Liberals to ignore and gloss over the one great question of the day, namely, the settlement of the issue raised and defended with so much vigor by the Home Rulers. Parnell was now supreme in the management of his party. He passed the word to his following that everywhere and under all circumstances they should strike at the Liberal majorities, and reduce or reverse them wherever they might.

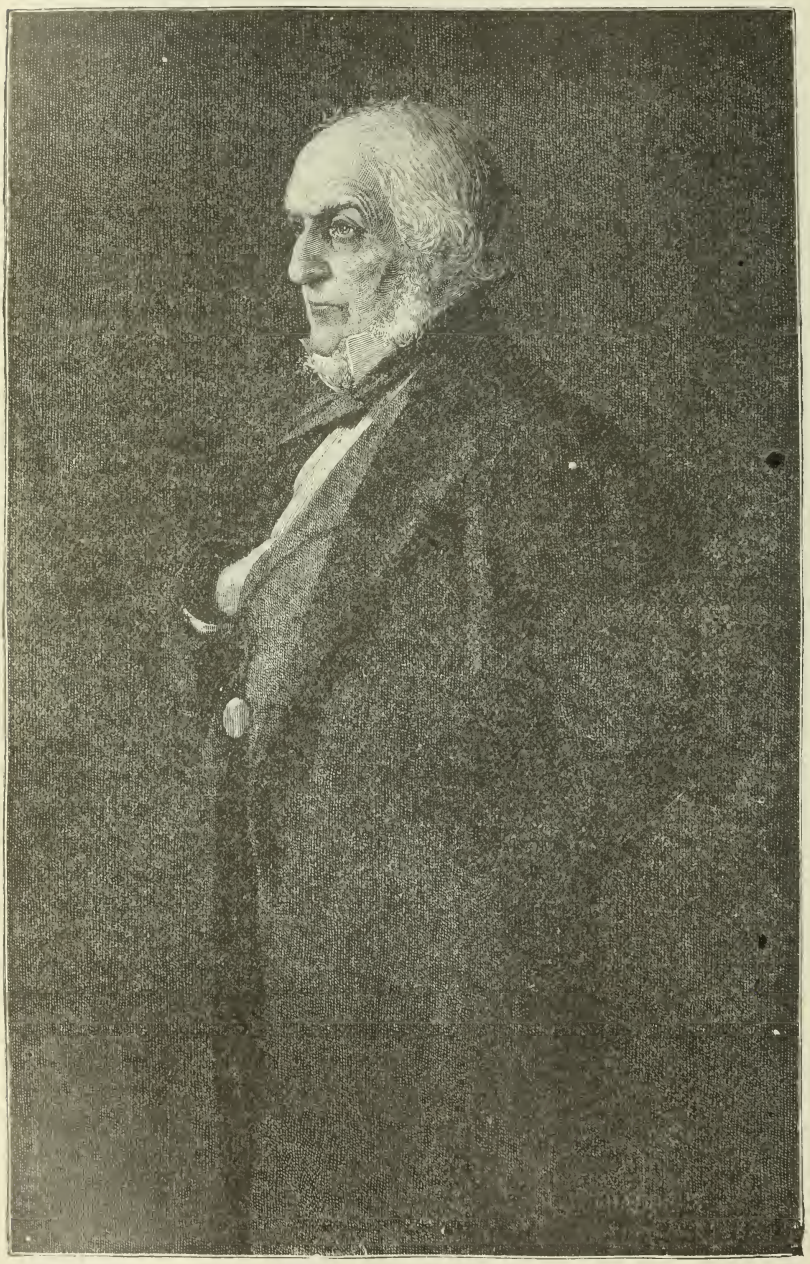
The elections were held for a new House of Commons in December of 1886. The question really was whether the Liberals would be able to obtain a majority of all the seats in the House. Soon after, the elections began; and as the first reports came in from the center of England, the Conservatives gathered a transient hope that they might be victorious, but the news from the country-side destroyed all such expectations. From Wales and Scotland the news came of great Liberal gains, and the aggregate result in Great Britain showed a majority of about eighty for the Liberal party. But the Irish elections turned everything to confusion. In all that country, *not a single Liberal was elected!* Out of the one hundred and three Irish seats in the Commons, fewer than twenty were won by the Conservatives. Dublin University sent two of these, and nearly all the remainder were from the extreme North, in Ulster. Parnell came out of the battle with a compact body of eighty-five followers.

The politicians and statesmen were now easily able, by a few figures, to count the probabilities. Should the Parnellites, in the new Parliament combine with the Conservatives, they would be able to bear down the Liberals with a small majority of about five votes; but should they combine with the Liberals, the majority over the Conservative party and the Salisbury Ministry would be nearly a hundred and seventy. Such was the situation of affairs at the opening of the Parliamentary session in January of 1886.

It now remained to be seen what course the Earl of Salisbury would take in his endeavor to conduct a minority Government. The development of tendencies at the opening of the session was awaited with intense interest by the nation. It was clear to all that the Irish question could no longer be thrust into the background, except by a coälition of the two dominant parties against the third; and it was equally clear that such a combination could never be effected. The debates began over the answer of the House to the speech of the Queen. Before the discussion was closed, the Prime Minister gave notice of the intention of the Government to introduce, at an early day, a bill for the further repression of the Irish land-troubles on the line of coërcion and punishment. It was foreseen by the Liberals that they themselves would be placed at a disadvantage by having either to support or oppose a measure like that suggested by Salisbury. It was therefore deemed expedient to bring the matter to a crisis by immediately overthrowing the Ministry. This was done on a motion to amend the address to the Queen, on which the Parnellites voted to a man with the Liberals, and though the latter lost a few votes from their own calendar

by disaffection, the Government was overwhelmed, and the Ministers resigned.

It now remained to be seen whether a new Liberal Ministry could be formed, which should be able to command a majority of the House



WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE.

on matters relating to the Irish question. Gladstone was, as a matter of course, and out of the necessity of the situation, recalled to the place of Prime Minister. Sir Farrer Herschell was made Lord High Chancellor; Earl Spencer, President of the Council; H. C. E. Childers, Home Secretary; Earl Rosebery, Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Earl Granville, Secretary for the Colonies; Earl Timberley, Secretary for India; Campbell-Bannerman, Secretary for War; Sir William Vernon-Harcourt, Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Marquis of Ripon, First Lord of the Admiralty; Joseph Chamberlain, President of the Government Board; George Otto Trevelyan, Secretary for Scotland; A. J. Mundella, President of the Board of Trade; and John Morley, Chief Secretary for Ireland.

But it was not so much with the constitution of the new Ministry as with the Irish policy which was to be proposed thereby, that the public was now concerned. For a considerable period it had been noised abroad that Gladstone was gradually inclining in his sympathies and opinions to the cause of Home Rule in Ireland. It was observed on the first night of the session that Parnell's speech could only be interpreted as signifying the probable support of the Liberals by the Irish party, and the probable support of Home Rule principles by the former. The event justified the anticipation. Gladstone at once devoted himself to the preparation of an elaborate scheme for the establishment of an Irish Parliament, and the virtual concession of nationality to the Irish people. The

plan proposed contemplated the continuance of the National Union of Ireland and Great Britain, under the Government of the Crown and the Imperial Parliament at London. The Prime Minister elaborated a scheme which was perhaps the most extensive, not to say revolutionary, of any single measure proposed in Parliament since the accession of Victoria. The matter came speedily to an issue. In June of 1886 the question was debated before the House of Commons, the speech of Gladstone himself being awaited with the greatest interest, not only by the British public, but by the people of all Western Europe and America. In the latter country, the daily press of the following morning presented American readers with a report verbatim of the Prime Minister's address, in which he defended and advocated with the greatest ability the establishment of Home Rule for Ireland. When the question went to vote, it was not yet certainly known whether or not the Ministerial Bill had carried; but the division showed a negative result. The Ministerial measure was beaten by a small and indecisive majority. This was effected by the combined votes of the Conservatives and those of nearly a hundred Liberals, who refused to follow the majority of their party on the question before the House and the country.

The break in the Liberal party proved to be hopeless, and, since the Irish question was now uppermost in all men's minds, the Gladstone Ministry passed from power. At first, however, Parliament was prorogued, and the question at issue was remanded to the people. It could hardly be hoped that, under existing conditions, the policy of Gladstone could gain from the country a more emphatic indorsement than he and his party had received at the late election. It only remained for the Prime Minister to resign his office. The beginning of 1887 found matters in a condition of chaos. Though the Earl of Salisbury was presently recalled to the head of the Government, though the Conservative party, with the aid of the so-called Liberal-Unionists—a division made up of those who had broken away from their allegiance to the Gladstone Ministry—were able for the next two years to maintain a doubtful ascendency over the Liberals and Parnellites, yet it was an ascendency gained by sufferance rather than by conquest. As to the Irish question, it remained and still remains,[1] unsettled, and the year 1889 witnessed the remarkable manœuver of a negotiation between the Parnellites and the Earl of Salisbury's Government with respect to a proposal by the latter of some measure at the ensuing session of Parliament conceding, in some limited form, the principle of Home Rule for Ireland.

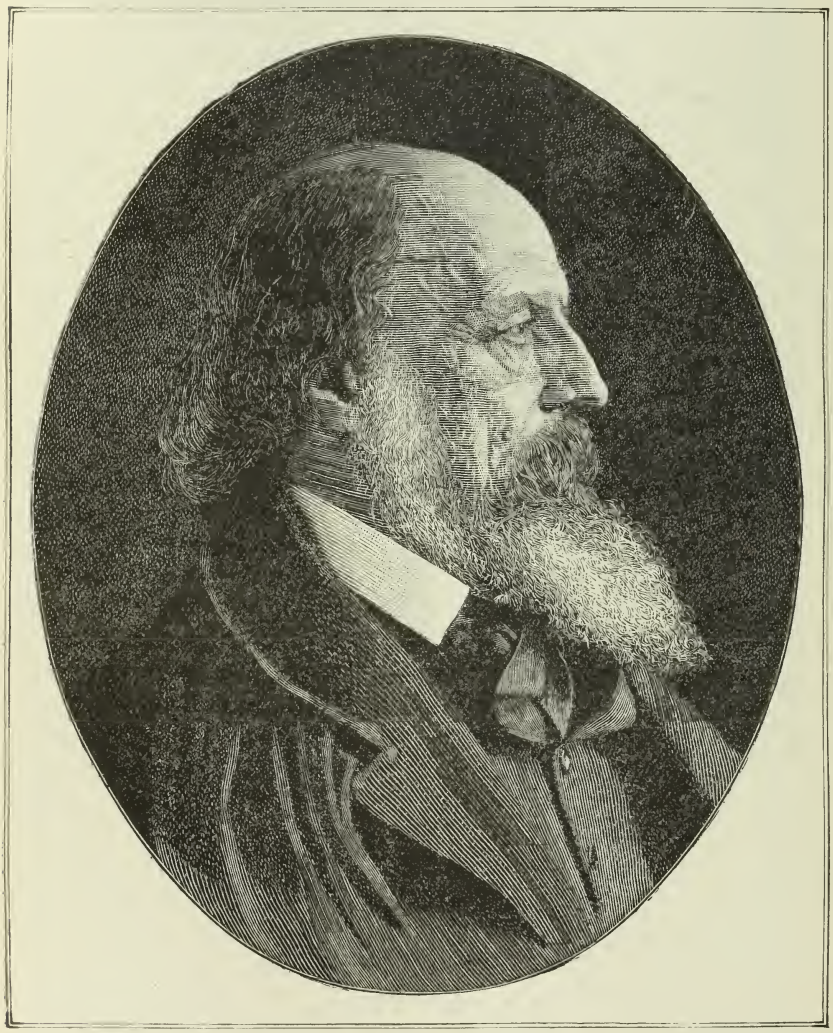
The year 1887 was memorable for the celebration of the jubilee or fiftieth anniversary of the accession of Queen Victoria. It had not been often in the history of England that such an event had been possible. Only in two or three instances had so long a reign occurred, or one on the whole so benign in its character and tendencies. The Queen herself had been a popular sovereign, though this is said rather of English society—by which is meant the upper third of the people—than of the masses at large. The principal day of Her Majesty's Semi-centennial was, of course, the 21st of June—that being the anniversary of the accession—and the principal scene of the home celebration, the Abbey of Westminster. On that day and to that place the Queen was conducted by her sons, her sons-in-law, and her grandsons, as a guard of honor. About ten thousand persons assembled at the Abbey to participate in the ceremonies. Representatives were present, bearing congratulations from all the reigning Houses in Europe and from the Governments of the New World. London was splendidly decorated for the occasion, and the other cities of the United Kingdom expressed their loyalty with a variety of festivities and celebrations. The Poet Laureate, now become Baron Tennyson, honored the occasion with a personal poem addressed to Her Majesty. From the center the jubilee spirit extended into all the British colonies of the world; and from the foot-hills of Burmah to where the mountains of British Columbia look down on the Pacific, the Queen's name and reign were remembered with congratulations and festivals.

The present chapter may be appropriately concluded with a sketch of the recent relations of Great Britain and Egypt. At the begin-

[1] At the beginning of 1890.

ning of the ninth decade of the century, it might almost be said that Egypt was a foreign dependency of the British Empire. The preponderance of the influence of the English Government in South-eastern Africa at this epoch, and for some time previously, may be referred to two general considerations. The first of these was the long-standing policy of Great Britain in upholding the independence and autonomy of Turkey. This theory carried with it the maintenance of Egypt as a Province of the Turkish Empire. The expression "Province of the Turkish Empire," however, is too exact to express the dependent relations of the different countries under the general sway of the Sultan. In the case of Egypt, it could not be said that the country was an integral part of the Ottoman dominions; and yet the Egyptian Government had its origin and authority from Constantinople.

The Egyptian Viceroys had no constant rank or power. Sometimes they were merely satraps of the Sultan, and sometimes they reached the condition of semi-independence. But whatever the character of the Government might be, Great Britain held to the policy of supporting the existing order, believing, as she did, that this course was conducive to the integrity of her eastern line of defense against the aggressions of Russia.



ALFRED TENNYSON.

In the second place, a financial reason existed for the support given by England to Egypt. The latter country had become indebted in several ways to England and to English capitalists. A large part of the bonds representing the Egyptian debt were held in Great Britain, and the revolutionary tendencies in Egypt seemed constantly to threaten the validity of the bonds. The principle of international law which decrees the integrity of a debt through the vicissitudes of revolution, making each successive Government responsible for the valid indebtedness of its predecessor, and which denies the confiscability of national bonds, was not sufficiently well recognized in Egypt to make the obligations of the Government to England perfectly secure; and this fact constituted a powerful reason for upholding the existing status.

Something of the same reasons existed in the case of France. She also had a large fund invested in Egypt. The Suez Canal was the product of French capital. France had in general coöperated with Great Britain, under the theory that the integrity of the Turkish Empire should be maintained in all its parts. Such were the conditions which made it expedient, if not necessary, for England and France to assume a sort of protectorate over Egypt as a part of their international policy, and as a means of protecting their interests in the East. This policy, however, was much more ably and persistently followed by Great Britain than by the French Government; but in course of time the English ascendency in Egypt aroused the jealousy of France, and led to an effort on her part to regain her relative influence in the Nile Valley. For a considerable period the Egyptian Khedive had had an arrangement with France and England by which the latter countries exercised what was called Financial Control of the affairs of Egypt. This condition remained in force until 1883, when Lord Dufferin, who had been sent from Constantinople to Egypt as the representative of British interests in that country, secured the withdrawal of the "Control," to the end that a greater autonomy might be secured to the local government in the management of its own affairs.

No adequate understanding, however, may be had of the general condition of Egypt in our day, without noting the historical progress of the country during the larger part of the century. At the time of the Napoleonic invasion, Egypt was broken up into petty Muslim principalities, having little coherence or governmental unity. The general consequence of the shock given to the land of the Pharaohs by the impact of Europeanism was to bring about the ascendency of Mehemet Ali, and the establishment of his house as the reigning dynasty down to our own time. We have seen how nearly, at one or two crises, this able General and statesman succeeded in securing the complete autonomy and independence of his country and people. At the close of the fourth decade he seemed, indeed, on the eve of actually reversing the relative places of Cairo and Constantinople. In 1840 the Turkish Empire was saved from dismemberment only by the actual intervention of the Great Powers, staying the progress of Egyptian arms in Syria, and rendering of no avail the great victories of Homs, Konieh, and Nizib, in the latter of which battles Ibrahim Pasha, son of Mehemet Ali, overthrew and dispersed a Turkish army of eighty thousand men.

The veteran Mehemet, already more than seventy years of age, next turned his attention to the revision of the constitution and laws of Egypt, working after models which he had drawn from the great governments of Europe. Nearly all the methods of administration which the inquirer discovers to-day as the springs of civil action in Egypt were devised by Mehemet Ali. He established new systems of taxation, revised the customs-duties, arranged the laws of quarantine, patronized manufactories, planted colleges of languages and of medicine, and introduced printing-presses and journalism as a means of disseminating information and creating a public opinion in a country long dominated by the grossest forms of Orientalism. In the last years of his life he visited Constantinople, was there received with many marks of distinction, and was honored with the title of Vizier.

When the Western Powers came, as we have just seen, to the rescue of Turkey, and forced Egypt back from her course of development, the terms of dependency upon the Porte were made as mild as possible. It was agreed that Mehemet Ali should retain for himself and his successors the Pashalic of Egypt, on the simple condition of the payment of one-fourth of his net revenues to the Sultan. The subordinate conditions of the settlement were that the Turkish fleet, which had been treacherously surrendered to the Egyptians, should be restored; that Syria, which had been gained by conquests, should be given up; and that the standing army of Egypt should be limited to eighteen thousand men. Already, Mehemet and his son Ibrahim had succeeded in reducing the rebellious Egyptian Beys to subjection, and a considerable degree of unity had been attained in the Government.

Ibrahim Pasha acceded to his father's political honors and authority, in 1844, and continued in office until his death, four years afterwards. The veteran Mehemet lived a few

months longer, and the Government of Egypt descended to his nephew, Abbas Pasha, whose character reverted to the Oriental type, with many disastrous consequences to the Egyptian people. His death, in 1854, was hailed as a deliverance, and the reäction which followed brought the fourth son of Mehemet Ali, Said Pasha, to the throne. It was under his reign that the concession was made to France of the right and opportunity to construct the Suez Canal. The abilities of Said were, however, not as great as his political principles were salutary. At his death, in 1863, the crown descended to his nephew Ismail, who, with his title of Khedive, granted to him in 1866 by an Imperial firman, was destined to a long and important reign. Nearly all of the events in the recent history of Egypt, in which European and American readers are likely to find interest and instruction, have happened during the Administration of Ismail Khedive. He continued in power until 1879, when he was deposed by the Porte at the instigation of France and England. This action was deemed essential to the interests of the Western Powers in securing that financial control of the country to which we have referred above. The title of Khedive was transferred to Mohammed Tewfik. A new system of liquidation for the Egyptian creditors was devised on the basis of a four-and-a-half per cent. fund, that rate being agreed to by France and England jointly.

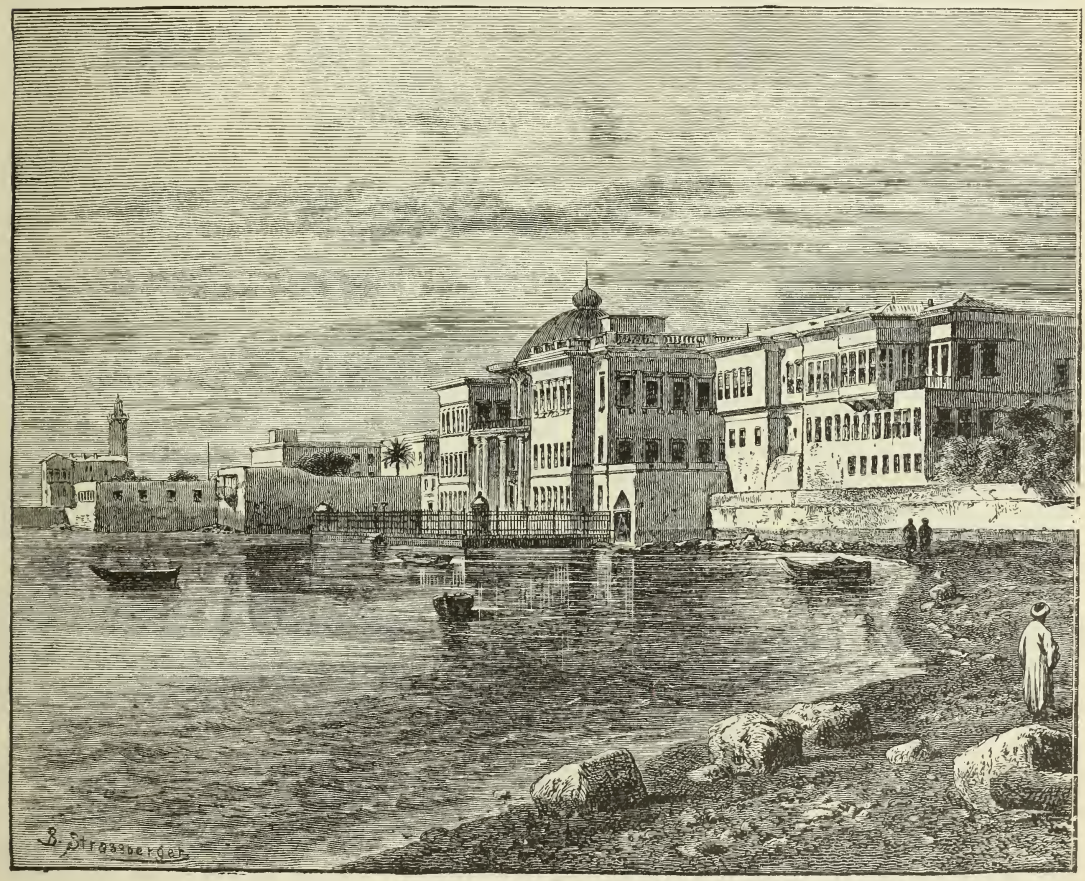
Without pausing to notice in this connection the events of Ismail's reign, we may here refer to the decisive effect of his deposition from power. The foreign intervention was, from the first, hateful to the large and growing class of intelligent Egyptians who desired the freedom and independence of their country. It can not be doubted that the objection to Ismail on the part of England and France was his too great independence of character and his desire that Egypt might be first of all for the Egyptians. On the other hand, Tewfik was thought to be sufficiently subservient. History is not the place for tirade and denunciation, but every calm-minded and just patriot in all the world must be shocked and angered at this spectacle of the suppression and abuse of a helpless country and people by means of the imbecility of the Viceroy, and for merely mercenary considerations. The Egyptians found themselves subject to a foreign bonded debt, the financial control of their country assumed by the holders of that debt, and themselves reduced to the rank of hewers of wood and drawers of water for capitalists more than three thousand miles away.

It was not long, under these circumstances, until the mutterings of discontent were heard. In February of 1881, some regiments of the Egyptian army stationed at Cairo carried a petition to the Khedive, demanding the dismissal of one of the ministers, justice for the soldiers, and a general reform for the people. This movement was heartily ratified by the Egyptians generally. Other petitions were sent in to the Government, and the army was exhorted to maintain the honor of the country. A leader of both soldiers and people appeared in the person of Ahmed el Arabi, who became at once the recognized chief of what was henceforth known as the National party. The movement resulted in a general uprising of the native Egyptians against all the foreign oppression and distresses under which Egypt had long been groaning. The Khedive at first yielded to the pressure, and in September of 1881 a new Ministry was appointed in harmony with the popular demands. Arabi himself, who had hitherto been a Bey, was raised to the rank of Pasha, and his leading followers received honor and promotion at the hands of the Government.

The next movement was in favor of a revised Constitution. A Chamber, composed of Egyptian notables, was convoked, and it was proposed to reclaim the management of the Egyptian finances in all particulars, except so much as related to the foreign bonded debt. At this juncture it was found that a sort of counter-revolution was making head in the army, the same being fomented by certain Circassian officers, jealous of the influence and growing fame of Arabi. The latter put down the mutiny with a strong hand, and the rebellious officers were condemned to death. The English and French officials representing the Control interfered to prevent the execution of the sentence, and, as a precautionary measure, some iron-clad vessels from the allied squadron were ordered to take station in the Bay of Alexandria. In that city a riot broke

out, induced by a quarrel in the street between an Arab and a Maltese, and followed by a massacre, in which many Europeans, including some of the officers of the city, lost their lives.

Meanwhile, the new Egyptian Constitution was published in England, and popular sympathy in that country was directed strongly to the National party. Up to this time, the revolution had gone no further than a revolt against the foreign, that is, the Circassain, officials, who, in both the army and civil affairs, had used and abused the authority which they held from the Khedive and the Porte. Arabi and the revolutionists looked to England and France for the support of their cause, and, in the beginning of 1882, there was popular expectation that the Egyptian National party would be upheld by the intervention of the Western Powers. For some reason, however, the nature of which has never been fully divulged, Lord Granville, English Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and M. Gambetta, at that time in the ascendant in the French Government, determined upon an exactly opposite policy. Instead of supporting Arabi, the statesmen just referred to sent a joint note to the Khedive announcing their intention to uphold the existing order in Egypt, and speaking in a tone of menace and dictation against the popular party. The Khedive was assured, even against what were, perhaps, his own secret wishes in the premises, that his Govern-

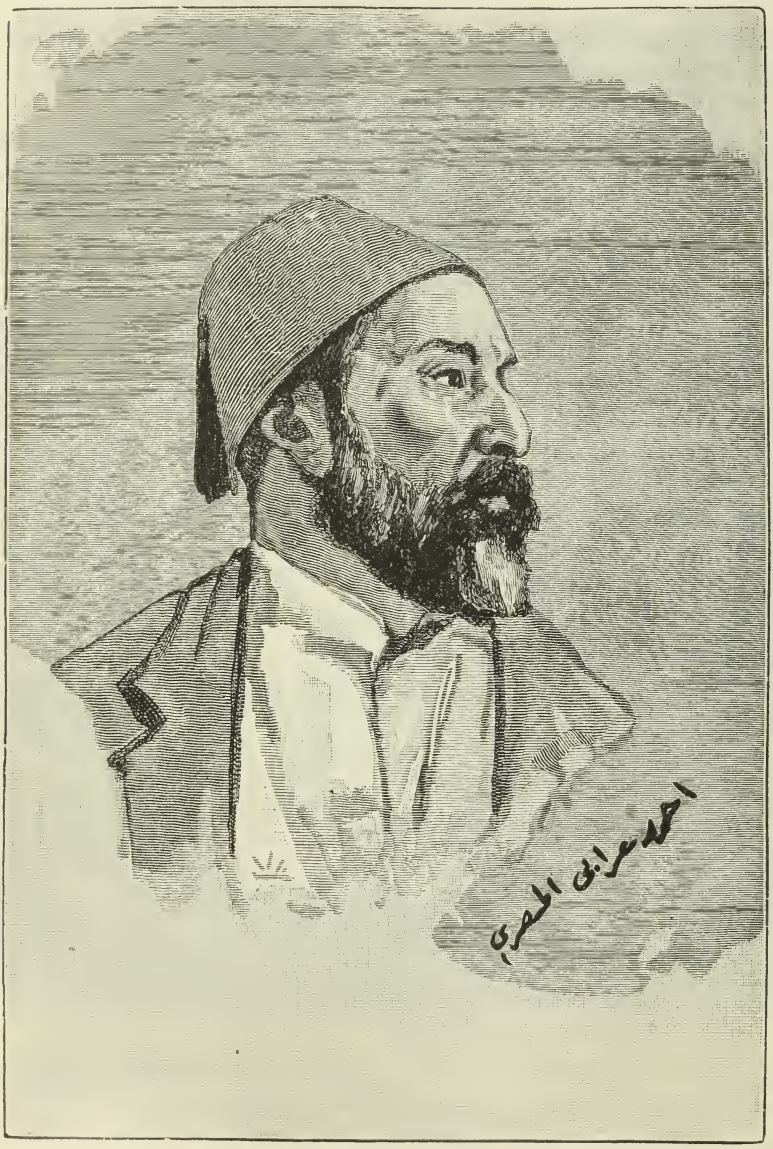


PALACE OF THE KHEDIVE.

ment should be maintained against all revolt and danger, whether from without *or within* his dominions. The meaning was clear, and it was at once perceived by the National party, that the Khedive himself and his whole officiary were in the way of further reform. The anger of the popular leaders was turned especially against Sherif Pasha, the Egyptian Minister, who was believed to be at one with the foreign intervention. That officer was obliged, in February of 1882, to resign his office, and Arabi

was himself put at the head of the Government.

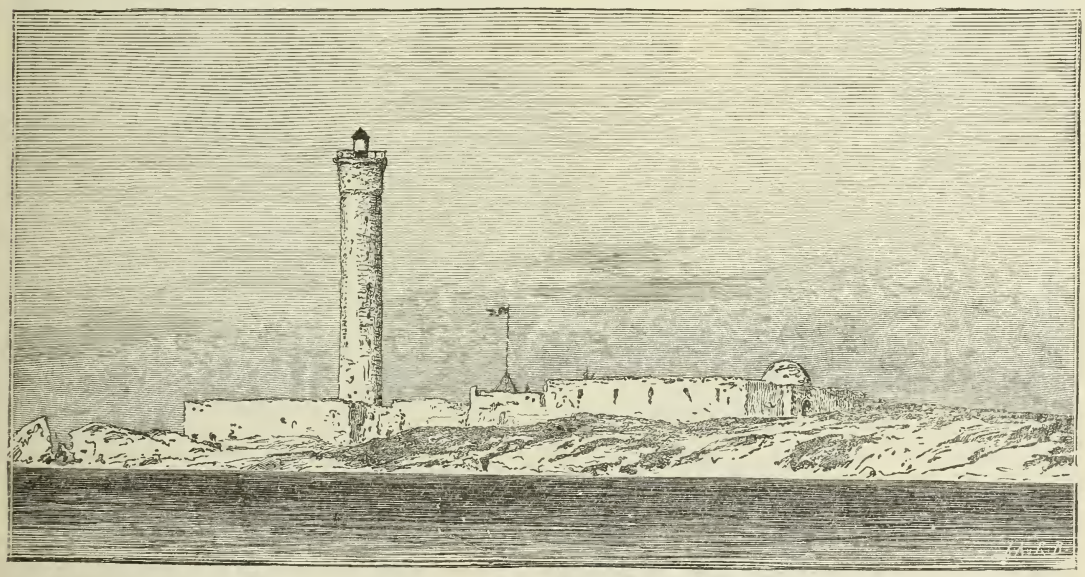
It was on the 17th of May in this year that the English and French fleets were ordered to Alexandria. The representatives of Great Britain demanded the dismissal of the National Ministry and the exile of Arabi Pasha. The first clause of this demand was complied with, but it was found impossible to depose Arabi with a mere document. On the contrary, he became practically the dictator of Egypt. In this emergency the Sultan took the matter in hand, and sent out Dervish Pasha as a special commissioner to reëstablish order and tranquillity in the country. The Turkish troops, however, were forbidden to land. Dervish Pasha was himself admitted to Cairo with many demonstrations of loyalty, but the whole matter was superficial. Arabi had the hearts and confidence of the people, and they refused absolutely to permit his departure from the country.



AHMED ARABI PASHA.

It was at this juncture that the Alexandrian riot occurred. About fifty Europeans and nearly four hundred natives lost their lives in the outbreak, the responsibility for which has never been satisfactorily determined. Doubtless the inflamed condition of public opinion in the city, rather than any other patent circumstance, was the efficient cause of the riot. However this may have been, the effect in Western Europe was sufficiently decisive. The London *Times* raised the cry of immediate and active intervention. The Gladstone Ministry wavered for a moment under the combined assaults of the Tory organs and the English bondholders, whose Egyptian securities had fallen to fifty-two cents on the dollar. At this time the Admiral of the English squadron in the Bay of Alexandria was Sir Beauchamp Seymour. On perceiving that the Egyptian Nationalists were repairing and manning certain fortifications in the harbor which bore upon his position, he sent an ultimatum to the town that the works in question should be abandoned under threat of bombarding the city. Within two days the menace was carried into execution. The English vessels opened fire on Alexandria, and the shot and shell wrought great havoc to property and life. The Egyp-

tians, finding that they were unable to hold out against the rain of death, evacuated Alexandria, setting fire to the city as they withdrew. The European quarter was burned to the ground, and much damage was done in other parts, especially those districts under fire of the British ships. It was estimated that the loss of property amounted to four million pounds sterling. The bombardment resulted in a hopeless break between the two Egyptian parties. Alexandria had been defended by the joint action of the Khedive and Arabi, but the former now went over to the English and put himself under protection of the fleet. Arabi, with the Nationalist army, withdrew from Alexandria to Kafr Dowar, about twelve miles distant, and there intrenched himself with so much skill that it was found impossible to dislodge him from his position.



MODERN LIGHT-HOUSE AT ALEXANDRIA.

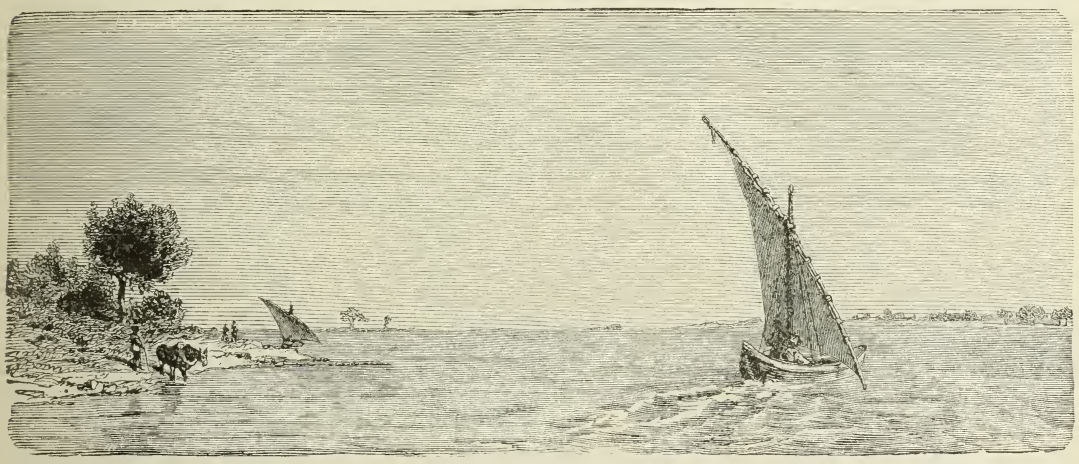
Cairo was now made the Nationalist capital. A decree was passed by the provisional Government, deposing Khedive Tewfik from power. The whole public opinion of Egypt, in so far as a public opinion existed, was heartily with Arabi and the revolution. Great Britain, however, was now committed to the cause of Tewfik, or, rather, to the cause of her own inconsistent consistency. It became necessary, therefore, that the British contingent in Egypt should be strongly reïnforced. The Anglo-Indian army, thirty thousand strong, under command of Sir Garnet Wolseley, was accordingly brought over from India, and pitched against Arabi's forces at Tel-el-Kebir. In this vicinity four hard battles were fought before British discipline could overcome the courageous Egyptians, fighting for independence. The decisive engagement occurred on the 9th of September, 1882. Arabi's forces were completely routed, and thrown back on Cairo. The British advance soon reached that city; the provisional Government was overthrown, and Arabi surrendered himself as a prisoner. The Khedive was soon restored to office, but it was evident that the power was in the hands of foreigners. The national army was disorganized. Arabi was about to be put to death, but a reäction in British public opinion brought about a commutation of his sentence. He and five of his fellow-Nationalists were condemned to perpetual exile, and on the 4th of January, 1883, were carried away for Ceylon.

During the remainder of the year, and until the beginning of 1883, the financial control of Egypt was retained by England and France. This arrangement, however, ceased by the action of the Powers in January, 1883, and a certain degree of autonomy was restored to the Egyptian Government. Later in the same year, a new scheme of government, part English, part American, and part Oriental, was devised under the inspiration of Lord Dufferin, and became the organic law of the country.



(446) CHARGE OF THE HIGHLANDERS AT TEL-EL-KEBER.

A general amnesty was granted by the Khedive, and many reforms were introduced into the administration. It could but be noticed, however, by the people who had already been borne down with taxation and other abuses of power, that the new schedule was more excessive than the old. One of the principal changes now introduced was the reörganization of the Egyptian army, which was effected under direction of General Wood, an English officer, and twenty-five other subordinate commanders of the same nationality. The civil police of Egypt was intrusted to a force which was put under command of Baker Pasha. The defense of the Soudan, to which we must now turn our attention, was intrusted to a division of the army under command of Hicks Pasha, and that force was obliged, in November of 1883, to confront the hosts of the Mahdi.



ON THE WHITE NILE.

Who, then, was the Mahdi? The historical notes of the ninth decade of our century abound with references to his name. At the bottom of the whole question is a profound Mohammedan superstition, running back in its ultimate origin almost to the days of the Prophet. The third Caliph of the House of Abbas was the first to be called El Mahdi, that is, "he who is guided aright." Afterwards, the term was adopted by the Shiïte Mohammedans as the name of their expected Messiah. In 879, A. D., the twelfth of the Imams, named Mohammed Abu'l-Kasim, mysteriously disappeared, but the Shiïtes never accepted his death as a fact. Their belief in his reäppearance as the leader and avenger of his people is, to the present day, somewhat similar to that of the German peasants, who hold to the tradition that Frederick Barbarossa still sits nodding in the cave of Salzburg, and will come forth whenever Fatherland is endangered. The Mohammedan superstition, however, is religious, Messianic in its character. The Shiïtes are ever in expectation of the coming of El Mahdi. Throughout the Mohammedan Empire, the ignorant and infatuated are ever ready to say, Lo, here! or, Lo, there! It has frequently happened that several Mahdis have lived at the same time. In 1882 there were at least three pretenders of this character. El-Senusi appeared in Tripoli; another led the ignorant in Aidin; and the third, namely the Sheikh Mohammed, of Dongola, appeared in the Egyptian Soudan as the true El Mahdi. At the very time when Arabi Pasha was leading what promised to be a successful revolution in Lower Egypt, this Mohammed el Mahdi gained the ascendant over the wild natives of the Soudan. While Arabi was attempting, by rational means and in a natural manner, to throw off the foreign yoke at Cairo and Alexandria, the Mahdi, with no less enthusiasm, was leading the Soudanese in a wild rebellion against the constituted authority.

The student of history will readily recall the southern limit of ancient Egypt, as fixed by nature at the upper cataract of the Nile; but in modern times the limits of the country in the direction of the equator have been vastly extended. It was in this region that

the explorations of Sir Samuel W. Baker, in the years 1862–64, opened up a new world to geography, and possibly to civilization. The base of his own and of all subsequent movements into the valley of the White Nile, was the town of Khartoum, lying at the junction of the White Nile with the principal river. Sir Samuel W. Baker first made his way among the branching tributaries of the Blue Nile as far as Gondokoro, somewhat south of the fifteenth parallel. From this place his explorations were extended southward to Victoria Nyanza, under the equator, and thence westward to the companion lake, to which he gave the name of Albert Nyanza, in honor of the Prince Consort.

The country thus revealed was of vast extent and importance. In 1869 the Khedive Ismail followed up the work by sending a body of troops with Baker to occupy the country which he had explored, to extend the boundaries of Egypt to the head-waters of the Nile, to suppress the slave-trade, and to introduce the cotton plant into the fertile valleys traversed by the English adventurer. In April of 1871, Baker was again at Gondokoro. He had now, however, excited the animosity of the slave-merchants and the hostility of the ignorant natives. For two years he held his own, penetrating the country as far as Ungoro, and finally, in 1873, falling back to Gondokoro, and thence into Egypt. In withdrawing from the Soudan he left as his successor, and the inheritor of his enterprises, Colonel Charles George Gordon, better known by his title of Chinese Gordon. The latter now became the principal figure of the Soudan. He maintained himself precariously and with insufficient forces during the period of the revolutionary movements in Egypt, keeping at bay, while he was unable to subdue, the hostile Soudanese.

We may now go forward at once to the year 1883. France and England agreed finally to withdraw their "Financial Control" of Egypt, and to leave the Khedive's Government to such a feeble autonomy as it might be able to assume. The overthrow and banishment of Arabi, however, was not sufficient to bring the wild natives of Upper Egypt and the Soudan to a submissive spirit. On the contrary, El Mahdi and his army became, in that far region, more formidable than before. In 1884 the useless Conference of London was held for a general consideration of the condition of Egyptian affairs. The meeting came to nothing. At that very time Chinese Gordon, with his mixed force of English and Egyptians, was cooped up in Khartoum, and the insurrection which the Mahdi had kindled in the Soudan was spreading down the valley. It now became a question most serious whether the Englishman could any longer hold back the rising tide of revolt which, like the annual inundation of the Nile, threatened to deluge all Egypt.

From this time forth, the insurgent natives, led by the Mahdi, increased in numbers and ferocity. In July, and again in August, of 1884, Gordon fought and won several battles with the Prophet's forces; but it was like beating down the Hydra. During the remainder of the year he continued to hold his place at Khartoum. It can not be doubted that he might well have abandoned the place and retired to safe ground in Middle Egypt; but such a movement was not in Chinese Gordon's nature. His character, indeed, is one of the strangest, and we might almost say most attractive, within the limits of modern biography. While he was willing to receive reïnforcements, he was also willing to take his chances single-handed against the armies of the Mahdi. All of his messages in the after part of 1884 continued to give the note of confidence, repeating the assurance that he was able to hold Khartoum against the enemy. But in midwinter the pressure around the town became constantly greater. The mixed character of the garrison also constituted an element of danger. In fact, it could hardly be expected that the native forces in the Khedive's army should be free from certain sympathies with the Mahdi. We have already said that he represented the ignorant and superstitious side of the very same movement which Arabi had so nearly led to success in Lower Egypt. Gordon's case grew constantly more desperate. He was finally hemmed in, cut off from communications, reduced in supplies, and brought to miserable straits. About the middle of January, 1885, negotiations, partly between Gordon himself and the Mahdi, and partly secret and treacherous between the natives of

the garrison and the enemy outside, were opened, and the result was the admission by night of the Mahdi's host into Khartoum. Gordon was obliged to surrender, borne down as he was by mere stress of numbers. On the 27th of January, when he was standing in the street, giving some directions relative to the capitulation, some of the Mahdi's assassins sprang upon him from behind and stabbed him to death. Such is the current report of the occasion, and the manner of his murder. A considerable part of the garrison shared his fate; Khartoum fell into the hands of the Mahdi, and the general result was the temporary annihilation of foreign influence on the Upper Nile.



WARRIORS OF THE MAHDI IN BATTLE WITH THE KHEDIVE'S FORCES.

The reader will readily perceive the tremendous effect which the news of this disaster must produce in England. It was the one circumstance which was wanted by the Tories in their assaults on the Gladstone Ministry. The charge that Gordon had been crimnally abandoned to his fate was precisely the kind to tell upon the British public. The whole calamitous episode bore hardly on the Liberal Party and its leaders, and the latter, struggling with the unconquerable Irish disorders, went speedily to their fall. It could of course be only a matter of time when an army would be sent up the Nile, when Khartoum would be retaken, when the Mahdi's barbaric Islamites would be scattered, and Gordon's memory avenged. But for the time being, the shock, having its origin even so far away as the confluence of the White Nile and the Blue, was felt to the bottom of the political order of Great Britain, resulting in a reversal of the Government and the construction of the Salisbury Ministry.

It was at this latest period in the history of Great Britain that the public mind, and, indeed, the attention of the civilized world, was again turned to African exploration and discovery. The real knowledge of mankind respecting the character of Central Africa had begun with David Livingstone. How that indefatigable explorer made his way into the heart of the Continent, how he disappeared from sight, how he was for some years lost to the civilized nations, and how, at length, the

young American adventurer, Henry M. Stanley, sent out by James Gordon Bennett under the single mandate, "Find Livingstone," succeeded in reaching Victoria Nyanza and in discovering the object of his search, is known to the world. From this date travelers, geographers, explorers, began to penetrate the equatorial regions of the Dark Continent, and to contribute almost yearly to the information of mankind relative to the country and its inhabitants. At length, in 1876, Eduard Schnitzer, a Silesian naturalist of resolute and adventurous spirit, left home, went to Egypt, and took service in the army of the Khedive. He was sent first to Khartoum, and thence to the Equatorial Province, as a medical officer on the staff of Charles George Gordon. The career of that brave but eccentric commander down to his death at Khartoum, has already been sketched above.

By this time, Dr. Schnitzer had become first an *Effendi*, then a *Bey*, and finally a *Pasha*, according to the Egyptian military phraseology. He had taken the name of Emin, and is known henceforth as Emin Pasha. He was left in the South when Gordon fell back to Khartoum. With the capture of that place, Emin found himself hemmed in by the forces of the Mahdi on the north, and those of Mwango, King of Uganda, on the south.



DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

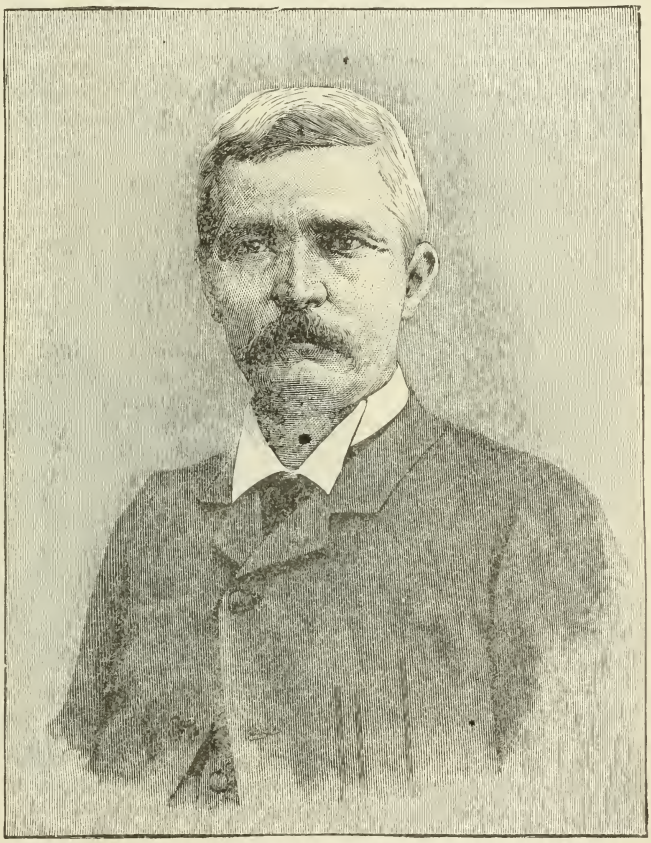
Enough was known in Europe of the African situation to excite the keenest interest and the liveliest apprehensions for the safety of Emin Pasha, and plans began to be devised for his relief.

In England an Emin Bey Relief Committee was formed in 1886. Of this body, Sir William Mackinnon, Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, was chairman. At this time Henry M. Stanley was in the service of the King of the Belgians; but it was felt by the English Relief Committee that no other than Stanley could be intrusted with the expedition in search of Emin. The Belgian monarch had at this time a fleet of transports in the River Congo, and these he cheerfully placed at the disposal of Stanley, to whom the command was given by common consent.

By the beginning of 1887 the expedition had been fully equipped. Stanley was called from New York to London, and on the 27th of January reached Alexandria on his way to Zanzibar. It was finally determined, however, that the best route for penetrating the interior was up the valley of the Congo. This was accordingly taken, and in June of 1887 Stanley and his forces were lost to sight.

More than a year went by, and it was not until September of 1888 that the first authentic information of the progress of the expedition was received in London. Then followed another long period of silence and anxiety; but on the 15th of January, 1889, a letter from Stanley was received at Brussels, and all doubts as to his whereabouts and the success of the expedition were set at rest. Emin Pasha had been found and rescued. The sources of the Nile had been more fully determined than ever before. A fresh-water lake, named Albert Edward Nyanza, nearly thirty thousand miles in extent and nine hundred feet above the level of Victoria Nyanza, had been discovered and explored. The command had suffered untold hardships, had traversed vast stretches of almost impassable country, had fought severe and critical battles, had been decimated with fever and famine, but had courageously accomplished its mission and regained the coast, to hear afar off the plaudits of mankind.

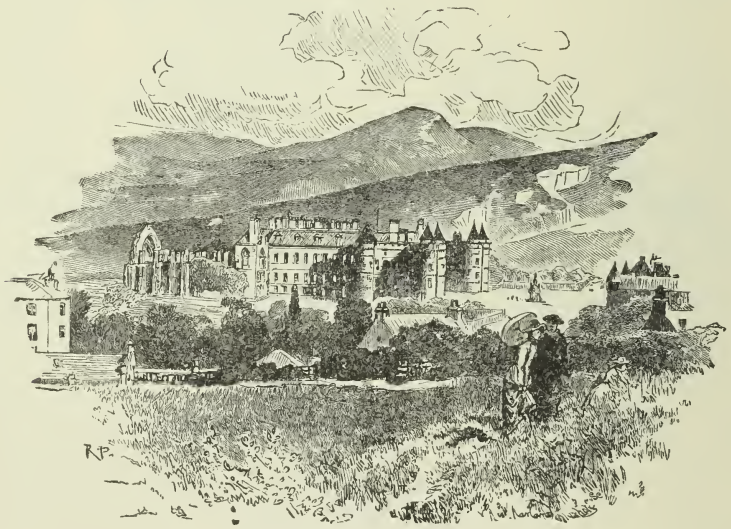
We have thus reached the point in the recent annals of Great Britain at which perspective ceases for want of distance. The events to be considered are only of yesterday, disproportioned by their nearness, undetermined in their historical relations. There is a point at which the serious and elevated narrative of history descends through contemporary documents and reviews into mere journalism, and is lost in the miscellany of the morning paper. It is inexpedient for the writer to attempt to follow this descent and distribution of the historical lines, from the high plane of judicial and unimpassioned criticism, downward into the malarial region where political prejudice, local passion, and mere obscurity and confusion darken the vision and confound the understanding. Not



HENRY M. STANLEY.

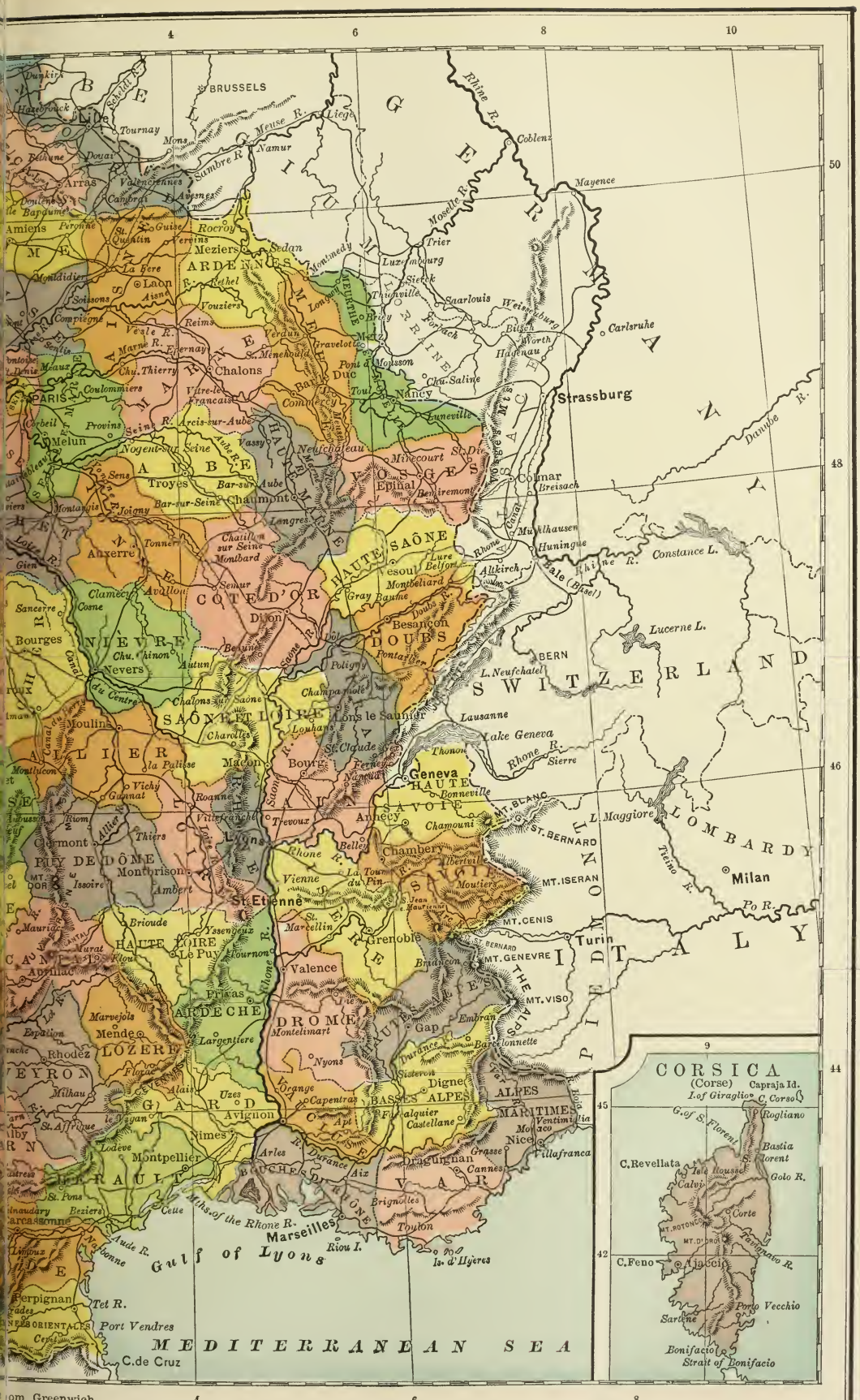
without a moment's regret may any serious mind turn from the consideration of so great a fact as the History of the British Empire in the present century. It is doubtless true that the authors and readers of the twentieth century will look back upon a landscape differently adjusted from that which the clearest sight of our own time is able to discover and describe. But much has been already discerned in the dust and distraction of the epoch; much more will soon take its true place and proportion on the historic page. Much which has already arisen in the Victorian Age stands out sublime and tall against the background of revolutionary tumult, of storm and chaos, with which the century was ushered in. England abides. The Island-built Empire is unshaken by the tempest.

The Lion has laid his magnificent head
Between his paws; but he is not dead!
The Ocean of Atlas rolls and swells
Upon the shores where the Briton dwells;
The tide is high, and the sea-god sprawls
Against the wave-worn, chalky walls!
The sailors have made the anchors fast,
The crooked flukes are under the sea;
The heaving deep, 'neath the billowy blast
That tosses the sea-mew, surges past—
Britannia, what cares she?
The poet's dust, with the dust of the king,
Is shrined by the Abbey wall;
And the Church of Elizabeth spreads her wing
Above the dome, while the singers sing
In the famous Chapel of Paul!



HOLYROOD AND ARTHUR'S SEAT.


6
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46
44
ENGLAND
Exeter
Plymouth
Lands End
Scilly Ids.
Lizard Pt.
Start Pt.
Portland Bill
Southampton
Portsmouth
Hastings
Brighton
Beachy Hd.
I. of Wight
Strait of Dover (Pas de Calais)
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Somme R.
S. Valery
Le Treport
Map
Alderney Id.
C. de la Hague
Barfleur
St. Anne
Channel Islands
Guernsey Id.
(To England)
St. Pierre
Sark Id.
Jersey Id.
St. Helier
Coutances
Cherbourg
La Hogue
Bochers de Calvados
Havre
Harfleur
Seine R.
Honfleur
Pt. l'Eveque
Bayeux
Caen
Lisieux
Louviers
Diepp
SEINE INF
Rouen
Evreux
Brehat Ids.
Granville
Ayranches
Vire
Falaise
Argentan
Laigle
Fl. Cezon
Lannion
St. Malo
Mortain
Domfront
Alencon
Mortagne
Rambou
Id. d'Ouessant (Ushant)
Morlaix
Guingamp
Dinan
St. Brieuc
Brest
Pt. S. Mathieu
Douarnenez B.
Chateaulin
Raz Pt.
Seine R.
Quimper
Nantes
Loudeac
Fougeres
Mayenne
Mamers
Chartres
Nogent le Rotrou
Quimperle
Pontivy
Canal
Montfort
Rennes
Vire
Laval
le Mans
Chateaudun
Lorient
Ploermel
Oust R.
Vilaine R.
St. Calais
Glenan Ids.
Groix Id.
Vannes
Chateaubriant
Segre
Gentil
la Fleche
Loir R.
Vendome
Redon
Belle Isle
Savenay
Ancenis
Angers
Blois
St. Nazaire
Nantes
Loire R.
Saumur
Tours
Chinon
Loches
Noirmoutier Id.
Pornic
Beaupreau
Cholet
Le Grand Lieu
Bourgneuf
Bourgneuf B.
Brezuire
Loudun
I. d'Yeu
Bourbon Vendee
Chatellerault
Parthenay
Poitiers
les Sables d'Olonne
Fontenay
Montmorillon
I. de Re
Niort
Melle
La Rochelle
Rochefort
I. d'Oleron
St. Jean d'Angely
Ruffec
Rochechouart
Marennes
Saintes
Angoulême
Gironde R.
Point de Grave
Verdon
Barbezieux
Ribérac
Perigueux
Lesparre
Blaye
Libourne
Bergerac
Sarlat
Bordeaux
La Sauve
Dordogne R.
Bassin d'Arcachon
La Teste
Marmande
Villeneuve d'Agen
Sabres
Agen
Nerac
Mont de Marsan
Condom
Auch
Dax
Adour R.
Biarritz
Bayonne
Orthez
Pau
Tarbes
Lombez
Mauleon
Oleron
Bagneres de Bigorre
Argeles
Gaudens
BASSES PYRENEES
HAUTES PYRENEES
PIC DU MIDI
MT. PERDU
MT. MALADETA
Republic of Andorra
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAY OF BISCAY
PYRENEES MTS
Enghien
Pierrefitte
Saints
Epinay
Argenteuil
Genevilliers
St. Denis
Hugny
le Bourget
Seine
Colombes
Drancy
Courbevoie
Nanterre
Bois de Boulogne
Beaulieu
Bondy
Clichy
Gugny
Puteaux
Neuilly
Belleville
Noisy
Rosny
Fort of Mt. Valerian
Suresnes
PARIS
Montreuil
Neuilly sur Marne
Fontenay
Paesy
Bou
St. Cloud
Vincennes
Nogent
Brie
Sevres
Vanvres
Charenton
Champigny
Montrouge
Gentilly
Malakoff
Marne R.
Clamart
Chatillon
Arcueil
Vitry
Versailles
Bagneux
Villejuif
Creteil
Sceaux
Choisy le Roi
Bonneuil
Bievres
Antony
Rungis
Orly
DEPARTMENT OF THE SEINE ON ENLARGED SCALE
Fortifications shown thus
Forts
Railways
MAP XXIV.
FRANCE
English Miles
0 10 20 40 60 70
Rail Roads
Fisk, Eng. N.Y.
Longitude West 2 from Greenwich
Longitude


BRUSSELS
Dunkirk
Hazebrouck
Lille
Tournay
Mons
Namur
Liege
Rhine R.
Coblenz
Meuse R.
Sambre R.
Douai
Arras
Valenciennes
Cambrai
Avesnes
Amiens
Peronne
St. Quentin
Guise
Rocroy
Vervins
Meziers
Sedan
Mayence
Moselle R.
Trier
Luxemburg
Montmedy
ARDENNES
Montdidier
La Fere
Laon
Soissons
Aisne
Thelel
Sierck
Thionville
Saarlouis
Weissenburg
Compiegne
Fouziers
Reims
Rethel
Longuyon
MEURTHE
Metz
Bitche
Carlsruhe
Worth
Hagenau
Verdun
Vesle R.
Gravelotte
Marne R.
Epernay
St. Menehould
Chalons
Pont à Mousson
Duc
Chu. Saline
Nancy
Chu. Thierry
Meaux
Vitre-le-Francais
Commercy
Toul
Strassburg
Danube R.
Coulommiers
PARIS
Arcis-sur-Aube
Lunéville
Corbeil
Provins
Seine R.
Melun
Nogent-sur-Seine
Vassy
Neufchateau
Mirecourt
St. Dié
Colmar
Sens
Troyes
Bar-sur-Aube
Epinal
Remiremont
Montargis
Joigny
Bar-sur-Seine
Chaumont
Langres
Huningue
Basle (Basel)
Rhine R.
Constance L.
Tonnerre
Anxerre
Chatillon sur Seine
Montbard
Lure
Belfort
Vesoul
Allkirch
Clamecy
Avallon
Semur
Montbeliard
Gray
Baume
Sancerre
Cosne
Dijon
Besançon
Lucerne L.
Bourges
Nevers
Chu. Vinon
Beaune
Autun
Pontarlier
BERN
L. Neufchatel
Poligny
Champagnole
Chalons sur Saone
Moulins
Charolles
Louhans
St. Claude
Lausanne
Lake Geneva
Thonon
Rhone R.
Sierre
Macon
Bourg
Ferney
Nantua
Geneva
Vichy
Roanne
Gannat
Villefranche
Trevoux
Annecy
Chamouni
MT. BLANC
L. Maggiore
LOMBARDY
Clermont
Thiers
Lyons
Belley
Chambery
ST. BERNARD
Rhone R.
Vienne
La Tour du Pin
Tiberville
Moutiers
MT. ISERAN
Milan
Po R.
Issoire
Ambert
St. Etienne
St. Jean de Maurienne
St. Marcellin
MT. CENIS
Brioude
Yssengeaux
Grenoble
Turin
Murat
Le Puy
Tournon
BERNARD
MT. GENEVRE
Valence
Briançon
Romans
Tain
MT. VISO
Privas
Marvejols
Mende
Gap
Embran
Montelimart
Largentiere
Barcelonnette
Nyons
Digne
Sisteron
Rhodez
Florac
Uzes
Orange
Capentras
BASSES ALPES
ALPES MARITIME
Ventimiglia
Milhau
Alais
Avignon
Apt
Alquier
Castellane
Monaco
Nice
Villafranca
St. Affrique
Nimes
Lodeve
Montpellier
Arles
Grasse
Cannes
Aix
Brignoles
Toulon
Marseilles
Mths. of the Rhone R.
Riou I.
Is. d'Hyeres
Gulf of Lyons
Perpignan
Tet R.
Port Vendres
C.de Cruz
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CORSICA
(Corse)
Capraja Id.
I. of Giraglio
C. Corso
G. of S. Florent
Rogliano
Bastia
St. Florent
C. Revellata
Ile Rousse
Calvi
Golo R.
Corte
MT. ROTONDO
MT. D'ORO
Fiumorbo R.
C. Feno
Ajaccio
Porto Vecchio
Sardene
Bonifacio
Strait of Bonifacio
4
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8
10
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48
46
44
42
9
45
om Greenwich



Book Twenty-Third.

FRANCE.

CHAPTER CXXXV.—BOURBON RESTORATION.

TO France the catastrophe of Waterloo was incalculable. No other such cataclysm had been known in the history of modern nations. To the State it was an instantaneous paralysis. Perhaps Bonaparte himself, who might well be supposed to have received the bolt on his very forehead, was least stunned of all by the shock. The world knows well how, for a brief period, he stood up against Fate itself, proposed and advocated further defense, sought to rouse from coma the elements of national life, and to direct them once more against the enemy.

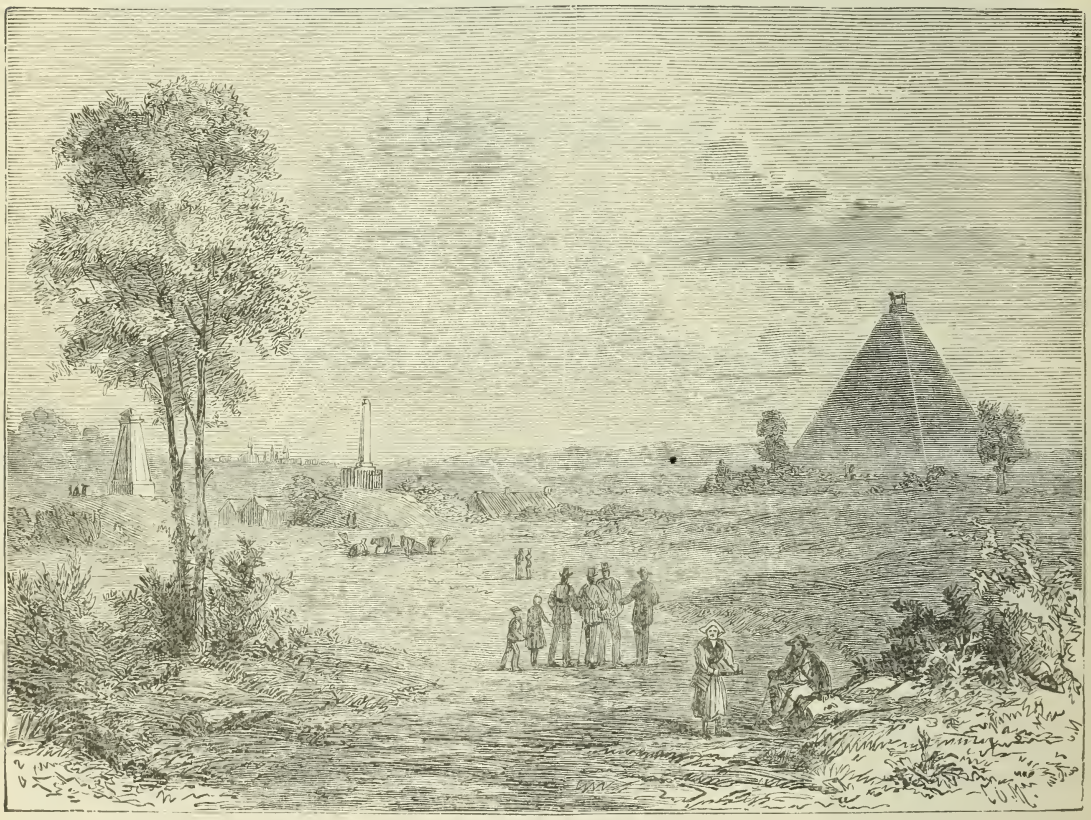
It was all in vain. Destiny had closed the career of that illustrious warrior, the stroke of whose sword had shattered so many thrones, the decree of whose genius and autocratic will had spoken into form so great a part of the history of his own epoch and of the epoch following. The First Empire went down with him. In spite of all, he bore away with him to his solitary island the scepter and sword, the crown and potency, if not the very insignia of that tremendous Imperialism which he had created. And, notwithstanding the decrees of all the banded kings, notwithstanding what seemed to be the fathomless oblivion into which they had hurled their mighty antagonist, it can hardly be doubted, in the light now thrown, after the lapse of three quarters of a century from Waterloo, on the situation of affairs in Europe, that, had Napoleon lived to a fair old age, he would, in all probability, have again become the thunderer of the scene.

We are here concerned to renew the narrative of French history from the Restoration of the House of Bourbon, in the year 1815, and to trace the course of events from that reäctionary crisis down to the present day. This plan will bring us, of course, to consider first of all the Restoration itself. On the day of Waterloo, Louis XVIII. was within a few months of sixty years of age. With the exception of a short "reign" in the previous year, during the absence of Napoleon at Elba, Louis had not seen Paris or France for more than twenty-three years. He had fled from the country with the great Revolution in 1791, had lived at Warsaw until 1807, and afterwards in England until the first banishment of Bonaparte. He had become, in a great

measure, a foreigner; but the Princes of Bourbon could never, by any emergency or any discipline, be turned from their historical character as the representatives of the Past, the apostles of unforgetfulness.

Doubtless Louis came back to the throne of France expecting to find the world even as it had been of old. Doubtless he hoped that the Ancient Régime would revive from the very earth in the moment that the Revolution and the Empire were blown away. But in all this, he could but be grievously mistaken. It is but fair to say that Louis XVIII. was the most liberal-minded of all the Princes of the Elder Branch of Bourbon; that he was a man not wholly incapable of human sentiments; that he had even read books, and knew something of the channels in which human thought had been flowing like a torrent during the Revolutionary epoch; but he was, nevertheless, a Bourbon, and that sufficed. He had the antecedents and traditions of his House, and these he must necessarily bring back with him from his long exile.

Great, indeed almost insurmountable, were the difficulties with which the king found himself surrounded when reseated by the Allies on the throne of France. It was a forcible and galvanic restoration of ancient conditions which, in the aggregate, hardly constituted a respectable pageant. The embarrassment of the whole situation was extreme. Here lay, spread from the English Channel to the Mediterranean, a New France, which could never by any possibility be again transformed into the Old France which Louis had known in his youth. There was absolutely a new atmosphere, charged in every breeze with the Rights of Man, pervaded in every part by the burning actinism of human freedom. Therefore, to the French people, Louis appeared not only as the impersonation of the Past, an obese specter of unfamiliarity, but as a reminder of the humiliation of the French arms, the eclipse of French renown. As he went abroad among the people, it was as though a herald should forerun the royal equipage crying out, "Here comes Waterloo!"



THE FIELD OF WATERLOO.

Personally, moreover, the well-meaning old king was the embodiment of infirmity. Unwieldy, shaking with fat under his regalia and decorations, too weak to stand upright, his figure and manner were as shocking to the Parisian sense as the system which he represented was disagreeable. His almost necessary expressions of gratitude to England for the long courtesy of a residence in that safe country, and for the assistance which the Prince Regent had lent him in the restoration of his House, sounded to his subjects precisely like a vote of thanks to Wellington and Blücher! The oldiers of France who had lost their arms or legs on the plateau of Mont Saint Jean were not yet able to leave the hospitals when the mummery of this restored Past was celebrated in the streets of Paris. The reäppearance of the spotted-and-white banner of Bourbon, in place of the tri-color under which the French armies, singing *La Marseillaise*, had snatched glory from the mouths of five hundred batteries, still further heightened the dislike in which the antiquated Louis was held by the French people. Finally, it was perceived by all that the Government thus reïnstituted in France was contrived abroad; that it was devised as a house built of card-boards by foreign diplomatical architects, and now brought into France to be set up by foreign kings and generals in the very place which had so lately echoed with the significant footfalls of the Corsican! The humiliation could go no further.

Never was any monarch, any court, any Government, subjected to greater pressure than that which was immediately brought to bear on the restored king of France. The Emigrant Nobles and their descendants, children born to them in exile, but now grown, after a quarter of a century, to maturity in foreign lands, came back in swarms, and settled, like birds from strange regions, about the places sacred to the ancient feudalism. They at once reclaimed everything—lands, titles, privileges, honors, and even revenge. They looked to the king for the restoration of estates and properties which had long since been stuffed into the mouths of cannon and discharged by the Revolution at the enemies of France. A Government was organized under the patronage and direction of the Allies in the French capital. In the Chamber of Deputies, the Royalist Party, led by the Duke of Angoulême, was in the ascendency, and it was the ill-concealed purpose of this faction to regain as speedily as possible all that they had lost by the revolutionary processes of more than twenty years.

We may here pause for a moment to note the condition of France under the settlement which the allied leaders saw fit to impose. The terms were hard in the extreme. On the 20th of November, 1815, the Congress of Vienna completed its work, and France was informed of the conditions. It was seen at a glance that nothing had been spared to complete her humiliation. An enormous war indemnity was exacted. She was obliged to consent that her frontiers should be garrisoned for five years by foreign armies, under com-



LOUIS XVIII.

mand of a foreign General, and that the expenses of the occupancy should be met from her own exhausted treasury. The fortresses along the Rhine—Philippeville, Sarre-Louis, Marienburg, Landau, Huningue—should be given up to allied garrisons. It was as though the power of banded Europe had been laid without compunction, not only on the head and limbs, but on the very heart and spirit, of the proud land whose victorious armies had so recently carried the banners of the Republic and the Empire from the coasts of Portugal to the borders of Lithuania.

It must needs be that a reäction from this state of intolerable depression and overthrow should speedily come. Hardly had Louis XVIII. obtained his seat on the ancestral throne; hardly had the Royalists, who crowded around and obtained a temporary control of the Chamber of Deputies, begun to clamor for the restoration of the ancient absolutism which they had enjoyed before 1789, until ominous symptoms of reäction were visible in the nation. The foreign protectorate, under which the king had regained the crown, were quick to perceive the necessity which rested on their *protégé* to moderate the zeal of the Royalists, and to curb them of their hot desires. Louis himself had at least a half-understanding of the situation in which he was placed, and made some prudent efforts to keep the Emigrants from retaking all France as their personal property. Within the very first year the king was obliged to dismiss the Chamber and to order a new election. The French people had now come to understand that they constituted the real Nation, and that their voice would be heard above all the artificial din of Royalism and reäction. The election resulted in the choice of a Liberal majority. The Legitimist Party was overthrown, and the Duke of Richelieu, grandson of the great Richelieu, who had been the Minister of Louis XV., became the leader of the Chamber.

This brief revival of popular influence, however, promised more than might be fulfilled. In what possible manner could Liberalism flourish under the reign of a Bourbon king? Richelieu and his Liberal majority at first struck out for some radical reforms which were found to be too salutary for the diseased times in which they were projected. He kept up the struggle for more than a year, and was then obliged to retire from office. He was followed by the Marquis Dessoles, who, at the close of 1818, became President of the Council of Ministers. The great contest between the two parties was with respect to the franchise and the law of election. To have the first restricted and the latter drawn in the interest of the reviving aristocracy, was of course the main spring of the Loyalist policy, while to extend the suffrage and popularize the election laws was an equally vital principle with the Liberal party. On this question the Marquis Dessoles and his ministry went to pieces. He and two of his fellow-ministers resigned their offices in November of 1819, and the Duke Decazes succeeded to the presidency of the Council.

Closely related with the question of franchise and election, was the struggle for the freedom of the press. In this particular France was still lamentably behind the necessities, if not the spirit, of the age. Since the first years of the Revolution there had been little essential freedom in French journalism and literature. The Empire deemed a censorship of the press a stern requisite of order and good government. There was in the Napoleonic system much that was repressive, much that savored of despotism. What, therefore, should be expected under the restoration of Bourbon? Nevertheless, the spirit of free speech and free publication had gone abroad, and would not be hushed. Under the Decazes Ministry an act was passed establishing the freedom of the press; but the measure created alarm, not to say consternation, among the Loyalists, to whose imagination and in whose traditions the printing-press was a more horrid specter than the guillotine itself. It was not long until another of the rapidly recurring reactions of the times swept the Act away, and the old censorship, especially so much as related to political writings, was reëstablished. At the same time the law of arrest was enlarged and extended to new kinds of offense. This was supplemented with an alteration in the law of elections, whereby the suffrage was again restricted, and the Government strengthened at the expense of popular influence.

While measures such as these were carried during the ascendency of one party in the

Chamber, and annulled by another as soon as it came into power, the king sought to steer between the extremes. The Ministry thus came to constitute the leaders of the *Center* of the Chamber, while the Liberals and Democrats swayed the *Left*, and the old extreme Royalist party the *Right*. Such was that political phraseology of the day, which for nearly three-quarters of a century has continued in use to denote the divisions of party in the legislative bodies of France.

It was soon found that the pompous Treaty of Vienna was of poor application to the condition of affairs which immediately ensued. Not three years had gone by until it was clearly seen that another Congress of the Powers must be called to alter and amend the agreements which the diplomates had made in their assemblage of 1815. Accordingly, a new convention of monarchs and ambassadors was called to meet at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1818. The convention was attended by the Emperor of Austria, the Russian Czar, the King of Prussia, and by Prince Metternich, Lord Castlereagh, the Dukes of Wellington and Richelieu, and by the Counts Hardenberg, Bernstorf, Nesselrode, and Capo d'Istria. We have already seen that one of the works devolved upon the Congress was the determination whether or not the principles of the Holy Alliance should be reäffirmed and practically maintained in the affairs of Europe. This question was decided in the affirmative; but history itself soon rendered a negative decision of much greater importance. To France the conference was of great moment. It was determined that, the period of three years having elapsed since the foreign occupancy of the French forts—the same being the minimum determined by the Allies after the overthrow of Napoleon—the garrison and soldiery of other Powers should be withdrawn from the territory of France. This was accordingly done, and the French dominions were once more freed from foreign control.

The inquirer will naturally look with close scrutiny at the history of the French Government in the first years after the Restoration, to see if by any salutary measures of national or international policy that Government endeavored to justify its existence. In one respect a feeble effort was made on which an advocate of the Administration might base some claim of energy and enlightenment. On the solicitation of Great Britain, Louis entered into an agreement on the subject of the slave-trade, in which it was stipulated that hereafter France and England would coöperate in the confiscation of both ship and cargo in the case of any vessel engaged in the inhuman traffic. The French king also agreed to send a squadron of cruisers to the western coast of Africa to secure the natives against the horrid invasions of kidnapers and slave-merchants. At about the same time the French court made provisions, with the aid of the Chamber, to create a sinking fund for the liquidation of debts which had been contracted by France with the citizens of other States. But for the rest, the king found himself so compressed between the forces of a revived loyalism on the one hand, and the impact of liberal opinion on the other, that little opportunity was afforded for the exercise of the small political and governmental talents which Louis may have possessed.

As a Prime Minister, the Duke of Richelieu had many qualities which in a calmer and more conservative age would have shone in the high places of statesmanship. He had never cast in his fortunes with the Revolution or the Empire. He had remained faithful to the French royal family, and yet was not wholly devoid of popular sympathies. He was thorough in his patriotism, and of large abilities as a diplomatist. It was through his influence in behalf of his country, at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, that the severe terms prescribed by the Allies for France, in 1815, were so favorably modified. It might well be supposed that the French Nation would have and express a sense of gratitude to one who had been so signally efficient in securing the liberation of the country from foreign domination. The French Chambers only voiced the public opinion when a pension of fifty thousand francs was proposed for the duke, and the latter was consistent with his own character and record when he diverted the annuity thus provided for the founding of a hospital at Bordeaux.

It was very difficult, however, for any Ministry to steer the French ship through the chopping sea and cross currents of the years succeeding the Restoration. Richelieu fairly

represented the king in attempting to hold a middle course between the extremes of sentiment which now clashed throughout France. As leader of the Center and of the Monarchical Party, the Prime Minister sought to stay the rampant Royalism which rushed around the court by conceding something to its demands. In 1820 he attempted to hold his ascendency by admitting certain Royalist leaders into the Ministry. The most prominent of the partisan statesmen thus brought into the Government was the Count Villèle, as Minister of Finance. His principles, however, were so extreme and reäctionary as to make it impossible for him to proceed smoothly with the body to which he had been admitted. After a short and distracted connection with the Ministry, he withdrew, but not until he had secured to himself the leadership of the Aristocratic Party. The agitation brought on a crisis in which Richelieu was himself constrained to resign his office. For the time being, the control of the Chambers passed into the hands of the Aristocrats; and, in December of 1821, Villèle himself was made Prime Minister.



JOSEPH BONAPARTE.

It was at this juncture that the antecedents were prepared for the disgraceful interference of the French Government in the affairs of Spain. Reference has alerady been made, in the history of Great Britain, to the part taken by that power with respect to the Spanish insurrection of 1820. In the present connection, it will be proper to amplify somewhat the conditions under which the Spanish revolt occurred, leading to the precipitation of a French army on the Peninsula. It will be remembered how the Corsican had dispatched the Spanish Bourbons by an intrigue, perhaps the least reputable of all his international transactions. After a four years' captivity, namely, in 1814, Ferdinand VII. came back to Madrid, and was king again. This alleged sovereign was one of the weakest and withal one of the most depraved of all the living products of the House of Bourbon. It might justly be said that for the office of king he was unfitted by every disqualification personal and political. No sooner had he regained the throne than he fulminated a sort of mediæval muttering against the Liberal Constitution of 1812, which had been promulgated under the patronage of Joseph Bonaparte. That instrument, so favorable to the people and to the revival of Spanish nationality, was abrogated, and every abuse of the old absolutism brought back in full force.

It is in the nature of the modern peoples,

when they have once sipped the nectar of civil liberty, not to forget the taste. It was so in Spain. True, the aristocracy was exempted from taxation. True, the monasteries were revived. True, the Inquisition was set aglow with its ancient heat. True, the Jesuits were called home from exile to begin again their work of intrigue and corruption. True, the sword of authority was put to the breast of all liberalism. True, the Government, the Administration, fell into the hands of an abominable cabal called the *Camarilla*, consisting of political priests and the extreme faction of Loyalists. True, that for six years a sort of White Terror was established, in which the Republicans and the adherents of the late Government of Joseph Bonaparte suffered all manner of persecutions. True, that this miserable clique of spendthrifts and corruptionists squandered the last pistole of the Spanish treasury in Quixotical attempts to reconquer and reduce from their newly gained independence the Spanish States of South America. But, nevertheless, the taste of freedom which the Spaniards had enjoyed under the Constitution of 1812 remained in the mouth, and only the opportunity was wanting for an uprising against the Government of Ferdinand and his Councilors.

It is in the nature of such situations to bring forth secret political societies. Organizations of this kind began to abound in different parts of the kingdom. The army became at first disloyal, and then mutinous. In the year 1820 an expedition, under command of the Generals Riego and Quiroga, was equipped for the South American war. But those two officers, then at Cadiz, raised the standard of revolt against the Government. The insurrection spread to the other principal cities, including the capital; and the king, in order to save his crown, gave way before it. The Royalist Ministry was dismissed from office. The Constitution of 1812 was proclaimed anew as the law of the land. The Cortes was convoked, and on its meeting, in July, great reforms were at once instituted. The Inquisition and the monasteries were abolished. Entails were swept away. The tithes by which the clergy were supported were confiscated, and it appeared that the day of redemption for Spain had really come.

The event was less auspicious than the beginning. It might soon be perceived, what has been so many times noted in the history of France, that the spirit of Liberalism and political progress had its home in the municipalities, while the country regions and remote districts, inhabited immemorially by a Catholic peasantry, remained the strongholds of bigotry, reäction, and Bourbonism. It was to the support of this class of his subjects that Ferdinand and his fellow-spirits now must look. Counter insurrections were accordingly fomented in the outlying countries, and the Liberal Government soon found itself beleaguered by the ancient army of ignorance, servitude, and despotism. Perhaps the supporters of the free constitution might have been able to stand against the counter revolution, had it not been for the fact that the extreme Radicals, who were for an ideal republic or nothing, broke with the conservative Liberals, and actually combined with the party called the *Serviles*, to overthrow the Government.

This somewhat expanded account of the situation, extending over the years 1820–22, has been inserted in this connection to make clear the nature of the intervention in Spanish affairs about to be undertaken by France. No sooner had the popular movement in Spain declared itself, no sooner was the noise thereof heard in the capitals beyond the Pyrenees, than the Holy Alliance was aroused from its pious reverie to make a practical application of the principles which Madame Krüdener and Czar Alexander had devised for the government of Europe. If history might be truthfully said to have any amusing features, one of the most marked would be that attitude of uncertainty and vacuous perplexity in which the contrivers of some great historical theory stand when the day arrives for its practical application to human affairs! The rulers of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and of other European States of lesser rank, had solemnly agreed that they would henceforth combine for the maintenance each of the other, and all of each, in the Government of their respective peoples, in accordance with the principles of brotherly love, Christian fidelity, and patriarchal paternalism—all of which meant the principles of Hereditary Absolutism

in the control of States and kingdoms. Certainly the doctrines and theory of the Holy Alliance had been signally set at naught by the Republicans and Constitutionalists of Spain. What, therefore, should the parties to the Holy Alliance do? We, the kings, must again meet and solemnly consider this question, in October of 1822, in a Congress at Verona. We have already had the Treaty of Vienna, and our great convention at Aix-la-Chapelle, to determine the meaning of our articles; and now, after four years passed, we must convene again to determine whether indeed this Holy Alliance of Krüdener and the Czar shall really be applied to the startling state of affairs in Spain.

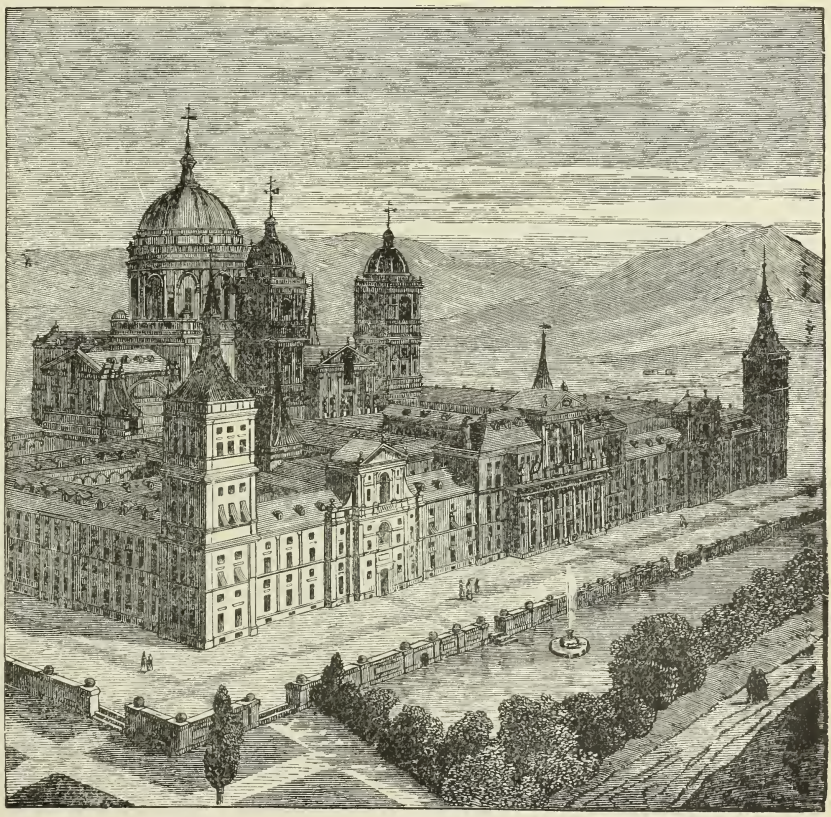


CHATEAUBRIAND.

The Congress of Verona had this significance—no more: It must be decided whether the monarchs of Central and Eastern Europe will send their armies to the support of Ferdinand VII. in his contest with the Spanish people. True, the Congress was called for the ostensible purpose "of restoring peace;" but the real purpose was to crush the reviving independence of Spain, and to provide against the recurrence of like disastrous phenomena in the other States of Europe. Yonder in Naples a movement very similar to the popular insurrection of the Spaniards is already taking place. That also must be suppressed in the cause of absolutism. The question, notwithstanding the stout protests of the Duke of Wellington, ambassador of Great Britain, was decided in the affirmative. In France the Villèle Ministry was now in power. The French ambassadors at Verona were the Viscounts Montmorency and Chateaubriand, the latter of whom has left to posterity a proper account of this, the gloomiest and most reäctionary hour and event in the diplomatical history of modern Europe.

Though the Congress recommitted itself, in spite of the British protest, to the doctrine of intervention, the sovereigns did not venture, as allied powers, to apply the doctrines of the Holy Alliance in overthrowing the Liberal Government of Spain. That work was remanded to France alone. It appears that Chateaubriand and the Government which he represented were only too willing to celebrate the restoration of the Bourbons by a sort of political *auto da fé*, at which the Spanish Constitution of 1812 was to be bound to the stake. Notwithstanding the fact that England had now abandoned the necessary inferences from the Treaties of Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle, and had gone over to the cause of mankind against despotic rule, she nevertheless made her protests at Verona in such a manner as to seem to consent and permit, while she forbade. France, therefore, morally supported by the decisions of the Congress, and thoroughly in sympathy, so far as the king and the Government were concerned, with the Holy Alliance, took upon herself the pleasing work of forceful intervention in the political affairs of Spain. The beginning of the year 1823 witnessed the monstrous spectacle of an army of Frenchmen marching into the Spanish Peninsula to put down the liberties of the people! On the 10th of May the Duke of Angoulême, who commanded the expedition, entered Madrid, and

the popular movement was speedily suppressed by force of arms. Cadiz was also taken, and the authority of Ferdinand VII. restored throughout Spain. Returning to Paris, the duke left behind him an army of occupation, which was not wholly withdrawn from the peninsula until 1828. Loud were the congratulations to which the Royalists of France gave utterance over this ridiculous and disgraceful episode of tyranny. France, forsooth, had again become a conqueror! Only eight years from Waterloo, and she had dictated a peace—*to Spain!* The eagle had swooped down beside the rook, and forbidden that dangerous bird to caw! The Duke of Angoulême became for a season the lion of the French aristocrats. Meanwhile, the bones of the Spanish Bourbons, in the solemn vaults of the mausoleum of the Escurial palace, were glorified as of old.



THE ESCURIAL.

The effect of the Spanish invasion was immediately felt in the conduct of the Home Government of France. If such havoc could be wrought on so small a provocation with the Liberal policy in Spain, why should not a like quietus be given to all those popular elements which continued to vex the restored Bourbonsm of France herself? The reäction now set in in earnest, and the leaders of the Right came boldly to the fore, resolved to profit by the popularity and success of their cause in the Spanish Peninsula. They determined to make Louis XVIII. as good and absolute a king, in his greater kind and degree, as Ferdinand VII. Indeed, it might well be considered a preposterous policy to overthrow, by force of arms, the popular institutions of a sister kingdom, and leave the more monstrous offense of Liberalism intact at home. It was resolved to ply the axe at the root of the tree. Measures were immediately brought forward to change, in several important particulars, the existing Constitution of France. The French Republic had set the example of short elections and short terms of service for all legislative officers. It can not be doubted that, however much commotion and political agitation may attend the institution of annual elections, the system has the great merit of keeping the legislative assembly, by whatever name it may be called, close to the heart and impulse of the people. The Constitution of Great Britain, on the other hand, furnishes the example of the long term for representatives. This feature now commended itself to the party in power as a needed innovation, and it was accordingly proposed to substitute the plan of septennial elections for members of the French Assembly. It was thought by this means that the Royal-

ists now in power, and feeling themselves able at that time to secure a majority in a new Chamber of Deputies, might deem themselves and their authority secure for a period of seven years; after which time, in the language of the abandoned courtiers of the last century, they might say, "After us the deluge!"

In other ways also the Royalist Party sought, by constitutional changes, to shore up and buttress the monarchy. It was evident to all observers that, by degrees, and as rapidly as prudence would permit, the French



CHARLES X.

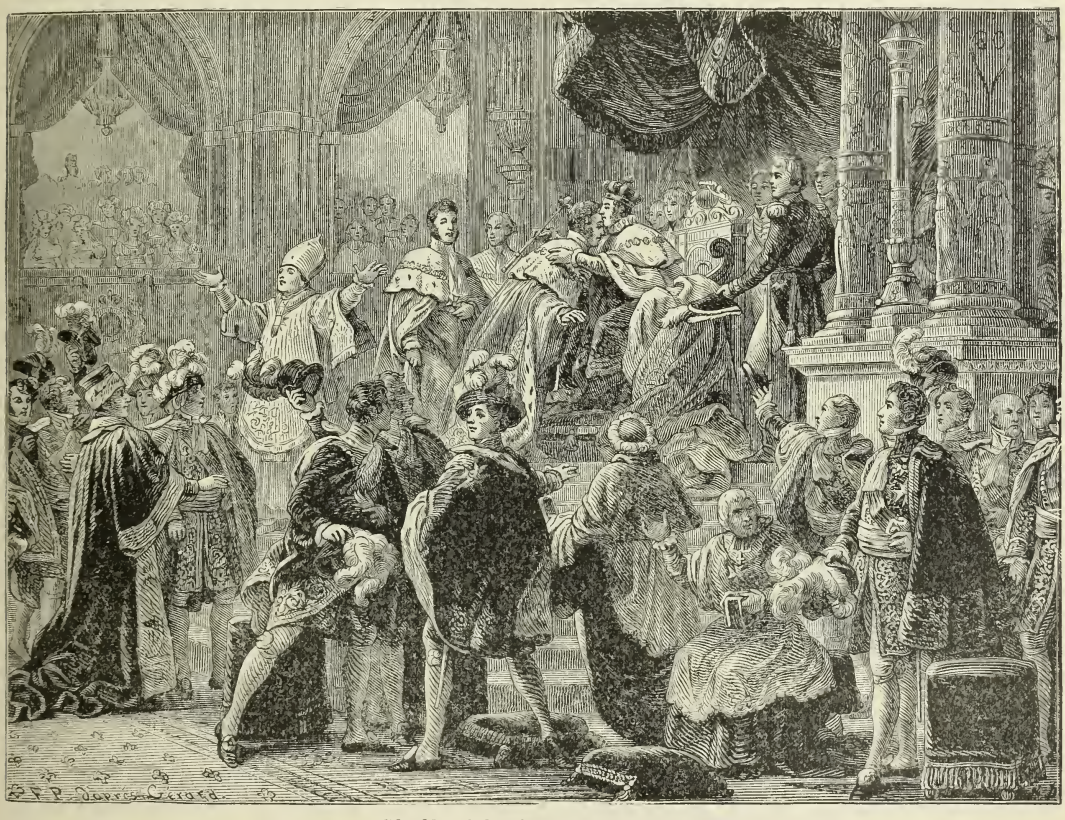
crown on the head of Louis was to reclaim and repossess its long-lost prerogatives. The conviction prevailed more and more that the oaths of constitutional observance, favorable to the maintenance of the Liberal institutions which the Revolution had planted and the king had found in full growth at the date of the Restoration, rested but lightly on both him and his Ministry. But the reäction, whatever it was or was intended to be, was cut short by the reaper. Louis could go no further. After wearing the crown of Bourbon for nine years, he was called to his account, on the 16th of September, 1824. His reign had been distracted by every species of political inharmony, beginning with the disputes of Talleyrand and Richelieu, and ending with popular conspiracies, some of which aimed as high as the life of the king.

History has little to do with fancies—nothing at all with conceits. It may be cited, however, as a peculiar phenomenon attendant upon decaying dynasties, that in the day of imminent extinction the crown, by some fatality, seems to shoot off collaterally, by a descent through two or three childless brothers, until, by a sidelong bound, it reaches the earth, to be claimed or gained by the representative of some other line. The student has only to stand before a series of diagrams representing the Royal Houses of Europe, to be struck with the frequent recurrence of this odd phenomenon. A fair type of it is furnished in the case of the oft-married Henry VIII. One may notice with interest the slipping of the crown sidewise over the heads of his three childless heirs and successors. The diagram bears a similar shape in the case of the Stuarts. Several like examples have already been given in the history of France. Louis XVI. was unable, from the Place de la Revolution, to send the crown down his own line. After Napoleon, the scepter of Bourbon went to the brother of the beheaded monarch, and that brother now died childless, transmitting the crown in turn to his younger brother, the Count of Artois.

The new king came to the throne in September of 1824, taking the title of Charles X. Like his brother Louis, he had, from his youth, been subject to the strangest vicissitudes. In boyhood he had acquired a character scandalous for every excess and dissipation. At the outbreak of the Revolution of 1789 he had visited several European courts, soliciting aid for the tottering throne and cause of his brother, Louis XVI. Afterwards he held command of a Royal regiment; but in 1793 he gave over the hopeless struggle with the Republic, and went into Russia. Two years later we find him associated with the king's party in La Vendée. After the

collapse of that fiery and bloody insurrection, Charles retired to England, living for a while at Holyrood Palace, and afterwards with his elder brother in exile at Hartwell. Under Louis XVIII., the count of Artois was constantly prominent in the Government, being the leader of the ultra-Royalist Party. On his accession to the throne he had at least one advantage over the late king; he was *older!* Not much enthusiasm can be expected to attend the coronation of a monarch at the age of sixty-seven. It should be said, however, that in manners, address, and dignity, as well as in general capacity for affairs, this last representative of the Elder Branch of the House of Bourbon was the superior of his predecessor. In politics, however, he was as hopelessly wedded to the traditions which have made the term Bourbonism odious to the friends of civil liberty in all the world, as had been any representative of his ancestral line from the days of Henry of Navarre.

One circumstance at least tended to popularize, in some small measure, the new king and his Government. It appeared that in the order of nature the crown would soon descend to the line of Ferdinand, Duke of Berry, the late popular son and representative of the king's House. This prince, of open demeanor and cordial habits, had in his life-time won not a little upon popular esteem, and those who favored the legitimate monarchy as against the Republic and the Empire, might well point with some pride to the child of the Prince of Berry, as the expectancy and rose of the fair State. The life of the Duke of Berry had been cut short four years before the accession of Charles to the throne. On the evening of the 13th of February, 1820, when the duke was coming out from the opera-house, an assassin, named Louvel, sprang upon him and stabbed him to death. But the hope of his family was justified seven months afterwards, when his wife, the Duchess of Berry, Marie Caroline of Palermo, gave birth to a son, upon whom was conferred the title of Duke of Bordeaux and the prospective heirship of the French crown. To this remaining scion of the



CORONATION OF CHARLES X.

ancient house all the Legitimists now looked, in the fond belief that he should one day flourish as a great king of the old and glorious pattern.

Meanwhile, Charles himself must be tested with a reign of six years' duration. It fell to M. Villèle to carry the Government over the hiatus between the two reigns. It was soon discovered by the king that this statesman was not extreme enough in his Royalism to meet the demands of the throne. But before any change was introduced in the Ministry, the existing Administration was called upon to continue the work of reäction which had been too feebly prosecuted during the late reign. Charles and his Government now sought openly to bring back and to make absolute the odious methods of Government and principles of statecraft which had prevailed under the Ancient Régime. In the first place, it was felt that some emphatic and unmistakable policy must be adopted with respect to those loyal Emigrant Nobles who had suffered so great contempt and hardship during the Republican and Imperial ascendencies.



CHARLES FERDINAND, DUKE OF BERRY.

The student of the French Revolution will not need to be reminded of the complete shattering and dissipation of the feudal land-system of France by the Republic. Nor will the democratic peoples of to-day fail to commiserate the hardships and woes of the French nobility, brayed as they were in the Revolutionary mortar. These hardships and miseries were inflicted under that peculiar form of unjust justice which history is wont to impose on the descendants of those who have sinned against humanity and the freedom of mankind. The noble estates of France were swept away like autumnal leaves in the whirlwind of November. The nobles themselves, their families and dependents, fled for their lives into strange regions, where they became wanderers, refugees, exiles, in distress and poverty. They were obliged to bow their proud necks to the yoke of calamity. Some taught school to obtain the means of subsistence; some went to work in vineyards and orchards; some trimmed hedges; some blistered their small, soft hands with the rough tools of workshops; some made shoes; some became peddlers, and strove, by petty sales made at the doorways of the common people, to gather the means of living.

It was a hard but wholesome discipline. For a long time hope seemed to be dead in the breasts of the Emigrants. Children born after the exile grew to manhood and womanhood in foreign lands, never having once gratified their eyes with the sight of *La Patrie*. With the reäction, hope immediately revived, and the Emigrants came home from almost every civilized country of the world. At first

it was found impossible by Louis XVIII. and his Ministers to satisfy, or even appease, the hunger of the returned nobility. The king, perhaps, had wit enough to perceive that the aristocratic system was hopelessly shattered, and that nothing better than compromising expedients could ever be adopted with the representatives of that feudal caste now become a memory.

Under Charles, however, the case was different. He had the true faith of the Bourbon. He fulfilled completely the Napoleonic definition of learning nothing and forgetting nothing. At the very beginning of his reign, the Loyalist majority in the Chambers was set free to do its will, and the first important measure was there directed to the relief and rehabilitation of the Emigrants. A bill was introduced, and passed, appropriating a thousand million francs for the recompense of those who had lost their estates and properties by the Revolution. The heirs of the aristocracy now came in to recover from New France what their fathers had lost in the wreck of that Old France which had gone down at sea. At first it was the program of the aristocrats to reclaim and recover the actual—that is, the same—estates which had been wrested from their ancestors, confiscated by the Republic, and consumed in war with the Republic's enemies. But those estates, in such manner confiscated, had long since been regranted or resold to the people of the new French Nation. Most of the lands had been divided up into small holdings. Vineyards had been planted, hamlets built, roads constructed, dividing hedges run upon and through the great estates which had formerly been held in solidarity by the Nobles. To dispossess the present owners of such properties, to retake them for the representatives of the past, was now impossible. Such action would be to undo the Revolution, and to convert the French people themselves into Emigrants and adventurers. The plan of compensation was therefore adopted, and the sum of a thousand million francs was named by the Chamber as the total recompense for the losses of the old aristocracy. Those who had purchased the lands of the defunct Nobility were allowed to retain them, but the scions of the former owners were to be compensated with annuities, pensions, and sums in gross. The measure was so devised as to be received with favor by both classes of claimants. The present occupants of the lands might well be willing, under such a Chamber, such a Ministry, such a king, and in the midst of such reäctionary tendencies, that the heirs of the past might receive their pensions, if they themselves, on the other hand, should be permitted to remain in undisturbed possession of their homes.

As soon as the question of settlement with the Emigrants was thus answered in the affirmative, the Government gave its attention, as far as practicable, to the rehabilitation of those institutions having their foundation in Jesuitism. The expulsion of the Jesuits will be recalled as one of the incidents of the early Revolution. They were now encouraged to return to France and to renew their subtle relations with society. Law again took the Roman faith and practice under its patronage. Mere superstitions were revived, and mummery was heard in the ancient accents. The question of sacrilege was taken up. Theft of any article from consecrated ground was made a felony punishable with death. The profanation in any way of the elements of wafer and wine used in the sacraments of the church was declared a crime equal to parricide!

In the next place, the king and his ministers turned their attention to the press, that pernicious instrument of enlightenment and emancipation. It must be remembered that the real political power of France had now fortunately passed into the hands of the middle or burgher class of citizens. The career of modern French journalism may be said to have begun soon after the Restoration, and to have been directed to that great intermediate citizenship on which the State was builded. A class of public political teachers appeared, who henceforth used the press as the vehicle of their doctrines and advocacy. Men like De Barante, Guizot, and Villemain arose as true journalists, standing midway between the extremes of party, and turning the tremendous influence of journalism to the defense of a truer popular liberty than had hitherto found a voice. The continuance of this system was inconsistent with the existence of that kind of absolutism which the Government of Charles X.

sought assiduously to reëstablish in France. A censorship was accordingly adopted for the repression of the freedom of the press. At the very moment of his accession, when the king, like most monarchs under similar circumstances, sought for the passing hour to secure the favor of his subjects, he had relaxed the censorship which had been established under the reign of his predecessor. But the restriction was now reïmposed, and the freedom of journalism was put down by statutory enactment.

Then came the measure of making men great by patent. In 1827, seventy-six new Peers of France were created. The project was similar in character and intent to that which we have frequently seen attempted, and sometimes carried out, under the stress of political exigency in England. In instances not a few, the party dominant in the British House of Commons has found itself so seriously impeded by an adverse majority in the House of Lords as to be under the strongest temptation to reverse that majority by the creation of a sufficient number of Peers. This expedient was now unhesitatingly employed by Charles X. and his Ministers. The predominance of the king's party, in the Upper Chamber at least, was thus effectually, if not permanently, secured. For who could vote against his maker? In the Chamber of Representatives, however, the Opposition still held its own, and in order to free himself from the pestiferous annoyance of this body, the king soon dismissed the House and ordered a new election. The event showed, however, that he had made a fallacious calculation, for the Liberal forces in the new Chamber were increased instead of diminished.

The result of the election greatly shocked the king and his advisers. It was now necessary either that the Government should itself become revolutionary, by refusing to recognize the new Chamber of Deputies, or else that it should accept the result with a consequent change of the Ministry. The latter alternative was taken. The Royalist Ministers resigned their offices, and Charles was constrained to appoint new members more in sympathy with the popular will. But how could a Liberal Ministry survive under the shadow of a Bourbon throne? The experiment was tried, and proved abortive. In August of 1828 the Liberals went out of office, and the Ultra-Royalist, Prince Jules de Polignac, was ordered to form a new Cabinet after the king's own heart. It had already become apparent to every reflective mind that the whole political structure was unstable in every part, and that sooner or later it must end in cataclysm and new creation.

Before proceeding, however, to notice the concluding events of the reign of Charles in the home kingdom, we may well glance abroad at the only foreign drama of these years in which France bore any conspicuous part. The Greek Revolution had now reached its first stage of fulfillment, and the Greeks, as a semi-independent people, were at war with the Turks. In July of 1827 the protocol, signed at St. Petersburg the year before, determinative of the condition of settlement between Greece and the Porte, was expanded into the Treaty of London, in which England, Russia, and France entered into a solemn compact to end, by force of allied action, the war in the East. The mediation of the Powers was accordingly offered to the Sultan, with the suggestion of an armistice until what time the true conditions of a Turco-Hellenic peace might be discussed and defined. The Sultan scornfully rejected this interference with his affairs, and a break between the Ottoman Empire and the Powers was at once precipitated. At this time Ibrahim Pasha, commander of the Ottoman squadron, was assembling his forces at Navarino, preparatory to an expedition against Hydra. Suddenly the allied fleet appeared in the Bay, and on the 20th of October, 1827, the great battle of Navarino was fought, in which the combined fleets of Turkey and Egypt were destroyed. The maritime power of the Sultan was ruined. England presently withdrew from the contest; but France, continuing in the intervention, proceeded to occupy the Morea until the Sultan was obliged to concede the independence of the Greeks.

The appointment of Polignac as Prime Minister of France marked the acme of Bourbon reäction. The prince was, at the time, French ambassador at the court of St. James, where his intimacy with the duke of Wellington had excited much comment in both kingdoms. In France especially such a relation could but create the greatest popular odium.

That the friend of Wellington should become Prime Minister in the Government of a restored Bourbon king, was sufficient to excite universal disgust. Only the blindness of the Government failed to perceive the anachronism and impossibility of an Administration under such a leader. When Prince Polignac returned to Paris, rumor and suspicion flew before him, and his accession to power was the provocation of fierce opposition on the part of the Liberals. He became President of the French Council in November of 1829, and the event was the signal for open resistance, which soon sprang full-armed from the ground.

It will be remembered that the Chamber of Deputies was dominated by the Liberal Party. In pursuance of its own policy, that body had chosen as its President, the statesman Casimir Perier, who, while not himself a conspicuous Radical, was thoroughly devoted to the cause of the people. On the 2d of March, 1830, the President of the Chamber replied in a most defiant temper to the king's speech from the throne. The crisis was at the door. Charles at once dissolved the Assembly, and sought to allay the excitement by making certain salutary changes in the Ministry. The French Nation at once construed the king's concession as an act of weakness and apprehension, and no sooner had this thought taken possession of the public mind than the fate of the Government was sealed. In the election which now ensued for new members of the Chamber, the Liberals gained greatly, and presented a bold and hostile front to the king and his party. It was evident that as soon as the legislative body should reassemble, Prince Polignac and his Ministry would be driven ignominiously from office.

Only one circumstance now appeared from the whole horizen favorable to the cause of the king, and that was an achievement of the army. Victory in the field always goes to the credit of the Government. Nor is any other fact in history more likely to gain at least a temporary popular support for the existing order than is military achievement, particularly victory abroad. It was the good fortune of Charles, just at this juncture, to have victory. The French arms in Africa had been crowned with complete success. As far back as 1827, serious difficulties had arisen between the French Government and the half-barbarian Dey of Algiers. The immemorial con-

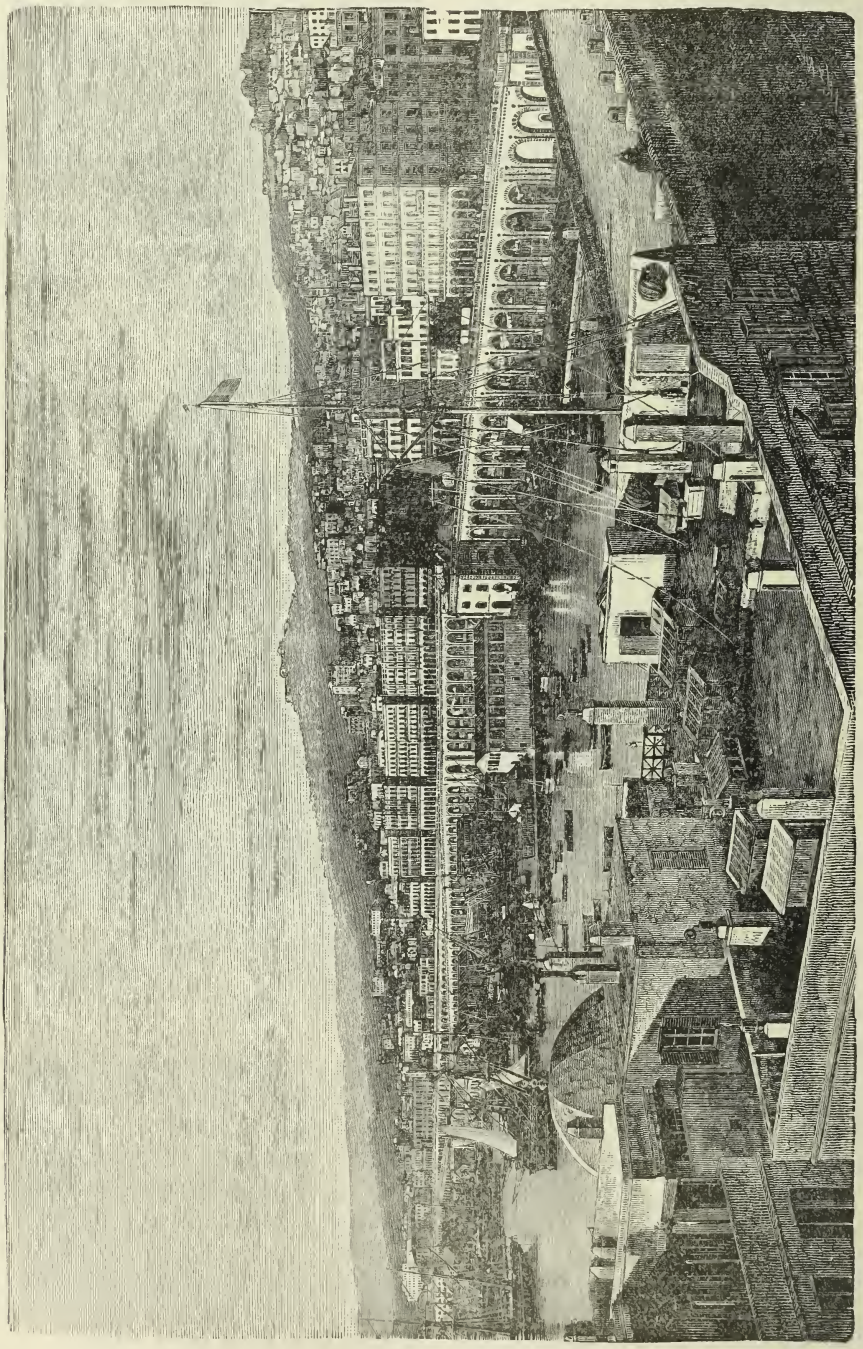


CASIMIR PERIER.

duct of the Morocco States toward the people of Christian nations, had already aroused many governments to war. The Algerians had been conspicuously criminal in the maltreatment and enslavement of Christians who chanced to come within their power. As early as the beginning of the century, the guns of the young Republic of the United States had thundered a cheerful sound along this part of the African coast.

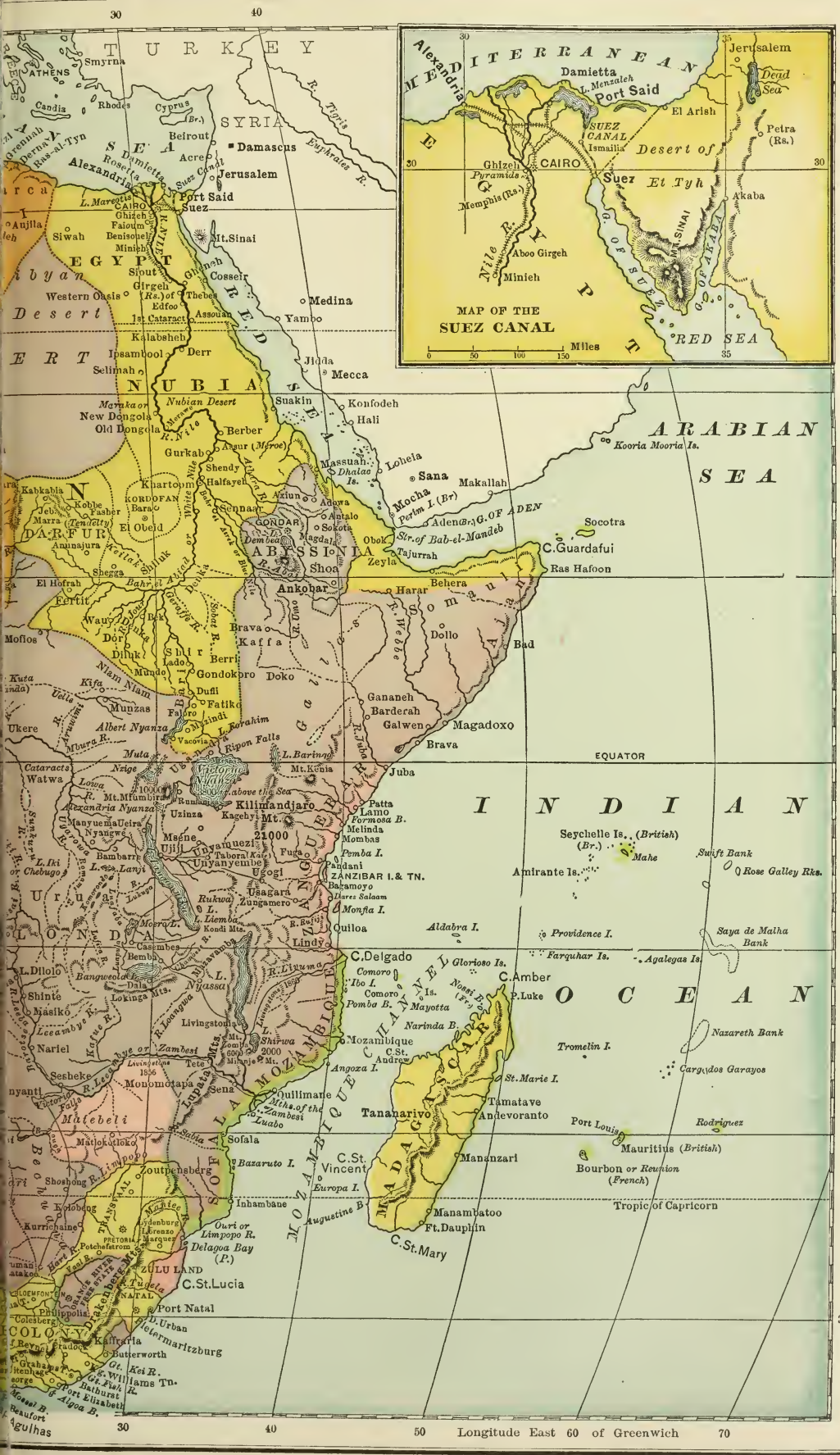
The present Dey of Algiers had pursued the policy of his predecessors, and it remained for the dying House of Bourbon to bring him to his knees. Charles X. was guilty of the

commendable action of sending out a squadron to demand of his Algerine Majesty an ample reparation for the wrongs done to the sailors and merchants of France. Early in 1830 an army of nearly forty thousand men was sent to the African coast to compel the dey to yield to the demands of civilization and humanity. Landing near the city of Algiers, the Count de Bourmont, who commanded the expedition, marched against the robber-capital of the country, and was about to carry the city by storm, when the dey, taking counsel of discretion, sent out a flag of truce and surrendered to the French. The African monarch was expelled from the country, and afterwards took up his residence in Naples.



ALGIERS.


MAP XXV.
AFRICA
English Miles
0 100 300 500 700 1000
Longitude West 10 of Greenwich
Fisk & See, N.Y.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF GUINEA
SPAIN
LISBON
C.St.Vincent
Str. of Gibraltar
Azores Is. (To Portugal)
Flores
Fayal
Terceira
Pico
S.Michael
Madeira Is. (To Portugal)
Madeira I.
Pto.Santo
Funchal
Desertas
Canary Islands
(To Spain)
Fortaventura
Lazarote
Palma
Ferro I.
Tenerife
Gd.Canary
C.Bojador
C.Nun
Tropic of Cancer
Cape Verde Islands
(To Portugal)
S.Antonio
Sal
S.Nicolas
Bonavista
Fogo
S.Iago
Cape Verde
C.Blanco
Arguin
Portendik
Pt.St.Louis
R.Senegal
Adrar
Tagant
Tatta
W.Draha
Sakiet el Hamra
El Arib
Bel Abbas
Grona
Egilte L.
Teleg
Taudeny
Arawan
Hoden
Walata
TIMBUCTOO
Gundam
Kabara
Yaouru
Kasambara
Sede
Yarra
Benowm
Warneo
Bakel
Goree
(Br.)
Bathurst
R.Gambia
C.Rozo
Cacheu
Bissagos Is.
R.Nunez
Ia.de Los
SIERRA LEONE
FREETOWN
(Br.)
MONROVIA
Tradetown
Gt.Sestres
C.Palmas
Timbo
Kankan
Kaarkari
Mt.Loma
Kong Mts.
Yande
Nikki
Eyeo
Rabba
Doma
Yola
Adamawa
Bussa
Nungu
Kulfela
Sansanding
Jenneh
Hamdallahi
L.Debo
Masina
Sokoto or Sackatoo
Kano
Kaduna
Birne
Gando
Yauri
Bebeji
Yakoba
Tabra
Damerghu
Agades
Air or Asben
Tintellust
Ashen Mts.
5000
Bilma
Kanem
Beri
L.Tchad
Mt.Abul
Cameron Mt. 13000
Biafra
BIAFRA
Bight of Benin
Bight of Biafra
Fernando Po
C.Formosa
Old Calabar R.
Bonny R.
Eboe
Old Calabar
Iddah
Wukuri
Abbeokuta
Abomey
DAHOMEY
ASHANTEE
Coomassie
Gold Coast
Ivory Coast
Salga
Princes I.
St.Thomas I.
R.Gaboon
Fan
Kaonga
C.Lopez
Annobon
EQUATOR
Ascension I.
(British)
St.Helena I.
(British)
Meridian of Greenwich
Mayumba
Kilonga
Loango
Cacongo
Cabinda
R.Congo, Zaire
C.Padrone
Ambriz
Icollo i Bengo
S.Paul de Loanda
R.Coanza
Novo Redondo
Quicombo
S.Felipe de Benguela
C.Martha
Port Alexander
C.Negro
Gt.Fish B.
Tiger Pt.
R.Nouras
C.Frio
Walvish B.
Hollams I.
Ichabo I.
Angra Pequena
Gt.Orange R.
Oliphants R.
Clanwilliam
St.Helena B.
Table B.
CAPE TOWN
Cape of Good Hope
Tripoli
Tunis
Algiers
Constantine
Kairwan
Hammamet
Monastir
Malta (Br.)
Karkenah Is.
Cabes
Gulf of Sidra
Mesurata
Gadamis
Hamada Plateau
Sokna
Wargla
Golea
Tuat
Zariba
Ain Salah
Agalby
Garara L.
Mimsina
Tafilet
Figuig
Segelmessa
Mogador
Agadir
Saffee
C.Cantin
Mequinez
Fez
Melilla
Tetuan
Ceuta
C.Spartel & Tangier
Gibraltar
Malaga
Oran
Algiers
Bona
Bizerta
Sicily
Fezzan
Jerma
Mourzouk
Gatron
Ghat
Ideles
Hogar
Ilmen Pk.
Tejeri
Anahef Mts.
4000
Asiu Wells
Jehaya
Tawo
Agades
Gogo
Niger R.
Borgu
Nyffi
Kakundy
Kong Mts.
Ivory Coast
Gold Coast
Ashantee
Dahomey
Abbeokuta
Abomey
Iddah
Wukuri
Eggo
Nikki
Yande
Kong
Mt.Loma
Kakundy
Kaarkari
Timbo
Kankan
Bambarra
Bambuk
Kamalia
Sansanding
Jenneh
Hamdallahi
Masina
Sego
Sansanding
Kulfela
Nungu
Bussa
Yauri
Bebeji
Yakoba
Tabra
Rabba
Doma
Yola
Adamawa
Bornu
Kanem
Beri
L.Tchad
Mt.Abul
Cameron Mt. 13000
Biafra
Fernando Po
Old Calabar
Eboe
Iddah
Wukuri
Abbeokuta
Abomey
Dahomey
Ashantee
Coomassie
Gold Coast
Ivory Coast
Salga
Princes I.
St.Thomas I.
R.Gaboon
Fan
Kaonga
C.Lopez
Annobon
Mayumba
Kilonga
Loango
Cacongo
Cabinda
R.Congo, Zaire
C.Padrone
Ambriz
Icollo i Bengo
S.Paul de Loanda
R.Coanza
Novo Redondo
Quicombo
S.Felipe de Benguela
C.Martha
Port Alexander
C.Negro
Gt.Fish B.
Tiger Pt.
R.Nouras
C.Frio
Walvish B.
Hollams I.
Ichabo I.
Angra Pequena
Gt.Orange R.
Oliphants R.
Clanwilliam
St.Helena B.
Table B.
CAPE TOWN
Cape of Good Hope
Tripoli
Tunis
Algiers
Constantine
Kairwan
Hammamet
Monastir
Malta (Br.)
Karkenah Is.
Cabes
Gulf of Sidra
Mesurata
Gadamis
Hamada Plateau
Sokna
Wargla
Golea
Tuat
Zariba
Ain Salah
Agalby
Garara L.
Mimsina
Tafilet
Figuig
Segelmessa
Mogador
Agadir
Saffee
C.Cantin
Mequinez
Fez
Melilla
Tetuan
Ceuta
C.Spartel & Tangier
Gibraltar
Malaga
Oran
Algiers
Bona
Bizerta
Sicily
Fezzan
Jerma
Mourzouk
Gatron
Ghat
Ideles
Hogar
Ilmen Pk.
Tejeri
Anahef Mts.
4000
Asiu Wells
Jehaya
Tawo
Agades
Gogo
Niger R.
Borgu
Nyffi
Kakundy
Kong Mts.
Ivory Coast
Gold Coast
Ashantee
Dahomey
Abbeokuta
Abomey
Iddah
Wukuri
Eggo
Nikki
Yande
Kong
Mt.Loma
Kakundy
Kaarkari
Timbo
Kankan
Bambarra
Bambuk
Kamalia
Sansanding
Jenneh
Hamdallahi
Masina
Sego
Sansanding
Kulfela
Nungu
Bussa
Yauri
Bebeji
Yakoba
Tabra
Rabba
Doma
Yola
Adamawa
Bornu
Kanem
Beri
L.Tchad
Mt.Abul
Cameron Mt. 13000
Biafra
Fernando Po
Old Calabar
Eboe
Iddah
Wukuri
Abbeokuta
Abomey
Dahomey
Ashantee
Coomassie
Gold Coast
Ivory Coast
Salga
Princes I.
St.Thomas I.
R.Gaboon
Fan
Kaonga
C.Lopez
Annobon
Mayumba
Kilonga
Loango
Cacongo
Cabinda
R.Congo, Zaire
C.Padrone
Ambriz
Icollo i Bengo
S.Paul de Loanda
R.Coanza
Novo Redondo
Quicombo
S.Felipe de Benguela
C.Martha
Port Alexander
C.Negro
Gt.Fish B.
Tiger Pt.
R.Nouras
C.Frio
Walvish B.
Hollams I.
Ichabo I.
Angra Pequena
Gt.Orange R.
Oliphants R.
Clanwilliam
St.Helena B.
Table B.
CAPE TOWN
Cape of Good Hope


MAP OF THE
SUEZ CANAL
Miles
0 50 100 150
Alexandria
MEDITERRANEAN
Damietta
L. Menzaleh
Port Said
Jerusalem
Dead Sea
El Arish
SUEZ CANAL
Ismailia
Desert of
Petra (Rs.)
Ghizeh
CAIRO
Pyramids
Memphis (Rs.)
Suez
Et Tyh
Akaba
Nile R.
Aboo Girgeh
Minieh
EGYPT
G. OF SUEZ
G. OF AKABA
Mt. SINAI
RED SEA
TURKEY
SYRIA
Smyrna
ATHENS
Candia
Rhodes
Cyprus
Beirut
Damascus
Acre
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Alexandria
Rosetta
Damietta
Suez Canal
Jerusalem
Port Said
Suez
L. Mareotis
CAIRO
Ghizeh
Faioum
Benisoheh
Minieh
Siout
Girgeh
Western Oasis
Edfoo
Thebes
Assouan
1st Cataract
Mt. Sinai
Gulf of Suez
Gulf of Akaba
Cosseir
Medina
Yambo
Desert
Kalabsheh
Derr
Ipsambool
Selimah
NUBIA
Nubian Desert
Jidda
Mecca
RED SEA
Suakin
Konfodeh
Hali
Berber
Gurkab
Shendy
Halfayeh
Axum
Adowa
Antalo
Sokota
Obok
Tajurrah
Zeyla
Sana
Lohela
Makallah
Mocha
Perim I. (Br)
Aden (Br)
G. OF ADEN
ARABIAN SEA
Kooria Mooria Is.
Socotra
C. Guardafui
Ras Hafoon
Behera
Harar
Ankobar
Shoa
ABYSSINIA
Dembea
Magdala
Gondar
Kabkabia
Kobbe
Fasher
Marra (Tendelty)
DARFUR
Kordofan
Bara
El Obeid
Khartoum
Sennaar
Abai or Blue R.
White Nile
Arrack or Blue R.
Shilluk
Denka
Aminajura
Shegga
El Hofrah
Bahr el Abiad
Giraffe R.
Sobat R.
Fertit
Waw
Bak
Dor
Dihuk
Shir
Berri
Lado
Mundo
Gondokoro
Doko
Brava
Kaffa
Omo R.
Webbe Shebeli R.
Somauli
Dollo
Bad
Mofios
Kuta
Kifa
Nlam Nlam
Dufli
Fatiko
Falloro
Munzas
Ukere
Albert Nyanza
Vacovia
L. Ibrahim
Ripon Falls
Juba R.
Gananeh
Barderah
Galwen
Magadoxo
Brava
EQUATOR
Juba
Cataracts
Watwa
Lowa R.
Mt. Mfumbiro
Alexandria Nyanza
Victoria Nyanza
10000
above the Sea
Rumbuga
Mt. Kenia
L. Baringo
Kilimandjaro
Patta
Lamo
Formosa B.
Melinda
Mombas
Pemba I.
Pandani
ZANZIBAR I. & TN.
Bagamoyo
Dares Salaam
Monfia I.
Quiloa
Aldabra I.
Providence I.
Farquhar Is.
Agalegas Is.
Saya de Malha Bank
Seychelle Is. (British)
Mahe
Swift Bank
Rose Galley Rks.
Amirante Is.
INDIAN OCEAN
Manyuema
Ueira
Nyangwe
Uzinza
Kagehyi
Mt. 21000
Msene
Ujiji
Uyanyuezi
Fuga
Uyanyembe
Usogi
Unyanyembe
Tabora
Kazeh
Bambarre
Urua
Lanzi
Iki
Chebugo
Rukwa
Usagara
Zungamero
L. Liemba
Kondi Mts.
Morro
Casembes
Bembe
Lindy
Bangweolo
Dala
Lokinga Mts.
Dilolo
Shinte
Niasiko
Nyassa
C. Delgado
Comoro
Ibo I.
Comoro
Pemba B.
Glorioso Is.
C. Amber
P. Luke
Nosi Be (Fr.)
Mayotta
Narinda B.
Livingstonia
Mozambique
St. Andrew
Angoza I.
Tromelin I.
Nazareth Bank
Cargados Garayos
St. Marie I.
Tamatave
Andevoranto
Tananarivo
MADAGASCAR
Port Louis
Rodriguez
Mauritius (British)
Bourbon or Reunion (French)
Manansari
Tropic of Capricorn
Manambatoo
Ft. Dauphin
C. St. Mary
C. St. Vincent
Europa I.
Bazaruto I.
Sofala
Inhambane
Augustine B.
Quillimane
Mths. of the Zambesi
Luabo
Sena
Tete
Zambesi
Shirwa
Mt. Zomba
Mt. Milanje
Lake Nyassa
Livingstone
Victoria Falls
Matebeli
Mashukulumbo
Shoshong
Kuruman
Kuruchaine
Kolobeng
Zoutpensberg
Limpopo R.
Ouri or Limpopo R.
Delagoa Bay (P.)
Lydenburg
Lorenzo Marques
PRETORIA
Potchefstrom
ZULU LAND
C. St. Lucia
Tugela
NATAL
Port Natal
D. Urban
Pietermaritzburg
Colesberg
Philippolis
Kaffraria
Butterworth
Graham's Town
Port Elizabeth
Algoa B.
Kei R.
Williams Tn.
Bathurst
Beaufort
Agulhas
Orange R.
Vaal R.
Harts R.
Modder R.
Basuto Land
Transvaal
COLONY
Longitude East 60 of Greenwich
30
40
50
70
20
10
0
30

Algiers was at once colonized by the conquerors, converted into the most flourishing and important foreign dependency of France, and held as a permanent outpost of the kingdom.

These events took place in the beginning of July, 1830, and on the 9th of the month the news reached Paris. It was in the heat and acme of the political crisis. No other news could have been so grateful to the tottering form and failing heart of Bourbonism. It was foolishly believed by the king and the Ministry that the success of the French arms over the Algerians might be turned to the glorification of the Government. The army of Louis had dictated peace by the suppression of a Liberal constitution in Spain. The army of Charles had won a victory over the half-wild African Islamites of Algiers. How great therefore are the abilities, how vast the energy and skill of the French Government, which has directed all things to these great ends! Therefore shall we be gloriously perpetuated and sit on our throne, not only *Dei gratia*, but by the common acclaim of the French Nation. Was not such the result when the news came home to France of Jena and Austerlitz and Friedland? But never was the logic of *mutatis mutandis* more strikingly applied. Encouraged by the idea that his African success would bear him through, Charles, on the 26th of July, proceeded to issue five Royal Ordinances, every one of which was leveled directly against the liberties of his subjects. The first article declared a suspension of the freedom of the press, or of whatever remained of the *fiction* of freedom. The second act dissolved the new Chamber of Deputies, *which had not yet convened!* The third prescribed a new system of elections, by which the absolute power of the king might be secured. The fourth convoked a new Chamber, and by the fifth some Ultra-Royalists were appointed to high places in the Government. The first knowledge which the people had of these proceedings was through the official newspaper in which the public decrees were promulgated. Marshal Marmont, who commanded the troops in the capital, knew nothing of what was done until apprised thereof by the publication of the king's intention. Having sent forth his edicts, Charles went hunting, and the Ministers shook hands gleefully over what they supposed to be the final solution of all their troubles.

But the solution was not even a respectable fiction. There now appeared on the scene a new force in the person of Louis Adolphe Thiers, a young journalist from Marseilles, who, as editor of the *National* newspaper, took up the cause of the people in a memorable manner. We have already spoken of the appearance of the spirit of free journalism under the previous reign. It remained for the year 1830 to present the new fact of an outspoken press as a distinct force in the public life of France. Thiers boldly put himself at the front, and became at once the recognized leader of the Liberal journalists of Paris. He had for his coadjutors Armand, Carrel, Mignet, and several others who wielded free lances against the buckler of Bourbonism. Thiers drew up, and with other Liberal editors signed and published, a vigorous and patriotic protest against the Royal Ordinances. The act, as matters then stood, was audacious in the extreme; but the event soon justified the course of the Liberal leaders. Public opinion at once went into insurrection against the Government, and it could hardly be doubted that the rattling insurrection of arms would soon follow in the train.

The pronunciamento of Thiers came sharp after the issue and publication of the king's edicts. On the 27th of July it was known that Marshal Marmont had been intrusted with the defense of Paris. The city took fire in an hour. She became suddenly glorious with indignation. Even on the day following the publication of the king's ordinances the people poured by thousands into the streets, and the city, as of old, began to put on her revolutionary garments. Volleys of musketry were heard where the multitudes were assembled. The people fell back before some unsteady charges of the guards, and by nightfall a silence which was ominous, rather than reassuring, rested over Paris. With the coming of the morning light, however, the agitation broke out afresh, and at nine o'clock the tricolor of the Republic was flung out from the spire of Notre Dame. Shortly afterwards the same inspiring banner was run up on the Hôtel de Ville. Many citizens arrayed them-

selves in the uniform of the old National Guard, and the Revolution of 1830 was fairly on.

The king and the Ministry were now thoroughly alarmed, and Marshal Marmont, commandant of Paris, was ordered to clear the city. At first he hesitated, and advised pacific measures with the populace. But the Government well knew that the time for pacification had passed, and that it must now conquer or perish. So the contest began, and in many parts of the city the firing of musketry and the rattling of iron hail along the streets announced the outbreak of revolutionary violence. The people became furious under the assaults of the soldiers, and hesi-



MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.

tated at nothing which promised the overthrow of the Government. They fought from the windows and house-tops. Every kind of weapon was brought into requisition. Stones, tiles, billets of wood, and every species of missile were hurled down upon the troops crowded into the narrow streets. Women poured hot water and boiling oil on the heads of the soldiers. Chairs, tables, and piano-fortes were thrown out of the windows by frenzied amazons, more furious even than the men, and more irrational in their rage. The guards were driven back to the Hôtel de Ville, and thence to the Tuileries. Nor can it be doubted that most of the soldiers were from the first at heart with the insurgents.

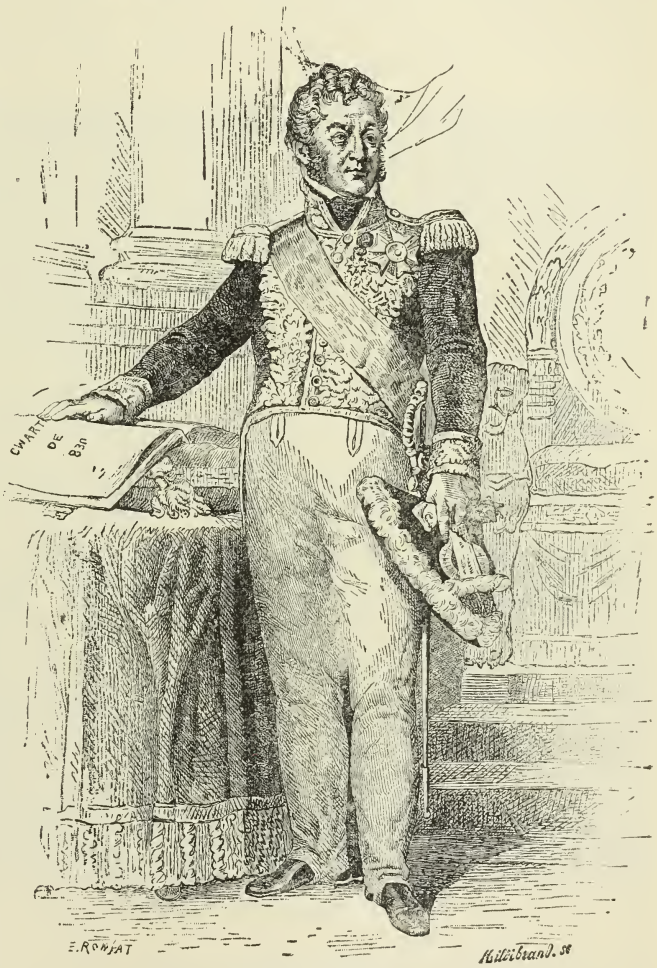
In the meantime came hurriedly together the new Chamber of Deputies. On the 28th of July the committee from the House entered into conference with Marmont, who endeavored to persuade them to pacify the people.

But the Deputies, from a constitutional point of view, quickly saw their advantage, and refused to attempt the pacification of Paris until certain reforms, virtually revolutionary in their character, should be made in and by the Government. On the night of the 29th the insurrection became general. The people tore up the boulevards and constructed barricades upon the principal streets. When it came to carrying these defenses, the soldiers showed themselves to be as lukewarm as the people were determined. During the day two full regiments of the line deserted and went over to the insurgents. Marshal Marmont perceived the defection, and could place no further reliance on the fidelity of any of the soldiers to the cause of the king. At this juncture the people made a universal rush, and swept everything before them. The Louvre was taken first, and the Tuileries soon afterwards. Into the latter palace the crowds burst as in the days of the Great Revolution. The Royal Chambers were sacked, and the insignia of the House of Bourbon trampled under foot. It was noted that in the midst of these excesses there was neither theft nor any other personal crime. It was again seen that the Parisian sansculotte was a true patriot, scorning to pillage for his own sake, but capable as a Hun to destroy the whole apparatus of monarchy. It is not known that a single person in these wild assaults on the Louvre and the Tuileries was murdered by the infuriated rioters. It was but another example of the excess and terrorism which may be expected under the dominion of that force which Paris herself has named the "sacred right of insurrection."

These things done, Marshal Marmont hastily withdrew from the city on the road to St. Cloud, and Paris was left in the hands of the Revolutionists. Charles himself, and all that was left of the Government, were swept out in the same direction. Vainly did the flying king attempt to stem the torrent. He hastily

abolished his Five Ordinances, by which the crisis had been precipitated. He dismissed the Royalist Ministry, and named another composed of Liberals. But he might as well have parleyed with a cyclone or made concessions to an earthquake. The French whale, now wallowing in the angry seas, would accept no tub of smaller proportions than the House of Bourbon itself. The Chamber of Deputies immediately came to an organization in the city, and resolved that Charles X. should reign no longer. The veteran General La Fayette was appointed to the Military Command at Paris, and on the reäppearance of the aged patriot in the streets the agitated sea at once fell to a calm. The Revolution was accomplished with but little bloodshed and small loss of property. Only three days, ever afterwards known in the phraseology of French history, as the "Three Days of July," had been occupied in the transformation; and it is said that many foreigners resident in Paris were not aware of the nature of the tumult until the work was ended.

We may here pause to note in a word the destinies of the wrecked dynasty. On the 2d of August, 1830, Charles X. gave over the hopeless struggle, and abdicated the throne in favor of his posthumous grandson, that young boy called the Duke of Bordeaux, son of the assassinated Duke of Berry. Of this child, to whom the remaining hopes of the House of Bourbon now turned, we have already spoken. He was at this time ten years of age, and was known henceforth as the Count de Chambord. His father, the Duke of Berry, was a younger son of Charles X. The elder son, the Dauphin, Duke of Angoulême, was childless—another circumstance in that fateful condition by which the crown of Henry of Navarre was sliding laterally to the ground. Under the circumstances, the Duke of Angoulême also renounced his claim to the throne of France in favor of his nephew. Of course the Royal Family must at once depart from that hot-tempered France which had borne through many generations so much of their insulting tyranny. Charles and his court made first a brief pause at St. Cloud, and then retired to Trianon, from which presently they removed to the Hôtel de Rambouillet. Even this refuge was but temporary. Under the circumstances, England was the best and safest retreat. Thither the representatives of the shattered House betook themselves and found residence at Holyrood Palace, near Edinburgh, where Charles had lived during the larger part of his first exile. He lived for six years, and died at Görtz, in Austria, on the 6th of November, 1836.



LOUIS PHILIPPE.

Meanwhile, events were whirling rapidly in the French capital. The Chamber of Deputies devoted themselves to the work of selecting a new ruler for France. At this juncture,

Thiers and Mignet again asserted their strength and influence by nominating for the throne Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, representative of what is known as the Younger Branch of the Bourbon dynasty. The prince himself was not loath to present himself at the crisis, and to offer his services to the nation. In so doing, he was favored greatly by his character and antecedents. He was the son of that Philippe Egalité, or Equality Philip, who was so conspicuous a figure—conspicuous for his Liberalism — in the early days of the First Revolution. At the first, the Chamber voted to place him at the head of the kingdom with the title of Lieutenant-General. The prince accepted his election, met the Chamber of Deputies and members of the Provisional Government at the Hôtel de Ville, and there solemnly pledged himself to the most liberal principles of administration. His accession to power in his military relations was hailed with great delight by the Parisians, who waved the tri-color flag before him as he came, and shouted to their heart's content.

At this stage of the revolution the representatives of the overthrown House and of the Old Royalty sought assiduously to obtain from Louis Philippe a recognition of the young Count de Chambord, under the title of Henry V. But the Duke of Orleans was too wily a politician to be caught in such a snare. He at first suppressed that part of the letter of abdication signed by Charles and Angoulême in which reference was made to the succession of the Duke of Berry's son; but a knowledge of that clause was presently disseminated in the city, and the tumult broke out anew. Then it was that a great mob, rolling out of Paris in the direction of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, gave the signal of flight to Charles and those who had adhered to the toppling fortunes of his House.

CHAPTER CXXXVI.—THE CITIZEN KING.

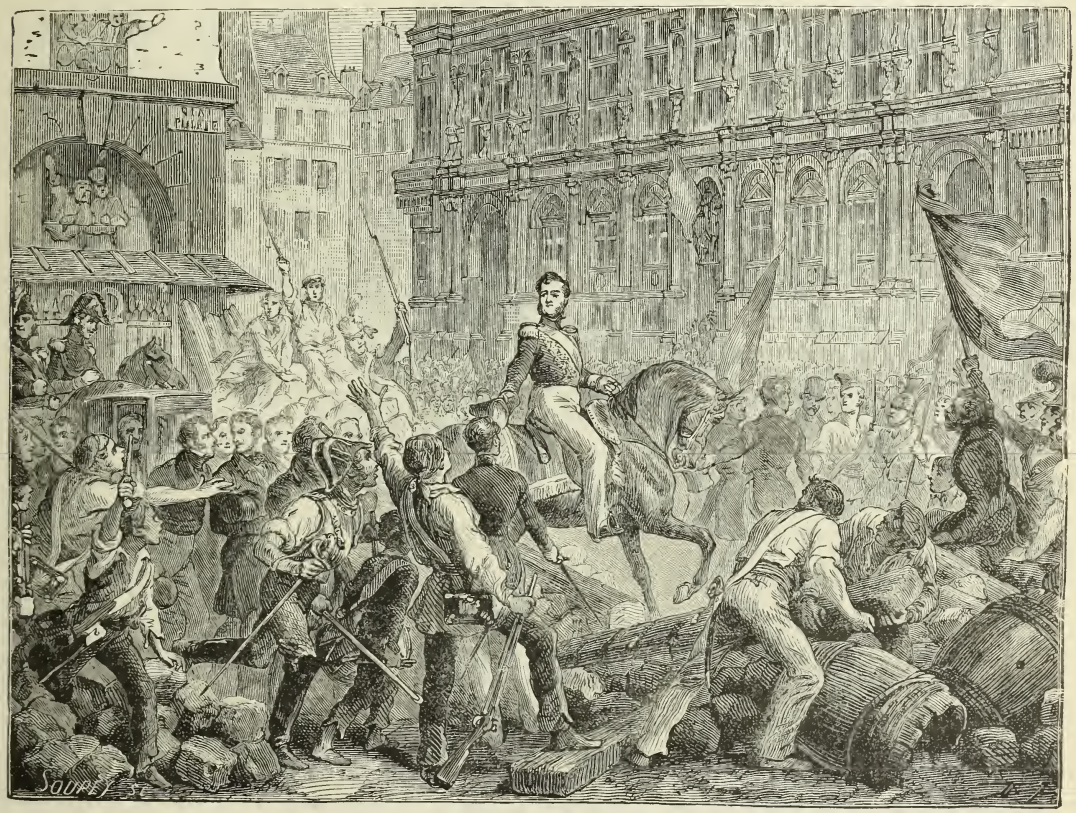
THUS did the Younger Branch of the House of Bourbon supplant the Elder. The Chamber of Deputies proceeded at once to undo the despotic acts of Charles X., and then to elect Louis Philippe king, not of *France*, but of the *French*.[1] The popularity of the new sovereign was shown in the fact that he received two hundred and nineteeen out of the two hundred and fifty-two votes in the Chamber. His elevation to power was another most striking example of the strange personal vicissitudes through which the princes of France passed in the Revolutionary epoch. Nothing could more strongly illustrate the possible height and depth of aristocratic life at this era in history than the career of this same Louis Philippe. Carlyle, with his keen insight of men and events, caught quickly and well the panorama of this eventful life: "The brave young Egalité," says he of him on the night when Madame Genlis effected his own and his sister's escape from France to Switzerland, "has a most wild morrow to look for; but now only himself to carry through it. . . . Brave young Egalité reaches Switzerland and the Genlis cottage with a strong crabstick in his hand, a strong heart in his body: his princedom is now reduced to *that*." Certainly such a prospect is not cheering. Young Egalité at length becomes M. Corby, in his exile, and is a village school-master in Switzerland. He suffers hunger, hardship, all the pangs of poverty and deprivation, but bears up bravely through more than twenty-one years of wandering in exile. Returning to France in 1814, his military rank was revived, and the property which his father had lost by execution and confiscation was restored to him. Now, on the 9th of August, 1830, he is elected, by an almost unanimous vote of the deputies, King of the French, and for eighteen years to come shall wear the crown, which he

[1] Napoleon the Great had, on his accession to power, drawn the same distinction. He had himself crowned as Emperor of the French, not of France. The Feudal principle was made to give way to popular sovereignty.

is destined to lose at last in the Republican Revolution of 1848.

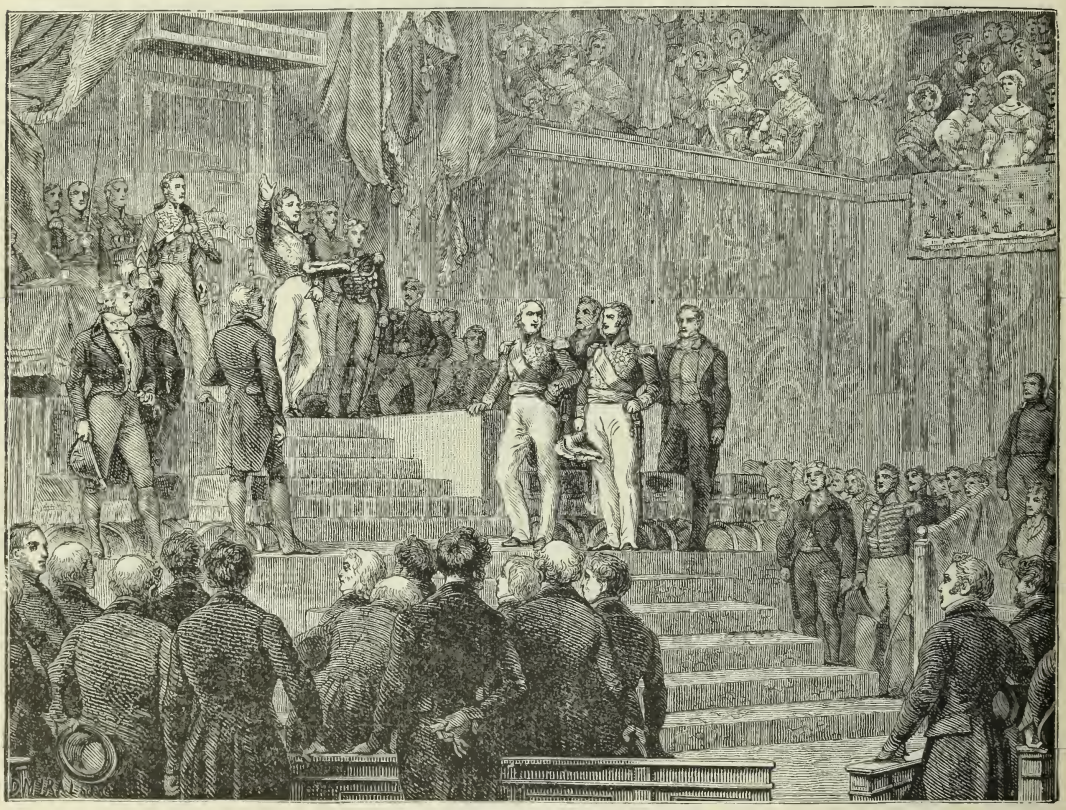
On the whole, the events which we have just described, the nearly bloodless Revolution of 1830, the elevation of Louis Philippe to the throne of a moderated monarchy, resembled, and are indeed the analogue of, the English Revolution of 1688. In many respects William of Orange and the first and only Orleans king of France stand in like relation to the civil history of their respective countries. There was now a general effort made by the Liberal monarchists of France to introduce such constitutional reforms as might tend to make possible the coëxistence of the kingdom and the public liberty. The new court and Government proved to be the most virtuous and able which the French Nation had known since the days of the Consulate and the Empire. In his personal character, disciplined as he had been by adversity, the king was unexceptionable. During his reign of eighteen years, the inner life and outer reputation of the Tuileries was as fair as that famous abode of power had ever known. Indeed, the monarchy now established in France was of a new kind—a peculiar blending of Imperial force with Republican simplicity. The popular voice well expressed the spirit of a new *régime* in the sobriquet which it conferred on Louis of "The Citizen King"—a compliment not undeserved.

One of the first measures promoted by the Orleans dynasty was the prosecution and completion of the conquest of Algiers. After the capture of the city of that name by the Duke of Angoulême, and the return of the latter to France, a new figure had appeared in the African horizon, in the person of the famous Arab General, Abd-el-Kader. This Mohammedan prince was a native of Mascara, born in the year 1807. He was well educated in the lore of Islam, and, when only twenty-four years of age, was chosen Emir of Mascara and chief of the dependent tribes. He had already a great reputation as a soldier—a wild cavalry leader of the desert, brave and rash as Mohammed himself. To him now fell



ARRIVAL OF LOUIS PHILIPPE IN PARIS.

the task of rescuing Algiers from the grasp of France. For quite awhile after the accession of Louis Philippe, Abd-el-Kader, with his barbarian cavalry, held the French in check, and not until the latter had sacrificed a vast amount of life and treasure did they succeed in reducing him to submission. The war continued for many years. At last, however, in August of 1844, a combined army of Moors and Algerians was met and disastrously routed at the great battle of Isly, by the French forces under command of Marshal Bugeaud.



LOUIS PHILIPPE TAKES THE OATH.

Abd-el-Kader still kept in the field, but his forces dwindled to a handful, and at last he was captured by the Duc d'Aumale, on the 22d of December, 1847. It appears that the pledge made to the captive, that he should be allowed to retire to Alexandria, was broken by the French Government, and Abd-el-Kader was imprisoned in the castle of Pau.

We must, however, return to the French capital, and note the progress of affairs under the auspices of the new Government. That Government stood for moderation and order. It may be said to have been the Government of the Middle or Burgher class against the two extremes of society. Under it the Royalist and the sansculotte were alike discredited. Its strength consisted in this, that it had the support of those monarchists who had abandoned the theories and practices of the Elder Bourbonism—who had at length decided that in modern Europe an absolute king had no part or place. The new Government was also supported by that kind of Gironde-Republicanism which inclined to mere order and practicality in society, as against the cloud-built structures of idealism and dreams.

The imperfection of the system thus introduced and thus supported, was the fact that it did not reach to the bottom of society, that it did not include the under man in its scheme, that it did not consider the absolute rights of man as the real beginning of human order and development. For the time, however, the two great classes of Limited Monarchists, represented by Guizot, and of respectable Repub-

licanism, represented by Thiers, gave a cordial support to the Citizen King and the Administration, and though the views of the one may be said to have inclined to the stronger monarchy, and the views of the other to a more liberal republic, thus disturbing the stability of the theory on which the Government was founded, if not the Government itself, yet the equilibrium was such for a season as to promise permanency and awaken considerable enthusiasm. Lafayette gave in his adhesion to the monarchy under this form, believing that the republican doctrines—in a broad sense—which he and his fellow-patriots still accepted, were shared by only a minority of the French, and that under such circumstances the monarchy was expedient. On the whole, the Government of Louis Philippe was the most rational, and we might almost say the most successful, attempt ever made to apply English constitutionalism to the civil society of France.

From many points of view the Revolution of 1830 and its immediate results in France are interesting as a general fact in European history. The Three Days of July and the election of Louis Philippe mark the borderlines and set up the termini of the monarchical reäction which followed the great Revolutionary Age. Thus far the reäctionary pendulum swung, but never further. With the collapse of the Napoleonic Imperialism, society was for a brief season given up to the Past. The Past recovered the throne. The Past plumed itself, and looked complacently around the horizon with ancient and filmy



BATTLE OF ISLY.

eyes. The Past dreamed of reöccupation, of repossession, of redistribution and recovery. The Past supposed itself young again, not knowing that the very marrow in its bones had dried into dust. The Past looked for the moment into the ancient mirror, put on its wigs, its regalia, its ancient decorations, and repeated the mummery of *L'état c'est moi.* Until 1830 such pretensions were not only possible, but respectable. After 1830 they were not only impossible, but ludicrous. It s the twisted face of the ludicrous that completes all revolutions. The last act of all iconoclasm and destruction is a smile. All the snow-giants of the world, whether built by the red hands of playing children in their winter caps, or by the idolatrous architecture of great nations, melt down finally under a smile. The Government of Louis Philippe marked the beginning of that epoch throughout Europe at which men regarded the ancient system of monarchy with a simple smile. True enough, Imperialism may still come. It may come here—and will come—even in France; but the ancient Bourbonism is now dead, never to revive.

We have already seen how, even in stoical England, the dethronement of Charles X. produced, by sympathy, a wholesome reäction and led to that great reform agitation which, under Earl Russell's direction contributed so healthful a change to the British constitution. Now it was, also, that the Belgians felt the warmth of the excitement in France, renounced their subordination to Holland, declared their independence, and conferred a constitutional crown on Leopold, their chosen king. If, in 1823, Angoulême and his French army had gone into Spain to put down the Liberal Constitution of 1812, another army of French was now sent forth to the aid of the insurgent Belgians, forcing the surrender and evacuation of Antwerp, and contributing to the independence of the new kingdom.



CAPTURE OF ABD-EL-KADER.

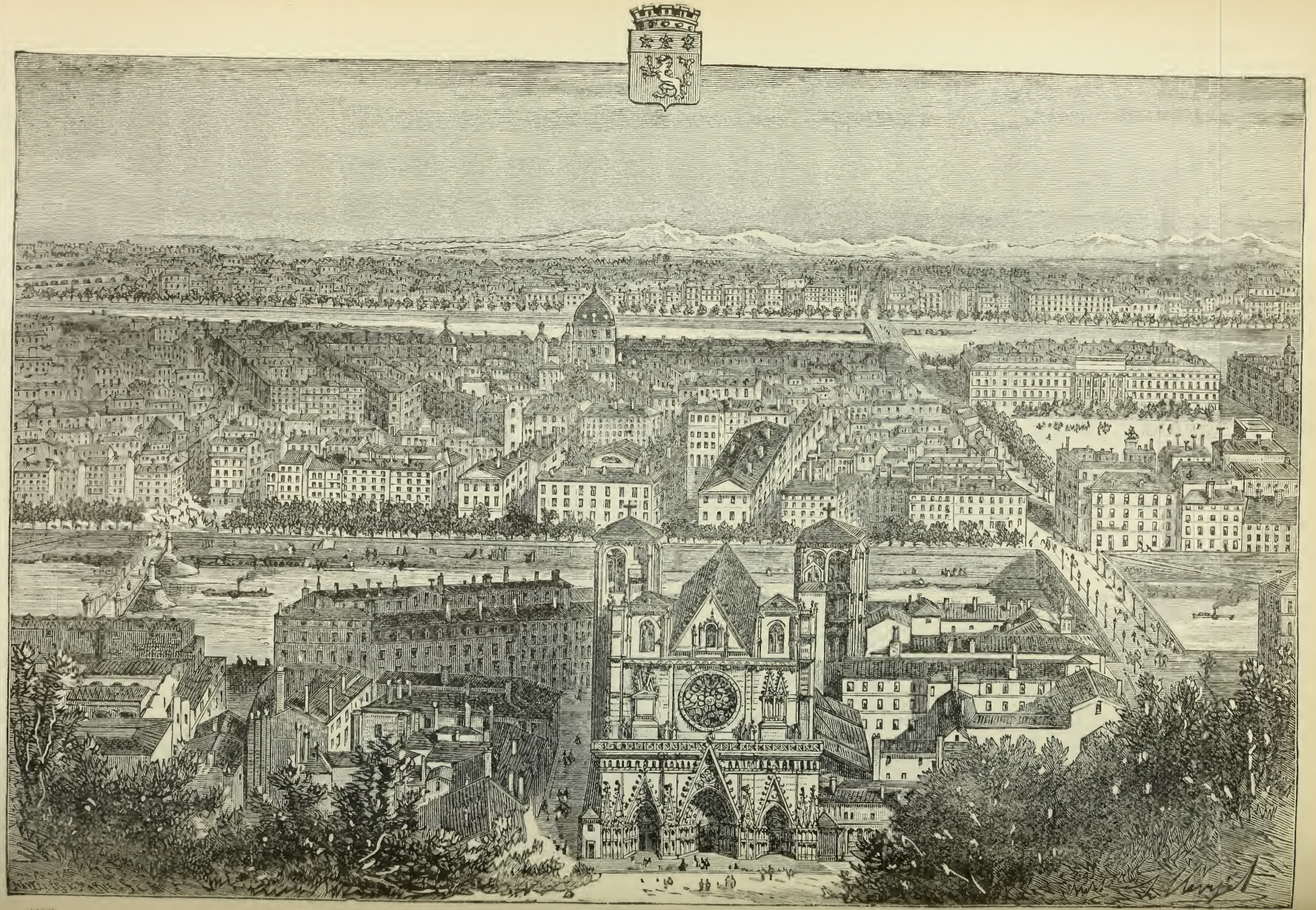
Nothing could better illustrate the unkingly and unnational reigns of Louis XVIII. and Charles X. than the fact that, during their whole continuance in power, they neglected

utterly to attend to the defenses of France. Common prudence would have suggested that as soon as the foreign occupation had ended, the Government should at once devote its whole energies to the task of making the country secure against a possible repetition of the inroads and humiliations of 1814–15. The Allies had trodden France under foot. They had traversed more than half the kingdom. They had been twice in full possession of the capital, and had quitted Paris at their free will. But the Restoration did not restore. The last two Bourbons were satisfied with their cushioned seats and couches in the Tuileries. For fifteen years Apathy was king. In an interval fully sufficient to have strengthened the kingdom in every part, particularly to have made the capital secure against the possible recurrence of foreign occupation, the opportunity was allowed to pass unimproved, and 1830 found the kingdom almost as unprotected from invasion and seizure as it had been after Waterloo.

With the incoming of the new Administration, however, the protection of Paris and France from the return of the fate of 1815 became a prominent question with the Government. Now were begun around the city those tremendous and well-planned fortifications against which the victorious Germans were to throw themselves in the Franco-Prussian War. Beneficial as such a line of defenses must undoubtedly prove against the assaults of foreign foes, the work was regarded with great distrust by the people of France, who, long disciplined in the school of treachery, suspected that the real purpose of the fortifications was to protect the Government again against its own subjects!

We may here recur to the marriage complication involving the Spanish Royal Family, some account of which has already been given in the history of England. Louis Philippe was by no means devoid of kingly ambition. He naturally considered such questions as related to the permanency and strength of the dynasty which he hoped to establish. The House of Orleans was in one sense as new to Europe as though it had just been molten and cast from the fire. This circumstance was prejudicial to the new Government, particularly in the minds of those ancient Royal families under whom the greater part of Europe lay parceled out. The Citizen King sought to make himself at one with the old dynasties, and to ally the fortunes of his House with theirs. One of his favorite measures was accordingly the intermarriage of members of his family with the principal Houses of Europe.

It was in pursuance of this policy that Louis Philippe at length encountered the serious opposition of England, and incurred the personal displeasure of the Queen. As his reign wore on, the French king decided that his youngest son, the Duc de Montpensier, should take in marriage the Princess Maria Louisa, sister of Queen Isabella of Spain. To American readers it is hardly conceivable that so simple a matter should, in the fifth decade of the nineteenth century, have so seriously excited the political apprehensions of Great Britain. The objection raised by that Government to the project of Louis Philippe, was that the Queen of Spain *might* never marry. In that event the Spanish crown *might* be given to Maria Louisa; or, if Isabella should marry, the union *might* bring no heir to the crown of Spain. Should that occur, the crown, as before, *might* go to the Queen's sister. Moreover, the Duc de Montpensier *might* inherit the throne of France; and should the duke become king, which he *might* do, and Maria Louisa receive the Spanish crown, which *might* occur, and a son be born of the marriage, which *might* happen, then the prince so born *might* inherit the kingdoms of both France and Spain. Amazing possibility! For in that event, the balance of power *might* be disturbed, and the political fabric of Europe *might* go to ruin. The inner councils of Great Britain were, as we have already shown, so shaken by these multiplied potential moods, that emphatic protests were made against the French king's plan, and that monarch was constrained to secure the marriage of Queen Isabella to her cousin, Don Francisco de Asis, a Spanish grandee, in order to remove, or at least abate, the objection to his own program. The whole transaction, however, considered from a European, rather than from an American, point of view, assumes a greater significance. It may well be admitted that the political order of Europe



GENERAL VIEW OF LYONS.

still rests on that balance of power which, beginning in the Italian diplomacy of the sixteenth century, has expanded until it constitutes the virtual frame-work of the whole system. Thus much being granted, the protests of England against that project of the French king which involved the possible union of the crowns of France and Spain, was not only natural, but prudential and salutary.

In speaking of this feature of the policy of Louis Philippe, we have run forward to its consequences at a late period in his reign. We may now resume the narrative in chronological order, and note some of the domestic aspects of France in the years immediately following the Revolution of 1830. The Government, at the very outset, was confronted by a serious financial crisis; and this in its turn was followed by alarming troubles and insurrections in different parts of France. The most portentous of such movements was in the old Loyalist, manufacturing city of Lyons. In November of 1831 the Lyonnaise workingmen, distressed by the hardships which came in the train of the crisis, struck for higher wages, and a terrible insurrection ensued, in the course of which the rioters seized the Hôtel de Ville, and for a season made themselves masters of the city. Not until the Government had sent to the scene a French army under Marshal Soult and the Duke of Orleans, was the revolt suppressed. Even then the spirit of the insurrection was not extinguished. In April of 1834 the rebellion broke out anew, and for several days the insurgents and the forces of the Government battled in the streets. Nor was the disturbance quelled and quiet restored except by the sword and military occupation.



INSURRECTION IN LYONS.

Other parts of the kingdom also were the seats of various conspiracies. In the western part of the kingdom an insurrection was fomented by the Duchess of Berry, who, among the Loyalists of La Vendée, sought, by her personal influence, to secure the recognition of her son as king. At one time she had gathered to her side a considerable remnant of the old Bourbon

interest; but she fell at length into the hands of the Government, and it was then divulged that for some time she had been secretly married to an Italian nobleman, to whom she had borne a daughter. The revelation destroyed the romance. The Legitimist cause was completely discredited, and the princess herself was imprisoned in the Fortress of Blaye. At Grenoble, also, the old capital of Dauphiny, a popular insurrection occurred, which had to be suppressed by force of arms.



MARIE CAROLINE, DUCHESS OF BERRY.

It has been the misfortune of France that what may be called political reason has been of late birth and development in that country. The other faculties of the French mind have forerun the political sense, and, as a consequence, many brilliant activities have been exhibited in the midst of political adolescence and folly. Those political experiences, through which the English race passed with so much pain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were postponed in France for fully a hundred and fifty years. The thoughtful mind may clearly discover in the condition of French opinion and practice at the epoch which we are now considering, the rudimentary character of the institutions of the country, the inexperience of the people, the unwisdom of their statesmen. Though the Government of Louis Philippe had been accepted by the nation as a whole, it was really in the favor of but few. Political parties existed of every shade. Each party had its own governmental ideas, and each believed that the salvation of France rested upon the central thought which it professed. By this thought each faction tried the kingdom and the Administration as by a standard. In every instance discrepancies were found between the existing order and the ideal plan which each several party had prepared. It is in the nature of the French to force the government of facts by ideas, to press human society into the mold of theory, and to be angered at any refusal or any want of fitness.

The result is—the result was—in the case of the Government of Louis Philippe, that a great majority of the French, while accepting it, disliked it, contemned it. Hardly any faction was heartily in sympathy with the Citizen King and the system which he represented. Even the Orleanists themselves were divided into parties. In the Assembly there was not only a Right, a Center, and a Left, but an Extreme Right, a Right Center, a Left Center, an Extreme Left, *et cetera*. At the first the king's party had had its best representative

in Casimir Perier, who stood at the head of the Government. But after his death, in 1832, Thiers and Guizot became the leading spirits of the arena. Then began that life-long rivalry between the two statesmen which, though resting on different grounds, may well remind the reader of the similar contemporaneous antagonism between Disraeli and Gladstone.

The tentative character of political science in France was further illustrated in the many vicissitudes and transformations through which the Government of Louis Philippe rapidly passed. The king at length placed Marshal Soult at the head of the Cabinet, thus calling to the rescue the military spirit and the recollection of the Napoleonic Era. With the Marshal were associated as leaders of the Administration, the Duc de Broglie, Guizot, and Thiers. The Cabinet was thus not wanting in great abilities, but the diversity of opinion prevented unity of purpose and steadiness of action. A succession of Governments followed each other like a panorama, until finally, in January of 1836, Thiers came to the head of the Ministry, and for a short time impressed his character and policy upon the Administration. This, however, only lasted for a few months. The Premier strongly urged the king to interfere in the affairs of Spain; but the latter, remembering the unfortunate experience of his predecessors in the prosecution of such a policy, declined, and the Cabinet was broken up. Count Molé was then called to the conduct of affairs, and the positions of Guizot and Thiers were reversed in the new Ministry.

It might well have been expected that hatreds and enmities, deep as the foundations of life and death, would find expression with respect to the king. With him and his methods, no radical republican could be content. Even the Bonapartists had accepted Louis Philippe as a *pis aller*, and bided their time. The Legitimists also hated the king and his Government, because both he and it seemed to mock their own memory and deeds. For twenty years the whole service of France had been like the sea after the tempest has subsided. The winds blow no longer, but the surface still heaves with the unexhausted energies of the storm. The breaking of the billows here and there was expressed in tumult, riot, insurrection. Here and there on the surface was seen a spot of intense whiteness, which marked the cumulative rage of some individual breast, breaking into foam. Plots were made against the king's life. The most notable example of such business was that of the Corsican conspirator, Joseph Marie Fieschi, who, with the purpose of destroying Louis Philippe, invented a sort of infernal machine capable of vomiting forth



MARSHAL SOULT.

death from twenty-five barrels at once. Fieschi had been a member of the Corsican Legion, at Naples, under the Empire. He had stood by Murat in his attempt to recover the crown, and had been sentenced to death. Prosecuted for other crimes, he fled from his native Island to France, and drifted into Paris. After the Revolution of 1830, he obtained a pension from the Government, and did police duty in the city. The loss of this place was, perhaps, the exciting cause of his attempt against the life of the king.

Fieschi and his accomplices first hired an apartment in the Boulevard of the Temple,

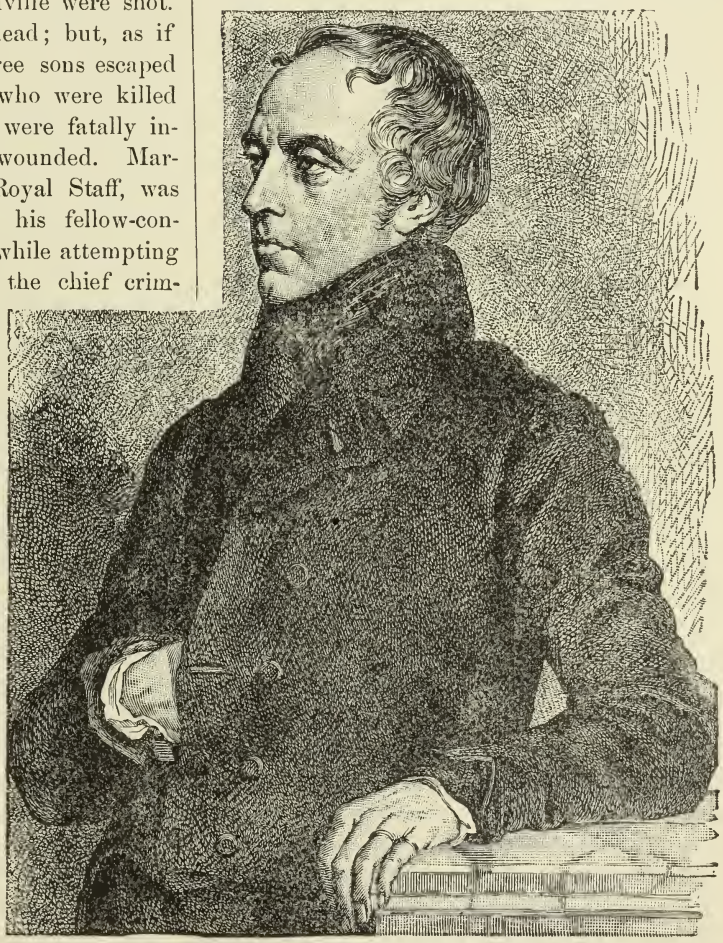
and there made careful preparations for the intended tragedy. A notable opportunity for the accomplishment of their purpose was at hand. On the 28th of July, 1835, the quinquennial anniversary of the Revolution and the accession of Louis Philippe was celebrated.



FIESCHI'S ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE LOUIS PHILIPPE.

The fête was in the manner of the Parisians. A splendid procession was formed, which had as a part of its course the Boulevard du Temple. Fieschi and the conspirators took their place, with their death-dealing machine arranged at the window. The king and his staff rode by. At the opportune moment Fieschi discharged his terrible volley, and eleven persons of the cavalcade were killed on the spot. The king's horse and those of the Duke of Nemours and the Prince de Joinville were shot. A ball grazed the king's forehead; but, as if by a miracle, he and his three sons escaped unhurt. Besides the eleven who were killed at the moment, seven others were fatally injured, and twenty-two others wounded. Marshal Mortier, Chief of the Royal Staff, was killed outright. Fieschi and his fellow-conspirators were at once seized, while attempting to escape. It was found that the chief criminal had himself been severely wounded by the discharge of his infernal apparatus; but he was saved alive, brought to trial, and condemned to death. On the 19th of February, 1836, he was brought to the scaffold, where he died after the manner of a revolutionary bandit performing an act in a theater. Two of his accomplices were also put to death, a third was sentenced to imprisonment, and the fourth was acquitted.

The first years of the reign of Louis Philippe were noted for the reäppearance of certain symptoms of Imperialism. The Bonaparte family had gone down in the gulf which swallowed the First Revolution. The members of that family were either dead or scattered in foreign countries. Some of the great Napoleon's brothers were still living. Louis, formerly king of Holland, was residing in Italy; Jerome, once king of Westphalia, was living at Florence; Lucien was spending his last days at Viterbo. But the chief interest of the family and of the dynasty centered at this time in the Duke of Reichstadt, son of Napoleon the Great, called and entitled by his father the King of Rome. It was in his favor that Napoleon had abdicated the throne. At the time of the downfall of Charles X., the Duke of Reichstadt was resident in Vienna, where his military education was just then completed. He was appointed Colonel of one of the regiments of Hungarian infantry at the Austrian capital. When the Revolution of 1830 was toward its close, some spasmodic efforts were made in France to arouse the Imperialists in favor of Napoleon's son. But the time had not come for the success of such an enterprise. Soon afterwards the Duke of Reichstadt went into a decline, and died of phthisis, at Schönbrunn, on the 22d of July, 1832.[1]



GUILLAUME GUIZOT.

[1] An auto-epitaph of the Duke of Reichstadt is sufficiently satirical:

DUKE OF REICHSTADT.
He was born King of Rome and died an
Austrian colonel!

This event cast a deep shadow over the prospects of the Bonapartists, out of which they never fully emerged. But they were sufficiently vital to transfer their allegiance at once to another representative of the Napoleonic family. The law of heredity pointed out the candidate in the person of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, afterwards Emperor of the French. It was at this time that the prince just named made his first ludicrous bow on the stage of French history. We shall not in this connection refer to the previous career of Louis Napoleon, but merely give an account of the fiasco which introduced him to the knowledge of mankind.

As soon as it was known that the Duke of Reichstadt was dead—when it was remembered that Joseph Bonaparte, eldest brother of Napoleon, and actual head of the family, had no son—the index finger turned at once to Prince Louis Napoleon, and he came promptly to the fore. He began immediately to lay plans for the subversion of the Government of Louis Philippe. It seems that from the first he cherished the belief that the Bonaparte *name* was of itself sufficient, whenever it should be proclaimed, to arouse France from the intermediate state in which she now existed, to drive the Orleanist dynasty beyond the borders, and to introduce the new Imperialism of the future. In any country other than France, such a dream would have been a mere chimera; but in that country the chimera was destined to pass by way of possibility into reality.

Louis Napoleon chose the latter part of 1836 as the date of his first experiment. On the 28th of October in that year he arrived at Strasburg. Here was stationed, on the Rhine frontier, a division of the French army. Prince Louis entered into communication with Colonel Vaudrey and a few other officers, and on the following day went in person to the quarters of the Fourth Artillery, of which Vaudrey was the commanding officer. He showed himself to the soldiers, read a proclamation, and was answered with a few cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" He then passed on to the barracks where the infantry were quartered, and with them he attempted the same manœuver; but the soldiers looked at him in amazement, and the whole affair ended in sheer absurdity. The prince was arrested and put into prison. But the Government appears to have regarded him with some contempt, and he was presently liberated without trial, and sent to the United States. Such was the first apparition of that strange personage who was destined, after the lapse of twenty eventful years, to become the tallest figure, not only in France, but in all Europe.

While these events were enacted, Count Molé remained at the head of the Ministry. The antagonism between Guizot and Thiers had now become fully developed. The former represented the monarchical principle and, to a certain extent, the gravitation of the kingdom backward towards the ancient condition. Thiers, on the other hand, stood for Liberalism. He was a republican in principle, and accepted the monarchy only as a necessity. The attitude of the two principal parties into which the statesmen and people of France were divided was to be inferred from the attitude of the two great leaders. Between these two forces, one reäctionary and conservative, the other progressive and liberal, the Government of Louis Philippe was reduced to a state of unstable equilibrium. It was held in place, not so much by any breadth and solidity of foundation as by the opposing forces which held it for the time on the two sides, and prevented it from slipping from its place.

In the Government itself the conservative principle gradually gained the ascendency. The political life of Guizot at this epoch marks almost precisely the dispositions, tendencies, and abilities of the monarchy. At the same time the outside drift of public opinion was against Louis Philippe and the system which he represented. This was true especially in the peasant districts, where the influence of the Catholic clergy was in the ascendant, and where political opinion was a strange mixture of rudimentary republicanism and imperialism. These two tendencies, the one in favor of the monarchy and the other against it, grew apart, and the Government was often hard strained between them. In two instances, and two only, did Thiers and Guizot coöperate in the Administration. In 1832, soon after the accession of the king, the two rivals, soon to be, followed for a brief season the same political path in support of the Government. They then diverged in the directions already

indicated, and continued in opposition until 1839. In that year Guizot combined with the parties of the Left and Left Center in order to secure the overthrow of the Molé Ministry, a movement which resulted in sending Guizot as French Ambassador to London. On his return from this place, in the fall of 1840, the Guizot Ministry was formed, which was destined to be conterminous with the Monarchy itself.

It will be remembered that just after this event the relations between Great Britain and France became strained. Guizot was accused of English sympathy, and was greatly prejudiced in the esteem of his countrymen by his partiality for the British Ambassador, Lord Aberdeen. It was Guizot's theory of administration that the peace and dignity of France were to be secured rather by tranquillity within her borders, by the development of home industry, by the quietude of society, and the growth of humane arts, than by foreign transactions, however glorious. He refused to humor the nation in its passionate and patriotic whims. The general result of his policy was his own extreme unpopularity and a constant advantage to the Opposition, ever ready to attack him and his measures for their unpatriotism. His course was viewed in France with the same popular disdain, and was subjected to the same reproaches, as was that of Lord Aberdeen in England. Each statesman was accused of being subservient to the enemies of his country. The denunciations of the French Ministry knew no bounds, and these Guizot met with a like disdain. "You may," said he, "raise the pile of calumny as high as you will, but you never can reach the height of my own contempt."

The policy of cultivating friendly relations with England was steadily continued. Louis Philippe paid a visit to the Queen of England, at Windsor Palace, and, in 1843, the Queen returned the compliment at the Chateau D'Eu. There were several years of "good intent" expressed and implied in the relations of France and England. But at length, in 1846, the Government of Sir Robert Peel was overthrown, and Lord Palmerston was made British Secretary for Foreign Affairs. It was the signal, so far as France was concerned, for general distrust. Now it was that the conduct of Sir Henry Bulwer at the court of Madrid, and of Lord Palmerston himself, led to the belief, on the part of Guizot, that the engagement of the French Government relative to the Spanish marriages had been annulled by the course of Great Britain herself. It was suspected at Paris that the Ministers of Victoria were concocting a scheme to place one of her own kinsmen, of the House of Coburg, on the throne of Spain. It was under these beliefs and apprehensions that Guizot and the king were led to that course of conduct with respect to the marriage of Isabella and her sister, which in England was ever afterwards regarded as perfidious. Slight as the circumstance was in itself, the effect was to break off the intimate relations which had existed between France and England, and to substitute for the Anglo-French alliance a Franco-Austrian friendship, which the Government of France could better have spared than cultivated.

The household of Louis Philippe was not without its sorrows. Already, in 1839, a deep gloom had been spread over the court by the death of the Princess Marie, the accomplished and popular daughter of the king. More disastrous by far to the dynasty in its prospects was the accidental death of the king's son, the Duke of Orleans, heir to the crown. On the 13th of July, 1842, this popular and highly cultured prince, upon whom the expectations of the Orleanist party were centered, now at the age of thirty years, was journeying in his carriage from Paris to Neuilly. The horses became ungovernable from fright, and the Duke, jumping from the carriage, was thrown on the pavement, fracturing his skull. He was conveyed to a house in the vicinity of the accident, where he lingered unconscious for a few hours, and died. The accident was irreparable. The House of Orleans, robbed of its present expectancy, must now look to Adelaide, Princess of Orleans, for a successor to the crown. The Government, as well as the king, felt the irremediable wound.

It was during the reign of Louis Philippe that the rivalry of France and England was renewed with respect to the affairs of Egypt. On the whole, the French Government was not favorable at this time to that policy which at length became chronic among the Western

Powers relative to upholding the autonomy and independence of the Ottoman Empire. France was more than half willing, on the contrary, that the "Sick Man" might recover or die according to his own vitality. England, on the other hand, was already deeply wedded to the theory of upholding the Turkish Power. As a result, France took one view and England quite another view of the conquering progress of Mehemet Ali and his son Ibrahim, in Syria. If this movement of



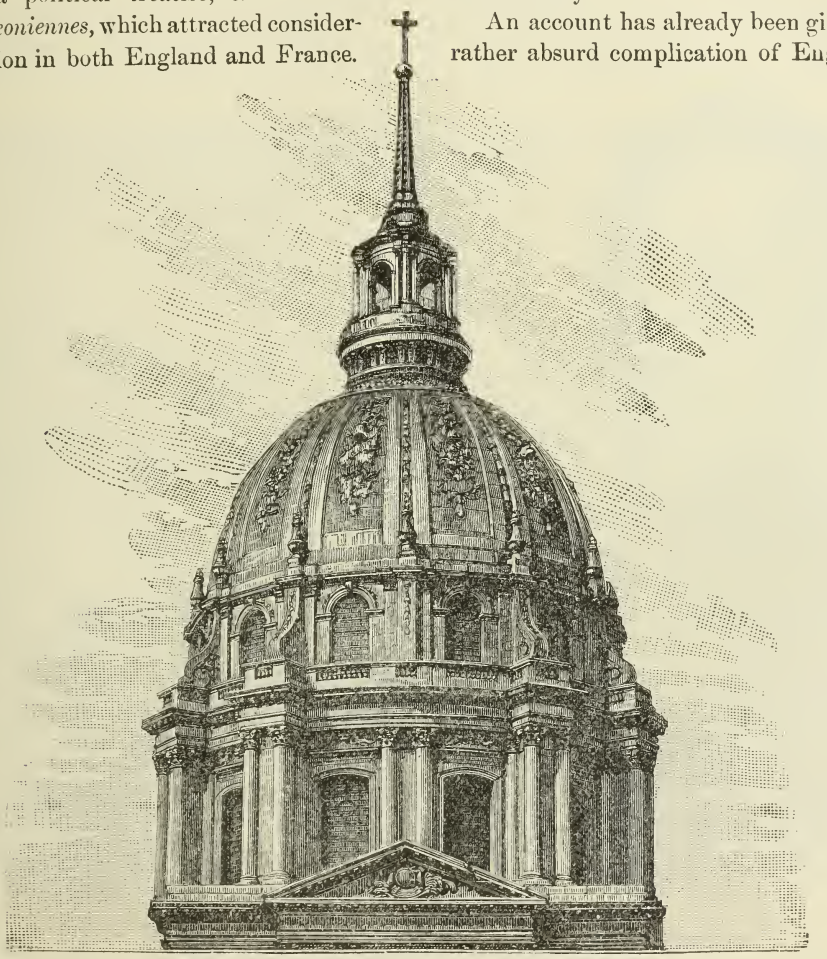
DUKE OF ORLEANS.

conquest should not be arrested, Egypt would become independent, and Syria would also be wrested from the Sultan. The English theory prevailed. Guizot, at that time French Ambassador at the court of St. James, was left in ignorance of the real policy which the British Government was pursuing. Great Britain quietly entered into a quadruple alliance with Prussia, Austria, and Russia to restore the *status quo* in the East. A treaty to this effect was signed before France was aware of what was done. Lord Napier was sent out with a squadron, and Beyrout was taken under a bombardment from his guns. Alexandria also was suddenly shut up by a blockade, and Mehemet Ali was obliged to recede from all his Syrian conquests, and to content himself with the Viceroyalty of Egypt. In this important international affair, France was ignored, and the mortification and anger of the French people were extreme, on account of the secondary rank into which France seemed to have been crowded by the Powers.

At this epoch an episode occurred illustrative of the strange mistakes which Governments are wont to make in estimating the effects of measures. Louis Philippe and his Ministers had the discernment to know that the Catholic peasantry of France, and a large following of the French people besides, were wedded irrevocably to the memory and name of Napoleon Bonaparte. That warrior had now for nineteen years been sleeping the sleep that knows not waking, under the weeping willows by the fountain, in Slane's Valley. Had he been buried in the center of the earth, the magic of his memory would have still played in fiery harmonies through the heart-strings of France. It appears to have been a project of the king himself to bring home to Paris the body of Napoleon. It may have been believed that the Government, by thus patronizing the project, would reap some of the mournful glory which was certain to be shed on the country by the reïnterment of the national idol. So the measure was carried out. The ashes of the Emperor were brought home, were received by the nation as no living king would have been welcomed, and, on the 20th of December, 1840, were laid to their final rest in the sublime sarcophagus under the dome of the Hôtel des Invalides. Instead of a conclusion favorable to the Government, the popular logic was simply this: "If Napoleon had been with us, France would not have been humiliated in Egypt or anywhere. O that he were with us!"

From this event and from this day forth Bonapartism revived, expanded. True, the time had not yet come for its formal and suc-

cessful declaration. The established order was not yet sufficiently decayed to break at a single stroke. The event, however, gave occasion for another attempt on the part of Prince Louis Napoleon to provoke an Imperialist insurrection in his own behalf. After his first exile he had for a while resided in New York, and had thence gone to London. In 1839 he published a political treatise, entitled *Des Idées Napoleoniennes*, which attracted considerable attention in both England and France.

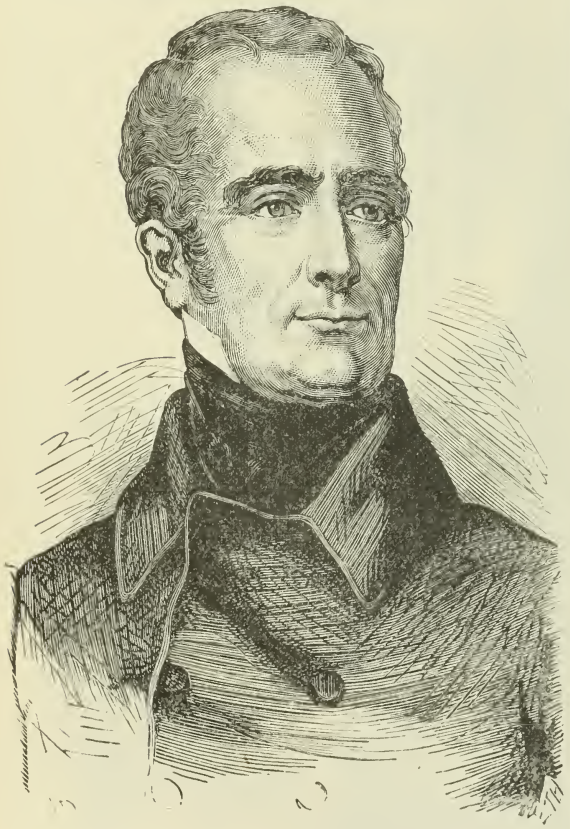


DOME OF THE INVALIDES.

In the following year, while the body of the Corsican was in conveyance from St. Helena to Paris, he deemed the occasion opportune for re-presenting himself to the French people. With about fifty persons, chief among whom was Count Montholon, who had been a companion of Napoleon I. in exile, the Prince sailed in a chartered ship and landed at Boulogne. Here the Strasburg farce was re-enacted. Louis Napoleon's tame eagle refused to perch on his standard, and the whole business ended in ridicule. There was no uprising. Louis Napoleon was taken, was tried before the Chamber of Peers, and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the Castle of Ham, on the River Somme. The Government might, for the time, well flatter itself that Imperialism and its foolish representative had been extinguished together in the same act of absurdity.

An account has already been given of the rather absurd complication of England and France at this time relative to the affairs of Otaheite; nor need we here recount the story of the appeal of Queen Pomare to Victoria, the arrest of Pritchard by the French, and the assumption of a French protectorate over the Island. We need not dwell on the completion, in 1841, of the elaborate system of fortifications which the engineers of Louis Philippe had surrounded Paris withal. The French Government remained under direction of Guizot until the ship of State entered the breakers of another

revolution. Perhaps no Administration was ever more unpopular. It would appear that neither the king nor the Ministry sought in any proper manner to cultivate the good opinion of the French people. The feeling that France had, under mismanagement and through want of spirit, been relegated to a subordinate place among the Western Powers, grew into a conviction, and it was only a question of time when such a conviction would prove fatal to the existing order.



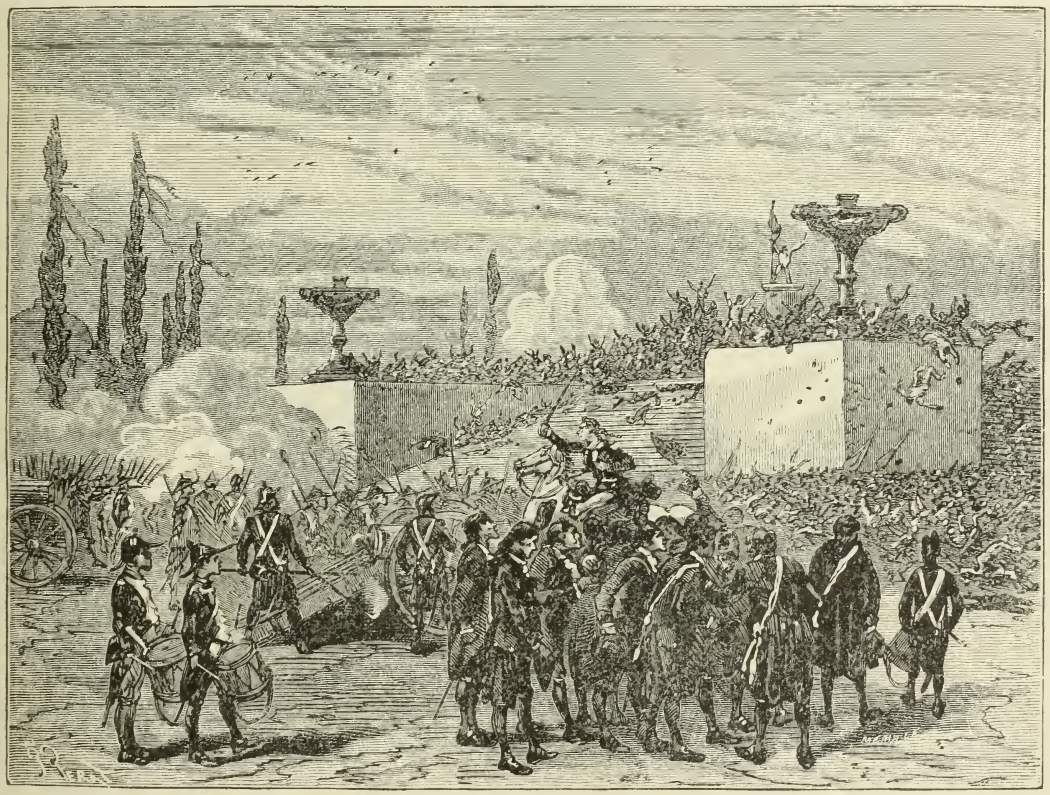
LAMARTINE.

It can not be doubted that, as time wore on and the king grew old, he fell more and more into the habits of thought which had furnished the mainsprings of action to his two immediate predecessors. On the other hand, the Liberal and Republican sentiments of the French, particularly of the Parisians, grew stronger, bolder, more aggressive. In opposition to all this the friends of the Government and of the Orleans dynasty could only point to the prosperity of the kingdom. It was true that France had been rehabilitated, and that the affairs of Government were for the most part conducted in an orderly and manly manner. But there was no spectacle, no illusion, no pageant, no splendor. The Administration was cold and colorless. On the one hand, it might have been said and thought that the bloody waves of Revolution had sunk to a final calm; but on the other, there was deep-seated discontent.

A critical student of this period of French history will not have far to seek until he shall discover that profound vice in the principle of the Administration which prevented its cordial acceptance by the people. This vice lay on the side of the suffrage. The State was essentially an aristocracy. There were, at this time, only about seventy thousand voters in all France—these out of fully thirty-five millions of people. Even the Chamber of Deputies, which was the expression of all that there was of French Republicanism, rested upon this restricted suffrage. It lay within the power of the king and the Government to have remedied and reformed this gross abuse; but they did neither. Louis Philippe might have put himself without reserve upon the confidence of the nation, but in so doing he would have risked all to gain something. Such a course would have involved the extension of the elective franchise to the people at large. If the king had been a greater, a stronger man than he was—at any rate, if he had been a man of the intellectual grandeur and self-assertion of the first Napoleon—he would doubtlessly have thrown himself without hesitation into the arms of the people. But from the day of his accession he adopted and pursued the opposite policy. He sought to make all things secure merely by strengthening and fortifying the system which he had brought with him at his accession. All of these ideas were shared, accepted, defended by Guizot and his Ministry, who, during the last seven years of the reign, were the mainstay of the throne.

There was thus in the system of Louis Philippe a fatal flaw. It is in the nature of things that such a flaw will always be discovered by the people. The French people at this juncture came to perceive, with their quick insight, that, though their *influence* in the Government was considerable, their *power* was

nothing. Individual men may, in the order of the world, be satisfied with influence only—may not crave power; but the people will have power. They distrust that kind of Government which concedes to them influence and nothing more. The French now caught at the salient points of disagreement between themselves and the Administration. They began to demand the removal of the restrictions on the elective franchise. The word *Reform* was heard in the land. Then came agitation. At the opening of the Chambers in 1848, the tone. New histories of the Great Revolution, by Lamartine and Louis Blanc, were published, and the people re-read the story of the thrilling events of that tremendous epoch. Finally, a great reform banquet was called to be held in the Champs Elysées, on the 22d of February, 1848. It was the significant birthday of Washington. The Government forbade the gathering; but the temper of the Parisians would no longer brook such dictation. The people went on with their preparation for the banquet. Then the king ordered out his



PARIS INSURRECTION OF 1848.

Opposition, the Extreme Left, led by Odillon-Barrot, spoke out boldly, vehemently, against the Government. In the cities public meetings, known as Reform Banquets, began to be held, and these were straightway interdicted by the alarmed Government.

Many circumstances added to the distracted condition of the country. In the preceding year the crops had failed, and high prices came on, with scantiness of provisions. Bread riots broke out in various districts. The Liberal newspapers became audacious in their troops; but his call to the soldiers was answered by them with shouts of *Vive la Reforme!* The paving-stones were again torn up and heaped into barricades. The National Guard was ordered to clear the streets. But most of the regiments went over to the people. It was thought at first by the Government that the insurrection could be quelled; but as all Paris heaved up in revolt, the delusion of the Ministers was dispelled. Guizot resigned his office, but the concession was a day too late. On the evening of the

23d, some of the troops fired on the rioters, and a few were killed; whereupon the bodies of the dead were gathered up, laid on catafalques and borne, a ghastly spectacle, through the streets.

After this the soldiers refused to respond to their orders, and the mutiny was general. Louis Philippe felt the throne sinking under him. He hurriedly called for Thiers, and ordered him, in connection with Odillon-Barrot, to form a new Liberal Ministry. A proclamation was also made that the troops would be immediately withdrawn from the city. It was all in vain. The Regulars threw down their arms and fraternized with the people. Once more there was a rush for the Tuileries. The king hastily abdicated the throne in favor of his grandson, the young Count of Paris. He then entered a hackney-cab, and, under the name of William Smith, took to flight. All was over so quickly that the people in the remote parts of Paris could scarcely apprehend what was doing. Two or three days sufficed to complete the Revolution. As to the king's abdication in favor of his grandson, it was no better than a sop to Cerberus. The victorious Revolutionists pulled down the throne of Louis Philippe, and publicly burned it in the Place de la Revolution. The Chamber of Deputies met, and passed a resolution abolishing the monarchy.



ADELAIDE, PRINCESS OF ORLEANS.

It was on the 24th of February that Louis Philippe and the remnants of his Government fled from Paris, and on the following morning he heard of the proclamation of the Republic. The House of Orleans followed the elder Bourbons into hopeless banishment. The fugitive king and queen managed to cross the Seine and to reach Havre, whence they escaped across the Channel, took up their residence in the palace of the king of the Belgians, near London, and there passed the rest of their lives. As for the king's sister, the popular Princess Adelaide, who for the greater part of his reign had exercised a benign influence on the tendencies and reputation of the court, she had died in the year preceding the Revolution. Louis Philippe himself died in August of 1850. Thirty-two years afterwards his remains were taken to France and reburied at Dreux. So, in a comparatively bloodless collapse, ended the Orleans dynasty in France.

CHAPTER CXXXVII.—REPUBLIC AND COUP D'ETAT.

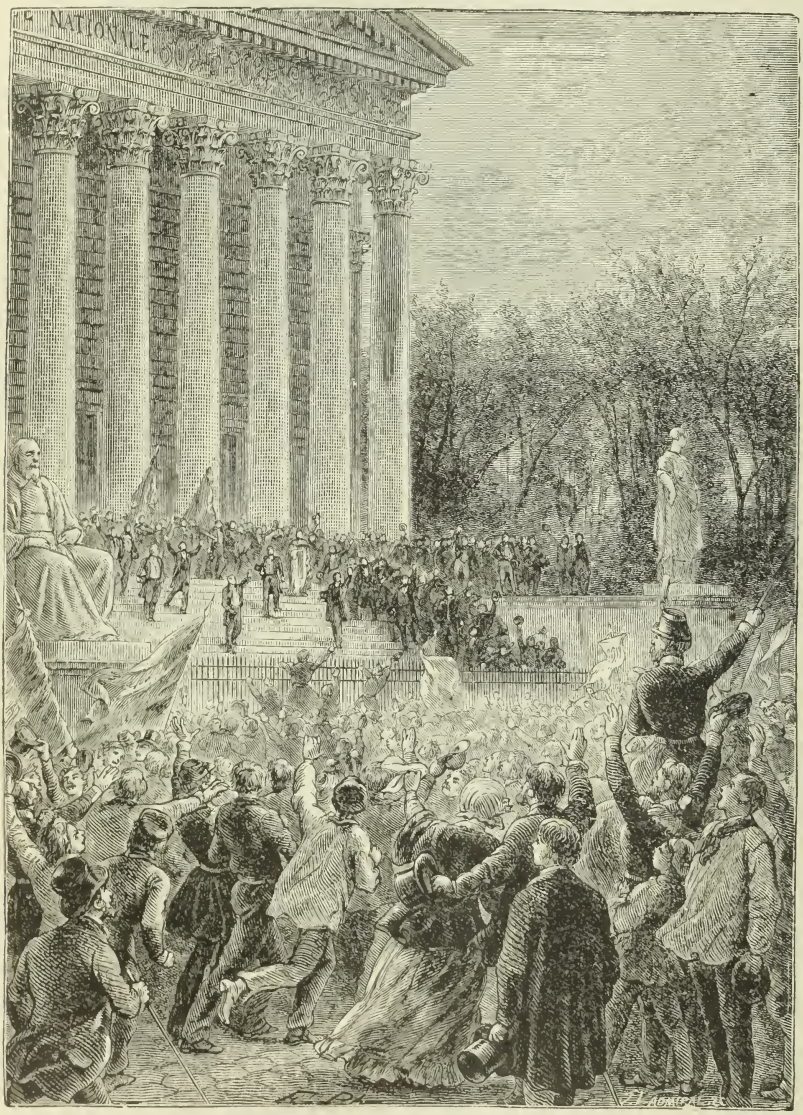
IT could hardly be doubted that the Parisian Revolutionists were astonished at their success. It appeared scarcely heroic, or even hazardous, to overthrow a Government of mere paper, bombazine, and fustian. As soon as the king's flight was known, a Provisional Government was instituted, pending the call for a National Convention to prepare a Republican Constitution. The Party of the Republic, having a majority in the Chamber of Deputies, took control of everything. The tide of Liberalism flowed bank-full, and the Revolutionary watchwords of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," again echoed on every hand. The temporary Presidency of the new Government was given to Dupont de l'Eure. The other leading statesmen who controlled the affairs of state were Lamartine, for Foreign Affairs; Cremieux, Minister of Justice; Ledru-Rollin, Minister for Home Affairs; Arago, Minister of the Marine; Bedeau, Minister for War; Carnot, Minister for Education. The tri-color flag was again adopted as the emblem of the Republic, and on it was placed a *red* rosette, as a hint to the extreme Republicans of the sympathy of the new system with them and their political theories.

Thus, after the lapse of half a century since the Great Revolution, France had at last come around to her place of starting. The new frame of Government was very similar, in most respects, to that which had been established by the French patriots of 1792. But political wisdom had now been gained by experience, and greater care was taken to give stability to the new Constitution. It was plain to all observers that the example and model of the United States were now to a considerable degree uppermost in the minds of those who formulated the French institutions of 1848. In addition to the Legislative department of the Government, the Constitution provided for a President, to be chosen by popular vote. On the whole, the new constitutional forms were well adapted to the needs of Republican France, and were accepted on proclamation by the enthusiastic multitudes.

The reader, however, must understand, in following the history of France during the last century, that the many transformations of civil society which arise for his consideration, have displayed their chief activity and accomplished their main results in the French cities. Many times, while the municipal population have been agitated to the last degree by the revolutionary movements of the times, the Provinces have scarcely felt the disturbance. In no other civilized country are the sentiments, political and other, of the citizens properly so-called and the provincial peasantry so strongly contrasted as in France. This was illustrated in the Revolution of 1848. That great change in political society was virtually the work of Paris and of the other principal cities. True, the Government of Louis Philippe had been intensely unpopular in the Provinces as well as in the capital. True, the country accepted with cheerfulness and some show of sympathy the new Republican order. But, as we have already had occasion to remark, the Imperialist sentiment was extremely strong in all the provincial parts of France, and the presence of such a sentiment was soon destined to be demonstrated in a marvelous manner.

For now it was in the very beginning of the new *régime* that a shadow, sphinx-like and historic, stole out of the horizon and stood up in the midst. It was the Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, son of King Louis of Holland and Hortense de Beauharnais, daughter of Josephine. Of him we have recently had occasion to speak under the suggestion of two successive apparitions, one of exile and one imprisonment. We may now look more closely at him who was so soon to become the great actor of his day. The apparition came out of England, sharp on the heels of the Revolution of February. The strange personage marked by destiny for so important a part in

the subsequent history of France and Europe, had had the career of an adventurer. He was born in the Tuileries, on the 20th of April, 1808. Napoleon I. stood as his godfather, with Maria Louisa as godmother, at the baptism, at Fontainebleau. He was thoroughly educated, first under the Imperial Government, and afterwards in a Republican fashion in Switzerland and Germany. In the years of the reign of Charles X., the Prince lived with his mother, Hortense, at Arenenberg. Subsequently he joined the patriots of Italy, and in 1831 came back to Paris. But he was at once ordered by the Government of Louis Philippe to leave the country.



PROCLAIMING THE REPUBLIC IN 1848.

At this juncture, Prince Louis was elected to command the Polish Army, in the Revolution of that year; but the fall of Warsaw made it useless for him to accept. In 1832, as we have already stated, the Duke of Reichstadt, son of Napoleon I. and Maria Louisa, cousin of Prince Louis Napoleon, died in Schönbrunn, and Louis became the recognized head of the Bonaparte dynasty. Four years later, namely, in October of 1836, he made his abortive attempt to start a revolution at Strasburg. The ridiculous fiasco ended in his arrest, a brief imprisonment in the citadel of L'Orient, his conveyance to Brazil, and thence to New York. It was now the nadir of his existence. He was not any longer even noticed. For a while he lived in complete obscurity. His means were exhausted. His associates were the young men of the New York Bowery, and he is said to have run foot-races for a wager in that thoroughfare! In 1837 we find him at the death-bed of his mother in Switzerland, and soon afterwards taking up again his life of adventure in London. We have already seen him in that metropolis where he served as a policeman. Soon, however, he won the attention of the public, and was recognized by several distinguished members of the nobility. He associated much with the Countess of Blessington and Count d'Orsay; lived with Madame Howard — by whom he had several

children — published in 1839 his *Des Idées Napoléoniennes*, which was largely circulated, read, and pondered in both England and France. In 1840, taking advantage, as we have seen, of the bringing home of the remains of Napoleon the Great from St. Helena, Prince Louis returned to the Continent, landed at Boulogne, and undertook the seemingly quixotical project of recovering the throne of France by a popular uprising in his favor. But his poor, drabbled pet-eagle refused to perch on his shoulder, and the business ended in another collapse as absurd as that of Strasburg, and somewhat more disastrous. The Prince was seized, was tried by the Peers, and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. He was confined in the Fortress of Ham, where he remained until the 25th of May, 1846, when he succeeded in making his escape in disguise, and returned to England. He was thus for six years a prisoner; and he was wont, in after life to describe the Fortress of Ham as his university, where he took his course and *gained his honors!* It is well known that his equanimity and courage were equal even to the trying ordeal of a long imprisonment. He studied assiduously, and composed much in his solitude. It was here that he wrote his remarkable pamphlet entitled *L'Extinction du Pauperism*, which was published in England, largely circulated in France, producing a profound impression. In the treatise, he proposed that the waste lands of France should be colonized, and that the communities established thereon should be instituted on a socialistic or semi-socialistic basis. It appears that the authorship of the project for cutting through the Isthmus of Panama for a ship canal is also due to a paper published by Louis Napoleon during his imprisonment.

As soon as the Prince heard of the dethronement of Louis Philippe, he hastily went back to Paris and offered his services to the Revolutionists. But his proffer was rejected, and he was sent back to England. He was soon afterwards elected from four several departments to membership in the Constituent Assembly.[1] He accepted his election for the department of the Seine, and on the 12th of June was admitted to the Assembly. Trouble immediately ensued on account of some of the Prince's declarations, and, resigning his seat, he returned to London. Later in the same year, however, he was reëlected from five departments, and the decree of banishment against him was at once revoked. On the 26th of September he entered the Constituent Assembly, where he was from the first viewed with distrust, and, it must be confessed, treated with unfairness by the Liberal party, with which he claimed to be in sympathy. His attempt at public speaking in the Assembly was attended with little success, and there was a movement on the part of Thiers and other Republicans to send him down the wind with ridicule. A project was actually concocted *in advance* to exclude Louis Napoleon from the list of those who should be voted for at the ensuing election for President of the Republic.

Meanwhile the Prince himself became silent. He stood aloof from all entanglements. His enemies knew well the magic of the charmed name, and feared from the first that Louis Napoleon might reach the Presidency of the Republic. The results soon showed how well founded were their apprehensions. The new Constitution prepared by the Assembly provided that the executive office in the Republic should be assigned to a President for the period of four years, the occupant to be ineligible for reëlection until after the lapse of a quadrennium from the expiration of his own official term. The new Government was to be supported by a Council of State, who were to be chosen by the Assembly, and to hold office for six years. The Legislative department was to consist of a Senate, and of a popular Assembly to be composed of seven hundred and fifty members. The 10th of December, 1848, was selected as the date for the first Presidential election.

For some reason or other, Lamartine was passed over by the Republicans, who selected as their candidate, General Cavaignac, who during the summer had won considerable popularity by his suppression of the great revolt in the eastern division of Paris. Louis Napoleon appeared as a candidate, under such declarations as these: "I know how to fulfill the duties which the people may impose on me." "My name is the symbol of order, nationality,

[1] It could but be noted that one of Louis Napoleon's elections was from *Corsica!*

and glory." He might also have added with still greater effect that his name was *Bonaparte.* The election was held, and Louis Napoleon was triumphantly chosen President of the Republic, receiving for that office nearly five and a half millions of votes, against less than a million and a half for General Cavaignac. He was accordingly inaugurated for the Presidential term of four years, and the Republic seemed to have begun under favorable omens.

It would appear that the overwhelming success of the President was immediately used



GENERAL CAVAIGNAC.

in augury against him. He was from the first, notwithstanding the tremendous popular majority in his favor, made an object of distrust by the Republicans. He was a man of silence; and this fact gained for him the reputation of being a schemer. It is the truth of history, however, that, as far as schemes were concerned, his enemies were more prolific than he. During the first years of his administration it would be difficult to point out any specific act of his—except the suppression of the political clubs in Paris—which seemed to savor of anti-republicanism. His first appointments indicated a preference for the new Consitution. Odillon-Barrot was placed at the head of the Ministry; Drouyn de Lhuys was made Minister of Foreign Affairs; Falloux, of Education; Bixio, of Agriculture and Commerce; Maleville, of the Interior. The great Republican leaders, however, were omitted from the appointments, and most of those named for office had been at some time in the past allied with the monarchical party.

Within a few months from the accession of Louis Napoleon to the Presidency an opportunity presented itself for his intervention in the affairs of Italy. We shall hereafter give an account of the political conduct of Pope Pius IX.; of his start under the banner of Liberalism; of the impossibility and consequent failure of his scheme; of his retiracy from the Quirinal, and of the institution of the Roman Republic. The Pope lost his temporal authority, and was obliged to content himself with a spiritual reign, maintained with difficulty by the pontiff at Gaëta. In such a situation of affairs, it was natural that Pius should cry out to the rulers of the Catholic countries for support and restoration. To no other was this appeal likely to come with greater weight than to the Prince President of the French Republic. None knew better than he that his own elevation to power had been effected by the Catholic peasantry of France. It was almost inevitable that he should repay the obligation by some signal act, grateful to the head of the Church. Moreover, it is in the nature of things that a ruler, situated as was Louis Napoleon at his accession, would be anxious to achieve something abroad in the way of glory.

It should be known, moreover, that the project of supporting the Pope had already been patronized by the French Assembly, and by such Republican leaders as Cavaignac and Ledru-Rollin. No sooner, however, was the policy of Italian intervention announced by the President, than these same Republicans of the Left violently opposed the measure. Nevertheless, a French army under command of General Oudinot was sent into Italy with orders to suppress the Roman Republic, and

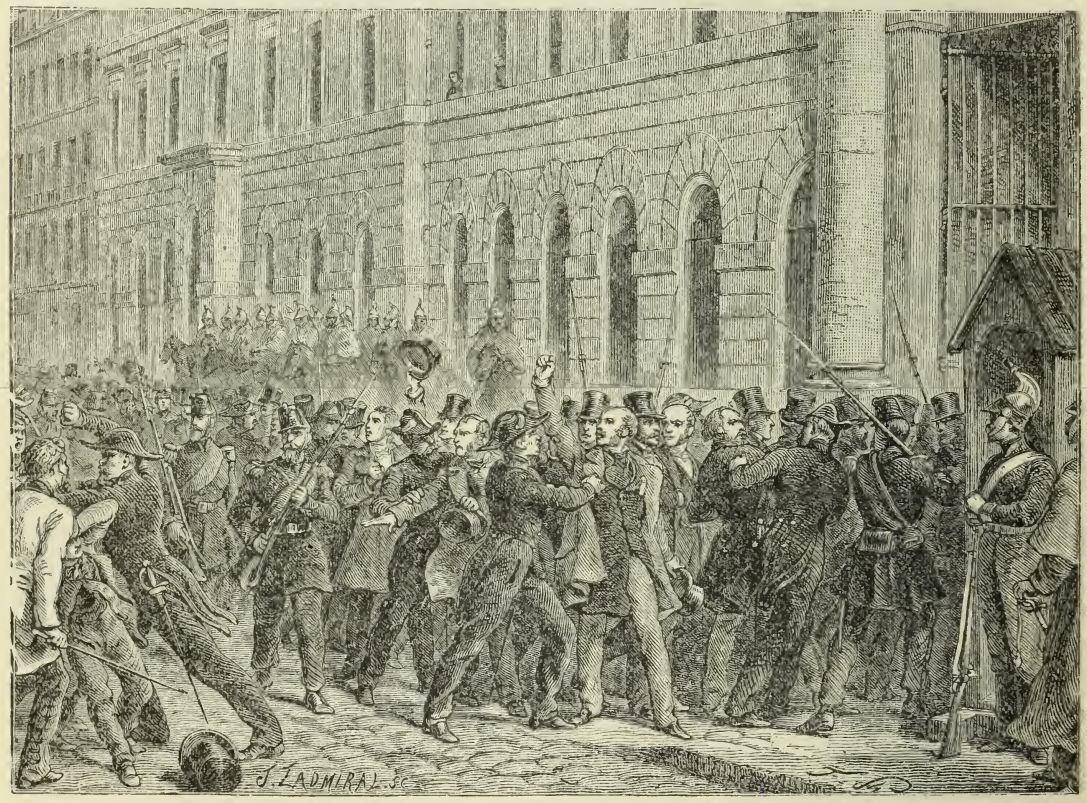
to restore the temporal authority of the Pope. The expedition was attended with complete success. Austria and Spain moved on Italy at the same time, and with the same purpose. But the efficient cause of the overthrow of the Republicans in Rome, and of the recall of Pius IX., was the intervention of France. The Italians made a brave stand in defense of their ancient capital; but all resistance was overborne, and, on the 1st of July, 1849, the French army made a triumphal entry into the Eternal City. The Pope was brought home with exultation from his banishment, and was restored to his authority. This measure of the President of the French led to an attempt on the part of the Republicans, under the leadership of Ledru-Rollin, to impeach Napoleon; but the latter was sustained by a strong majority.

On the other hand, the Ultra-Conservatives, the old Bourbonists, the Orleanists, *et id omne genus*, were offended by many liberal acts on the part of the President, and in May of 1850 the Assembly sought to break his power by passing a restriction on that universal suffrage to which Napoleon owed his elevation. It was one of the strange, and we may say mean, features of French Republicanism at this juncture to see it joined with the Conservatives, and engaged in an effort to rid itself of Louis Napoleon by a method so unrepublican in its character as to meet the condemnation of every Bonaparte. It must ever appear one of the inexplicable aspects of political power in our century, that the Bonapartes, both the Great Napoleon and his Nephew, never showed the slightest hesitancy in appealing to the voice of the nation by the mighty organ of universal suffrage. At the same time that the restriction was passed, the Royalist element in the Assembly busied itself with the appointment of a committee to stand guard over the public interests during the recess of the National Legislature. No other act could have demonstrated more clearly the prejudice and distrust of the Legitimists than this committee *ad interim* to watch the President. With the army, however, Louis Napoleon stood in great favor. Many demonstrations were made by the soldiers in attestation of their devotion to the Government. These things could but offend the Republicans *par excellence*, and they sought every opportunity to cast odium on the Administration, and particularly on the Executive. General Changarnier, commandant of the troops in Paris, issued a formal order forbidding the demonstrations in favor of the President. For this act he was removed from office; and this, in turn, led to a vote of censure in the Assembly against the Government.

A careful study of the social and political divisions of France at the time of the Second Republic would show that one extreme of public opinion was occupied by a socialist and the other extreme by a monarchical, that is, a king-desiring, party. It was between these counter forces in the politics of France that Napoleon was placed midway. He had for his support, as a matter of course, all that unreasoning mass of the French people whose chief inspiration came down from the First Empire and was administered by the Roman Catholic clergy. The situation of the President, though subject to many assaults, was strong. It rested on the broad basis of that Imperialism from which the glory of Modern France had been so largely derived. His interference with the affairs of Italy, and the suppression, under his direction, of the incipient Republic of Rome, was a source of many animadversions on the part of the Liberals, not only in France, but throughout Europe. But the movement was on the whole popular with the European Governments. It showed that the President of the French Republic was desirous of aligning himself with the other rulers, and that his policy was not likely to distress them by its encouragement of the insurrectionary spirit.

In these first years of Louis Napoleon's administration of the Government of France, the qualities which he was afterwards to display as a "Man of Order" were seen in the patronage which he was disposed to extend to public works and industrial enterprises. His policy in this respect drew to him the strong support of the burgher class, with whom order is prosperity and prosperity is everything. As the quadrennial term of the Presidency drew on apace, the opinion began to prevail, and was, perhaps, cultivated by the strict Republicans, that it was the intention of the President, in the face of the constitutional provis-

ion to the contrary, to present himself for reëlection. This opinion ripened into a conviction, and was assiduously disseminated. To what extent the party of the President favored the giving out of such a notion it were difficult to tell. But when the Republicans circulated the charge, the friends of the Administration were not slow to take advantage of the suggestion. In truth, the Constitution of France was not yet so old as to be sacred against the proposal to amend it, as to the length of the Presidential term and the ineligibility of the occupant.



ARREST OF THE DEPUTIES.

From these considerations the agitation arose relative to the reëlection of the President, and this long before the expiration of his term of office. Petitions, many of them genuine and some doubtless factitious, began to pour in, requesting Louis Napoleon, even against the constitutional provision, to stand for reëlection. The President's speeches, under the inspiration of a rising public opinion, began to show that he was not indisposed to regard himself, and to have himself regarded, as a necessity to France. At this juncture, namely, in 1851, the Opposition found reason in its own suspicions, some of which were perhaps well founded, for assailing the President with every species of political missile. It was assumed as a matter of fact, and declared in advance, that he intended to subvert the liberties of the Republic. Whatever he proposed his adversaries bitterly antagonized. The whole thought of the country became directed to the contest going on between the President and the Assembly. Justice to him demands the statement that he displayed greater equanimity than they. He went straight ahead with the discharge of his official duties and in carrying out the policy of the Administration. He proposed that the restriction on the right of suffrage should be abrogated, with an additional clause extending the franchise to all citizens who had had a six months' residence in the precinct. But this just and popular measure was voted down by the irate Assembly. His propositions for the amendment of the Constitution in several particulars met the same fate.

At length the Assembly proceeded to pass a law by which the command of the troops in Paris was to be taken from the President and given to the presiding officer of the Legislature.

Now it was that the Deputies found that they were not, in this instance, dealing with a man of straw. The act transferring the command of the troops precipitated a crisis. It may be frankly confessed that the measure itself was revolutionary. None can reasonably deny that it gave the President a plausible, if not just, excuse for resisting one revolution with another. At any rate, he at once appointed M. de Maupas as Prefect of Police, and General Magnan, Commander of the Guards in Paris. At the same time the principal offices of the Government were transferred to men upon whom the President might implicitly rely. Already the army and the municipal powers were strongly in his favor. The Legislative Assembly suddenly awoke to the fact that the Sphinx had become a master. His will, now thoroughly aroused, and acting through such agents as Count de Morny, General St. Arnaud, M. de Maupas, Commandant Magnan of the Police, and the two adventurers, Fleury and Persigny, reached out in every direction, and could not be counteracted by the turbulent factions in the Assembly.



VICTOR HUGO.

Such was the condition of affairs in the last year of the President's Administration. As the winter of 1851 came on, the crisis rose to a climax, and broke in a marvelous manner. It appears that, at length, whatever may have been his antecedent cogitations, the President made up his mind to conquer the Assembly by force. He planned what is known in modern history by pre-eminence as the *Coup d'Etat*. He, and those whom he trusted, made their arrangements secretly, silently, that the stroke should fall on the night of the 2d of December, 1851. On that evening the President held a gay reception in the palace of the Elysée, and after his guests had retired, the scheme was perfected for immediate execution. During the night seventy-eight of the leading members of the Opposition were seized at their own houses and taken to prison. The representatives of the people were hurried through the streets, and suddenly immured where their voices could be no longer heard. At the same time a strong force of soldiers was stationed near the Tuileries. The offices of the Liberal newspapers were seized and closed, and the Government printing-presses were employed all night in printing the proclamation with which the walls of the city were covered before morning. With the coming of daylight, Paris awoke and read:—

1. The National Assembly is dissolved;
2. Universal suffrage is reëstablished;
3. The Elective Colleges are summoned to meet on December 21st;
4. Paris is in a state of siege.

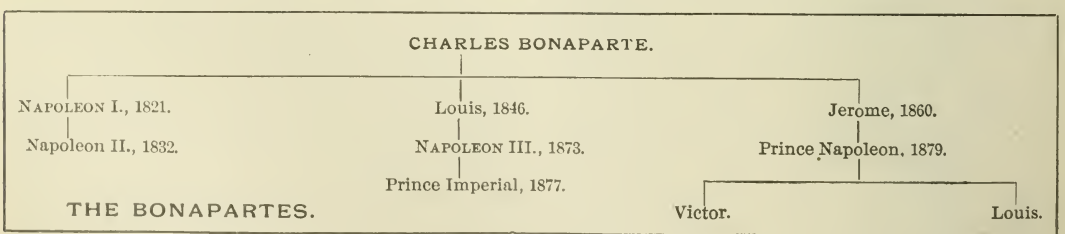
By the side of this proclamation was posted the President's address to the people. He proposed the election of a President for ten years. He referred the army to the neglect which it had received at the hands of former Governments, and promised that the soldiery of France should re-win its ancient renown.

As soon as those members of the Assembly who had not been arrested could realize the thing which was done, they ran together and attempted to stay the tide of revolution by

passing a vote deposing the President from office. But the effort was futile. A republican insurrection, under the leadership of Victor Hugo and a few other distinguished Liberals, broke out in the city. But there was in the nature of the case no concert of action, no resources behind the insurrection, and no military leadership. General Canrobert, Commandant of the Guards, soon put down the revolt in blood. Order was speedily restored throughout Paris, and the victory of the President was complete. It only remained to submit his usurpation to the judgment of the people, and the decision in that case could, under existing conditions, hardly be a matter of doubt.

In accordance with the President's proclamation, a popular election was held throughout France, on the 20th and 21st of December, at which the *Coup d'Etat* was signally vindicated. Louis Napoleon was triumphantly elected President, for a period of ten years. Out of eight millions of votes, fewer than one million were cast against him. He immediately entered upon office, backed by this tremendous majority, and became Dictator of France. In January of 1852, sharp on the heels of the revolution which he had effected, he promulgated a new Constitution. The instrument was based upon that of 1789, and possessed but few clauses to which any right-minded lover of free institutions could object. On the 28th of March, Napoleon resigned the Dictatorship, which he had held since the *Coup d'Etat*, and resumed the office of President of the Republic.

It was not long, however, until the *After That* began to appear. If Louis Napoleon had stopped short with what he had already accomplished, and consented to serve out his term as President of the French Republic, and had handed over to his successor an orderly and well-developed Government, posterity would, in all probability, have reversed the judgment, somewhat hard, which it has formed and is forming of him and his career. Already in the summer and autumn of 1852 it became evident that the *Empire* was to be reëstablished. It is but just to say that, in this tendency, the President was borne on the tide. It would not be fair to allege that he had created in France the tremendous Imperialistic sentiment which was now forcing all before it. He was himself rather the product of that sentiment than its creator—the effect rather than the cause of the existing conditions. But he rode on the top of the billow. In the autumn of this year the President made a tour of the country, and was received with cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* In his own addresses, particularly in that which he delivered at Bordeaux, the sentiment of Empire was cautiously given back to the people. The consummation was soon reached. On the 7th of November, 1852, a vote was passed by the French Senate for the reëstablishment of the Imperial order, and for the submission of the proposed measure to a popular vote. The event showed conclusively that the French Nation, as then constituted, was Bonapartist to the core. Louis Napoleon was almost unanimously elected to the Imperial dignity. Of the eight million suffrages of France, only a few scattering thousands were recorded in the negative. Thus, in a blaze of glory that might well have satisfied the ambition of the First Bonaparte, did he who only twelve years before, at Boulogne, had tried most ridiculously to excite a paltry rebellion, by the display of a pet-eagle to his followers, mount the Imperial throne of France with the title of NAPOLEON III.



THE BONAPARTES.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII.—SECOND EMPIRE.

WE thus reach the beginning of what is known in France as the Second Empire. In the midst of the republican tendencies of the nineteenth century, the establishment of such a Government, under such circumstances, at such a time, has been greatly deplored, greatly censured, greatly denounced as an abominable intrigue, brought to accomplishment by means as foul as they were dastardly. Nor could it be well expected that the so-called usurpations of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte would find favorable criticism in the pages of an American history. But this one principle must be candidly and steadily averred; that is, that the people of a great and civilized nation have a right, as it respects their civil constitutions and their rulers, *to do as they please.* The principle is absolute. Our American Declaration of Independence conceded to the people the indefeasible right to alter and amend their institutions and methods of Government at their own option. The French people had a right in 1830 to expel Charles X. from the throne of France. They had a right to annul the very dynasty which he represented. They had a right to choose the Citizen King, and to bear with him and his mixed and doubtful policy so long as they might choose. Then, again, they had a right to the Revolution and the Republic of 1848. They had a right to send Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to the Constituent Assembly and to make him their President. They had a right to support him, to encourage him, to bear him on, and, finally, to ratify him or condemn him, as they might elect, at the *Coup d'Etat* of 1851. They had a right, in the following year, to substitute Imperialism for Republicanism. It is folly to speak of the tremendous majorities which the President was able to command as merely factitious expressions prepared by himself for himself. It was the voice of France; and the pen of history, even of the most strenuous republican history, if such there be, is constrained to record the fact that the Second French Empire was as thoroughly founded in political legitimacy as any other Government of the current, or indeed of any century. It was the will of the people.

The Administration which we are now to consider was destined to cover a period of eighteen years. On the whole, it was an able



NAPOLEON III.

Government. A better order than hitherto was introduced into the civil society of France. At the beginning, we may perceive in the mind and actions of the Emperor Napoleon III. a certain degree of anxiety relative to the dynasty which he represented, and which he must now perpetuate. As yet, he was unmarried, at least unmarried in any authorized and Imperial fashion. As soon as he was firmly seated, as soon as his Government was recognized—as it was—in a friendly way by the neighboring sovereigns of Europe, as soon as England had conceded the legitimacy of the new Empire and its head, Napoleon began to canvass the question of his marriage.

It had been observed that the Prussian

kingdom was less favorably disposed towards the new Emperor than were some others; but negotiations were nevertheless opened with respect to a Hohenzollern Princess for the throne of France. If any such proposition was made by the Emperor, it was rejected. It is said that he then sought an alliance with the House of Sweden, which movement resulted in another failure. It is not unlikely that at this juncture the Emperor, who was not without philosophy, determined to pursue a course different from that so fatally adopted by his Imperial uncle. He came to perceive that an alliance with one of the old European dynasties was, on the whole, a doubtful expedient. He therefore adopted the opposite policy, and had it given out that in the matter of choosing an Empress he would be guided by personal preference and affection. At this time his attention was turned to the celebrated and beautiful Eugenie Marie de Téba, Spanish Countess of Montijo; and it was presently known that she was to become Empress of the French. To her Prince Louis Napoleon had been introduced during his residence in London, and her, on the 29th of January, 1852, he took in marriage to the Imperial throne. As the motto of his Government he adopted the famous aphorism, *L'Empire c'est la Paix*—"The Empire is Peace."



EMPRESS EUGENIE.

The marriage was, in its political effects, of a contradictory character. The Empress, by her beauty and accomplishments, soon created the most brilliant court in Europe. She drew to her the fashion of the world, and became the dictator of all refinement, as much as her husband was dictator of affairs. It was a part of the Imperial *régime* that Eugenie should be, by indirection, a power in the State, attracting the admiration and swaying the hearts of men. This expectation she fulfilled in the highest measure, and the Emperor might never complain that the court was unbalanced by a deficiency of fashionable splendor and Imperial effulgence on Eugenie's side. At the same time, however, the Empress brought into the Government certain elements of weakness. She was a Spaniard. She was a devoted Catholic, and brought to the court a large measure of Jesuitical influence. It was not long, as for instance in the relations of France to Italy, until the Empress's fair hand was seen at work, tracing legible results on the scroll of international politics. Moreover, if there was an excess of fashion, there was also an excess of extravagance about the court of Eugenie, which infected first the high life of Paris, afterwards the whole of French society, and then the world. There was not wanting a certain kind of criticism which at the first deprecated the passing over by the Emperor of the queenly ladies of France by preference for a Spanish Countess for the throne. This sentiment continued in the public mind to the end of the reign; and after the day of Sedan, Eugenie, more than ever before, felt in full force the demerit of being a foreigner. But as in the case of the First Napoleon, the event was successful in the critical matter of an heir to the throne. The Empress bore to her lord a son, the Prince Imperial, whose ultimate fate in the land of the Zulus we have already recounted in a former chapter.

So, the Empire was Peace. But the course of events soon satirised the motto, and mocked the maker. Within two years from the founding of the Imperial system, France became a leading party to the Crimean war, of which a full account will be given in a succeeding chapter. It suffices, in the present connection, to note the fact that the French Government has never in recent times supported the Ottoman Empire with the same enthusiasm and for the same international reasons as have prevailed in the policy of Great Britain. As an independent proposition France has generally been willing to let the Sultan shift for himself. She has not had the same interest in the East to defend, the same policy to uphold, as has Great Britain. There is no French East Indian Empire, with its unprotected borders and its millions of subject populations. In the instance of the Crimean war, the Emperor Napoleon took his stand with England and Turkey against Russia for other reasons than those which moved the allies to declare war. The prevailing motive with him was, perhaps, the wish to demonstrate the Napoleonic character before the world; to bring France again to the fore in the field of foreign warfare; to show that French armies could again win glory as in the days of Napoleon I.; and, finally, to make himself felt as a new force in the diplomacy of Europe.

Nor could it be said that the event failed to justify the expectation. The French arms were again distinguished. France emerged from the conflict with Russia with a marked revival of her military reputation. The important Treaty of Paris, in 1856, was virtually dictated by Napoleon III., whose prestige seemed now to increase with every turn of fortune's wheel. A few days before the treaty was concluded, while the ambassadors were basking in the sunshine of Paris, namely, on the 16th of March, 1856, the Prince Imperial was born, and the upholders of the dynasty gave themselves and the city to inordinate rejoicing. As for Paris, she might well glorify the Empire; for the Empire, under Napoleon's direction, made Paris glorious. The improvements and public works which he projected served the double purpose of beautifying the capital and of furnishing profitable employment to that element of Parisian society which is always mobocratic when hungry.

After the war with Russia, the French Emperor sought to establish himself in the good opinions and esteem of his fellow-sovereigns. He paid a visit to Queen Victoria, and in 1857 had an interview with the Czar. All the while he devoted his energies to improving the army and navy, especially the latter, on account of the weakness of which the French had long been sensitive. In the next place, in the year 1858, he united with England in her war with China. He sent out expeditions to Japan and Cochin China, and succeeded in making French influence predominant in the latter country. The abilities of the Administration could not be doubted. It was evident everywhere that a strong hand was working among the forces by which for the time the destiny of France was directed. It only remained that a few attempts should be made to destroy the Emperor's life, in order to add the climax to his popularity.

Even this condition was not long wanting. As early as 1855 two would-be assassins, Pianori and Bellamare, made unsuccessful efforts to murder Louis Napoleon. Nearly all such nefarious enterprises originated with Italians. The exiled patriots of Italy, wandering in political vagabondage in foreign lands, had become frenzied with the loss of their cause, and with the repeated treacheries of those by whom it had been upheld. Of Napoleon, as President of the French Republic, they had expected much, and been rewarded with ashes. At the epoch of which we speak, the Italian refugees had come to a clear belief that the Imperial system of France was against the freedom of their country. Under this belief, they reached a degree of madness against Napoleon III. which made not a few of them willing to hazard their lives in the attempt at his destruction. Of Felice Orsini, the Italian revolutionist, of his doings in England, and of his return to Paris, we have already said something in a former chapter. On reaching the French capital, he made a conspiracy against the Emperor's life. The bomb was adopted as the weapon. With three confederates, Orsini stationed himself near the entrance to the Grand Opera-house, and on the evening of the 14th of January, 1858, awaited the arrival

of the Imperial cortege. When the latter drew near, the assassins threw three bombs under the Emperor's carriage. A terrific explosion followed, and several persons were killed or wounded. But Napoleon and the Empress Eugenie escaped unhurt. Orsini, Pieri, Rudio, and Gomez were seized and



ATTEMPT OF ORSINI TO ASSASSINATE NAPOLEON III.

brought to trial. The first three were condemned to death, and the last to imprisonment at hard labor for life. Orsini went to his death with a composure and heroism worthy of the noblest cause, not failing before his execution to send a letter to the Emperor, exhorting him to become the Liberator of Italy. Such is the murderous but beautiful insanity of patriotism!

The natural effect of the attempts against the Emperor's life was to heighten his popularity. In the meantime, his domestic policy had also increased his influence with the French Nation, particularly with the bourgeoisie. Great commercial activity and financial ease had been acquired by the creation, in the first years of the reign, of two systems of public credit called the *Credit Foncier* and the *Credit Mobilier*, under the stimulus of which important public works were prosecuted and the general material condition of the country greatly improved. In order to procure the means for the prosecution of the Crimean War in the easiest and most popular manner, two public loans to the Government were negotiated in the open market, thus creating an interest even among small bondholders in the perpetuity and success of the existing order. The prestige of the Empire was improved by several advantageous circumstances. A number of the European monarchs, including the Sultan Abdul Aziz, came to Paris on visits of ceremony and friendship with the Emperor, and he began to be named as arbiter in settling certain disputed questions arising among the Powers. Thus by a policy, partly warlike and partly pacific, Napoleon III. extended, established, and made secure the dominion which he had acquired by the doubtful and dangerous expedient of the *Coup d'Etat*.

It is not necessary to remind the reader of

the deep-seated race antipathy existing between the French and German nations. The River Rhine marks the boundary against which, from the opposite sides, the billows of ethnic animosity have immemorially broken into a long line of foam. Of all the French Governments, none have more emphatically expressed the national dislike of the French to the Germans than have the First and Second Empires. It were difficult, indeed most difficult, for a Bonaparte to be at peace with an Austrian or Prussian king, and equally difficult for either to be at peace with him. A hundred historical memories have aggravated and intensified the innate prejudice of race. The Great Napoleon had ground all Germany under his heel; and nothing which he ever did was more grateful to the senses of his countrymen. It was to be expected *á priori* that, under the Second Empire, France would again become embroiled with the German States, and the Napoleonic precedent pointed to Austria as the first power with which the break was likely to occur.

Thus much being granted, Italy was the field, and the liberation of Italy must needs be the motive. On the 1st of January, 1859, a great sensation was produced in diplomatical Europe by the Italian Minister, Count Cavour, who, at the Emperor's fête, expressed to Baron Hübner, Ambassador of Francis Joseph at the French court, his regrets at the "altered relations between France and Austria." Nor was it long until the difficulty between these two Powers relative to the affairs of Italy broke into open war. The event soon showed that Cavour and Napoleon had prepared a scheme far-reaching in its consequences and revolutionary in character, with respect to Italy. The plan contemplated the making of Victor Emanuel, of Sardinia, King of Italy, while Nice and Savoy, the ancient home of the House of Sardinia, were to be given to France. It was the first of those many stages by which the modern kingdom of Italy, with its unity and splendid prospects, was to emerge from the wreck of the Italian principalities. Since most of these States were under the dominion or influence of Austria, it could not be expected that she would willingly see them pass through the stage of momentary independence into the solidarity of an Italian Kingdom. The affair between the French Emperor and Cavour was so managed as to put the onus of hostilities on Francis Joseph. In April of 1859 the Cabinet of Turin, one of the Italian States, was ordered by Austria to reduce its army, and to dismiss a force of volunteers which had been organized. This demand was of course refused, and the Austrian Government took immediate steps to enforce compliance. The Austrian declaration was made on the 30th of January, and on the 3d of May, the French Government, in the midst of great enthusiasm at the capital, issued its declaration of war.

A French army was at once thrown into the field, and of this the Emperor took command in person. He declared it his purpose in undertaking the war, to make Italy "free from the Alps to the Adriatic." The energy with which the conflict was begun by France gave token of her purpose to make good the Emperor's declaration. The Italian invasion was initiated under favorable auspices. Victor Emanuel entered the field, and made himself subject to the Emperor of the French. The army of France was led into the peninsula by way of the pass of Mont Cenis, while a squadron was brought by sea to Genoa. The two engagements of Montebello and Palestro opened for the French the passage of the Po. On the 4th and 24th of June were fought the great battles of Magenta and Solferino, by which the military power of Austria was completely broken and the Emperor Francis Joseph obliged to give a hasty assent to the Treaty of Villafranca, which, on the 11th of July, 1859, was concluded between the two Emperors, without a witness on either side.

In the meantime the effect of the French victories had been decisive. Milan was relieved from Austrian domination, and went over to the side of Italy. The French troops entered Tuscany, and the Duke fled from the country. In like manner the Duke of Modena took to flight, and Victor Emanuel was proclaimed in his stead. The Legations of the Northern States of the Church renounced the sovereignty of the Pope, and accepted Victor Emanuel. Parma also gave its adhesion to the national cause. A French fleet appeared before Venice, and it was known that the Venetians were at fever heat for the revolution. Great, therefore, was the astonishment

when it was published that the French and Austrian Emperors had met and settled the dispute. All Europe was astounded at the outcome; and Italy was mortified and disappointed. Napoleon had not made her free from the Alps to the Adriatic, and, for the time, it could not well be understood why he had stopped so suddenly the work in the midst of his conquests. It soon transpired, however, that an ominous rumor had reached his ears of a purpose on the part of Prussia to enter into an alliance with Austria. It was, therefore, eminently prudent for the French Emperor to pause with the glory of Magenta and Solferino on his crest.

The Treaty of Villafranca was a treaty only in words. It was simply an oral agreement between the two Emperors as to the terms of settlement. It became necessary to put into form and definite record the stipulations to which Napoleon and Francis Joseph had agreed *viva voce*. Accordingly, in the following October, representatives of the two sovereigns met at Zurich, and a formal treaty was concluded on the basis of the informal convention of the preceding July. It was now agreed that there should be an Italian Confederation of States under the Presidency of the Pope. Lombardy, with the exception of Peschiera and Mantua, should be surrendered to Napoleon, and by him presented to Victor Emanuel. Venice should still remain as an Austrian dependency; but should be permitted to enter nominally the Italian Confederation. The Dukes of Tuscany and Modena were to be restored to their Governments. It was exacted of the Papal States that certain reforms, tending to the rights of the people, should be introduced. As to the South of Italy that unfortunate region was passed over in silence, and allowed to swelter, as before, under the steam and effluvia of the Middle Ages. The general effect of the treaty was the humiliation of Austria, the chagrin of Italy, the displeasure of Germany and England, and the glorification—if not the glory—of France. Of a certainty the expedition into Italy had been sufficiently successful to warrant the eulogists of the Second Empire in claiming and proclaiming that another Napoleon had entered the field.

Notwithstanding the disappointment of the Italian patriots, their cause and the cause of the country was, as we shall hereafter see, carried forward to success by Victor Emanuel. France assumed a sort of neutral attitude towards the contest in Italy, and received, in 1860, the coveted Nice and Savoy as her reward. This also was hailed by the Bonapartists as the first accession of territory to the Empire which, it was now fondly hoped, might parallel in greatness the one established in 1804. In spite of much suspicion as to his purposes and a general coldness toward him on the part of the Continental Powers, the Emperor rose in influence until, at the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States, he was unquestionably the leading sovereign of Europe.

While Italy was now left to work out her own salvation without the physical support of France, several events occurred of historical importance, in which the French Government was a part and party. The war with China, waged by the French and English as allies, continued from 1858 to 1860, when it was ended by the capture of Pekin. The conflict with Cochin China brought France and Spain into an alliance, and under their auspices the war was concluded in 1862, with the concession by the Chinese of the European demands. We have already seen how, in 1860, France, in coöperation with other Christian States, made a successful campaign into Syria, where the army of the Sultan was defeated, and where a French garrison was left in occupation of the country until the following year.

At times the hand of the Empress, as well as the mailed hand of Napoleon himself, was seen in shaping the events of the period, and determining their results. The sudden change in the Emperor's Italian policy was attributable, in part at least, to her influence. In her life, under the Imperial insignia, two forces prevailed,—Religion and Fashion. She worshiped at both shrines with equal devotion. Being a Catholic, one of her prime motives was friendly interest and concern for the Holy Father of Rome. She was quick to discern that if the work of Italian unification should be pressed *too far*, if Victor Emanuel should become the King of all Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic, saving only Nice and Savoy, which were to come to her husband,

then would there be no place at all left for the temporal supremacy of the Pope—no opportunity of his reässuming those time-honored claims of secular prerogative which his predecessors had so long asserted in Italy. As an obedient daughter of the Church, the Empress of the French must, therefore, put forth her influence to prevent the completion of the French conquest in Italy. She must insist that the Presidency of the Italian States shall still be reserved for Pio Nono, not only as a matter of right, but as a matter of reward for the support given by the Catholic clergy in France to her husband's throne.

More striking still was her influence in determining the fatal policy of the French Emperor with respect to Mexico. We have already cited the fact of the great reputation of the Government of Napoleon III. at the close of the Italian war. At this epoch, indeed, he may be said to have reached his zenith, from which, through the remaining years of his reign, through blunders of policy and catastrophes of enterprise, he was to sink into final dethronement and exile. More than any other European sovereign, it was he who, at the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States, made indecent haste to recognize the belligerent rights of the Southern Confederacy, and to advocate the further recognition of its independence. It is doubtless true that if Great Britain had consented to join him in this business, the recognition of the independence of the Confederacy by several of the leading European Powers would have followed, and our National Government would have had henceforth to contend with the armies not only of the seceded States, but also of France and England.

Failing, however, to secure the coöperation of Great Britain, Louis Napoleon followed up the line of his general policy by adopting a course which was intended to weaken the United States, and to conduce to their ultimate dismemberment. He proceeded, in conjuction with England and Spain, and with the ostensible motive of securing material guarantees from Mexico, to throw an armed expedition into that country. It is believed that from the first the Empress was one of the inspiring causes of this movement. Her friendship for the Catholic clergy the world over, and her well-grounded belief that the Church was being pressed to the wall by the Liberals of Mexico, led her to favor most heartily the intervention of her husband in the affairs of that country. In the whole transaction, Napoleon III. took advantage of the distressed condition of the United States.

It was in the year 1863, when, in the larger part of Europe, it was confidently believed that the American Government was going rapidly to irretrievable ruin, that the French Emperor, in conjunction with the English and Spanish Governments, laid his hands on Mexico. In the beginning of the following year, England and Spain withdrew from the complication, and Napoleon was left with the Mexican problem on his hands. Meanwhile the United States Government began to be triumphant over the Southern insurrection in such a manner that the very blind might see the beginning of the end; but Napoleon was now committed to his Mexican enterprise. Encouraged by Francis Joseph of Austria, he made war on the Republic of Mexico, conquered that Government, and in April of 1864 established Prince Maximilian of Hapsburg, brother of Francis Joseph, on the Mexican throne. The Government was styled an Empire, and Maximilian was the Emperor. The purpose of Napoleon in this business was, as indicated in his own language, "to restore the influence of the Latin race in America."

The American reader need not be told how the setting up of a foreign Empire in Mexico was in utter defiance of certain principles and policies which, for nearly a half century, had been recognized as valid by the United States. That somewhat indefinite dogma called the Monroe Doctrine forbade, as distinctly as might be, any such procedure as that which the Emperor of the French was now openly pursuing in Mexico. As our Civil War drew to a close, public opinion in the United States passed through indignation to anger against the Mexican Empire, so called, and all of its promoters. The American Rebellion tottered to its fall, and the French Emperor, in view of the imminent triumph of our National cause, was constrained to disclaim with some haste, all intention of acquiring territorial dependencies in the New World. The French army had to be withdrawn from Mexico, and

the poor Austrian puppet, who had been set up to restore the preponderance of the Latin race in America, was left to that deplorable fate which has half redeemed himself and his cause from the contempt of mankind.

It is an interesting study to note in France the transformation of public opinion in the seventh decade of the century. The Emperor and the Empire together had been borne up by an overwhelming majority to a climax which it was now found difficult to maintain. A reäction came. Such, indeed, is only the law of human nature, working in the political affairs of nations. Never yet has any ruler been popular to the end, unless, indeed, a fortunate death removed him from the danger of retrogression and downfall. Perhaps of all the great personages of modern times, Washington suffered least from the vicissitude of public opinion. But one has only to open the archives and public journals of his second Administration to see how nearly, in several instances, even the Father of his Country came to submergence and obloquy. It is not needed to enumerate the great names that arise in rapid illustration of this principle. On Napoleon III. it bore heavily. As early as 1863 the French elections began to show clearly that while the peasant-vote of the provinces remained true to the Imperial system, and to the Emperor in particular, the vote of the cities and towns of the higher order showed a decline in the influence and popularity of the Government.

This was particularly true in Paris. The fact in question was but the index of another and more significant circumstance in the history of the Second Empire. This was the falling away of the intellectual and educated classes, the thinkers and writers and makers of public opinion, from the support of the Emperor and his governmental system. The thought of France became in a large measure the Opposition; and it could not be doubted, from the experiences of the past, that sooner or later the material would have to give way before the pressure of the immaterial and spiritual forces of the age.

Doubtless, Napoleon himself understood the situation. Certainly he sought to avert it. The world has become wise through ages, and the rulers of the world have learned by heart the methods and expedients by which the rebellious thought of the people can be best diverted into other than political channels. In this kind of sophistical philosophy the Emperor of the French was an expert. Hard pressed, under the exigency of historical necessity, he made the best use of his power to hold his place and to make permanent his system, by exciting the energies of the French people in other than political directions. He devoted himself again with increasing energy to the work of making Paris the first city of the Modern World. In this he succeeded; and the recent splendor of the French capital must ever bear witness to the greatness of Napoleon III. as a beautifier and adorner of what had been built by others.

In other and distant quarters of the world, also, the evidence of his enterprise was seen. The long-lagging project of the Suez Canal was revived by his energy, and finally brought to a successful conclusion. The work was of international importance, and may well deserve, in this connection, some further notice.

The Isthmus of Suez is one of the most important localities in the geography of our planet. It is a sort of dry-land Bosphorus. It is the stem, so to speak, of that great leaf called Africa. True it is that the fluctuations of race, whereby, in modern times at least, certain unprogressive peoples have been thrown around this quarter of the globe, have lessened the importance of the Isthmus in its relations with civilization. But while Asia and Europe hold their present moorings in the earth, the peculiarity of this situation on the highway between them will ever be recognized, and the value of the neck of land between the head of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean be made the basis of competition and diplomacy.

The reader may here be reminded of the fact that the trade of the Far East came overland aforetime to the ancient sea-ports of the Mediterranean, and was thence distributed by ships to the different countries around the borders of that great inland sea. The history of the movements of this Indian and Arabian commerce from the earliest ages down to the present time would, if authentically and fully presented, constitute one of the most interesting and comprehensive chapters in the annals of the human race. In this con-

nection a mere sketch of this important subject is all that space and the symmetry of the narrative will permit. Until the beginning of the sixteenth century the general movement of the merchandise of the Orient continued to be by caravan, across the waste regions of Western Asia, in the direction which we have already indicated, to the Mediterranean. Such was the state of trade at the discovery of America. It will not by any means be forgotten that the bottom motive with the great navigators in the early part of the sixteenth century was to find, not indeed a New World, but an all-water route to the Indies. The sphericity of the earth became a recognized fact in the higher geography of the age, and the inevitable inference of the possibility of circumnavigation was drawn from this concept of the figure of the planet. Da Gama and Magellan went forth on this hypothesis. The North-west Passage was sought, and not found. The North-east Passage was believed in, but could not be demonstrated. On the line of the South-west Passage the ships of Magellan went forth, passed the South American Strait, touched the Philippines, and reached India. Da Gama did the same by the South-east Passage, and geographical science took the world in its arms.

The result upon commerce was decisive. The all-water routes were found. The cargoes of India could now be brought by ship directly to the great nations of Western Europe. The commerce of the Eastern Mediterranean fell away. The tide flowed in another direction. The nations of the Levant declined more and more in importance. The New World rose dripping from the waters, and was colonized by adventurous races. In course of time civilization spread across the two Americas from shore to shore. At last San Francisco began to look out across the Pacific to China and Japan. It became a question whether the commerce of the East could not be brought Pacific-wise to the Western shores of North America, be transhipped overland to the Atlantic, and brought thence by water again to the ports of Western Europe, more quickly, if not more cheaply, than to be taken in sailing-vessels by the old routes westward from the Indies.

It was under such conditions that thoughtful, progressive, adventurous minds, near the close of the first half of our century, began to consider seriously the great question of cutting a ship-canal across the neck of land between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. The project of course was closely associated in geographical and commercial philosophy with the similar scheme for cutting across the Isthmus of Darien or Panama. We have already seen how Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, dreaming and cogitating in the solitude of the prison of Ham, formulated and published an able essay on the subject of a ship-canal through Panama. The reader will not need to be told that this was part and parcel of the Suez enterprise. Both alike related to the one great question of a shorter all-water route from India to Western Europe and Eastern America. Of a certainty, if both canals were once in operation, then the ship from Hong Kong, or from British Burmah, might elect its course for the European harbors. She might sail forth eastward across the Pacific through the Central American Canal, and thence by an easy Atlantic voyage to her destination; or she might follow the sun across the waters of Bengal, the Indian Ocean, the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, the Red Sea, the Suez Canal, the Mediterranean, and Gibraltar, to her destined port.

It was the presence and ever-rising importance of this question that led at length to the undertaking of the ship-canal at Suez. The project was not a new one. Strabo and Pliny have recorded a similar enterprise as far back as the times of Ramses the Great. Certain it is that as early as 600 B. C., Pharaoh Neku projected a ship-canal across the Isthmus. Afterwards a like enterprise was prosecuted, about 270 B. C., by Ptolemy Philadelphus. At the beginning of the second century of our era we find the Emperor Trajanus engaged in the work of repairing and restoring the canal of Ptolemy. It appears, however, that with the lapse of ages the early channels thus cut from the head of the Red Sea into the Pelusiac arm of the Nile became filled with drifting sand, and finally obliterated to such an extent that antiquarian research has been required to determine their position. A little before the middle of the seventh century, Amru, the general of the Caliph Omar, is

said to have repaired the old canal and named it in honor of the Prince of the Faithful.

In modern times it appears that the first concept of a canal across the Isthmus flashed into the teeming brain of Napoleon I., during his campaign in Egypt. He took in the situation at a glance, and ordered his engineers to survey a trial route between the two waters right and left. The result was a report by them, thoroughly erroneous, that the waters of the Red Sea were, on a level, thirty feet higher than those of the Mediterranean. This being accepted as true, rendered the project impracticable. In 1847 a joint commission was sent out by France, England, and Austria to resurvey the same ground. It was while they were engaged in this work that our war with Mexico was completed. The territory of the United States was suddenly extended in a broad band to the Pacific, and gold was discovered in California. It was indeed time that the great carrying nations of Western Europe should devise some new and more expeditious route between Central and Eastern Asia and their own capitals.

It was now ascertained that the two seas, instead of a different elevation, have almost exactly the same level. The result of this survey, which was conducted by M. Talabot, Robert Stephenson, and Signor Negrelli, was fully verified by a second examination six years afterwards. The report of Stephenson, however, was adverse to the feasibility of the project, being to the effect that a canal through such a region would, as of old, become immediately obstructed with drifting sand, and thus be lost for the purposes of commerce. Accepting this view, Great Britain — ever believing in the infallibility of her own work and workmen—withdrew her encouragement from the enterprise, and the work was virtually remanded to the French. Now it was that M. Ferdinand de Lesseps appeared on the scene, and in 1854 received from Saïd Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt, permission to form a company for the purpose of constructing a ship-canal from Tineh, near the site of ancient Pelusium, to Suez at the head of the Red Sea. The grant brought with it exclusive rights, and thus was secured to France, through her diplomatical service in Egypt, the sole patronage and privilege of bringing to a successful conclusion one of the greatest enterprises of modern times.

The company under the direction of De Lesseps was organized in 1858, with a guarantee of the right of way for a period of ninety-nine years, on consideration that fifteen per cent. of the toll gathered on the canal should be paid to the Egyptian Government. The capital of the company was at first two hundred million francs, but this was increased in 1867 by a hundred million francs additional. The length of the canal, as now surveyed and established by the company, was a hundred miles, of which about twenty-five miles were occupied with the lakes through which the channel was conducted. In the higher regions through which it passes, the channel is over three hundred feet in width at the surface and seventy-two feet broad at the bottom. The general depth of the water in the channel is twenty-six feet. The highest point through which the canal had to be cut was about eighty-five feet.

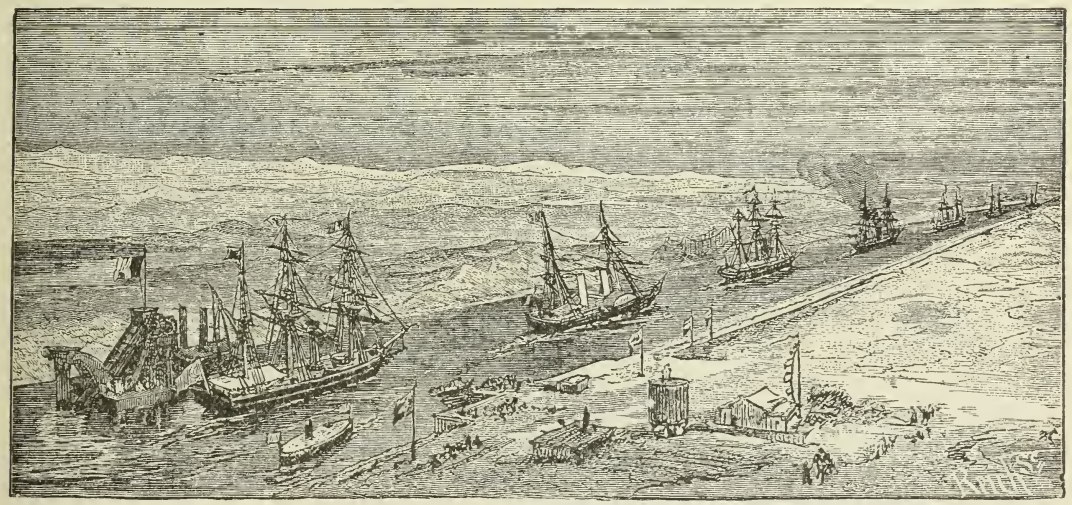
A period of nearly seven years was occupied in the construction, the work being officially opened on the 17th of November, 1869. The event was appropriately celebrated, as the beginning of a new movement in the commerce between Asia and Europe. Before the day of dedication, fifty ships of good burden had already passed through the canal with ease and safety. The success of the enterprise was brought to a demonstration. New schemes for rival canals soon attested the popularity and efficiency of the work which had been accomplished. Great Britain became suddenly awake, through interest and jealousy of the thing accomplished by her rival at the Isthmus of Suez. She adopted a policy of purchasing stock in the canal. In 1875 the British Government bought of the Khedive of Egypt one hundred and seventy-six thousand six hundred and two shares of the stock of the company, held by the Viceroy, thus becoming still further interested in the political maintenance and financial stability of the Egyptian Government. The patronage of the canal rapidly increased. In 1875 the number of vessels passing through was one thousand four hundred and ninety-four, and this increased in eleven years to three thousand six hundred and twenty-four. The freightage in the same

period rose from two million nine hundred and forty thousand seven hundred and eight to eight million nine hundred and eighty-five thousand four hundred and eleven tons. While it is true that no single enterprise of this kind, however vast and essential to the interests of international trade, can any longer determine its character or tendencies, it will also be conceded that the completion and opening of the Suez Canal, under the patronage of the French Government, in the autumn of 1869, marks one of the most important accomplishments in the industrial history of modern times.

The Emperor of the French sought also to please the people by measures calculated to draw the attention of other nations to France, and to satisfy the pride of the Gallic race with spectacles and splendors. In 1867 the Universal Exposition at Paris was opened under favorable auspices, and proved to be the most extensive and successful exhibition of arts and industries thus far known among mankind. The event bore witness in a striking manner to the preëminence of France under the Napoleonic *régime;* and the Government reaped as fully as possible the advantages which came from the gathering of all products and the representatives of all nations at the French capital.

We are now to recount the circumstances by which this Imperial Government, so splendid in outward form, so efficient in administration, so well regulated in its methods and manners, ran down rapidly, until it plunged by a startling catastrophe into oblivion. It is not improbable that Napoleon III. would have been able, to the end of his life, to preserve his ascendency in France, and to transmit the crown to his son, if he had had to contend only with the internal forces of the Empire. But an enemy now arose beyond the Rhine, whose very existence disturbed alike the Emperor's equanimity and the equipoise of his throne. Now it was that the controversy began relative to the Danish Provinces of Schleswig and Holstein, calling forth the intervention of Prussia and Austria, and giving the first hint of the military greatness which the former kingdom was soon to attain.

Schleswig-Holstein juts out from Germany in the form of an isthmus, with the expansion of Denmark at the northern end. It is a region of diverse nationalities; but the German race predominates, particularly in the southern portion. At the beginning of the sixth decade of our century it was seen that the Danish dynasty was about to end with the life of Frederick VII. In 1852 a conference was held in London, at which it was decided that the crown of Denmark should, after the death of Frederick, go to the Duke of Glücksburg, who had taken a Danish Princess in marriage. When Frederick died, however, in 1863, and the Duke was proclaimed as Christian IX., a pretender to the crown appeared in the person of Prince Frederick of Augustenburg, who claimed the crown, with the title of Frederick



SUEZ CANAL.

VIII. The claims of this Prince were warmly supported in Schleswig-Holstein, and Austria and Prussia came forth to uphold his claims to the throne. A German army was sent into the Peninsula, and the demand was made of Denmark to relinquish Schleswig-Holstein until what time the rights of the Prince of Augustenburg should be determined.

Denmark, finding herself in great straits, made an appeal to France and England to espouse her cause in the general interest of the balance of power. It was this particular event which revealed the strength of Prussia and the declining influence of the French Empire. During all the events which followed, it became more and more apparent that Louis Napoleon was no longer the arbiter of Europe. It was believed in the inner circles of diplomacy that France gave to Denmark some assurance of her intention to espouse the Danish cause, and to hold the Germans back from further aggression. But the Danes soon found that no dependence could be placed upon the encouragement thus given. The army of Austria and Prussia overran the Peninsula, and Denmark, after a brave resistance, was borne down by the sheer weight of her enemy. In October of 1864 a treaty of peace was made at Vienna, in which all claims of Christian IX. to Schleswig and Holstein were renounced. It was agreed that Schleswig should be placed under a Prussian, and Holstein under an Austrian, protectorate. The Emperor of the French urged, with much show of reason, that the will of the people in the disputed provinces should be ascertained by a *plébiscite*. This proposition was agreed to so far as Holstein was concerned, but was denied for Schleswig, which was under the protection of Prussia. This is to say that already Prussia was in antagonism to France, and the coming storm began to be prepared. From this time forth it was only a question of time when, from the two sides of the Rhine, the representatives of the Houses of Hohenzollern and Bonaparte would point their drawn swords at each other's breasts.

Prussia was now on the alert. In 1865 Count Bismarck paid a visit to his friend, Napoleon III., at Paris. It was one of the most sinister personal expeditions ever made into a neighboring country. The eye of the German glanced right and left and measured with the certainty of calculus the resources and conditions of the French Empire. He returned to his own place satisfied with the situation. His Teutonic intellect had discerned that, as affairs already stood in France, he and his master, King William, had nothing to fear from beyond the Rhine. Prussia, accordingly, made war on Austria. The alliance with Italy and the subjugation of Hanover followed like the two preliminary acts of a drama. The Hanoverian king fled for refuge to Vienna.

It was now the early summer of 1866. Prussia instantly turned on Austria, and in the *Seven Weeks* between the end of June and the 23d of August, trampled her under foot. After Sadowa, Vienna itself was at the mercy of the Prussian army. Francis Joseph cried out for peace, in order to save his fortunes from further wreck and ruin. Peace was hastily concluded in a convention at Prague—a peace which was dictated, rather than negotiated, by King William and Bismarck. Holstein and Schleswig were seized by Prussia, and added to the North German Confederation. No such brilliant and audacious proceeding had been witnessed in Europe since the days of the First Napoleon. Meanwhile, the Second Napoleon looked on in silent mortification, holding his peace.

From this time forth, a political reäction, not indeed violent, but no less certain in its ultimate results, set in in France. The *Corps Legislatif* began at length to open its doors to the great and pronounced champions of the old Republicanism. Thus once more came the distinguished Thiers, with Berlayer, into the Legislative body, and the Opposition was so greatly improved and encouraged by such accessions that the Emperor and his Ministry were troubled. So much was Napoleon checked by political antagonism in the Chamber, that he was obliged, as we have seen, to remain in helpless neutrality while the Mexican Empire of Maximilian fell into ruins, and afterwards while the Prussians wrought havoc with Austria in the Schleswig-Holstein war.

The tides of public opinion in France rose ever higher and higher against the Government. The elections of 1868 showed that two hundred thousand voters had gone over to

the Opposition. The radical press became outspoken, audacious, vehement in denunciations. The socialist, Henri Rochefort, established *La Lanterne*, in which he sent, week after week, his satirical invectives against the Government to nearly a million and a quarter of subscribers. The storm became furious, and Napoleon was constrained to renew the policy of proscription, and to send sixty-four editors and journalists to prison. He also increased the army to a million three hundred and fifty thousand men.

By the elections of 1869 it was shown that the Opposition vote in the Empire had risen to over three millions. Scarcely was the Government able to obtain three-fifths of the suffrages. It was again apparent that the division was between country and city. The provincials voted for the Empire, as usual; but in the cities and larger towns, the Republican candidates were elected. It was in this Assembly that M. Leon Gambetta made his first appearance, taking his place among the party known as the "Irreconcilables." Already, by this time, a spasmodic cry of *Vive la Republique* was heard here and there. On several occasions order in Paris had to be enforced by the military; and the same thing occurred at Nantes and Bordeaux. It was evident that a crisis in the French Government was approaching.

Louis Napoleon, however, and the adherents of the Empire were by no means ready to give way before the revolutionary tendencies of the times. History must confess that the Emperor was still legitimate, having with him the majority of the people. He was, besides, willing at all times to hear and consider the complaints of the Opposition. Early in 1870 a Liberal Cabinet was actually conceded under the leadership of M. Emile Ollivier, whom the Emperor and Empress won over to the support of the Government. The Emperor himself claimed to be as liberal in his principles as was consistent with the established order. He professed confidence in the people, and, in May of 1870, actually appealed to the French Nation by the famous *plébiscite* on the fundamental question of the character of his Government and his hereditary rights to the throne. The answer was again overwhelmingly in his favor, the affirmative vote being 7,358,786 against a negative vote of 1,571,939. It could not be fairly complained that the majority was either indecisive or factitious.

During this period the policy of reforming the Government in many particulars was adopted, and every popular complaint was considered in a spirit of moderation and justice. Already before the *plébiscite*, the new reforms of the preceding autumn had been secured under the *senatus-consultum*. In all this the political sagacity of Louis Napoleon was manifested in the highest degree. His profound insight into the course and nature of events was exhibited in every crisis, and it might have well been argued that a Government so conducted, under a sovereign of such pacific and conciliatory disposition, might be indefinitely prolonged.



HENRI ROCHEFORT.

But the event was otherwise. The enormous expense of the military establishment was paraded by the leaders of the Opposition

as an essential vice. The Radical orators and statesmen in the Assembly—Thiers, Favre, Simon, Gambetta, Bancel, Raspail, Crémieux, and Arago—still continued their fiery assaults, which were now openly directed to the *fact* rather than to the *methods* of the Empire. This sentiment gained ground constantly in Paris and several other principal cities of France, in many of which the majority was against the Government. Napoleon perceived



ISABELLA II., OF SPAIN.

that even the overwhelming support of the rural populations would not suffice to uphold him much longer. In the emergency, he seems to have made up his mind that the thing needful to regain his ascendency and to rebuttress the throne, was to electrify all France with the shocks and victories of a great foreign war.

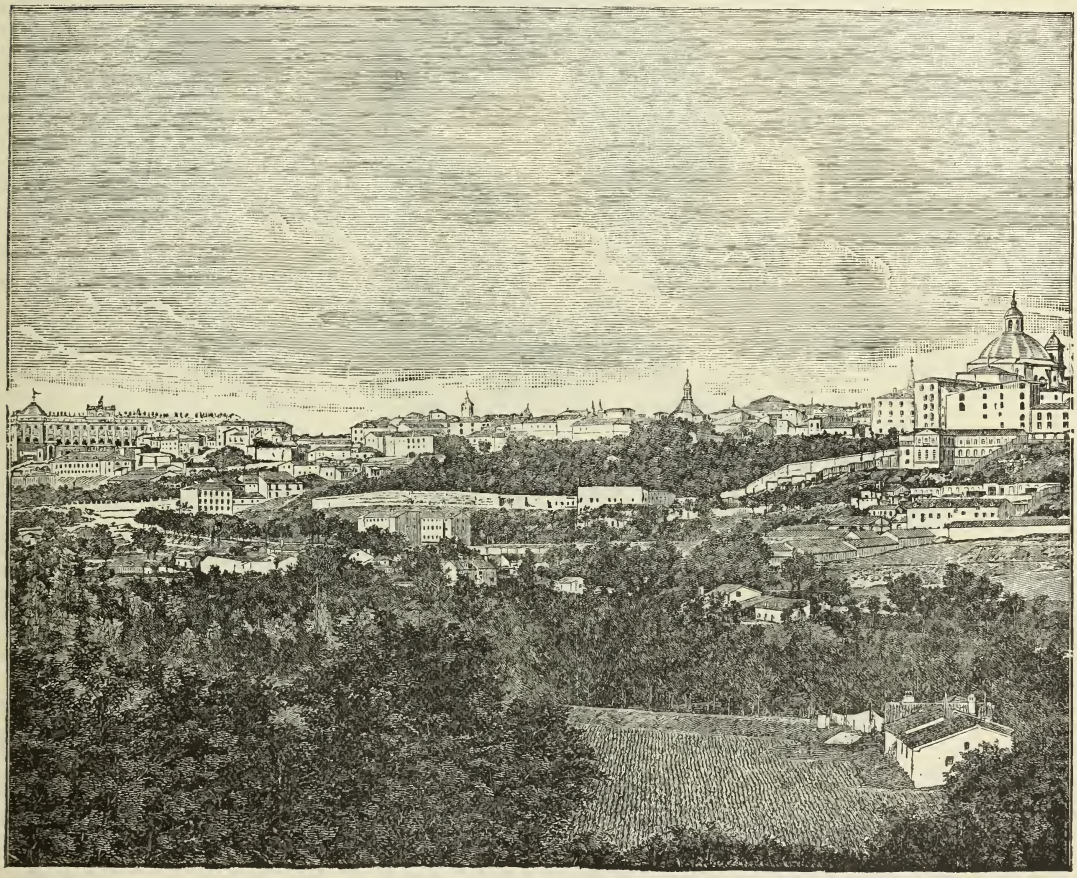
In order to understand the great events which now followed, fast and faster, we must turn our attention for the time to the condition of affairs in Spain. In that country, during the whole reign of Isabella II., the struggle had gone on between the Liberal party on the one side, and the throne, supported by the ancient Bourbonism, on the other. In 1866 the Spanish Government adopted the policy of proscription against the Liberal leaders, and several of them, including Serrano, Prim, and O'Donnell, were driven into exile. Two years afterwards the opposition elements of the kingdom formed a combination, under the impact of which the Government party was borne down. In September of 1868, Serrano and Prim returned to Spain, resumed their natural place at the head of the Liberals, set up the standard of revolution, and carried all before them. The dynasty was overthrown. Isabella and her house, including her lover Marfori, and her chaplain Claret, were driven from the country. The Queen fled to France, where she was cordially received by Napoleon and Eugénie, who put at her disposal the old castle of Pau, from which she issued her proclamations against the rebellion and the rebels.

The Liberal leaders in Madrid paid little attention to the harmless fulminations of Isabella, but they encountered, at the very outset, a serious question with respect to the Spanish throne. After Isabella, whom? The Cortes were by no means ready for the institution of a republic, and it became necessary to find a successor for the fugitive Queen. It was soon discovered that no one of the Bourbons would be acceptable to the Spanish people. A new Constitution was formed, providing for a popular Assembly, a Senate, and a king; but who would be the king? After some time spent in the consideration of the question, the Cortes determined to offer—and

did offer—the Spanish crown to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a relative of the King of Prussia.

Here then, at last, was that cause of offense for which the Emperor of the French seemed to be waiting. A friendship had sprung up between the Empress and the Ex-Queen Isabella. Eugénie was herself by birth a Spaniard. France and Spain had been immemorially associated in the general history of Europe. They were both Latin kingdoms.

To what extent William of Prussia and his Minister connived at the election of Leopold to the Spanish crown has never been fully divulged. In France it was assumed that they had been at the bottom of the whole affair, and that the scheme was nothing less than to make Spain a German dependency. It is certain that Prince Leopold at once informed the head of the House of Hohenzollern of his election by the Spanish Cortes, and it is *said* that William authorized him to accept the



VIEW OF MADRID.

Here, then, was a *German* Prince, this Leopold of Hohenzollern, under the headship of King William of Prussia, selected for the Spanish throne! Had not the Prussian King contrived to have it so? Was it not clearly the work of Bismarck? Was it to be expected that Imperial France would stand idly by and see a German dynasty established south of the Pyrenees? It was bad enough to have the Teutonic race on *one* side of the French dominion; on *two* sides, intolerable.

offer. It was at this juncture that the French Cabinet determined to interfere. The growing distrust of France and Prussia was to find in the election of Leopold both cause and occasion for the first explosion of hatred. France assumed the responsibility of the King of Prussia for the candidature and election of Leopold to the throne of Spain. Hereupon all the inflammable elements in Paris, and throughout the Empire, went off in spontaneous combustion. The very name of Hohen-

zollern was hateful, and the changes upon it were rung by the French Ministers and statesmen as the pretext for the declaration that Leopold's candidature and election were, *per se*, injurious and insulting to the honor and the influence of France.

On the 6th of July, 1870, the Duke de Grammont declared in the French Assembly that the election of Leopold of Hohenzollern would not, and should not, be tolerated by the Imperial Government. A great furor ensued. The excitement at the French capital rose higher and higher. Count Benedetti, the French Ambassador at Berlin, was ordered by Napoleon to demand of King William that the latter, as the head of the House of Hohenzollern, should not permit Prince Leopold to accept the Spanish crown. To this demand the Prussian King returned for answer that he was not at liberty to prevent an act which he had not advised. While this reply was in transit and under consideration, Prince Leopold cut short the whole matter by declining the honor which had been conferred by the Spanish Cortes. Nevertheless, the somewhat equivocal but conciliatory answer of King William, even when it was followed by the declinature of the Prince, was not acceptable to the war party at Paris.

At this juncture, it is likely that if Louis Napoleon had been left to himself the sequel



PRINCE LEOPOLD OF HOHENZOLLERN.

would have been different; but he was borne on by forces which he could no longer control. In an evil hour he came to believe that it was better to go to war with Germany than to struggle forever with the Radical gladiators in the arena of French politics. He was growing old, and was anxious in the last degree that his reign should expire gloriously with his life. Could he but see the Prince Imperial about to receive a peaceful Empire, he might be ready for his departure. Then there

was his personal antipathy to the Germans, notably the Prussians. Was it not they who, on that fatal day of Waterloo, had given the victory to Wellington? Albeit, the Empress Eugénie hated the race beyond the Rhine more intensely than did her husband. All these forces conspired to urge Napoleon to a course which his natural and acquired acuteness of perception might otherwise have led him to avoid.

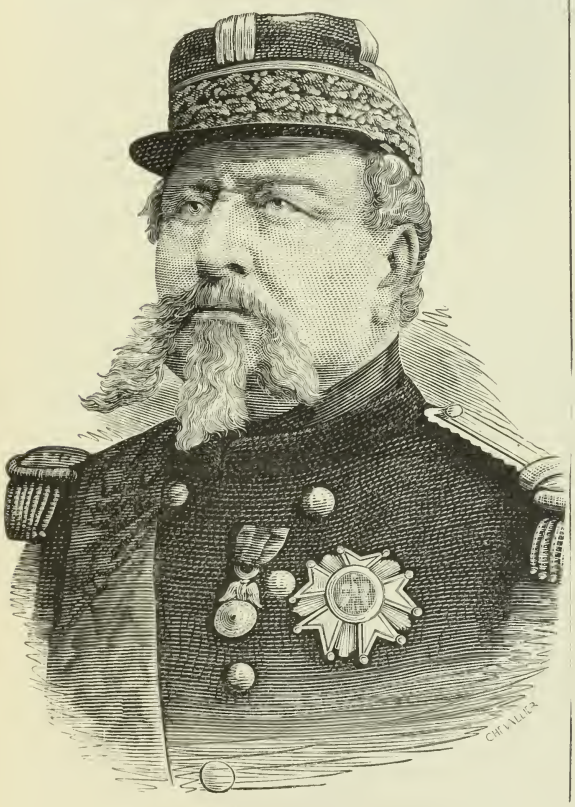
CHAPTER CXXXIX.—FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR.

AFTER the return of King William's first answer, and the act of Leopold in declining the Spanish throne, the Emperor of the French showed signs of willingness to let the matter end; but the French Nation was now angry out of season, and the Ministers, especially the Duke de Grammont, urged Napoleon to press the Prussian King still further. A second demand was accordingly formulated and sent to Berlin, requiring William to give a pledge that *no* Prince of the House of Hohenzollern should be or become a candidate for the Spanish throne. When this message was received at the Prussian capital, the King was absent at the baths of Ems, and thither he was followed by Benedetti. The Ambassador, in discourteous haste, confronted King William in the early morning on the public promenade, and in that place delivered his master's despatch. It is said that a part of his instructions, received from the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, was, "*Be rough with the King.*" He was accordingly rough with the King. His manner, as well as his matter, was alleged to be peremptory, if not positively insulting. However this may be, William heard the demand, and turning on his heel, dropped, in the German tongue, a vulgar objurgation, and left the Ambassador with no other answer.

Two days afterwards, namely, on the 15th of July, the King returned to Berlin, and it was perceived in both countries that war was inevitable. It is believed that the French Government at this juncture took steps to suppress the movements of the Opposition, should such a course be necessary, by a second *coup d'etat.* Thiers and his fellow-Republicans went ahead, however, in outspoken opposition to the war, and for this they were condemned in unmeasured terms by the adherents of the Government. The latter would hear of nothing short of the impending conflict with Prussia. England and Rome both attempted to house the storm by friendly intervention; but their good offices were rejected in a temper akin to disdain. The war party became furious. They proclaimed that France was ready—five times ready—for the struggle. They declared that the last gaiter-button in the Empire was consecrated to the overthrow and punishment of the arrogant and impudent race beyond the Rhine. The house of Thiers was mobbed by the war-mad populace of Paris, and everything bore on, like the rapids of Niagara, to the precipice.

Only six days after the interview of M. Benedetti with the King at Ems, France declared war against Prussia. The event soon showed that it was one thing to rush to arms and quite another to rush to victory. We are here to enter upon a brief account of one of the most remarkable events of modern history. The Franco-Prussian War was fought on both sides under a race enthusiasm for which it would be difficult to find a parallel. The battles were furious, dreadful. The vicissitudes of the conflicts were tragical in the last degree, and the results of the struggle were startlingly revolutionary in both France and Germany. It was a war of a single season, beginning with a spasmodic aggression on the one side, to be followed up by persistent invasion and conquest on the other. From the first both parties were confident of success. This was especially true on the side of France. Napoleon and the whole French Nation threw themselves into the conflict as though it were a tourney of the holidays. It was the common

saying in Paris that the French army should celebrate the birthday of the First Bonaparte in Berlin. The braggarts thus allowed themselves less than a month in which to conquer Prussia. It was believed in France, and apprehended in some parts of Germany, that with the oncoming of the war the North German Confederation would fall to pieces; that is, that the South-German States, uneasy under the domination of Prussia, and still adhering to the political traditions of the past, would not enter the common cause, and that they



BARON LE BŒUF.

could, perhaps, be wholly detached from the Prussian interest. But such belief was without foundation in fact. The South Germans arose with their countrymen of the North, and Napoleon soon found that he must contend with a United Germany.

The plans of the French Emperor were energetic and sufficiently plain. It was proposed in the first place to throw a tremendous army to the Rhine, invade Prussia, beat her armies into the earth, avenge the *insult* done to the French Ambassador at Ems, and wipe out the very memory of the intrigue relative to Leopold and the Spanish crown. This done, Napoleon, after the manner of his illustrious uncle, would dictate a peace from the capital of his enemy. But little had he apprehended the character of the task which he had imposed on himself and his subjects. His army numbered three hundred and ten thousand men; but the event proved that Baron Le Bœuf, the French Minister of War, had utterly misled and misinformed Napoleon with respect to the discipline, equipment, and readiness of his forces. True, the march to the Rhine was at once begun, but it was seen from the start that the movements of the French were not comparable with those of the Prussians in vigor and celerity. Beyond the Rhine the very nation seemed suddenly converted into an army. Within the space of eleven days four hundred and fifty thousand soldiers were organized and put in motion to meet the French on the frontier! It was as if two tremendous storms, boiling up black with wrath from opposite horizons, should come on, hurricane-wise, to shake the heavens and the earth by their concussion in the mid-firmament.

The German army was organized in three great divisions, under the respective commands of General Steinmetz, the Crown Prince of Prussia, and his cousin, Prince Frederick Charles. These powerful divisions moved forward to the scene of conflict. The command-in-chief was conferred on Count Von Moltke, whose genius in war now appeared as conspicuous as that of Bismarck in statesmanship. King William himself went to the front in person, and continued with the army, riding grimly at the head of his staff to the end of the conflict. Germany was in the field. Such was the rapidity with which the Prussians pressed on to the frontier that the movements of the French were anticipated, and when Napoleon reached the borders, he found the line of the Rhine already preöccupied by heavy masses of German soldiers stretching through strong positions from Treves to Landau. It became doubtful, as the two armies approached the borders, whether Louis Napoleon, who, according to premature panegyrics, was going to celebrate his uncle's birthday in Berlin, would be able even to set his foot on Prussian soil.

The actual conflict began on the 2d of August, 1870. On that day a French division, about thirty thousand strong, under General Frossard, crossed the German frontier, and attacked the little town of Saarbrück. The place was defended by a small force of Uhlans, who were soon compelled by superior numbers to withdraw to the right bank of the Saar. Napoleon himself and the Prince Imperial, his boy, were on the battle-field, and when the slight engagement was over the Emperor sent to Eugénie a somewhat magnificent despatch recounting the victory and her son's "baptism of fire." It was the first and last of such messages. But the Parisian Government and populace went wild with delight over the news, which seemed to foretoken the bursting in of the shell of Germany.

The scene instantly changed. Two days after the affair at Saarbrück the Crown Prince crossed the frontier, fell upon the right wing of the French army under Marshal MacMahon, at Weissenburg, and gained a victory—the first of many. On the 6th of August he renewed the attack at the village of Wörth, where, for thirteen hours, the field was hotly contested; but at nightfall the French began a retreat which came near to degenerating into a panic. Now did it become apparent that if France was five times, Germany was ten times prepared. This indeed was the secret of all that ensued until the final cataclysm at Sedan. Never, indeed, was any other nation so completely equipped and ready in every particular for the shock of war as was Germany in 1870. Through years and years of preparation, of discipline, of accumulation of military knowledge and material resources, the work had gone on until, on the call to arms, the very nation seemed to rise from the earth, and stand. There was, moreover, the heat of passion and of nationality. Now was it felt that at last the hour had come when the insult and contumely which the Corsican had heaped without measure on the Fatherland should be wiped out with blood. The German race was thoroughly angered, and the impetuosity of its onset, the determination of its charges, could not be withstood.

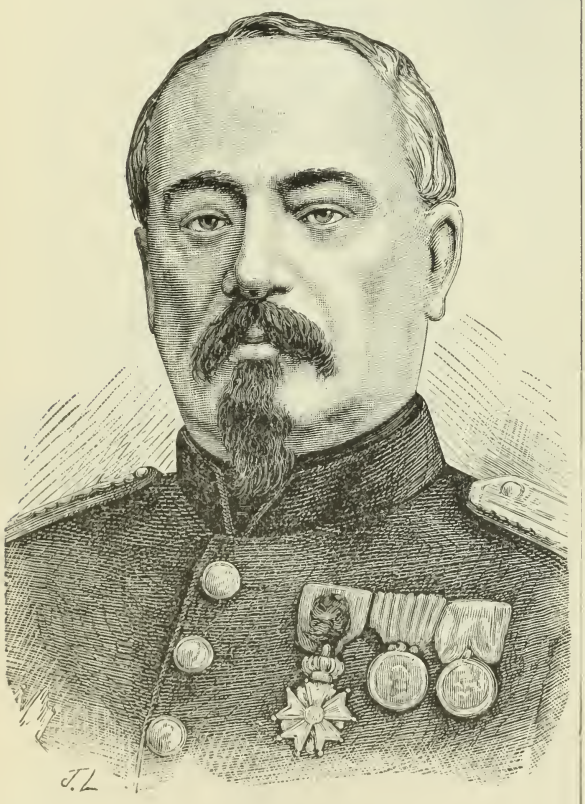
After the battle of Wörth, one division of MacMahon's army fell back towards the Vosges and another towards Strasburg. The Germans were thus enabled to penetrate Alsace without further resistance. At the very time when the Crown Prince was winning these successes on the right, General Steinmetz assaulted the French position at Spicheren, carried the place by storm, and gained a decisive victory. Then the whole Prussian line was thrown forward. The French frontier at Forbach was broken, and the vast amount of supplies there accumulated fell into the hands of the victors. Already every energy of France was strained to uphold her honor in a defensive rather than an offensive contest with her enemy.

The movements of the German army were in the next place directed to Strasburg. Nothing could surpass the ability and success with which the invasion was begun and prosecuted. The superior knowledge of the enemy's country possessed by the German officers, and even by the men of the line, became known and demonstrated with every movement. Herein was another element in the superiority which Prussia and her allies now exhibited over the French. France was outgeneraled at every step. It came to be said that there was not a common soldier in King William's army who did not know the geography of Eastern France by heart. The troops of Baden now began a siege of Strasburg. The Crown Prince threw forward his army to Nancy, in Lorraine. At the same time Steinmetz and Frederick Charles moved upon Marshal Bazaine at Courcelles, and there, on the 14th of August, gained another great victory.

If we take a survey of the whole field at this juncture we shall find the French army extended across the frontier-line from Strasburg to Metz, facing Germany, while the Germans occupied a counter position, with the head-quarters of King William at Mainz. After his defeat, Bazaine retreated to Metz, garrisoned the forts at that place, and then sought to form a junction with General Trochu, who was preparing an army at Chalons. Von Moltke, perceiving the intention of his adversary, hurried forward the division of Prince Frederick Charles to intercept the retreat, and to prevent the union of the French forces. The Germans next crossed the Moselle, and reached the village of Mars-la-Tour, where they encountered Bazaine, at the head of a hundred

thousand men. Here was fought the most bloody battle which had yet occurred during the war. The losses on each side amounted to about seventeen thousand. The victory was claimed by the French, though Frederick Charles succeeded in holding his position, and Bazaine was obliged to make his way by a longer route towards Verdun.

On the 18th of August, the combined armies of Steinmetz and Prince Frederick Charles, under command of King William in person, renewed the attack in the murderous



MARSHAL BAZAINE.

battle of Gravelotte, in which, from morning till night, two hundred thousand Germans struggled for the mastery with a hundred and eighty thousand French. Again the result was indecisive so far as actual victory in the field was concerned, but the Germans, by the sacrifice of twenty thousand men, succeeded in stopping the retreat of Bazaine and forcing him back into the fortifications of Metz, where he was at once besieged by the entire division of Frederick Charles. Thus was the main army, upon which France depended for success, cooped up, while the two great German divisions, under the Crown Prince and Steinmetz, were still free to press forward against MacMahon and Trochu at Chalons.

The battle of Gravelotte was, in a sense, the crisis of the war. It decided the fate of Metz, of Bazaine's army, of the Empire, of France. But the French were by no means willing to concede the game. The excitement produced in Paris by the great battles on the frontier—by the news in particular of Gravelotte, and the shutting up of Bazaine in Metz—knew no bounds. At the first, the French, particularly the war party in the capital, flattered themselves that their Marshals were winning great victories. But when it became known that the tide was the other way, and that their favorite young general, with the principal armies of the Empire, was actually besieged, a great reäction ensued, and rage took the place of exultation. About a hundred thousand German residents of Paris and France were mercilessly driven from the country. The national spirit was roused to a pitch of frenzy, and the determination shown to drive back the invaders out of the country was worthy of the noblest cause.

Whatever may now have been the antipathy of the French Republicans to the Empire, however much they may have desired that Napoleon and his dynasty should be utterly blown away, there was no longer any division of sentiment on the crying question of staying the German invasion and hurling the enemy back across the border. In the meantime, the shattered forces of MacMahon, numbering a hundred and twenty-five thousand men, were reöganized at Chalons, and the Government determined that with this force he should make a supreme effort to break the investment of Metz and liberate Bazaine. MacMahon's own plan of the war was to plant himself between the Germans and Paris, and, if possible, prevent their advance on the capital. In this purpose, however, he was overruled by the Empress and Marshal Palikao, the French Minister of War, who insisted that the army of Bazaine should be set free at all hazard. MacMahon accordingly marched northward up the river Meuse, and as soon as this movement was detected, the course of the German army was changed in the same direction. It

now became a race between the contending armies, and the Germans won. For, although MacMahon moved forward with great rapidity, he had the longer line, so that when, on the 28th of August, he reached Stenay, on the Meuse, he was confronted by the right wing of the German army. Several indecisive engagements followed, which culminated on the 31st in the battle of Beaumont, in which the French were defeated. MacMahon was compelled, by overwhelming masses which were thrown between him and his object, to leave Bazaine to his fate, and to fall back to the fortified town of Sedan, where, with the Emperor, he resolved to defend himself to the last. He was still in command of a hundred and twelve thousand men, to whose warlike spirit had now been added the premonitions of despair.



BATTLE OF MARS-LA-TOURS.
After the painting by Emile Huenten.

The town of Sedan is in the department of Ardennes, on the right bank of the Meuse. It is distant from Paris a hundred and thirty miles, and was commanded, in 1870, by a strong fortress. The town lies in a basin. The hills around about constitute the rim. No sooner had MacMahon taken possession of Sedan than every height round about became a volcano. There were gathered more than two hundred thousand Germans, with their enormous batteries still hot from a dozen victorious battles. With the morning light of the 1st of September the hills began to smoke and roar. The basin of Sedan became a horrid arena of death. For France had come another day of fate. MacMahon was severely wounded, and the French command was twice transferred, first to Ducrot, and afterwards to Wimpffen. Around the villages of Bazeilles and Illy, and on the heights of Daigny, the

battle raged furiously; but nothing could long withstand the terrible discharges of the German artillery. The French army withered under the fiery blast. By three o'clock in the afternoon the work was done. Only a disorganized mass, crowded into the center of the basin, remained, and for this nothing was left but to surrender. The hour of the Second Empire had struck. At length a white flag was raised over Sedan, and the firing ceased. Then came a note to King William as follows:

"SIRE, MY BROTHER,—Not having been able to die at the head of my troops, I lay my sword before Your Majesty.

"Your Majesty's good brother,

NAPOLEON."

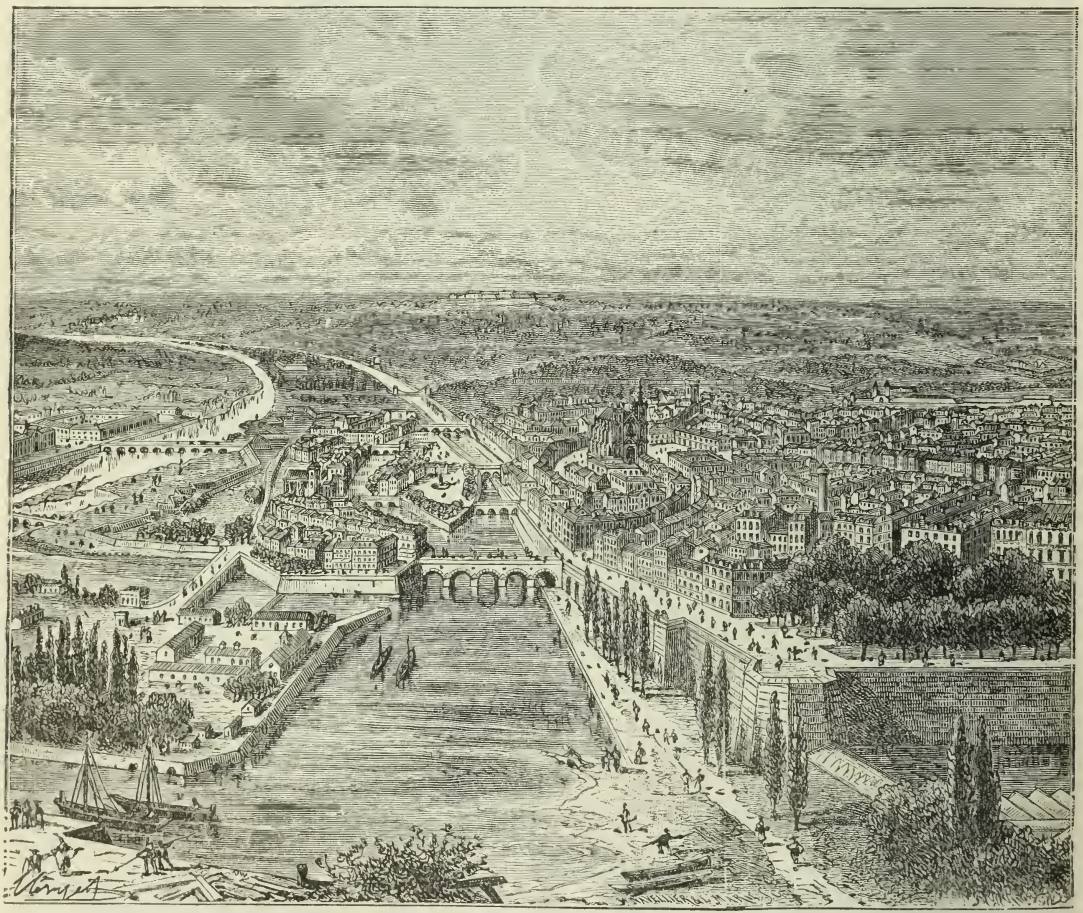
The King replied:

"SIRE, MY BROTHER,—Regretting the circumstance under which we meet, I accept the sword of Your Majesty, and I invite you to designate one of your officers provided with full powers to treat for the capitulation of the army which has so bravely fought under your command. On my side I have named General Moltke for this purpose.

"I am Your Majesty's good brother,

"WILHELM."

It has not often happened in the annals of the world that two sovereigns of great nations, under such circumstances, have called each other "*My good brother!*" It is the very irony of history.



METZ.

If Gravelotte was ruin, Sedan was despair. As soon as he had surrendered, the Emperor Napoleon withdrew from Sedan, and passed the night at the castle of Bellevue outside the city. At this place, on the morrow, he made a formal surrender to the King in person. The whole French army, numbering about eighty-four thousand men, became prisoners of war, and the enormous equipment fell into the hands of the victors. The captive Emperor was taken in charge by Prince Bismarck, and was presently conveyed to the castle of Wil-

helmshöhe, which was assigned to him as a residence.[1]

Such was the great collapse in the field. Meanwhile at Paris a corresponding civil tragedy was enacting. On leaving the capital, Napoleon had constituted the Empress Eugénie Regent in his absence. The struggle of the Republicans against the Government continued. Every disaster to the French arms, while it may be said to have unified France, weakened the Empire. At last came the news of Sedan. The Emperor was a prisoner. Germans, but in a position where it was impossible to aid France. He had done so to shore up the tottering Empire; that is, when the collapse should come, he would be in a position to negotiate with the Germans for the maintenance of the Imperial system against the Republic, which was certain to spring up the moment the throne was wrecked.

The condition of the Empress had now become pitiable. Her support fell away. Paris roared like the ocean. It was evident that the Government, the whole Imperial system, was



BISMARCK ACCOMPANYING THE CARRIAGE OF NAPOLEON III. TO THE CASTLE OF WILHELMSHÖHE.

zaine was shut up in Metz. The theory had now been adopted that that unfortunate Marshal was a traitor. He had conspired to put his army, not exactly into the power of the going down to wreck and oblivion. No sooner was the story of Sedan told in the capital than a popular revolution broke forth against the Empire. The blame for every thing was laid

[1] An incident, sufficiently characteristic of Prince Bismarck, is related of the journey to Wilhelmshöhe. The fallen Emperor of the French, with one or two friends, was conveyed in a carriage. There was a cavalcade of guards—Germans—dashing along by the equipage, and Bismarck rode alongside on his tremendous charger. Presently he began to *whistle!* To French ears the air signified nothing, but to the Germans it was sufficiently significant. In the German woods, when the boar hunt is on, the head huntsman blows his horn at intervals, indicative of the stages of the chase. When the boar is finally down, a peculiar air is winded, signifying to the scattered huntsmen that the object of the chase is accomplished; that the boar is on his knees. This horn-call of the German hunter was the air which Bismarck took up as he galloped by the carriage of the fallen Emperor of the French. He whistled *The Boar Is Down!*

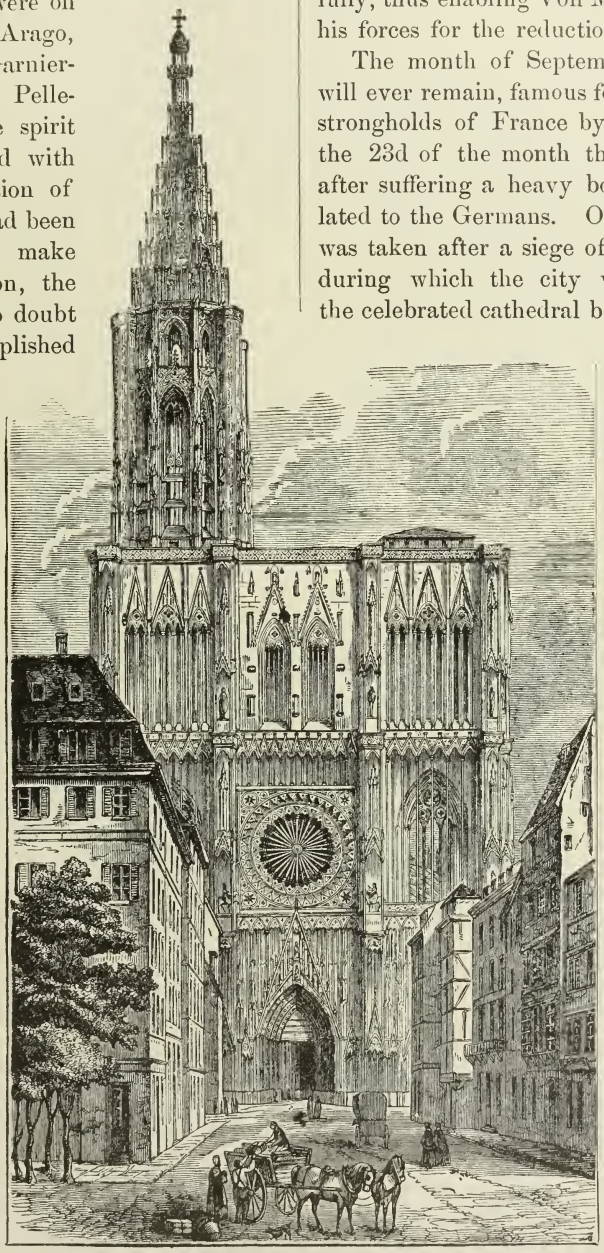
by the popular leaders on the tottering Napoleonic dynasty. On the 4th of September the catastrophe came. When it was seen that the Imperial Government must certainly be overthrown, M. Ferdinand de Lesseps made his way to the Empress and informed her of the situation, and of the necessity for an immediate escape from Paris. It required the utmost discretion on his part, self-control on the part of the Empress, and extreme caution on the part of all concerned, to effect a safe withdrawal from the Tuileries. Having clad herself in traveling apparel, the Empress went into the gallery of the Louvre, sat down a few minutes before one of Rubens's great pictures, and presently made her way quietly to the carriage, which De Lesseps had prepared without. As he handed the Empress to her seat within, a street gamin glanced into the carriage, recognized Eugénie, and cried out, *Voila Madame Bonaparte!* but his exclamation was unheard, and the carriage was driven rapidly away, first to the residence of De Lesseps, thence to the Place du Havre, thence to the coast, and thence to England, where Camden Palace, Chiselhurst, was assigned to her as a residence. The Prince Imperial was also safely conducted from the country to Hastings, where he awaited the coming of his mother.

Other prominent members of the Imperial Government fled before the storm. On the very day of the flight of the Empress, the Republic was proclaimed, and it was resolved that the tricolor should yet accomplish what the eagle of Bonaparte had failed to do, namely, expel the Germans from France. The proclamation of this, the Third Republic, was made under the advice of Thiers. At the beginning the new Government was of necessity a Government of national defense. Jules Favre, in the Chamber of Deputies, reëchoed the public voice in the first day of the Revolution, when he



CAMDEN PALACE, CHISELHURST.

declared that not one foot of soil, not one stone of a fortress should be surrendered to Germany. The other leaders of the hour were Jules Simon, Leon Gambetta, and General Trochu, who was made military commandant. But all the distinguished Radicals were on the stage of action—Arago, Crémieux, Ferry, Garnier-Pagès, Glais-Bizain, Pelletan, Rochefort. The spirit of the nation flamed with wrath at the condition of affairs. If Prussia had been left after Sedan to make terms with Napoleon, the work would have no doubt been easily accomplished without the further shedding of blood; but this new infuriated French Republic, which arose above the wreck of Bonapartism, was quite a different creature. She was France herself, stripped of all disguises — beautiful, angry, sublime. The duty of defending the capital was confidently assigned to General Trochu, and a new civic army of seventy thousand men was put into the defense of the city; but the greatest activity was required to get Paris into a state of defense before the oncoming of the Germans.

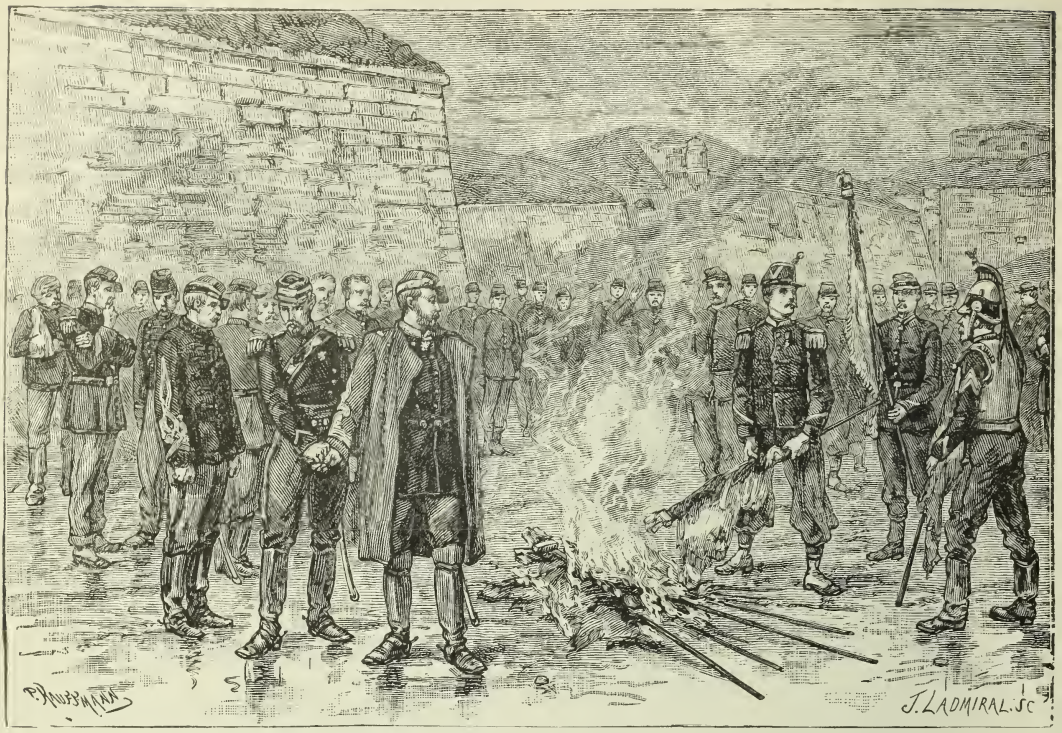


CATHEDRAL OF STRASBURG.

For, after the day of Sedan, there was no further obstacle between the Crown Prince and the French capital. Thither he marched with all speed, and soon appeared before the line of fortresses which had been constructed in the times of Louis Philippe. Within the city there was every determination to resist to the last, and it is probable that Frederick William would not have been able to succeed at all, had not the sieges which detained the other divisions of the German army terminated successfully, thus enabling Von Moltke to concentrate his forces for the reduction of Paris.

The month of September, 1870, was, and will ever remain, famous for the capture of the strongholds of France by the Prussians. On the 23d of the month the Fortress of Toul, after suffering a heavy bombardment, capitulated to the Germans. On the 28th Strasburg was taken after a siege of six weeks' duration, during which the city was greatly injured, the celebrated cathedral being shattered by the cannonade. On the same day Marshal Bazaine surrendered Metz to Prince Frederick Charles. No such sweeping capitulation had been known in modern history. A hundred and forty-five thousand soldiers, including six thousand subordinate officers, and three Marshals of France, became prisoners of war. All the accoutrements and supplies of a vast army were taken by the triumphant Germans, who were now eight hundred thousand strong, within the borders of France.

The surrender of Metz produced an almost uncontrollable rage throughout the nation. Bazaine became an object of the ineradicable hatred of his countrymen. His own army, in a large measure, shared the common odium against its commander. The capitulation was near to becoming a horrible mutiny. The

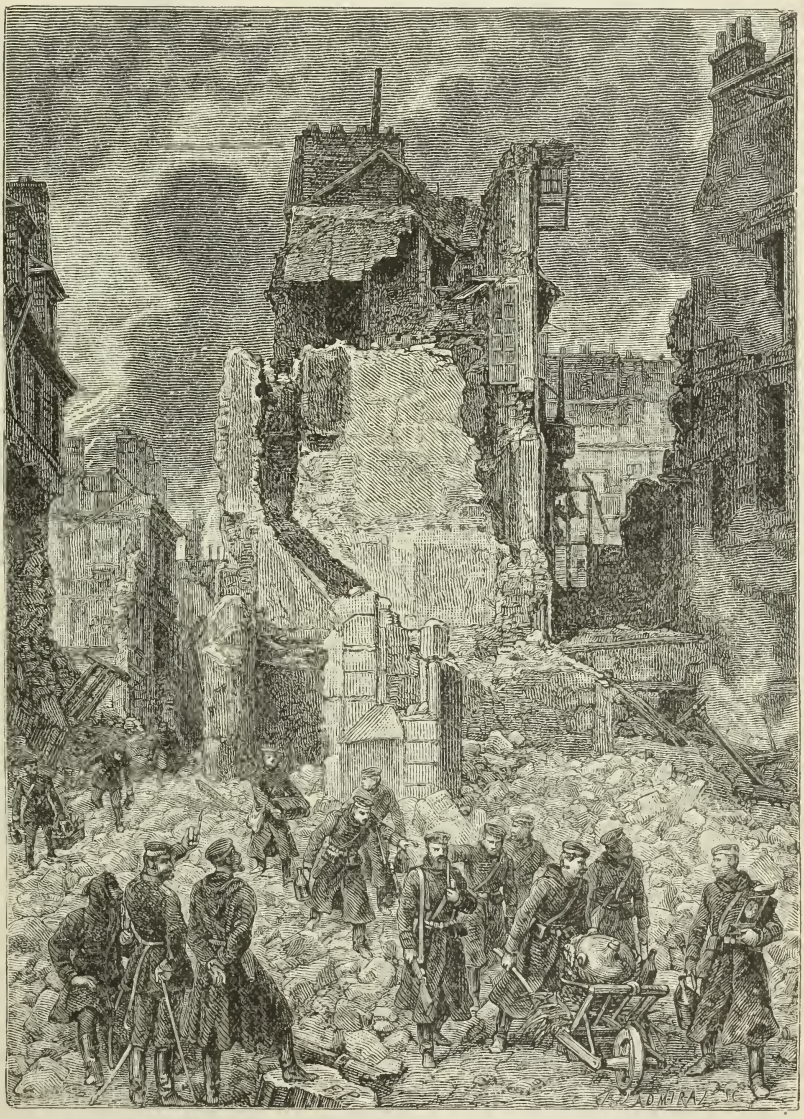


FRENCH SOLDIERS BURNING THEIR FLAGS AFTER THE SURRENDER OF METZ.



ENTRANCE OF THE GERMANS INTO ORLEANS.

French subordinates and soldiers gathered up their standards, broke their flagstaffs, and burned the demolished emblems of their shame in bonfires around the barracks. Meanwhile, the investment of Paris had begun. All around the horizon were havoc and dismay. In October the royal palace of St. Cloud was burned by the Prussians. Every wood seemed to be an army, and every hill a battery. Round about the devoted fortresses of Paris the innumerable hosts of Germany were gathered to consummate their work. Against such fearful odds the fiery valor of the Parisians could not prevail. Leon Gambetta, destined now to become the greatest leader of modern French Republicanism, escaped from the city in a balloon, and made his way into Southern France, where he sought by his eloquence to rouse the nation as one man for the expulsion of the invaders. His appeals were by no means in vain. An army of a hundred and fifty thousand volunteers, under General Aurelle de Paladine, came up from Orleans, while the forces under General Trochu were increased to four hundred thousand. Every energy was bent to the task of breaking the folds of the Teutonic anaconda coiled around Paris. But the anaconda would not relax.



BURNING OF ST. CLOUD BY THE PRUSSIANS.

On the 5th of December, Prince Frederick Charles, who had been operating against Orleans, succeeded in taking the city, which was held by the Germans to the close of the war. In the beginning of January, the army of General Trochu was attacked by the Germans at Le Mans. *For six days* the fighting continued almost without abatement, and, in the end, the French army was cut to pieces, with the loss of about sixty thousand men. A few days later, General Faidherbe, who commanded the French Army of the North, was ruinously routed, first at Amiens and Rouen, and afterwards, on the 19th of January, at St. Quentin. Meanwhile, the Italian patriot, Garibaldi, had come over into Burgundy, given his services to the French Republic, and gained some



GAMBETTA STARTING FOR TOURS.

unimportant successes over the Germans. The command in this quarter, however, was transferred to General Bourbaki, who, with nearly a hundred thousand men, undertook to raise the siege of Belfort. But he was driven back by General Manteuffel, forced, with more than eighty thousand soldiers, into the Swiss mountains, and there left to perish in midwinter. Only the magnanimity of the Swiss prevailed to save this desperate mass of humanity from destruction.

By this time the war had degenerated into an indescribable uproar. From the spires of Paris it seemed as though the heavens and earth were rolled together. With each clearing of the sky it became more and more manifest that the rescue of the capital from the clutches of the Germans was impossible. Seeing that further resistance would merely entail additional disaster, it was at length decided to open negotiations with the conqueror. The Government of the Republic had, in the midst of smoke, and turmoil, and desperation, assumed some form of regularity. On the 17th of January, the distinguished historian and Republican statesman, Louis Adolphe Thiers, was chosen Chief Executive, and he at once urged upon the Assembly the necessity of making peace on the best possible conditions. On the 19th he appointed a Ministry, consisting of Jules Favre, for Foreign Affairs; Dufaure, for Justice; Picard, for the Interior; Jules Simon, for Instruction; De Larcy, for Public Works; Lambrecht, for Commerce; Leflô, for War; Pothnau, for the Marine; and Pouyet-Quertier, for Finance. Thiers himself, Favre and Picard, became a commission to negotiate with the enemy. On the 28th of January, 1871, an armistice was declared, which was destined to end hostilities. On the 8th of February elections were held for a new National Assembly, to be convened at Bordeaux; for no Government could well be conducted in the besieged capital. On the 21st of the month, the French Commissioners arrived at Paris, and, five days afterwards, the preliminary treaty of peace was signed at Versailles.



OVERTHROW OF BOURBAKI.

During the fall and winter months of 1870 the civil and military direction of affairs had remained in the hands of the so-called Government of National Defense, sitting at Bordeaux One of the supreme difficulties of the situation was the fact that Germany was naturally hesitant about recognizing the validity of this Government, which Thiers, Favre, and



BATTLE OF ST. QUENTIN.

others had extemporized. It was doubted by William and Bismarck whether the Republican system thus instituted had any validity. It was clear, on the other hand, that the Empire was gone. Napoleon was a prisoner. The Empress and the Prince Imperial had fled to England. It was evident that as soon as a new National Assembly could be convened the civil revolution would be completed. The event met the expectation. On the 1st of March, 1871, a vote was passed by an overwhelming majority for the deposition of Napoleon and his dynasty. On the following day a division of the German army made a triumphal entry into Paris, but immediately withdrew, in accordance with a pledge to that effect. In the meantime, some of the fortresses commanding the city had been held by the Germans as a condition of the armistice. The latter was extended to the 1st of March, and negotiations for a permanent peace went rapidly forward.

It was on the date just mentioned that the preliminaries were agreed to at Versailles; but the actual treaty was not concluded until the 10th of May, at the city of Frankfort. From the first opening of the negotiations, it had been apparent that Germany would be severe in imposing terms on the vanquished. She insisted first of all upon such a cession of territory on the eastern frontier of France as would rectify her own boundary. It was this proposition that brought out from the French the indignant protests and fierce resistance during the winter of 1870–71. But France yielded at last to the inevitable. She was overthrown, and must suffer for her folly in beginning the war. It was stipulated, first of all, that the Province of Alsace should be given up to Germany. A like disposition was made of the German part of Lorraine, including the cities of Metz and Thionville. The city of Belfort was resurrendered to France. More than a million and a half of French subjects were thus transferred to Prussia. It was further exacted of vanquished France that she should pay to the conqueror a war indemnity of five billions of francs, the first billion to be paid in 1871, and that, as a security for the payment, she should put certain of her fortresses into the hands of the Germans.

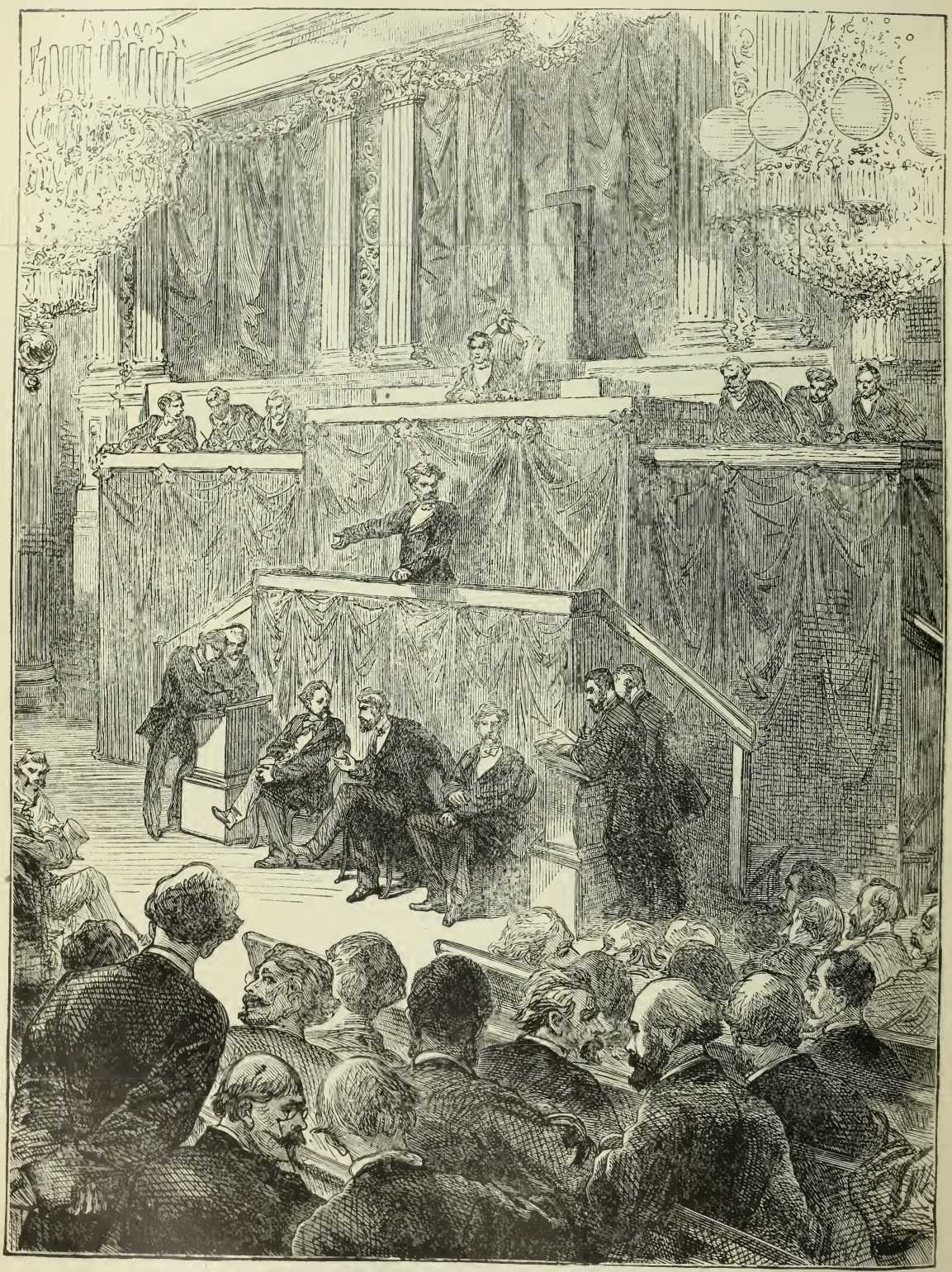
Prussia had now satisfied herself of the validity, if not the stability, of the new French Government. The Republic was organized, as we have seen, at Bordeaux. On the 12th of March the victorious Germans evacuated Versailles, and the National Assembly at once transferred its sittings to that city. It appeared for the moment that France might now enter on a revival from her ruin and disgrace; but just at the juncture when the Germans withdrew from their positions about Paris, and began to recede towards their own borders, the natural elements began to roar, and another calamity fell upon the capital, even more terrible than the siege by the German armies. The cry of *Vive La Commune!* was



JULES FAVRE.

heard. The city rose against the moderate Republican Government. The streets were barricaded in the old-time fashion, and Paris gave herself without reserve to those audacious socialists who were the legitimate descendants of the men of 1789. The Republic was obliged to go to war with the insurgent capital, and the events which followed fast were perhaps the most tragic of modern times.

The Commune of Paris! The name recalls the most violent aspect which the civil society of this age has presented. It was first applied to the Revolutionary Committee which established itself over France in July of 1789, and continued in power until 1794, when the overthrow of Robespierre ended the ascend-



SITTING OF THE DELEGATE GOVERNMENT AT BORDEAUX.

ency of the First Commune. The name now reäppears. From the 18th of March, 1871, when the National Guard in Paris first opposed itself to the regular forces, for a period of about two months, it was supreme in the city. The Commune was proclaimed a few days after the first resistance was offered by the guards to the regulars, and took a definite shape on the 29th of March. It arose out of the profound divergence of opinion and clash of wishes between the Radical or Red Republicans of Paris, and the moderate Constitutionalists who obtained control of the Third Republic at its incipiency. The Commune was based upon the desire to decentralize civil society, and to secure local independence, as a fact, for the municipality of Paris, and, as a principle, for the government of all parts of France.

The mass of the Communists was made up of diverse elements. Among the leaders were thinkers, philanthropists, revolutionists, visionaries. The body of the following was composed of the artisan classes of Paris, who, for more than a hundred years, under almost every form of government, had held a blind faith in the amelioration of their condition by insurrection against the powers by which they were dominated and pressed down. To these were added the bad elements of the French capital who burst up from the nether vaults and hiding-places as soon as the cry of plunder and lawlessness was heard in the streets. These elements of Parisian society found their strongest organic expression in the National Guards, who, on the very day of the triumphal entry of the Germans into Paris, made hostile demonstrations against the enemy, and gave other signs of insubordination.

Soon after, these Nationals managed to gain possession of the artillery which had been put for safe-keeping in Parc Wagram. As yet there had been no considerable break between the Guard and the regular forces of the Republic; but it was not long until a rupture occurred, when, to the alarm of all moderate Republicans, several battalions of regulars fraternized with the Nationals, and were merged with them. The latter first gained possession of Montmartre, and established there an intrenched camp. They released the prisoners in the city, and tempted additional bodies of the regular troops to join their standard. A Central Committee was appointed, which issued proclamations and made demands that the National Guards should be permitted to choose their own officers. It was also demanded that universal suffrage should be conceded, and that the Paris municipality should be supreme in the direction of the military forces.

The Government of Versailles at first temporized with all these movements; but it was at length seen that the insurrection would have to be suppressed with a strong hand. Either the Commune must be overthrown by force, and that speedily, or the Third Republic must itself relinquish the form of the Government. In the first place, the attempt was made to recapture the artillery from the fortifications on Montmartre. This movement had almost succeeded by strategy, when the alarm was sounded and general insurrection broke out in that part of the city. The Eighty-eighth Regiment of the line suddenly went over to the insurgents, and in the end of the melée, only two hundred or three hundred of the Regulars remaining loyal to the Republic managed to cut their way through the revolted districts and gain a place of safety. Some of the regular officers, including Generals Lecomte and Thomas, were taken by the Federated Guards, and were shot to death in a garden near the place of their capture.

The insurrection now spread to other quarters of the city. The Place Vendôme was captured, and the Communal head-quarters were established at that place. The struggle on Montmartre occurred on the 18th of March. On the following day the Hôtel de Ville was occupied by the insurgents, and the last of the National troops withdrew from Paris in the direction of Versailles. Paris had fallen under the complete dominion of a Revolutionary Central Committee and the forceful occupation of the Federated Guards. The Commune immediately took on the manners and forms of government. The triumph of the people was announced in one proclamation. The Government out at Versailles was charged with trying to destroy the Republic. A second proclamation was issued, in which the leaders of the Revolution declared their readiness, now that they had fulfilled their mission, to lay down their authority and to wait the decision of the

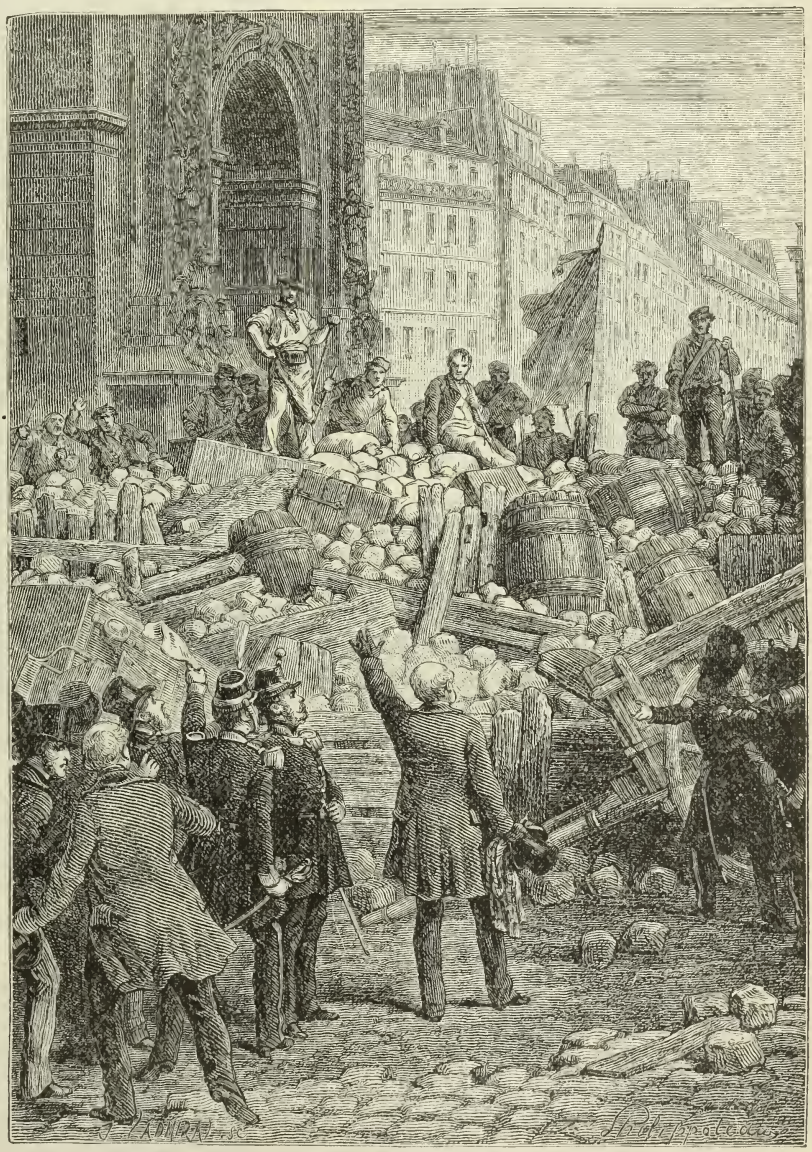


INSURGENT COMMUNISTS SEIZING THE GUNS.

Communal elections. Then followed the third paper, naming the 22d of March as the date at which the citizens of the several districts of the municipality should convene and elect new officers for the conduct of their affairs.

By this time the public buildings in Paris were in complete possession of the Communists. There were still a few representatives of the Versailles Government in the city; but they lay low, and kept from sight. At one time, namely, on the 20th of March, it seemed that the difficulty which had now assumed such a portentous aspect was about to be adjusted by negotiations between the Government and the city. Meanwhile, however, agents of the Commune had gone abroad, and insurrections flamed up in their pathway. At Marseilles, Lyons, Rouen, and Toulouse, the Red Republicans rose after the Parisian manner, and the scenes of the capital were repeated on a smaller scale. The elections in Paris were finally held on the 26th, and by this time all hopes of a peaceable settlement had vanished. The Revolutionist, Blanqui, who had gone abroad to secure support for the Commune, was arrested in the South, and thrown into prison. By the conclusion of the election, Paris had passed completely under the dominion of the Revolution, and barricades and fortifications began to be constructed in every part.

The Central Committee had now at its disposal two hundred and fifty battalions of the Guards with an abundance of resources. Most of the stores which had been accumulated in Paris for the defense of the city against the Germans were seized by the Commune and used to feed the Revolution. At the Communal elections eighty-five members of a Governing Assembly were chosen. Executive and administrative committees were appointed, at the head of which were the most famous of the Red Republicans. Some of them were great men, able for heroic action, unacquainted with fear, unshrinking from any emergency, even the emergency of death. Victor Hugo



BARRICADE OF THE PORT ST. DENIS DURING THE COMMUNE.



BARRICADE—HÔTEL DE VILLE.

and Henri Rochefort were elected as members of the Communal Assembly, but did not serve in that capacity. The new Assembly, meeting at the Hôtel de Ville, took the official name of COMMUNE DE PARIS. Revolutionary methods were the order of the day. The old Revolutionary calendar of 1792 was restored on the 29th of March, which became Year LXXIX, 8th Germinal. A conscription was passed, by which all citizens between the ages of nineteen and forty were called to service in the National Guards. Various socialistic reforms were proposed, which are chiefly interesting to the student of history in illustration of the real opinions of man when loosed from the dominion of civil society.

The project was now mooted in the Commune of moving on Versailles and crushing the Government. On the 2d of April a large body of National Guards moved out in the direction of Mont Valerien, where they were confronted by the regulars supporting the Government. A flag of truce was sent to the insurgents; but the bearer was shot down, and the first battle ensued, in which the Communists were driven back into the city with severe losses. The effect was to enrage the Communists to desperation. In the meantime, the National Assembly at Versailles had not been idle. An army of fully a hundred and fifty thousand men had been collected and organized, under command of Marshal MacMahon, for the reduction of Paris. On the 3d of April the investment of the city began; but the movement of the regular forces about the fortifications was resisted at every point by the National Guards. The Communal army went forth against the forces of the Government at Mont Valerien, where a battle was fought, resulting in a great slaughter, and the capture of Chatillon from the insurgents.

The command of the Communal army was transferred to a Polish officer named Dombrowski. Violence became the order of the day. The churches and other theological property were put under requisition to meet the expenses of the defense. Many valuable estates belonging to the suspected were confiscated, and the proceeds put into the treasury of the Commune. Wild rumors were set afloat of alleged cruelties done to the Communist prisoners in the hands of the Government, and measures of retaliation were at once adopted. It was presently decreed that for every prisoner executed by the Government, three hostages held by the Commune should be put to death. A reign of terror was established in the city. Monseigneur Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, and many other important personages were seized and held by the Communal authorities, with a view to terrifying the Assembly at Versailles. By the 7th of April the fighting around the environed city became desperate. The village of Neuilly was on that day bombarded, and its bridges shattered by the batteries on Mont Valerien. Several fierce attacks were made by the regulars on the Communists, and some important positions were carried, only to be retaken by the insurgents. The 9th and 10th of the month were spent in indecisive skirmishes; but on the night of the 11th the National forces, attacking Fort Issy in full force, were hurled back by a counter-charge of the Communists. About the important gates of the city the artillery battle was kept up continually. Within the city the rigor of the Communal Government became excessive. Many of the newspapers were suppressed. The popular rage was directed against the monuments, and other mementos of the First and Second Empires. Symptoms were observed of a disposition on the part of the Communists, in case of their overthrow, to destroy the greater part of the city.

On the 25th of April, Thiers, speaking for the Versailles Government, issued a proclamation, announcing that the siege of Paris would now be pressed by the severest methods known to military science, and with the whole power of the nation. Between the 29th of April and the 2d of May, Fort Issy was beaten down by the besieging batteries, and captured by assault. The Communists, however, adopted the plan of mining their own works, so that in case of their capture, they could be blown up, and made the tomb of the captors. With the taking of Fort Issy, the city on the south-west side lay open to the armies of the Government. One position after another was carried, until the besieging army reached the inner circle of defense. The situation of the Commune became desperate. The Revolutionary Committees, still meeting at the Hôtel de Ville, hesitated at nothing. The power of the Com-

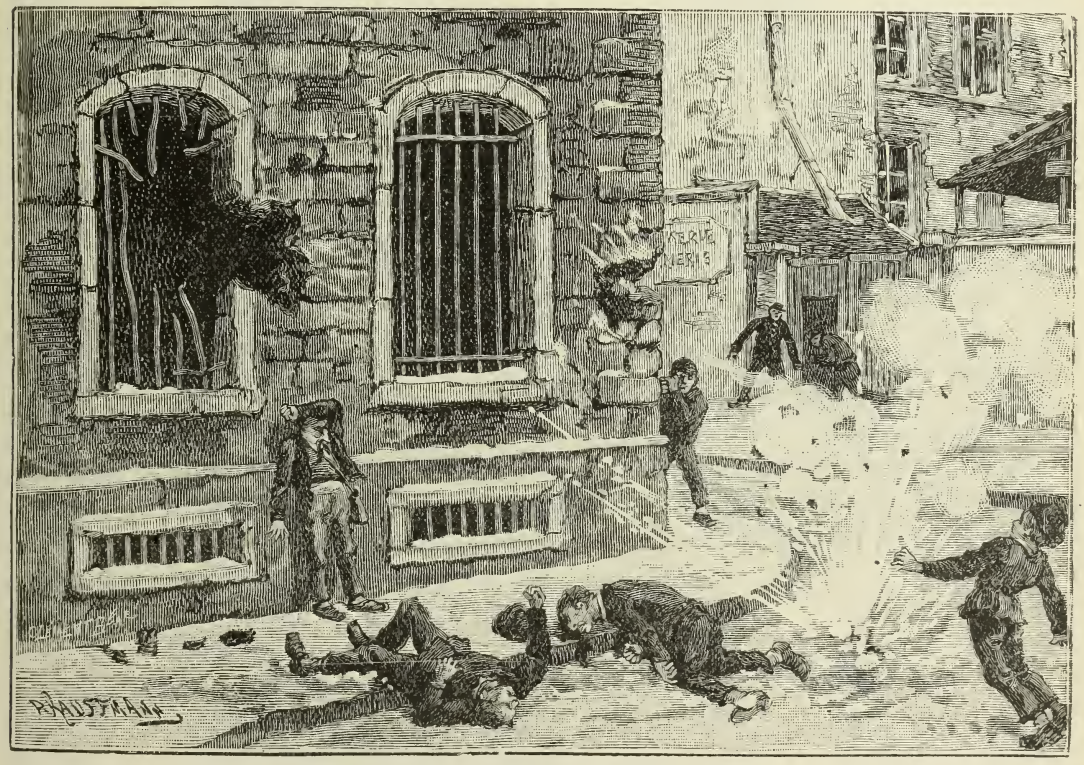


BOMBARDMENT OF ST. DENIS.

mune became centered in a small body called the Committee of Public Safety, and it was under its dictatorial powers that the dreadful scenes of the last days of the insurrection were enacted.

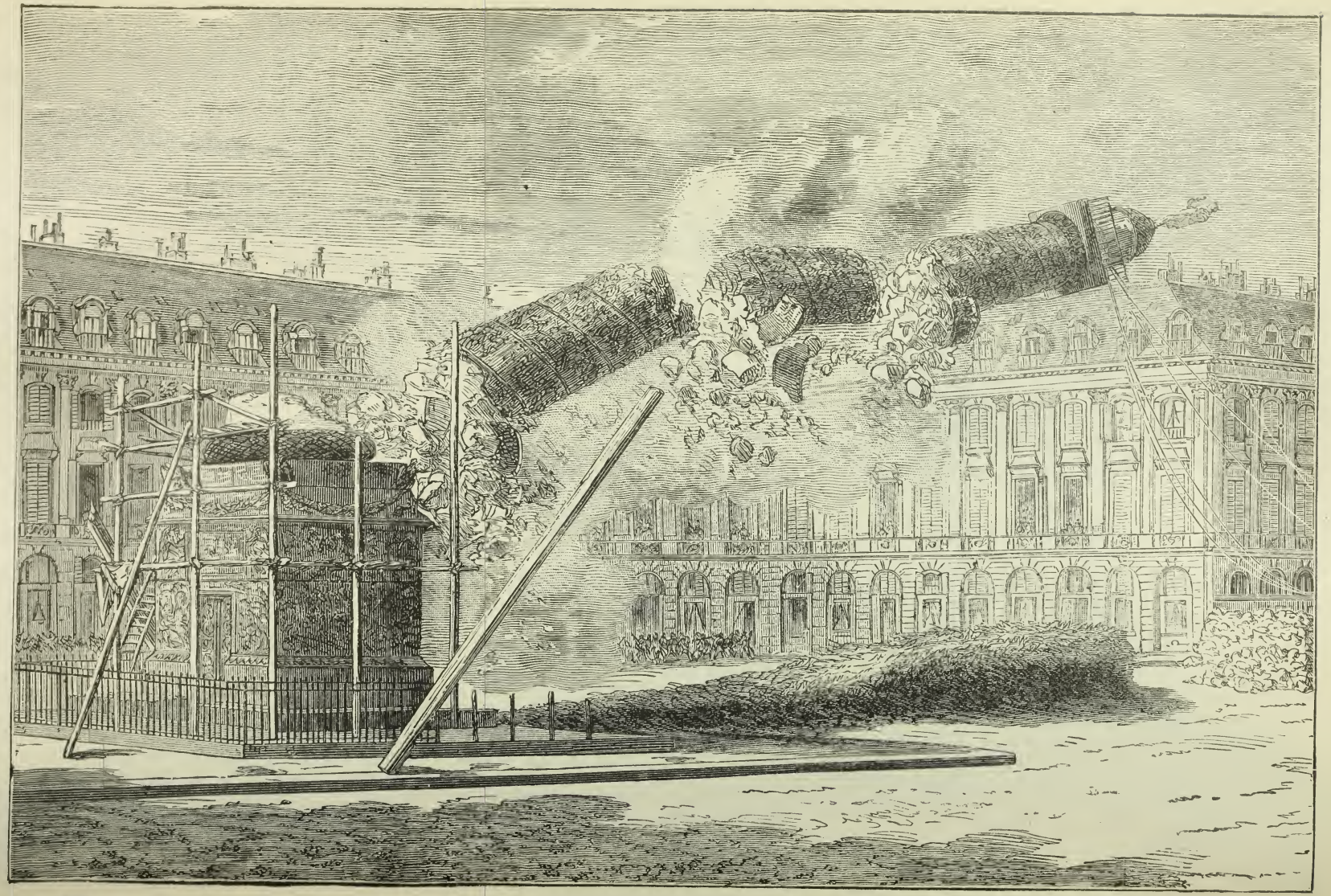
Passion grew into rage, and rage into fury. The Column Vendôme was pulled down. Demagogues stood on the street corners haranguing frenzied crowds and denouncing the National Assembly as assassins and murderers of liberty. In the last act, the women came forth, and added to the frantic excitement and violence of the hour. From the 1st of May to 1792. When they could hold the city no longer, they adopted a policy of destroying what they could not defend. Explosives were heaped around; coal-oil was poured into basements; wild Mænads carried cotton-balls, soaked in alcohol, under their clothing, fired them, and threw them right and left as they ran. Fires broke out as the result of this universal incendiarism, and Paris was injured in her most beautiful parts. Many public buildings were destroyed, and a portion of the art-treasures of the Louvre perished in the common ruin.

As the tragedy drew to a close the Com-



SCENE DURING THE BOMBARDMENT OF PARIS.

the close of the scene a tragedy was enacted in Paris which no language could describe or pictorial art fairly represent. The desperate Communists, driven from one position to the next, held out with the energy of despair against the assaults of the Government. Starvation came; nor was the Municipal dépôt of provisions sufficient to supply the famishing throng that daily crowded to the door. But still they fought. Hungry men and frenzied women, clambering about the barricades, faced death with all the defiance and recklessness which had marked the old Revolutionists of munists fought with the fury of madmen. On the 14th of May the Government troops captured Fort Vanvres, and Fort Montrouge was abandoned by the insurgents. The city gates at Auteuil, Passy, and Point du Jour were beaten down by the artillery of the besiegers. It was on the 21st of May that the National army finally forced its way into the city through the St. Cloud gate. By the following morning the larger part of Paris was in possession of the Government troops. In the meantime, the Communists had fired the Tuileries, the Palais Royal, and the Hôtel de



FALL OF THE VENDÔME COLUMN.

Ville. They slaughtered the suspected with a ferocity which had not been equaled since the old Reign of Terror. At length they cut down the innocent and the guilty in a common butchery. Finally, from the prison of La Roquette, they dragged forth their most distinguished prisoners, among whom was Archbishop Darboy, and shot them down like dogs in the prison-yards and among the *débris* of the barricades.

The fighting continued in the city until Sunday afternoon, the 28th of May, when a proclamation from Marshal MacMahon was posted, announcing that the civil war was over. The scene was dreadful. Through nearly half the extent of Paris, the streets were strewn with the bodies of the dead. Fires burned here and there among the ruins. The hospitals were crowded full of the mangled and dying. On both sides of the barricades which the Communists had raised in the streets, the dead lay piled among the paving-stones. Nearly twenty thousand prisoners remained in the hands of the Government; and the disposal of these at length constituted one of the most difficult questions with which the Republic had to deal. The great body of the prisoners, consisting of the rank and file of those who had been taken in the insurrection, were set at liberty; but large numbers were executed under the sentence of courts-martial, and still larger numbers were transported from Brest Harbor to the penal colonies. It was, however, illustrative of the peculiar temper and rapid evolutions of the French people, that those who had upheld the Commune, and had given it its vehemence and sublime audacity, could never be found. With the fall of the organization the body of its supporters melted away, and was resolved as a mist into the elements.



SUPPLYING THE HUNGRY DURING THE COMMUNE.

We may now consider the political condition of France at the close of the Commune. The National Assembly had been elected as an agency of defense against the Germans. That was openly declared to be the mission of the body. In several such crises in France, a disposition has been shown in assemblies thus chosen for a particular end, to arrogate powers which were not conceded in the election. It was so in the present instance. The governing body at Versailles had become virtually a

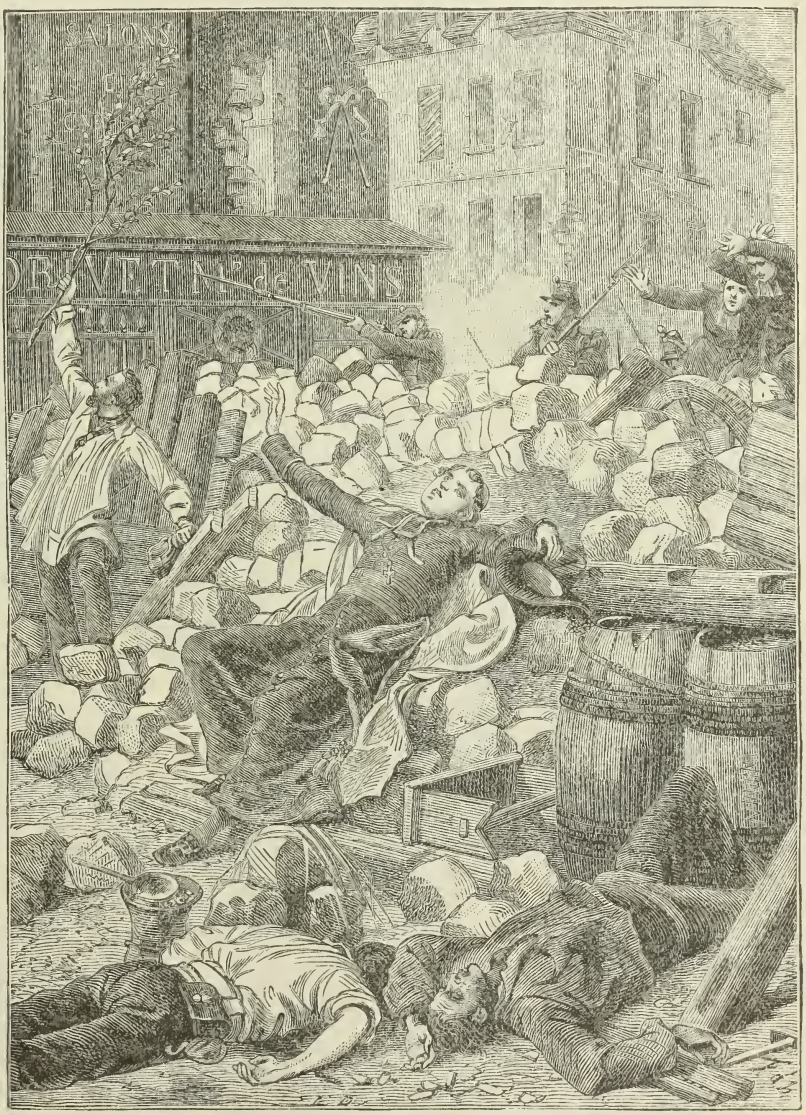


A PETROLEUSE.

Constituent Assembly. It had exercised the widest prerogatives, not only of legislation, but of constitutional powers. It had declared without hesitation the deposition of the Emperor Napoleon, and a fundamental change in the system of government. There can be no doubt that the body was reluctant to surrender its authority, and that there was a hesitation in several instances to trust the judgment of the country. The time came at length, however, when this body was obliged to yield to the necessities of time and circumstance, and surrender its powers to the nation. Meanwhile, however, a new Constitution had been formed, and many other things accomplished of historical importance.

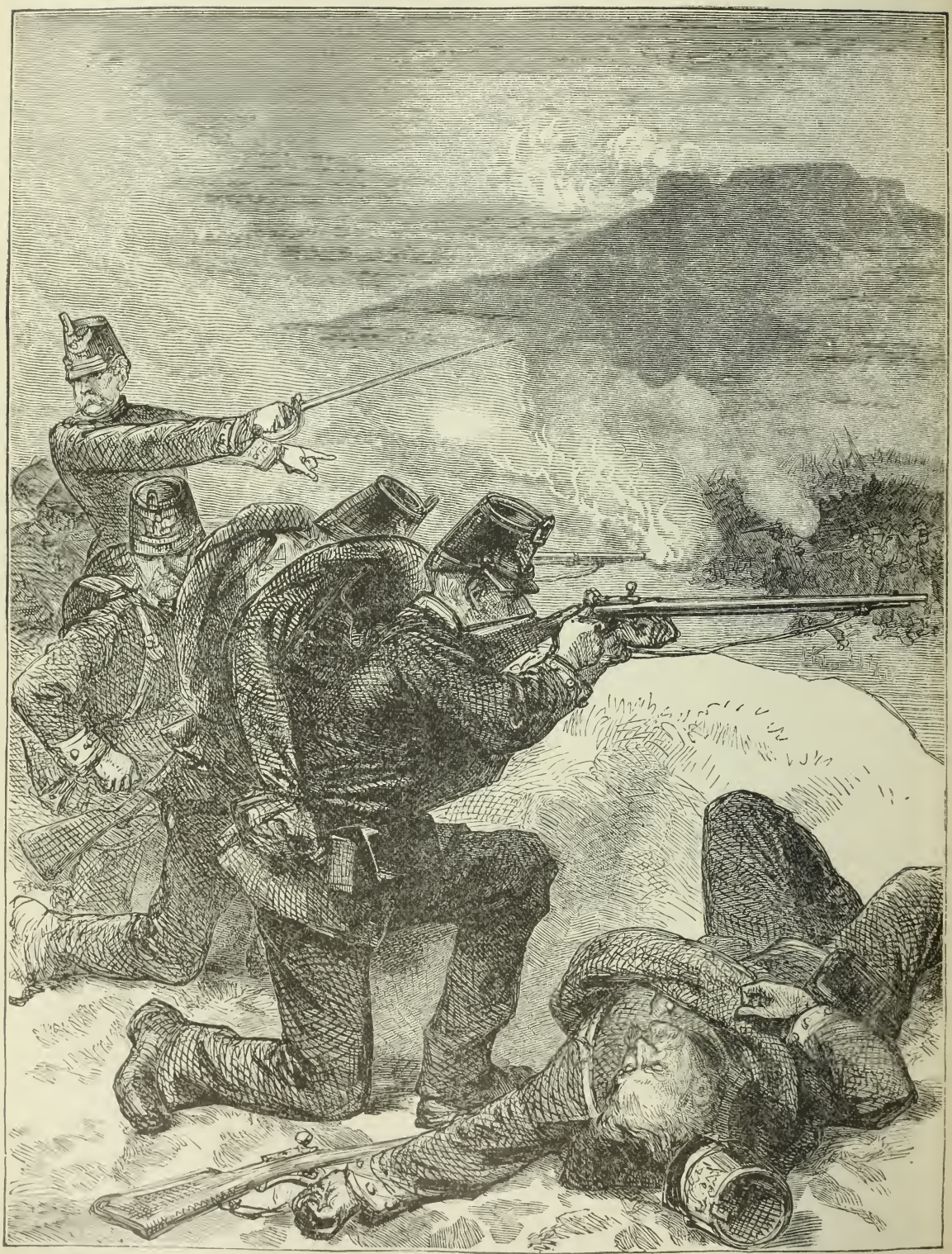
In order to understand the changes which were now effected in the civil society of France, we must look carefully at the temper and constitution of the governing body. The prevailing political sentiment in the Versailles Assembly was Conservative Republicanism. The Imperial sentiment in France did not pass away like a morning cloud. It was impossible, or at least in the highest degree imprudent, for the Republican leaders to press the advantage which came to them by the catastrophes of the war. It was necessary that a united France should confront Germany; and it thus happened that the National Assembly, called first at Bordeaux and afterwards sitting at Versailles, was representative of all shades of belief.

To this we should except the Red Republicanism of Paris. The latter sought expression in the Commune, and the excesses committed in the name and by the authority of this red specter drove the managers of the National



DEATH OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF PARIS.

Government still further in the direction of conservatism. During the year 1871 the whole attention of the governing powers was directed to the great work of lifting the incubus from the breast of France. The treaty of peace was, as we have seen, signed at Frankfort, on the 10th of May. Many of the pro-



LAST SORTIE FROM PARIS.

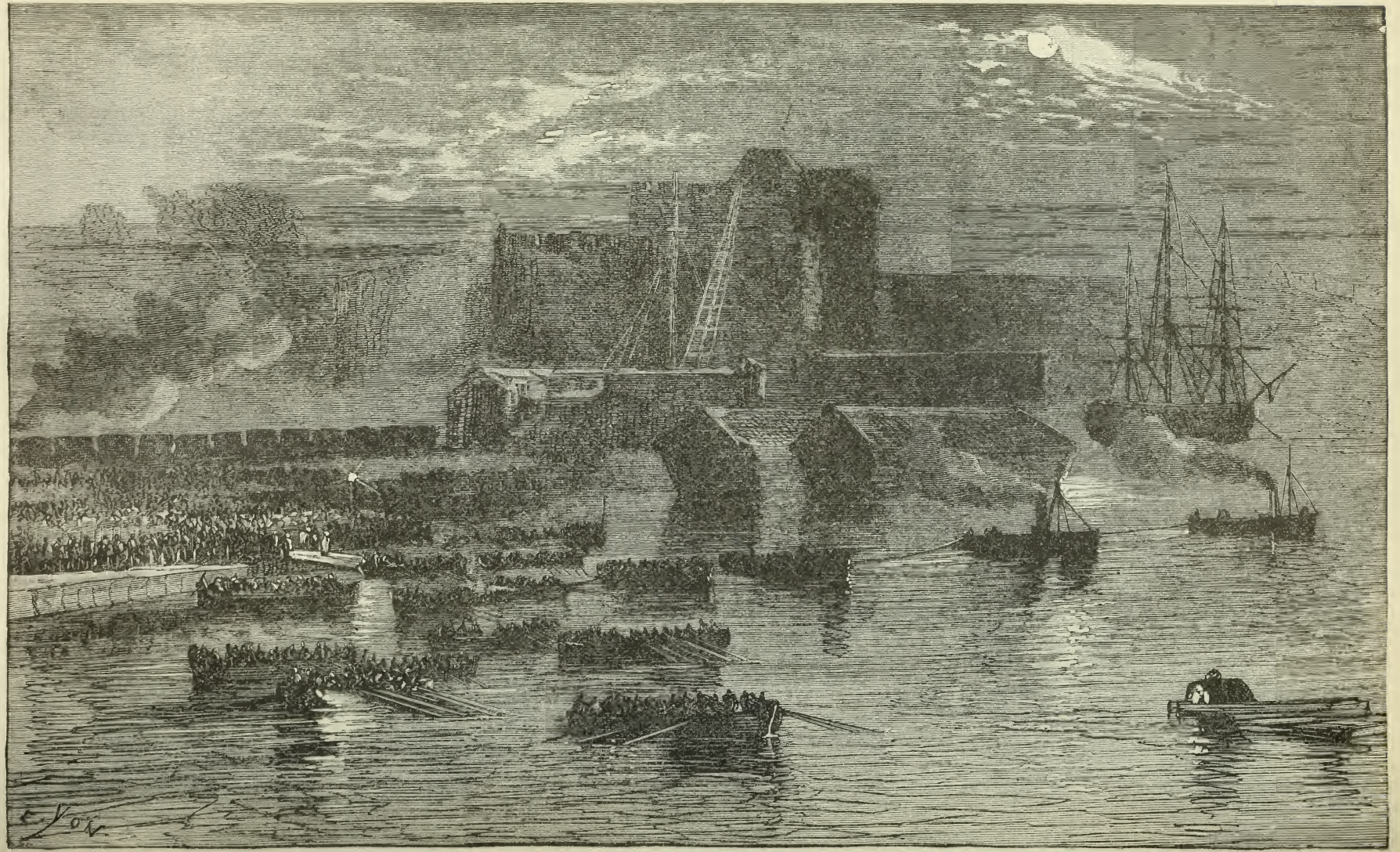
visions of the settlement were unsatisfactory, and all summer long the ambassadors of France pressed upon the German authorities the necessity of modification. On the 12th of October, in the same year, a supplemental treaty was made between the two powers at Berlin, by the terms of which some changes favorable to France, more particularly as it related to the ceded territory, were accepted by the German Empire.

In the meantime, before the Commune had run its course, a spirit of enlightenment was shown in the French Assembly, foretokening a more rational system of government than had hitherto been known in France. As early as the 14th of April a measure was passed of a very liberal character, concessive of rights and prerogatives to the municipal governments and the communes of the country. Among those who participated in the legislation of the period were many Legitimists, Orleanists, and Imperialists; for, on the 8th of June, the old proscription, under which the adherents of the Elder and Younger branches of the House of Bourbon had been banned from France, was revoked. These proscriptive laws against the Bourbon princes had been enforced since the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848. Most of the representatives and adherents of the ancient governing Houses at once availed themselves of the provision made by the Republican Assembly in their favor, and not a few of them became members of the body. It was noticeable, however, as one of the signs of the times, that the Count de Chambord, representative of the Elder Branch, refused to accept the conditions, published a proclamation, and went back to his residence at Frohsdorf.

By this time, the supplementary or bye-elections began to indicate the temper of the nation. In general, the vacancies in the Assembly were filled by the choice of Republican members. In August of 1871 a bill was introduced, extending to three years the Presidency of M. Thiers. This measure, with its subordinate provisions for conferring constituent power on the Assembly, and the establishment of a Ministry responsible thereto, was passed, and the Government became thenceforth more regular in its forms and methods. In the beginning of 1872, though the moderate Republicans had a plurality in the Assembly, it was found that a majority could be obtained against them by combination. Whenever the different elements of conservatism in the Government could be brought into union, the Republicans were left in the minority. It was fortunate for the latter, however, that a permanent union of the Monarchists on any essential particular was out of the question. The Orleanist faction could not be expected to favor the reconstruction of a throne for either a representative of the Elder Bourbons, or for the Prince Imperial. In like manner, neither the Imperialists nor the faction of the Elder Bourbons could be induced to support each other except in non-essentials. By this distraction of interest the Republicans were enabled to continue in power, but the tenure was for a while precarious in the last degree.

On the 19th of January, 1872, owing to an adverse vote in the Assembly, President Thiers resigned his office, but was induced by the body to recall his resignation. In March of this year the payment of the second billion of francs to the Germans was accomplished, and the evacuation of France by the German garrisons was thereby greatly promoted. The Republic began to breathe more freely, and presently to gain a more cordial and confident recognition at the courts of Europe. Nevertheless, the elections in the autumn of 1872 drifted strongly towards conservatism. There was a while when the ascendency of Thiers and the party which he represented was seriously shaken. In the meantime, Gambetta, Crémieux, and others of the sterner Republican faith, began to demand a dissolution of the Assembly and a reference of all the questions involved to the electors of France in a new election.

Such was the condition of affairs at the beginning of 1873. It was at this juncture that the exiled Emperor, Napoleon III., who, after the treaty of peace, namely, on the 19th of March, 1871, had been permitted by the German authorities to join his family in England, died at Chiselhurst. Very serious, and not wanting in great abilities, were the debates which occurred at this time relative to the executive office in France. Thus far the President of the Republic had had the privileges of the National Assembly, and his influ-



(552) TRANSPORT OF COMMUNIST PRISONERS IN BREST HARBOR.

ence in that body in determining the course and character of legislation was so great as to become a grievance to all the Opposition, and a matter of doubtful expediency even to the Republicans. Should the President be permitted to continue in this intimate relation with the Legislative Department? or, should he be remanded to a distinct executive relation similar to that held by the President of the United States? Another question closely connected with the last-named related to the length of the Presidential term. It was the same which so profoundly perplexed our fathers in 1787. Should a Republican President hold his office for but a single year? for three years? for four? for six? for seven? for ten? for the capable term of his life?

While these important matters were still under discussion, progress was made with Germany. A new agreement with that power was effected in March of 1873, by which the remaining two billions of francs of the war indemnity should be discharged before the end of the year, and the complete withdrawal of the German troops effected. The work thus accomplished was the most marvelous of its kind known in history. The embarrassments under which the French Government labored during the three years succeeding the war were extreme. The discouragement of the French people had been still greater. The indemnity was enormous, amounting, with interest, to more than a billion dollars in American money, and yet this exorbitant sum was actually collected and paid into the German treasury by the end of 1873! The secret of the success of the great transaction is not far to seek. The French Government, instead of offering its bonds in large denominations to foreign capitalists, opened a popular loan among the French people, and the result was that a large part of the peasantry became interested in the subscription, and the money, flowing from a thousand streams of patriotism, poured like a river into the treasury. The lesson is not without its value, particularly by comparison with the bonded system of debt created by the Government of the United States to meet the destructive outlays of the Civil War.

By this time it had been apprehended that one of the prevailing political sentiments among the French people of the Provinces was, as it had long been, a sympathy with Imperialism. In March of 1873 a measure of the Assembly was directed against this sentiment. A proscription was passed against the family of Bonaparte, with a bill for the exile of the members of that House from France. Another symptom of this year was the gain made in the National Assembly by the Radical Republicans. Thiers found himself many times near the vortex where the cross-currents roared together as if they would swallow up all forms



MARSHAL MACMAHON.

of order. At length, in May of this year, the President determined to bring matters to a crisis, by proposing the definitive establishment of the French Republic. Thus far everything had been, to a certain extent, intermediate and provisional. Now it was determined by Thiers and the Moderate party to force the game, and to compel France either to accept a permanent Republican form, or else to go back into some one of the monarchical systems through which she had so laboriously passed.

It was under this proposition that when a vote of confidence was carried by the meagre majority of sixteen, Thiers and the Ministry resigned their offices. The late Republican

President was at once succeeded by Marshal MacMahon, who, in the phraseology of the day, was called "the Honest Man and Soldier." A new Cabinet was organized under the leadership of M. De Broglie, nor could any fail to discern that the transformation which now began in the official relations and sympathies of the Government was steadily in the direction of Imperialism. MacMahon was himself believed to be an Imperialist. Behind his Administration was seen in the distance the slight form of Eugénie's son. The offices of



LEON GAMBETTA.

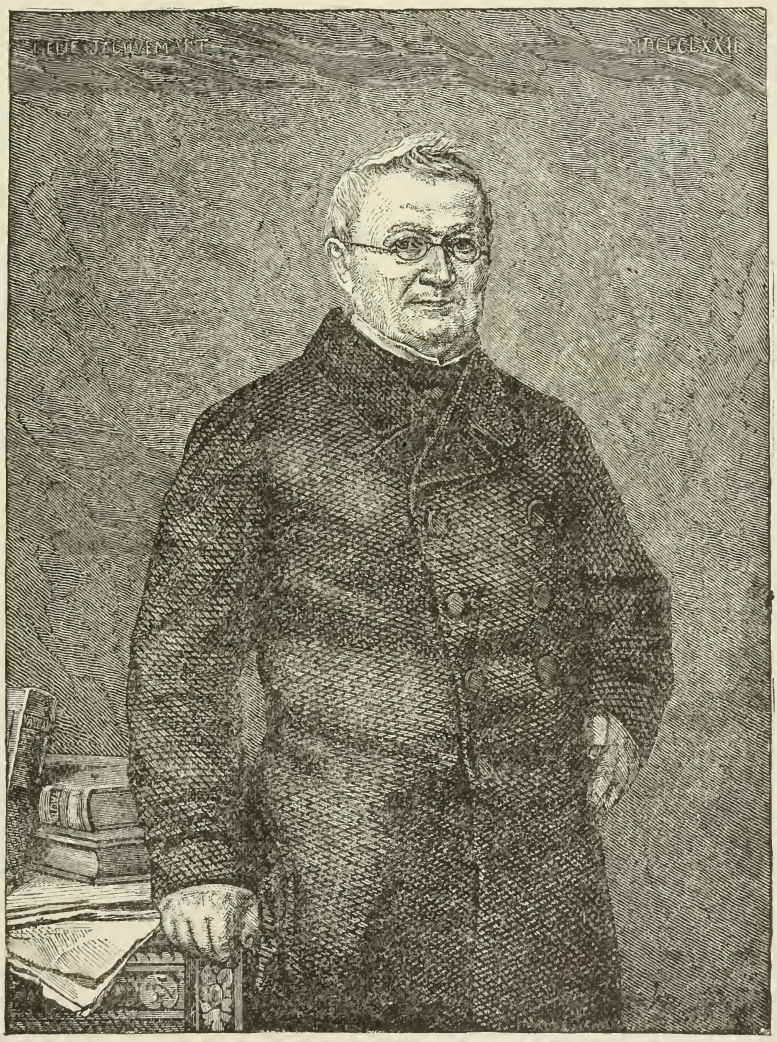
the Government were generally assigned to politicians and statesmen of this class. All the institutions which took form under the MacMahon Administration seemed to have the impress of Bonaparte. A Senate was formed consisting of three hundred members, of whom seventy-five held their offices by life-tenure, and the other two hundred and twenty-five for the long period of nine years. Only the popular feature of a legislative Chamber, chosen directly by the people, remained to attest the essential Republicanism of the current system of government.

At the beginning of autumn, 1873, it appeared not improbable that monarchy in some form was on the eve of reëstablishment. The celebration of the anniversary of the founding of the Republic, which was to have occurred on the 4th of September, was forbidden by the Government. The Legitimists were busy, in places high and places low, contriving a Restoration, and a scheme of conditions was prepared under which the Count de Chambord was to to be recalled to the throne. But never was the Napoleonic aphorism relative to the Bourbons more strikingly illustrated than in the conduct of the Count himself in this crisis of his career. On the 30th of October, 1873, he wrote a public letter in which he positively declined to make any concessions to the Assembly of France, any abatement of the mediæval pretensions which had become synonymous with the name of his dynasty.

The duty which Thiers had avoided by resignation, and which MacMahon had inherited by acceptance, of giving permanency to the French Constitution under some established form, was not to be obviated; and so the President in his message of November, 1873, called for the establishment of a stable Constitution. It was demanded that the Presidency of MacMahon should be extended to ten years; but a compromise resulted in establishing the period of seven years for the Presidential office under the Third Republic. Shortly afterwards, the attention of the French people was for the hour drawn away from the consideration of political events to the trial of Marshal Bazaine, on the charge of high treason to France. After many delays, the cause was finally brought to an end with the verdict of guilty, and a condemnation to death. The sentence, however, was commuted by President MacMahon into banishment for twenty years, with the consequent degradation from his rank. The Marshal went into exile in Spain, and resided at Madrid during the remainder of his life.

Under the Presidency of MacMahon a monarchical caste was given, as far as practicable, to the institutions of France, and republican forms were to a like extent reduced or obliterated. After two years of ascendency, M. de Broglie was compelled, by an adverse vote

in the Assembly, to resign his place, and General de Cissey was put into the vacant seat at the head of the Cabinet. It could but be noted, however, that the recurring symptoms of monarchism in the Government itself was constantly counteracted by the result of the incidental elections held in different parts of the country. These nearly always showed Republican gains. In many instances able men of positively radical dispositions were sent to the Assembly. An explanation of this contradictory aspect of affairs may easily be found in the conduct of the Imperial party. As between Legitimism and Liberalism, the Bonapartists always preferred the latter. The Imperialists could have no other than a very temporary and expedient kind of sympathy with either division of the Bourbons. This disposition among the supporters of the late Empire was of itself sufficient to prevent the MacMahon Government from slipping back into a Bourbon monarchy.



LOUIS ADOLPH THIERS.
After the painting by N. Jaquemart.

At length the Republican gains in the Assembly were sufficient to show the President the general drift of France. He saw that his ascendency was waning before public opinion. Thus the Government wore on through the years 1875 and 1876. In May of 1877 the President, on account of an adverse vote, adjourned the Chamber of Deputies for a month, and at the end of that time dissolved the body, with an appeal to the country. At this time the great leaders of the Republican party were Thiers, Gambetta, and Grevy. Their followers were known as the Opportunists, in contradistinction from the Extreme Left or Radical Republicans, who were known in the political jargon of the day as the Irreconcilables. But the two Liberal divisions now formed a union in opposition to the so-called Party of Order, which was the name taken by the supporters of the Administration. The latter included, in general, the three divisions known as Legitimists, Orleanists, and Imperialists. The Imperialists were ready to coöperate with the other two monarchical factions to prevent the establishment of a definitive Republic, but *not* to the extent of the reëstablishment of a Bourbon or an Orleans dynasty.

Under these combinations the election of 1877 was held. It was one of the most critical campaigns through which modern France has passed. In general, the result was favorable to the Republicans, who came back to the Assembly with a fair majority, under the leadership of Grevy and Gambetta. Before this result was reached, however, the veteran Thiers, now eighty years of age, fell of apoplexy at St. Germain-en-Laye, and died on the 3d of September, 1877. His reputation had long since become international. His influence in France had, since the German war, been very great, and the estimation in which he was held by his countrymen has been ratified and confirmed by history. In his last years he had acquired the honorable sobriquet of "the Liberator of the Territory"—this in recognition of his herculean efforts and skillful management in relieving France from the horrid nightmare of the German occupation. He fell, full of years and honors, and his name is destined to a long survival, not only among the heroes and founders of the Third Republic, but in the most permanent historical literature of the French Nation.

CHAPTER CXL.—THIRD REPUBLIC.

THE result of the election of 1877 signified the definitive establishment of the Third Republic. M. Jules Grevy was elected President of the Chamber of Deputies. If MacMahon was a Monarchist, he was also what his followers called him, "The Honest Man and Soldier." He yielded to the voice of France. The Ministry of De Cissey fell, and a new Republican Cabinet was constituted under the leadership of M. Dufaure. The country responded favorably to these changes. Even the army seemed well satisfied with the Republican ascendency, and the power of the monarchical faction was limited to the arena of the Senate. In that body they still held a small majority. But the Orleanists, least resolute of the Conservatives, were timid in character and mild in manners. They refused the responsibility of holding off to a future date the establishment of that Republic for which all France seemed now to be prepared. They accordingly voted in some important matters with the moderate Republicans, and thus enabled the latter to carry on their work. This policy was pursued until the beginning of 1879, at which date one-third of the Senators for the nine-year term were to be rechosen. The result of the election was again favorable to the Republicans, their gains being so considerable as to secure a liberal majority in the Senate. This event was sufficiently significant to bring to an end the Administration of MacMahon. He resigned the Presidency on the 30th of January, 1879, and was succeeded by M. Jules Grevy, one of the leaders of the Moderate Republicans.

From this time forth, many Conservatives came to regard the New Republic as definitive. The influence of the governing majority was augmented by constant accessions. The danger to its ascendency lay on the side of the Extreme Left. There the Irreconcilables had their nest. It was the peculiarity of the Red Republicans that they were unwilling to accept the expedient or even the possible in legislation. They were Idealists in government. They adopted certain political formulæ, and deduced therefrom the conclusions which they used as the expression of their principles. These deductions they would have, or nothing. The Moderate Republicans, whose phalanx was made up of recruits of all characters, drawn on the one side from the selvage of monarchy, and on the other from the edge of radicalism, were constrained to a middle course of liberalism, with which the so-called Reds were greatly dissatisfied. In this condition of affairs, some of the monarchical elements allied themselves at intervals with the Extreme Left against the Opportunists, to the distraction of the Government.

In the beginning of 1880 the new Republican Ministry was constituted under the leadership of M. de Freycinet, who became Presi-



LA REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE.

From the bust by Gautherin.

dent of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry of Finance was assigned to M. Mangin, in place of M. Leon Say, who was sent as Ambassador to London. General Farre became Minister of War; Jules Ferry, Minister of Public Instruction; and Admiral Jaureguiberry, Minister of the Marine. It was noticed by the political critics that the Cabinet was not exceptionally able in the aggregate, and that it was produced in a measure on the principle of combination. It was also discovered, and made the subject of comment at the time, that, under the new system of government, the French Cabinet was not the real seat of power in the Chamber. The great leaders of Legislative action, such as Gambetta, were behind the Ministry, and thrust it at their will into the arena to do their bidding. It was seen that the Cabinet, in this relation, was the moved rather than the moving body in the Republican system—a situation which excited some apprehensions among the friends of the new Government.



LEON SAY.

One of the most serious questions with which the Third Republic had to deal at this time was that respecting the various Religious Orders in France. It was seen, soon after the Revolution, that the many Catholic societies of the country constituted an element of danger to all Republican institutions and tendencies. Though they worked from their cover, it was easily perceived that they formed one of the strongest elements of reäction. They, like the Bourbons, never forgot. They remembered the Old Republic, how they had suffered at the hands of the Revolutionists of 1792. They also remembered how they had been patronized and soothed by the Restoration; how, throughout the reigns of the last two Bourbons, Louis Philippe, and the late Emperor of the French, they had been permitted to enjoy themselves as a whole in the work of controlling public opinion to their own advantage.

In the spring of 1880 the agitation against these Orders rose to the level of radical action. A decree was brought forward by the Ministry dissolving, first of all, the Society of Jesus within the borders of France, and closing, within three months from the date of the act, all the Jesuitical establishments in the Republic. The schools under the patronage and direction of the Jesuits were to be closed by the begin-

ning of September. The decree struck right and left at all the other unauthorized religious orders, either abolishing them or compelling them to accept a new lease of life under the authority of the Government. There were at this time within the borders of France fifty-six Jesuitical establishments, embracing a membership of one thousand four hundred and eighty. The Disestablishment Act was an abolition, so far as the Jesuits were concerned, and the other unauthorized orders were put under a like ban in case of disobedience. No fewer than five thousand nine hundred and seventeen members of other associations were summoned to the governmental bar to accept authorization from the Republic or to take the consequences of refusal. Of course the brotherhoods were thrown into consternation, and a strenuous effort was made by them to defeat the purposes of the Government by an appeal to the courts. The plea was instituted that the Jesuitical establishments were private property, and that the Government could not therefore violate those rights of ownership which were fundamental in society. But the other view prevailed. The anti-clerical crusade was carried out by a judicial ratification of the acts of the Assembly. The declaration of Gambetta, "Our enemy is clericism," was accepted by the Republicans as a truism which they must regard and act upon under the common law of self-defense.

Another difficulty with which the Ministry had to contend in 1880 was the question of education. The work of leadership in devising a new educational scheme fell to M. Jules Ferry, Minister of Public Instruction. Great trouble was experienced in aligning the different Republican factions on this question. The Extreme Left desired a more radical measure for the secularization of the schools than was at that time expedient in view of the temper of the whole people. The Ministry sought to establish a system of public primary instruction. It was clear to the apprehension of the Government that a measure so radical as that demanded by the Left would not be accepted by the Senate, and, indeed, the bill which was passed through the Chamber of Deputies was amended in the Upper Council, the Government being obliged to accept the modification. But, however unsatisfactory the new law of public instruction might be, it was nevertheless a great step in advance of the former educational system. A National Board of Education was constituted under the presidency of the Minister of Public Instruction. Nine of the members were to be appointed by the Minister; that is, by the Government on his nomination; and the remainder were to be elected by various educational bodies. It was a noticeable feature of the contest for the bill that the exclusion of all bishops and clergymen of every grade from appointment among the nine members of the Board for the Government was strongly resisted by the Conservatives and reäctionists, but insisted on and carried by the Republicans. As to the other members of the Board, clergymen were made eligible to election on the same basis with other citizens.

When the time came for the execution of the decree against the Jesuits, the measure was openly resisted. The members of the Society stood their ground, and waited for expulsion by force. They locked themselves in their cells, and the police were obliged to break open the doors and put out the Fathers with a strong hand. The Legitimist party encouraged the Jesuits in this resistance, and made the confusion and difficulty as great as possible. In some places crowds of young Legitimists gathered about the Jesuitical establishments, hooted the police engaged in the work of expulsion, and received the benediction of the Fathers as they were driven forth into the world. The execution of the edict would have been still further embarrassed but for a division in the ranks of the Imperialists. Prince Napoleon, who, since the death of his cousin, the Prince Imperial, had become the recognized head of the Bonaparte dynasty, supported the law against the religious orders; but Paul de Cassagnac, and other ultramontane Imperialists, violently opposed the measure, and denounced the Prince for his recreancy to the Mother Church.[1]

[1] Paul de Cassagnac became at this time the most rampant foe of the Republic. His frenzy of denunciation against all Liberals and Liberalism knew no bounds. He it was who, in a public speech, expressed his jubilation at the death of Thiers, and declared his anxiety *to dance on his grave!*

It was in this year of 1880 that the ascendency of Leon Gambetta in the Government of France became more marked than ever. He was now President of the Chamber of Deputies, and from this vantage directed the Republican policy. After the Senatorial elections, by which the Government majority was made secure in the French Senate, the Monarchists receded from the foreground, and their schemes for a Restoration were perceived by all men to be futile. While the Legitimists and Orleanists did not by any means become mute, their clamor was less pronounced, their movements less alarming, than before. But while Monarchical factiousness was thus abated, the clamor of the Extreme Left was increased. An amnesty had in the meantime been granted to the Communists of 1871, and most of them returned from banishment. Henri Rochefort now came home from his exile in New Caledonia, and was received as the demigod of the faubourgs. From being the author and publisher of *La Lanterne*, he became the editor of *L'Intransigeant*, or the *Non-Compromiser*, a morning paper, which sprang at once into popularity as the most audacious organ of radical bitterness and political vulgarity which had been known in Paris for a generation. Strangely enough, this weapon of Radicalism was drawn, not against the Monarchists, but against the Moderate Republicans, and particularly against M. Gambetta. Him the reckless Rochefort compared to Napoleon III., that "perjurer of December 2d, and poltroon of Sedan."

It is in the nature, however, of such movements as this to be always undermined by a greater depth of audacity than its own. French Communism had always a cellar under its lowest room, and into this the most reckless dropped through unexpected traps and sliding panels. For a while Rochefort and his band deemed themselves in the ascendant. They were the vanguard of the day. While they thus walked before as the giants of Socialistic demagogy, a Communist Congress was held in Paris, at which a programme was adopted consisting of two articles: First, petroleum; second, nitrate of potassium. But even by this body of respectables, Rochefort and a few of his friends were excommunicated as vile citizens!

Meanwhile, Gambetta steadily pursued the rising way. He grew in stature. By the close of 1880 he was in a position to make and unmake Ministers at his will. In September of this year M. de Freycinet was displaced from the head of the Cabinet because of some inadvertent sympathy expressed by him for the Jesuits. He was succeeded in office by M. Jules Ferry; but the actual mover in the transaction was known to be Gambetta. An incident of the day was the conduct of Prince Napoleon. His course had alienated one division of the Imperialists, and they now sought, in the interest of their cause, to heal the schism by a transfer of the headship of the dynasty to Prince Victor, son of Prince Napoleon. A deputation of Bonapartists called upon the latter, and presented to him a petition requesting a resignation of the Imperial succession in favor of his son. But Prince Napoleon flamed up in anger, denounced the whole scheme as an infamy, and suggested to the deputation that their own business in the political world might be improved by attending thereto more strictly.

On the whole, the Republic emerged more and more to the view of the nations. It was conceded, at the close of 1880, that the cause of the Monarchists was well-nigh hopeless. It was from the Irreconcilable Left that the formative Liberal institutions of the time had most to fear. But this party also declined to the extent that there was only an outer fringe of Red Radicalism remaining. Several circumstances showed the waning fortune of the wild Revolutionists, who, ten years previously, had held Paris for two months against the whole power of the Government. The Communist Congress ended in a farce. The Socialistic press expired for want of patronage; perhaps we should say for want of fuel. Blanqui's famous and infamous newspaper, entitled *Without God or Master*, was discontinued in December of 1880. The *Commune*, a like journal, edited by Felix Pyat, which had for some time kept up its furious clamor against all the institutions of existing society, weakened and went to the wall. Its editor, who had been condemned in the courts on the charge of calumny and outrage, fled from his sentence into Belgium. Rochefort managed to get a proposition before the municipality of Paris for the erection, at public expense, of a monu-

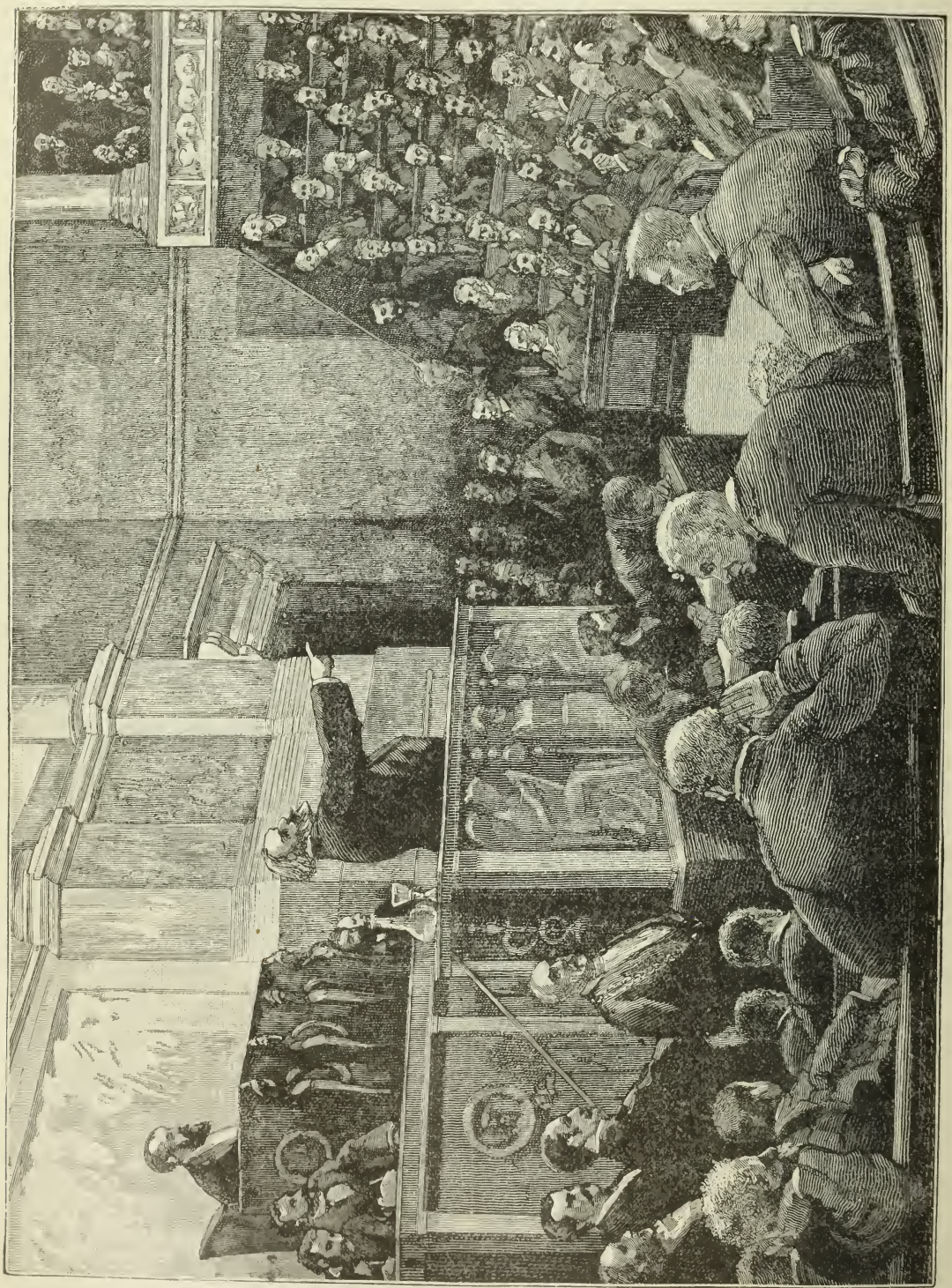
ment to the memory of the Communists who fell in the conflicts of 1871; but the proposition was rejected and came to naught. Though the Extreme Right was ever ready for political reasons to patronize the Red Radicals, and to fan the sinking fires of their madness, the game came to be understood and held at its true estimation. The Imperial party was for the time paralyzed by factions, and the Legitimists by immemorial folly.

The history of France in the year 1881 presents at least two salient points for consideration. The first of these relates to the Republican effort under the leadership of Gambetta for the reform, in an important particular, of the election laws of France. The movement at bottom was one of profound significance in the new system of nationality. It had been discerned by Gambetta that the majority in the Chamber was always distracted, and never firmly united on account of the spirit of localism among the members. This is to say that each member under the existing method of election came to the Assembly with the strong bias and prejudices of his own neighborhood, and, as a rule, indifferent to the general measures of the party to which he belonged. The result was that party discipline, under the direction of the Ministry and the leader of the Chamber, was rendered so difficult as constantly to endanger the passage of important measures, and indeed to make unsteady the conduct of the Government. Gambetta attacked the evil at the root by proposing that henceforth the members of the Chamber should be chosen on a general electoral ticket of the whole Department, instead of the local ticket of a given Arrondissement. This aroused local antagonisms of every kind, and the leader had to defend his measure in one of his fiery addresses from the Tribune.

In that body the Bill was passed, but was soon afterwards rejected in the Senate. This led to the immediate agitation of the question of revising the Constitution of the Senatorial body. Gambetta, angered at the rejection of his favorite measure, attacked the organization of the Senate in its fundamental structure. He demanded that the life-tenure enjoyed by one-fourth of the Senators should be abolished, and that the nine-year term of the remainder should be reduced to a six-year term, after the manner of the Senate of the United States. It was at this time, namely, in the summer of 1881, that Gambetta received a serious check in the elections. The result, however, was interpreted as signifying that the people of France desired their favorite leader in a new relation. He, accordingly, chose to assume the responsible conduct of the Government by becoming himself Premier of France. The Ministry of M. de Freycinet accordingly gave place to a new Cabinet, with Gambetta himself at the head as President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry of Justice was assigned to M. Cazo. Waldeck-Rousseau was appointed Minister of the Interior; Paul Bert, Minister of Public Instruction; M. Rouvier, Minister of Commerce; M. Cochery, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs; Allain-Targe, Minister of Finance; M. Compenon, Minister of War; M. Gougeard, Minister of the Marine; M. Proust, Minister of Fine Arts; M. Devès, Minister of Agriculture; and M. Raynal, Minister of Public Works. It was seen, on the announcement of the new Cabinet, that most of the members were of only moderate reputation even in France, and were quite unknown abroad. It was evident that the one great personage was Gambetta, and that the rest were his lieutenants.

A second matter of importance belonging to the history of this era was the convention in Paris of the International Monetary Conference, called to consider the relations of gold and silver, and to discuss the possible establishment of an International ratio between the two metals. The question was another of the far-reaching influences which had gone forth from the silver-mines of Nevada. We have already seen with what alarm the gold-producing nations, and after them our own hoodwinked people, had come to view the great outputting of silver ore from our newly developed American mines. The silver, of course, ran rapidly into American coins. Demonetized by one of the most adroit processes of legislation known to the history of the American Congress, it was presently restored under the Compulsory Coinage Law of 1878; and the monometallists were shaken with a second tremor. Great Britain among the nations, being exclusively a gold-producing empire, was foremost in the work of scandalizing silver out

of its natural place and monetary value. Germany followed hard after on the same line of policy. She who had formerly, on account of the discovery of gold in California, attempted to secure the demonetization of that metal in favor of silver, now joined Great Britain and the other monometallic nations in the work of depreciating and destroying the monetary character of the latter metal.



GAMBETTA IN THE TRIBUNE.

It thus happened that the United States

were thrown into natural alliance with France and the other States of the Latin Union, by which the legal-tender and unlimited quality of silver money had been maintained. After the passage of the Compulsory Coinage Act, the alarmed monometallists of America became concerned to bring the other nations into accord with our own established policy. True, they had hitherto attempted to secure a single standard on the basis of gold only; and they did not hesitate to declare the Act of 1878, restoring the legal-tender quality of silver, to be a National disgrace. But, like the fox in the fable, they now sought to hide what they conceived to be their own shame in the common shame of the world. The American bimetallists, as a matter of course, sought the same end, but with a different motive, and with a different view of the whole question.

The International Monetary Conference of 1881 was held at the suggestion of France. Delegates were appointed thereto by nearly all the leading States of Christendom. The American opinion favored the principle of universal free coinage, and legal tender for silver the world over, on the basis of 16 to 1. The French opinion was formulated by the economist, M. Cernuschi, who advocated the same general principles, with the difference of substituting a ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, instead of the American proportion. At the first, much was hoped of the conference. The sittings of the Commissioners began at Paris, on the 14th of April. It was soon discovered, however, that the monometallists had been busy in preparing discords for the convention. Opposition sprang up in France. The old, exact school of political writers, who had absorbed their views from the English economists, sought to throw contempt on the proceedings and the subject-matter under discussion. The money-class of the world never displayed greater unanimity than in the attempt to insure for all the credit-holders of the nations a monetary unit of the highest possible value. The capitalists of Great Britain were foremost in the work. English Commissioners appeared at the conference, under instructions to hear the debates and note all that was done; but not to participate further than this in the proceedings. The gold-producing countries fell into line on the policy of compelling the bimetallic countries to use their own silver, hoping thus to gorge with silver coin the sluices of trade in all such nations. Nevertheless, the discussions of the conference proved of great value in elucidating the whole subject under consideration. Six leading propositions were debated, as follows:

1. Have the recent fluctuations in the value of silver been injurious to the commercial and financial interest of the nations?

2. Have these fluctuations in the value of silver been due to the increase in the production of that metal, or to legislative acts affecting its monetary character?

3. Would stability in the ratio of value between gold and silver be secured by the unlimited coinage of both metals under an agreement to that effect among a large number of nations?

4. If such stability of ratio could be secured, in what manner should this desideratum be best attained?

5. Would it be a proper measure to compel banks of issue to accept both gold and silver at a fixed price?

6. If a bimetallic specie currency should be thus adopted, what should be the ratio between the weights of pure gold and pure silver contained in the respective monetary units?

Some of these important questions had already been discussed at the British Silver Commission of 1876, and by that body they had been decided in favor of the monometallic theory. In May of 1881 the delegates from the gold-producing and single-standard countries began to draw back from the debates in the Conference, partly under instructions from their respective Governments, and partly because the weight of the discussion bore hard upon them and their monetary theories. The delegates from Germany, Russia, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and Greece arrayed themselves successively with the British Commissioners, and it became clear that no practical results, other than the agitation of the questions involved, could be reached. The Conference was accordingly adjourned to April of 1882; but before the arrival of that date, circumstances had tended to produce indifference to the subjects under discussion, and the Conference was not again convened.

The year 1882 may be cited as the date of

a marked revival of France from the effects of the political storms through which she had passed on the way to a permanent Republican Constitution, and from the ravages of the Franco-Prussian War. The sentiment of peace became predominant. A sense of security supervened, more universal and satisfying than had been known since the close of the Napoleonic wars. This was illustrated and evidenced by the toleration which was extended to all classes and all people. We have seen how the Communists came home, under a general amnesty, from the penal colonies, and how their lucubrations in Paris after their return were of little or no effect upon the public.

Proscription at the other extreme of society also virtually ceased. In the summer of 1882 the Duc d'Aumale, son of Louis Philippe, and representative of the Orleans dynasty, who had already been permitted to sit in the National Assembly, rebuilt the old castle of Chantilly, the family homestead in which the Great Condé had given his splendid entertainments, and which had been destroyed by the old Revolutionists in 1793. It came at length to be understood in France that the holders of diverse political opinions and of diverse theories relative to the true forms of human government could coëxist in the same land on terms of peace and concord.

Looking profoundly into the changed and changing sentiments of the French people at this epoch, we are able to see the reason and philosophy of the peaceable and peace-loving mood which began to prevail. How was it that such statesmen as Gambetta, whose motto with respect to Germany ten years previously had been *Guerre à l'outrance*, should have come in a single decade to the stand of Left-center Republicanism, favorable to peace? The reasons must be found first of all in the destruction of the omnipotence of Paris. Paris had been France, but was France no longer. Since the First Revolution she had been able to have her will in the management of the Government and people. The provinces merely waited to hear her decision and register her decree. The various revolutions had been effected in Paris, and merely accepted by the country. The country, as a rule, did not resist, or even resent, the capricious mood of the fiery and splendid mistress who displayed her pride on the banks of the Seine.

In the chaos of the winter of 1870–71, however, a great break occurred between the capital and France at large. The latter refused to accept the Commune. The Commune was enraged at the thought and act of resistance. To the Commune, republicanism meant democracy, and democracy was virtually anarchy. This, then, was the political complexion to which public sentiment had come in the capital; and this was what roused-up France would no longer accept. Thus France fought the Commune, and the Commune was put out in fire and blood. The shock was very great. The political absolutism of Paris was destroyed. The bloody epilepsy ended in dispelling the cephalic congestion, and in the distribution of the nervous forces of France into all the body. Paris could not regain her ascendency. Her war passion could not prevail to plunge France into a second German war *à l'outrance*.

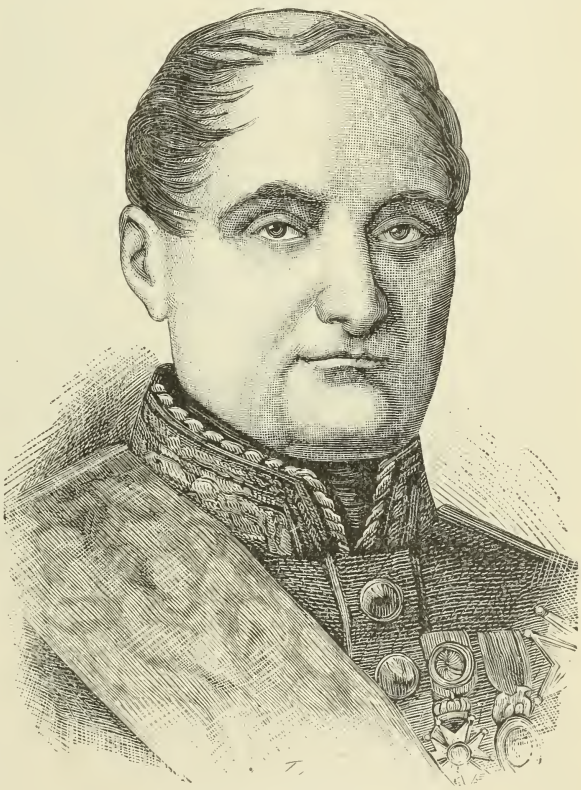
The Versailles Government, under Thiers first and Gambetta afterwards, represented France, not Paris. The Third Republic was *in* Paris rather than *of* it. The Government came to rely upon the country, upon the result of provincial elections, upon the general voice of the French Nation, rather than upon the spasmodic and often whimsical cry of the capital. In so far as the country life was favorable to peace rather than war, by so much did the change to which we have referred, the decentralization of the power of Paris, tend to the production of national amity, and the spirit of toleration.

This condition was already in fruitage when Gambetta became President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs. He himself perceived the change, and accepted it. It can not be doubted that his prestige was abated by the transformation of the political and social landscape; but he continued to be, as he had been since the death of Thiers, the first man of France, the popular idol, the chief representative of French nationality. How great, therefore, was the shock of his death! Gambetta was now but forty-four years of age. His genius for public affairs was of the highest order. In his power over public opinion he was without a rival. He was unquestionably

the greatest orator of modern France. He was a stranger to fear. Republicanism, the true ascendency of the people, was, as a principle, interwoven with every fiber of his being. The Republic was his passion, his deity. The French people had come to understand that in all questions affecting the nationality and honor of France, they might trust Gambetta with an implicit faith. The nation had followed him with its sympathy and confidence, as he passed by degrees, and under the experience of the epoch, from the Extreme Left to the Left Center, where he stood majestically at the hour of his death.

The event was unexpected, tragical, lamentable. He died suddenly at the Ville d'Avray, near Paris, on the last day of 1882. In his last hours he suffered greatly from the blood-poisoning, which brought him suddenly from tremendous and energetic manhood to the feebleness and delirium of extinction. His death was the very mockery of fate. It seemed against the fitness of things, against the order of nature, against the law and sequence of human life, that the heroic Republican adventurer, who, amid the horrors of the German war, with all their angry batteries vomiting and smoking around beleaguered Paris, had climbed into the basket of a tottering balloon and risen above the spires of the city, sailing out over the German lines of investment to alight beyond in safety, to raise the clarion of the Republic, and to fire all Southern France to the sudden creation and equipment of a volunteer army of one hundred and fifty thousand men; who had afterwards stood at the left of Thiers through the trying ordeals of his Administration, and subsequently had kept his Republican sword-blade unsheathed in the sight not only of France, but of all the world, during the whole reäctionary ascendency of the MacMahon Government,—should now at last be done to death with a miserable pistol-ball, fired in a moment of passion by a jealous mistress! The tragedy and the satire are equal,—the pitiable end, the bitter mockery of a midday glory.

The year 1883 was noted in French history for certain revivals of distrust in the Chamber and among the people with respect to the representatives of the old and recent dynasties. Timid Republicans became alarmed lest the pacification and amnesty had gone too far. The representatives of the old Royalty and Imperialism were going quietly about their business, in private and public life, as other citizens of the Republic. While a certain political necessity compelled them to uphold their respective pretensions to a throne which no longer existed, they were, for the most part, respectful in conduct and expression towards the republican institutions under which they lived. Prince Napoleon, however, now showed himself to be an exception to the rule. He seems to have made up his mind that the Third Republic was an utter failure, and, acting under this inspiration, he proceeded to placard the walls of Paris with a proclamation declaring the futility and folly of the existing Government, and calling upon the nation to accept Bonapartism as a refuge from political calamity and social confusion.



PRINCE NAPOLEON.

It would, doubtless, have been wise for the

National Assembly to pass by the harmless fulmination; but the French politicians and statesmen had not yet become sufficiently seasoned in republican manners and methods to accept the Prince's proclamation as a joke. On the contrary, they took it seriously, and a bill was introduced into the Chamber for the banishment of Prince Napoleon and his son Victor from France. It was known that the Bonapartists themselves had now virtually abandoned Prince Napoleon as an absurd person, and had come to regard his son as the real representative of Imperialism. Nevertheless, the measure against the Prince was pressed. Advantage was taken of the situation to extend the proposed proscription to the Orleanist Princes, and to send them forth, along with the Bonapartes.

The representatives of the House of Orleans had, at this time, acquired great respectability in France, and some members thereof had shown remarkable talent. The claims of the Orleanists now rested on the Comte de Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe, and great-grandson of that Equality Philip who had voted for the death of Louis XVI., and then lost his head under the guillotine. The Comte de Paris had won upon the good opinion of mankind. In America he was well known as the brave and gallant gentleman and competent officer, who had served with distinction on the staff of General McClellan until what time the French complication in Mexico made it a proper thing for him to disentangle himself from a cause in which France was likely to become a party. Afterwards he had shown a spirit liberal and patriotic. In 1871, when the project of the establishment of a new Government for France was an open question, he had voluntarily resigned his claims to the French throne in favor of his cousin, the Count de Chambord, thus strengthening the pretensions and prospects of the latter. Thereafter he devoted himself, with great success, to the composition of a *History of the Civil War in the United States*, producing a work which has become a standard of narrative and military criticism for that great tragedy. Other members of the Orleans family were educated and capable soldiers and officers in the French army.

The bill before the Chamber proposed to take away such commissions as were held by members of the Orleans dynasty, and to subject them to proscription almost as severe as that which was proposed for the Bonapartes. Party politics accomplished the usual iniquitous results. The bill was at length carried through the Chamber of Deputies under a pressure from the Extreme Left. But in the Senate a majority could not be secured in its favor, and the measure came to naught. About the same time, namely, on the 24th of August, 1883, the Count de Chambord died, at Frohsdorf, but not until he had reciprocated the generosity of the Comte de Paris to himself twelve years before, by calling him to his deathbed and resigning in his favor the claims of the Elder Branch of the House of Bourbon to the throne of France. By this act the Comte de Paris became the recognized representative of both divisions of the Legitimist party to whatever rights they may have possessed in the Government of France.[1]

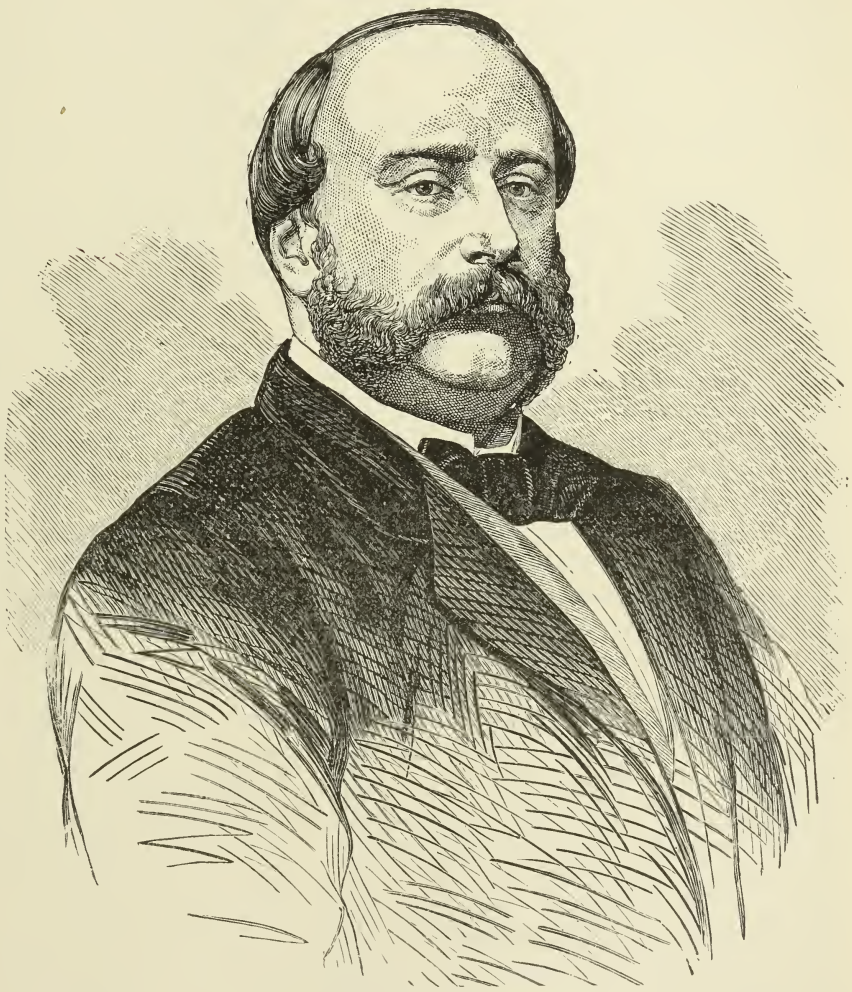
In the national elections of 1884 all parties were surprised, and all except the Radicals were disappointed. The attention of the

[1] An incident happening soon after the events here narrated may well serve to illustrate the temper of some of the leading peoples of the world with respect to the fact called monarchy. It may also serve to show how small a thing was sufficient at this time to excite that silly international gossip, which in its kind is more contemptible than the chattering nonsense of old women. Hon. Levi P. Morton, afterwards Vice-President of the United States, was, at the time of which we speak, American Minister at Paris. At one of the high-conditioned balls, with which Mr. Morton illustrated the simplicity of American institutions, the Comte de Paris was a guest. In the course of the evening Mr. Morton addressed the Count, and asked the privilege of introducing to him an American lady. The action was observed, and a flutter went out from Paris over half the world because the American Minister had asked the *Count* instead of the *lady* in the matter of an introduction. Paris buzzed, and the London newspapers hummed to the echo over the significant circumstance that the American Minister at Paris *had recognized the royal pretensions* of the Count of Paris! The American journals took up the comment, but here in a different vein. In their judgment, the American Minister was a snob, who had slighted and disparaged one of his countrywomen in order to flatter a Prince. Nor could it be denied, from an American point of view, that the *faux pas* of the representative of the Republic was sufficiently absurd.

country was especially turned to the municipal contest in Paris, where the Moderate Republicans hoped to secure a better standing. The Monarchists also believed themselves able to make such gains as might revive somewhat their almost exhausted cause. They did succeed in gaining a small increment to their diminished forces; but the sinister work done by them on the occasion was much more important. Seeing that they could not become a power themselves, they threw their whole influence for the Intransigeants or Socialistic Republicans, who made so great gains by this means as to create no small alarm among the friends of the established order.

Meanwhile, the French War in the far East was brought to a close. Difficulties of the usual character had arisen on the coast of Anam and Tonquin, and war was resorted to as the established means of bringing the Chinese to their knees. Through spasmodic hostilities and intermittent negotiations the conflict continued until the summer of 1884, when Foo-Chow was bombarded by the French fleet, and the Orientals overawed into submission. A new treaty was drawn between France and Anam, by which two provinces which had been taken away were restored. A system of customs was established like the one which had already been imposed on Cochin China; and the strategic points in both Anam and Tonquin were subjected to a military occupation by French garrisons. It was also conceded to France that the departments of Public Works, of the Post, and the Telegraph service, as well as of Finance and Customs should be submitted to the management of a French agency established for that purpose.

The same year was marked for the discussion in French society and in the Legislative Chambers of the question of marriage and divorce—particularly the latter. The study of recent statistics had revealed several circumstances in the social condition which might well give alarm to the nation. It is well known that the prevalent system of French marriage had been the most rigorous known among the Western nations. The institution was fortified with greater formalities and sanc-



COMTE DE CHAMBORD.

tions than in any other country. The Church and the State had conspired to hedge marriage about with every known security which legislative device or religious caution might contrive. The Roman Catholic theory of the marital union had been accepted and put into the French Constitution and statutes as one of the fundamentals of social and civil existence. Divorces were not granted. The marriage was made as indissoluble as might be by the ingenuity of organized society.

Nevertheless, it was found that the system was working badly in every particular. Statistics showed that the marriage-rate was lower in France than in any other civilized country. The same thing was true of the birth-rate. It was found that in England and Germany and the United States, the rate of marriages and births was much more encouraging than in France, where divorces were not permitted. At the same time and by the same method, it was discovered that illegitimacy was more prevalent in France than in those countries where divorces might be procured under reasonable restrictions. In a word, the conviction was forced upon the public judgment that the denial of divorce—instead of encouraging marriage and conducing to a high birth-rate—was a positive discouragment to both. As a result, many projects of legislation were proposed in abatement of the evils arising from the prevalent system. One measure seriously discussed was the taxation of bachelors, with a view of driving them into marriage. Another proposed a bounty for marriage, and a third suggested prizes and rewards for large families of children. More important, and much more to the point, however, was the legislation of 1884, by which the No-divorce Law, which had held in all its rigor for more than sixty years, was abrogated, and its place taken by new statutes, under which, for valid reasons, unhappy and uncongenial marriages might be annulled. This measure was supplemented in the following year by a law revived from the First Revolution, for granting public support to the seventh child in every family of limited resources. The measure also contemplated provision for the education of such children in the higher institutions of learning; but this feature failed of adoption.

The beginning of 1885 was noted for the renewal of the question of revising the French Constitution. In several particulars that instrument was unsatisfactory to extreme, and even moderate, Republicans. The appointive character of the judicial offices was distasteful to all classes of the democracy. But more particularly was the Senatorial life-tenure, which held for one-fourth of the Upper Chamber, and the tenure of nine years for the other three-fourths, a subject of dissatisfaction to perhaps a majority of the French people. It was claimed, besides, in a general way, that the Constitution of 1871–72 had been formed under the influence of the Monarchical and Semi-Monarchical parties, and that it did not truly represent the wishes and sentiments of the French Republicans. On the other hand, the attempt at revision of the instrument was a measure of hazard to any party which might undertake it. However desirous the Republican Government might be to promote the amendment of the fundamental law of the land, it could but be recognized as a perilous undertaking. The Constitution had now reached the fourteenth year from its origin. It was well known, and had been observed by political critics, that no French Government, since the outbreak of the Revolution of 1789, had survived its twentieth year. Could the Third Republic prove an exception to the rule? Would not the project to amend the Constitution tend strongly to undermine the Republic which rested on it? These questions made the Moderate Republicans exceedingly timid in proposing or accepting the various projects of revision which were agitated from the Left.

Meanwhile the attention of the country was called from merely civil questions to the distresses and calamities of the French arms in the East. The Tonquin war had broken out again. The treaty of Tientsin had proved to be no settlement at all. The Chinese claims to the sovereignty of Tonquin had been revived, and the fortified town of Langson, which had been put under a French garrison by the treaty, was recovered by the enemy. The conduct of Admiral Courbet on the coast had been such as justly to waken the animosity of the Chinese Government. At length the news flashed suddenly to Paris that the French

army under General Négrier in Tonquin was in full retreat, the General himself wounded, and his successor, Brière, telegraphing that he *hoped* to be able to save the so-called Delta from recapture by the enemy.

This intelligence was of the precise kind to create consternation in Paris and throughout France. By the following morning, when the Chamber convened, public opinion had fastened on the Ministry as the culpable party. All the elements of opposition suddenly blew into storm, and the Cabinet went to pieces in an hour. M. Jules Ferry, the Prime Minister, did not atttempt to face the tempest. He saw that the madness of the day was prevalent over all argument and protest, and he at once resigned his office. The next despatches, however, were reässuring, and the whole subsequent development of the situation tended to show that the Administration had not been wanting in good sense or energy in the management of the Tonquin complication. Nevertheless, the mischief was done, so far as the Ministry was concerned, and a new Cabinet was at once formed under the leadership of M. Brisson, a statesman of but small reputation. In the Cabinet, however, were other leaders of greater ability, and more widely known. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was assigned to M. de Freycinet. M. Allain-Targé received the Secretaryship of Finance, an office which he had already held in the short-lived Ministry of Gambetta. It could but be noted, however, that the first utterances of the new Cabinet pointed to no essential divergence from the policy of its predecessor, and it was soon discerned that some force other than the news of the disasters in Tonquin had been the efficient cause of the displacement of Jules Ferry from the head of the Government.

What, therefore, was the occult political antagonism which had led to the overthrow of the Ferry Ministry? The same question might well have been asked when Gambetta, after a Premiership of scarcely three months, had been displaced under pressure of the Chamber. How could the leading statesmen of France thus fall before the irrational opposition of a legislative body which accepted the same political principles with themselves? The answer to these questions revealed a profound vice which had already gained lodgment and development in the new republican system of government. The evil in question was precisely the same as that which, in the United States of America, has so nearly disgusted the conscience and intellect of the nation with the whole method represented by the President and Congress. It is, in a word, the evil of local patronage, fostered and upheld by the members of Congress against the public interest, to secure their own interest in the localities from which they are chosen. It is that deep-seated political vice against which Civil-service Reform has thus far beaten in vain.

Already, under the Administration of Thiers, the same thing appeared in the conduct of the Chamber of Deputies. The members of that body were, as we have said, chosen singly from the particular Arrondissements which they represented. They came into the Chamber of Deputies to take care of a local rather than a general interest. Even the care of local concerns soon became secondary to the consideration of those means through which, by reëlection, they might hold their own places in the National Assembly. The great fact of patronage was at once discovered. The Deputies became the dispensers of the local offices in the districts which they respectively represented. Such offices began to go at once to the unworthy and unscrupulous local politicians who were the supporters, present and prospective, of the Deputies themselves. The *machine* was found. The old hedgehog of party looked out with his leaden eyes from under the covert, and grinned at the friends of honest and capable administration. The true National Republicans discovered his hiding-place and attacked him in his native lair. But the result was the same which the American Civil-service Reformers had already reached—defeat.

Gambetta had striven with all his might to secure the substitution of a new and enlightened system of patronage for the old local corruption into which the Republic had so easily fallen. It was in pursuance of this project that he sought to change the election laws in such manner as to make the Deputies no longer dependent on the Arrondissement, but on the whole Department. It was opposi-

tion to this measure on the part of the Deputies, anxious to retain their corrupt prerogatives, that led to the overthrow of the Gambetta Cabinet, and it was the very same antagonism which now seized upon the pretense of the disasters in Tonquin as a pretense for displacing Jules Ferry and his Cabinet.

Perhaps the greatest problem with which the civil governments of the present era are confronted is that which relates to the distribution and assignment of the appointive offices by the Executive and Legislative departments. There is not to-day a civilized nation in the world in which the citizens best fitted to discharge the duties of such offices are not thrust into the background, and held down from an enlightened public service by the corrupt horde of office-seekers and office-getters, whose only qualifications are their effectiveness and skill in the management of the party engine, and their blind and selfish support of those from whose hands the appointive offices are to fall. The alternative is to-day present with all liberal governments: It is either Civil-service Reform or an early wreckage of popular institutions. The two conspicuous examples of nations standing in the very horns of the dilemma are France and the United States.

The state of opinion among the Socialists and Democrats of the French Republic may be gathered from a manifesto of the Parisian *Radical*, issued in July of 1885. The paper in question constituted the party platform, which was imposed on the candidates for the department of the Seine. The first principle announced in the proclamation was that every child at every stage of its education was to be supported and cared for at the expense of the State—to be boarded, lodged, clothed, and instructed by lay teachers at the public charge. The object openly proclaimed was to enable every wedded pair, however poor, to have and to rear as many children as their own wishes and the laws of nature might suggest. The second article declared for the abolition of all indirect taxation, with the subsitution of a direct tax on both capital and income; but the tax was to be progressive; that is, very light where the capital and income were small, and growing heavier with each increment, until exorbitant accumulations of private property should be well-nigh taxed away. The third principle announced was that of a heavy duty, or tax, on transmitted property; as, for instance, that handed down by parents to their children. Then came other articles for taking possession by the Government of all railroads, canals, and mines, with a view to operating the same solely for the public benefit. A maximum was to be fixed for the daily hours of labor, and no children under fourteen years of age were to be permitted to work in the factories or workshops of France. A system of public credit was demanded for the poor, so that people having no means might be able to secure by loan from the State the necessary capital for beginning and prosecuting their callings. Finally, all persons unable to labor for themselves were to be supported at the public expense, and illegitimate and legitimate children were to be given a status of perfect equality before the law.

The general electoral campaign of 1885 was now well under way. The parties in the contest were designated by the names of Republican, Conservative, and Radical. The election was held in October, the Republicans being under the leadership of Jules Ferry, and the Radicals accepting that of M. Clémenceau. The party of the Government entered the contest with the usual advantages and disadvantages which the party in power always carries into an election. It had been believed in other countries, and a like delusion appears to have prevailed in France herself, that the definitive Republic was now so well established as to command for its supporters an overwhelming majority. But the event proved otherwise.

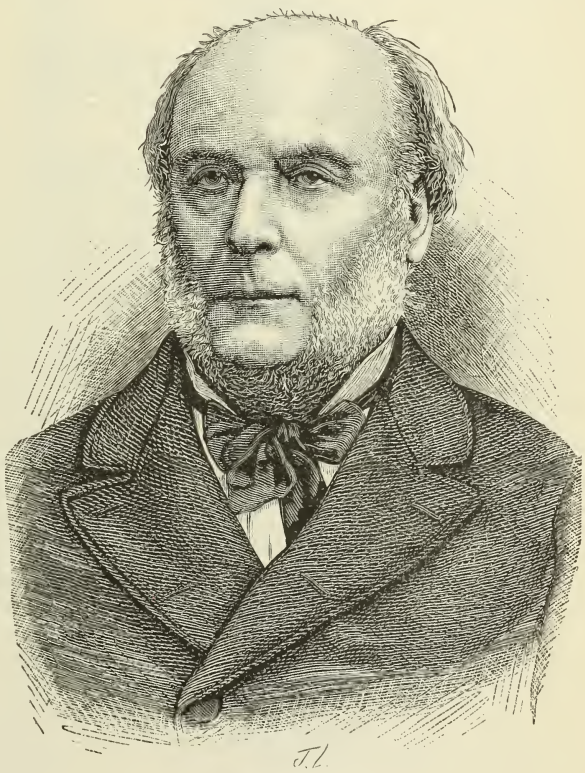
The result of the election was, indeed, a surprise to all who were interested in the issue. A summary of the popular vote showed that the Republicans of all shades had polled a vote of 3,180,000. The Conservative vote, including under that head Legitimists and Imperialists, reached 3,140,000; while the Radicals secured a poll of 900,000 votes. It was seen at a glance that while the Republican ascendency was to continue, the situation was still precarious; for the whimsical and expedient combination of the opposing elements would be sufficient at any time to accomplish not only the overthrow of the existing Administration, but, perhaps, of the

republican system itself. The saving feature in the political physiognomy was, as it had been before, the insurmountable difficulty of organic union between the Legitimist and Imperialist parties. Though they might both be properly classed together as monarchical, they could not be expected to unite against the Republic on the fundamental question of restoring either the Empire or the Kingdom. As for the Radical party, it could no more be despised as contemptible. With nearly a million suffrages at its command, and holding in some sense a balance of power, it must necessarily be, under the ensuing Administrations, a constant menace to the Moderate Republican ascendency.

The general result of the elections was thus to continue the Republic and the Moderate Administration. With the opening of the National Assembly, in the following December, M. Jules Grévy was triumphantly reëlected President, to succeed himself. It is at this point that the French Constitution departs most widely from that of the United States. In that country, the President of the Republic is chosen by a joint ballot of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, acting as a National Assembly. At the Presidential election of 1885 great excitement prevailed at Versailles and Paris, and, indeed, throughout France. The scene in the Assembly rose to the pitch of violence. M. Grévy received a total majority, on the joint ballot, of a hundred and thirty-five. But the Right, with the exception of five members, refused to vote, under the theory that to cast a ballot for any citizen for the Presidency of the Republic was a virtual disavowal of the monarchical principle. The reëlection of the President was well received, not only in France, but among all the Western nations. Messages of congratulation were sent in to him on the occasion from the larger number of the European Governments, including England; and from the latter country, the Prince of Wales added a special despatch.

President Grévy had not sympathized with the sudden ebullition by which, a few months previously, the Ferry Ministry had been overthrown. Nevertheless, he accepted the result, and, on his reëlection, notified the Prime Minister, M. Brisson, of his wish to have him remain at the head of the Government. The latter, however, was unwilling to accept the responsibility, in the face of the new Chamber, and he accordingly resigned. M. de Freycinet was thereupon once more summoned to form a Cabinet, and to undertake the duties of Premier.

The time had now arrived for a final trial between France and the representatives of the old Royalty and Imperialism. The election



PRESIDENT JULES GRÉVY.

of 1885 had greatly encouraged the Bonaparte and Orleans Princes, and the party which they represented. The conduct of the Monarchists in refusing to vote at the Presidential election was a positive menace to the Republic. The enormous popular vote which the party had been able to poll in the late contest had thoroughly alarmed the Government, and had produced a strong sentiment of antagonism, extending to proscription. The feeling was not allayed by the conduct of the Princes themselves. Many of them openly proclaimed the illegitimacy of the Republic, declaring

that the Government was factitious, illegal, spurious. By the beginning of 1886 the excitement rose to the pitch of action. A sweeping measure was instituted for the banishment from France of all the leading representatives of the old Royal and Imperial families. The movement grew in volume, and on the 24th of June a decree was issued by the Government for the expulsion of the Princes, both Legitimists and Bonapartists, from France. The Imperialists accepted their exile with better grace than the others. Prince Victor Napoleon retired to Brussels, and Prince Jerome to Geneva. The Comte de Paris and his family accepted the result only because they must. The Count was at this time by far the most popular and influential representative of the ancient system. Knowing his rank, capabilities, and his public services to the country, he yielded with great reluctance to the decree, leaving behind him a proclamation full of vehement denunciations, and containing many bitter and truthful reflections on the proscriptive policy adopted by the Government. The Prince protested in the name of justice against the violence done to himself and his kinsmen He boldly announced his claim as the representative of the Monarchical party, and charged the National Government with persecution and cowardice. "The Republic," said the Prince, "is afraid. In striking me, it marks me out. I have confidence in France, and at the decisive hour I shall be ready." The Count left his home at the Chateau d'Eu, and took up his residence at Tunbridge Wells, England. He was accompanied by the Duc de Chartres. The Duc d'Aumale and the Prince de Joinville also obeyed the decree, and went into banishment. The names of Prince Murat and his son were stricken from the roll of the French army, and the Duc de Nemours was deposed from the Presidency of a humane society. Right or wrong, the Republic had at last accepted the issue, and, adopting the policy of proscription, sought to accomplish by terror and prosecutions what it had not been able otherwise to effect with certainty and emphasis,—the obliteration of the Monarchical party in the Republic.



PRINCE DE JOINVILLE.

The excitement in France over the expul-

sion of the Princes was presently heightened by a personal event which was destined to be the first in an extraordinary career. General Boulanger, Minister of War, in the debate in the French Chamber over the case of the Duc d'Aumale, found occasion to denounce in severe terms the Baron de Lareinty, a Legitimatist Senator. The Senator replied, applying the epithet "cowardly" (Fr. *lâche*) to the conduct of the War Minister in denouncing one who was absent. A duel was the result, Boulanger receiving the fire of his antagonist, but not firing himself. In the meantime, while these amenities were exchanged in the Assembly and on the field, the Duc d'Aumale proceeded, by an act of unexpected generosity, to heap fire on the head of the Republic by making a gift to the French Institute, in trust for the Nation, the magnificent old palace and domain of Chantilly. The estate and palace were the seat of his ancestors, the Condés. The event showed that he had already transferred the splendid property by will, intending to occupy it during his life-time, and then give possession to the Institute. But his banishment, making it impossible for him to enjoy longer a residence in the ancestral palace which he had himself so recently restored, furnished the occasion for the completion of the gift. The estate had an estimated value of sixty million francs, and the present of so splendid a property to the French Nation might well awaken a sharp compunction in the Republican breast for the harsh measure by which the donor was driven into exile from his native land.

An incident near the close of 1886 served to show the still sensitive temper of the French people with respect to Germany. In certain of the German cities the ingenuity of the race had been largely devoted to the manufacture of toys, and these were sold in foreign countries. France herself, even Paris, was a buyer of such goods. Among the rest, German handicraft had produced a toy schoolhouse for the French market. Inside of the school-house one section was occupied with a miniature map of France. It remained for *Le Trappeau* newspaper, organ of the Patriotic League, to discover the horrible circumstance



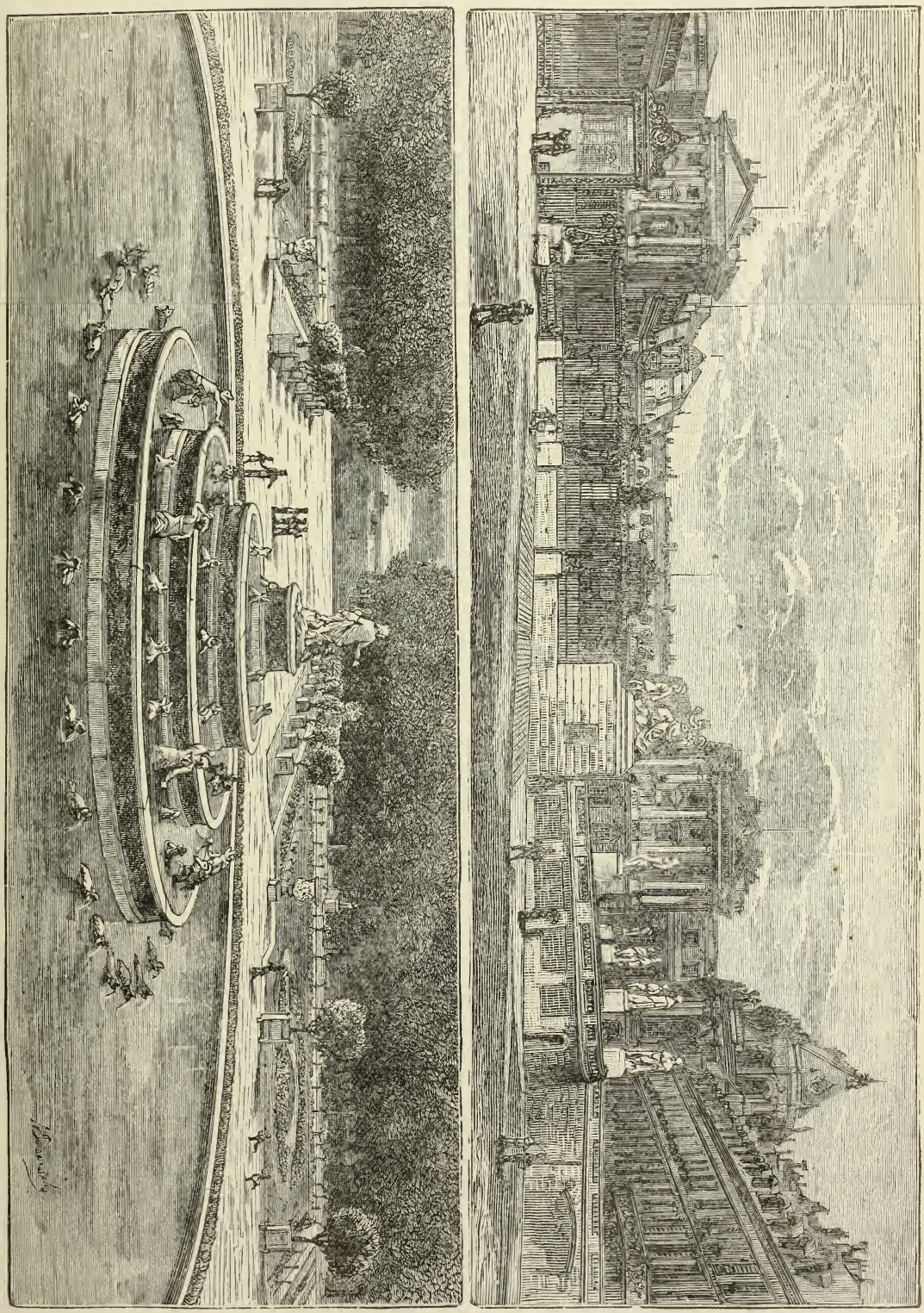
DUC D'AUMALE.

that a part of the French possessions acquired from Italy during the second Empire was erroneously reässigned in the toy-map to Italy. Evidently, said *Le Trappeau*, this outrageous mutilation of French territory has been purposely accomplished by the insidious map-maker to mislead the children of Paris in acquiring a knowledge of the true boundaries of their country. Hateful intrigue! Other newspapers took up the cry, and a leading journal of Berlin responded with a ponderous editorial on "the endangered peace between France and Germany"!

One of the peculiarities of the French Government, from the founding of the Third Republic down to the present time, has been the instability of its Cabinets. It would appear that the Ministry hold by a precarious tenure. Party discipline is much less prevalent in France than in Great Britain or the United States. For this reason any fortuitous event, chancing to produce in the country a temporary excitement on some political or semi-political subject, is likely to storm into the Assembly, break the party lines, and drive the Ministers from power. Their own following breaks line in the presence of the excitement, and an unexpected minority vote for the Government leads to a resignation and reädjustment. Possibly with the morrow the circumstances have changed, and the Chamber may even regret its hasty and passionate action; but it is then too late to mend the broken vessel.

In December of 1886 a notable instance of these political whorls in the Assembly took place. The office of Sub-prefect under the Republic had, for some reason of use or abuse, become suddenly unpopular. The Opposition seized upon the circumstance, and moved a total abolition of the office in question. M. Sarrien, Minister of the Interior, to whose administration the pending notion related, opposed the proposal to abolish, but offered instead a motion for a modification of the offices of Sub-prefects. M. de Freycinet supported the Minister of the Interior; but to the surprise of the country the Ministerial motion was defeated, and that for total abolition carried by a large majority. The Extreme Left, being of course unable itself to conduct the Government, proposed on the morrow a vote of confidence intended as a panacea, but Freycinet and his fellow-Ministers persisted in resigning. M. Floquet, President of the Chamber, thereupon undertook to form a Ministry, but failed. President Grévy then imposed the task on M. Réné Goblet, who, on the 11th of December, succeeded in forming a new Cabinet, with himself for President of the Council. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was assigned to M. Flourens; M. Dauphin became Minister of Finance; M. Berthelot, Minister of Public Instruction; M. Sarrien, Minister of Justice; General Boulanger, Minister of War; Admiral Aube, Minister of the Marine; M. Granet, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs; M. Lockroy, Minister of Commerce; M. Millaud, Minister of Public Works; M. Deville, Minister of Agriculture. It was noticeable that the new Cabinet was throughout more friendly to the Left than any which had preceded it. M. Goblet himself had been a political pupil and friend of Gambetta, and was, at the time of his accession to office, on terms of intimacy with Clémenceau. The radicalism of General Boulanger was sufficiently well known, and was destined in a short time to become a source of extreme distress to the Government.

At the beginning of 1887 an issue had already been raised between that kind of political sentiment which was represented by Boulanger and the adverse opinion which called for retrenchment, reform, and peace. The former policy signified high taxation and lavish expenditure, especially in reörganizing and mobilizing the army. It also expressed the principle of rectifying the boundary of France, and therefore of hostility to Germany. It appealed to all the old war passions, and was not far from publicly inscribing *Revenge* on its banner as the motto of the Republic. For these reasons the Opportunists in the French Assembly — those who desired that France should pursue the even tenor of her ways, accept economy as her law, and peace with her neighbors as a principle of action—looked first with alarm, and then with anger, upon the course which the War Minister was determined to pursue. The representatives of the opposition to Boulanger found a leader in M. Rouvier, and in the early summer of 1887 the Goblet Cabinet was disrupted, and a new



VERSAILLES PALACE AND GARDENS.

Ministry formed under the Premiership of Rouvier. All of the old Ministers gave place to new members, representing the policy of economy, reform, and peace. Boulanger was superseded in office by General Ferron; but the overthrown Minister was at once taken up and converted into a popular idol by the French war party, and from thenceforth until the day of his banishment he became what Americans would call an "issue" in French politics.

The qualities of Boulanger immediately appeared. He appealed to the people. He declared that he had been displaced from the War Office through the influence of Germany—that the whole movement against him was inspired by the deadly enemies of France. This view of the case was at once taken up by the populace of Paris, and a large party throughout France. A clamor was raised for the restoration of Boulanger to the War Office, and it appeared for a while that the Government would be borne down under the pressure. At a bye-election in the department of the Seine, notwithstanding the fact that General Boulanger's candidacy was wholly illegal, the Radicals gave him a vote of more than thirty-three thousand. Meanwhile, a feeling of active animosity was awakened between France and Germany, which portended the early outbreak of war. General Boulanger was ordered to return to his command at Clermont-Ferrand; but the occasion of his retirement was seized upon by his admirers, and converted into a demonstration which alarmed the Government. Symptoms appeared of elevating Boulanger to a dictatorship on the ruins of the Republic. Strenuous measures were adopted, under the direction of the Rouvier Ministry, to prevent the further participation of Boulanger in political matters. He was accused of illegal conduct, and a crisis drew near, at which it must be determined whether the constituted authorities or the refractory General would be supreme in France. In August, M. Jules Ferry made a speech in which Boulanger was so severely criticised that the latter sent to Ferry a challenge to fight a duel. Nevertheless, the Government held on until the summer recess of the Assembly, keeping Boulanger and his followers at bay.

Such was the condition of affairs when a new circumstance, unexpected and scandalous, arose in the face of the Government. In October of the year which we are considering, it was divulged that General Caffarel, of the French War Office, had been engaged in the ignominious business of selling decorations and promotions to officers of the army. The insignia of the Legion of Honor had been sold for a sum to mercenary wretches mean enough to buy! The scandal was prodigious. Boulanger immediately seized upon the circumstance, and declared that the traffic in decorations was a part of the policy of the War Office as against himself. For this offense the Minister of War ordered the arrest of Boulanger for thirty days; but the act, however necessary, seemed to add martyrdom to the other merits of the General, and his followers were more vociferous than ever. Hard after the disgrace brought on the Government by General Caffarel came another of like character. M. Wilson, son-in-law of President Grévy, and residing in the Presidential Palace, was detected in a disgraceful domestic intrigue, and in the still more scandalous business of using the President's official frank in his own business. Wilson was himself a representative for Tours, and the Electoral Committee of that department took the matter in hand. An investigation resulted in the deposition of Caffarel from the army, and the necessary restitution by Wilson of forty thousand francs to cover the postage on matter which he had sent out illegally under Grèvy's stamp while residing with the President at the Palace of the Elysée!

All of this was sweet food for the Boulangists, who broke out into martial music composed in honor of their hero. The matter bore with ever-increasing weight upon the Government. President Grévy was afflicted in the last degree by the scandals which had fallen out from his own door. Though he was not personally affected by them, the conduct of his son-in-law, whom he refused to dismiss from the Elysée, seemed to involve him hopelessly. A clamor was raised for his resignation from office. This he at first refused to heed; but the Opposition fanned the coals of antagonism to a white heat, and it became evident that not only the Ministry of Rouvier, but the Executive office itself, was trembling in the wind. President

Grévy sought for a while to temporize with the elements; but the storm increased, and presently a vote was adopted almost unanimously by the Chamber, declaring that that body was "in waiting for a communication from the President!" On the 2d of December the latter gave over the contest, and sent in his letter of resignation. He was thus virtually driven from the Presidency of France by scandalous conduct on the part of two subordinates for whom he was only indirectly responsible, and in whose malfeasance in office he had no part or lot. He was virtually deposed from the Presidency without impeachment, and without a proposition to impeach—this by a process as utterly illegal on the part of the French Assembly as it is possible to conceive.

The election of a new Executive was imperative. There were symptoms of old-time Parisian riots. The bands in many places were playing Boulanger's *March*, and to the casual observer it would have seemed that a revolution was at the door. Strangely enough, however, the Bourse was not disturbed. Those who might be expected to be most sensitive to the dangers of the situation suffered no alarm. Nor did the army appear to be greatly agitated. The Assembly went immediately into an election for a new Executive, and the same resulted, on the second ballot, in the choice of M. Sadi-Carnot, a Moderate Republican, who at once took the oath of office and entered upon his duties.

The events of the following year were not noted for great excitement or striking evolutions. The popularity of General Boulanger began to wane. The Government moved steadily against him, and he was presently placed on the retired list of the army. He at once declared himself as a candidate for the Assembly, and announced his principles as "a protest against the impotence into which the Government and Parliament have fallen, and the necessity of upholding the national dignity and the integrity of French territory." He succeeded in gaining a seat in the Assembly, but his declamations in that body told against his own cause. It was noted that he had the fatal gift of speech, and that the "Men of Destiny" had always been silent. Therefore Boulanger was not a Man of Destiny!

It remained, however, for an absurd duel to prick the bubble of his fame and bring the swift collapse. For some words in debate uttered by the old barrister, M. Floquet, a challenge was sent and accepted, and the two men met with swords. To the astonishment of all France, the military hero, that had been and was to be, suffered himself to be stabbed with his adversary's sword, and gave no thrust in return. The result brought ridicule, against which no Dictator is able to stand. Rochefort summed it all up in *L'Intransigeant* by saying: "How wonderful! The youngest General in the army has let himself be pinked by a barrister nearly sixty years old!" It was more than the French could bear, and Boulanger lost his place as a revolutionary leader. He was presently afterwards expelled from the Assembly, and sent into exile in England.

The Republic had some cause to be gratified at the outcome. The nightmare might have settled more seriously if it had continued longer. The excitable character of the French people, and the immedicable wound which France had suffered on the sword of Germany, might well have furnished the furnace and fuel of a new combustion. But the assuaging waters of mere absurdity sufficed to put out the flame. Though General Boulanger continued to fulminate at intervals from the horizon, his figure gradually assumed the outline of an amusing puppet, rather than a threatening specter. The Presidency of Carnot was accepted as though there had been no illegality in its antecedents. The approach of the Centennial Anniversary of the Great Revolution called the attention of the French people away from Boulangism, and, indeed, from all forms of political animosity, to the contemplation of the really great history of France during the century past. It was evident that the year 1889 would satisfy with many forms of excitement the enthusiastic dispositions of the race, and would compensate with fête and spectacle for the absence of the clamor of war and political battle.

The coming of the Centennial Year had, indeed, been ardently expected. The nation quivered with the anticipated delights of the great anniversary which should commemorate its deliverance from Feudalism and the past. Everywhere during the years 1887 and 1888

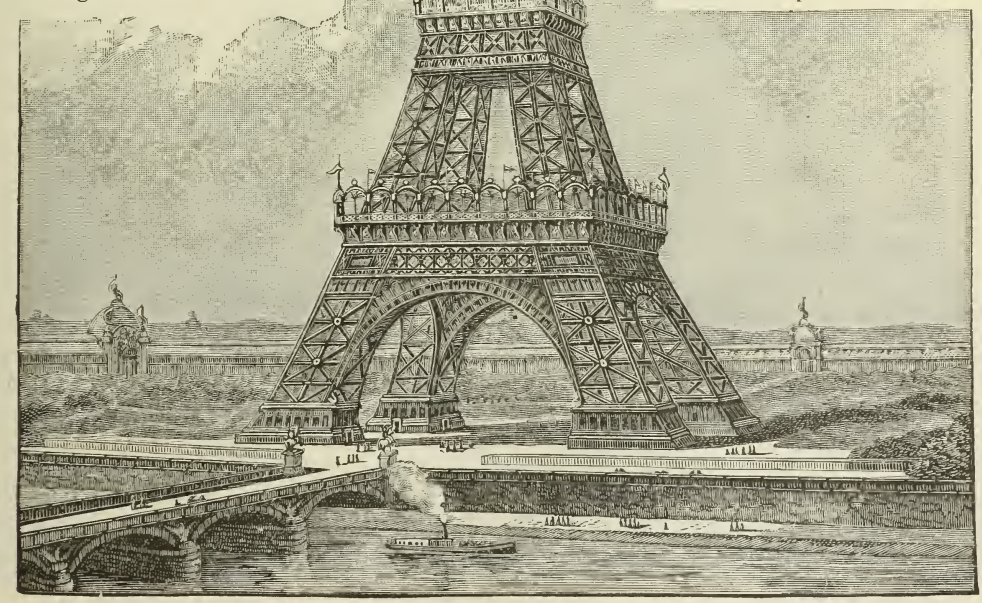


HARBOR OF MARSEILLES.

was heard the prophecy and the note of preparation. The Republic began to put on her beautiful garments. From Belfort to Brest, from the harbor of Marseilles to Calais, the country was alive with that peculiar excitement to which the French, more than any other people, are susceptible. Though France had not been the first to invent International Exhibitions of arts and industries, she had already been the most successful of all nations in bringing such displays to the acme of splendor and *éclat*. There is, in the nature of the French people, in the sociable disposition and vivacity which are the chief national characteristics, a peculiar fitness and faculty for the creation of magnificent expositions and spectacles of civic glory. By the beginning of the year, preparations were already well advanced for an International Centennial Exhibition in commemoration of the Revolution of 1789.

It may be doubted whether the republican form of government is so well fitted for the production and management of exhibitions of this kind as are Imperial and kingly administrations. The latter have the merit of concentration, and are less likely to be disturbed by partisan clamors than are more popular forms of government. It has always been evident to the Opposition that the party in power will put into its crest the glory of success which a great international display is likely to bring. And it is in the nature of the Opposition to desire the disgrace of the nation rather than the success of the party in power. It may be admitted, however, that this motive is, as we have already seen, less potential among the French than with the English-speaking nations. It is possible that the French Exposition of 1889 has lacked something of the peculiar magnificence of that Imperial show which was given under the patronage of the Second Empire in 1867. But, on the whole, the recent Centennial display at Paris may be regarded as the finest of its kind ever yet exhibited among the nations.

Descriptions of International Exhibitions have so greatly multiplied, and have been so many times repeated, that no detailed account will be demanded in this place of the Great Exposition of 1889. Like its predecessors, it has come and gone. The French capital has witnessed, in her streets and famous places, the congregation of many of the best representatives of the great peoples of the world, and the spreading out in her splendid pavilions of



EIFFEL TOWER.

the finest industrial and artistic products of mankind. The Eiffel Tower has carried to its summit, three hundred metres from the earth, the representatives of all nations; and from that sublimest height ever yet reached by the constructive skill of man, they have looked down upon that beautiful and audacious Paris, the pride and marvel of modern civilization. With them, in the day of the conclusion of this narrative, we may glance with satisfaction and high hope through the summer air around the far-reaching boundaries of this most beautiful land of lilies on the breast of Western Europe. May all her coming days be as radiant as this! May her hamlets and vineyards, from north to south, from the Jura to Finisterre, be overspanned through all the future with a sky as tranquil and a border as peaceful as the evening heaven and fathomless landscape of Millet's *Angelus!*



THE ANGELUS.

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Painted by Anton Von Werner.

THE SURRENDER AT SEDAN.

Etched by J. S. King.



Book Twenty-Fourth.

GERMANY.

CHAPTER CXLI.—NADIR OF THE FATHERLAND.

IT were hard to say whether Germany gained or lost by Waterloo. Certainly a great soldiery had been developed and great generalship evolved by the conflict. Certainly the Western frontier had again been established at the Rhine. Certainly the spirit of the German race was aroused from apathy by the shock of victorious battle, and the germs of nationality may have been scattered for future growth. But, for the rest, Germany inherited confusion from her triumph, and her second estate was for a long time scarcely better than the first.

For the spirit of French emancipation had gone abroad in Germany, only to be disappointed and to fall to the earth. During the Napoleonic wars a large part of the German people, particularly those included in the Confederation of the Rhine, had caught the infection of the French Revolution. It might well be said that the Treaty of Tilsit, of July, 1807, by which one-half of the Prussian territory was taken away, was the completion of humiliation. After that, the King and his Queen went away from the ruined kingdom on a visit to Alexander of Russia, and did not return to Berlin until 1809. And yet it is true that in these two melancholy years a greater work was accomplished for the regeneration of Germany—more effected towards the liberation and nationalization of the German race—than during the whole reign of Frederick William III., from the battle of Waterloo until his death. Then it was that, under the leadership of the Ministers Stein and Hardenberg, great reforms were undertaken, which were actually stopped short and brought to naught by the return of the King. Then it was that the Monarchy virtually said to the people: "Aid us in conquering the Conqueror, and we will set you free." During the next six years the Germans fought valiantly under the banners of Blücher, and carried those banners triumphantly to the plateau of Mont Saint Jean.

No sooner, however, was the victory achieved, no sooner had Prussia and the other German States recovered their autonomy, than the King, after the manner of monarchs, forgot his promises. Germany henceforth went begging for reform, and nationality was

indefinitely postponed. Not many spectacles have been presented in human history more humiliating than the outcreeping and reïnstatement of the brood of small kings when it was known that the Corsican was no longer abroad. The Congress at Vienna came, and gave its sanction. Then it was that each royal tinker set to work to repair his petty, antiquated throne to seat himself thereon, and to begin his reign in accordance with the beneficent principles promulgated by the Holy Alliance! The spirit of Madame Krüdener seemed to hover, well pleased, over Western Europe.

Nowhere were the bitter fruits of the great reäction in favor of the Middle Ages more perniciously displayed than in the new German Confederation. In some places the maxims of Feudalism were actually reädopted. The poor peasants of Mecklenburg were reduced to serfdom. In Hesse-Cassel a military order was issued by the Elector that the soldiers should wear powdered queues, *à la* the age of Louis XV. The shadow of the spectral Past once more fell across the landscape, and the ridiculous German princes flung themselves upon their faces, as if to cry out: "These be thy gods, O Israel!"

The Congress of Vienna did much to restore the map of Central Europe to its ancient outline. Lombardy and Venice fell to Austria; so also Illyria, Dalmatia, the Tyrol, Salzburg, and Galicia. Warsaw was transferred from Prussia to Russia. Posen, however, remained to Prussia. Westphalia and the Provinces on the Lower Rhine were also included in the Prussian dominion, and the enlargement was continued by the annexation of a part of Saxony, Swedish Pomerania, and the old archbishoprics of Mayence, Trèves, and Cologne. East Friesland went to Hanover, and the latter was advanced from a dukedom to a kingdom. Mecklenburg, Oldenburg, and Weimar became grand duchies. Frankfort, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck regained their freedom as independent municipalities. As to society, the ancient order was restored, with the exception of the free nobles and the priests, who were not again established in their former privileges.

In the meantime, however, a spirit of Union had appeared among the people. The dream of Nationality had gone forth among the German race. The idea of the revival of the Old Empire again took possession of the Teutonic mind; but it was soon seen that such a project was impossible. The position which Prussia herself had now taken made the scheme of restoration impracticable. The ancient condition had passed away. Of the fully three hundred petty States which had been component parts of the Empire at its dissolution, only thirty-nine now remained, and these were destined to be still further reduced by the extinction of many. The demand of the German race for unity was, therefore, doomed to denial and disappointment. The German Diet, composed of representatives from a multitude of small principalities, each jealous of the other, each anxious to retain its own sovereignty, could not be expected to promote the union of all under a common form. The difficulty confronted the Ministers at Vienna, and it was seen by them that something must be done to meet the will of the German States and nations. A scheme of Confederation was accordingly prepared, under the direction of Prince Metternich, and was so contrived as to give the leadership to Austria, throwing around the other German States the loose band of an agreement to act in concert against any foreign foe. The general effect was to produce in Germany what is called a *Staatenbund*, or loose Confederacy, and under this imperfect form of general government the German nations were to continue for nearly half a century.

At the beginning, the new Confederation promised, through the Diet, many of the reforms and improvements with which the German people had now become acquainted, and for which they clamored. It was agreed that a system of tariff legislation for all the States in common should be prepared; that a common currency should be used; that a postal system should be provided, and that many other conditions of progress and improvement should be introduced into the administration. But none of these pledges were fulfilled. Some of the States, among which Prussia was the most notable example, made laudable efforts to bring in the reforms which had been caught from the infection of the French Revolution. Thus, for instance, the Zollverein or Tariff Union, promoted by Prussia,

was at length accepted as a basis of a commercial system among many of the German States; but for the rest, little was accomplished in the way of constitutional reforms or encouragement to national unity.

On the other side, a lamentable amount of work was done in the revival of old abuses and the reïmposition of ancient fetters on the people. In one thing the German princes were agreed, and that was the maintenance of their prerogatives against all proclamation and defense of popular rights. The effect was discouraging in the last degree. The German Diet was composed in such manner as to make reform impossible. Even where the form of a representative government was preserved, so plain a condition as the right of suffrage was denied. The members of the legislative bodies of many of the States were actually appointed by the king or duke; and, even when so appointed, their commissions made them the representatives of only a single class or party among the people. The Diet was forbidden to make any change in the constitution, or to carry any reformatory measure except by a unanimous vote. The system, as of old, seemed to have been devised for the special purpose of redelivering the German States, bound with withes and thongs, into the custody of the Middle Ages. The German people, who had hoped so much, beginning now to consider thoughtfully the situation in which they had been placed as the result of all their sacrifices, readily perceived that they had been resold into the ancient political bondage by those benign rulers who were going to govern the world in accordance with the doctrines of Christianity, as interpreted by the Holy Alliance. It was clear that, in the language of Lord Byron, "reviving thralldom" had become "the patched-up idol of enlightened days."

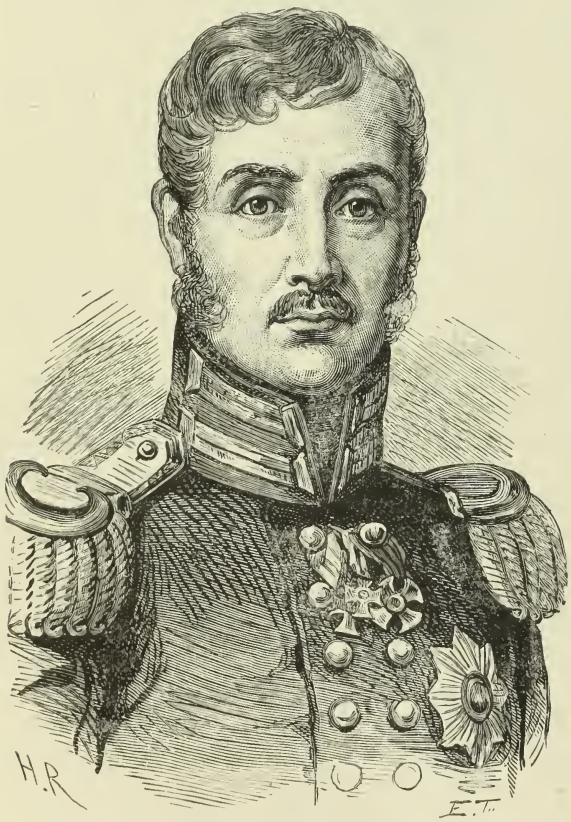
Another fact was equally patent, and that was, that the deathless principles enunciated by the leaders of the French Revolution had gone abroad to make the tour of Europe and the world. The audacious ideas which had found expression in the new birth of France, made their way into the German universities, and the students took fire under the inspiration of freedom. On the 18th of October, 1817, a great convention or "bund" of the German students was held at the old castle of Wartburg, where Luther had been concealed after his escape from the Diet. There were sown the seeds which, in the harvest-time to come, should bring forth the liberation and unity of Germany.

The reäctionists were greatly alarmed at these proceedings, and a Congress was held at Carlsbad, with a view to counteracting the revolutionary tendencies of the times. An act was passed prohibiting the formation of societies among the students of the universities. A severe censorship was established over the German press, and committees were appointed to attend the lectures of the professors in the universities, and to take notes of what they said! The most brilliant young men of Germany were put under the ban, and many, in order to save themselves from imprisonment, left the Fatherland forever. So cruel a system of espionage and police was established that the people suffered more from the present tyranny than they had done a century before.

In all these things the student of history will be able to discover some of the profound and beneficent principles upon which human society is founded—some of the laws by which its movements are governed and directed. To the casual observer it would seem that the Napoleonic invasions of Germany, scattering destruction to right and left, carving with the sword the very heart and life of the race, and trampling the residue underfoot, even in the ancient capital of the German Empire, were the greatest of evils. But the advent of the Corsican was really the coming of a beneficent but cruel evangel. He drew after him a tremendous plowshare that turned up the fallow soil, long soaked with the cold rains of the Middle Ages. In came the sunlight and the air. True enough, all manner of wild weeds and brambles sprang in the first years from the uptorn earth; but fecundity came with the violence, and blossoms and fruit-bearing afterwards. The spirit of the German race was agitated into a new life. It sought henceforth to expand, to spread its wings, to rise above ancient prejudices and the evils of localism to a higher view and concept of human liberty and of the glory of the Fatherland.

In so far as history divides itself into epochs,

we here enter a period of about thirty years of reäction. It was one of the most deplorable in the history of Germany. The people constantly perceived with increasing clearness that personal government was established over them, and that all of the interests of German civilization were thereby impeded or turned into unnatural channels. It could but be known also that in the Franco-Prussian provinces, which had been taken away from German authority, a new idea of human government had been introduced, and that the people of those



FREDERICK WILLIAM III.

districts were correspondingly more enlightened and happy. In the German States there was a constant understruggle against the princes, who broke their pledges, and retained their authority by means of pitiful devices intended to defeat the public will. Even in those cases where constitutions were granted, the cup of promise was broken at the lips. Nassau, Weimar, Bavaria, Baden, and Würtemberg went through the forms of instituting constitutional systems of government; but the rulers of those countries were careful that the substance of power should remain with themselves, and that only the husks of freedom should be delivered to the people. In only one respect could it be said that Germany gained aught during the reäctionary epoch which we are here considering. Though the governments were absurd and despotic, the bloody traces of the Napoleonic wars were at length obliterated. The German industries revived, and a measure of peace afforded opportunity to restore the wasted energies of the nation.

This is the period covered by the reign of that Frederick William III. for whom the Corsican had had so great contempt. During the larger part of his reign he kept close to the side of Czar Alexander, and after the death of that sovereign, Frederick renewed the alliance with Nicholas. It was an age of Russo-Prussian intercourse and sympathy. The King of Prussia belonged by mind and method to the past. He set himself firmly against every reformatory movement, and showed more strength in suppressing by force the liberal agitations which appeared from time to time than in any other part of his policy. The Government during his reign showed complete incapacity to apprehend the condition of affairs, or to appreciate the will and wants of the people. Until 1830 the retrogressive policy of Prince Metternich was followed almost as assiduously in Prussia as in Austria. Frederick William III. and his Government were drawn in the wake of the Austrian ship of State, laboring through the turbid waters.

At the latter date, however, the growth of enlightened sentiment had proceeded so far in Prussia as to compel a breaking away from Austria. Then it was that the great Customs-Union, called the Zollverein, of which we have already spoken, was adopted, under the leadership of the Prussian Government, and was accepted by a great part of Germany. The movement in favor of the Tariff Union had begun in Würtemberg and Bavaria as early as 1828. In those countries the evils of localism and disunion had become so great as to compel the adoption of some measure promotive of a national interest. Each district had hitherto been obliged to maintain its own system of taxation, its own custom-houses, its

own local laws. Against this confusion of methods and distraction of interests, the Zollverein was invented, in the belief that it would tend to the production of a political as well as commercial unification of the German peoples. All of the States, with the exception of Austria, entered into the compact, and a beneficial influence was at once shed abroad by the material unity which was thus attained.



BATTLE AT THE BARRICADES IN BRUSSELS.
After the painting by Wappers.

During the next ten years, the recuperation of the country was more rapid than in the third decade of the century; but the premonitory symptoms of revolution were already seen, and it was only a question of time when the decree of history would prevail against the stupidity of administrations.

Already, in 1830, a great excitement was produced in the German States by the news of the popular and successful revolution in France, whereby Charles X. was overthrown and sent into exile. In Brunswick an insurrection broke out by sympathy with the French revolt, and Duke Charles of that province was driven from the Electoral throne. A similar drama was enacted in Saxony and Hesse-Cassel; and in Hanover the office of viceroy was given to the popular duke, Ernest August. In all four of these provinces new constitutions were adopted in accordance with the principles and wishes of the German people. Symptoms of a similar movement were discernible in the more powerful kingdoms of Prussia and Austria. It was evident that the Germans of all the States were virtually in accord in their political sentiments and aspirations; but the reigning representatives of Hohenzollern and Hapsburg were enabled, with the aid of the German Diet, to

suppress the movement for liberty in the two most important kingdoms held by the German race.

Nor was it long until Ernest August of Hanover forgot his liberal professions, went over to the party of the monarchical reäction, and became an agent in the abrogation of the very constitution which he had accepted as the basis of his government. Louis I. of Bavaria



LEOPOLD I., KING OF THE BELGIANS.
After the painting of Winne.

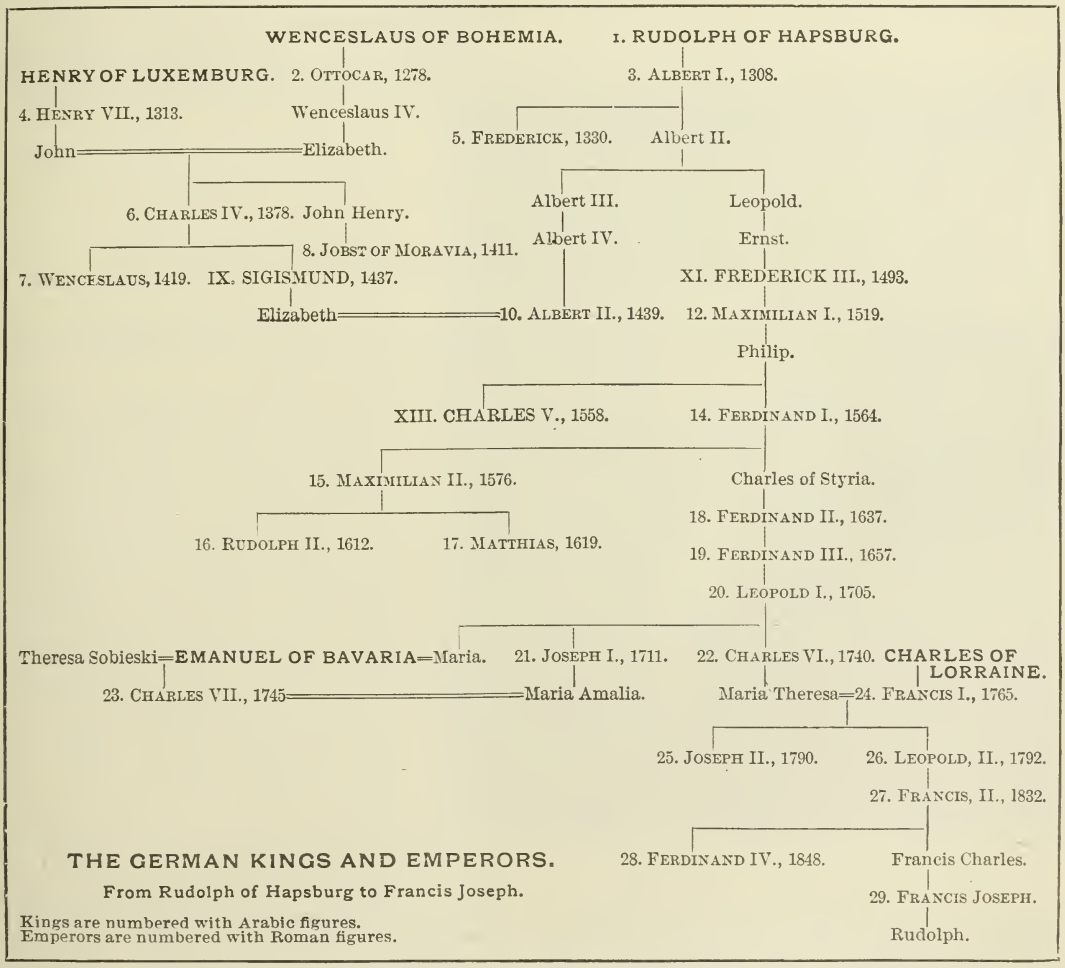
followed with an aggravation of the same offensive policy. All of his pledges were forgotten or renounced. He became as absolute as any Hapsburg could desire, and Jesuitical enough to please the chief of the Propaganda. While these forces were in full tide, the great men of Germany went to the rear. Von Stein, Gneisenau, Wilhelm Von Humboldt, went into obscurity, to make room for absurd personages—a dull brood of parvenus and hypocrites—with no more abilities than were necessary to croak the shibboleths of despotism. By such means was the ancient order fostered and upheld in a large part of Germany.

Of all the popular movements which were reflected into foreign States by the French Revolution of 1830, the most noted political revolt was that which broke out in Belgium. To this great and salutary insurrection we have already had occasion to refer in the history of Great Britain. The Belgic Revolution was clearly of the French contagion. It had happened that in the Netherlands the public debt, entailed by the Napoleonic wars, had been laid very unequally on Holland and Belgium, at the time when the Kingdom of the Netherlands was constituted. That Kingdom had, indeed, become a Kingdom of Holland, with a provincial attachment—called Belgium.

As a consequence of this injustice, the Belgian industries were severely taxed in the interest of the national debt, and the people at length grew restless under the imposition of the burden. In May of 1830 an effort was made to put down the popular discontent by enacting a new law for the press, whereby the free expression of opinion was prohibited. For two or three months this additional act of absolutism was borne with tolerable patience; but on the 25th of August a violent insurrection broke out in Brussels, and an address was sent to the King asking for the correction of abuses. While negotiations were pending on this demand between the Crown Prince of Holland and the Deputies of Belgium, the revolutionary sentiment gathered still greater head, and the cry of independence was raised in the streets of Brussels. The Confederation was at once invoked, and King Frederick William hurriedly convened the States-General. At the same time he sent forward an armed force to aid in the suppression of the revolt in the Belgian capital.

But Brussels thought no more of submitting. The streets of the city were barricaded by the patriots, who, on the 23d of Septem-

ber, were attacked by an army of fourteen thousand men. But there was no longer any shrinking from the issue. A provisional government was established in Brussels. On the 10th of November a National Congress was convened, and the independence of Belgium formally proclaimed. The revolutionary party, however, chose to adhere to the forms of monarchy. Here, again, the influence of the Revolution in France, by which the Citizen King had just been raised to the throne, was felt in the analogous movement in Belgium. The House of Orange was forever excluded from the throne, just as the Elder Bourbons had been expelled from the throne of France. William, King of the Netherlands, made a strenuous effort to uphold his authority, and a conference of the Powers was held in London to determine the course which should be taken with respect to the Belgian Rebellion. The Conference took up the question, declared an armistice, and ended by acknowledging the independence of Belgium. It appeared that the hovering spirit of Madame Krüdener was no longer to dominate the European States. After some brief delays, Belgium became an independent kingdom, and the crown was conferred on Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, who, in July, 1831, was acknowledged as king, with the title of Leopold I.



If, at this epoch, we should compare the two principal German Powers, Austria and Prussia, we should find in the latter, notwithstanding the reäctionary and illiberal character of the Government, more evidences of possible enlightenment and progress than in the former. Frederick William III. might well be regarded as a paragon compared with Francis II., the Austrian Emperor. It might almost be said that Austria, under his

rule, was impervious to every principle of progress. She, perhaps, of all the States of Europe, was least affected by the French Revolution of 1830. The insurrections of that year did indeed reach the Austrian boundaries, and in Lombardy the revolt was suppressed only by an army of thirty thousand men. In the Polish Revolution of 1831, Francis sympathized with his friend the Czar. Though professing a strict neutrality, it could but be noted that when a division of the Polish army, routed in battle, was driven into the Austrian territory, the Emperor immediately ordered the disarmament and detention of the corps. At the same time a body of Russian troops, entering Austria under almost identical circumstances, was permitted to go on unmolested with the campaign against Poland. This, indeed, has been regarded by historians as the most important transaction of the last five years of the reign of Francis I. The decline of the House of Hapsburg gained a further impetus in the transfer of the Austrian crown, in 1835, to the head of Ferdinand I., the half-witted son of Emperor Francis. It was a fitting thing that the old principle of hereditary descent which had been followed since the days of Rudolph and Wenceslaüs of Bohemia, should be thus exemplified in its practical application.

CHAPTER CXLII.—FREDERICK WILLIAM IV.

WHILE the Hapsburg crown thus sank to the marshlands of imbecility, the Hohenzollern diadem was raised at length into a more salubrious atmosphere. In June of 1840, Frederick William III. died, and was succeeded by his son with the title of FREDERICK WILLIAM IV. The Prussian people had already been indulging in odious comparisons between the temper and talents of the Crown Prince and those of the late King. The former had risen high in popular favor, and his accession was welcomed throughout Prussia as an auspicious event. Public opinion ratified and approved the indication of heredity by which Frederick IV. was raised to power. He came to the throne, moreover, at a time when a higher expression of the national life was possible. Railroads had now been introduced into Prussia. The Zollverein had come into free operation. The new methods of the Customs-Union were aided by the improved means of communication and the opened channels of commerce. All these obvious benefits had tended strongly to fan the desire for a new national life, and Frederick William inherited the advantages of the situation. The hopes of the German Liberals were kindled anew. The sovereign was recognized as a scholar and a gentleman, whose culture was mingled with sympathy for the people.

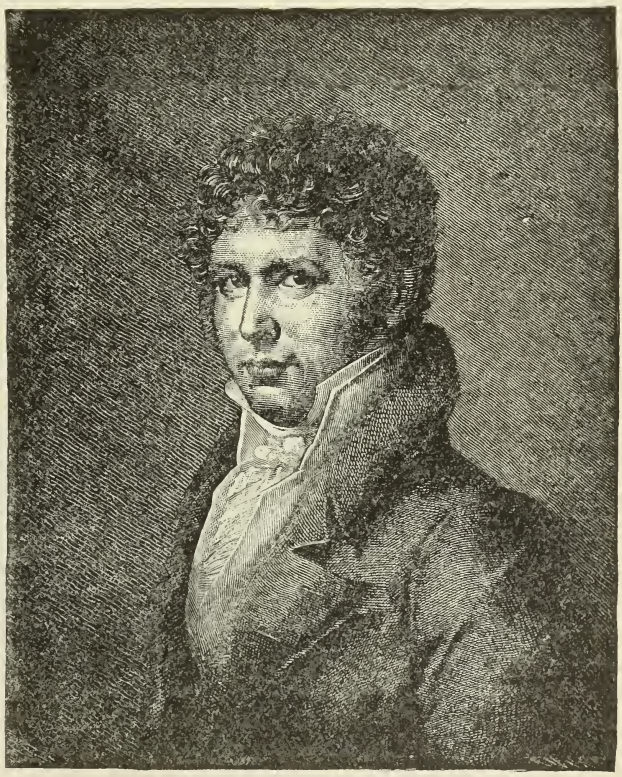
His reign, therefore, began under favorable auspices. One of his first acts seemed to justify the highest expectations. He published a general amnesty for political offenses, and refused to discriminate against the German Liberals. The political prisoners were pardoned out of jail, and many of them restored to their offices. The learned professors who, during the preceding reign, had been deposed from their chairs in the universities for teaching a modicum of political and social truth to their students, were also freed from the ban and restored to their places. The celebrated brothers Grimm, who, with others, had been expelled from the University of Göttingen, were welcomed by the King to Berlin. Better even than this was the action of Frederick William with respect to one of the noblest of the German race. He took into his friendship and counsel the famous Alexander Von Humboldt, a genius as great as the nineteenth century has produced, thus doing honor to his reign by showing honor to the most distinguished scientist of the age. He also settled in a satisfactory manner the disgraceful struggle which had been going on between the Government and the Catholic Church.

The pacification, however, was of short

duration. Four years after the accession of Frederick William the country was greatly agitated by a sort of religious manifesto, published by Father Ronge, who proposed that a National Church, to be known as the German Catholic, somewhat rationalistic in its constitution, should take the place of both the Romish and Protestant establishments. Ronge had become disgusted with certain miracles which were said to have been performed at Trèves by the agency of the "Holy Coat," the alleged garment of the Christ. He attacked the sham marvels which the priests had authenticated, and found a ready response from the people. His followers became numerous, and the King suffered alarm lest Church and State alike might be shattered by Ronge's new form of Protestantism. The movement came to be regarded by the Government in the light of a political agitation, and was treated accordingly. The work of Father Ronge was checked with a strong hand, but not until the liberal priest had acquired great influence throughout Prussia.

The events to which we have just referred were the first to reveal the shallowness of Frederick William's pretensions of liberalism. He had not been five years on the throne until a reäction in his principles and policy was painfully manifested. It came to be seen that, after all, the King's idea of a "Christian State" might find acceptance even with the Holy Alliance. It was perceived that his reformatory ideas extended no further than better methods of administration, and did not touch the deep-seated errors and abuses of absolutism. While the King conceded that the Provincial Diets, which had been established by his father, should meet annually, no additional liberty was granted on the side of the suffrage, or with respect to the freedom of deliberation in the Diets.

After these years, the preliminary good disposition of Frederick William IV. gave no further sign. He refused to favor the adoption of a new Prussian Constitution, and it became evident that political reform under his reign could extend no further than such politic measures as were likely to strengthen his own hold on the throne. A new censorship of the press followed in the train. Resort was had again to arbitrary punishments for liberal professors and school-masters who gave their own thoughts freely to their pupils. Even the judges who chanced in their decisions to go athwart the views of the Government began to be deposed by illegal processes. The King's popularity, resting as it did upon the vague promises and indefinite hopes which he, as Crown Prince, had held out to the people, and which had been encouraged after his accession, rapidly fell away, and the Prussian Liberals saw that their favorite political reforms must be sought through some other channel than the good-will of the King.



ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT.

What is here said of the course of events in Prussia may be repeated for the condition of affairs in most of the other German States. In Austria the political reäction had worked greater hardships even than in Prussia. We have seen how, in that country, Emperor Francis II. was succeeded, in 1835, by the

respectable idiot Ferdinand IV. in the Imperial line, otherwise Ferdinand I. of Austria. Under his reign nothing could be expected except mediæval politics and Jesuitical religion. Into the Austrian dominions, however, the principles of reform, having their birth and baptism west of the Rhine, began to make their way. The Italian subjects of Ferdinand, in Lombardy, had to be repressed by force. The Hungarians became restless, and were overawed in like manner. The people of the Slavonian borders gave signs of insurrection in the cause of reform, but were suppressed. In Bavaria, in Hesse-Cassel, and Baden, the ministers of the reäctionary school were boldly confronted by a Liberal Opposition, and in some crises they held their places with difficulty against the popular demands. Indeed, in every quarter of Germany there were unmistakable premonitions of the coming struggle between the existing forms of government and the enlightened instincts of a rising citizenship.

Returning to Prussia as our point of view, we find everywhere the evidences of a growing distrust of the King and his Administration. It was perceived by the people that those rights which they claimed, which they had learned to define, and which had been denied to them under repeated petitions, must be gained and maintained by some more forceful policy. The pressure upon the Government became constantly more heavy and persistent. By the year 1847 the King, who was not wanting in political discernment, saw the necessity of some movement to popularize his rule. The first concession was made with respect to a National Diet. It was determined to summon at Berlin such a body, to be composed of delegates from the various provincial Diets of Prussia. On the coming together of the Assembly, a spirit of great moderation was shown by the representatives, and the Diet made haste to give sincere assurances of loyalty to the existing Monarchy, and to the King as its head. Frederick William had taken care that in choosing representatives by provinces, that is, *territorially*, the Feudal principle should be observed, as against the democratic method of a popular election.

It could hardly be expected that a body so chosen under the auspices of the Government itself, and by a plan in no wise republican, would do any daring thing in the way of reform, or be regarded as a menace to the existing order. Nevertheless, some of the utterances of the Diet, especially such as related to the substitution of elections for territorial appointment as the origin of membership in the Assembly, gave alarm to the King, and he in his turn proceeded to announce in a most royal manner his own claims to the crown, his prerogatives as a sovereign, whose rights were derived from on high instead of from the people of the earth, and his determination to uphold at all hazards the ancient and immemorial usages of the Government. There was thus a dead-lock between the old-time monarchical absolutism and the reformatory movement. As a consequence, the project for reform in the Diet came to naught.

It was the peculiarity of the second quarter of the nineteenth century in the history of France and Germany, that the political agitations in the former found a quick and sympathetic echo in the latter. The mind of Germany was attuned to liberty, and the chords of the German harp vibrated by induction when that of France was struck by the swift hand of the Revolutionist. So it had been in 1830. So it was again in 1848. In that year, as we have already seen, the Republicans of Paris rose against the Citizen King, Louis Philippe, and drove him and his court and dynasty from the kingdom. The Republic was once more proclaimed, and the mercurial nature of the French trembled with enthusiasm. Swiftly the news flew to the Rhine. Swiftly it penetrated Würtemberg, and Baden, and Bavaria. Swiftly it pervaded Rhenish Prussia, Westphalia, and Hanover. Swiftly it overpassed the mountain-tops, and flew across the plains of Brandenburg and Posen, to the borders of Poland and the banks of the Niemen. Throughout Germany the great event at Paris was hailed with delight by the people, and heard with dismay by the rulers.

A belief in the possibility of a like political emancipation for the German race took possession of the public mind, and the sensation was profound from border to border. The people had now come to believe that little dependence could be placed in the quasi-pledges and *double-ententes* of their kings. The first great movement reached its climax

at a conventien held at Manheim, the old capital of the Palatinate, in Baden. Four demands were here formulated in the name of the people. These were, first, freedom of the press; second, trial by jury; third, national armies for the defense of the Fatherland; and fourth, national representation. The times were ripe for the work done by the convention. The articles became the charter of the German Liberals, and the latter went forth everywhere triumphant. Within a week a new Ministry, in harmony with the people had been constituted in almost all the smaller States. King Louis of Bavaria, whose policy had been to distract the attention of his subjects from their political rights by making Munich a center of art, was obliged to resign his crown in favor of his son Maximilian. The popular clamor for political emancipation rose high. Austria was shaken. In Vienna an insurrection broke out, and Prince Metternich, who had been virtually the Austrian Government ever since the overthrow of Napoleon, and the Apostle of the Reäction to all Europe, was driven from power. Hungary quivered with a new life, and a Liberal Cabinet responded to the national demand.



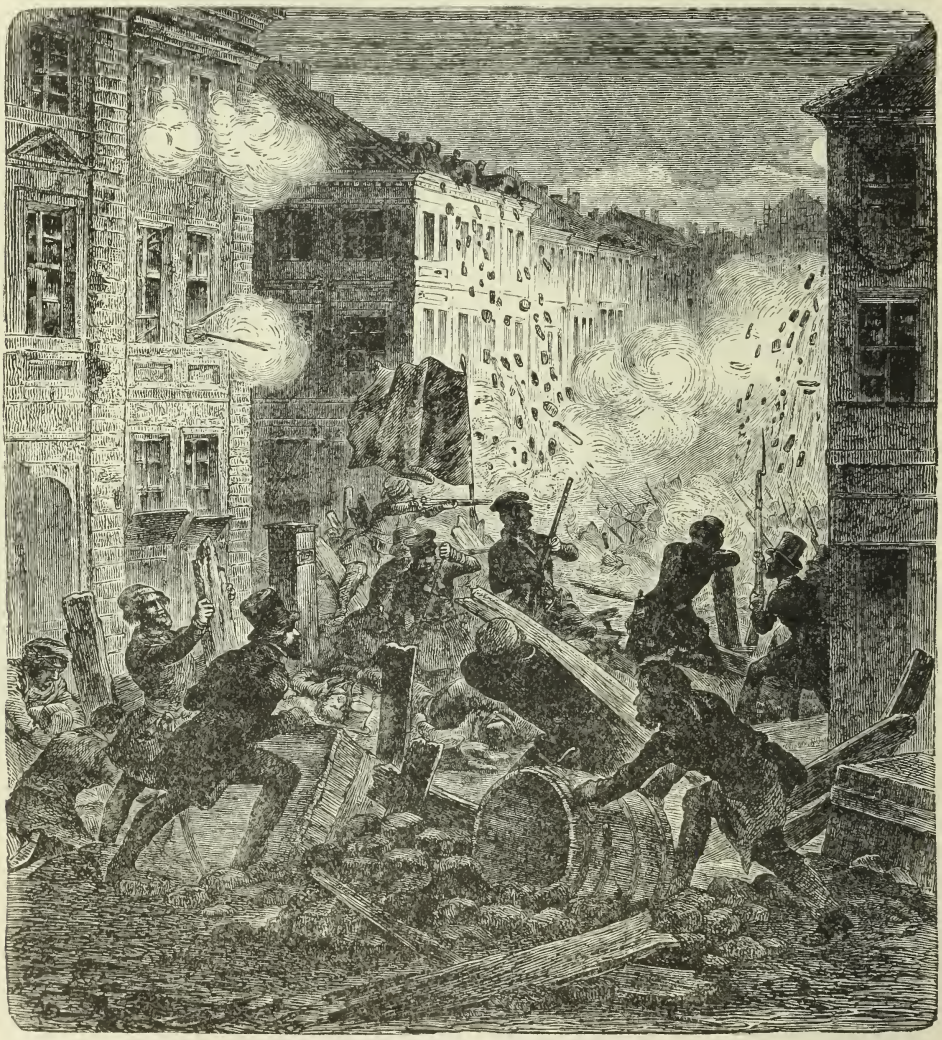
PRINCE METTERNICH.

In Prussia the agitation was still more far-reaching and profound. The people rose as one man and demanded their rights. Frederick William, whose mind was as penetrating as it was witty, perceived the peril of the situation, and yielded with a sort of royal grace to the swiftly coming storm. On the 18th of March, 1848, he issued a proclamation announcing his purpose to favor the creation of a constitutional form of government and a general reform of the existing institutions of Prussia. Just at this point, however, the excited people, in a half rebellious mood, rushed through the streets of Berlin and came into conflict with the soldiers, who fired upon the crowd, killing several citizens. The excitement became intense; the people, gathering up their dead, carried the lifeless bodies in ghastly procession before the King's palace, and compelled him to look upon the spectacle. The Revolution triumphed without further bloodshed, and Frederick William, wiser than most monarchs under the circumstances, took the Black-and-red Imperial banner, rode through the crowded streets, and took an oath to grant the demands of his subjects. He also openly espoused the principles of the German Liberals who were aiming to unify the Fatherland, and published a proclamation to the effect that henceforth Prussia was merged into Germany. These well-timed concessions on the part of the King produced the desired effect, and in a few weeks the tumult of the people fell to a calm.

From this moment forth the struggle for the national unity of the German peoples began in earnest. The conviction spread that only by such means could the Fatherland be rescued from the chaos which had supervened in all the German countries. In such a state of

affairs, and such a condition of the public mind, the hopes of the people turned naturally to the old Imperial Diet, which was now convened at Frankfort to consider the condition of the various countries represented. It was an interesting—almost an amusing—spectacle to see this antiquated body falling in with the overwhelming current of German sentiment, before which the great questions of the hour were debated.

Now it was that the popular impulses rose as high as the delegated body, and the latter at once decided that a new National Assembly should be constituted on the basis of universal suffrage, the apportionment being one representative for every fifty thousand electors.



THE BERLIN INSURRECTION OF 1848.

ment, floating with the tide, and trying to attune its mediæval jargon to the language of liberty. On the 1st of March, 1848, a resolution was passed by the Diet inviting the various States to send representatives to Frankfort, to discuss the best means of attaining German unity. The invitation was accepted, and more than five hundred delegates came together in a sort of preliminary Parliament. These provisions being made, the preliminary Parliament appointed a Committee of Fifty, *ad interim*, to await the result of the national elections. About this time a revolt broke out in Baden, which had to be suppressed by force of arms. It was noted in the interval that every possible hindrance was thrown in the way of the popular elections, and that the Governments of Prussia and Austria were still,

at heart, in league with the past. But the elections were held, and representatives were duly chosen for the new National Assembly.

In the meantime, a truly democratic party, under the leadership of Frederick Karl Hecker, had been formed, and the proclamation of a Republic was demanded by this faction. A proposition to this effect had been presented in the preliminary Parliament, but was voted down. A second resolution, however, offered by the Republicans, declaring the sovereignty of the *People*, was triumphantly carried. Schleswig and Holstein were recognized as a part of Germany, and participated in the national election. It was found that the Committee of Fifty, sole surviving relic of the ancient order, had little to do, unless it were to assist the Imperial Diet at its own funeral!

Great was the expectation produced in the German States by these proceedings. The mass of the people heartily approved of the course which events seemed now to take of their own direction. It was noted that the enthusiasm of the populace was great in the work of the elections. The leading men of the German race, to the number of six hundred, were chosen as representatives. Such was their reputation, intelligence, learning, and patriotism that the destiny of any State and country might well have been committed to their keeping. Only one thing was lacking to complete the qualifications of the National Assembly for one of the greatest acts of modern history, and that one thing was—*experience.* Political experience was wanting. The history of the Fatherland and its people had flowed into such shape as to produce greatness of mind and heart, will, resolution, patriotic purpose, every quality of intellect and soul requisite for such an emergency, but had not given experience.

It was on the 18th of May, 1848, that the National Parliament assembled in St. Paul's Church, in the city of Frankfort. Everything betokened a speedy regeneration of German institutions. The whole body politic moved forward steadily to the accomplishment of this result. The event showed, however, that the German representatives who came together in the great Parliament had little skill in the usages of a free political life. There were found in the body some of the most learned professors from the German universities. Deep-minded philosphers were there, talkative journalists, earnest students of history, patriots of every class and calling. All were inspired with great thoughts, and directed by earnest purposes. But the speculative spirit triumphed over practicality. The individualism of the German mind asserted itself most strongly. Each thinker would fain construct a system based on philosophical concepts rather than on the current imperfect conditions of human society. To each, the views of the other, failing to accord with his own philosophy, seemed absurd. It was clear that Hecker and Struve, and the other political optimists of the day, had a stock of patriotism greatly in excess of their patience. The debates in the Assembly became interminable. The philosophy of government must be discussed; abstract principles of truth must be discovered; the ultimate theory of civil society must be propounded and elucidated

Meanwhile, the people outside and beyond began to grow restless. In the hope of hurrying the lagging feet of history, the partisans of various opinions, particularly of the more radical sort, began to organize political clubs, and presently took up arms against the very Government which seemed to be so sincerely engaged in the endeavor to reform its methods and itself. The insurgents gathered head at Freiburg and in the Black Forest; but they were soon overthrown and driven into Switzerland.

The First National Parliament of Germany was, in many respects, the counterpart of the French States-General of 1789. Many of the distinguished and learned men who composed the Parliament may well remind the student of history of those enthusiastic and strong patriots who assembled at Versailles to redeem France from the intolerable dominion of Feudalism. The phenomena of faction also appeared alike in both the French and the German National Assembly. In the latter body, on the 28th of June, 1848, a resolution was adopted abolishing the old Imperial Diet. Shortly afterwards an act was passed instituting a provisional Central Government, and over this the Archduke John of Austria was chosen as Vicar-General of the Empire. The theory of the new frame of government

was that a Directory of three members should be constituted by the German States, subject to the approval of the Assembly, and that a Ministry should be appointed whose responsibility should lie to the Parliament. Over these bodies the Imperial Vicar should preside as Chief Executive.

While this elaborate scheme was in process of creation the debates went on, and the fact was presently revealed that under all there lay a deep-seated antagonism of opinion on the fundamental question, whether the German States should henceforth be republican in form or should continue monarchical, as they had been before. Along this line the people were divided, and the legislators also. The scheme of government provided by the Assembly under which Archduke John received the appointment of Vicar-General was antagonized by Austria and Prussia, the two strongest of the representative States. Each, no doubt, was anxious to secure the unity of Germany, *provided* that unity could be reached under Prussian or Austrian leadership; but each was equally unwilling to be merged in some general power of a larger growth.

While all of these questions were still open and vital to the German people, a popular revolution broke out in the Peninsular States of Schleswig and Holstein. The question was now on whether the peoples of these two provinces should henceforth fall, by their political and ethnic preferences, with the German or the Danish nation. It was in these countries that the race-watershed was found, on the one side of which the streams flowed into the Teutonic, and on the other into the Scandinavian Seas. The ostensible object of the revolt which we are now considering was to throw off the Danish yoke and secure the political independence of Schleswig-Holstein. Germany became profoundly interested in the conflict. Volunteers flocked from the Fatherland to the standards of the insurgents, and the Danish army was driven into Jutland proper. The movement began to assume the character of a conquest. Prussia was authorized by the Confederation to act against Denmark, and a Prussian army was accordingly sent into the peninsula. On the other side, Russia was favorable to the Danes, and proceeded so far as to blockade the German ports in the Baltic. At this juncture, England put forth her hand for mediation and peace, and Frederick William was obliged to agree to an armistice of seven months, dating from the 26th of August.

The new Government, or form of a government, which had just been constituted by the National Assembly at Frankfort, was greatly offended at the armistice. In that Government the popular will was reflected. Though Prussia had just been authorized to prosecute the war in Schleswig in the name of the Confederation, and to act for that Power, a disposition was at once shown to disallow the armistice, which was regarded as a humiliation to Germany. The pressure became so great that the Ministry was obliged to resign; but a new Cabinet could not be formed, and the former Ministers were restored. The Government was authorized to proceed to the establishment of peace, if the same could be had on honorable terms. Such, however, was the popular discontent, especially among the Republicans and Radicals, that the Government was shaken, and a tumult occurred in Frankfort in which two of the representatives were killed. St. Paul's Cathedral, in which the Parliament was in session, was stormed by the rioters, and many other acts of violence were committed; but the event was unfortunate in the last degree to the cause of popular liberty and political reform. The scenes in Frankfort furnished an excuse to the German kings and princes for a more rigorous and repressive policy with respect to the Republican agitation. Both Austria and Prussia found reason in the things done to assume an attitude of half-hostility to the popular movement in all its forms, and the Revolution, by its own excesses, was obliged to descend from victory to supplication.

This is the epoch in which the mighty effort—originated in France and extended into other countries—for the regeneration of society, began to agitate almost all the peoples of Europe. The sheet-lightnings of revolution flashed up all around the horizon. Rebellions broke out in Lombardy, Hungary, and Bohemia. Vienna herself was shaken by the social earthquake. It appeared that the Austrian Empire was about to fall to pieces. In the capital, one riot followed another. Count Latour, a former Minister of War, was seized and

hanged to a lamp-post. The Revolutionary party gained possession of the city. The Hungarian patriot, Louis Kossuth, who, at the head of his people, was leading them on the high-road to independence, began a march to the Austrian capital, but was met and defeated by the Croats, under their Ban, Jellachich. Meanwhile, General Windischgratz, commander of the Austrian army, undertook to recapture Vienna from the Revolutionists. He and Jellachich formed a junction, and then bombarded and took the city. Military rule was established, and several of the leaders of the revolt were tried by court-martial and shot.



HUNGARIAN VOLUNTEERS.
After the painting of A. von Pettenkofen.

The Hungarian Revolution, however, rising to the full tide, had swept on to a complete success. Kossuth was placed at the head of a provisional government, as Dictator of Hungary. The Hungarians were almost unanimous for the Revolution. An army of a hundred thousand patriots was raised, equipped, and disciplined. Several able generals, notably Arthur Görgey, and the Polish commanders, Bem and Dembinski, appeared, and the year 1848 closed auspiciously for the cause of Hungarian liberty.

No sooner, however, had the Austrians under Windischgratz succeeded in restoring order in Vienna, than they began a formidable invasion of Hungary. It was not in the nature of the House of Hapsburg to see so large a part of its ancient dominions torn away by a republican revolution. In the first months of 1849 a powerful Austrian army was thrown forward to subvert, by force, the new order of things which Kossuth and his associates had instituted. The Hungarians boldly met the invasion, and, during the spring, won several brilliant victories. The Austrians were beaten back, and Ferdinand was obliged

to appeal to his friend, the Czar, for aid. The autocrat of all the Russias very gladly entered the contest, and sent forward to the help of Austria an army of a hundred and forty thousand men. Hungary, in her dire extremity, called on England and France for assistance; but called in vain. With a heroism worthy of endless eulogium, she struggled on alone against the mighty forces which were closing around her. Her sons rose to her support from every quarter, and flying detachments of Hungarian volunteers were seen flying across the plains under the inspiration of battle and independence. But the cause was hopeless. Patriotism might not prevail



ARTHUR GÖRGEY.

against the irresistible pressure of the Austrian and Russian armies. By the beginning of summer, all rational hope of the success of the Revolution had departed.

The Provisional Government and the larger part of the Polish army retreated to Arad, and there, on the 11th of August, Kossuth resigned the Dictatorship in favor of Görgey, in whom, up to that time, the Hungarians had had the greatest confidence. Within two days, however, either through treachery or from sheer hopelessness, he surrendered his entire army to the Russians! By his countrymen, Görgey's conduct was regarded as base treason, and his name became as infamous in Hungary as that of Arnold in America. It subsequently appeared, however, that Kossuth himself had agreed to surrender, as the proper course to be pursued. Under the necesssity of the situation, Görgey's course was, perhaps, justified by the conditions, and the pen of impartial history has been disposed, especially in the last quarter of our century, to re-write his reputation in more favorable terms. His sudden obscuration and ruin in the esteem of his countrymen was doubtless attributable to the blind sorrow and rage of a disappointed patriotism, which could take no denial. As for Kossuth, he, together with Bem and Dembinski, escaped from his native land, and made his way into Turkey. For a brief season the Hungarians, hoping against hope, held out in the fortress of Comorn, their stronghold on the Danube. But this place was besieged and taken by Haynau, who had succeeded Windischgratz in command of the Austrian army, and who, by his massacres and other barbarities, easily vindicated his reputation as one of the miltary monsters of modern times.

Thus was the Austrian domination reëstablished over mutilated and bleeding Hungary. Kossuth went abroad into England and the United States, and became the lion of English-speaking patriots in both Europe and America. The men of the present generation still remember the profound sympathy which his presence in our country excited for the cause of Hungarian independence, and especially for the personal sorrows which had fallen upon its chiefs. As Kossuth journeyed from city to city he was received as a conqueror rather than as a political refugee, and so great was the admiration excited, that the young men of the American cities imitated his dress and manners, and adopted that *style of hat* which bore his name, and which, to the present day, survives as a popular reminiscence of the lost cause of Hungary.

It remained for the House of Hapsburg to reässert its sway over rebellious Italy. In that country the Lombard insurrection had made great headway. The Austrian Governor of Milan, the veteran Marshal Johann Radetzky, who had been one of the German heroes in the Napoleonic Wars, now eighty-two years of age, was obliged, after a five days' struggle, to fly from the city and his princi-

pality. The Sardinians, under their king, Charles Albert, made common cause with the Lombards, and during the summer of 1848 the authority of Austria was virtually destroyed in the greater part of Italy. In course of time, Radetzky made an armistice with Sardinia, and by this means recovered sufficient ground to undertake the subjugation of Venice. Having succeeded in this enterprise, he sought to reconquer all that he had lost. In the following spring Charles Albert again took the field, and met the Austrians at Novara. Here, on the 23d of March, 1849, was fought the bloody and decisive battle in which the Sardinian cause—and indeed that of all Italy—was ruined. The king was constrained to abdicate on the very field of his defeat. He resigned the crown to his son, Prince Victor Emanuel, destined in after years to become forever associated with the resurrection and rehabilitation of modern Italy. For the time, however, he was obliged to yield to the dictation of the conqueror, and to accept at the hands of Francis Joseph, the new Austrian Emperor, such terms and conditions as that monarch was pleased to prescribe.

In the summer of 1849 Venice was forced to capitulate, and the Austrian yoke was reimposed on Italy. Meanwhile, in the National Parliament at Frankfort, the reäction against Republicanism had set in with fearful force. Nevertheless, the project of unifying Germany was still debated with commendable zeal. The great obstacle to the accomplishment of this end was the rivalry between Austria and Prussia, in each of which States the heartburn of jealousy wrought its worst results. In Austria a reäctionary Ministry, under the leadership of Prince Schwarzenberg, had been constituted, and everything went at full tide for the reëstablishment of the ancient absolutism. In order further to promote the plans of the Conservatives, the half-witted Ferdinand was, on the 2d of December, 1848, induced to abdicate, and his cousin, the youthful Francis Joseph, was raised to the throne. Nor could it be denied that the change of rulers was in many respects salutary to the reputation of Austria.

The time had now come for a real trial, as between Austria and Prussia, for the leadership of Germany. The Government established at Frankfort was a theory. It was not made after the manner of history. The Governments of the German States, on the other hand, were realities. They had an existence. Bad as they were, their roots were in the past, and their substance had been drawn from the deeds of men. It might have been foreseen, even at this early day, if any had had the wit to see it, that it was not by a theoretical government that German unity would be attained, but rather by the growing ascendency and final domination of some one of the existing Powers. As a rule, the political structures of mankind have had little analogy to those edifices which the architect devises, first in



LOUIS KOSSUTH.

his own brain, then draws on paper, and finally puts into a material form. Human governments rather have grown out of the preëxisting conditions, and have been patched, improved, amended, and repaired, like the Feudal castles of the Middle Ages on which the labor and skill of different builders of different race and instinct have been bestowed through centuries of time.

Thus it was destined to be in the unification of Germany. In reality, the question was narrowed down to the possible leadership of either Prussia or Austria. On the 28th of March, 1849, a measure was actually adopted by the National Parliament conferring on

Frederick IV. of Prussia the title and dignity of Hereditary Emperor of Germany. All of the smaller German States accepted the choice of the Assembly; but Austria stood aloof, and Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, and Hanover refused their assent to the project. King William himself declined the honor which had been tendered; and thus, after nine months of debating, during which time the great minds of the German race had exhausted themselves upon the general problem of government and the particular question of consolidating the States of the Fatherland under a common administration, the magnificent scheme of German unity ended in—smoke!

Bitter was the disappointment of the people. It had been believed in a great part of Germany that Frederick William would undertake the duty imposed upon him by the Parliament. In the early days after his accession he had himself spoken with enthusiasm of German unity, and the circumstances now present in the country seemed to favor the project. As to the opposition of Austria, that was to be expected out of the nature of the case; for when had the House of Hapsburg, weak as it was, and imbecile with old age, ever assented to be subordinate to anything? Had not the Hapsburgs themselves of old time, since the days of Rudolph, founder of the dynasty, been accustumed to wear the diadem and hold themselves as the successors of Charlemagne?

But the conditions now present in Germany were favorable to undo the history and pretensions of the Austrian line. The Empire was now in the heat and crisis of the struggle with Hungary, and was actually crying out to the Czar for help. It appears, in the light of the retrospect, that Frederick William had not the courage of his conviction. He let *I dare not* wait upon *I would*, and the unification of Germany was postponed for twenty-one years. In declining the Imperial crown, the King covered his own weakness with the pretense that the free cities, and certain of the German princes, had not given their assent to the recreation of the Empire under the hegemony of the House of Hohenzollern.

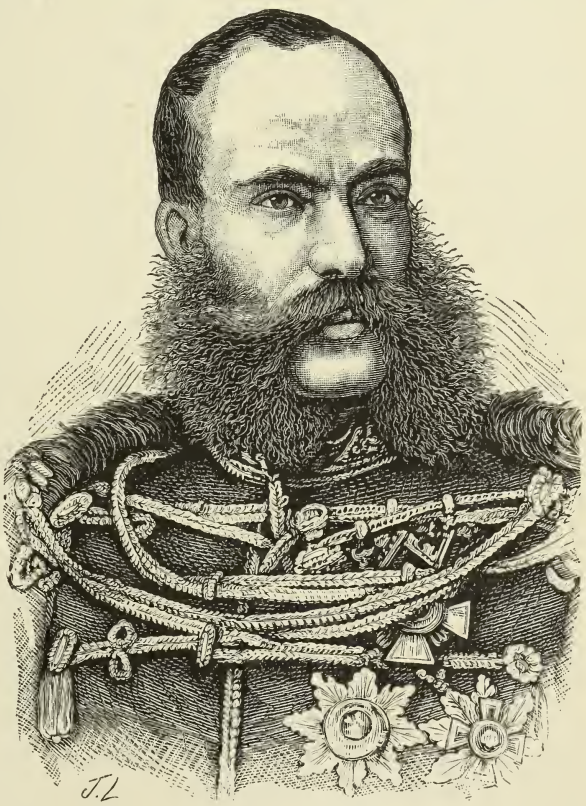
The disappointment in the Fatherland, the mortification and anger, were so extreme, that insurrections became the order of the day. Mobs appeared in many localities, and popular fury, striking out blindly at whatever opposed, attested the chagrin of the nation. Revolutions were again started in Dresden, Würtemberg, and Baden. The Grand Duke of the latter State was driven from power, and the rebellion made such headway that a Prussian army was sent to quell the revolt. In the course of the summer the insurrection was put down, and, with its extinction, the rebellion of the German people against the system which had been imposed upon them by the Congress of Vienna, thirty-four years previously, came to an end. The representatives in the National Parliament who still toiled on, in a hopeless sort of way, at the problem before them, were gradually recalled, and Germany resumed her former political status.

We shall now see, however, how the ideas which had been put forth in the abstract by the National Parliament at Frankfort, began to take corporeal form and to enter into the administration of the German States. Though Frederick William had refused the Imperial crown, he did not wholly neglect to promote the rising influence of Prussia. He invited the German States to send delegates to Berlin, with whom he and his Ministers might discuss, in a practical way, the condition of the Fatherland and the remedies to be applied. The movement resulted in a treaty between Prussia on the one side, and the kings of Saxony and Hanover, by which an alliance of the three Powers was made on a basis very similar to that which had been adopted by the Frankfort Parliament. It was agreed that the Imperial name should not, indeed, be proposed, but that the King of Prussia should have a certain supremacy over a College of Princes representing the States of the so-called Union. Under this arrangement, a Parliament consisting of two Houses was devised, and on the 20th of March, 1850, held its first session at Erfurt. The body thus constituted ratified the frame of government, and the College of Princes was accordingly appointed to meet at Berlin. For the time it appeared that the work which had come to naught in the hands of the great Assembly at Frankfort, was about to be practically carried out under the leadership of the Prussian, Saxonian, and Hanoverian kings.

By this date, however, Austria, supported by a Russian army, had succeeded in stamping out the Hungarian Revolution. In the moment that this work was accomplished she turned upon Prussia, in order that that power might not secure to herself the leadership of the German States. An intrigue was set on foot by which Hanover and Saxony were induced to withdraw from the Union which they had so recently aided in establishing. A pretext for this sudden reäction was found in the project which was now fomenting by Saxony, Würtemberg, and Bavaria, to form a new Union of their own. Meanwhile, Austria continued to promote her own views by inviting the three States just mentioned to join her in the restoration of the Diet, which was convened at Frankfort on the 4th of September, 1850. It was now the turn of the Hapsburg to bid for the leadership of the German States; but Prussia had gone into opposition. She was not able, however, to prevent the temporary revival, under Austrian influence, of the ancient Diet at Frankfort. The work of that body was, out of the nature of things, a mere echo and mockery. The Assembly was only a shadow projected from the realities of the eighteenth century among the realities of the nineteenth, and the whole enterprise proved abortive. The utmost reach of the influence of the restored Diet extended no further than the temporary dissolution of the Zollverein—a measure effected by the Austrian intrigue. Francis Joseph, in 1851, pressed his advantage to the extent of soliciting a Congress of the German States, to be held in Vienna, which call, accepted by most of the kings and princes except Frederick William IV., resulted in strengthening for a season the Austrian pretensions. But Prussia was the stumbling-block, and under her dictation the Tariff Union was restored, and Austria obliged to make important commercial concessions to the other German Powers.

The period from 1850 to 1860 was a dismal epoch in the history of the German peoples. With every year the chasm between the growing and aspiring mind of the nation and the effete political institutions of the country became wider and deeper. Whenever the evidences of popular discontent took the form of practical action, martial law was proclaimed, and the murmurs of the people were choked into silence. The ancient petty despotisms flourished, and the small principalities rejoiced in their localism, as though the Middle Ages had come again, and Feudalism had been revived as the natural form of society.

Such was the condition of affairs when the Crimean War provoked the interest of all Europe. In this again the antagonism of Austria and Prussia was clearly developed.



FRANCIS JOSEPH.

The former Power fell into strong sympathy with England and France in their policy of upholding the autonomy and independence of the Ottoman Empire. Prussia, on the other hand, could not well renounce her long-prevalent sympathy with the Czar. Russian influence prevailed at Berlin over the geographical and historical relations which would otherwise have controlled the course of the Government. At length Frederick William was obliged to recede from his position to the extent of entering into a compact with Austria; but he was able to prevent the organ-

ization of a Confederate army in the common cause of Germany. This manifest policy of the Prussian King tended still further to irritate his subjects, whose sympathies flowed in the common stream with those of Western Europe, and who could but be angered and tormented to find their sovereign in alliance with the most arbitrary and despotic master among all the rulers west of the Ural Mountains.

But the Prussian King had several advantages in promoting the reäction against Liberalism. The example of the successful Republican Revolution of 1848, in France, could no longer be cited as an instance of what the Liberals in other States should do; for the French Republic had been suddenly transformed by a *coup d'etat*, before the end of the first Presidency, into an absolutism. The Emperor Louis Napoleon had emerged, and Prussia found herself between two autocrats of high estate, one French and the other Russian. The example had turned the reverse of the medal to the observer, and he was able to read around the circumference of an Imperial head the mocking aphorism, *L'Empire c'Est la Paix.*

All this could but be pleasing to Frederick William, and the Prussian Government made the most of the situation. In the autumn of 1855 the general elections in Prussia were corrupted by governmental influence to such an extent that only a handful of Liberal representatives were chosen in all the kingdom. Not satisfied with what had already been accomplished, the apostles of Feudalism went forward to demand that the reforms which had been accomplished by Stein and Hardenberg should be abolished. The Prussians, for the time being, were reduced to a state of pitiable docility under the absolutist domination. It was observed, moreover, that in Bavaria and Hanover the popular cause was handled with the same ruthless severity. In the latter country the Liberals were denounced as Revolutionists and put under the ban of the law. In Austria the same complete overthrow and condemnation of Liberalism took place, and on the 18th of August, 1855, a Concordat was signed by the Government whereby Austria, as a sovereignty, was virtually remanded to the control and direction of the Church. It appeared for the hour that the spirit of Madame Krüdener was again hovering over the German nations.

It is, however, the peculiarity of such a condition of human society that it revives from its depression and reässerts its dignity. Deep down in the bottom of the German heart was an unspoken protest against all the dominant forces which then prevailed. It could but be discerned that as soon as the absolute system of government, now in full tide in both the leading German States, should be subjected to a strain—as soon as the Government in such an emergency as war must place its hand upon the people for support—the cry of the Liberal multitudes would again break forth as the voice of roaring waters. Nor was such a contingency far removed. The strain came first to Prussia on the occasion of a trouble with Switzerland. In that country, namely, in Neuchâtel, over which the House of Hohenzollern claimed a suzerainty, certain Royalist disturbers of the peace were seized and thrown into prison. Hereupon Prussia demanded their release, and threatened war in case of a refusal. Switzerland yielded to the pressure, and the Royalists were set free; but not until a billow of public opinion had risen high enough in Prussia to give warning to Frederick William of what he might expect in case of war.

We now come to the personal part in the impending change. The reader of history, if he have read profoundly, will have perceived that human affairs are in all their larger aspects the result of general causes over which men in their individual capacity have little or no control. On the contrary, the men themselves, even the greatest and strongest, are the products of general causation, and perform their respective parts in obedience to laws higher and stronger than they. Such is the fundamental concept of history; and all other concepts of it are erroneous and misleading. But the individual forces, nevertheless, have a certain play. At times the general lines of causation are bent somewhat from their natural course by the tremendous current discharged against them by the battery of some single brain. In many instances a slight deflection is perceptible under the force of a great hand like that of Cæsar, or Charlemagne, or Luther, or Cromwell, or Washington.

The dyke-wall may be sometimes dangerously bored through by a single burrowing crawfish, totally unconscious of his own work. So operates the individual man in the walls of history.

The personal event to which we have referred above was the fall of Frederick William IV. under a stroke of apoplexy, which came in the autumn of 1857. Prussian absolutism was paralyzed with the same attack. Though the King lingered for a season, his ability to rule was gone forever. Now it was that his brother, Prince William of Prussia, already sixty years of age, but hale and strong, a German of the Germans, was called upon to assume and exercise authority in the King's name. For a while this status was maintained, but William at length informed the Ministry and the Diet that he would no longer be a *quasi* King of Prussia. He was then chosen Prince Regent, and on the 2d of January, 1861, became King, with the title of William I.

It has been noticed, as a peculiar circumstance among the royal houses of Germany and England, that the Crown Prince, the heir apparent, or by whatever name he may be called, is generally of an opposite political principle and party to that by which the current Administration is upheld. The Prince of Wales has generally sympathized with the Opposition. In Prussia, in our own time, we have seen the reversal and sudden re-reversal of policy and principles on the occasions of the transference of the crown from the head of this same Emperor William to that of his son, the dying Frederick III., and from him again to his son William II. So it was in 1857 when Prince William came into power. To the great gratification of the Prussian people, the new Government began under auspicious omens. The old Absolutists who had composed the Ministry of Frederick William IV. were dismissed from office, and while the Government did not openly declare its adherence to the policy of the National Parliament, its sympathy in that direction could not be mistaken.

It was under the regency of Prince William that the struggle was renewed for the independence of Italy. Napoleon III., now Emperor of the French, had taken up the Italian cause as against the House of Hapsburg. As a consequence of this policy, a brief but bloody war—a fuller account of which is reserved for a succeeding chapter—broke out between France and Austria. On the 4th of June, 1859, Bonaparte, having announced his intention to make Italy free from the Alps to Sicily, encountered the Austrians on the field of Magenta, where he won a brilliant victory. Again, on the 24th of the same month, he inflicted a still more decisive overthrow on the Austrians, in the great battle of Solferino. It appeared for a time that a genuine Bonaparte had again drawn his sword in Europe. Germany—more particularly Prussia—flushed with excitement. A clamor was raised for an alliance with Austria against the reviving ambition of France. Perhaps the Government would have yielded to the demand had not the shrewd Napoleon stopped short in the glorious middle of his war, and concluded a mild-mannered peace with Francis Joseph at Villafranca.

It was soon apparent, however, that the movement in Italy, which had received so strong an impulse from the recent war, could not be stayed. It had now acquired a momentum of its own, which was destined to roll on in full volume until a United Italy should rise upon the crest of the wave. The year 1860 witnessed a great insurrection of the Italians in favor of nationality, and a consequent general collapse of the absurd principalities, among which the Peninsula had been divided. The masses rallied around the standard of King Victor Emanuel, who became henceforth the representative and impersonation of the new and united Italy.

Meanwhile, the attention of Austria had been limited for the most part to her affairs at home. The blow delivered at Solferino had at least subserved the purpose of sobering and tempering the absolutism of Francis Joseph and his Government. Ever and anon the voice of political agitation was heard in the land, until, at length, even the Austrian Emperor was constrained to make some salutary concessions to his subjects. In Prussia the Liberals found henceforth little cause to complain of the policy of the acting King. The Prince Regent had ordered, soon after his accession to power, a general election, at which the people, to their delight and astonishment, found themselves free to vote as they pleased. Govern-

mental interference was withdrawn, and a new Parliament was returned, in which the late overwhelming Feudal majority was not only reduced, but actually reversed, by the Liberals. The effect was electrical, and the Prussian people and the Prince Regent came into greater accord than had been known between a king and his subjects for half a century.

The Italian war and its beneficent results became a contagion in all Germany. The people of the Fatherland saw, with delight, the example and demonstration of Italian unity. The old passion for a union of the German peoples revived, and was reflected into the Government. What the Italians had accomplished was now more than ever believed in as possible for the Germans. An organization, called the National Union, was formed, which became henceforth the propaganda of those principles and measures which conduced to the consolidation of the German States. The movement was, of course, violently opposed. The old jealousy of the smaller States was excited. When it was known that overtures for a National Union were passed between Austria and Prussia, Baron Beust, Minister of Saxony, came to the fore with the policy to put the two leading States—Prussia and Austria—into antagonism, which, were it once accomplished, must result in the continued independence of the smaller Powers. This evil-doing diplomacy of Beust prevailed with Austria, who had by this time become thoroughly alarmed at the prospect of Prussian ascendency. The proposal of the Saxon Minister, however, received in Prussia the emphatic indorsement of profound—silence! The Regent, now become King William, and his Government, were little disposed to submit to an intrigue by which the leadership of Prussia among the German Powers was to be either long postponed or altogether prevented.

CHAPTER CXLIII.—ASCENDENCY OF HOHENZOLLERN.

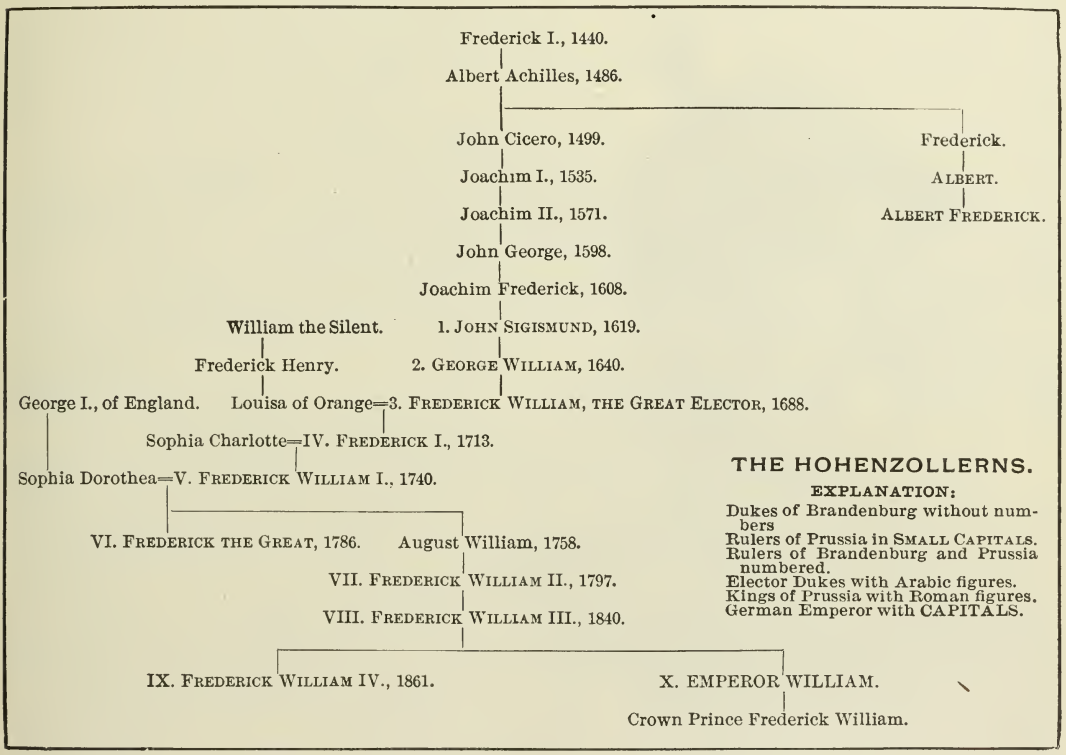
THE accession of William I. marked the beginning of the ascendency of the House of Hohenzollern, and of Prussia under its sway, in the affairs of Continental Europe. From the first it was a pronounced and settled policy of the King to reörganize, develop, and bring into the highest efficiency the Prussian army; and to this end every energy of the State was directed. True, the appropriations for military purposes were at first refused by the Legislative Assembly of the Kingdom. The representatives had not yet caught the spirit of the reign. They had not perceived that a real king had come, a true representative of the great Hohenzollerns of old days, one who could not be lightly turned from his purpose. Such, indeed, had risen up, and his presence became a power. He did not hesitate to dismiss his refractory Liberal Ministry for refusing support and sanction to his military measures. In the second year of his reign he had the great good-fortune to place at the head of the Government the celebrated Baron Otto Von Bismarck, of Schönhausen, who became henceforth the soul and might of the Prussian Administration.

Bismarck was now forty-seven years of age. He was the representative of a family which had been well known in Prussia for more than five centuries. In his youth he had studied law and history at Göttingen. In 1835 he had become a member of the bar in Berlin, after his graduation from the university of that city. He afterwards served his full term in the army, then became a delegate of the Nobility in the Diet. In the Parliaments of Frankfort and Erfurt he opposed the schemes of German unity there debated, believing the same to be detrimental to the interests and greatness of Prussia. It can hardly be doubted that he had already had a prevision of the coming preëminence and glory of his own country, and was not willing to see her chances of Empire theorized away in the National Assembly. Gradually Bismarck extended his influence and reputation until the King laid his hand upon his shoulder as the

impersonation of his policy and Government. If the history of the succeeding twenty years has shown anything, it is that the genius of Bismarck has been the dominant personal force in the affairs of Europe. In his previous political career he had been regarded as a conservative of the Conservatives. He had been the Metternich of Prussian politics, and his accession to power was looked upon by the German Liberals as the worst of misfortunes to them and their cause. It remained for them to discover that a Napoleon in politics is sometimes as necessary as a Napoleon on the field of battle.

rough and despotic way until his iron will resolved his dream into a reality. His persistency of purpose was equal to every occasion. In spite of the popular clamor with which he was at first assailed, he adopted and pursued the king's policy and his own, of making Prussia the great military Power of the Continent, and when the Assembly refused to make appropriations for the support and development of the army, he went straight ahead with the work, as though he had the concurrence of the people.

The Prussians were astonished at these



In his previous career as Prussian plenipotentiary at the Diet, and as ambassador at Paris and St. Petersburg, Bismarck had made himself familiar not only with the overflow, but with all the undercurrents in the political history of the age. When he came to the place of Prime Minister, in 1862, he had already—if we may judge motives and purposes by results—formed a fixed resolution to place Prussia in the leadership of all Germany, and, if possible, to set the House of Hohenzollern at the head of a restored German Empire. It was clearly under this motive that he undertook the conduct of affairs, and he pursued it in a

proceedings, and could not for the time understand that another great reformer of the tyrannic order had appeared on the stage. A brief period of confusion and turmoil ensued, during which Austria sought to regain her prestige, by calling a Congress of the German princes, to meet in Frankfort, to the end that the old Imperial Diet might be abolished, and a reformed body, called the Assembly of Delegates, be substituted in its stead. The reörganization was to be effected, as a matter of course, under the primacy of Austria, and the presidency of the Assembly was to be given to that Power. But the

whole movement was brought to naught by the act of Prussia, who refused to attend the Congress, and left Austria to the ridicule of the small.

It was at this juncture that Bismarck first began to frighten the ancient owls out of their covert. It was seen that he was a man with a purpose, and that with him the shortest distance between two points was a straight line. When the fact was cited that in his path directly lay the sacred traditions of European diplomacy which none might overpass and



OTTO VON BISMARCK.

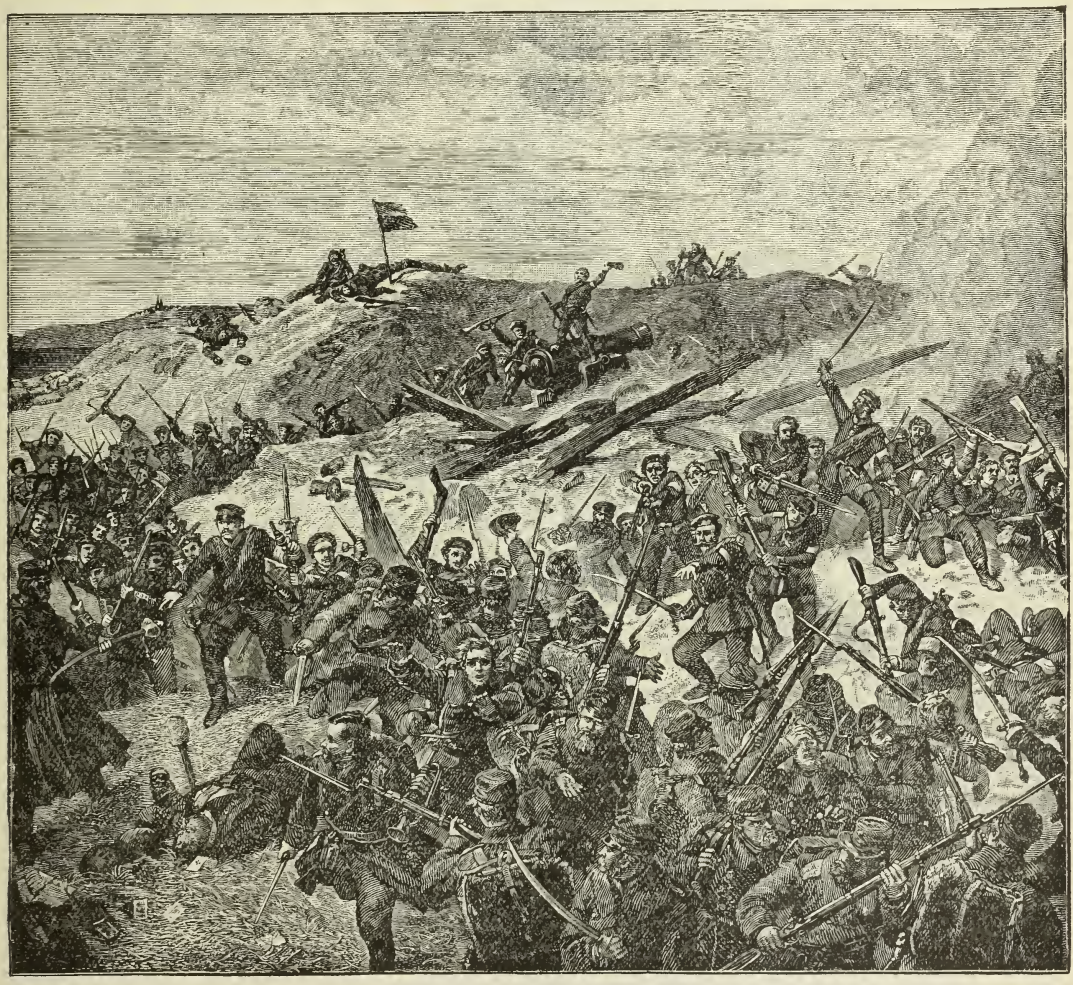
live, Bismarck *laughed!* His Teutonic guttural was heard with astonishment from the mouth of the Danube to Land's End. Even in America his name began to be pronounced with various comments on the tongues of publicists and statesmen. When it was seen that a tradition was, in his estimation, only a fiction to be laughed away, the next movement of the German diplomates against him was to show forth solemn treaties which had been made to this effect and that. The Past had said that things should be thus and so. It had been agreed to, and the agreement must stand or the heavens fall. At this there was another German laugh, more boisterous than the first. A treaty, said the Prime Minister, is good so long as it can be defended on rational principles. If it be immoral to break up the mummeries which Mediæval States have uttered withal in the times of ignorance, it is necessary. Necessity, said the boisterous Premier, is the law, not only of Prussia, but of all Germany and the world, and the weakest goes to the wall. It was, for the time, a Government of such audacity as had never before been instituted or imagined in the Fatherland.

Exitus acta probat! If the end does not exactly justify the means, the outcome at least approves the things done. The motto of the Father of his County might well have been taken as the aphorism of the Bismarckian policy. Under such a policy it must needs be that offenses come, and woe unto him by whom the offense cometh. The first violence came on the sides of the north. The year 1863 witnessed the outbreak of that war between Germany and Denmark, to which we have already several times referred. The Danish throne passed at that date from Frederick VII. to Christian IX., who began his Administration with an attempt to detach Schleswig and Holstein from their German affiliations, and to incorporate the former province with his own kingdom. This course was in contravention of the Treaty of London of 1852, and produced great excitement in Germany. A Diet was convened, and it was determined to prevent by force the consummation of King Christian's plans. A German army was accordingly thrown into Schleswig, and the Danes, after some valorous fighting, were driven back to a line of fortifications called the Dannewerk, which they had drawn across the Peninsula. The student of history will not fail to note that these military works were coïncident with the ethnic line dividing the Teutonic from the Scandinavian nations. The position was strong, both geographically and historically; but the Danes were not able to hold their lines against the masses of their assailants. In April of 1864 the Dannewerk fortifications were carried by storm by the Prus-

sians, and about the same time the Austrians gained a decisive victory over the Danish army in the battle of Oversee.

It now appeared that Denmark, in attempting to hold her provinces, was herself about to be driven to the wall. In her distress she called upon the neutral Powers for assistance. Hereupon, England, France, and Russia came forward as mediators, and an armistice was declared, pending a conference in London. But the ambassadors there assembled could not reach a settlement, and the war was resumed. Everything went against the Danes; and Christian, in the course of two months, was obliged to accept peace on such terms as the German allies were pleased to grant. It will be remembered that Holstein was already nominally a member of the German Confederation. It was claimed by Prussia and Austria that Denmark had, on account of the affiliation of Holstein with Germany, treated that province with unjustifiable severity. This fact was made the excuse for wresting both the disputed duchies from Denmark, and for giving them in jointure to Austria and Prussia.

At this juncture Prince Frederick of Augustenburg came forward, and in virtue of his descent from the ducal family of Holstein, laid claim to the disputed territory in his own right. He set up his Government at Kiel, and whether he should or should not be recognized, became a question of dispute between Austria and Prussia, the former affirming and the latter denying the rightfulness of the Prince's claim. Through the whole complication, Bismarck had had his own ulterior ends in view, and he now bent everything to his purpose. The quarrel between Austria and



STORMING THE DANNEWERK.

Prussia deepened in the channel which he had prepared for it, and hostilities were about to break out between the late allies. But the dispute was at length adjusted by King William and Francis Joseph, in a conference held at Gastein on the 1st of August, 1865.

It was here agreed by the monarchs that Schleswig should be put under the protectorate of Prussia, and Holstein be assigned to Austria. It soon appeared, however, that the quarrel was only filmed over, and not healed. Doubtless, Count Bismarck never intended that the Gastein Treaty should subserve other than a temporary purpose. No eye, not even the eye of History, perceived more clearly than his that the issue between Prussia and Austria must be speedily and sharply settled with the drawn sword. Two Powers could not be first in Germany. Only one could be first. Bismarck had made up his mind that this one should be the country of his master, King William. Moreover, the opportunity which now presented itself was better than any which might be expected soon to arise again. This is to say, that the circumstances of a Prusso-Austrian quarrel were more conspicuous and rational than might be hoped for thereafter.

Dipping again into the motives of those who were now in the leadership of German Europe, we may say in a word that Bismarck had determined to fight Austria, to prepare the conditions of a quarrel which she could not obviate, and then, with the swiftness of an eagle, swoop down upon that rather effete monarchy, tearing and rending her with war-missiles and terror into complete submission. Austria, on her part, may have perceived the coming struggle; but to her imagination it was only as other storms, which would pass. Besides, it was well-nigh impossible for her to recede out of the complication in which she was involved. She must break through it in order to be free. She accordingly at once began openly to renew her support of the Duke of Augustenburg in his claims to the Government of Holstein. To be sure, something had to be done with the duchies which the late allies had wrested from Denmark, and what more rational than to assign Holstein to the representative of its own Ducal House?

But Count Bismarck did not intend that any such disposition of the duchy should be made. As to Lauenburg, which Prussia had received at the Gastein Convention, there was no thought that that bit of territory should be restored to its former position. Prussia would keep all that she gained, and prevent Austria from gaining anything. The course now taken by Francis Joseph was in truth perfidious. All his political methods had the character of subtlety. Seeing the rising power of Prussia, he now sought, by his agents and correspondents, to poison the mind of the people, in the smaller German States, against Prussia and her policy. In this business he was, in a great measure, successful. At the same time the Austrian Governor of Holstein, supported and encouraged from Vienna, continued to promote the pretensions of the Prince of Augustenburg. This was made the subject of an angry despatch from Bismarck to Count Mensdorf, the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs. King William and his Government remonstrated firmly, and in no peaceable terms, against the general conduct of Austria relative to the Danish complication. But the King found himself without support from the smaller principalities. Even his own subjects, who for the most part hated Bismarck as cordially as ever a Minister was hated, refused to sanction the anti-Austrian policy of the Government. In the Prussian Assembly Bismarck was outvoted by five to one. Nevertheless, a Prussian army was hurried into Holstein as the initial movement of the coming war.

Austria, at this juncture was greatly elated at the prospect. Nearly all the German principalities were on her side. She accordingly pressed her advantage, and demanded of the Diet that the armies of the States should act with her own in repelling the aggressions of Prussia. Meanwhile, the latter Power had been on the alert. Bismarck cast his eye on Italy, and saw in that country the exact conditions which he desired. The Italians were, as we have seen, profoundly humiliated on account of the small outcome of the late Franco-Austrian war, which had promised so much for the liberation and unity of their country. Venetia had been allowed by the Treaty of Villafranca, to remain in the hands of Austria. This was the circumstance which Count Bismarck now seized upon as the motive of a

Prusso-Italian alliance. If Italy would join him in the impending struggle with Austria, then Venetia of a certainty should be wrested from the House of Hapsburg and be assigned to Victor Emanuel.

The promised gain was gladly accepted by the Italian Government; and while all the smaller German Powers, with the exception of Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, the Saxon States, and three Free Cities, took their stand with Austria, the defection from Prussia was fully compensated by the alliance of Italy. The German Diet approved of the Austrian demand, and Prussia, so far as German support was concerned, was left naked to all the winds of hostility. The events soon showed, however, that that great Power was now in her element. She chose to consider the action of the Diet, under the dictation of Francis Joseph, not only as a menace but as overt hostility. She accordingly made a declaration of war, and boldly entered the field. Though, numerically, her foes were nearly three to one against her, she quailed not in the face of the array.



PRINCE FREDERICK, OF AUGUSTENBURG.

Rarely has been seen such a display of energy and activity as that now exhibited by the Prussian Government. It was like the days of Frederick the Great come again. On the 15th of June, 1866, King William called upon Saxony, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and Nassau to remain neutral in the impending conflict, and gave them *twelve hours* in which to decide! Receiving no answer, he ordered the Prussians out of Holstein to seize Hanover. This work was accomplished in two days. In two days more Hesse-Cassel was occupied by an army from the Rhine, while at the same time a third division of the Prussian forces was thrown into Dresden and Leipsic. On the 27th of the month a battle was fought with the Hanoverians, in which the latter were at first successful, but were soon overpowered and compelled to surrender. George V., King of Hanover, fled for refuge to Vienna.

Having thus, in the brief space of two weeks, cleared the field in the south, the

Prussians at once turned upon Austria. The three divisions composing the army of King William numbered two hundred and sixty thousand men, and were commanded by the Crown Prince Frederick William, his cousin Prince Frederick Charles, and General Bittenfeld. The Austrian forces were equally formidable, and were brought into the field under General Benedek, a man of great military reputation. On the 27th and the 29th of June, Frederick Charles met and defeated the Austrian advance in four engagements; but the battles were indecisive, except that Count Clam-Galas, the Austrian General, was obliged to fall back on the main body for support. Meanwhile, the Crown Prince had engaged the Austrians under Benedek, and had gained several victories from the 27th to the 30th of June.



AUSTRIAN-PRUSSIAN CAVALRY CHARGE, 1866.
Drawn by W. Camphausen.

As soon as the Prussian forces could be concentrated it was resolved to fight a general battle, and, if possible, to end the war at a blow. King William, Count Bismarck, and Generals Von Moltke and Roon, were all present with the army. The House of Hohenzollern had virtually staked not only the prize of victory, but its own existence, on the issue. The Austrians lay in great force on the river Bistritz, in Bohemia, about sixty miles from Prague. On the 6th of July, 1866, was fought one of the great battles of modern times. The conflict is known in history by the names of Sadowa and Königgrätz, from the two towns near which the struggle occurred. The battle proved to be the Waterloo of Austria. The Prussian attack was led by Frederick Charles and Bittenfeld. It began at eight o'clock in the morning, and raged with the utmost fury until two in the afternoon. Thus far the Prussians had gained but little advantage; but at that hour the powerful division of the Crown Prince, which, like those of Blücher at Waterloo, had been delayed by recent rains, appeared on the Austrian right. That wing of Benedek's army was soon turned. Bittenfeld then broke the left, and under a general advance of the Prussian lines the Austrian center gave way in confusion. The field was

quickly and completely won. The overthrow of Benedek's army became a ruinous rout, and the outflashing sun of evening looked upon the demoralized and flying hosts of Austria, scattering in all directions before the victorious charges of the Prussian cavalry.

The battle of Sadowa was to Francis Joseph the handwriting on the wall; but he made the greatest exertions to save his tottering fabric. On the 4th of July he ceded Venetia to France—an act which all the world could but perceive to be an open bid for the help of Napoleon III. The Prussians, however, had no thought of losing their advantage. They pressed forward with great rapidity to the Danube. They put Vienna at their mercy. In another part of the field they drove the Bavarians beyond the Main. Frankfort was taken. The Austrian allies gave way on every side. Francis Joseph was obliged to succumb, and to do so with all haste. He cried out for an armistice, which was granted, and then for a conference, which was held at Nikolsburg, on the 27th of July. The preliminaries were agreed upon without much formality, and on the 23d of August a definitive treaty of peace was concluded at Prague. No such summary proceedings had been witnessed since the days of Napoleon the Great. Only *seven weeks* had elapsed from the outbreak of the war; but that short period had sufficed to inflict on Austria the most deadly hurt which she had received since the Corsican thrust her through.

The shadow of a great hand was now seen behind the conflict. It was the hand of Bismarck. As the smoke of battle cleared away, his plans began to be developed. Schleswig and Holstein were almost forgotten in the grander scheme of the unification of Germany, under the leadership of Prussia. The obstacles to this scheme had been, for the most part, removed by the war. Poor old Austria lay prostrate. Feudal Germany was kicked out of sight. The effete constitutions of the principalities were relegated to the confused heap of mediæval rubbish. Never in history did the maxim that nothing succeeds like success receive a more brilliant exemplification than in the political revolution which now swept over Prussia. The Nationals and Liberals went over in a body to King William and Bismarck. The one became the most popular ruler and the other the most powerful Minister in Christendom.

Things had now come, by the tremendous agitation of war, to a basis of practicality. There was no longer any room for speculation and theory. Abstraction and political vagary found no place in the crush of transformation. A new order was evoked, and out of the chaotic elements Cosmos rose, and stood. A new Confederation, called the NORTH-GERMAN UNION, was at once formed on the basis of Protestantism and national unity. Austria was excluded from Germany. Hanover and Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Schleswig-Holstein, and Frankfort were incorporated with the New Germany, which now arose out of the deeps, vital and strong and glorious. The population of Prussia was suddenly augmented by five millions of people. All the States north of the river Main accepted her leadership under the crest of Hohenzollern. The four Southern States — Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, Würtemberg, and Bavaria—were conceded independence, with the right, should they so elect, to form a South-German Confederation, and even to enter the North-German Union. Between the Southern States and the German Prime Minister a secret agreement was also made that, in case of future war, the armies of the South *should be at the disposal of Prussia*—a clause of the then current history showing that Bismarck already foresaw the inevitable struggle with France.

The first months of 1867 were occupied with the work of transformation. On the 16th of April in that year, the National Parliament, consisting of representatives chosen by the people, was inaugurated at Berlin. The new Constitution was readily accepted and confirmed by the body. The German States, to the number of twenty-two, were merged into a nation having a common system of administration. Count Bismarck became Chancellor of the Union, and Prussia rose suddenly to the rank of the first Power of Continental Europe. Already it could be perceived that in Würtemberg, Baden, and Bavaria the sentiment for union with the North was finding expression among the people. Upon this sentiment, both North and South, the new party called the National Liberals was formed, on the distinct principle



(612) BATTLE OF SADOWA.—After the painting by W. Camphausen.

of consolidating *all* the German States under the crown of Prussia. It could but be in the midst of so great victory and progress that they who still stood in their political preferences for the ancient order must look with more than half regret on their own persistency in pursuing a losing game.

It was not long until the North-German Union thus established had an opportunity to display its influence in the general affairs of Europe. Of all the European rulers none looked with greater dissatisfaction on the Treaty of Prague, and its consequences, than did the Emperor Napoleon III. He could but see that France, under the Imperial sway, had lost her primacy. He at once sought compensation for the aggrandizement of Prussia by demanding the Rhine as the Eastern frontier of France; but this demand was refused; and, since he was not for the moment prepared to go to war, he was obliged to acquiesce. He next sought, by a secret intrigue, to procure Belgium for his part of the spoils, under the condition that Prussia might do as she pleased with the rest. But Prussia was now in a condition to do as she pleased without conditions, and again the Emperor must content himself with—nothing. In the third place, he undertook to acquire Luxemburg from Holland. It happened that by the dissolution of the old German Diet, this State had been, in a measure, separated from the destinies of the other principalities. Nevertheless, Luxemburg was German rather than French; and when Napoleon was on the eve of success, Bismarck suddenly put forth his hand and forbade the bans. He issued a protest in the name of the North-German Union; and the French Emperor, foiled for the third time, was obliged, once more, to content himself with—*nothing!* Such were the first passes made between the two Powers, which were soon destined to close in mortal combat.

While the International complication, to which we have just referred, was preparing the way for another European war, the unity of Germany was still further promoted by a new treaty with the Southern States. By the terms of this settlement it was agreed that all questions henceforth arising with respect to the customs-duties should be remanded for settlement to the Federal Council and Diet of Germany. To this end it was arranged that representatives from the States south of the river Main should repair to Berlin, to participate in the discussion of such matters as might arise under the treaty. It was still clear, however, that a great majority of the South Germans, particularly the Bavarians, were heart and soul against a complete National Union. The South-German Democrats still looked upon Prussia as a great despotism, and Bismarck as the impersonation of all that was arbitrary and tyrannical in human government.

Under this merely political antagonism was the still profounder antagonism of the Mother Church. The Ultramontanes in South Germany hated Prussia *in extremis*, because they could but regard her as the stronghold, not only of that hateful Protestantism by which aforetime Rome had been disrupted, but of that still more hateful Free Thought by the agency of which the world had slipped from her dominion. It was noticed that in the Customs Parliament of 1868 the delegates chosen from the Southern States were almost unanimously the apostles of anti-Union—opposed to the last to the cause of German Nationality. Thus, while the Parliament would have gladly gone on, from the consideration of the merely commercial questions arising out of the Customs-Union to consider the larger questions of National Union, the delegates from the South thwarted all such measures, and confined the discussions of the body under a strict construction of the treaty.

Before entering upon the great and tragic story of the Franco-Prussian War, which was now about to ensue, it is only necessary to note the effect of the battle of Sadowa on the course of events in Austria. That Power found herself suddenly stripped of her Imperial pretensions. She was remanded by defeat to the rank of a second-rate kingdom, under the ban of contempt, by all the progressive States of Europe. The Hungarian patriots openly rejoiced at the humiliation of the House of Hapsburg. At last the logic of events came in to accomplish, in that inexorable way by which all such movements are effected, what reason and right had not sufficed to do. The old Ministry, planted in the days agone by Prince Metternich, was torn

out by the roots, and a new Council established under the lead of Count von Beust, a Saxonian Protestant. Even in Vienna the Past got down on its knees to the Present. An epoch of reform was ushered in; and the institutions of Austria, civil and political, were almost as much liberalized by her overthrow as those of Prussia had been by her victory at Königgrätz.

While the great year 1867 thus brought power and renown to the German Union, with the promise of still greater things to come, the same year brought repeated disasters and humiliations to France. Now it was that the Quixotical project of setting up, under the auspices of France, an alleged Empire in Mexico reached its fitting *finale*. The unfortunate Maximilian, brother of Francis Joseph, selected by Napoleon III. as his knight of the chess-board, whom he had lifted in a circular move across the Atlantic, and set down in the halls of the Montezumas, came to his death at Queretaro. The Emperor's excuse that he had a desire "to restore the supremacy of the Latin race in the New World," was laughed at by the Old World. A wiser man than he might have faltered in the situation. The International fallacy had resulted in a startling wreck of the Imperial logistics. The Mexican Empire collapsed, and brought dismay and confusion to its abettors. The French Emperor, to whom, as a bid for his assistance, Francis Joseph had thrown the province of Venetia, was obliged by the victorious emergence of Prussia from the Seven Weeks' War, to make over the territory to Italy! Once more he had been mated, and the suppressed anger in the Elysée became extreme. The Luxemburg project also came to naught, and it appeared that all the prestige gained by Louis Napoleon in the Crimean War, in the Treaty of Paris, and on the fields of Magenta and Solferino, was about to be lost in a season. The situation was such as to irritate even the stoical Bonaparte; and as to the French people, their distemper became so great that they were ready and anxious to rush to war on the slightest provocation. Their jealousy of Prussia after her victorious struggle with Austria knew no bounds. Nor can it be doubted that the suddenly awakened pride of the Hohenzollern Government, and of the peoples who had accepted it, was more than willing to be gratified by the further humiliation of the traditional enemy of Germany.

Nor was it long until a complication arose of precisely the kind to be made the occasion of war. The event itself may appear sufficiently ridiculous to the judgment of posterity; and the historian of the future may well wonder how, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, a thing so essentially absurd should be made the pretext for spilling an ocean of human blood. In 1868 the moribund monarchy of Spain was shaken with a political revolution, by which Queen Isabella II., so orthodox and Bourbon, was driven from the throne. We have had occasion in a former chapter to make plain the complication by which the Spanish Liberals gained the upper hand of the monarch, and presently sent her flying with her priest, her lover, and her son, beyond the Pyrenees.

Between the fugitive Queen and the Empress of the French deep sympathy existed, and Eugénie did as much as she could to shore up the fortunes of Isabella and her dynasty. The Spanish authorities must needs find a new sovereign, and, after much debating, the votes of the Cortes were given, as we have seen, to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, a relative of King William of Prussia. The fact that his name was Hohenzollern, and the possibility that his family relationship might tend to a union of interests between Germany and Spain, were used by the French Ministers and statesmen as a pretext for declaring that the Prince's candidature was injurious to the honor and the influence of France.

It is impossible for the American reader to apprehend in full measure the importance which might be attributed to the circumstance here considered, by the Second Empire. We have had occasion to note how greatly Emperor Napoleon III. was concerned about the destinies of the Latin race. We have seen him running the risk of the Mexican imbroglio in the hope of securing a dynastic foothold for that race in North America. The French people and the Roman Church have always looked with a pang of regret upon those historical processes by which, in the middle and latter part of the eighteenth century, the dominion of France in the New World was obliterated,

KING WILLIAM AND HIS GENERALS.—After the painting by W. Camphausen.

and English institutions, language, and laws planted instead. There has thus come to pass a peculiar sympathy among the Latin States of Europe. This has been felt most powerfully between France and Spain. The ruling powers in the former country have sought immemorially to effect a solidarity of the kingdoms north and south of the Pyrenees. That Germany, beyond the Rhine, dominated by the Teutonic race, so strange and foreign through all history to the sentiments and instincts of the Latin peoples, should seek to overspan



VON MOLTKE.

France with a political arch, the southern foot of which should rest in the Spanish Peninsula, could but appear to the jealous French a measure so monstrous as to warrant the sternest rebuke.

Deeper, however, than this ethnic and historical cause of the war now imminent were the political causes. The Imperial Government of Napoleon III. had reached that most fatal of all conditions, a *climax*. Empire is a form of government which, in modern times at least, has always a greater height beyond. Woe to the Empire, when the highest Alp is at last scaled, and the sovereign stands looking down the slopes and precipices into the valleys of decadence and oblivion beyond. It can not be doubted that the Second Empire had passed its grand climacteric, and hastened to its end; but what Government ever saw its own end approaching without a shudder? What human institution ever assented to its own death? In particular, what example of personal government could be cited as an instance of willingness to enter the valley and the shadow?

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, and the adherents of his Dynasty, saw all this in vision. The fact was, that with the continuance of peace in France, the Liberal party, opposed not only to the methods of the Empire, but to the Empire itself, would continue to gain until revolution would supervene, with the probable upheaval of the whole Imperial formula. It can not well be doubted that Napoleon III. desired to keep the peace of Europe. In this respect the Nephew was unlike the Uncle. The Second Bonaparte was a sort of political philosopher, who was anxious to institute an Imperial schedule by which the European trains should come and go. But as between the maintenance of his system and the maintenance of peace he would, of course, choose war and Imperialism in preference to peace and Republicanism. At length, he and his Government had come into the very horn of the dilemma. Sixty-five years before, the Corsican had gone through Germany like an elk through a vineyard. Through all the interim the opinion had become settled in France that the same thing could be done again. All that was wanting was the occasion and the Bonaparte. The Bonaparte was on the throne, and the occasion was quickly found, or made.

We have already seen how, on the 6th of July, 1870, the Duke de Grammont came into the French Assembly, declaring that the election of the Hohenzollern Prince Leopold by the Spanish Cortes should not, and would not, be tolerated by the Imperial Government. Hohenzollern declined; and the complication seemed on the eve of unraveling itself. But the war party in France could not be satisfied with the meek *Well-enough* which now offered

itself in mediation. Passion hurried the Government on to demand of Prussia a general engagement that no Hohenzollern should ever be offered for the Spanish throne. This was too much. Old William, walking at early morning in the promenade at Ems, turned on his heel from Benedetti, the French Ambassador, with that unrepeatable objurgation which was to light the dreadful torch. Of course, now that the representative of France had been "insulted," war must come; and the same was immediately declared.

We have already, in a former chapter, given a tolerably full account of the startling events which now came in rapid succession. The War Minister, Baron Le Bœuf, had declared that France was ready to the last button of her gaiter. So the French army was hurried to the frontier, and gained its first and only success in the ridiculous skirmish at Saarbrück. That was the end of comedy, the beginning of tragedy. There the Prince Imperial picked up his bullet on the field. There he was cheered by the French soldiers. There he had, according to the father's despatch to Eugénie, his baptism of fire. Poor boy! From this to the Zulu Land, Destiny, indeed, will lead thee by as strange a course as ever a lad before thee has trodden. Here thou art taking thy baptism of fire, and there thou shalt be absolved under the cruel assagais of the Zulus.

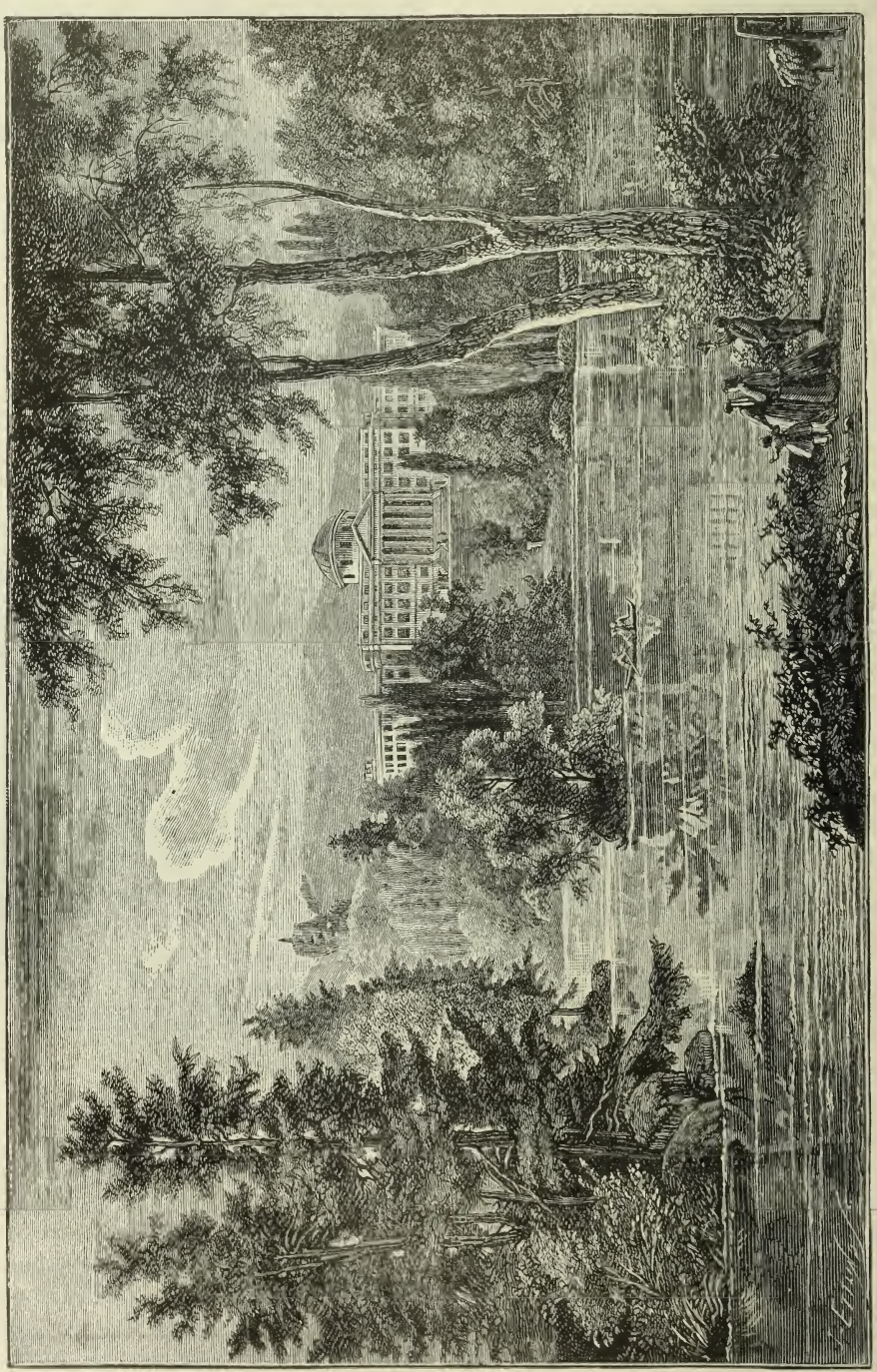
The vicissitudes of the great conflict, the ever-repeated victories of the Germans, the ruin of the French armies in a score of critical battles, have already been recounted. Germany descended into the field like an avalanche from the Alps. There the Warrior King rode with his cavalcade of generals, including the greatest living Germans. There were Von Moltke, the iron and infallible soldier; the Crown Prince, heir expectant to the throne, the idol of the Nation; Prince Frederick Charles, his cousin; Steinmetz, and Manteuffel, and a hundred others, great in battle and story. The impact was irresistible. It appeared that the Gallic race was about to be ground into the earth under the pressure of the invasion. Nothing could stay the progress of the German arms—nothing stand in the battle-blast of the German artillery—until the wreck was complete, the ruin beyond remedy.



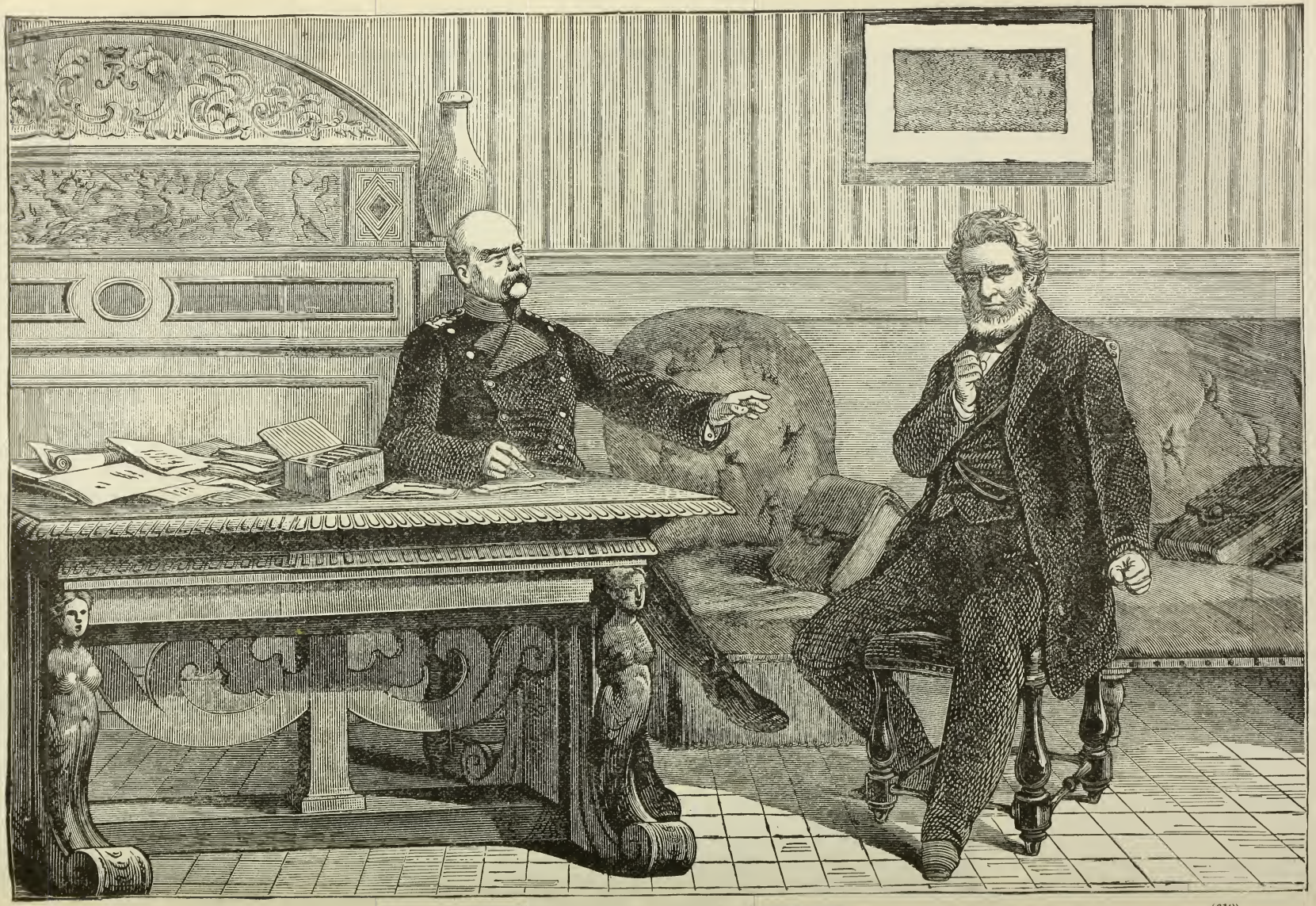
PRINCE FREDERICK CHARLES.

The Franco-Prussian War was to Napoleon III. and to the Second Empire a swift resolution of fallacies. The first was the fallacy that those South Germans, the men of Würtemberg, of Bavaria, of Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt, would seize the opportunity afforded by the French invasion to throw off the Prussian yoke and make common cause with the

deliverer. The deliverer was to be Napoleon himself. But the illusion was quickly dispelled. The Germans south of the Main sprang to the cause of the Fatherland with as much enthusiasm as the rest. The second Imperial fallacy was that Italy and Austria would seize the occasion to humble the pride and arrogance of this overweening House of Hohenzollern, obtruding itself upon the destinies of modern Europe. But Italy and Austria stood aloof from the conflict, and would have none of it. The one had discovered that, on the whole, Prussia was for her and her cause a safer ally than France, and the other had still in quick memory the vision and terror of Sadowa. So neither interfered.



VIEW OF WILHEMSHÖHE.



INTERVIEW OF JULES FAVRE WITH BISMARCK.

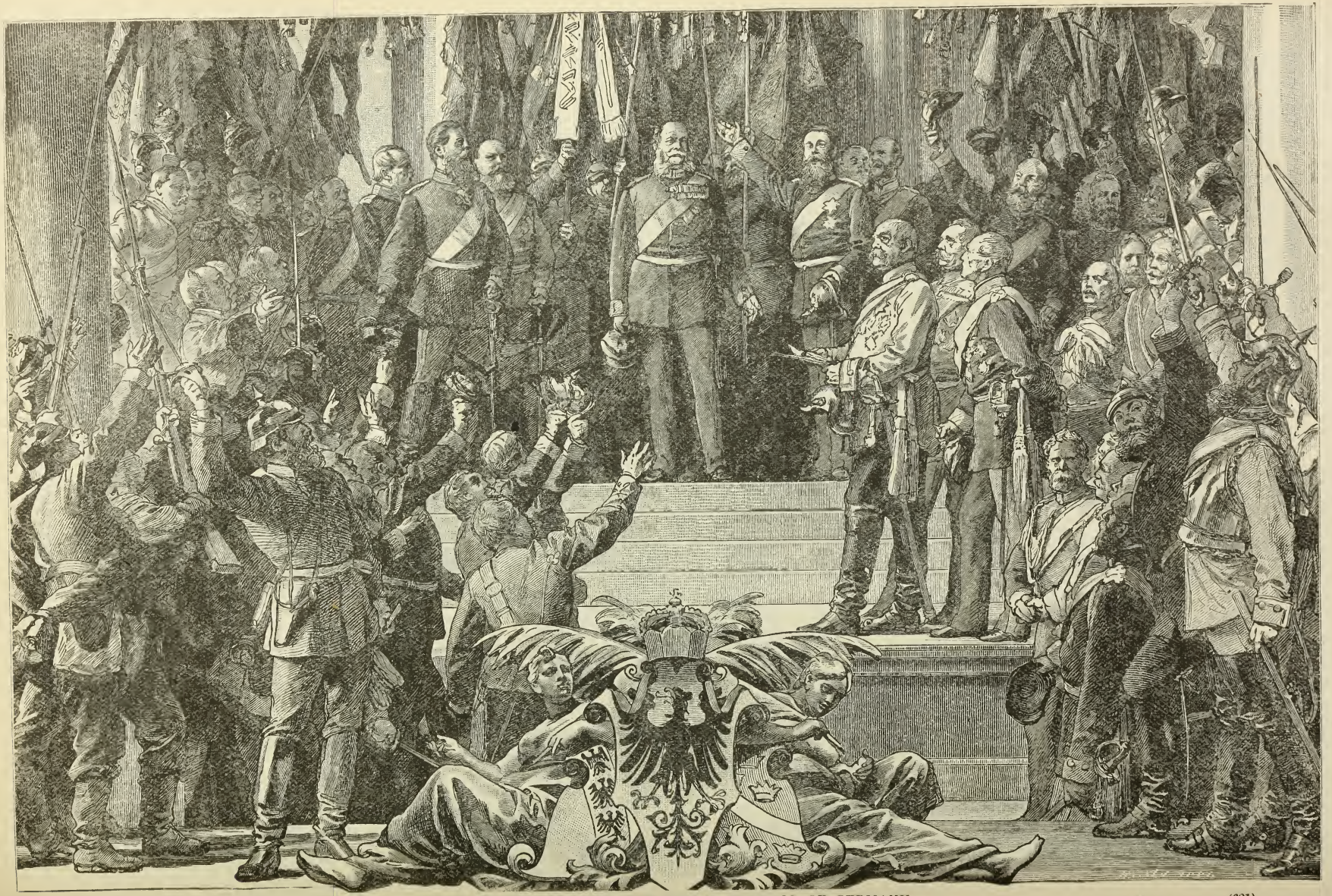
Napoleon was thus left to the cold discovery that, while the Germans of the various States might wrangle among themselves, they were as against *him* a unit. From the day of Saarbrück he began to recede. The command of the army got out of his hands. He was seen henceforth as an Imperial specter on the smoky confines of battle. Victory after victory came to the Germans. Finally the French line of retreat was cut in two, and Bazaine was forced back into Metz, there to be driven by siege to the most astounding capitulation of modern times. Then came Sedan. The French army was crushed in the horrid crater, and pounded into a bloody mass by the vomiting artillery of Germany, planted on the surrounding hills. Up went the white flag. The Emperor was down. The Palace of the Elysée was exchanged for Wilhelmshöhe. The Empire passed away. Eugénie and her son escaped from Paris, and the Republican leaders seized the reins of the plunging Government and mounted the fiery car.



THE UHLANS IN PARIS.

After Sedan, the Franco-Prussian War might well have ended. The French invasion had been hurled back in rout and ruin. The brave soldiers of France had been done to death by multiplied thousands, and other multiplied thousands were cooped up in the prisons of Germany. The humiliation of the aggressor was already extreme. Many liberal-minded Germans believed that the war had gone far enough. It is likely, as subsequent developments have shown, that the Crown Prince himself was of this opinion and desire. But Germany had become an avenger. Bismarck and the King, and the nation at large, had not yet satisfied themselves with the punishment of that traditional enemy. The memory of Jena and Friedland was still fresh with William, who recalled from the bitter recollections of boyhood the disasters of his country and the sorrows of his father and mother. Should such things remain without requital in the day of victory? Should not Paris herself be trodden under foot?

So the war continued. After a brief and murderous tragedy, the parallel of which can



PROCLAMATION OF KING WILLIAM AS EMPEROR OF GERMANY.

After the painting of Anton Von Werner.

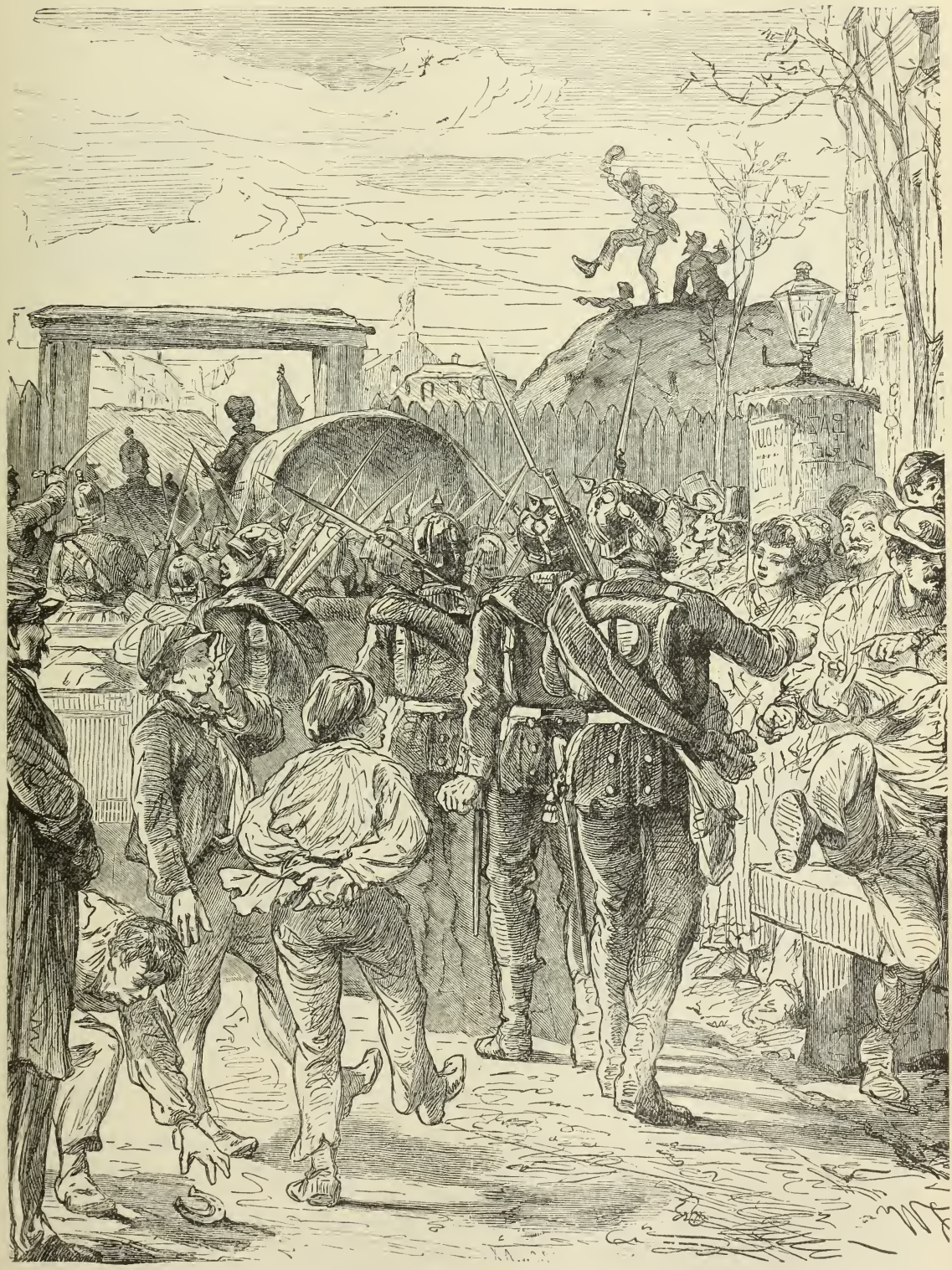
not be furnished from the ample *repertoire* of Modern History, the humiliation of France was complete. The victorious Germans walked in her high places, and muttered their objurgatory gutturals in her palaces. In vain did M. Gambetta seek to revive the cause of his countrymen. In vain did Jules Favre seek out the iron-hearted Bismarck, and entreat him to concede more favorable terms to his ruined country. On the 28th of January, 1871, Paris was surrendered. The armistice was declared and extended, and then, on the 10th of May, the Treaty of Frankfort was signed. The determined utterances of the French Republican statesmen, repeated almost daily from the day of Sedan to the downfall of the capital, that not a foot of land or a stone of a fortress should be given up to Germany, were blown away before the stern conditions of diplomacy and victory as so much political bombast. France was obliged to pay the enormous indemnity of five billions of francs to the German treasury, and to cede the Provinces of Alsace and German Lorraine to her conqueror.

The pride of the Teutonic race flamed high in victory The achievements of the German armies could hardly be paralleled. The struggle had been one of the fiercest known in history. Within the short space of seven months, seventeen great battles had been fought between the armies of the two leading Powers of Continental Europe. More than a hundred and fifty minor engagements had occurred, and twenty-two fortified places had been either carried by storm or taken by regular siege. Nearly four hundred thousand soldiers of France had been made prisoners of war, while more than seven thousand of her cannon and six hundred thousand of her small arms remained in the hands of her foe. It could but be, under such conditions, that the feeling of nationality, the pride of power and conquest, should inflame the victors to that high heat of transformation from which the new acts of history were prepared.

In all this the people of Southern Germany had had their full share. In the glow of anger and enthusiasm they had come to feel the common impulses of the race, and to forget the prejudices by which they had been isolated from the North-German States. Already, in the autumn of 1870, while the full tide of victory was on, the Southern Governments had entered into negotiation first and treaty afterward with the North-German Union, by which the former became members of the Confederation. Bavaria was the last to hold out against the historical forces which were bearing on to the end of German unity. She accordingly, on entering the Confederation, reserved certain important rights, such as the conduct of her own diplomacy, the maintenance of her postal, telegraphic, and railway system, and the command of her own army. The States of Würtemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt also made certain reservations; but otherwise, the union between the North and the South was already effected before the capture of Paris.

With the progress of events during the early winter, the old prejudices were still further forgotten, and then ceased to operate. Everything set in at full tide for the complete consolidation of the German Union, and for the conversion of that Union into the Empire. The tremendous prestige gained by Prussia in the field had now made it easy for her to assume, and for all the other States to accept, her unequivocal leadership of United Germany. Such was the unbounded enthusiasm for King William and his Government that the Imperial crown seemed to be held over his head by the hands of the German millions. The logic of events, against which the individual power of man is impotent, had brought about the inevitable. Even before the capitulation of Paris, Bavaria, last of the German Powers to yield, had yielded. It was therefore a mixture of compliment and necessity when the young Bavarian King, Louis II., was selected to invite King William, still with his army before the forts of Paris, to accept the crown of the German Empire. The suggestion met with universal approval, and, on the 18th of January, 1871, in the great Hall of Mirrors, in the Palace of Versailles, where the German Princes and Generals had thronged together, the proclamation of William was formally made.

The place and the occasion were sufficiently memorable. Here had Louis XIV. and Madame de Maintenon conversed in gorgeous state, and arrogated to themselves



GERMANS EVACUATING PARIS.

the first place in Christendom. Here, for many generations, had the great House of Bourbon glorified itself in the sunshine of power. Here had the Little Corsican trode up and down with his victorious sword by his side. It looked like fate—like the very work of Nemesis—that in *this* place the crown of



EMPEROR WILLIAM REËNTERING BERLIN.

the new-created German Empire should be placed, with loud acclaim, on the head of the grim old soldier, William I., of Hohenzollern.

With the capitulation of Paris and the withdrawal of the German armies the tumult rapidly subsided. France was for a season a house left desolate. We have already seen how the dreadful tragedy of the Commune was enacted in the French capital, and how the remaining military and civil energies of the nation were wasted in the fierce conflict with the Red Scepter which had planted itself in the Hôtel De Ville. Meanwhile the tremendous wave of Teutonism receded and sank away beyond the Rhine. There, to the remotest border of the Fatherland, was the outburst of pride and jubilation. The Emperor reëntered Berlin in a blaze of glory, the like of which had not been witnessed since the days of Napoleon I. It now remains to resume the narrative from the Prussian center, and to consider the progress, the development, and the triumphs of the New Empire.

CHAPTER CXLIV.—THE NEW EMPIRE.

IT can hardly be said that the formality of recognizing King William as Emperor of Germany contributed much to the power and glory of Prussia. Her real renown had been won before the 18th of January. Her emergence from her humiliations at the beginning of the century had begun long ago with that splendid system of education which was projected by Wilhelm von Humboldt, and which bore its full fruitage after a half century. With that came the light of free thought, flashing in effulgent streams from the great German Universities. It was this element of strength which William and Bismarck had laid hold upon, and which, combined with the policy of making every Prussian into a soldier, brought to perfection the legitimate fruits of intelligence and power before the day of Sedan, before the fall of Metz, before the taking of Paris, before the proclamation of the Empire.

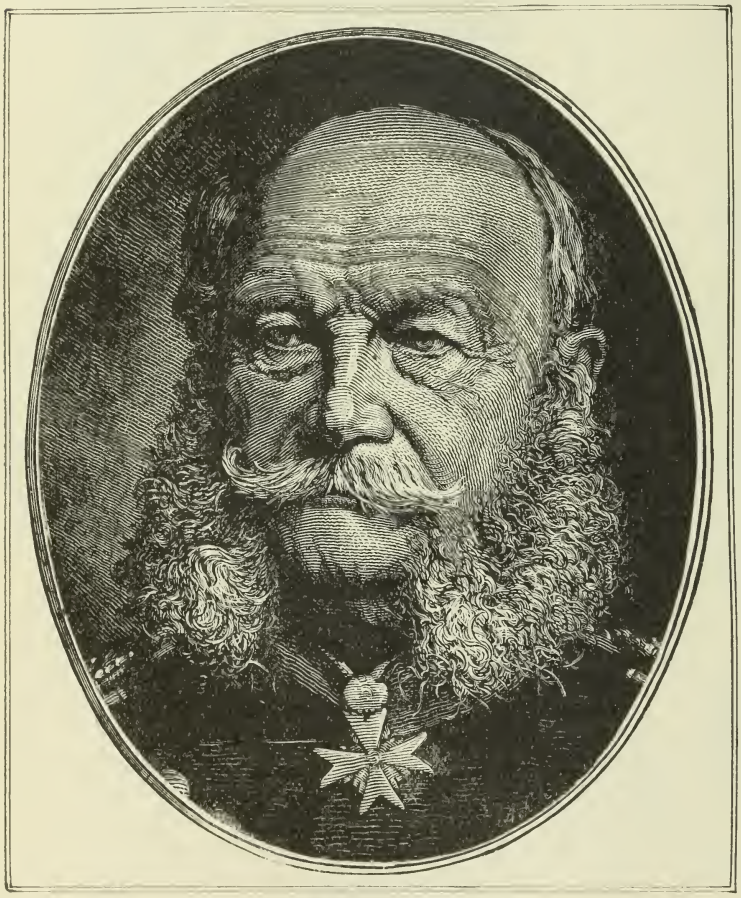
After the war-storm cleared away, the German Nation proceeded on the march under the impulse of national unity. In the spring of 1871 the first Imperial Diet was convened at Berlin. The constitution of the North German Union was taken as a basis of the Constitution of the Empire. The former was extended, amplified, and made applicable to the changed political conditions which had come with the setting up of the Imperial order. But the essential character of the system prevalent before 1871 was retained. The governmental theory which we here meet was one of great rigor. It conceded little to the people—much to the government. The Constitution of 1871 was in reality the expression of that Bismarckian policy which had prevailed more and more since 1858. It was the expression of Imperial autocracy and military force. It repeated in some sense the apothegm of Frederick the Great to the purport that he permitted his subjects to *say* whatever they pleased, on condition that he should *do* whatever he pleased.

It can not be doubted, however, that the Imperial Government, upon the progress of which we are now to enter, was fairly well adapted to the genius, dispositions, and peculiar political devolopments of the German people. The latter, either by race preference or by the historical education to which they had been subjected, attribute more to the Government and expect less of themselves than any other modern people of equal intellectual greatness and force. They expect the Government to do for the nation what almost any other enlightened people would expect the nation to do for itself; and it thus happens that a stronger, more concentrated, and more vehement form of administration is accepted and acceptable in Germany than would be tolerated for a moment in any English-speaking country—a fact which has been in recent years marvelously exemplified by the exodus of Germans to the United States. While the great majority have been content to accept the pressure and hardships of the Imperial system, the discontented have fled from it, and accepted voluntary expatriation in its place.

With the subsidence of the Franco-Prussian War many important questions confronted the Imperial Government. Now came the great struggle between the State and the Church in Prussia. While the premonitory swirls of the coming storm were felt along the Rhine in the summer of 1870, the Ecumenical Council, sitting in Rome, had pronounced the dogma of Papal Infallibility. Of all countries and conditions, Prussia and the new Empire were least favorable for the reception of any infallibility save their own. Nevertheless, the Mother Church in Germany accepted the Papal dogma, and there were reasons to believe that the old-time intrigue with respect to the subordination of the State to the Holy See was once more in the winds. It was a condition likely to bring out all the belligerency of Bismarck and the Imperial Government. He set himself like a pillar of stone against the Ultramontanes, and instituted vigorous precautionary measures against their schemes.

In this crisis, as might have been expected, the Jesuits were again the head and front of the offending. Their conduct led, in 1872, to a decree against them, and they were expelled from Prussia. This action was followed up in the following year by a series of measures called the May Laws, formulated and promoted by Dr. Falk, Minister of Public Worship.

The State was thus made to thrust back vigorously at the offending Church. The new statutes required all candidates for clerical offices to undergo, in the first place, a certain secular training at the universities, and after this was accomplished, to accept ecclesiastical appointment at the hands of the secular authority. A royal court was also established, to have jurisdiction over such matters as might arise under the new laws. Out of the nature of things, such legislation must meet the severe condemnation of the Pope. That dignitary accordingly pronounced the German statutes invalid, and the Catholic Bishops of Germany were authorized to disregard the law. The indignation of Bismarck and the Government rose to the pitch of vindictive action, and the recusant Bishops were subjected to many punishments for their disregard and infraction of the statutes. Many of the ecclesiastics were deposed and banished from the country. From others the support of the Government was withdrawn. In several instances religious orders were dissolved, and in other cases lay trustees were appointed to administer on property which had been forfeited by the Church. The general effect of these measures, which so largely occupied the attention of the Government in 1872–73, was to alienate the Catholic Church from the German Empire, and to place Prince Bismarck in the attitude of the arch enemy of the Papacy.



EMPEROR WILLIAM I

Hard after the conflict to which we have just referred came the great agitation of Socialism. It would appear that the German mind, at the epoch under consideration, was in that peculiar state of development at which ideas of socialistic progress find their easiest germination. The seeds of such a growth had already been widely scattered by Karl Marx and his following at the middle of the century. But the great diffusion of Socialism in Germany must be referred to the teachings of that enthusiast and scholar, Ferdinand Lassalle. As early as 1862 he made his appearance among the workingmen of Berlin and Leipsic, and became the recognized head of the Socialist party. It can not be doubted that Lassalle was inspired to an unusual degree with what the author of *Ecce Homo* has called the Enthusiasm of Humanity. He was not a labor agitator of the type peculiar to such conditions in America, but was a man of fortune and of luxurious habits. The bottom thought which he came to promulgate was simply this:


COPENHAGEN
NORTH SEA
Heligoland
Zuyder Zee
Zealand
Funen
Great Belt
Little Belt
Kiel Bay
Flensburg
Schleswig
Husum
Eckernförde
Kiel
Neumünster
Itzehoe
Cuxhaven
Heligoland B.
East Frisian Islands
Emden
Leer
Oldenburg
Papenburg
Cloppenburg
Meppen
Groningen
Harlingen
Lingen
Osnabrück
Rheine
Arnhem
Vreden
Münster
Emmerich
Wesel
Hamm
Dortmund
Soest
Bochum
Iserlohn
Arnsberg
Barmen
Düsseldorf
Remscheid
Solingen
Gladbach
Mühlheim
Deutz
Cologne
Julich
Aix-la-Chapelle
Duren
Rheydt
Bonn
Siegen
Neuwied
Coblenz
Ems
Homburg
Wiesbaden
Mayence
Kreuznach
Bingen
Oppenheim
Darmstadt
Worms
Birkenfeld
Kaiserslautern
Mannheim
Palatinate
Spires
Heidelberg
Saarbrücken
Metz
Forbach
Bitch
Landau
Weissenburg
Worth
Lorraine
Nancy
Luneville
Strasburg
Offenburg
Schlestadt
Epinal
Mulhausen
Belfort
Montbeliard
Basle
Switzerland
Rastadt
Carlsruhe
Durlach
Baden
Wildbad
Pforzheim
Hagenau
Zabern
Saarburg
Saargemund
Chateau Salins
Salzburg
Dieuze
Wurtemberg
Stuttgart
Ludwigsburg
Cannstadt
Esslingen
Göppingen
Tübingen
Ulm
Rottweil
Sigmaringen
Villingen
Freiburg
Todtnau
Zell
Lorrach
Waldshut
St. Blasien
Schaffhausen
Constance
Lake of Constance
Friedrichshafen
Ravensburg
Biberach
Riedlingen
Waldsee
Ehingen
Kempten
Immenstadt
Lindau
Bregenz
Hechingen
Rothweil
Hall
Aalen
Heilbronn
Wurzburg
Ansbach
Nurnberg
Bamberg
Coburg
Meiningen
Fulda
Marburg
Hersfeld
Eisenach
Gotha
Erfurt
Weimar
Jena
Naumburg
Leipsig
Merseburg
Halle
Dessau
Magdeburg
Brandenburg
Potsdam
Berlin
Spandau
Frankfort
Oder
Stettin
Pomerania
Mecklenburg
Schwerin
Rostock
Wismar
Lubeck
Hamburg
Altona
Bremen
Hanover
Brunswick
Wolfenbuttel
Celle
Lüneburg
Stade
Cuxhaven
Harburg
Gottingen
Northeim
Paderborn
Detmold
Minden
Osnabrück
Oldenburg
Bremerhaven
Wilhelmshaven
Varel
Jever
Friesland
Aurich
Dollart
Ems
Weser
Elbe
Saxony
Bohemia
Prague
Dresden
Chemnitz
Zwickau
Plauen
Hof
Bayreuth
Erlangen
Furth
Amberg
Ratisbon
Regensburg
Passau
Landshut
Freising
Augsburg
Munich
Ingolstadt
Kelheim
Neuburg
Donauwörth
Nordlingen
Aalen
Ulm
Biberach
Ravensburg
Friedrichshafen
Kempten
Immenstadt
Lindau
Bregenz
Salzburg
Reichenhall
Inn
Danube
Rhine
Main
Neckar
Moselle
Saar
Lahn
Ruhr
Weser
Elbe
Oder
Vistula
Belgium
Holland
Hanover
Westphalia
Hesse
Thuringia
Saxony
Bavaria
Swabia
Franconia
Alsace
Lorraine
Switzerland
Fisk & Co. N.Y.



MAP XXVI.

GERMAN EMPIRE

That under the existing order of society it is simply impossible for the workingman to improve his condition; to emerge and stand forth on the plane of a higher and more rational life. If this fundamental assumption be correct, then the existing order of society is wrong, or at least seriously defective; for no system of social organization which holds down, by its whole weight and tendency, the toiling masses, who create, out of the elements, all forms of value, can be other than oppressive, vicious, and, in the end, self-destructive. Therefore a change is demanded. And here it was that Lassalle, from being a philosopher, became a German. His doctrine was that the change demanded was the patronage by the State of productive associations, to be organized for the benefit of labor and the laborer, such patronage to extend to the furnishing of the requisite capital with which the associated industries were to be promoted, the security of justice to all such bodies and the members thereof, and the regulation, by statute and judicial appeal, of the markets of the world.

When the agitation was fairly on, Lassalle died; but his theory and teachings had taken a strong hold upon the mind of Germany. His memory was revered among the common people as that of an apostle and deliverer. As nearly always happens, the socialistic teachers who now appeared, wrested many of Lassalle's doctrines from their purpose, and became the evangels of mischief. The doctrine of the distribution of property, and of revolution as a means of effecting it, appeared, and the agitation took on that dangerous form which all such movements assume in the hands of the ignorant. It was at this time that the Socialist party as such appeared in the arena as an active force.

We have seen how a party of Liberals and Progressists sprang up as soon as the Imperial Diet was constituted, and how Prince Bismarck had to contend with these in the legislative department of the Government. They were so strong a force that the Chancellor of the Empire was, at times, seriously pressed by their opposition. It was under these circumstances that he adopted the policy of encouraging the Socialists. The latter were, if possible, more hostile in a political sense, to the Liberal than to the Imperial party. The principles which the Progressists represented were, on the whole, more obstructive of the advance of Socialism than were the principles of the Empire. It was in this respect that the German Government differed so greatly in its fundamentals from all other great States of Europe and America. It was not only a measure of political expediency, but a quasi sympathy on Bismarck's part for the Socialists, which led him into the way of encouraging them.

We should here observe, also, the favorable condition of Germany at this time to the progress and development of such views as were held by the Socialists. It was a time, not only of national emancipation, but also of triumph and the consciousness of power. Why should not this amazing strength and victory be turned to the good of the people, to the end of their elevation to a higher plane of life? Some fallacies also aided the spread of Socialism. The German common people had an exaggerated idea of the scope and variety of the advantages to be derived from the conquest of France. There, for one thing, was the war indemnity, a really enormous sum, equivalent to a billion of dollars in American money. How should it be expended? Of a certainty it belonged to the Government only in trust for the people. Why should it not be put forth in the promotion of industrial enterprises? Why should not the coöperative industries be made to spring forward under the tremendous impact of this mass of capital? Was it not sufficient, indeed, virtually to enrich, or at least make comfortable, the whole middle classes of Germany?

It could but happen under such beliefs that the ignorant masses, always quick to discount a dream, would begin a manner of life unsuited to their resources. They would anticipate impossible benefits, and thrust up their hand from the rushing stream to clutch the elusive bough of Tantalus. In the wake of all this came disappointment and hardship. The war indemnity melted away under the exigencies of the Government. Behold that military system, that tremendous engine, whose glowing furnaces must be fed with an infinity of fuel! Why not disband? said Liberalism. To this the answer of the Empire was ever ready—*France!* There lay France, sweltering

in the heat and effluvia of an uncontrollable hatred. Would she not revive? Would not the memory of Gravelotte and Metz and Sedan and Paris rankle in her breast until her revenge should come?

Bismarck, the Emperor, the Government, must act ever on this assumption. They must presuppose that France will fight again. She will make ready, and then spring across the Rhine. Therefore, Germany must remain a nation of soldiers. The tremendous army must be kept in discipline and mobilization. The military spirit must be fanned ever to the point of flaming forth. Under such a system, the five milliards of francs will soon melt away. The old hardships of the laboring men will return, and the country will continue to be drained for the support of the army. Such were the conditions which favored the Socialistic agitation, and gave opportunity to its leaders to win a powerful following.

By the middle of the eighth decade the evils of the German military system, and of the ideal and material forces to which we have referred above, were felt in full force. The price of labor fell off. Large numbers of workmen, particularly in the cities, lost employment, and joined the discontented. Publicists the world over must learn that under such conditions the agitator, however illogical his argument, will find a ready hearing. Whoever proposes a remedy, even though the remedy be worse than the disease, will gather a numerous following. Here it was that the new scheme of emancipation in Germany differed so widely from anything with which the reader is acquainted in the history of Great Britain. In that country the masses, when they are aroused, do not turn readily to socialistic dreams, but rather to the reform of abuses by means of the political machinery in their hands. The English common people have had a long and varied political education; and although its lessons have in so many instances proved, in application, a delusion and a snare, they have always chosen to reform, and reform, rather than to break with the existing order of society.

In Germany the conditions of political and social life are widely different from those of Great Britain. The German, instead of being greatest when he is governed least, would appear to augment his powers with the increase and energy of his governmental machinery. He relies upon the Government to do for him what the man who speaks English would prefer to do for himself. In other words, the German expects his Government to be good for something, and not to exist as a mere political figment to which an appeal, in times of emergency, is as foolish a mockery as to invoke a dream. Out of these conditions the German Imperial system became the strongest, and one might almost say the *most useful*, of human governments. Those who exercised its functions desired that it should be felt in every part and precinct of the national life. For this reason, when the clamor of Socialism came, the Government was not unwilling to be invoked in the matter of undertaking the patronage of labor. The monstrous nature of such an interference, which would at once have shocked the political sentiments of any other enlightened people, would seem not to have been felt as an abuse among the Germans. Arbitrary as was—and is—the whole Imperial system, it nevertheless sympathized, to a considerable degree, with the extravagant propositions of Socialism relative to the support of national industries by the public—by the State.

As in France and England in the times following revolutionary commotions, bitter personal animosities now appeared in Germany, and in some instances were directed against those in authority. While Socialism was growing and strengthening its stakes; while a not extravagant estimate showed that about one-tenth of the German voters had espoused the cause and principles of the new party, some deeds of violence done against the Government brought on a reäction. In the spring of 1878, while the old Emperor was driving with his daughter, the Grand Duchess of Baden, along Unter den Linden, a young Socialist named Hödel fired at him with a pistol, but missed his aim. As usual in such cases, the would-be assassin sought to glorify his act as something done at the peril of his life in the interest of the people. All this was at once charged up to the Socialists and their teaching. Hitherto the question of putting down Socialism by force had scarcely been suggested; but here was an attempt

made to destroy the head of the Empire. The grim old ruler who had ridden with his armies across France, and had lately stood surrounded with kings and princes in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, was shot at like a dog.

The reäction was immense. The nation was angered to its remotest border. The anti-Socialist party quickly seized the opportunity to drive home a public indignation against the faction from whose ranks the violence to public order had proceeded. The Government itself swayed under the excitement, and severe measures were at once projected to put down the Socialists by force of law and authority. It could but be noticed, moreover, that the measures in question were sweeping in their character. The repressive scheme did not stop with Socialist agitators, with the theorizers who sought a revolution of society, but was extended to all politicians whose language and actions were constructively disturbing to the existing system. Many who, for the moment, were earnestly in favor of repression for the Socialists, found that, under the impulse of the hour, a gag had been prepared for the freedom of speech, and was about to become a part of the German Constitution.

At the last, however, public opinion rallied, and righted itself in time to prevent a great wrong to the people. The Liberals discerned the drift of the proposed legislation, and it was rejected by a large majority in the Reichstag. But it was not long until another crazed assassin fired at Emperor William, and the news at once flew to the four quarters of Germany that the veteran defender of the Fatherland had been wounded by a Socialist bullet. By this time, however, the suspicion went abroad that there was something factitious about the business, and that the Government was not unwilling to receive a few stray shots for political effect. At least, with the prorogation of the Reichstag and the ordering of a new election, it was found that the electors were as much concerned about the preservation of their rights, the freedom of discussion, the unimpeded prerogatives of citizenship, as they were about the dangers and excesses of Socialism. The representatives elected in the summer of 1878 were as liberal and progressive as their predecessors, and were, at first, but little disposed to concede any measure to the Government of a kind to augment its power.

With the progress of parliamentary business, however, Prince Bismarck put in his powerful hand, and a large number of the Liberals were gained over to the support of the proposed repressive legislation. The measure suggested by the Government was coated with sweetness, by fixing the limit of two and a half years to the operation of the law. During this time, it was enacted that the police of the Empire should be intrusted with special powers for the entire suppression of Socialism. The new statute was at once vigorously enforced, and the Socialist phenomena melted quickly away. The Government, in the years 1879–80, might well flatter itself that the end had been attained, and that the agitation had disappeared forever.

The event, however, did not justify the expectation. Bismarck himself soon perceived that the sore in German society was only filmed. There is in that statesman an element of unrest in the presence of every condition which he can not control. Believing thoroughly in the autocracy of the Empire, and staking everything on its ability to manage with success the whole affairs of the German peoples, he could but be restive under the belief that Socialism was suppressed and not extinguished. Under the influence of motives thus supplied, he accordingly undertook by means of the Imperial system to patronize and direct the very cause which he had so recently attempted to extinguish by force. At the opening of the Reichstag, in November of 1881, the Imperial message was devoted in a considerable measure to the question of social democracy in Germany, to the means of its repression on the one side, and of the promotion of its favorite measures on the other. A system of State Socialism was actually declared as a fact and a principle which the Government was ready to promote. A scheme of positive measures was suggested as the remedy, and the Emperor, by his Chancellor, was made to declare that the healing of the existing social disorders was a part of his governmental policy. The new statutes proposed covered a great variety of provisions favorable to the workingmen of Germany.

An insurance was provided against sickness, accident, and old age. Inability to labor longer, from any honorable cause, was to be compensated by the public. The Imperial programme, while it recognized the difficulty of the task which it was thus imposing on itself, declared its purpose to recognize the industrial interests of society and the condition of the working people throughout the Empire as of the highest possible concern to the Government. The plan suggested by Lassalle of forming coöperative associations under the protection and patronage of the State was openly espoused in the governmental scheme, and proclaimed as a legitimate project for "organizing the life of the people."

The measures thus proposed might well have satisfied the most ardent Socialists of Germany. They were indeed so radical and fundamental to the constitution of society as to awaken the opposition of Liberals and Conservatives alike, who succeeded by their combined action in preventing the adoption of many of the important articles of the proposed Act. Unto the present day[1] the political and legal status of Socialism under the German Empire are matters indeterminate and uncertain.

The reader may well pause here to inquire into the success of the great scheme for unifying the German nations. The unthoughtful may suppose that the only necessary condition to such a union of States and nationalities is the mere formal agreement to be henceforth united, and to pursue a common course. Than this no other view can be more incorrect. Peoples do not assimilate thus easily. In the moment of enthusiasm union may be declared; but actual union can only be born of time and trial and tedious evolution. This principle was fully elucidated in the transformation of Germany from the loose confederation to the North-German Union, and afterwards into the Empire. Many signs of a true national life appeared from the first years of these constitutional changes. Nevertheless, the old customs and prejudices reässerted themselves at times with great force and persistency. A party called the Particularists appeared as the representatives of the past. They stood for the old individual nationalities, and opposed the consolidation of the German peoples, much after the manner of the Democratic statesmen in the United States in the years immediately following the Civil War.

Such publicists and politicians are, by their natures, the representatives of the Feudal instincts in man. The American fathers who established, first the Colonies, and then the Confederation, on our Atlantic sea-board, were strongly under the influence of the anti-national instinct. In Germany, with the setting up of the Imperial system, the Particularists must needs find occasion of great cavil and complaint. The mergement of the old individual liberties of the German race appeared to such minds as the last extreme of political despotism. The hostility to the Empire proceeded sometimes to the verge of disruption; but the new system was too firmly established, the new Administration too powerful and salutary, to permit any serious harm to the Imperial order. During the first five years after the proclamation of the Empire, the anarchic condition of Germany was brought into cosmic regularity. Every department of life passed under the sway of the new forces of society. An Imperial coinage was established, and the old local moneys of the different German States were replaced with a uniform unit of money and account. Imperial paper money and a system of banking were devised for the convenience of the whole people. More important still was the constitution of the great Reichsgericht, or Supreme Court, of Germany, for which provision was made in 1877. Nor may the student of history omit to note the contest of the time with respect to the *place* where the Reichsgericht should hold its sittings.

From the American point of view it would seem most natural that Berlin, the capital of the Empire, should be the permanent seat of the Supreme Court. But a strong prejudice had now appeared in Germany against the concentration in one city of so many governmental powers. It was said, and not without some ground for the saying, that Berlin is not Germany. The fatal example of Paris, long dominant in the affairs of France, long dictating by her imperial position the destinies of Kingdom, Empire, and Republic, was much cited by the Liberal German statesmen, and

[1] April, of 1890.



VIEWS IN BERLIN.

by the Particularists, who, for other reasons, coïncided with the Liberal view, that the High Court of the nation should sit at some place other than Berlin. A large majority adopted this policy, and it was decided that Leipsic, and not the Prussian capital, should be the permanent seat of the Reichsgericht.

The beginning of the year 1880 was marked in Germany by the reäppearance of a true symptom from the Middle Ages. To an American, little disposed as he is to pay attention to the accidents of birth, to the mere fortuities of human condition, and more particularly to the advantages or disadvantages of a given race descent, it must appear almost inexplicable that near the close of the nineteenth century a race war, or what threatened to become a war of races, should break out in one of the greatest and most enlightened States of Europe. It was at this time that the old hatred of the Germans for the Jews—and, it may be added, of the Jews for them—was revived in an aggravated form. It is one of the strangest circumstances in the history of Christendom, that that peculiar people, out of whose antecedent history the possibility of the Christian religion arose, should have been so universally despised, contemned, and persecuted. If the history of all the calamities and sorrows purposely inflicted on the Jewish race by the peoples among whom they have dwelt could be eliminated from the general story of nations, and set forth in vivid narrative and pictorial illustration, the world might well shudder at the one and stand aghast before the other.

In Germany these hardships of the Israelitish race have recurred with unusual severity and repetition. As early as the middle of the century those who had already begun the advocacy of German unification spoke favorably of the Jews as a people. Bismarck himself had declared, in 1847, that he was willing that all the offices of the State, except the administrative, might be filled by Israelites. It happened that in the year 1880 the German Government was desirous of recognizing the independence of Roumania. The Jews in that principality had been emancipated. It had happened that some Roumanian railroads had been built with money furnished by a Jewish syndicate in Berlin; and Prince Bismarck, espousing the cause of the syndicate, held that the interests of the same should be upheld in Roumania. This seems to have given rise to the agitation. The German press, beginning with the construction and ownership of foreign railroads by Jewish capitalists, began to assail the race for its alleged mercenary and unpatriotic character. It was declared that the Jews in Germany were foreigners in every fiber, inimical, as a body, to every interest of the Fatherland. It was said that the Jew knows no plow, no trowel, no hammer, no pickaxe, no spade; that he is a mere speculator on the proceeds of that human industry to which he contributes nothing. The animadversion continued to the effect that the Jew makes for himself a monopoly of commerce, and obtains control of the money market, using the same for the exclusive advantage of himself and his people. It was declared that he is a resident of the countries in which he is found only as a stranger in a hotel, living on the best, seeking the most profitable and easy places, intruding into the first seats, and working his way by intrigue and finesse into a financial station from which he is able to put his foot on the neck of the people.

Professor Treitschke was the chief agitator. He published a pamphlet on the Jewish question, in which he alleged that the sons of Israel out of the North and East were overrunning and eating up Germany. He set forth statistics showing that, while Italy has only about forty thousand, and England and France have each but forty-five thousand Jews, Germany has six hundred thousand, and that even this great number was constantly augmented by immigration. Finally the author declared that the anti-Semitic movement was powerful and deep; that it had stirred the most enlightened and cultivated circles of society; that it was not based on ideas of religious intolerance or national pride, but upon the natural right of self-defense; and that the Jews were, as a matter of fact, "the curse of Germany."

To the vociferous tirade raised against them, the Jews replied as best they might. They fell back upon the historical antecedents of their condition, showing that the real cause of their comparative isolation in modern society

had been the horrid persecutions to which they had been subjected in all Christian countries; that they had been excluded by society, and driven into the pursuits of the trader and the money-changer at a time when such vocations were under the ban; that the peculiar form of their modern activities was traceable, not to original preference, but to the necessities of the situation into which they had been forced by oppression and crime; that the pursuits which they now followed had become habitual to them by the very discipline to which they had been subjected; that such pursuits were open to all men alike, and that they themselves were successful by the very means which others ought to employ in commerce and the market; that they are not a people devoid of noble purposes; that they have public spirit and patriotism, and that the race itself, in so far from having contributed nothing to the welfare of the peoples among whom it has been distributed, had, on the contrary, given to the world such men as Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Heine, Spinoza, Rothschild, Montefiore, Disraeli, to say nothing of the ancients, the prophets and teachers of antiquity, of Moses, and the Maccabees, and the Christ.

Such were the essentials of the controversy which broke out afresh in 1880, and continued for several years to agitate and distract Germany. Much legislation was proposed, but little effected, with respect to the Jewish race. The question obtruded itself first into the Landtag, and then into the Reichstag, where the debates waxed furious pro and contra, until the issue seemed to engross the attention alike of the Government and the people. On the whole, the party in power held to the position of Jewish toleration, and of concession of equal rights to the race. The Crown Prince of Prussia was open in his manifestation of sympathy; but this embittered, rather than appeased, the anti-Semitic party. Many of the ablest statesmen entered into the discussion; but it was found impossible to proceed in any practicable manner to the suppression or expulsion of so great a body distributed through the German States. With the progress of debate, moreover, it was made evident that the abuses of which the anti-Semitic faction so bitterly complained, were in large part exaggerated and factitious, and that, in some particulars, the Jews, as bankers and merchants and traders, had been, and were, one of the most beneficial elements of German society. The whole controversy is repeated and enlarged upon in this connection, rather with a view of illustrating one of the strange aspects of the current history of the world, than with the purpose of defining any exact results springing from the controversy.

Near the beginning of 1880, Prince Bismarck, acting for the Imperial Government, brought into the Reichstag a proposition for the further increase of the German army. The demand was made for an addition of twenty-seven thousand men to the ranks, and of a large increment of artillery besides. The public was at once shaken with excitement and alarm. What, forsooth, could Germany wish with more soldiers? Had she not already one of the most powerful armies in Christendom? Was she not impregnable? And again the answer was—*France!* The Government, however, defended itself on other grounds, declaring emphatically that the motive was peace; that the army was not, as a matter of fact, as large as it should be, considered merely as a pacific force and argument.

In fact, a state of circumstances had now supervened which seemed to make it necessary for the Powers of Europe to overtop each other in their respective military organizations. The addition of military contingents in one country seemed to make it necessary for the others to make greater additions to their equipments. At the time of which we speak, Germany had actually under arms about six hundred thousand men, and the annual call brought into the ranks a hundred and ninety thousand recruits, to serve their term. It was estimated that the whole army which could be called forth in an emergency amounted, with the reserves, to fully a million five hundred thousand. The French army was about equally extensive, calling annually to the ranks a hundred and sixty-eight thousand new men. The annual call of Russia amounted to two hundred and ten thousand, and her whole army numbered about a million nine hundred thousand men. The Austrian force at the same date numbered, with reserves, about a million; so that, taken altogether, the armies of Europe, or rather of the four great Powers

of the Continent, numbered, in this time of profound peace, about six millions. Each of the Powers stoutly asserted, however, that everything in its own movements and preparations was distinctly pacific; that war was not desired and not expected, and that, in short, the withdrawal of six millions of men from all productive industries, and their organization into a destroying force, the momentum of which it were impossible to estimate, was necessary, as a sort of police contingent, for the maintenance of the peace! Von Moltke, in the Reichstag, declared that Germany had no fear, no expectation of war with anybody, and that the addition to the army was no more than a proper equipoise to the military powers of other countries.

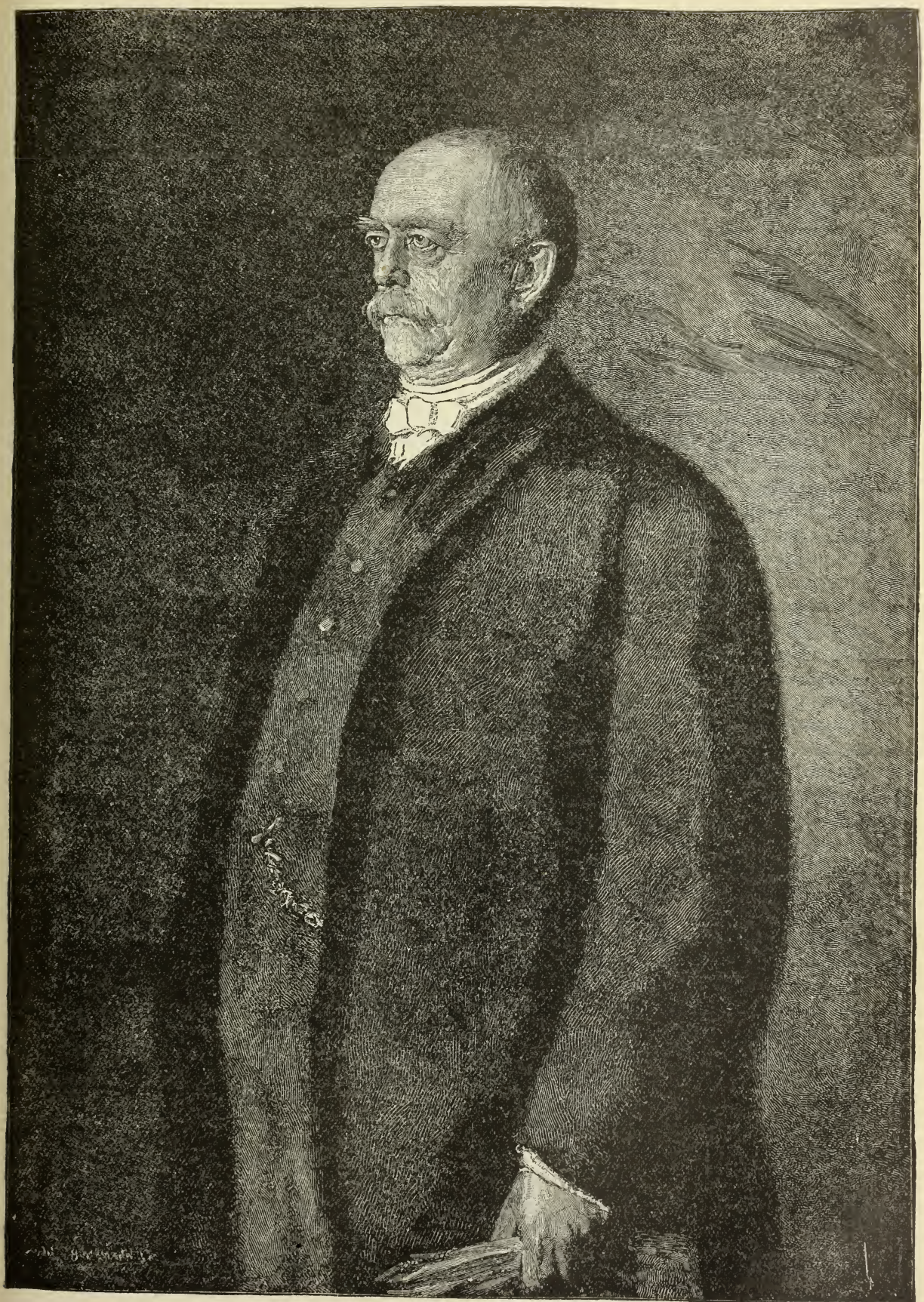
In the beginning of April of this year Prince Bismarck fell into a quarrel with the Bundesrath, or German Senate, relative to a measure for imposing a stamp-duty on the receipts for postal money-orders. The Government proposition was defeated by a combination of the smaller States, each of which, however insignificant, is, according to the German system, entitled to one member in the Bundesrath. Prince Bismarck hereupon resigned, and was disposed to insist upon his retirement, notwithstanding the refusal of the Emperor to accept his resignation. The Chancellor had discovered by this time his ability to force the legislative bodies into a surrender by threatening to withdraw from the conduct of the Government.

The situation which had now supervened in Germany with respect to this remarkable personage has had no parallel in other countries, at least within the present century. The conduct of the Chancellor in each crisis—which would have appeared to be mere bluster on the part of any other Premier in Christendom—was, in Germany, profoundly significant. The threat of resignation actually meant confusion come again. Bismarck knew it, and so did the Reichstag and the people. There was no other statesman in Germany that could presume to take up the Bismarckian burden. He alone,

> "Above the rest,
> In shape and gesture proudly eminent,
> Stood like a tower."

The menace of resignation, therefore, must be considered as an actual thing, and be dealt with as a calamity to be avoided. The result was that in the present decade the ascendency of Prince Bismarck in the German Parliament has amounted to an absolutism, the like of which could not be found, or even expected, in any other enlightened State. In the present instance the Bundesrath was obliged, for prudential reasons, and against its own judgment, to recede from its position and to accept the proposition of the Government for a stamp-duty on the postal money-orders of the Empire.

Difficulties of the kind above referred to became recurrent in the following years. The will of the nation on political and civil questions sought to express itself by its representatives in the German Parliament; but it was the theory of the Government that the needs of Germany were better understood by the Emperor and his Council than by the people themselves. Since the Government was in power, and the people were not in power, the policy of the former prevailed. Ever and anon a crisis of some kind would be precipitated, which would be broken in the habitual manner. The Chancellor would present his resignation. The Emperor would decline to accept it; and the refractory Reichstag, or Bundesrath, would be obliged to recede from its position. To the English-speaking reader this system must appear an intolerable despotism; but such a view is only partial, and does not fully cover the conditions present in Germany. True, the Government became, at the time of which we speak, arbitrary and severe in the last degree. Public opinion was many times trampled under foot, and the public will treated as though it were not. But there was never a more sincere, honest, and benevolent Government than this same Imperial tyranny. What charge of selfish ambition or of ulterior designs beyond the good of the Fatherland could be brought against this aged Emperor? Was not he, were not those whom he trusted, and to whom he committed the powers of the State, earnestly, thoroughly, devoted to the interests of all Germany and all the Germans? This is not offered in the way of an apology for the system itself, so harsh, so irrational, so intolerable, we might say, to the instincts of an enlightened people; but it is offered as an explanation of the peculiar form of the German despotism, and as an exposition of the



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reasons why the German people, little acquainted in their past history with the uses and usages of civil liberty, have, as a rule, so patiently and willingly accepted the Imperial order as a thing of dignity, of honor, and salutary force.

Prince Bismarck, nevertheless, felt, at intervals, the necessity of promoting concord between himself and the legislative bodies. In March of 1881 he took the occasion to address the Reichstag in a speech, which, though little apologetic, was explanatory of his own place in the Imperial system, and to a considerable extent of that system itself. It had been recently alleged by Herr Richter, leader of the Opposition, that Bismarck constituted the German Government in too large a sense for the welfare of the Empire, and that, since the Chancellor was in ill-health, many of his duties should be remanded to the charge of others. The Chancellor's answer was to the effect that, so far as his health was concerned, it was no affair of Herr Richter's, but only his own affair and the Emperor's. He declared that under the Imperial system the Chancellor was the only responsible functionary; but when it came to defining or finding the person or party *to whom* he was responsible, he was obliged to admit that none such existed. It was virtually a moral responsibility, as much as to say that he was responsible to himself. He declared his duty to be, under authority of the Emperor, to bring before the Reichstag for debate the decisions of the Council. This duty he must perform. Still, the performance or the non-performance of it rested with himself. Should he think it best, he might hold back the decisions of the Council. Should a bill be prepared by the Council, and have the approval of the Emperor, he, as Chancellor, might refuse to sign it. In that event, the Emperor and the Council would have to yield, or else the Emperor would be under the necessity of finding another Chancellor. The Prince knew well enough that in such a situation, his Imperial master would not seek another Chancellor, but would retain the one whom he knew and trusted. Since, under the Constitution of the Empire, legislation must originate in the Council, it followed, as a necessary sequence, that it must originate with the Chancellor. Otherwise, he might not transmit to the Reichstag any proposition whatsoever. It thus happened that every enactment must come from him. He was not responsible to either House or both Houses of the German Parliament. He could not be dismissed from office save by the Emperor himself. Wherefore the Chancellor of the German Empire, under the Emperor's authority, governs, and the Reichstag has no prerogative beyond the discussion of such measures as are submitted to it for such purpose by the Chancellor. To the American reader it must seem amazing that such a scheme of civil government could be openly avowed by a Prime Minister in the presence of one of the greatest deliberative bodies in Christendom, and survive the declaration for a single hour.

In the meantime, the controversy with the Catholic Church in Germany continued. The Falk Laws, so-called from their originator, were still in force; but these were not recognized as valid by the Catholics. The Pope and the Catholic organs set themselves in bold opposition to the repressive statutes, declaring that they were invalid *per se*, and that any Catholic deputy who should accept them or recognize them in any way should therefor suffer excommunication. The Ultramontane party found a leader in the Reichstag in the person of Herr Windhorst, who stood boldly forth as the defender of the Mother Church.

The operation of the Falk Laws had already wrought great mischief with them of the ancient faith in all Germany. Distress supervened, and Prince Bismarck came at length to see that something must be done to restore a better feeling among the Catholics of the country. It was found that fully a thousand parishes had been left without priests, and that nine out of the eleven Bishops of Germany were absent and virtually exiled from their dioceses. The support of the Falk Laws was now derived almost wholly from the Liberals, under the leadership of Doctor Falk himself, and by this wing of anti-Catholics the opposition to the Church was as vigorously maintained as ever. The Ministry, however, were at length driven to a more pacific course with respect to the Church. Negotiations were opened between Prince Bismarck and the Vatican, with a view to the restoration

of friendship. Great was the clamor raised against the Government for this policy. It was said that Bismarck, like the Emperor Henry IV., was ready to go barefoot in the snows of the Pope's door-yard. But, as usual, the Chancellor held on in his own way, until peace was at length attained by the concession of nearly everything that the Church had contended for. The Clericals regained, to a considerable extent, their former position in the religious society of Germany, and the hopes of Liberalism that a master had at last been found for the Church of Rome were doomed to disappointment.

In the autumn of 1881 the political interests of Europe were for a time excited by the meeting of the Emperors of Germany, Austria, and Russia, at Dantzic. The conference originated with the rulers themselves, and was supposed to have had its origin in a fear entertained by the Czar that Prince Bismarck was contemplating a rectification of the German frontier on the side of Russia. It was believed that the German Chancellor had it in mind to amend the map of Europe by transferring Poland from both Austria and Russia to the dominions of his Imperial master. It was thought that the scheme contemplated, in a compensatory way, the giving of the Balkan principalities to Austria, but it did not appear in what way the Czar was to be compensated for the supposititious loss of territory. His Majesty was therefore ill at ease, and sought by means of the conference to satisfy himself that no such mischief was intended.

As usual in such business a pretext was devised other than the true one. Ostensibly the Emperors came together to discuss the question of Socialism in Europe—how it might be suppressed and dissipated from the scene of politics and government. By this time the Socialist goblin towered up in the imagination of the Emperors, especially those of Russia and Austria, as a specter of ill-omen to the whole existing order. The presence of such a shadow was made the excuse of the Imperial meeting, much as a conference of American Senators, bent on the promotion or invention of some prodigious scheme, might call a conference to consider the evils of Mormonism in the United States. Though the meeting of the sovereigns was private, though the subjects discussed and the tone of the discussion was known only to themselves and their secretaries, yet the business was divined by the world at large, and it came to be understood that the Czar was satisfied with the existing condition in the West, and that his fears of the excision of Poland from his dominions were removed.

Shortly after the meeting of the Emperors the German National election was held, resulting in great gains to the Opposition. While the Liberals did not of themselves succeed in gaining a majority in the Reichstag, their increment of strength was considerable, and the combination of the factions in opposition to the Government was sufficient to turn the majority against it. It therefore became a question in what manner the Chancellor might deal with the intractable body upon which he must depend for support in the conduct of civil affairs. At the opening of the Reichstag in November of 1881, the speech from the throne was delivered by the Chancellor, who, in the first place, dwelt at length upon the pacific disposition of the Powers, and the confidence of the Emperor that the peace of Europe was in no danger of disturbance. In the subsequent part of the message the Chancellor dwelt upon domestic affairs, taking up the very same propositions which the Government had formerly made and which had been passed upon adversely in the recent election. The result of the elections was treated as a nullity. Prince Bismarck went on to recommend the granting to the Government of a monopoly of the tobacco trade; to ask appropriations for the ensuing two years; to recommend the establishment of a four-year term as the period of membership in the Reichstag; to insist on a system of insurance by the State for the invalid workingmen of Germany. It was noted at the time that the parts of the Chancellor's speech reviving and pressing upon the Reichstag the very propositions which the German people had just decided in the negative, were received "with icy coldness, and that not one sentence was applauded." No sooner had the Imperial speech been delivered than the Liberal batteries were opened, and it was at once discovered that not only a majority, but a majority of two-thirds,

could be commanded against the Imperial programme.

In the beginning of December, a bill for the establishment of an Economical Council, upon which Bismarck exhausted his powers of persuasion and influence, was rejected by the Reichstag, which refused the requisite appropriation by a vote of a hundred and sixty-nine to eighty-three. In any other country than Germany, under any other system than that of the Empire, under any other Emperor and Prime Minister than William and Bismarck, such a vote would have been instantly fatal to the existing Administration; but the Chancellor and his master gave as little seeming heed to the result as though the Prince had lost a game of chess to a friendly competitor!

It could be seen at the beginning of 1882 that the German Government was seriously engaged in the work of making its peace with the Mother Church. The Liberals noted, with ever-increasing mortification, the rising sympathy between the Conservative and the Clerical party. The project of Bismarck was clearly to gain the support of the Clericals, in order that the Government might, at all hazards, secure a majority. The inconvenience of conducting the Imperial Administration without the backing of a majority in the Reichstag, bore with ever-increasing weight upon the Chancellor, impeding his plans and disturbing his temper; and he became willing to confederate with the party of the Ancient Church in order to put an end to his embarrassments.

The course of Prince Bismarck within the current decade has fully illustrated the pliability of his political principles. Indeed, it might be difficult to discover what his principles really are. As we have already remarked, the Imperial Government sought the advantage and welfare of Germany; but the ends were pursued from the particular point of view occupied by the Emperor and the Chancellor. Bismarck, in his relation to the Nation, may well remind the reader of Lord Palmerston and his career in England. The policy in either case meant success, and the means thereto were at no time tested by the standards of a high political morality. Thus, in the year 1882, we begin to find Prince Bismarck and Herr Windhorst in affiliation. In January, the latter, as leader of the Clerical party, brought into the Reichstag a bill for the abrogation of the Falk Laws, by which the exercise of ecclesiastical rights in Germany, without the sanction of secular authority, was forbidden. The debates on this proposition continued until late in the month, when the third reading of Windhorst's Act was carried, and the measure soon afterwards became a law. All the principal features of the Falk statutes were repealed, and the Church swung back into her ancient position.

It was said by the adherents of the Government that the policy of "overwhelming generosity" which had thus been adopted with respect to the Catholics would bring about a great reäction in the Church favorable to the Bismarckian ascendency. It was thought that Rome would be set aglow by the concessions which had been made to her subjects in Germany. Great, therefore, was the mortification of the Conservative party when no such warmth of feeling was seen among the Catholics. On the contrary, they accepted the repeal of the Falk Laws as a matter of course. The Vatican considered the repeal simply as an act of justice which a refractory son had at length been induced, by right reason and conscience, to do to an injured party. It thus happened that when Prince Bismarck looked around for the support of the Clericals, the same could nowhere be found. When he demanded that his tobacco monopoly should be conceded by the Reichstag as the reward of virtue, the proposition was rejected in committee by a majority of six to one. It could but be noted, however, that the iron Chancellor was to all seeming little disturbed at the ill-success of his concessions to Rome. It had now become his habit never to acknowledge defeat, never to recognize the fact, and to proceed in the same manner as though no such thing had occurred. It was at once given out by the Government that the bills for the establishment of the tobacco monopoly, for biennial appropriations, for the quadriennial term of membership in the Reichstag, and for other favorite projects of the Chancellor, would be brought forward again and again, be debated and re-debated until argument and persistency should prevail over opposition, and the Government have its way.

Later in this year another important measure was agitated which, it was thought, would be the crowning act in the reconciliation with Rome. There had been established by the Government a law for Compulsory Civil Marriage, which was exceedingly distasteful to the Catholics. The Mother Church had always claimed, and had immemorially exercised, the right of performing marriages under the sanction of religion, and of religion only. Little had she concerned herself about the civil law or the preferences of secular society. In Germany, as in most other countries, the double usage had grown up of civil and religious marriage. In the times when the Imperial Government was at sword's-points with Rome it had been enacted, as a part of the repressive policy which Bismarck was then pursuing, that all marriages should thenceforth have the civil sanction. The act was of a character to put the marriages of the Church under the ban to the extent of not recognizing them as valid until the civil magistrate had ratified or repeated the ceremony.

This law, both in its theory and application, was an eye-sore to the Church; and in 1882 a strenuous effort was made for the repeal of the existing statute. Now it was that another example was afforded of the inevitable union of all classes of ecclesiastics whenever the privileges of any are endangered. What in this case should the Protestant clergy do but *join the Catholics* in the demand for the abolition of compulsory civil marriage. They, too, as well as the Romish priests, would fain gain and keep a monopoly of that relation by which man and woman are established in the family. It was believed at the time of the agitation that the Government itself, particularly the Emperor and Empress, were secretly in sympathy with the movement to reëstablish independent religious marriage under the sanction of either Church. But the whole project came to naught. It was found that the body of the German Senators were immovable for the maintenance of the prerogatives of secular society. Perhaps they had recently seen of how small an advantage were the greatest concessions made to Rome. In the Bundesrath, the motion for the abolition of compulsory civil marriage was definitely rejected, and the Clericals retired in defeat.

The policy of the Vatican in its dealings with the civil governments of the world could not be better illustrated than in the course of the Pope after he had gained the day in Prussia. We have seen above how the old question of requiring the sanction of the secular authorities in the matter of ecclesiastical appointments and offices was carried in the negative, and how the Mother Church regained her place in the economy of Germany. The Government, however, had forced upon her a single clause to her dislike. This required that when ecclesiastical officers should hereafter be appointed in the German Empire, the Government should be "notified" of such appointments, and the persons by whom the Church offices were to be filled. This was equivalent to saying that the Church should, out of courtesy, tell the Government that she had done as she pleased! At this very time, however, an effort was making by the Catholics to establish themselves on favorable grounds in Russia. There His Holiness must be meek and discreet until what time he had gained sufficient footing to throw off his humility. He accordingly entered into negotiations with the Czar, and the latter with him, with respect to the filling of Catholic vacancies within the dominions of Russia. In this case it was agreed that the ecclesiastical offices should be filled with persons mutually agreed upon by the Czar and the Pope, or by their representatives. The Vatican cheerfully assented to the proposition that the Russian Minister of Public Worship should pass upon all the appointments made for the Catholic Church within the Russian Empire. The Pope was very willing thus by concession and prudence to gain a status for the Romish Church in Russia, not being able in that country to dictate, as he had recently done in Prussia, the terms on which his subjects might be obedient to the law.

The spring of 1883 witnessed an unusual incident in the relations of the German Empire and the United States. Hitherto Germany had been open to all the products of the American market, and among these pork constituted one of the most important items. It happened at this juncture that a disease, having its origin in the *Trichina spiralis*, spread among the swine in some parts of the United States, and in a few instances diseased pork

had found its way into the markets. But trichiniasis was never so prevalent as public report had made it. The news of the disease, however, was carried to Europe, and the German Government, in its usual paternal manner, determined that the American product should be excluded. There was much shrewdness in the measure, which was at bottom a protective scheme, devised in the interest of the landowners, swineherds, and pork-packers of Germany. The appearance of trichiniasis in the United States was seized upon as the pretext for the exclusion of American pork, and the consequent protection to that of Germany.

Investigation immediately showed that the apprehension of disease from American importations was wholly factitious. The importers of Hamburg and other commercial bodies in Germany held up the measure of the Government in its true light, but the discussion was not sufficient to remove the restriction. Not a little ill-feeling was produced in the United States on account of the inhibition of her products. But since her own established policy was that of protection, and since she possessed abundant opportunities to retaliate in kind, it was determined to meet the German scheme in this manner, and by a diplomatical remonstrance rather than by harsher means.[1]

It might well have been thought that the concessions made by the Imperial Government to Rome in the first two years of the decade would have been sufficient; but not so. The clause in the settlement requiring notification to the secular authorities of ecclesiastical appointments in Germany still implied a sort of veto upon such appointments, or at least admitted the right of the Government *to know* what the Church was doing. Even so much as this was soon found to be highly displeasing to the Clerical party, and it was decided from the Vatican that still further concessions should be demanded. The Government had now begun the policy of "overwhelming generosity," and there was no telling where the same was to end. The discussion broke out anew in the Landtag, where the necessities of the Government seemed to be dependent upon the support of the Clericals. The latter made the most of the situation, by requiring, as a condition of their support, the removal of that offending clause of the religious settlement, by which the principle of a civil revision of the Church offices was declared, and to this the Government, out of the stress of the situation, was induced at length to yield.

During the years which we are here considering, the slumbering animosity between France and Germany seemed ever ready to burst forth into a conflagration. In the summer of 1883 the situation for awhile grew critical. At this time the French operations in Tonquin were at full tide, and the news from the East brought repetitions of the story of success. The French were, for the season, greatly elated, when, to the astonishment of Paris, and indeed of all Europe, a semi-official article appeared in the *North-German Gazette*, accusing France of disturbing, and attempting to disturb, the peace of the nations. It was believed in the diplomatical circles of Europe that the publication in question had been inspired by Prince Bismarck; but what the real significance of the article might be was no more than a guess to any. The effect of it was to spread a sort of chill among the European Governments, and to disturb the money-market of the world. The funds fell seriously in both Paris and Berlin; but the summer passed, and the alarm subsided. It was recalled in the retrospect that, while the French were engaged in their Tunisian campaigns, similar oracular utterances had appeared in the official papers at Berlin, from which the inference was drawn that Prince Bismarck, in order to prevent, or at least to mar, the success of the French arms abroad, had adopted the policy of making publications portending war as a measure *in terrorem*, intended for effect not only in Germany and France, but throughout Europe.

Another incident of the year was the visit of the Crown Prince of Germany to the Court of Spain. The King of Spain was one of the sovereigns who had recently paid his respects in person to the Imperial Government at Berlin. These small civilities would have had little significance in themselves, but for the

[1] The restriction on the importation of American pork into Germany continued until February of 1890, when the absurdity of the interdict, becoming manifest, led to its abrogation.

temper with which they were viewed in France. On the occasion of King Alphonso's visit to the German capital he went through Paris *en route*, and was there subjected to some indignities by the French Radicals, who were angered at the thought that a Spanish King should, under any circumstances, make a visit to Germany. A scheme was concocted between the irreconcilables of Paris and Madrid, that on the occasion of the Crown Prince's coming to the latter city, he should be duly insulted by the rabble. The existence of so mean and pitiable a plot was chiefly significant as another evidence of the unquenchable hatred existing between the two nations.

In the following year the somewhat superficial unfriendliness between Germany and the United States reäppeared in the diplomacy of the two countries. At the time of the incident referred to above, relative to the exclusion of certain American articles from the German markets, the place of American Minister at Berlin was held by Honorable A. A. Sargent, formerly a Senator from Massachusetts. He it was who gave notice to the State authorities at Washington City of what he conceived to be the true animus of the German Government in closing the markets of the country against American pork. The communication of the Minister was made public in the United States, and since it assigned other than the avowed motives of Prince Bismarck, it was regarded as an act not only of indiscretion, but of injustice and untruth. For this reason the American Minister fell into disparagement, if not disgrace, at Berlin, the German Government going so far as to recognize his presence and office only under the strictest formalities of etiquette.

While this state of affairs continued the public was informed of the death of Herr Lasker, one of the most prominent leaders of the Liberal party in all Germany. He was a man who had acquired great influence in his own country, and had drawn to himself the admiration of American Germans to an unusual degree. His admirers in the United States were sincerely grieved at his death, holding him in much the same esteem that Friedrich Hecker had enjoyed in his day. The German influence was felt in the House



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of Representatives, and Congressman Ochiltree in that body offered a resolution of condolence on Herr Lasker's death, with the request that the same be forwarded to the German Government. In the resolution a passage was found in which it was asserted that Herr Lasker's "firm and constant exposition of and devotion to free and liberal ideas had materially advanced the social, political, and economical condition" of the German people. Of course such an assertion could not well be accepted

by Prince Bismarck without a stultification of the principles of his Administration. For Herr Lasker had been one of his ablest and most successful opponents at the bar of public opinion in Germany. Instead, therefore, of transmitting to the Reichstag the resolutions of the House of Representatives, Bismarck returned them to the German Minister at Washington with instructions that they be handed back to the body with which they originated. He accompanied the returned message of the House with a communication wherein, it may be fairly confessed, that he showed the justice of the position which he had taken. Referring to the expressions of the resolution in favor of the political principles of Herr Lasker, the Chancellor said:

"I should not venture to oppose my judgment to the opinion of such an illustrious body as the House of Representatives if I had not, by more than thirty years' active participation in the internal policy of Germany, gained an experience which justified me in attaching a certain value to my judgment in questions of home affairs."

The pacific and modest reply made by Bismarck did much to allay the excitement, and even dispel the interest of the American people in the controversy. Presently afterwards, it was known that the American Minister at Berlin had been invited to a State dinner, at which he was received with the usual courtesies and marks of public respect. It was found, however, that the dislike of the German Government to Mr. Sargent was only concealed under a necessary formality. His position became at length so distasteful to himself, as well as to those to whom he was sent, that he resigned his position, and returned to the United States.

It can but serve as a further illustration of the prevalent spirit in German history to note the sequel to the Lasker resolutions. To the Liberal party in Germany, the expressions of the American House of Representatives were most grateful. The action of Bismarck in sending back the paper of condolence was bitterly resented in his own country. The Executive Committee of the Liberal Union of Germany prepared an address of thanks to our House of Representatives for its action in the premises. It might have been supposed that such a course would anger Bismarck, and that the political warfare between the Government and the Liberal party would be intensified. But no such visible result came of the controversy. The Prince remained in his Chancellorship, and, to all seeming, gave as little heed to the action of the Liberal Union as though the same had been taken at a town meeting in Baden. Presently afterward he made a speech in the Reichstag, declaring his entire friendliness to the United States; but saying at the same time that the Chancellor of the German Empire was not his "enemy's postman"—by which was meant that Herr Lasker, and the party which he represented, were the enemies of the German Government, and that Bismarck would not carry messages between them and their sympathizers in foreign lands.

The appearance of cholera in the South of Europe in the early summer of 1884 led to a general alarm throughout Europe and America. The news was borne abroad that at Marseilles the people were falling by hundreds from the dreadful malady. For the past two years it had been known that the disease was making its stealthy way from port to port, in its course to the West. Hitherto such an advance of the disease had always been the premonition of a campaign of death in almost all the cities of Europe and the New World. More than once already the cholera had crept from our own sea-board westward across the mountains, along the rivers and other thoroughfares of the Mississippi Valley, until the backwoods villages of Indiana and the slave-quarters of Missouri plantations were smitten with the scourge. The same thing was now expected to occur; but fortunately for the destinies of mankind, a new order had supervened, a new element been introduced into the bosom of civilization. Science had come—a belief in the beneficent reign of law, and the possibility of defeating the invisible enemy at his own chosen method of warfare. Cholera could no longer be preached as the scourge and visitation of an offended Power on high. It was met, on the contrary, simply as a poison, disseminated by natural means, infesting the water and the air, and thus assailing the citadel of life.

All the countries of Europe, and the more

enlightened Governments of America set themselves against the scourge. Instead of flying, as they had been wont to do, the people everywhere faced their foe. In Germany, especially, the celebrated Dr. Koch entered the arena, under the direction of the Government, to prevent the spread of cholera in the Fatherland. He made a report on the disease which had great influence in determining action in both Europe and America. Measures of quarantine were adopted everywhere, and in some places military blockade by land was established. The use of disinfectants was taught, and a spirit was soon diffused everywhere like that of people successfully fighting a fire. The reward was sufficient. Philanthrophists everywhere had the inexpressible happiness to witness the triumph of intelligence and science over one of the worst enemies of the human race. The cholera scarcely penetrated the interior of France. It obtained no footing in the ports of Western Europe, and the Atlantic proved an impassable barrier. With the following year it was noticed that even in the towns of the Mediterranean the reäppearance of the disease was feeble and sporadic. Instead of a universal plague, the few remaining cases only sufficed to testify in unmistakable language to the efficiency of the means which the scientific knowledge of mankind had used to trammel up and extinguish the ravages of the dreaded enemy.

The most important event in the history of Germany during the years 1885–86 was the promotion of a scheme for foreign colonization. The appearance of such a phenomenon at this date marks and emphasizes the surprisingly late political development of the German race. It also shows with equal clearness a peculiarity of the Teutonic peoples, distinguishing them from the Low-Germanic family. The latter, in its Anglo-Saxon development, has proved by far the most energetic colonizing force which has appeared in the modern world. We have had occasion in other parts of the present Work to point out the feebleness and unwisdom of the Gallic race in the matter of colonization. It would appear that the Germans are more like the French in this particular than in almost any other feature of the national life. The reader may well marvel to find the German Government and people awaking in the latter part of the nineteenth century to the thought and purpose of planting colonies in foreign parts, as though the idea were new to the world. The project above referred to was indeed a part of the new national consciousness which came to Germany with the Franco-Prussian War and the founding of the Empire. It may also be referred in part to the personal vision of Bismarck, who was not averse to seeing the German Nation perform abroad the same work and destiny which other nations were doing and fulfilling.

Under the impulse just described, the colonization fever appeared in Germany. The movement took practical form from the action of the local Senates of Bremen and Hamburg, as early as 1883. Afterwards it was decided by the Imperial Government to take Africa as the field of its colonial enterprises. In May of 1884, Dr. Nachtigal was appointed a Consular Commissioner, and sent out in a war-vessel to the African coast. It appears that the Hamburg merchants, already established at the mouth of the Cameroons, had prepared the way for the work in hand by negotiating treaties with the native kings. The part of the coast selected for the establishment of the German foothold extended from Bimbia to beyond Batanga, that is, the country between parallels 4° and 2° N. It appears that the African princes in this part of the country had already sought to put themselves under the protectorate of Great Britain; but that Government had moved clumsily in the matter, and was now headed off by the German Consular expedition. Afterwards, when the British Consul arrived, his protest against the German preöccupation was futile. The success of the German enterprise was marked from its incipiency. The Lüderitz settlement, Angra-Pequena, and the coasts of Namaqua and Demara Lands as far northward as Cape Frio, were secured to the German flag. The coast from two degrees of north latitude to twenty-six degrees south was, for the most part, organized under the protectorate of the Imperial Government. The other Powers acquiesced in the result, and a conference was called at Berlin to discuss and fix more definitely the political condition of the West African coast.

It was not long, however, until the advantage thus gained by Germany began to be doubted even by herself. The fact came to be recognized that the true age of colonization had passed with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was noticed that the recent efforts of France in Tunis, Tonquin, and Madagascar had entailed nothing but trouble upon the French Republic. It was seen and realized that the better parts of the barbarian world had been occupied, colonized, and taken by Great Britain, Spain, Holland, France, and Portugal nearly two hundred years ago. England herself had ceased to exploit colonization as a feature of her power. On the contrary, the great and successful colonies of our Mother Country had either long since attained actual independence or had reached a condition of semi-independence which, in some instances, threatened the solidarity of the Empire.

Meanwhile, the national greatness of the various countries had been established on another and totally different basis. The power of Germany had been due to concentration rather than expansion. More than any other modern nation her greatness was fixed and riveted to her own ancestral territory. It was perceived that it was in the nature of a dissipation of power to send out colonial establishments to the African coast and the South Pacific, which must needs be defended with the military arm and a vast expenditure of treasure. All this tended to dampen the colonizing ardor of the German people, and to remand them to the home interests of the Empire.

Another circumstance contributed to bring back the Imperial Government to its normal methods. This was a complication with Spain relative to a colonizing experiment in the Caroline Islands. It happened that one of this group, called Yap, had fallen under the notice of both Germany and Spain. The latter Power sent out an armament for the occupation of the island, which arrived at its destination in August of 1885. It chanced, however, that after the manner of Spanish enterprises, the armament floated lazily about Yap, failing to take possession, until suddenly a German gun-boat arrived in the harbor, and a few hours afterwards the German flag was hoisted in the island. At this the indignation of the Spaniards knew no bounds. When the news was borne to Madrid, the war passion flamed up instantly. The Spanish Liberals attacked the Government for any sign of hesitancy or moderation in declaring war against Germany. For the time the King and Ministry were well-nigh swept off their feet by the wave of excitement. But the German Government was not correspondingly agitated. In a short time Prince Bismarck sent a pacific note to the Spanish authorities, disclaiming all intention of violating the rights of Spain. With the opening of negotiations the difficulty was easily adjusted. The too energetic occupation of Yap by the German commander was disavowed, and Spain was permitted to resume her sway in that part of the Pacific waters. The event was chiefly significant for the check which it gave to the colonization policy in Germany. Nor may the critical reader fail to note the further "overwhelming generosity" of the German Government in nominating the Pope as the arbitrator in the recent pending disturbance between the Empire and Spain.

While the colonial agitation was on in Germany, the passion for emigration appeared, and rose to such a heat as almost to threaten the depopulation of the country. Of a certainty, grave reasons have existed in the Fatherland for the exodus of her people. The Germans are by ethnic instinct a home-producing and home-staying division of mankind. The charge of unpatriotism can never be truthfully brought against men of the Teutonic race. On the contrary, since the days of Tacitus the Germans have been cited and approved for their domestic and patriotic ties. Some unusual force has therefore been necessary to raise so large a part of the German population from its home moorings in the Fatherland and send it across the sea. The vastness of the German emigration in the last two decades may be referred in part to the adventurous spirit which has led many to approve of the establishment of foreign settlements as the best means of opening a larger field to the enterprise of those who have the courage to seek it. But by far the stronger force has been the military system of the German Empire.

We have already seen with what rigor the Imperial Government has insisted upon the maintenance, improvement, and increase of its

war establishment. The Government has demanded that all Germans shall be soldiers; that at a certain age, when life and enterprise are at their highest tide, the German youth shall leave their homes, enter the army, and for a period of years give their services to the public. All this has been done when no war existed, and when the repeated assurances of the Government were given forth that peace was the great desideratum to which the Empire was devoted. Such a system must needs be regarded as a great hardship by the German people. Liberty-loving as they are, they have borne with ill-concealed dislike and repugnance the rigors of the military *régime* which have appeared never to relax. The Liberal party in Germany has constantly denounced the military system and the means by which it has been sustained. The people have to a great extent sympathized with the anti-military policy of the Liberal party. The result has been that, rather than bear the enormous pressure of the established order, thousands and hundreds of thousands of the most enterprising Germans have sought refuge by expatriation and voyage into foreign lands.

Out of the nature of things, America, that is, the United States, have been the chosen asylum of the emigrant Germans. They have flowed in a continuous stream into our country, until many American cities have been Germanized. This element of American population has distributed itself into all parts of the country, accumulating, however, in certain districts to the extent of forming a new population of foreign birth. The rate of German immigration has risen higher and higher, reaching, in some periods, almost a hundred thousand per annum. Statisticians have discovered in this movement many peculiarities, which distinguish it from any similar exodus out of foreign lands. Thus, for instance, it has been found that almost as many German women as German men are involved in the American emigration. It has been found that out of every one thousand German emigrants four hundred and four are women and five hundred and ninety-six men. It has also been found that in the case of other foreigners a very large per cent. of them are people in the prime of life. This fact would indicate that adventure, rather than settlement, has been the prevailing motive. But with the Germans the case is wholly different. It has been found that only six hundred and twenty-two persons out of the one thousand German emigrants to America are men and women in the prime of life. The other three hundred and eighty-eight out of every thousand have belonged to childhood and old age. No fact could more strongly attest the true nature of the movement of the Germans into the United States. It can be perceived at a glance that the German *family* is the unit in the emigration. No sight is more common in American cities than the appearance among the newly-arrived Germans of old men and women tottering under the weight of years. They have come with their families, with no thought of ever returning to the Fatherland. While the sons have fled from the military rescription and its hardships, to find freedom in the United States, the fathers and mothers and the children of the family have also come under the impulse of that ancient Teutonic instinct which has made the domestic stronger than the individual life of man.

The first half of the year 1887 was marked by the recurrence of the national elections in Germany. The contest had been anticipated by all parties as an event likely to decide for some time to come the course and tendency of governmental affairs. The Liberals came to the issue believing that, on the whole, the arbitrary and oppressive character of the Imperial *régime* would tell upon the German electors to the extent of repudiating the Government and its methods. On the other hand, the Conservatives were confident that what they were wont to designate as the political education of the people had now gone on to the extent of bringing them into more hearty accord with the Bismarckian policy. The Prince Chancellor himself appears to have shared this confidence; but his adherents entered the campaign in the spirit of men who must win by battle. An expedient was adopted by the Government party which, in the end, proved effective in the highest degree. This was the evocation of the war goblin for political effect. The Liberals were charged with being devoted to the project of another war with France. It was declared by the Conservative orators that the French Rad-

icals and German Radicals were in strict accord in their desire to come at each other's throats. On the other hand, it was urged that the Empire was for the maintenance of the peace of Germany and France first, and of all Europe afterward. The repeated declarations of the Emperor and Prince Bismarck, and their recent conduct in the affair with Spain, gave cogency to the otherwise purely factitious argument of the Conservatives.

It had come to be seen, moreover, that the Empire was great and strong. Germany, under the Imperial system, had suddenly risen to the place of arbiter in the affairs of Central Europe. Notwithstanding the exactions of



COUNT VON MOLTKE.

her military system, the people, the nation, had prospered. The advantages of peace were innumerable. Besides all this, it was perceived that in case the Party of Revenge in France should actually precipitate another conflict, Germany could best meet the issue by leaving the control of her destinies in the iron grasp and invincible purpose of the same giants who had carried her triumphantly through the Franco-Prussian War. The general result was a great increment of strength to the party of the Government. Bismarck and the system which he represented came out of the contest with a full majority, and the German Government, after the summer of 1887, entered upon a more tranquil administration than had hitherto been known since the establishment of the Empire.

Another element which entered into all the political and civil movements of the decade was the personality of the aged Emperor. In the order of nature, he was now near the close of his career. With the recurrence of the 22d of March, 1887, he reached the conclusion of his ninetieth year. His birthday was celebrated with great enthusiasm. There was something pathetic, as well as inspiring, in the aspect and character of the nonogenarian Father of his people as he stood and moved among them. One might well look upon him as Barbarossa come again to spend the evening of his days in the old-time fashion in the sacred and inviolable Fatherland. There was a strong disposition among the Germans, growing out of mere personal attachment, respect, and reverence for the Emperor, to carry him down to the grave in peace and honor. The sentiment was intensified by the presence and influence of the other great civil and military characters who belonged to the period of the Franco-Prussian War. It was an age of heroes. Many of these still held their place on the stage, and shared with the Emperor the esteem and confidence of the nation. After Prince Bismarck, the veteran Von Moltke, now eighty-seven years of age, and about to retire from the active command of the armies of the Fatherland, was the most conspicuous figure of the time. He, more than any other, was the military genius by whose warlike instincts and infallible skill the German avalanche had been hurled with such deadly effect against the Second Empire of the French. Prince Frederick Charles was now dead, but the Crown Prince, Von Steinmetz, and Edwin Von Manteuffel still lived and shone as a part of the galaxy of Germany. Under these conditions the hostile attitude of the Liberal partisans seemed like sacrilege done to the aged Emperor in the last hours of his career. All this, Prince Bismarck and the Ministry, of which he constituted the soul and life, were quick to perceive and to use for the advantage of the Imperial system. The situation was thoroughly illogical, entirely human, and altogether German.

A great question now arose, however, with

respect to the immediate future. Emperor William must, in a brief space of time, reach the end of his journey. What of the *After That?* Here, indeed, stood the Crown Prince ready to receive the Empire from the hands of his father. No weakling was he, no tyro in politics or in war. On the contrary, he had covered himself with glory in the great struggle with France. He was now fifty-six years of age, and was idolized by the best classes of the German people. His connections also were such as to make him powerful in the international system of Europe. In 1858 he had wedded Victoria Adelaide, Princess Royal of Great Britain, who bore him six children, and was, besides, a woman of many accomplishments and greater genius than had been developed by most of the princes and princesses of the House of Saxe-Coburg. Of him his father had said to Napoleon III. at Sedan: "Your Majesty is mistaken. It is not Frederick Charles, but *my son*, who is in command here." So that from many points of view the transfer of the Imperial Crown to Frederick William seemed an auspicious, and in some sense, a joyful prospect.

But there were other elements in the problem. A great political question was to be solved as soon as the old Emperor should die. While the Crown Prince could not be unduly charged with Liberalism, it was known to all Germany and the world that he held altogether another theory of the Imperial Government from that which was entertained and acted on by his father and Prince Bismarck. Frederick William believed profoundly in restoring Germany to the ways and purposes of peace. He disagreed with the Government on the great question of the army. He would fain have seen the term of military service abridged and modified, and the Empire, in all its parts, turned from its perpetual aspect of war to the conditions of a great industrial, economic, and commercial life.

All this was distasteful in the last degree to the German Chancellor and his party. It could but be expected that, in case of Emperor William's death, a serious break of some sort must ensue in the high places of the Government; and the event was awaited with interest and anxiety, not only in Germany, but in all Europe and America. What, therefore, was the sensation produced when, in the autumn of 1887, the news was given out that Dr. Morell Mackenzie, a noted English specialist, had been summoned to Berlin, to treat the Crown Prince for a malignant disease which had appeared in his throat? The very fact of calling a foreign physician to the assistance of the Crown Prince of Germany became a subject of comment and criticism in all the journals of Christendom. The act in question was ascribed to the influence of Victoria, whose English preferences were natural, but perhaps inapplicable in such a situation.



EDWIN VON MANTEUFFEL.

At the first the reports made by the English physician, and accepted by the public, were favorable to the Prince's recovery; but he nevertheless grew worse, and was at length sent to the South, to avoid the rigors of the North Prussian winter.

It thus happened that at the close of 1887 an expectation existed that not only Emperor William, but his distinguished son, might both alike be soon called to their account. The situation was pathetic. The father had passed into decrepitude, beyond his ninetieth year. He still stoutly held to his old warlike habits and severe dispositions. He slept at night on the same iron bedstead which had furnished his

couch in the field. His food and regimen were as simple in their kind and as thoroughly German in preparation as they had been in his youth. It really became a race for life between this father and this son, in whose throat it now became evident that a cancer had begun its ravages. With the beginning of 1888 there was still hope of the Crown Prince's recovery.



EMPEROR FREDERICK III.

The very despair of it intensified the situation. The agony of her who might presently be Empress of Germany was enough to evoke the compassion of mankind. The event came in the spring of 1888. The aged Kaiser sank under sheer old age, and was laid to rest. His death occurred on the 9th day of March, and, while not unexpected, produced a great sensation in all Europe.

The Crown Prince was at once summoned to the place of Emperor, but his coronation was almost ghastly from the reflection of the mirror in whose surface all Germany and the world saw the shadow and settling pall of another Imperial funeral. The new sovereign took the title of FREDERICK III., and the Government was continued with little modification under the Chancellorship of Bismarck. Whatever might have occurred if the new Emperor had been in the vigor of health, with a promise of life before him, it could not happen under existing circumstances that the policy of the Administration should be reversed or seriously deflected from its course.

For another striking factor had now appeared in the problem of German politics and polity. Frederick William Victor Albert, eldest son of Emperor Frederick, had now become Crown Prince, with the expectancy of the Empire immediately before him. He was now, at the age of twenty-nine, himself the father of a family, and had formed his political principles. These he had derived from Bismarck and from the late Emperor William. In all respects he was the representative of the system established and upheld by his grandfather. From his father he had drawn little of his intellectual being. His whole sympathies were known to be with that military and iron rule which now seemed to pass by a span over the head of his father to

his own hands. Any liberalism which the sinking Frederick III. may have entertained was a thing strange and foreign to the nature and disposition of Prince William.

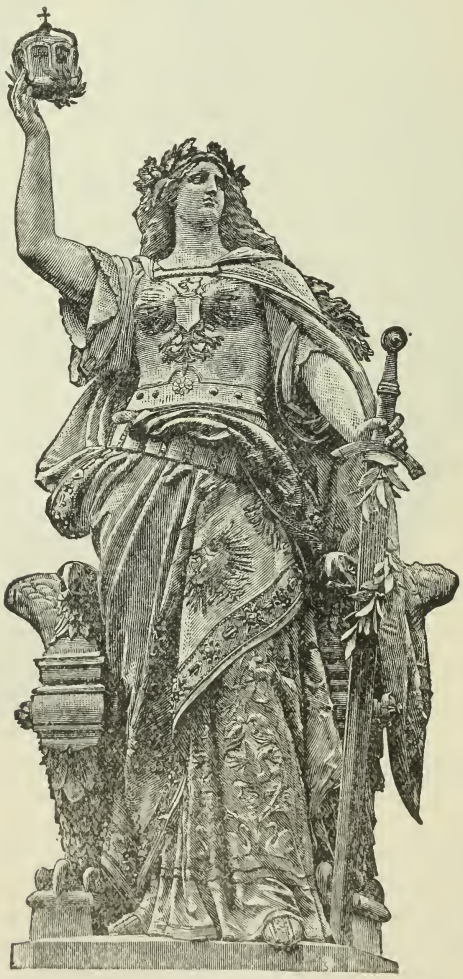
Thus, for three months and six days, the governmental affairs of Germany hung in suspense, while the life of the Emperor Frederick wasted away. His disease and decline were very similar to the like facts in the case of General Grant, forever famous in the history of our own country. The cancerous ravages in the Emperor's throat continued until the 15th of June, 1888, when he expired, being in the fifty-seventh year of his age. His reign, if such it may be called, was one of the most sorrowful known in history. It was contrasted in every particular with the splendor of circumstance and achievement which Frederick William and his friends must for many years have anticipated. The mockery of greatness could go no further. It only remained for the Empress Victoria, already under the ban of the dominant party, to recede from sight and to hush her moans in the obscurity of widowhood, while her somewhat reckless and audacious son was raised to the Imperial seat, with the title of WILLIAM II.



DOWAGER EMPRESS FREDERICK OF GERMANY.

With his accession the military system was restored in full force. The new Emperor was naught if not a soldier. He had been by his grandfather and the Chancellor thoroughly indoctrinated with the principles and spirit of war. In the first month of his reign he could hardly be turned from his habits of the barracks to the habits of the court. More than once he was known to mount at four in the morning, and to ride, with a single aide, at full speed to the cavalry camp in the neighborhood of Berlin. While such episodes may not have been displeasing to the Conservative party, they were regarded with deep forebodings by the Liberals and the admirers of the late Emperor. It was felt, moreover, throughout Europe, that the pacific attitude of Germany, long proclaimed by the Government and now almost accepted as a fact, was much endangered by the ascendency of the young and warlike Prince, who, still in his thirtieth year, had been called to the Imperial throne.

Here, then, at the threshold of the present, the narrative of historical events in Modern Germany must cease for want of perspective. Meanwhile, a new age in literature and art, new forms of thought, new schemes of activity, have supervened, which, while they have not eclipsed the glory of that epoch of which Goethe and Schiller, world-bard and national poet, were the conspicuous and effulgent lights, have nevertheless added to the intellectual treasures, the artistic wealth, and the philosophical domain of the whole human race. It is the misfortune of the Germany of to-day that her greatness still rests upon the foundations of military force. To the extent that this is so, her strength is weakness and the Imperial system endangered. It remains for the present and the future to demonstrate whether Germany shall be able, with her powerful intellect and splendid moods of mental action, to eliminate from her political and social system the elements of force, of personal will, of Feudal antecedence, of remaining absolutism, and to leave behind in her tremendous crucible only the beauty of her genius and the liquid gold of liberty.



GERMANIA.

Book Twenty-Fifth.

ITALY.

CHAPTER CXLV.—DAWN OF NATIONALITY.

IT was the destiny of Ancient Italy to be the seat of the greatest and most centralized political power of antiquity. It was reserved for Mediæval Italy to be the scene of the most distracted condition into which civilization has, perhaps, ever fallen. It has been the part of Modern Italy to present one of the finest examples of revival, of political reörganization, and of the reïnstitution of order in civil society which has been furnished by any age or country. In the present narrative of events it will be the aim to depict, in a few comprehensive pages, those great and patriotic movements by which the Italian Nationals have succeeded in rehabilitating their long-distracted country, and of drawing to themselves the sympathy, admiration, and favor of all lovers of freedom and unity in every part of the world.

Here again we must enter upon an account of those sorrowful events and reäctionary processes which marked the first years of European history after the close of the Napoleonic wars. We have already had occasion to remark upon the peculiar lull which ensued after the Congress of Vienna. The triumphant kings and their apologists called it peace. It looked like peace. There was no longer the sound of cannon. The international commissioners, sitting at the Austrian capital, proceeded with their work as though an endless peace had been achieved. It was, on the whole, one of the most delusive epochs in all history. The mariner at sea has learned to dread such calms as the sure precursors of cyclone and ruin. In the political world, also, the day of apathy and stillness is to be dreaded as the premonition of to-morrow's storm.

Multiplied instances have already been cited of the outbreak which presently ensued in nearly every country which the French Revolution had infected. We are here to consider the brief interval of the incubation of the disease which was soon to rage in every quarter. Having already noted the course of events in Great Britain and France and Germany, we may properly take up the narrative of Italian affairs, beginning once more from the Congress of Vienna. During the Hundred Days, Murat, who had been King of Italy, calling himself Joachim Napoleon, and who

more recently had been expelled from the throne, returned to France and offered his sword once more to Napoleon. But the latter indignantly refused to trust him again. Murat then went into seclusion, first at Toulon, and afterwards in Corsica. His political ambition had not departed. Though Prince Metternich offered him an asylum at Vienna, the late King of Italy chose the hazards of attempting a counter-revolution, in the hope of regaining his throne. He accordingly made a descent on the coast of Calabria, where he was presently deserted by his followers, captured, and imprisoned. On the 13th of October, 1815, he was condemned by court-martial, under a law which he himself had decreed against disturbers of the peace. The sentence was death. He was allowed a half hour, which he occupied in writing a tender farewell to his wife and children. He then went to the place of execution, and faced death in a manner well befitting the bravest and ablest cavalry commander which Europe has known within the present century.

As soon as the *fiasco* was at an end, the Congress of Vienna proceeded to the dismemberment of Italy. She was literally torn, member from member, by the apostles and representatives of the ancient order, who had not yet learned that the turning backwards of either a watch or the world is not only impossible, but unthinkable. Sardinia was assigned to her former king. Lombardy and Venice were wrenched from their peninsular relations and given to Austria. Modena, Reggio, and several other principalities were conferred on one branch of the Hapsburgs; Tuscany, on another branch. Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla were allotted to the Ex-Empress Maria Louisa, wife of Napoleon, and mother of the King of Rome. To *this*, then, had come that proud daughter of Austria, who had held to her husband's arm in Dresden, when, before the beginning of the Russian campaign, he stood, in grim gravity, as depicted by Emile Bayard, to receive the bows and salutations of more than half the kings and princes of Europe. The Papal States were given back to the Pope, and the Two Sicilies went to their former ruler. This division of political power, this rending of Italy into fragments, in order that the small dignitaries, who had swarmed up from the deeps of the past, might have something in common with the present and the future, was exceedingly distasteful to the National party, whose creed was Italian unity. Henceforth this party only awaited the opportune moment to promote the one principle for which it existed, namely, the union of all Italy. Not five years elapsed after the Treaty of Vienna until the Republican elements in the Peninsula were ripe for insurrection.

We here come again to the beneficent effects which followed the struggles of the Age of Revolution. No other epoch in human history has done so much for the emancipation of mankind and the institution of a more enlightened order, as did the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The invasions of the French armies into the surrounding States of Europe, though they seemed to work nothing but havoc and ruin, were always a blessing in disguise. True, the vineyards were trampled down. True, the gardens and orchards became a bloody mire. True, the smoke of burning cities rose and floated like clouds in every sky from the Moskwa to Finisterre. But the devastation was necessary to the new life of Europe. It has become the cant of reäctionary criticism, indulged in especially by English authors and their American imitators, to speak derisively of the "Rights of Man" as promulgated and understood by the French Revolutionists. But the Rights of Man were a verity, and they continue a verity, and will continue until the follies of government for the sake of government, as against government for the sake of the people, shall be extinguished in every part of the world. The Rights of Man are henceforth a part of the instincts of the human heart, which can not be plucked away without destroying the life.

Italy had felt the vivifying influences of the new political theory and system which had been instituted in France; and the restoration of the small princes by the Congress of Vienna proved to be a mere fiction, which the logic of events must soon sweep away. The insurrection came. The first popular outbreak against the restored order, as defined from Vienna, occurred in 1820 and 1821. In these years, Naples and Sardinia were the scenes of revolutionary movements, which gathered such head as to compel the rulers to promise the measures

of reform demanded by the people. It was at this very crisis that the Congress of Laybach, composed of representatives from the leading States of Europe, openly declared it to be the duty of the sovereigns of Christendom to join hands in the work of exterminating the patriotic revolts which had appeared in many States as a natural sequence of the French Revolution.

The work of carrying out the edict of the Congress, as it related to Italy, was assigned to Austria. That Power at once sent her armies into the Peninsula. A force of eighty thousand men was thrown, first into Lombardy, and afterwards directed against Naples. In the meantime, King Ferdinand had been so surprised by the revolt in his dominion that he declared his son Francis to be Vicar-General of the Kingdom, and then betook himself into Austria. Back he now came with the Austrian army, to recover the rights, or at least the prerogatives, of which he had been deprived by his own people. The Sardinian and Neapolitan insurgents were soon trampled under foot, and the king was left to his own pleasure in executing vengeance upon those who had rebelled against him. The suppression was so effective that for a period of ten years the spirit of Italian nationality in Naples and Sardinia lay still in despair.

But while the suppression of the insurrection in the South was under way, a revolt of like character broke out in Piedmont, where a liberal Constitution, modeled after that of Spain, was proclaimed by the people. But the sovereign of the Piedmontese, having more regard for the dictum of the Congress of Laybach than for the voice of his subjects, refused to heed their demands. On the 13th of March, 1821, he was obliged to abdicate. Having no heir direct to succeed him, the crown would have gone to the fugitive king's brother, Carlo Felice; but he being absent at the time from Piedmont, Carlo Alberto, Prince of Carignano, was appointed Regent. The latter had, under French influence, become a Liberal in politics. The House of Carignano had for two centuries been out of power, and its members, by long residence among the people, had learned much of their sympathies and dispositions. The Piedmontese Revolution, therefore, lost nothing by the brief regency of Carlo Alberto; but when Carlo Felice came back, he at once declared that his brother's abdication had been forced upon him against the law of the land, and that it would not in any way be recognized as valid. Carlo Alberto yielded his own preferences to the instinct of loyalty, and submitted to the reëstablishment of Felice's authority on the old basis of absolutism.

We here enter upon a period of nine years, extending from 1821 to 1830, in which the Italian rulers were for the most part occupied in the common business of punishment for political offenses, or in the suppression of incipient insurrections. The story of this period constitutes a brief but sad chapter in the annals of Modern Italy. One revolt occurred at Milan, which was put down by sheer terror. Silvio Pellico, leader of the movement, was tried and condemned to imprisonment for life at Spielberg. In the Papal States every symptom of popular liberty was quickly extinguished by Pope Leo XII., whose principles of government would have been regarded as severe in the Middle Ages. In the other principalities the story was the same. On every hand political conspirators against the existing order were confronted by the agents of the Government, or by the petty tyrants whom the Holy Alliance regarded as its missionaries in Italy. For the time being, civil freedom was stifled, as though it were the principal wickedness of which men had been guilty in the world.

Meanwhile, however, the conditions were preparing for a revolution by which the foundations of society in the south of Europe were destined to be broken up. Secret political organizations, founded in the interest of democracy, were established in Italy, as in other countries, under the dominion of despotism. The society of the Carbonari was formed to represent the struggle of the under man on his way from suppression to liberty. The Carbonari meant literally the Charcoal-makers. The association had its origin as early as 1808, at which time the common people of Naples began to discover that their own rights were disregarded by the Bonapartist Government as well as by the Bourbon princes. Discontented with the existing order, the founders of the Carbonari made their retreat into the

mountains of Calabria, and there perfected their organization. A highly religious character was given to the society, and its political aims were hidden under secret symbolism. A lodge of the Carbonari was called a *hut*, and the meeting a vendita, meaning a *sale*, as though the business of the order was the trade in charcoal. The secret ritual was borrowed from Christianity. There was a "Wolf" and a "Lamb," which signified in the first intent the Jew and the Christ; but symbolically the Wolf was political tyranny, and the Lamb the innocent people devoured by the savage beast.

Before the downfall of Napoleon the political importance of the Carbonari had been recognized by the Bourbon princes, who sought to use the society against the Government of King Murat. The effort was successful. The Carbonari unwittingly came to the rescue of the more oppressive against the less oppressive form of government. For two years, near the close of his reign, they carried on a war with Murat, who at length drove them into the mountains. For a while the society was virtually suppressed. When the French power in Italy went down, and Ferdinand returned to the throne, he had no further use for the Carbonari, who now found that the Bourbons represented a style of government more destructive to popular liberty than that of King Murat. The society, therefore, fell naturally into its former rebellious mood against the civil authority, and became for a season the sole representative of nationality and union.

It was under the influence and direct instigation of the Carbonari that the revolution in Naples, the Papal States, and Piedmont, in the years 1820–21, broke out. It was soon seen, however, that although the society had reached a membership of about seven hundred thousand, although it had ceased to be an Order of Charcoalists, and had brought into its ranks great numbers of patriots from the middle classes of society, many officers of the army, students from the universities, artists, and priests, the organization was incapable of conducting a revolution to a successful issue. It had been sufficient to inspire great insurrections, but not capable of directing them. Meanwhile, the Austrian armies came in, and the Congress of Laybach did the rest to overthrow, or at least disorganize, the society. The shock of 1821 was greater than the Carbonari could well bear, and they never fully revived. But in the meantime, the principles of the society had taken deep root not only in Italy, but in France, and, indeed, in all the countries west of the Rhine and the Danube.

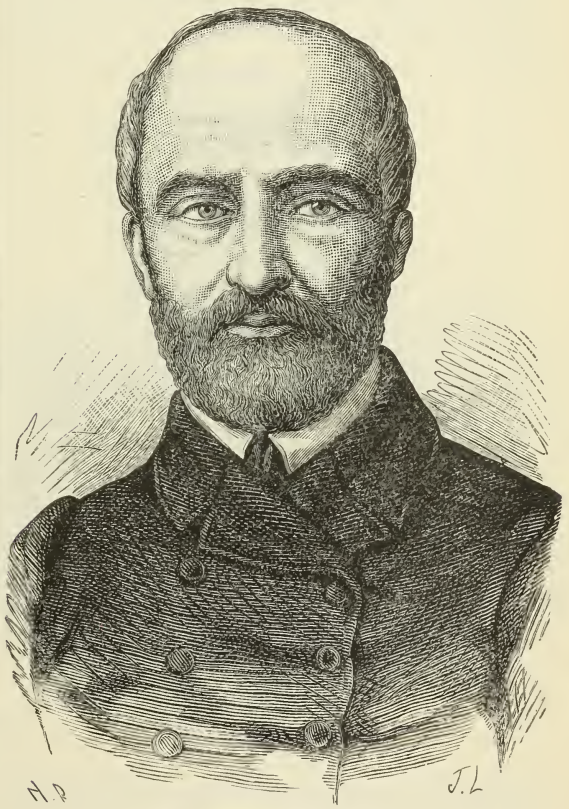
Now it was that the great leader Giuseppe Mazzini appeared, and became, what he continued to be until his death, the leader of Italian Liberalism. Few patriots of greater abilities or purposes more sincere have arisen in ancient or modern times. He came among the chaotic elements of the disintegrated Carbonarism, and instituted a new society by the name of Young Italy. But before the latter association had sprung into power, the revolutionary fever had, of its own heat and motion, again appeared in Italy. In the spring of 1831, Parma, Modena, and the Papal States were roused from their stupor by the voice of rebellion crying in divers places. But the armies of Austria were, for the second time, called to the aid of absolutism, and the revolts were suppressed. In the following year Romagna renounced the authority of the Pope, and attempted to gain independence. But the Holy Father again called the Austrian arms to his aid, and the rebellion was unsuccessful. It was at this juncture that a French army also was sent into the Peninsula, and stationed at Ancona, where it remained until 1838.

The party of Young Italy now emerged from the confusion, and the old insurrectionary elements began to feel the control of rational forces. The society was organized to free Italy from foreign and domestic tyranny, and to secure instead a republican form of government. The bottom principle of the order was education—political education—and after that, insurrection as a right of the people against oppression. The banner of the society was inscribed on the one side with the words Unity and Independence, and on the other with Liberty, Equality, and Humanity. By this time, Carlo Felice (Charles Felix) died, and in 1831 was succeeded by Carlo Alberto, better known to American readers by his English name and title of Charles Albert of Sardinia. On his

accession it was still hoped that, since ten years previously he had been honored with the title of "the Ex-Carbonaro Conspirator," he might still hold a common sympathy with the people. It was in this belief that Mazzini, acting as "the interpreter of a hope which he did not share," addressed a letter to the king, urging him to become the leader of the Italian people in their struggle for independence. It appears to have been the misfortune of Charles Albert to be obliged to let *I would* wait upon *I can not*. This is to say, that he was so fitted into the monarchy, so placed at its head, so held in check by its traditions, so enthralled by the principles and policy which the Congresses of Vienna and Laybach had devised for the government of Europe, that he must needs reädopt the methods of the Bourbons, and fix himself, as they had done, in immemorial absolutism.

As soon as the king had taken his position, the followers of Mazzini denounced Charles Albert as a traitor to the Italian cause, and the party of Young Italy began to devise the means of resistance. Meanwhile, Mazzini, after an imprisonment in a dungeon of Savona, went into exile, first at Marseilles, and afterwards, in 1832, at Geneva. By this time the chapters of Young Italy, established at Genoa, Leghorn, and other places, had become strong enough to be formidable, and it was believed by Mazzini that a successful insurrection could now be started. Accordingly, acting from his base in Switzerland, he projected a rebellious expedition against Savoy. The movement, however, ended disastrously, even ridiculously. It served to reveal to the king the animus of the Republican party, and to put the Government on the alert against its enemies. At this time some attempts were made to take Charles Albert's life by assassination. The inevitable reäction came on in favor of the king and his Administration. A division now appeared among the Republicans, one party of more moderate proclivities daring to believe and to say that the regeneration and unification of Italy could be best achieved by the agency of the Sardinian Kingdom, while the other faction still held to its programme of naked republicanism by revolution.

The writings of Mazzini, sent forth at intervals from his covert in Switzerland, exercised a great influmence on the sentients, opinions, and methods of the Italian people. His essays on political subjects were scattered by republication into all parts of the country, and were distributed by the Italian societies, so that the patriots were everywhere informed of the thoughts and purposes of their leader. At this time Vincenzo Gioberti also appeared as a political writer, publishing a treatise in 1843, which contributed much to the consolidation of public opinion. Gioberti's theory of the Italian Government was the establishment of a



GIUSEPPE MAZZINI.

confederation of all the States under the Presidency of the Pope. For the maintenance of this form, the army of Piedmont was to be evoked. The Government was to be a sort of spiritual republicanism. Gioberti would have the Papacy and the Italian Liberals coöperate in the common cause. Other writers appeared, who still further strengthened the party of the moderate Republicans, all of which tended to check and subvert the Mazzinian democracy by turning into another channel the insurrectionary forces which the latter had inspired.

At this date two other remarkable figures appeared on the Italian stage,—one of them a patriotic philosopher and the other a diplomate and statesman. The first was Alessandro Manzoni, of Milan, and the other the Count Camillo Benso di Cavour, whose name was presently to gain a world-wide significance. Coincidently with the emergence of these two important personages in the foreground of Italian history, a third figure appeared in the famous Giuseppe Garibaldi, the man of the people. He it was who was destined to win for himself the title of knight-errant of Italian liberty. While Cavour represented by his birth one of the stiffest aristocracies of Europe, being descended from an ancient and honorable family in Piedmont, Garibaldi was simply a son of man, born in obscurity at Nice, with nothing to lose but his life, and nothing to gain but the independence of his country.



ALESSANDRO MANZONI.

Before passing, however, into the political whorl which now rises before us, it is proper to note some changes which took place in the Papal government and administration of this period. Pope Pius VIII. died at the close of 1830, having lived in his brief Pontificate to hear of the Revolution in France and to feel the jar in Italy. He was succeeded in the following February by Gregory XVI. To him the tri-color flag had appeared as a flame of fire, which must be extinguished with water if that might suffice, otherwise with blood. "Imprisonment, Banishment, and Execution" might now have been written upon the Papal banner instead of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." It was during the pontificate of Gregory that the Ultramontane principles which were to become, in course of time, the very code and charter of his successor, began to be formulated and sent down from the Papal chair. The reign of the Pope lasted for fifteen years, and was terminated by his death in June of 1846. By that time the Italian societies had so multiplied and expanded that all Italy felt the heat, and the revolutionary impulses of the people were ready at any moment to break forth into formidable revolts.

Now it was, however, that a change was to be given to the tendency of affairs in the Mother Church and in the civil society of Italy, by the policy of the new Pope, Pius IX. He had before his election borne the title of Cardinal Mastai Ferretti. At the time of his election he was fifty-two years of age, and was destined to "surpass the years of Peter;" that is, to have the longest pontificate known in history. He assumed the tiara with the avowed purpose of liberalizing the States of the Church, and thus conducing to the political freedom of all Italy. Great were the hopes which were entertained of the Pope by the patriots. Pius was hailed by them as the apostle of Italian unity. Sardinia and Tuscany made haste to follow the lead of the Holy Father, and the three States soon formed a customs-union on the basis of free trade, a liberated press, and popular representation.

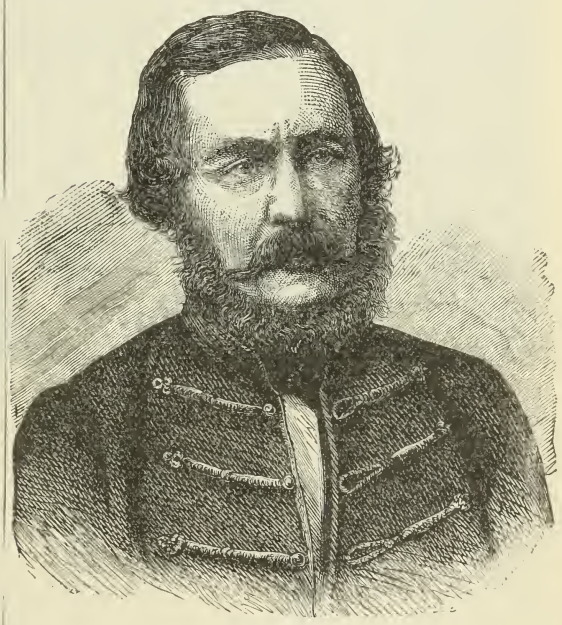
Still, however, the popular cause outran the rulers. The people having for once found vent for their aspirations and activities, dashed ahead without knowing whither. In the beginning of 1848 the island of Sicily declared its independence of the King of Naples, and the latter, as a measure of conciliation, granted a new Constitution to his subjects. A month later a revolt broke out in Lombardy, and Count Radetzky, the Austrian commander in

Northern Italy, was obliged to fall back to Verona. It looked for the moment as though Italy, by an internal exertion, was about to throw off both the civil and religious incubus, and take her place among the nations.

But absolutism in the Church and the State was not so easily to relinquish its grasp on the society of Italy. True, Charles Albert of Sardinia now openly appeared as the champion of the national cause against the Austrians. But Radetzky returned with his armies against the insurgent Italians, gained two decisive victories, and reëstablished the Imperial authority in the north. Nevertheless, Venice, Rome, and several of the Italian duchies remained under the authority of the Republicans.

So far as foreign influences were concerned, the Italian patriots had most cause to dread the domination of Austria. It was therefore a matter of the greatest concern and the profoundest gratification to the rulers of Italy when the attention of the Austrians was drawn aside to the Hungarian rebellion of 1848. So formidable had that movement become under the leadership of Louis Kossuth, Mór Jókai, and other Liberal leaders that it became a serious question whether the Austrian rule in Hungary could ever be restored. In the Italian campaign of 1849, however, Radetzky brought the Sardinian Kingdom to the brink of ruin. The Italian duchies were restored to the aristocrats. Pius IX., who in the previous November had fled from Rome to Gaëta, and had there been completely cured of his impossible liberalism, resumed the government of the Papal States. Garibaldi made unwearied efforts to uphold the national cause, but his exertions were of no avail. France had now become embroiled in the struggle, and a French army of occupation had been thrown into Italy. The march of this invading force was first directed against the city of Turin, and afterwards against Rome. The primary motive, so far as public avowal was concerned, was to relieve the distress of the Papacy. Pius IX., thus supported by the bayonets of France, found little difficulty in restoring his authority in the Eternal City. Venice also surrendered to the Austrians, and in most of the States the reactionary party gained the complete ascendency. For the time it appeared that the Pope, backed by the united power of France and Austria, was about to become once more an important figure in history. The Vatican and St. Peter's were to be once more surrounded with the panoply of foreign absolutism, and the mediæval dream of the Congress of Vienna and Madame Krüdener was to be fulfilled by the recrowning of the past in the city of the Cæsars.

But other historical forces were now at work, which were soon to counteract the jubilation of the ancients. In the summer of 1848, Charles Albert of Sardinia was hopelessly defeated by the Austrians at Custozza. The king fell back to Milan, where he made an armistice with the enemy, and presently



MÓR JÓKAI.

afterwards surrendered the city. When the truce expired he again entered the field with an army of Piedmontese, and met Marshal Radetzky on the field of NOVARA. Here he fought his last desperate battle, in which he was finally defeated and his army dispersed. He thereupon abdicated the throne in favor of his son, Victor Emanuel II., and in July of 1849 died of a broken heart. It was this young king, Victor Emanuel of Sardinia, who now became the head and front of the opposition to the reäctionary party. It is said that he wore from his youth a sword with *Vive la Republique* inscribed on the blade! Certain it is that he began his reign by fostering liberal

institutions in his own dominions, and setting the dangerous example of freedom to the other States of Italy. The Austrian authorities were soon obliged to attempt the pacification of the Italians by the material improvement of the country. They would throw a sop to the Italian Cerberus. Railroads were constructed. The harbors of Venice were improved. The postal system was revised, and a tariff reform instituted; all of which was well, but could hardly compensate for the denial of political rights to the people.



ENTRANCE OF THE FRENCH TROOPS INTO TURIN, 1848.

CHAPTER CXLVI.—VICTOR EMANUEL.

THE year 1849, with its established reäction, seemed for the moment to be the ruin of the popular cause. Here was the Pope, back in Rome, gone over finally and forever to Ultramontane principles. The Austrians were victorious in all the North. Only the young King Victor Emanuel and his Government now seemed to interpose in the way of a completed counter revolution. But at this moment there was a revival in the sea-beds of Italian humanity. The death of Charles Albert set many of the Nationals, and even many of the Republicans, to thinking whether after all the late king had not been a friend to the cause of Italian unity and liberation. The thoughtful reader will not fail to notice the parallel here presented between the changing public opinion of Italy and the corresponding fact in Germany, after the failure of the National Assembly at Frankfort. Up to that time the German Liberals had sought the unification of the Fatherland on the abstract basis of ideas and deductions. They would fain make a Constitution on theoretical principles, have it accepted by all the German peoples, and thus

weld into one the diverse nationalities between the Rhine and the confines of Poland. The project was doomed to signal failure. The attention of the country was turned by the logic of events from a government speculative to a government real. It was seen that German unity could best be attained under the leadership of Prussia and the direction of the House of Hohenzollern. In like manner the Italian patriots—not, indeed, the more radical followers of Mazzini, but the moderate Republicans and Nationals—came to believe in the possibility and practicability of regenerating and unifying Italy under the auspices of the Sardinian Kingdom and the direction of the House of Savoy.

It was found that the new sovereign had in him the mettle and enterprise of greatness. The light of promise shone forth from his policy. True, the Ultra-Republicans sought his overthrow. They excited an insurrection in Genoa, which was put down by force. They adopted the motto, "Better Italy enslaved than delivered over to the son of the traitor, Charles Albert." But the bitterness of Mazzini could not prevail against the will of the people and the irresistible course of events. It became a conviction with the National party that Piedmont was to become the nucleus of Italian independence. The intellectual party was in large measure converted to the new view of what was best for Italy. Even Gioberti recanted his former doctrines, taught as he had been by the lapse of the Papacy, and fell in with the popular cause. Many prominent Republicans became the open advocates of the policy which pointed to the Sardinian Kingdom as the beginning of national unity. At last, in 1857, the so-called National Society was founded, on secular principles, limiting its endeavor to the single end of the emancipation and nationality of Italy. Garibaldi gave in his submission to the new principle of political action, and was, in course of time, one of the presidents of the National Society.

The movement was strongly enforced by the policy of the King. Victor Emanuel from the first was proof against both the seductions and menaces of Austria. True, his mother had been an Austrian archduchess, and his wife also was a Hapsburg princess of the same high rank. The king adopted the motto, "The House of Savoy can not retreat." He pledged to Italy the fidelity of his administration, the integrity of his purposes. He reminded the country that his House had never broken faith with the people. He unertook great and salutary reforms. The army was reörganized, and the financial system of the kingdom reconstructed on scientific principles. In 1850 an act was passed by which the ecclesiastical courts were abolished and a civil judiciary established instead.



GIUSSEPPE GARIBALDI.

Four years afterwards a bill was passed by which the religious corporations were greatly restricted in their privileges, and the Church property placed under the control of the State. At this time there were in the Kingdom of Sardinia no fewer than forty-one Bishops, a thousand four hundred and seventeen religious establishments, and about eighteen thousand monks. It will be readily perceived against what tremendous pressure of bigotry, self-interest and superstition the reforms of Victor Emanuel were carried into effect.

Nor may we here fail to note the beginning of the ascendency of Count Cavour. In the Government of Victor Emanuel he held the position of Minister of Commerce. From the first, however, he was a master-spirit in the Cabinet. Though hesitant in speech, he brought to his public address the invincible logic of facts, the energy of a great purpose, and the eloquence of moral force. As early as 1852 we find Cavour forming a coälition with the Democratic leaders. This step was taken against the fears of D'Azeglio and the king,



CAMILLO BENSO DI CAVOUR.

who doubted the expediency of drawing the naked Republicanism of Italy to the support of the throne. But the influence of Cavour prevailed, and in the following year he rose to the position of Prime Minister. He immediately thrust out a powerful hand into the affairs of Europe. He almost obtruded himself into the international councils which preceded the Crimean War. No statesman in Europe understood better than he that great complication called the Eastern Question. He brought Sardinia into union with the Allies in the war with Russia; and Sardinian soldiers made their presence felt in the armies of England and France and Turkey on the shores of the Black Sea. When the struggle was over, Cavour came as the representative of the kingdom to the Congress of the Powers at Paris, and his incisive genius was one of the great agencies in the formation of the important Treaty of 1856.

The experiences thus gained by Count Cavour were soon analyzed and reduced to a theory of action for the Government of Victor Emanuel. The Count had profoundly penetrated the sentiments and political methods of Great Britain and France. He saw in the former country many evidences of sympathy with the Italian cause; but he also measured with a reed the dimensions and peculiarities of the English character. He came to understand that English political sympathy did not signify governmental action and support for the cause which had awakened the sentiment. On the other hand, he found in France an almost exact reversal of these conditions. He perceived that if Louis Napoleon, now Emperor of the French, and clearly in the ascendant in the affairs of Europe, could be won to the cause of Italy, such gain would signify a practical support to the cause, with the almost certain elevation of the House of Savoy to the sovereignty of the whole Peninsula. He accordingly adopted the policy of drawing close the ties between the Kingdom of Sardinia and the Empire of France. He sought and presently secured intimate, almost confidential, relations with Napoleon III. He perceived clearly enough that in course of time a break between France and Austria was inevitable, and in such an event his busy brain easily developed the vision of Italian liberation and unity.

No other statesman ever had a more difficult and dangerous part to perform than did Count Cavour in the period from 1856 to 1859. In several instances the rather sphinx-like Louis Napoleon was about to break away from the complication. Felice Orsini's bomb came near to exploding the whole enterprise which the Sardinian diplomatist had contrived with

so much skill. The Emperor of the French might well distrust an alliance with a country for the ultimate purpose of its liberation when the Republicans of that country were sending out evangelists of assassination to destroy his own life. But the matter was smoothed over, explained away, and expiated with a statute wherein the Government of Victor Emanuel defined the crime of political murder and prescribed severe penalties therefor.

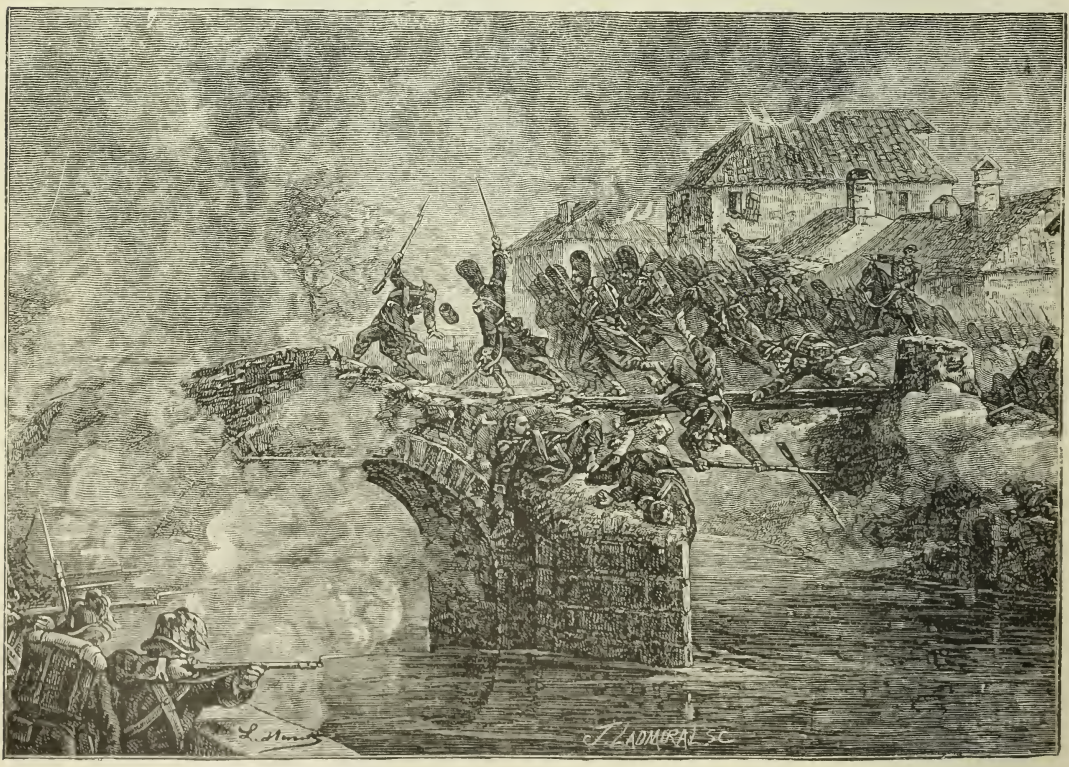
While Cavour was thus engaged in fostering and maintaining a half-secret alliance with France, Austria adopted the policy of conciliation with respect to the Italians. The filmy eyes of the House of Hapsburg were opened wide enough to see the danger of the threatened Franco-Italian alliance, and Francis Joseph would fain win the people of Italy away from their French sympathies by conceding to them such political rights as had been hitherto denied. Well grounded were the fears of Austria, but impotent her efforts. Cavour, not satisfied with the security which he now felt on the side of France, next sought successfully to obtain the sympathy of Russia in the impending struggle. He aimed at nothing less than a triple alliance of France, Russia, and Italy against Austria in the coming struggle for the independence of his country. The great diplomatist showed himself pre-eminently qualified to prepare a crisis and to permit it to break with its own internal forces. By the beginning of 1859 he had everything in readiness. The situation was so contrived that Austria herself must go to war. The people of Lombardy had been encouraged to send repeated memorials to the cabinet of Vienna, complaining to the Austrian Government, and indeed to all Europe, of the tyrannies to which they were perpetually subjected. Austria must needs regard the Sardinian Kingdom as the origin and cause of these agitations. At length the misunderstanding proceeded so far that Francis Joseph ordered the Austrian Minister to withdraw from Turin, and at the same time to demand the disarmament of the Sardinian Kingdom. Such a demand would of course be refused, and war must thereupon ensue. On the 1st of January, in the year just named, Victor Emanuel, in opening the Parliament indicated in the speech from the throne the crisis which was imminent. "We are not," said he, "insensible to the cry of suffering (*Grido di Dolore*) that rises to us from so many parts of Italy." This *Grido di Dolore*, or Cry of Dolor, became the watch-word of the Italians in the struggle upon which they were now to enter.

On the evening of this very day on which Victor Emanuel opened the Italian Parliament and virtually predicted the war with Austria, the Emperor Napoleon held a reception for the diplomatical corps at the Palace of the Elysée. When the various Ministers were presented on that occasion, and Baron Hübner, the Austrian Ambassador, bowed to pay his respects, the Emperor, in answer, abruptly expressed his regrets at "*the altered relations between Austria and France!*" The remark occasioned a great sensation throughout Europe. There could be but one meaning given to the significant utterance of Napoleon, and that was war. For that event both Austria and France now made strenuous preparations. Italy herself became a ferment of agitation. The French Emperor gave, as an explanation of his course, the declaration of a purpose "to make Italy free from the Alps to the Adriatic." This meant, however, that a certain mental reservation existed; for near the close of the preceding year Count Cavour and Napoleon, in a meeting at Plombières, had agreed that in case of the success of the project for the emancipation of Italy under the auspices of France, the Emperor should receive Nice and Savoy as his portion of the spoils.

The petty rulers of the Italian duchies sought for a while to stay the storm, but were soon obliged to fly before the wind. Thus did the small dignitaries of Parma, Tuscany, and Modena; and their flight was this time final. On the 30th of January, 1859, the Princess Clotilda, daughter of Victor Emanuel, was given in marriage to Prince Napoleon, cousin of the Emperor. Soon came, on the part of France, a declaration of war, and then the counter declaration by Austria, in which Francis Joseph denounced Napoleon III. as the fire-brand of Europe. These amenities were at once followed by actual hostilities. The French invasion began. The Sardinians were joined by the patriots of Italy, and the struggle began for the possession of the Peninsula. On the 20th of May, 1859, the first decisive battle



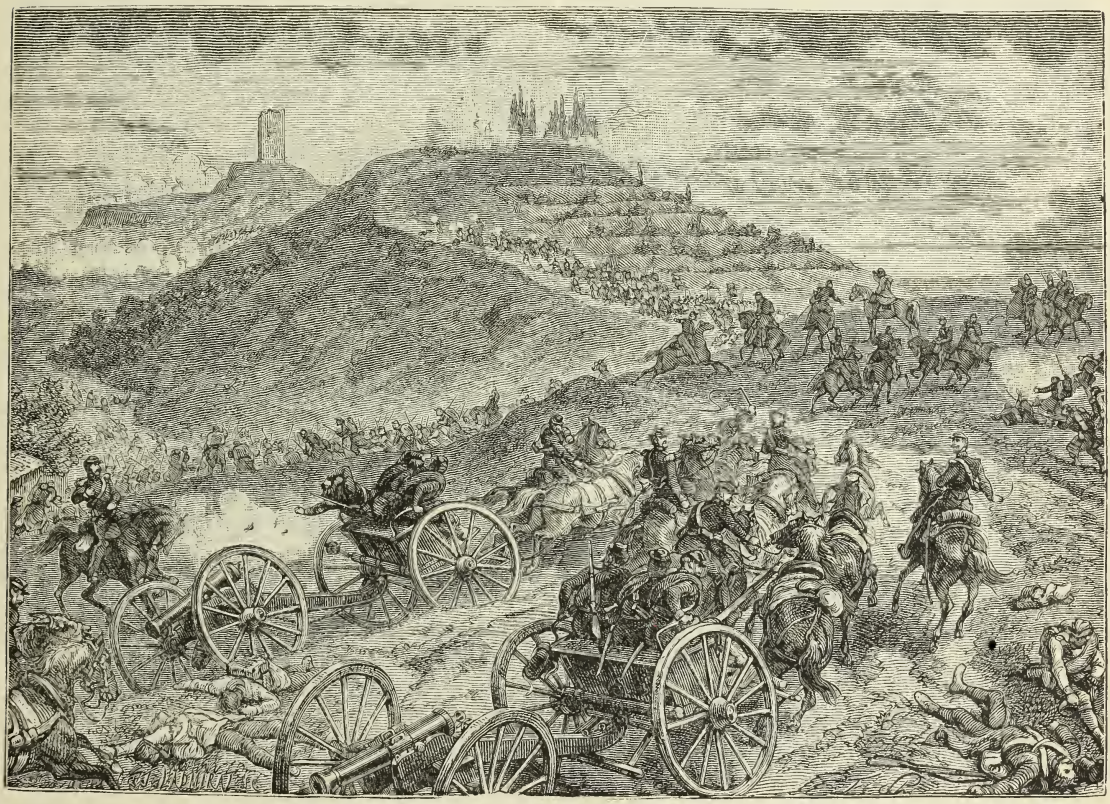
BATTLE OF MONTEBELLO.



CONFLICT OF THE BRIDGE OF THE BUFFALORA.

was fought at Montebello, in which the Austrians were routed. A few days afterwards a conflict at Palestro had a like result. The Austrian army then retreated across the Micino, and made a stand on the field of Magenta. Here, on the 4th of June, was fought one of the great battles of the war. The French and Sardinians, under command of Marshal MacMahon and Napoleon in person, made the attack upon the Austrian position with great spirit. One of the chief centers of the struggle was at the bridge of Buffalora, and MacMahon. The latter was made Duke of Magenta on the field of battle.

In the meantime, Garibaldi had invaded Western Lombardy and achieved some signal successes. The populations of the Lombard cities broke out in insurrection. On the day after the battle of Magenta, the people of Milan rose, and the Austrian garrison took to flight. On the 7th of June, Pavia was evacuated by the Austrians, and on the following day the Fortress of Melegnano was captured, after a hard fight, by the French and Sardin-



BATTLE OF SOLFERINO.

which was *seven times* taken and lost during the battle. The Austrians fought with great bravery. They had on the field about seventy-five thousand men, while the allied forces amounted to fifty-five thousand. The conflict continued until after sunset, when the Austrians, losing about ten thousand men in killed and wounded, besides seven thousand prisoners, were driven out of Magenta. The loss of the allies was about four thousand. The Austrians were poorly commanded, while the French and Sardinians were under splendid discipline in the hands of the Emperor

ians. At the same time Victor Emanuel and the Emperor rode in triumph into Milan. The Austrian strongholds went down one by one. The defeated army fell back to what is known as the Line of the Mincio, and took up a position near the village of Solferino. Here, on the 24th of June, Francis Joseph staked everything on a decisive battle. He had under his command nearly a hundred and seventy thousand men, while the allied forces were not quite a hundred and fifty thousand strong. The battle of Solferino began early in the morning, and for sixteen

hours the allied armies of France and Sardinia, led by Napoleon in person, contended with the superior forces of Austria under Francis Joseph. Again the French were completely victorious, inflicting upon the Austrians a loss of twenty-six thousand in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

Thus the line of the Mincio was secured by the allies, who crossed over and invested Peschiera. All Europe was in expectation of another great battle. It was evident to all that the Emperor Napoleon had made himself master of the situation, and great events were awaited in the *dénouement*. Suddenly, however, Louis Napoleon changed his plan, and Europe was surprised with the news that an armistice for five weeks had been declared. The French Emperor, instead of freeing the country from the Alps to the Adriatic, had met Francis Joseph in person at Villafranca, and had concluded with him a preliminary treaty which was evidently to become definitive. Doubtless the altered purposes of Napoleon were attributable to a well-grounded belief that Prussia was about to interfere in the contest.

The preliminaries hastily agreed upon at Villafranca were soon confirmed by the Treaty of Zürich, signed on the 10th of November, 1859. Italy was not freed from foreign domination, but the cause of nationality had received a great impetus from the war. Lombardy was, by the terms of the treaty, assigned to Sardinia, but Venice remained to Austria; and the Grand Duke of Tuscany was restored. As for the rest, it was proposed that the Italian principalities of the Central Peninsula should be formed into a confederation under the presidency of the Pope.

Great was the disappointment, the mortification, of the Italian patriots. The Piedmontese who had made such heroic sacrifices felt that their king had been handled as a puppet by Napoleon, and that their great Minister had been overreached by perfidy. Others imagined that Cavour himself had been to blame—that he was one of the parties to the miserable outcome of the war. Little were the Italian Republicans disposed to accept the terms of Villafranca. They entered a protest against the restoration of their old rulers. A project was agitated for the transfer of certain of the duchies to the Kingdom of Sardinia, but Victor Emanuel deemed it imprudent, under the circumstances, to attempt the government of United Italy. He accordingly declined to accept the leadership of the discontented States, and the treaty of Zürich was nominally ratified.

It was presently divulged that Louis Napoleon, as the price of his assistance in a cause which he had abandoned in the full tide of success, had received, by the secret agreement with Cavour, the principalities of Nice and Savoy. This measure also was distasteful in the last degree to the Italian Nationalists. Instead of a complete union of all Italy, they saw two of their ancient provinces taken away and annexed to France. One of these was the ancestral seat of the House of Savoy. It chanced that Garibaldi was himself a native of Nice, and in his rage at what was done, he declared that "that man"—meaning Cavour—had made him a foreigner in his own house. Nevertheless, the tide soon turned, and it began to be seen that, although Italy had not been completely redeemed and unified, she had nevertheless made a tremendous stride in the direction of liberty and union. The high road at least was opened, and at the other end of that road lay—*Rome*.

Thus the movement for the unification of Italy continued. Notwithstanding the intervention of France, the patriots pressed forward with renewed courage in their own cause. In the beginning of 1860 an insurrection broke out in Sicily, which was destined to bring about, before its work was done, the very thing which the Franco-Austrian war had failed to accomplish—namely, the unification of Italy. The Sicilian patriots took up arms. No sooner was the news of the revolt carried to the north than Garibaldi, who was now at Genoa, went on board a Sardinian steamer, and, on the 11th of May, landed with a force of volunteers at the town of Marsala, one of the principal sea-ports on the west coast of Sicily. Here he assumed the office of Dictator; but acted in the name of Victor Emanuel. The Sicilian patriots flocked to his standard, and in a few days Sicily was conquered. It was one of the movements in which Count Cavour, constrained by international complications, was obliged to play the part of the fox.

While secretly favoring Garibaldi and his work, he made haste to tell the European Governments that Sardinia was sorry for the thing done!

Meanwhile, the popular leader, completely victorious in Sicily, crossed over into Italy. There he defeated the forces of Francis II., King of the Two Sicilies, and drove that alleged monarch into Gaëta. Thence Garibaldi marched to Naples, where he was joined by Mazzini; nor was his purpose of continuing the march to Rome much disguised from the public. It was evident that while Garibaldi proclaimed Victor Emanuel, there was a strong tide of Republicanism bearing him on. After gaining victories at Cajazzo and Volturno, he finally compelled the surrender of the Fortress of Gaëta.



LANDING OF GARIBALDI AT MARSALA.—Drawn by G. Broling.

Never was a statesman in a more troubled relation than was Count Cavour at this juncture. He perceived clearly that if the headstrong Garibaldi should make his way to Rome and disrupt the Papacy, international interference would ensue, and perhaps the great gains already made to the cause of Italian independence and unity be dissipated by counter-revolution. For a brief season anarchy was threatened, but the genius of the diplomatist stood him well in hand. He tried Napoleon again, and found out that the Emperor was willing that the Papal States should be consolidated with the Kingdom of Sardinia, if the same should be done under monarchical and Catholic auspices. This was the great point in the game. Cavour accordingly hurried forward an army to Rome, and thus anticipated the very act which the rashness of Garibaldi would have pursued in the cause of Republicanism. The Papal troops were defeated in battle by the General of Victor Emanuel. Urbino and Perugia were occupied, and the Papal States were consolidated with the other territories, under the sway of Victor Emanuel. Thus, while holding back Garibaldi with one hand, Count Cavour himself accomplished with the other what Europe would permit *him* to do, but would not permit to Garibaldi. The announcement of the result by Cavour to the Parliament at Turin was sufficiently significant. He simply said: "Garibaldi wishes to perpetuate the Revolution; we wish to terminate it." Soon afterwards, in a

despatch to the Prussian Cabinet, the Count said: "We are Italy; we work in her name; but at the same time it is our policy to moderate the national movement and maintain the monarchical principle." As to Garibaldi, he, with his usual patriotism, accepted the thing accomplished, resigned his Dictatorship, and retired to Caprera.

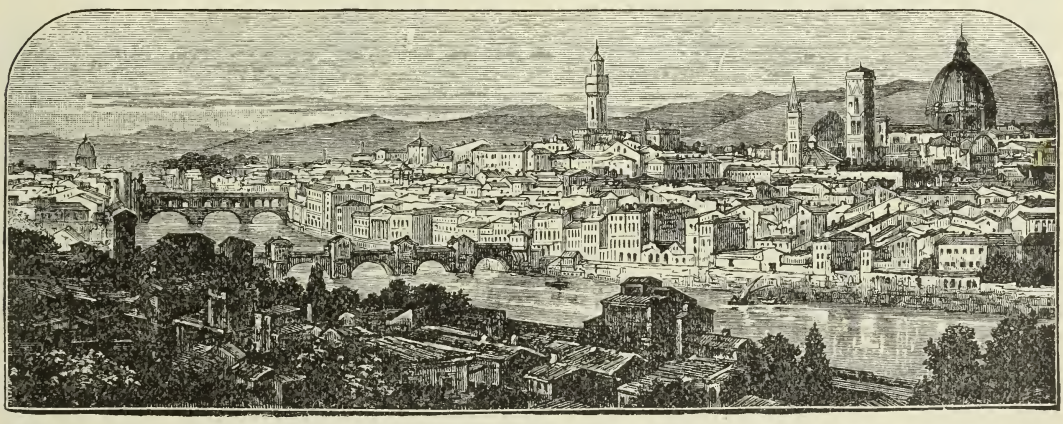
It thus happened that in the early months of 1861 all Italy, with the exception of Rome and Venice, had been liberated. The dominions of Francis II. in the south were annexed to the kingdom of Sardinia by a *plébiscite*. Better than all, Europe at large had virtually given her assent to the unification of Italy. The event was ripe for consummation. Victor Emanuel was accordingly proclaimed King of Italy. On the 18th of February the first Italian Parliament was convened at Turin. There, on the 26th of the month, the vote was passed to confer the crown of United Italy on the son of Charles Albert. The Italian Senate was filled with Nationalists, Liberals, patriots. There, amongst the rest, sat the aged and benign Alessandro Manzoni, whose writings, as we have already remarked, had contributed so much to the emancipation of his country.

The events here described were at once the culmination and the end of the great career of Camillo Benso di Cavour. To him most of all, so far as personal agency was concerned, the great work must be attributed. The burden which he had borne for years was well-nigh intolerable, but he lived to see the Italy of his dreams rising from the dust and degradation of the past. He saw the new Power which he had created enter the rank of nations under the banner of enlightenment and progress. Recently the Count had been sorely tried. After the treaty of Villafranca a break occurred between him and Victor Emanuel, and Cavour resigned his office. But motives of patriotism prevailed, and the king recalled him to power and honor. For several years it had been noticed by his friends that his health was becoming precarious under the stress of great exertion and constant application to the business of the kingdom. In fact, his powerful brain and nervous system began to give way under the heat and combustion of overwork, greater than any man could bear. Already at the opening of the National Parliament, in February of 1861, the Count had entered the last act of his life. He continued to participate for a short time in the discussions of the body, and in the direction of the Government. He was pressed down with a sense of increasing responsibilities; for the healing of the wounds of Italy, the closing of rents and fissures, the putting aside of the ancient prejudices and local animosities of the people, together with the institution of those reforms which he, more than any other statesman, perceived to be necessary to the future safety and prosperity of the kingdom, bore upon him as an intolerable burden which could not be thrown aside. Medical science was of no avail in postponing the catastrophe. His nerves gave way. For a few days his mind wandered through feverish talk relative to the affairs of Italy, and then, on the 6th of June, 1861, he died, being then in the fifty-first year of his age.

Such was the birth of modern Italy. The country entered upon what promised to be a career of honor among the European nations. As yet the capital of Italy was at Turin. There Victor Emanuel fixed his court, after his proclamation. The great drawback to the forward movement of Italy was the fact that Rome was still shut up against the movement of the age. Moreover, the status of the Eternal City, under the suzerainty of the Pope, was maintained by a French army of occupation. The support of the Mother Church in France had become a necessity to Napoleon III., who, in return for the favor, persisted in the policy—as indeed he must—of upholding the Pope in his sovereignty over the so-called States of the Church. This for the time prevented the establishment of the capital at Rome. The anomaly was thus presented of a kingdom of United Italy with its seat of government far in the North, at Turin, in the valley of the Po. The natural and historical capital of the Italian Peninsula and of the Roman race was held by an ecclesiastical potentate, reigning as the successor of St. Peter and the representative of the past, rather than by the will of the people, or in the interests of secular society.

From this time forth until the removal of this anachronism, the pressure was constant for the transfer of the Italian capital to its natural place on the banks of the Tiber. At length

the seat of government was removed from Turin to Florence, which was the first stage in the governmental progress toward the destined end. Victor Emanuel himself had been raised as a strict Catholic. He professed himself to be a loyal son of the Church. He was neither a religionist nor a philosopher, but was rather a stern man of affairs, dealing with practical complications, which must be solved in a practical manner. He saw clearly enough that the establishment of his government, so far as its local habitation was concerned, in the Eternal City, was a necessity of the situation. He accordingly opened negotiations with the Pope, but the Holy Father would not consent under any consideration that the secular government should be planted in Rome. The solution of the problem remained to be given by the



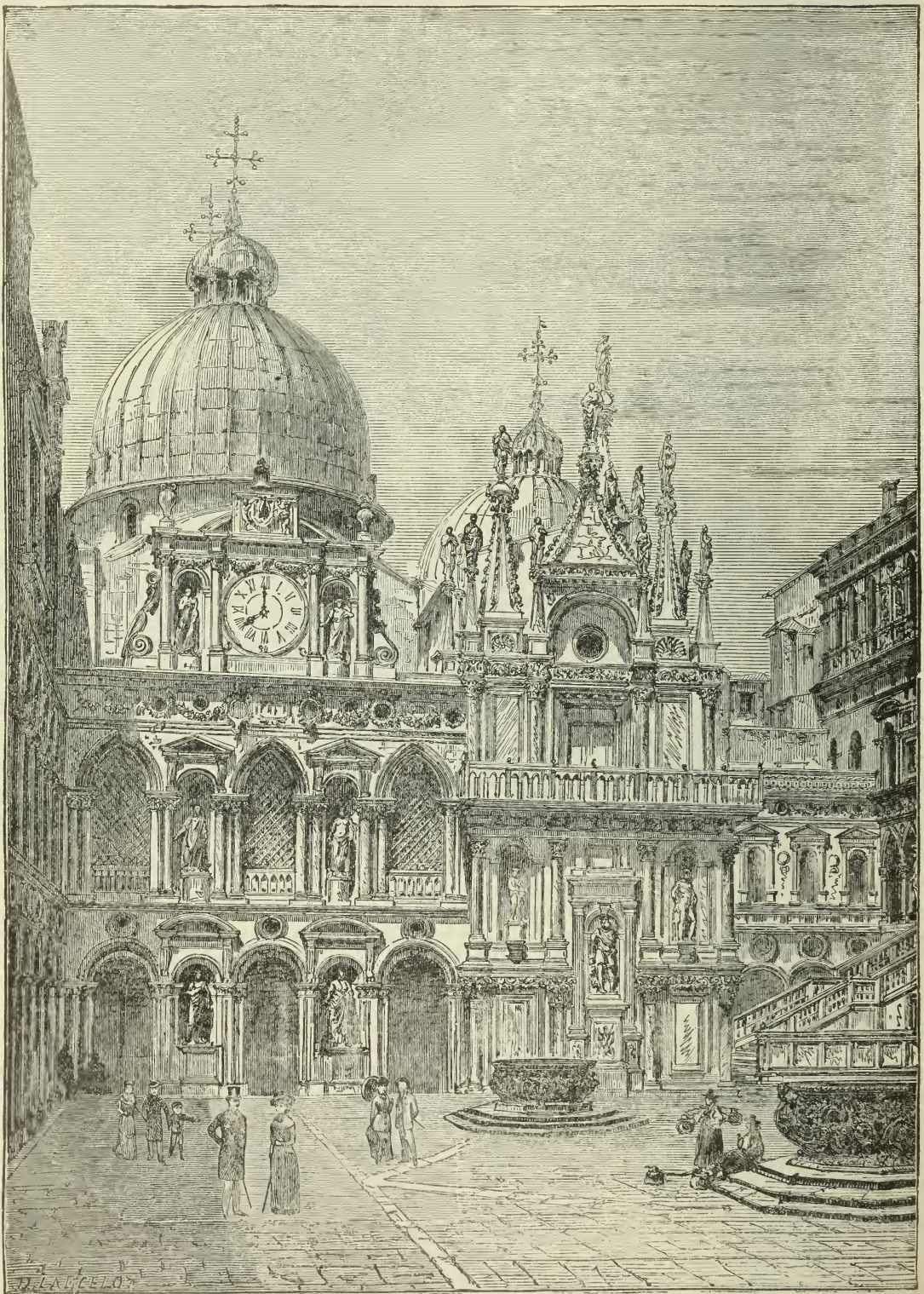
FLORENCE.

breaking of another historical crisis, involving some of the major States of Europe.

For the time had now come when the question was to be determined whether Prussia or Austria should lead in the great work of consolidating the German peoples under a common government and administration. We have already seen how the difficulty arose in Germany relative to the peninsular provinces of Schleswig and Holstein. We have remarked upon the far-reaching and energetic policy of Bismarck, by which the train was laid for an explosion, which in its results must decide whether Prussia or Austria should become the arbiter of the German nations. It is not needed, therefore, in this connection, to recite again the antecedents of the Prusso-Austrian War of 1866. Suffice it to say that the conflict, after a brief continuance of seven weeks, was brought to a conclusion on the memorable field of Sadowa. There the question was quickly solved in favor of the leadership and dominance of the Prussian Power in the affairs of Central Europe. Austria was completely beaten, and Francis Joseph was obliged, not only to renounce his claims to the Italian duchies, but also to cede the province of Venetia to the Kingdom of Italy. That which Napoleon III. had been unable or unwilling to accomplish as a thing impracticable or inexpedient, was suddenly effected by the keen sword of Hohenzollern laid across the table of diplomacy. This was the last of the Italian principalities requisite to the territorial unification of the Kingdom of Italy. On the 7th of November Victor Emanuel made a public entry into the square of St. Mark, in token of his sovereignty over that ancient metropolis

"Where Venice sate in state, throned on her hundred isles."

Meanwhile, the antecedents were slowly preparing for the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome. The retention by foreign powers of Venice and the Papal States—for the Pope was now virtually foreign to all the instincts of Italian nationality—had been ever distasteful to the Italian Radicals, who, after Villafranca, lost no opportunity to provoke such conflicts as might conduce to the desired end. From 1861 to 1866, Italy was the scene of many patriotic agitations having for their aim the conquest of Venice and the recovery of



DUCAL PALACE, VENICE.

Rome. In such agitations Garibaldi was the natural leader. In 1862 he made a second invasion of Sicily; but in this instance, though he had the assent of the Prime Minister Rattazzi, who had followed Ricasoli, successor of Cavour in office, the Prime Minister had not the assent of the Emperor Napoleon. The latter, therefore, who regarded Garibaldi's movements as a menace to the Papacy, interfered, and the Italian Government was obliged, at the dictation of France, to meet Garibaldi in battle. The General was defeated by the king's forces, was wounded, and obliged to go again into retirement at Caprera. Strangely enough, however, the attempted Garibaldian Revolution had excited the sympathy of Europe, and Napoleon III. was constrained by the prevailing diplomatical sentiment to agree, even before the day of Sadowa, to a gradual withdrawal of the French army of occupation from Rome. This agreement was made on the understanding that certain concessions should be made by the Italian Government to the Pope with respect to his rights and prerogatives, and these concessions, agreed to by Victor Emanuel and his Government, were known henceforth in the annals of Italy as the "Papal Guarantees."

We have already remarked upon the alliance which Bismarck secured with Italy before the outbreak of the war between Prussia and Austria. It was agreed that the Italian and Prussian armies should coöperate in the impending conflict. Much was expected by the Prussian Government from the coöperation of Italy; but the expectation resulted in disappointment. The army of Italy was thrown into the field, and was planted, with much spirit, beyond the Mincio. Several engagements ensued with divisions of the Austrian army, at Custozza, Monte Suello, and Lissa, in all of which the Italians, whether by land or sea, suffered defeat. The movement from this side against Austria served the purpose of a clever diversion, but otherwise was of no effect. The result was derogatory to the military reputation of Italy, and had it not been for the vehemence with which Prussia pressed her enemy on the other side, the consequences to Italy must have been disastrous in the last degree. But the battle of Königgrätz did the work for Austria, and she suddenly found herself in a condition wherein she must plead in modest, rather than dictate in haughty, terms. It thus happened that, through the complete triumph of Prussia, Italy emerged with great advantage from the war. Now it was that she gained Venetia and the so-called Quadrilateral Fortresses, upon which Austria had hitherto depended for the maintenance of her supremacy in the South. Prussia permitted her enemy to retain Istria and Dalmatia, but would concede nothing further.

In the meantime Napoleon III., in accordance with the agreement which he had made in his September Convention with Victor Emanuel, proceeded to withdraw his troops from Rome. Such was the peculiar situation of affairs in Italy that the movement was one of hazard, not only to the Papacy, but to the kingdom. The Government of Victor Emanuel had been builded by the middle and upper classes of society. By them it was supported. In it the under man in Italy had thus far had but little part or lot. The under man was a Republican, a Radical, an enemy of the Papacy. While accepting the rule of Victor Emanuel, the lower classes of society, who had been infected with the teachings of Mazzini, awaited each recurring opportunity to agitate for the complete suppression of the Papal system, and the establishment of Republicanism throughout Italy.

The withdrawal of the French troops from Rome, in 1866, appeared to the Italian Radicals to bring in the expected day of deliverance. With the outgoing of the soldiers of France from the Eternal City, there sat the Papacy, without defense. It was as if the cordon around St. Peter's had been broken down by barbarians. Garibaldi and his fellow-patriots seized the opportunity. The General publicly announced his determination to take Rome or die in the attempt. Mazzini gave his counsel to the same end. The patriots rose in obedience to the cause. Rattazzi, the Prime Minister, nodded, as Cavour had done, to the democratic leaders, as much as to say, "Do it not, but do it speedily." But the nod of Rattazzi was not the Olympian nod of Cavour. Garibaldi rushed forward to the attack, and gained a victory at Monte Rotondo. To him it made no difference that Victor Emanuel and his Government had agreed

that the Papal territories and authority should be respected. He at least had been no party to such an agreement. He at least had never recognized the so-called "Guarantees" of the Papacy. He accordingly pressed on to Mentana.

But in the meantime the king had proclaimed his intention to keep faith with the Pope, and Louis Napoleon had interfered with the demand that the Papal rights should, in accordance with the September Convention, be strictly observed. A combined force of

By this time a new international complication had arisen, out of which the final liberation of Italy was to spring. The jealousy of France and Prussia grew hot to the point of combustion. We have seen in a preceding chapter how the storm blew up, and finally broke, from the ridiculous circumstance of the nomination by the Cortes of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern for the Spanish throne. The summer of 1870 brought the climax, and the beginning of autumn the catastrophe. The German artillery, planted on the heights



ST. PETER'S, ROME.

French and Papal troops came upon Garibaldi, and he was obliged to surrender his forces. He was arrested by order of the Italian Government, and was for a few weeks confined in prison, after which he went back to his island home at Caprera. As soon as the revolt was suppressed, as soon as the French Emperor had discerned the true intent of the Italian democracy, he sent back his troops to Rome, where they remained as the protecting power of the Papacy until the final collapse, three years afterwards.

around Sedan, pounded the French army into a bloody mass in the crater, and the white flag announced the end of the French Empire. By this time the French soldiers had, of necessity, been withdrawn from all foreign parts, including Italy. Napoleon was struggling no longer for victory, but for preservation, and every musket was needed in the line which he attempted to interpose between his dynasty and the advancing columns of Germany.

As soon as the capitulation of Sedan was

known in Paris, as soon as the Empire was down, as soon as Empress Eugénie and her son had taken flight across the water, Jules Favre announced the termination of the September Convention, in which the late Emperor had agreed to uphold the independence of the Papal States of Italy. Notice was given to Victor Emanuel that the French Republic now conceded to him the privilege of doing as he pleased with that ancient reminiscence, the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. It was on the 21st of August, 1870, that the last of the French soldiers withdrew from Italy. Twelve days afterwards came the great collapse of the French Empire. The army of Italy was immediately thrown forward, and, on the 20th of September of this eventful year, entered and took possession of Rome. The Italian Parliament immediately passed an act defining the future status of the Pope. He was to continue to hold the scepter of Catholic Christendom, as his predecessors had done before him. He was to retain the Vatican Palace, with its dependent suburbs known as the "Leonine City," the Church of Sta. Maria Maggiore and Castel Gandolfo, on the Alban Hill. A munificent endowment was voted to the Pope by the State, and, for the rest, the supreme Pontiff was left in peace.

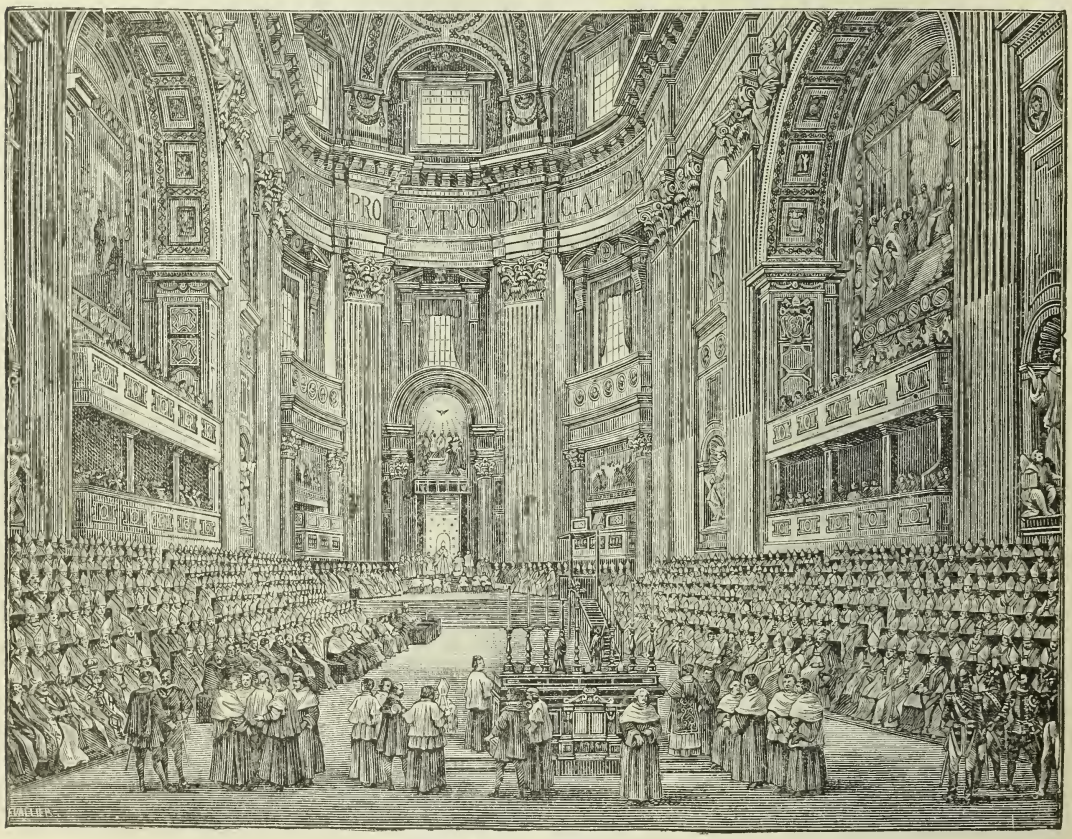
In December of 1870 the Italian Parliament declared Rome to be henceforth the capital of the Kingdom of Italy. The body was still sitting at Florence, where, in the following May, the new bill was passed definitive of the situation of the Church under the altered economy, and of the place which the Pope should hold. On the 2d of July in this year, Victor Emanuel, as King of Italy, entered the Eternal City, and took up his residence at the Quirinal. The vision of the patriots seemed at last to be realized in the territorial, political, and civil unity of Italy. As for religious unity, that, indeed, still seemed a great way off.

For, to Pope Pius IX., the occupation of Rome by the king came in the nature of both an insult and a mockery. Nothing could surpass the indignation with which the Pontiff viewed the vast and triumphant movements of secular society, whereby himself had been displaced from that temporal dominion which had been so long enjoyed by the successors of the Fisherman. In the preceding year, Pius had summoned the Bishops of the Catholic world to convene in Rome in an Ecumenical Council. The meeting was one of the most celebrated in the history of the Church. The sittings continued from December of 1869 to July of 1870. The great question which the Cardinals had been called together to consider was the Infallibility of the Pope. It was a question concerning which there had been a vast deal of discussion in the Church of Rome, and a vast deal of misunderstanding in the Protestant world. The Church had long claimed infallibility. On that subject there had been little disagreement. The real issue was as to the *body* or *person* in which or in whom the infallibility was lodged. Some had said that the general Church was the infallible body; others, that it was the Council; others, that it was the Pope, as the head of the Church, who possessed the attribute of infallibility. Still others held the position that the attribute belonged to the Pope *and* the Council. Beside these major views, many subdivided opinions were entertained by clericals great and small, in ancient and middle and modern times.

On the whole, the recent tendency of doctrine was favorable to the infallibility of the Pope himself, as the great head of Christendom. At the time of the meeting of the Council of 1870 the question had resolved itself into this form: Is the Holy Father, or is he not, without error when speaking for the great body of which he is the authorized head? A decision was readily secured in the affirmative, and it was formally declared as the decision of the Church that the Pope when, on a subject of faith or morals, he issues a decree as the highest organ of Christendom, is infallible. Scarcely, however, had the decision been rendered and the great convention adjourned when the Italian army, sweeping through the gates of Rome, revealed the fact that the decrees of Ecclesiastical Councils are no longer the governing force in history.

It must needs be that, beginning his reign as he did, Victor Emanuel and his Government must suffer great financial embarrassments. Several years before the occupation of Rome it had been found necessary for the king, as his contribution to the treasury, to

yield up a large part of his revenues. It was also decreed that a considerable portion of the Church lands in Italy should be sold, and, for the purchase of these, French capitalists made an advance of over eighty millions of dollars. By such means the national credit was restored and upheld. But the very measures which the Government thus adopted, so liberal, progressive, and energetic, were additional sources of complaint and animadversion on the part of the Papacy. It is doubtful whether any greater animosity has been felt, at least in modern times, by one dignitary towards another than that which was cherished and proclaimed from time to time by the Pope against Victor Emanuel. The latter was denounced by his Holiness as the "Subalpine Usurper," who, by violence and crime, had despoiled the patrimony of St. Peter, and brought the Church to open shame.



ECUMENICAL COUNCIL.

At the very beginning of Victor Emanuel's reign in Rome an event occurred of a character wholly different from those which have so long occupied our attention. On the 26th of December, 1870, the Mont Cenis tunnel was completed. The means of ready access by railway communication was thus afforded between Italy and the great countries beyond the Alps. It was, indeed, an achievement of which the genius of man in our generation may well be proud. Notwithstanding his feebleness as a mere animal force, his intellectual greatness had at length prevailed in boring through the mountain-wall and carrying, by means of the spacious aperture, his highway of travel and commerce between the land of the Cæsars and the land of the Bonapartes. The Italians were not slow to recognize the great advantage of the new channel of communication between themselves and the countries of the North. In September of 1871 the opening of the Mont Cenis tunnel was duly celebrated at Turin. Two months afterwards, when the first National Parliament was opened at Rome, the king, in his address, referred to the great achievement of the age,

CHAMPAIGN COUNTY COMMON SCHOOLS.

Certificate of Rank in Class.

CENTRAL EXAMINATION AT Urbana.

Rank No. 23 in a Class of 61.

It is Hereby Certified, That Mr. Warren Shawhan a pupil in Urbana Grammar School, Urbana Township, in Champaign County, Illinois, has made the following averages for the year ending Feb. 6th 1893.

GRAMMAR SCHOOL COURSE.

Orthography 92; Reading 98; Penmanship 88; Arithmetic 7 Year 30;
Grammar 77; Geography 92; History 90; Average 81;

HIGHER COURSE.—1st Year; 2nd Year.

Algebra—1st Year; 2d Year —; Zoology —; Philosophy —. Average — and that he is entitled to the above rank in his class.

Since last township examination school has been in session ____ days, of which ____ has attended ____ days.

W. P. Shawhan
Teacher

THE GAZETTE, FINE STATIONERY, CHAMPAIGN, ILL.

Co. Sup't of Schools.

and announced that another tunnel, by way of Mont St. Gothard, would be at once undertaken, under the patronage of the Government.

We here enter upon the reign of Victor Emanuel as first King of United Italy, and of the events belonging to this period. The institution of the new order was accepted by the Italians as auspicious. To this view of the situation, however, the Pope and his associated party were exceptional. The years 1871–72 witnessed a political tranquillity in Italy, the like of which had not been known for a century. The latter year, however, was noted for two physical disturbances well calculated to produce distress. On the 24th of April a fearful eruption of Vesuvius occurred, lasting for many days, and causing immense destruction of life and property in the district round about. In the autumn of the same year the valley of the Po was visited by a flood, by which eighty thousand people were reduced to want. For the rest, there was industrial prosperity and great content among the Italian people.

It could but be expected that an organization having the antecedents of the Roman Church, and placed in such a position as that in which she now found herself, would make unwearied efforts to recover her losses and regain her footing among the Powers of the earth. No sooner was the Government of United Italy definitively established in Rome, than the agents and adherents of the Mother Church put forth their hands in the Italian Parliament, hoping to recover their privileges and prerogatives. In May of 1872 an attempt was made to carry a bill granting certain important privileges to the heads of the old religious corporations in Rome. The proposition was to the Liberals like the explosion of a bomb, and they rallied all their forces for the defeat of the project. Believing that the Jesuits were at the bottom of the movement, they carried their hostility to the Catholic party still further by a measure for the expulsion of the Society from the Roman College, and from certain other establishments held and controlled by the Jesuits in Rome. It was discovered by the Papal party, greatly to their anger and hurt, that the assumptions of the Church in the affairs of the Government would henceforth be resented and resisted to the last.

With the political liberation of Italy came also the freedom of the Italian mind. On every hand were seen the evidences of a new intellectual activity worthy of the age and country. The industrial enterprises and artisanship of all kinds were promoted as they had not been for ages. The thought of men went free on its mission, and a new era was opened

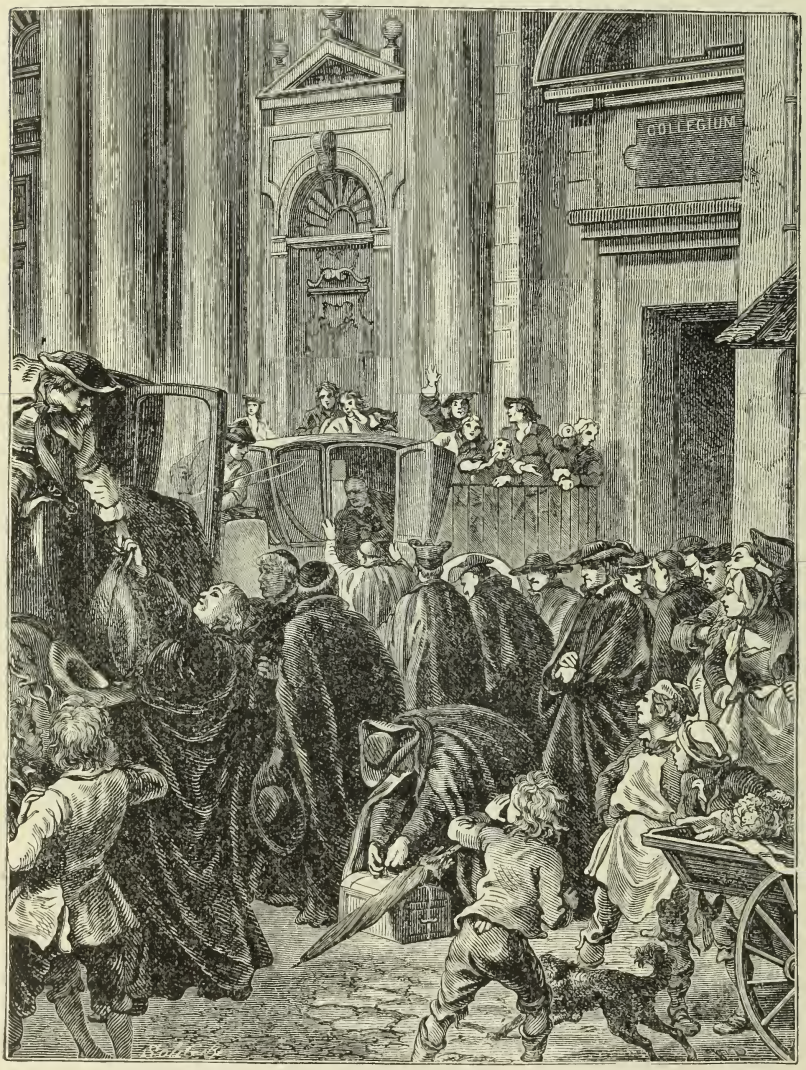


VICTOR EMANUEL.

for those philosophical, literary, and scientific pursuits in which the genius of mankind finds its chief delight. It was noted as one of the incidents of the day, most cheering to the lovers of freedom throughout the world, that in the autumn of 1872, on the very day of the passage of the decree against the Jesuits, the first Scientific Congress ever held in Rome met in the capitol. The body was pervaded with the enthusiasm of the age from its humblest member to Count Mamiani, who presided over the deliberations.

While these enlightened proceedings were

giving to present and after times the unmistakable evidence of the salutary character of the revolution through which Italy had recently passed, Pope Pius IX. set himself with firmness and persistency against the whole movement of the age. On the occupation of Rome by Victor Emanuel, and the institution therein of the Government of United Italy, the Pope at once retired to the Vatican and declared himself a *prisoner*. This was the attitude in which he chose to put himself henceforth before the nations. The assurances of the king, of the Italian Government, and of the people, that the Pope was free to exercise all his apostolic functions, to reign as the head of the Church in every spiritual relation, to go forth at his will, and to act in all particulars with the full liberty of any other potentate in Christendom, was denounced as sheer hypocrisy by Pius, who persisted in reiterating that he was a prisoner, held down by violence, hampered by the criminal ambitions of a usurper who was the enemy of human society and the assassin of the Church. The Papacy, so far as its living representative was concerned, thus drew up its garments, sat down in seclusion, moped in an imaginary imprisonment, and awaited an impossible deliverance from a thralldom which did not exist.



EXPULSION OF JESUITS FROM THEIR COLLEGE IN ROME.

Meanwhile, the government of Victor Emanuel followed its legitimate course; and Italy, under the auspices of a liberal monarchy, emerged suddenly and gloriously from her mediæval degradation. Foreign nations responded with alacrity and cheerfulness to the changed order of things. The House of Savoy was recognized as the equal of the other Dynasties of Europe. With the year 1874 came the twenty-fifth anniversary of the king's reign, and the event was celebrated with great *éclat* and solemnity. Meanwhile, the children of Victor Emanuel were sought in marriage, especially by the royal families at the head of the Latin States. The second daughter, Pia, was wedded to the King of Portugal; and the second son, Amadeus, was, in December of 1870, elected King of Spain. The reign was peaceful to the end, which came with the death of the king, after a brief fever, on the 9th of

January, 1878. Victor Emanuel died without reconciliation to the Pope—a thing, indeed, impossible under the historical conditions of his age and country. He came to his end as he had lived, a true representative of Italian nationality. It could hardly be said that he represented the Italian people, but rather those upper and middle classes of Italians whose political principles and aspirations all radiated from monarchy as the first and essential institution of society. From a moral and domestic point of view, the life and character of the late king left much to be desired; but his earnestness of purpose, his sincere devotion to the cause of Italy, the robustness and vigor of his political and governmental virtues, have justly given him a high place among the sovereigns of the present age, and have ratified the title conferred on him by his admirers of Liberator of Italy.

Pius IX. lived long enough to see his enemy borne to the grave. The aged Pope remained unmolested in the Vatican. It can not be denied that his venerable appearance, his dignity of demeanor, and his persistency in hoping and, perhaps, believing that he or his successor would be restored to temporal power, evoked, to a certain extent, the respect of mankind for his person and office. On the 3d of June, 1877, the veteran Pontiff, who had "surpassed the years of Peter," celebrated the jubilee anniversary of his consecration as Archbishop of Spoleto. He had reached the thirty-first year of his pontificate, and, by his personal virtue, no less than his great abilities, had gained a tremendous influence over all Catholic Christendom. He outlived Victor Emanuel by a single month, dying on the 8th of February, 1878. He went down to the tomb without the slightest reconciliation to the new order of things in Italy and the world, declaring to the last that he was a prisoner in the Vatican.

Soon after his death, the College of Cardinals was convened at Rome, and the Papal crown was conferred on Cardinal Pecci, who took the Chair of St. Peter, with the title of Leo XIII. Thus, in the same year, did Italy as a kingdom, and the Romish Church as a religious institution, receive each a new sovereign, the first by the will and choice of the National Parliament, and the other by election at the hands of the Cardinals of Christendom. As to the new Pope, he adopted the theories and principles of his predecessor. He owed his elevation to the Papacy to the influence and votes of the Ultramontane party,



PIUS IX.

which had now become the governing power in the whole Catholic world. The new Pontiff was inducted into a relation which had been prepared for him through ages of historical antecedence, out of which he could not have lifted himself into another sphere if he had so desired. His reign, therefore, was virtually a continuance of the reign of Pius IX.—the prolongation of a policy which, during its continuance, has made it impossible for the Church of Rome to harmonize with the existing civilization of mankind.

CHAPTER CXLVII.—HUMBERT I.

THE new King of Italy followed the precedents of his father's reign. Humbert I., eldest son of Victor Emanuel, was at once proclaimed as sovereign of Italy. The Italian Chambers convened on the 16th of January, 1878, and three days afterwards King Humbert, in the Parliament House, took the oath of fidelity to the Constitution. He then delivered his address to the Senators and Deputies assembled, speaking in feeling terms of the death of his father, and declaring his purpose, under the Constitution, to lead on the Kingdom of Italy to its high destiny. "We are not," said the young king, "new to the difficulties of public life. These last thirty years of our national history are summed up in alternate trials of undeserved misfortune and of well-prepared successes. This is the thought which encourages me in taking up the duties imposed upon me. Italy, which well knew how to understand Victor Emanuel, proves to me to-day what my great father never ceased to tell me—that the religious observance of free institutions is the best safeguard against all dangers. This is the faith of my house; this will be my strength; and the Parliament, faithful to the national will, will aid me in the first steps of my reign with that loyalty of intent which the glorious king, whose memory all men celebrate, knew how to inspire, even amid the earnest emulation of parties and in the inevitable conflict of circumstances."

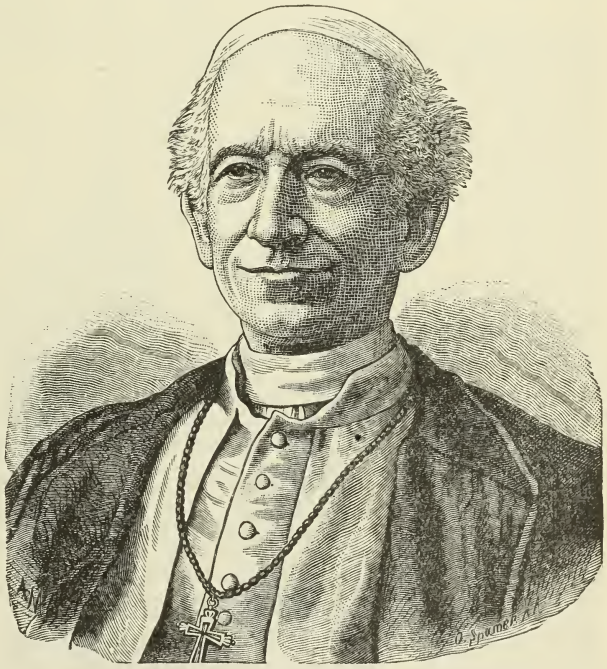
The king further spoke of the international relations sustained by Italy, and referred, at the close of his address, to the death of "the late lamented and venerated Pope," and to the election of his successor, declaring that the College of Cardinals had, in that matter, proceeded freely, according to their own laws, and "without disturbance to the tranquillity of men's minds." Such declarations, however, were mere gall to the Pope and his adherents, to whom the fictitious imprisonment was a thing too precious to be denied.

In the first year of Humbert's reign, Italy was much disturbed by social agitations in divers places. When the Italian Chambers assembled, in November of 1878, the project of putting down the Socialists by law was seriously debated. The immediate occasion of the obtrusion of the question was an attempt to assassinate the king. On the 17th of November, when Humbert was entering Naples, a cook named Giovanni Passanante made an attack upon him with a flag-staff, armed with a spear. The king was wounded, and Signor Carioli, one of his attendants, had a severe struggle with the assassin before the latter was beaten down. The trade associations, the so-called Barsanti clubs, and other Socialistic bodies, generally affiliating with the International Society, were charged with inciting violence against the king and the Government. It was found in the course of the debates, in which the Ministry advocated the closing and suppression of the Democratic clubs and societies, that the Italian Liberals, while they did not sympathize with the violence done to the king, were little disposed to adopt the severe measures proposed by the Government. The result was that the party in power was defeated on a vote of confidence, which failed by a large majority. The result was the resignation of the Cabinet and the formation of a new Ministry, under the leadership of Signor Depretis.

At this epoch in the recent history of Italy a fact came out strongly analogous to the corresponding circumstance in the political, and especially the Parliamentary, history of Germany and France. This was the division of parties into small sections, called "groups," to the extent of preventing the supremacy of any. Instead of two dominant political parties, such as we see constantly operating by their representatives in the British House of Commons or the Congress of the United States, the Italians, as well as the Germans and French, have broken up into divisions and subdivisions to the extent of greatly impeding the regular management of affairs by a dominant governmental party. The Italian Chambers at this time contained about a half dozen minor parties, and neither the Left nor the Right, that is, neither the Liberals nor the Conservatives, could command a working majority without invoking the aid of some of the smaller factions.

Such a method was, of course, precarious and uncertain. In many instances the Parliamentary proceedings degenerated into a mere factional fight. In April of 1880 the Ministry dissolved the Chambers, and, as the phrase of our times goes, "went to the country" in the hope of gaining a decisive majority at a new election. But the Italians had not yet reached that stage in the political evolution at which government by party becomes a part of the fixed Constitution of the country. The May elections resulted in the choice of a new Chamber, presenting virtually the same phenomena as before. The Ministerial party secured the election of a hundred and fifty-six members, against a hundred and eighty members of all shades of opposition. The Government continued to be vexed by that weakness of party discipline which allowed the Senators and Deputies to form small groups on the lines of their own preference, without fear of ostracism by the larger party to which they nominally belonged. It was found, however, that, on the whole, the Ministry representing the Left could count with tolerable certainty on a majority of about thirty. But the preponderance was unsteady, and before the end of the session the Ministry were beaten on an important division. By this time the Italian Radicals, still represented by Garibaldi, had fallen into chronic discontent with the House of Savoy and its methods, and it was easily perceived that only an opportunity was awaited for a general movement towards an Italian Democracy.

Not only did the Radical party revive under the Administration of Humbert, but the Clericals also. The latter had been forbidden by Pius IX. from any and all participation in the elections lest such a course might seem to recognize the validity of the present political order in Italy. From the time of the establishment of the Government in Rome down to the year 1880 the Clerical party was restrained from all political action by the authority of the Papacy. But Leo XIII. came at length to view the question in another light, and the decree of the late Pope relative to participating in political affairs was revoked. The result was that the Clericals came out in full force in the municipal election at Rome, and succeeded in securing a triumph for their party. The success of the experiment was so decided that the Pope determined to pursue the same policy throughout Italy, thus throwing as large a representation as possible



LEO XIII.

into the Italian Chambers. It was an incident of the election just referred to that Garibaldi was decisively defeated as one of the candidates in Rome.

It was in this year that the Pope issued, through Cardinal Nina, his appeal to the Catholics of Christendom for such pecuniary aid as should enable him to carry out the policy of the Papacy on a liberal basis. The scheme contemplated the substitution of a voluntary system in place of the revenues which His Holiness had hitherto derived from his secular government in the States of the Church. He represented to the Catholic world that the Cardinals resident in Rome were poorly supported; that the Papal nuncios at the Courts of Europe were maintained either by his own sacrifices or else in a style incommensurate with the dignity of the Church; that the Bishops of Italy had in many cases lost their revenues; that the employés of the old Pontifical Government had been thrown from office without the means of support. Besides all this, the Roman churches—that is, the edifices—were falling into decay for the want of repairs, and the Clerical schools of Rome, which His Holiness had planted to undo the pernicious work begun by the schools of "the unbelievers and the heterodox," were suffering for the means requisite to sustain them.

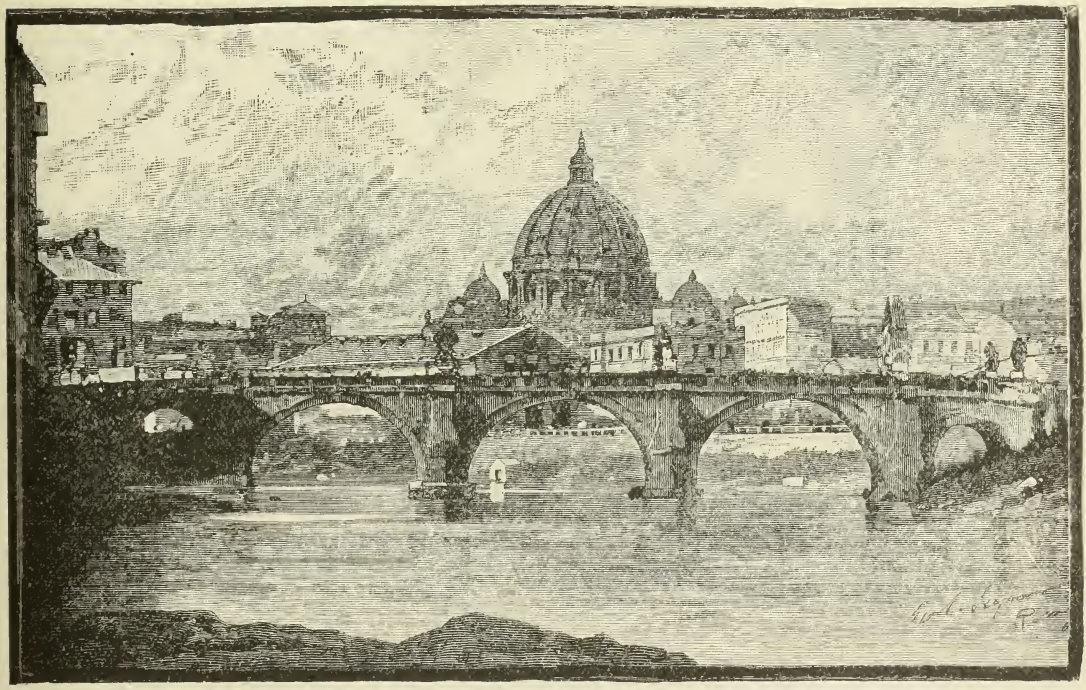
Later in the year the Holy Father again promulgated his views, dwelling in particular on the hardships of his imprisonment. The case was now made out that he certainly was "imprisoned," for the reason that he was not independent. He was not independent, for the reason that the six hundred ancient functionaries of the temporal power, which his predecessors had enjoyed until the year 1870, were going about the streets without either office or support. His, therefore, was a merely spectral government—an illusion and form of things rather than a substance. He also called attention of the world to the growth of heresy and to the impunity accorded to the heretics, complaining bitterly that even in the establishment of the Clerical schools he had been obliged, like a private person, to proceed in accordance with the common law. In conclusion, the Pope declared in the very manner and tone which his predecessors had assumed in the ancient days of terror, that he would never acquiesce in the present condition of things in Italy, and would never cease to call for the restitution of all the rights and prerogatives of which, by fraud and deceit, the Apostolic See had been deprived.

In the following year he renewed the plaint. The method had now supervened of encouragement to the Papacy by pilgrimages of the faithful to the Eternal City. In October of 1881 a great body of Italian pilgrims paid respects to the Pope, on which occasion he enlarged, in his usual way, on the cruelty and crime of his captivity. He declared that the alternative was before him of perpetual imprisonment or exile. He went so far as to assert that he was no longer secure from outrages and indignities in his own palace. The pilgrims were deeply affected by the appeal of the Pope; but on their going forth into the streets they were pelted by the rabblement with missiles and epithets, and cries of "Down with the Vatican!" The impression prevailed for a season that the Supreme Pontiff actually contemplated an escape from the alleged hardships of his situation into some foreign part, where he might freely reconstitute at least the semblance of that politico-ecclesiastical system which had been destroyed.

An incident of the close of the year 1881 serves well to illustrate the course which Italian society was now taking. The circumstance in question was the trial of Signor Mario and his assistant, editors of a Federalist newspaper, called *Lega della Democrazia*. The journal in question was sufficiently Radical. The editor carried a free lance. At length he published an article in which he referred to the possible return of the Conservative party to power as a thing equivalent to placing a "box of dynamite under the royal throne." It was evident to all the world—except the public censor Lavini—that the language in question was figurative, as though one in America should say that a certain act of the opposing party would throw dynamite under the White House. But to Lavini the expression of Mario seemed literal—a threat to explode the throne of Italy with a bomb! The editor was accordingly arrested, and a great trial ensued, in the course of which many editorials, most pungent and satirical, of which the public had never before heard, were read to the court and jury. Never

was a newspaper better advertised than was *Lega della Democrazia* to the twenty-seven millions of the Italian people. One article, devoted to the Pope and the Papacy, was entitled "Mr. Pecci!" Others were equally flagrant in their violation of things sacred and things political, and it was for this reason, rather than for any force of law, that Mario was at length found guilty. But the penalty was insignificant, and the general effect of the trial was to encourage rather than impede the freedom of the press.

It was at the time which we are now considering that the agitation culminated relative



THE BRIDGE OF SANT' ANGELO, ROME.

to the extension of the suffrage in Italy. Hitherto the privilege of voting had been limited to the few. The Government was virtually an aristocracy. We have already remarked that the unification of Italy under the kingdom was effected by the upper and middle classes of society. The Chambers were constituted by a system of suffrage anything else than popular. Out of the twenty-seven millions or more of people but little more than half a million were electors, voters; and of these hardly a half exercised the privilege granted by the Constitution and the law. Even among the few, numbering about two hundred and fifty thousand, who did the actual voting for all Italy, there was so great apathy that it was difficult to secure a respectable vote even at a general election. It was not, indeed, that the Italians had no interest in politics; for we have seen how great had been their zeal in almost every important crisis. The real reason lay deeply imbedded in a despair of accomplishing anything, which was almost universally felt by the people. They had sought for reform, and had found it not. They had striven with all their might for the benefits which come of emancipation and good government, but no such benefits had appeared. Many witty and satirical sayings gained currency as to the abuses and disappointments incident to the current governmental system. The electors were wont to ask, "Why should we vote for this man or for that? The king remains the same; the laws, the same; and the taxes go on increasing." The Venetians had a ballad, which they were wont to sing to this effect:

"Under the *Republic* we dined and supped;
Under *Austria* we dined only;
Now that *Italy* reigns we fast forever!"

Looking at the relation of the working-classes to their political condition, present and

past, it might well be said of them, as was said by one of the reviewers, that they "fared better when they were worse off."

It was natural, under such circumstances, that the theory and project of universal suffrage should be proposed as the remedy for the existing evils with which political society was tormented. In the summer of 1881 the agitation reached a climax, by the passage of a new law for universal suffrage. It was enacted that all male citizens, above twenty-one years of age, who could sign their own names, should be entitled to registry and to the right to vote. The requisition extended no further than the execution of an autograph by the elector. The measure was radical in the extreme. The number of voters was suddenly expanded from half a million to over three millions. Nor can it be denied that, in a country long used to aristocratic forms, long accustomed to the ways of kingcraft and priestcraft, the experiment of universal suffrage was hazardous in the last degree—all the more so, for the reason that the Pope had now discovered, through this avenue, what he conceived to be the possible restoration of his power. For would not the faithful throughout Italy, at the command of His Holiness, vote henceforth as directed from the Vatican?

The year 1882 was noted for another step in the stately progress by which secular government was extended and confirmed in Rome. This was the decision of the question, whether or not the Vatican and the suburbs thereof should, in cases of controversy, be subject to the usual legal processes and judicial decisions of the kingdom. Should or should not the jurisdiction of the secular courts extend within the sacred precincts? and must or must not the Pope, and the somewhat spectral figures of his Government, yield obedience to the common law of the realm? It happened, in 1882, that the Pope's major-domo, acting for His Holiness, had employed an architect for some service about the Vatican palace. When the duty was performed the architect was refused his pay, and he thereupon brought suit and obtained a judgment for his claim. But the Pope instituted a court of his own, to determine cases in which the rights of the members of his household were involved. It was a virtual attempt to reïnstitute just such tribunals as had been used in the Papal Government when Pius IX. was still sovereign of the States of the Church. Of course the Pope's court could but reverse the judgment of the secular tribunal; but the architect appealed his cause to the High Court, and the judgment of the court below was fully confirmed. The decision was regarded by the Pope and the Clericals as a great outrage done to the sacred authority which the Pontiffs had so long exercised. The principal effect of the proceedings, however, was to intensify the repugnance which the Liberal party of Italy already felt to the whole Papal system and its assumptions of power.

The various revolutions and wars through which Italy had passed from the beginning of the ascendency of the House of Savoy to the complete establishment of the Kingdom of United Italy had necessarily entailed upon the Government vast expenditures and an immense national debt. We have already remarked upon the financial embarrassments to which Italy was more than once subjected during the seventh and eighth decades. After the Government was once firmly seated in Rome, and a settled state of affairs had supervened promising regularity of administration and perpetuity of the existing order, the finances of the country rapidly improved. The treasury was on the whole well administered, and the national debt was controlled in such a manner as greatly to improve the credit of the Government. The financial phenomena of the kingdom were very similar to the corresponding facts in the United States from 1870 to 1880. The preceding exigencies had made it necessary for the Italian treasury to suspend specie payments, but the time had now come when the same might be safely resumed. The 12th of April, 1883, was fixed as the date of resumption, and the Finance Ministers, through a considerable period, made preparations for the event. Gold coin to the extent of over eighty-three millions of dollars, beside a large amount of silver, was accumulated in the treasury. The national credit rose rapidly to par. During the last month before resumption the premium on gold was no more than one-half of one per cent. By the date fixed for the paying out of coin on national obligations, all anxiety as to the

result of the experiment had, as in the case of the similar event in the United States, passed away, and the resumption of specie payments was accomplished without a jar.

During the summer and autumn of 1883 a feeling of extreme unfriendliness was engendered between France and Italy. The trouble in question was partly social and partly political in its origin. Italy, as we have seen, had been drawn into an alliance with Prussia, and had secured thereby the greatest territorial and civil advantages. Venetia had been recovered, and Austria thrust back to the Istrian and Dalmatian border by the Prussian sword and diplomacy. It thus happened that, in spite of his ethnic and dynastic affiliation with the Latin States, Victor Emanuel, and after him King Humbert, had been drawn over by many ties to the German Empire. This fact was exceedingly disagreeable to the French, who could but regard the German sympathies of Italy as misplaced, being against the law of both race and history.

In the summer of 1883 the Island of Ischia was rocked to its very foundations by one of the severest earthquakes of modern times. Great was the destruction of life and property. It was estimated that more than four thousand people actually perished by the catastrophe, and many additional thousands were rendered homeless and destitute. The disaster was so great as to call for the aid of the Government, and an appeal was made to the benevolence and generosity of foreign nations.

On the occasion of a public fête, Emperor William, of Germany, contributed fifty thousand marks to a fund which had been started by the Crown Prince and Crown Princess for the aid of the Ischia sufferers. In recognition of this gift, the King of Italy at once transmitted, through the Italian embassy, his thanks, and those of his country, for the magnificent gift of Germany. In the meantime, large public collections had also been taken in France, and forwarded to Italy. But the French were exceedingly jealous of the work done by the German royal family, and in order to break the effect and to injure the Italian Government in the estimation of the world, Henri Rochefort, editor of *L'Intransigeant*, made a publication in which he charged that the funds contributed by the French for the relief of the survivors of the Ischia earthquake had been appropriated by King Humbert, and that the latter, at the very time when he and his people were thus aided by voluntary and *involuntary* contributions, was urging on the Emperor of Germany to destroy the French Republic. For a season there was a very hot feeling between the two countries. An Italian officer challenged Rochefort to fight a duel, but the latter declined. A committee of the survivors of the earthquake hereupon resolved, in consideration of the insults which had been done to Italy by the French, not to accept any further charitable gifts from abroad.

The time had now come to estimate the advantages of the law extending the right of suffrage. The election of 1883 furnished the opportunity of determining whether or not the electors of Italy would avail themselves of the opportunity to vote. The event was unsatisfactory. While the list of suffrages was considerably extended, it was found that the great mass of the lately enfranchised voters had not felt the stimulus of citizenship, and remained indifferent to the exercise of the right of franchise. It was seen that the political education of the Italian people could not be given or received in a day. Time and circumstance and discipline and varied experiences were requisite to a full apprehension of their rights and duties by the new classes of citizens. It was reckoned an ill augury that the very principle for which the Italian Liberals and Democrats had so much contended seemed barren of fruit, and that the great republican fact of universal suffrage had not been realized by those for whose advantage it had been provided.

One of the most striking peculiarities of the civilization of modern times is the marvelous improvement in the means of transit. Whether by land or by sea, the methods of travel and commerce have been so much amended as to make a new epoch in the physical condition of mankind. Nearly all the improvement in this respect lies within the limits of the present century. The difference between the methods of antiquity and the methods of modern times was little noticeable until after the Age of Revolution with which the eighteenth century was concluded. Then

it was that Invention put forth his hand, and the earth was soon marked with the double band of iron, and erelong with the slender wire stretching alongside from city to city, from State to State, and presently from continent to continent.

The ability of society to mass her forces suddenly and with great momentum at any given point was so greatly increased as to change all the conditions of peace and war. But the question still remained for decision as to how these augmented means of intercourse should be produced; how they should be operated; how they should be controlled. Soon after the middle of the century the issue was already on whether railroads and the correlated apparatus of travel and commerce should be a part of the administrative formulæ of the several governments, or whether such properties of civilization should be and remain in the hands of private persons and of corporations. Under the various evolutions of physical progress the question has been decided differently in different countries. In England, the railroads and telegraphs have been remanded to private and corporate ownership and management, with governmental *control*. While the British Government has not participated in the work of constructing railroads; while, as a rule, not even subsidies have been granted to corporations engaged in that work, the general authority of society over the corporations has been retained in principle and in practice. In France much the same methods have prevailed. In the United States private and corporate ownership and management have been reïnforced with private and corporate control. The Government, as such, has, until recent years, exercised but little authority over the railroads. Some of the States have enacted laws of considerable stringency, under which railroad management has been administered; but, as a rule, the corporations have swung freely in the field of their own operation and interest.

From the time, however, when governmental aid was voted to the Union Pacific Railway, the interest and right of the public in its civil capacity over the railroads and similar corporations has been more considerably asserted. The recent passage of the so-called Interstate Commerce Bill has been the longest single stride thus far taken in the United States in the direction of control by the Government. In Germany the Government both owns and controls the railways. The paternal system is here carried out to its fullest extent. In Italy, after the introduction of railways, the German principle was adopted, but not in full. After the establishment of the Kingdom of Italy, the railway development was rapid and extensive. The subject of the management, the ownership, the control of the various lines and of the system as a whole, frequently obtruded itself into the Italian Chambers, and the sentiment in favor of the American, or at least the English system, made headway against the prevalent method. As early as 1878 an investigation was begun which extended through three successive Ministries. The whole problem of railroad ownership and control was discussed, and strong opposition sprang up to the continuance of the State management. The policy of absorption by the State of all the railways was antagonized by many Italian statesmen who urged the superiority of private management and operation.

In 1884 a bill was adopted by the Chambers in accordance with the growing convictions of the country. The new measure was after the English model. The State management and operation of the railways was abandoned, but not the State control. It was provided that henceforth the railroad administration of Italy should be in the hands of private corporations, with the reserved rights of the State to control in case of abuse. It was further enacted that the old charges for transportation should not be increased, but that they might in certain cases be reduced. The act, as a whole, was another evidence of the readiness of the Italian Government to deal in a rational manner with the practical questions which arise in society, and to give such answer thereto as experience and right reason may have suggested.

In a former chapter mention was made of the threatening movement of Asiatic cholera to the Western countries, in the year 1884. Italy, from her position in the Mediterranean, was most of all exposed to the dangers of the malady. Her sea-ports, midway between the Orient and the Occident, seemed to invite the

planting and germination of the plague. The scourge actually made its appearance in several such places, particularly in Naples. The summer of 1884 witnessed in that city a dreadful visitation. By the middle of September the situation had become alarming. Nearly a thousand new cases of the disease appeared in a single day, and the virulence of the malady was so great that much more than a third of all the sufferers died. The condition of the city was such as to invite the ravages of the pestilence. The ancient society of Naples, long under the influence of the Church of Rome, had sunk into a condition of degradation and poverty most favorable to the ravages of an epidemic. While the greater part of Europe gave itself zealously to the work of staying the progress of the disease by means of scientific agencies, while city after city was renovated, disinfected, and prepared with rational courage for the onset of the enemy, Naples, under the dominion of the ancient superstitions, followed precisely the course most favorable to the increase of the horror. Religious processions were organized and sent into the streets under the advice of the ecclesiastics, who thought thereby to impede the march of cholera! Offerings were heaped at the shrines of the saints with the same benevolent purpose. Meanwhile, sanitary precautions and scientific remedies were rather avoided than encouraged by the ignorance of those whose influence was dominant over the minds of the people.

In the midst of the distress of the Neapolitans, the Government came to the rescue, and King Humbert went to the city in person, declaring his purpose to remain until the plague was abated. The conduct of the sovereign was of a kind to elicit the just praises, not only of his own people, but of all the world. It was seen that the latest representative of the House of Savoy had a manly courage greater than the merely physical daring of the battle-field, and that his sympathies were drawn forth by the sufferings of his countrymen. Nor could the attention of mankind fail to be turned to the fact that while Humbert, son of the "Subalpine Usurper," thus freely exposed himself in the streets of plague-stricken Naples, His Holiness, Pope Leo XIII., remained in the sacred seclusion and safety of the Vatican Palace, muttering over his imaginary captivity, while his children in the city by the sea were dying of cholera at the rate of three hundred a day. The contrast between secular magnanimity and pontifical cowardice was as great as that between the pretense and the practice of virtue.

The following year may be given as the date of the changed and changing policy on the part of the Papacy. The fictitious imprisonment of the Pope could hardly continue forever. For fifteen years Pius IX. and his successor had claimed to be in a captivity which could be discovered by no other than themselves. The so-called Ultramontane policy had been followed to the extent of alienating from the Papal establishment nearly every Government in Europe. Leo XIII. had only recently told the Italian pilgrims of the hardships of his situation, and had intimated the alternative of the recovery of his temporal dominion or else of exile into some foreign part. The Papal organs had at times been busy with the alleged project of the Pope to go abroad. At one time the question of his coming to the United States, to plant a new Papacy in a new world, was agitated. But such discussions had never any real foundation in the purpose of the Holy Father. He and his adherents knew too well that Rome is Rome, and that to transfer the central seat of the Mother Church from the banks of the Tiber to some foreign shore was a thing visionary and impossible.

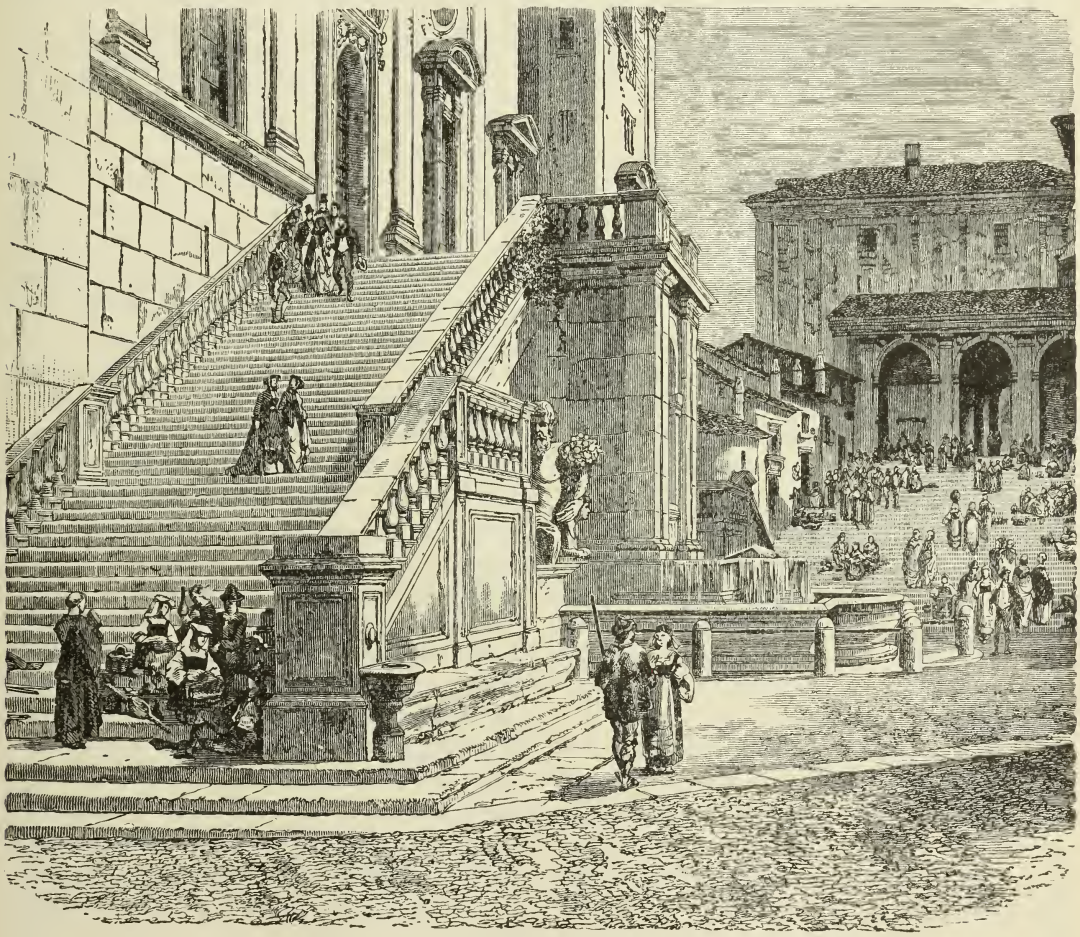
We have not hitherto remarked that the ample provision made for the expenses and revenues of the Pope by the Italian Government were declined by His Holiness, who, in order to make up for the losses which he had sustained by the Revolution, resorted to the ancient expedient of Peter's Pence. The faithful throughout Christendom were exhorted to send voluntary contributions to the depleted treasury of the Apostolic See, and for several years the revenues thus derived were ample for all reasonable expenditures. But at length the volume of Peter's Pence was diminished. Good Catholics in many lands grew tired of giving, and the treasury sank low. Perhaps, moreover, there was something in the character and experience of Leo which favored a change of policy. He had been, in his early life, a



(688) A STREET IN NAPLES.

man of affairs. His home had been in Belgium. He had seen more of the world, and knew more of the tendencies and dispositions of the various governments of Christendom, than did his predecessor. All these influences combined to turn the Papacy from its Ultramontane attitude into a conciliatory bearing towards the world. Now it was that Leo began to soften his language towards the States and peoples of modern Europe. True, he was bound by consistency to conciliate least of all the Italian Government, at the hands of which he and his predecessor had suffered so many hardships, real or imaginary. From this time forth, down to our own day, the Papal bearing towards mankind has been much modified and softened, to the extent, at times, of producing a hope that the Church of Rome may at length fall into greater accord with the institutions and spirit of the age.

Meanwhile, the Government of Italy continued for practical purposes in the hands of the Depretis Ministry. As to the new electoral system, neither the hopes of its friends nor the fears of its enemies had been justified by the event. The vast mass of citizens who had been enfranchised by the recent electoral law were Catholics, and the head of the Church, after coquetting for a season with popular suffrage as a means of regaining power in the Italian Chambers, had returned to the policy of abstention, from which circumstance the list of voters had not been so greatly increased as was expected on the passage of the law. The election of 1886 followed a dissolution of Parliament more than a year before the expiration of its term. We have already seen how difficult it had been thus far for a Ministry of any complexion to gain an actual majority in the Chambers. The time



STAIRWAY OF THE SENATORIAL PALACE, ROME.

had now come, however, when such a result was to be reached. The election brought a decisive victory to the Depretis Cabinet. In all the more important parts of Italy, such as Piedmont, Venetia, Liguria, Romagna, the Marches, Tuscany, Umbria, and Latium, the party of the Ministry was victorious by large majorities. The Radicals and Socialists made some gains in the South, and were successful in Lombardy; but the general result was so highly favorable to the Ministry as to enable that body to enter the new Chambers with a clear party majority, such as would be expected in the British Parliament or the American Congress.

The year 1887 was rendered memorable in Italian history by the occurrence of another earthquake more extensive and almost equally destructive of life and property with the Ischia cataclysm of 1883. On the morning of February 23d a severe shock came on, lasting for about fifteen seconds, moving from west to east, and jarring all the shores of Southern Europe. Italy was the center of the agitation. The principal disturbance was on the coast, extending from Nice to Genoa. In these parts two or three small towns were totally wrecked, and others severely shaken. The Riviera was at this season of the year crowded with tourists from foreign lands and distinguished visitors from various parts of Italy. In Nice the carnival ball had just been concluded, and the streets at the time were thronged with persons in the gay costumes of the occasion. It was estimated that in the Italian provinces fully a thousand persons lost their lives. The confusion and terror were for a while extreme, and the help of society was invoked on behalf of the sufferers. The King of Italy was again found at the fore in the work of giving aid to the distressed people of the coast. The French Government also sent a large sum to assist the needy in supplying present wants and reëstablishing their homes.

More than once in the preceding pages we have had occasion to speak of the governmental bonds which were established in the eighth and ninth decades between Italy and Germany. After the heat and passion of the Prusso-Austrian War of 1866, Bismarck presently adopted the policy of conciliating Austria, and of making her cheerful with the second or third rank into which he had thrust her. This policy was at length successful. By the time of the outbreak of the war between Germany and France, the House of Hapsburg had become friendly to the Hohenzollern *régime* to the extent of wishing victory to the German arms. We have already seen how the Prince Chancellor of the Empire also succeeded in drawing into an alliance the new King of Italy, who, in the friendly talk of the arangement was designated as *Der dritte im Bunde*—the third of the coälition.

The Bund thus established became exceedingly influential in the affairs of Central Europe. Early in the year 1887 secret negotiations were conducted by Prince Bismarck with the other two members of the alliance, and it came to be understood in Europe that the bonds between the parties were tightened into a positive agreement that for three years the parties to the triple alliance would give each other mutual aid in maintaining the peace of the Central European States. The objects in the minds of the allies were France and Russia, and a general tendency of the secret treaty of 1887 was to throw the two Powers last named into more intimate relations and sympathies than had been known between them since the days of the Holy Alliance.

At the beginning of 1888 the Catholic world found considerable interest in celebrating the jubilee anniversary of the Pope's consecration as Delegate of Benevento. It had been vaguely expected by the outside world that the event might be made the occasion of friendly overtures between the Quirinal and the Vatican, and that a reconciliation of the Pope and the king was among the possibilities of the day. So far as Humbert was concerned, he appears to have been willing to do something conducive of peace. The Court accordingly observed the jubilee, and the king sent some elegant and costly presents to Leo. But the latter declined to accept the offering, and the presents were returned in a rather discourteous manner.

The event may have had some importance in bringing the nations to understand the irreconcilable dispute between the spiritual and the secular powers in Italy. The Papacy had, indeed, come into a position from which it was

impossible to recede. Time was—and that recently—when the Pope had had full temporal authority in the States of the Church. Over his territories he reigned as any other monarch. He was sovereign, equal and independent. The Italian revolution had ended this condition, and had remanded the Pope to the exercise of spiritual dominion only. It would have been much easier for Pius IX. to yield outright in the day of his downfall than it was for himself or his successor to yield at any future date. The claim of temporal authority, having once been reässerted, must continue to be made from year to year and possibly from age to age. For how could the Papacy, under the dogma of Infallibity, recede from a position so palpably, openly, and earnestly taken as was that of the Pope for the restoration of his territory and secular authority? Leo must needs feel that to yield the ground thus taken by his predecessor, would be to scandalize himself and his Administration with all posterity.

The position of the Pontiff was really not so novel as it might appear. History abounds in instances of the retention by a sovereign, or no sovereign at all, of claims to dominion which the logic of events has long since disallowed and brushed into oblivion. For centuries together the English monarchs continued to call themselves kings of France. For what particular sovereign of England would wish to yield a jot or tittle of the pretensions which former members of the Dynasty had held? The present century has seen dethroned kings and princes, not a few, wandering in divers places, and pretending to titles which, had they been granted, would have drawn ancient and historic crowns upon the heads of the pretenders. In such a category the Pope of Rome in our day has found himself. The occasional outgivings of a purpose on the part of Leo to reconcile the Church with the House of Savoy and the new kingdom of Italy, of a wish on his side to be at one with the existing order of civilization, and to make common cause with the great agencies of progress and enlightenment in the world, are either fallacious hints or historical absurdities. The Pope must remain a prisoner, and continue to vex the air with vain repetitions of a claim which history can no more allow than she could permit the revival of the Vehmgericht or the reestablishment of the Inquisition.

For these reasons we must continue to regard the formation of the Kingdom of Italy as a blessing—first to the people of Italy, and afterwards to the people of all civilized nations. It is the peculiarity of our age that men present themselves in the best aspects of their activity and enterprise in the form and garb of great organic societies. The present century holds to the broken-up, monarchical isolation of the several preceding ages much the same relation which the latter half of the fifteenth century held to the Feudal powers which had preceded it. That, as well as the present, was an age in which consolidation gave an increase of power. Germany flowed together under Maximilian; France, under Louis XI.; Spain, under Ferdinand and Isabella; and England under the House of Tudor.

So, in our own times, we have great centralizations either in process or in fulfillment. Such movements are not without their disadvantages and hurts to the human race. It is in the nature of centralization to disparage democracy. The ancient individual liberties of men are curtailed, and their place taken by vast forms of administrative regularity. It can not be admitted that organization has in the abstract the virtues and splendors of the individual life of man. From a civil and political point of view the centralizing tendency brings us to a grander exercise of national life. The Government of the United States since the Civil War has taken on many of the aspects of that kind of monarchical *régime* which exists for itself. Though the old Democratic and Republican jargon of a government of the people, for the people, and by them, is still repeated with vehemence and the heat of feeling, it may well be doubted whether the Government itself in either of its three great departments feels, or desires to feel, the meaning and force of such popular aphorisms. In Europe we have seen the great consolidation effected under the auspices of the House of Hohenzollern in Germany. We have seen Victoria made Empress of India. We have seen Victor Emanuel wearing a secular crown in the city of the Cæsars. All of these movements, considered with respect to the present social and political conditions of mankind,

may be regarded as salutary in a high degree; but the danger lurking at the bottom—the danger that the individual life and aspiration of man may be ground and crushed under the weight of gigantic organisms which he seems to have constructed out of all proportion to the actual needs of his public and private life—can not be concealed, at least from the gaze and regret of the historian and the philanthropist.



WINGED LION OF ST. MARK.


ARCTIC
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BRITISH ISLES
ICELAND
SCANDINAVIA
NORWAY
SWEDEN
DENMARK
GERMANY
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
ALGERIA
TUNIS
MOROCCO
AFRICA
Faroe Is.
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
Hebrides
Pentland Firth
Moray Firth
Aberdeen
Dundee
EDINBURGH
Glasgow
Belfast
DUBLIN
Liverpool
Manchester
Newcastle
York
Hull
R. Humber
R. Tweed
R. Mersey
R. Shannon
Galway
Sligo
Limerick
Cork
C. Clear
Lands End
Plymouth
Scilly Is.
Lizard Pt.
St. Georges Channel
Bristol Channel
Birmingham
LONDON
R. Thames
Portsmouth
I. of Wight
English Channel
Dover
Calais
Boulogne
Harfleur
Channel Is. (Br.)
Ushant I.
Brest
Quimper
Cherbourg
Caen
Rouen
Amiens
Lille
Arras
Liege
Ostend
Dunkirk
Calais
Flushing
Amsterdam
THE HAGUE
Rotterdam
Heligoland (Br.)
Weser R.
Bremen
Hamburg
Elbe R.
Kiel
Holstein
Lubeck
Rugen
Stettin
Danzig
Hanover
Brunswick
Berlin
Frankfort
Wittenberg
Leipzig
Dresden
Prague
Cologne
Frankfort
Mayence
Metz
Nuremburg
Stuttgart
Munich
Salzburg
Linz
VIENNA
Bruck
Gratz
Laybach
Trieste
Fiume
Agram
Venice
Milan
Turin
Genoa
Parma
Bologna
Florence
Leghorn
Tuscany
Ancona
Loretto
ROME
Civita Vecchia
Naples
Ischia
Salerno
Foggia
Taranto
Cosenza
Reggio
Messina
Palermo
Lipari Is.
Syracuse
Pantellaria
Malta (British)
Gozo
C. Bon
TUNIS
Oran
Algiers
Bona
Tripoli
Barcelona
Tarragona
Valencia
Majorca
Minorca
Balearic Islands
Ivica
Formentera
Alicant
Cartagena
Murcia
Granada
Sa. Nevada
Almeria
Malaga
Seville
Cadiz
Gibraltar (British)
Tangier
Tarifa
C. Trafalgar
Strait of Gibraltar
C. de Gata
Ceuta
Tetuan
Madrid
Toledo
Guadalajara
Saragossa
Andorre
Pyrenees
Mt. Muladetta
Montpellier
Nismes
Avignon
Marseilles
Toulon
Nice
G. of Lyons
G. of Genoa
C. Creuse
Limoges
Clermont
Lyons
Grenoble
Savoy
Geneva
Basle
Zurich
Lucerne
Berne
SWITZERLAND
Strasburg
Troyes
Dijon
Tours
Poitiers
Orleans
Versailles
PARIS
Rennes
Nantes
R. Loire
La Rochelle
Rochefort
Bordeaux
Bayonne
Santander
Bilbao
S. Sebastian
Oyeda
Vigo
Oporto
Braganza
Leon
Burgos
Valladolid
Segovia
Salamanca
Coimbra
Torres Vedras
Lisbon
R. Tagus
C. Roca
Setubal
C. St. Vincent
C. Maria
C. Finisterre
C. Ortegal
Cornuna
Bay of Biscay
Corsica
Bastia
Ajaccio
St. of Bonifacio
Sardinia
Sassari
Oristano
Cagliari
C. Spartivento
C. Passaro
Scutari
Durazzo
Ragusa
Cattaro
Spalatro
Zara
Trieste
Fiume
Agram
Laybach
Gratz
Bruck
Vienna
Presburg
Buda
Pesth
Hungary
Bohemia
Troppau
Olmutz
Brunn
Budweis
Linz
Passau
Munich
Augsburg
Ulm
Stuttgart
Carlsruhe
Mayence
Frankfort
Cologne
Treves
Metz
Nancy
Strasburg
Basle
Lucerne
Berne
Geneva
Savoy
Grenoble
Lyons
Mt. d'Or
Aurillac
Agen
Toulouse
Carcassone
Narbonne
Perpignan
Rhone R.
Gulf of Lions
Marseilles
Toulon
Nice
Genoa
Turin
Milan
Parma
Bologna
Florence
Leghorn
Tuscany
Ancona
Loretto
ROME
Civita Vecchia
Naples
Ischia
Salerno
Foggia
Taranto
Cosenza
Reggio
Messina
Palermo
Lipari Is.
Syracuse
Pantellaria
Malta (British)
Gozo
C. Bon
TUNIS
Oran
Algiers
Bona
Tripoli
G. of Cabes
G. of Sidra
Morocco
Meridian of Greenwich
Longitude East 10 of Greenwich
0
10
20
30
60
50
40
30
Fisk & See, N.Y.


MAP XXVII.
EUROPE
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
ARCTIC OCEAN
North Cape
Tana Fd.
Varanger Fd.
Tromsoe
Hammerfest
Kolguev I.
C.Canin
C.Ruskoi
Nova Zembla
Kara Str.
Valgatz I.
Vaigatz Str.
G. of Kara
Berezov
R. Obi
WHITE SEA
Archangel
Onega
Kola
Kandalaska
Mezene
Pinega R.
N. Dvina R.
Petchora R.
Usa R.
Ijma R.
Tchesskaya Gulf
Samoyede
Konjakavski
Khatchkalar
Tobolsk
R. Irtish
Ekaterinburg
Tagil R.
Iset R.
Solikamsk
Kama R.
Perm
Ufa R.
Ufa
Sarapul
Viatka
Okansk
Kazan
Kama R.
Viatka R.
Vetluga R.
Volga R.
Kostroma
Nikolsk
Slobodsk
Vologda
Ustiug
Sukhona R.
Vitchegda R.
Tcherdyn
Yarensk
Onega R.
Vitegra
Petrozavodsk
L. Onega
L. Vigo
L. Pielis
L. Saima
Jacobstadt
Kuopio
Vasa
Christinestadt
FINLAND
Bjorneborg
Abo
Aland Is.
Gulf of Bothnia
Gulf of Finland
Viborg
Helsingfors
Reval
Baltic Port
Dago
Oesel
Moon Sd.
Dagoe Sd.
Gulf of Riga
Pernau
Narva
L. Peipus
L. Ilmen
Pskov
Novgorod
ST. PETERSBURG
Mologa
Jarolslav
Tver
Valdai Hills
Riga
Mitau
Dunaburg
Memel
Borodino
Moskva
Moscow
Riazan
Tula
Kaluga
Smolensk
Vilna
Vitebsk
Dwina R.
Dniester R.
Minsk
Mohilev
Grodno
Orel
Kozlov
Tambov
Voronej
Saratov
Syzran
Simbirsk
Nijni Novgorod
Oka R.
Volga R.
Samara
Slavropol
Orenburg
Uralsk
Ural R.
Bakaeva
Emba R.
Salt Swamp
Guriev
Dead G.
Astrakhan
Caspian Sea
Baku
Karaboghaz G.
C.Apsheron
Tcheleken I.
Mt. Kenek
Tiflis
Alexandropol
Kars
Erivan
Mt. Ararat
R. Aras
R. Kur
Batoum
Trebizond
Erzeroum
Bajazid
Kara Hisar
Sinope
Kizil Irmak
Chanak of Constantinople or Bosphorus
Sea of Marmora
Scutari
Brousa
Gallipoli
Adrianople
Eastern Roumelia
Sophia
Burgas
C.Emineh
Varna
Shumla
Rustchuk
Silistria
BUCHAREST
WALACHIA
Widin
Kalafat
Tchirnova
Jassy
Galatz
Bogdad
C.Tarkhan
Odessa
Serpents I.
Sebastopol
Simferopol
Kaffa
Balaklava
Strof Yenikale
Crimea
Sea of Azov
Taganrog
Marioupol
Azov
Rostov
N.Tcherkask
Manitch R.
Don R.
Tchirskaya
Saretsa
Tzaritzin
Kharkov
Poltava
R. Donetz
Kursk
Pavlovsk
Kamishin
Volga R.
Kuban R.
Kuma R.
Stavropol
Georgievsk
Mozdok
Kizlar
Terek R.
Tarki
Dergend
Mountains of Caucasus
CIRCASSIA
GEORGIA
ARMENIA
Kur R.
Araxes R.
Mt. Elburz
Black Sea
Danube R.
Kilia
Sulina
Sereth R.
Pruth R.
Bessarabia
Moldavia
Kishenev
Bender
Dniester R.
Bug R.
Ekaterinoslav
Nicolaiev
Kherson
Perekop
Crimea
Kamenetz
Berditchev
Lemberg
Tarnopol
Brody
Dubno
Rovno
Lutsk
Kiev
Jitomir
Vladimir
Lublin
Zamosc
Pinsk
Pripet R.
Bobruisk
Bialystock
Praga
Tchernigov
Dniepr R.
Desna R.
Gomel
Mogilev
Orel
Kaluga
Tula
Riazan
Moskva R.
Oka R.
Nijni Novgorod
Vetluga R.
Kostroma
Jaroslav
Mologa
Tver
Volga R.
Vladimir
Moscow
Borodino
Smolensk
Vitebsk
Dwina R.
Dniester R.
Minsk
Grodno
Mohilev

Book Twenty-Sixth.

EASTERN EUROPE.

CHAPTER CXLVIII.—ALEXANDER I. AND NICHOLAS.

MORE than ever before was the prowess of Eastern Europe made manifest in the later years of the Napoleonic Wars. Nor was it merely a barbaric force which the nations lying beyond the Pruth and the Vistula revealed to the more cultivated peoples of the West. It was clearly perceived that the planting made by the Czar Peter had come at length to fruitage, and that the European scheme of the future must be widened to make room for the Cossack.

Let us pass, then, from the Western and Central States of the Continent, the annals of which have so long occupied our attention, and take our stand on the Eastern confines of Europe, and note the progress of events in that far region from the Treaty of Vienna to the present day. The selection of such a point of view will draw our attention chiefly to the history of Russia, whose career within the present century can hardly fail to incite a deep and lasting interest.

ALEXANDER I. had the high satisfaction of witnessing the humiliation of that great adversary who had recently invaded his dominions. Along with the other sovereigns who had contributed to the overthrow of Napoleon, the Czar entered Paris on the 11th of July, 1815. He contributed much by his influence—perhaps more than any of his fellow-sovereigns—to the settlement which was agreed upon over the ruins of France. His religious ardor was greatly increased by the condition of affairs which supervened after the Congress of Vienna. We have already seen how the philanthropic and superstitious disposition of the Czar was fanned into a flame of enthusiasm by the celebrated Madame Krüdener, who thus became the dominant force in determining his conduct. *Dux fœmina facti!* She was, in reality, the inspiring cause of that supreme mockery called the Holy Alliance, which was presently formed by Alexander, Francis II. of Austria, and Frederick William III. of Prussia.

On the 26th of September, 1815, the famous compact was concluded, and was submitted to the other Powers of Europe for their approval. Most of the States—all, indeed, except Rome, England, and France—acceded to the league, and became parties to the new system by which the Powers of Christendom were to be

thereafter governed. The leading principle of the Alliance was that thenceforth the political order of the world should be directed by the doctrines and practices of Christianity; and these doctrines and practices were, of course, to be determined by the creeds and methods of the parties to the compact. This meant that practically the world was to be subjected to an approved orthodox despotism. The real aim of the Alliance was to confirm and perpetuate the existing dynasties of Europe; to set up a vast paternalism as the



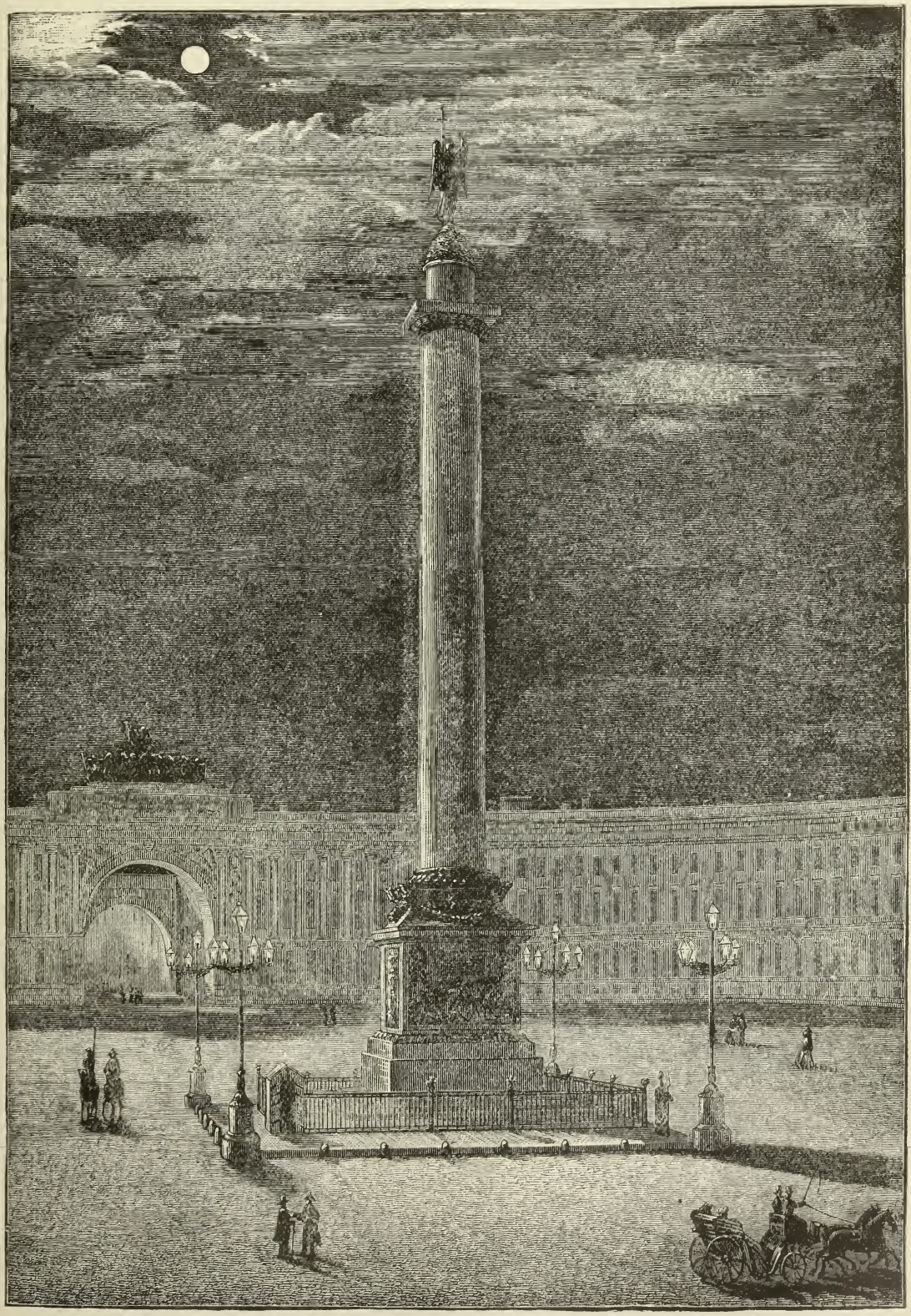
ALEXANDER I.

modus operandi of government; and in order to accomplish this result an appeal was made to religion—the last appeal of tyranny.

Alexander is said to have drawn with his own hands the agreement which his fellow-monarchs signed, and which was published to the world in the following February. One article of the compact was to the effect that no member of the family of Bonaparte should ever occupy a European throne. Another clause bound the parties to maintain and defend the various dynastic Houses and to combine for the suppression of rebellions and revolutions. The significance of the whole scheme was that political liberty, which had received so tremendous an impetus in America and France, should be crushed out, and the good old fatherly plan of mediæval government be reïnstated in all the kingdoms of the earth.

Of the events that followed the formation of the Holy Alliance—of the practical workings of the new system in the affairs of Europe—a narrative has already been given in former chapters. We have seen how, in 1821, revolutions broke out in Naples and Piedmont, and how the allied sovereigns proceeded in those States to restore the style of government which they had agreed to foster. No interference of Bonaparte in the affairs of neighboring kingdoms had been half so flagrant as that of the holy monarchs who, in the name of Christianity, had taken upon themselves the government of the world. Two years afterward, France herself, acting under dictation of the Alliance, suppressed the insurrection and restored absolutism in Spain.

In the meantime, namely, in 1818, a second Congress of the Powers was held at Aix-la-Chapelle. Alexander virtually presided over the deliberations. The assembly might be properly defined as a great conspiracy against the liberties of mankind. The reäction had now fully set in. The measures debated were nearly all directed to the suppression of the Liberal movement in Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Germany. In 1820 another convention was held at Troppau; another at Laybach in the following year; and still another at Verona, in 1822. In all of these conferences the influence of the Czar was predominant. It was one of the surprising aspects of human affairs that Great Britain, whose Iron Duke and invincible squares had destroyed Imperial France at Waterloo, and thus made it possible for the Continental sovereigns to frame the Holy Alliance, now held aloof, and would have no part or lot in their proceedings. This circumstance tended materially to the decline of the league—a fact already very apparent



COLUMN OF ALEXANDER I.

before the Czar's death, in 1825. The compact, however, continued in nominal existence until 1830, when the French Revolution of that year put an end to the most pernicious agreement of modern times.

During the reign of Alexander, the internal condition of Russia was greatly improved. The Imperial territories had been enlarged by the addition of Finland, Poland, Bessarabia, and a part of the Caucasus. To the late Czar must be ascribed the credit of having at least attempted the emancipation of the Russian serfs. Many other internal reforms were attempted, but the principles of the Government made such measures impossible in practice. Alexander was perhaps one of the most self-deceived monarchs who ever held a scepter. In his latter years he came to realize how great were the illusions which he had cherished. In his character were many elements of weakness. Napoleon believed him to be treacherous, and gave utterance to the oft-repeated assertion that Alexander was "as false as a Byzantine Greek." The Czar was certainly overreached and used by men of greater genius than himself. In the last years of his reign the Russian Government was greatly influenced, if not positively directed, by Prince Metternich of Austria, who, by playing upon the Czar's hopes and fears, gained a complete ascendency in the internal administration of the Empire.



NICHOLAS I.

It was another surprising circumstance of these times that though in the earlier years of his reign the Czar entertained liberal principles, admired France, sought the friendship of Napoleon, and was driven against his will into war with that great ruler, the case was now completely reversed. Alexander had become a despot, and the people struggled for emancipation. Already, before the Czar's death, there were mutterings of an outbreak against his Government. The expiration of the reign and the peculiar circumstance of the lateral transmission of the crown gave opportunity for insurrection to lift its head, and a great commotion ensued in many parts of the Empire.

On the death of the Czar—he dying without children—the crown, according to the established principles of succession, should have gone to Constantine, second son of Paul I. Constantine, however, had secretly renounced his claims to the succession three years before the late Emperor's death. The Heir Apparent had taken in marriage the Princess Julia Grudzinska, of Poland, a Roman Catholic by religious profession. The prince had preferred his wife to the Imperial diadem, and had renounced the latter in order to obtain the former. For this reason the crown was transferred to NICHOLAS, brother of the late Czar. His political principles were known to be strongly reäctionary, while those of Constantine were of a liberal tendency. The result was that the popular party in Russia, having for its leaders some of the ablest men in the Empire, made an insurrection, with a view to preventing the accession of Nicholas and of securing that of Constantine. It was believed

by the *Dekabrists*,[1] which was the name taken by the revolutionary party, that under Constantine a new constitution[2] could be gained, with a large measure of reform. The rebellion, however, ended most disastrously, and the leaders were either executed or sent into Siberia. The incipient revolution was utterly extinguished. It was perceived that Nicholas was fully equal to such occasions. With greater force of character than his predecessor he proceeded to establish his authority, and to buttress the throne which he was destined to occupy for thirty years.

At the very beginning of the new reign the Czar became engaged in a war with Persia. It was the beginning of the Russian aggressive march in the direction of India. We have seen, in the history of Great Britain, how important in an international sense was the subordination of Persia to the Russian Empire. From the first the armies of the Czar were completely victorious. The Persians were defeated, first at Elizabetpol, and afterwards by Marshal Paskevitch in the battle of Javan Bulak. The war extended from 1826 to February of 1828, when the conflict was ended by the Treaty of Turkmantchai. The Czar was enabled by his successes to wrench from Persia her two provinces of Erivan and Nakhitchevan, and to exact an indemnity of eighty millions of rubles, together with the exclusive control of the Caspian Sea. It was this circumstance which tended more than any other to draw the attention of the Russians to the warmer waters of the South, and to emphasize the prodigious mistake which Peter the Great had made in fixing his capital on the frozen Gulf of Finland.

In the same year with the conclusion of the peace with Persia, the Czar began a war with the Turks. The Ottoman Power had already entered upon that astonishing decline which constitutes one of the most striking phenomena in the history of modern times. It was clear, from the first impact of the Russian forces, that the Sultan would not be able to make a successful resistance. After a war of only a year's duration, the Porte was glad to purchase peace by ceding to the Czar several fortresses on the frontier and along the mouth of the Danube, and by the payment of a large indemnity.

The years 1830–31 bring again into prominent notice the affairs of unfortunate Poland. It will be remembered how that kingdom, from the middle of the eighteenth century, had been the object of a sort of triple conspiracy on the part of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, each willing, nay anxious, to obtain by means ranging from questionable to perfidious, a share of the Polish territory. True, a mere shadow of Polish independence had been preserved by the Congress of Vienna. The little Republic of Cracow was permitted to survive as a memento of the past. But the lion's share of Poland was given to Alexander. A so-called Kingdom of Poland, formed out of the countries extending from the Niemen and Bug to the Prosna, was created by the Czar, to which he gave a constitution and over which he maintained his authority by an army of fifty thousand men. General Zajonczek was appointed Viceroy. But the actual administration was intrusted to the Czar's brother, the Grand Duke Constantine. Such were the exactions of the latter and the severity of his rule, that the Poles became insubordinate, and, by the time of the accession of Nicholas, were ready for any event.

The conspiracy, however, did not break into open violence until November of 1830. At that time a band of youthful democratic insurgents, under the lead of Peter Wysocki, rose suddenly in Warsaw, took possession of the city, and organized a revolution. Almost the whole Polish people threw themselves at once into the movement. Even the aristocrats, who had been supposed to be entirely devoted to the Russian cause, joined with their countrymen in the uprising for independence. A declaration was made that the House of

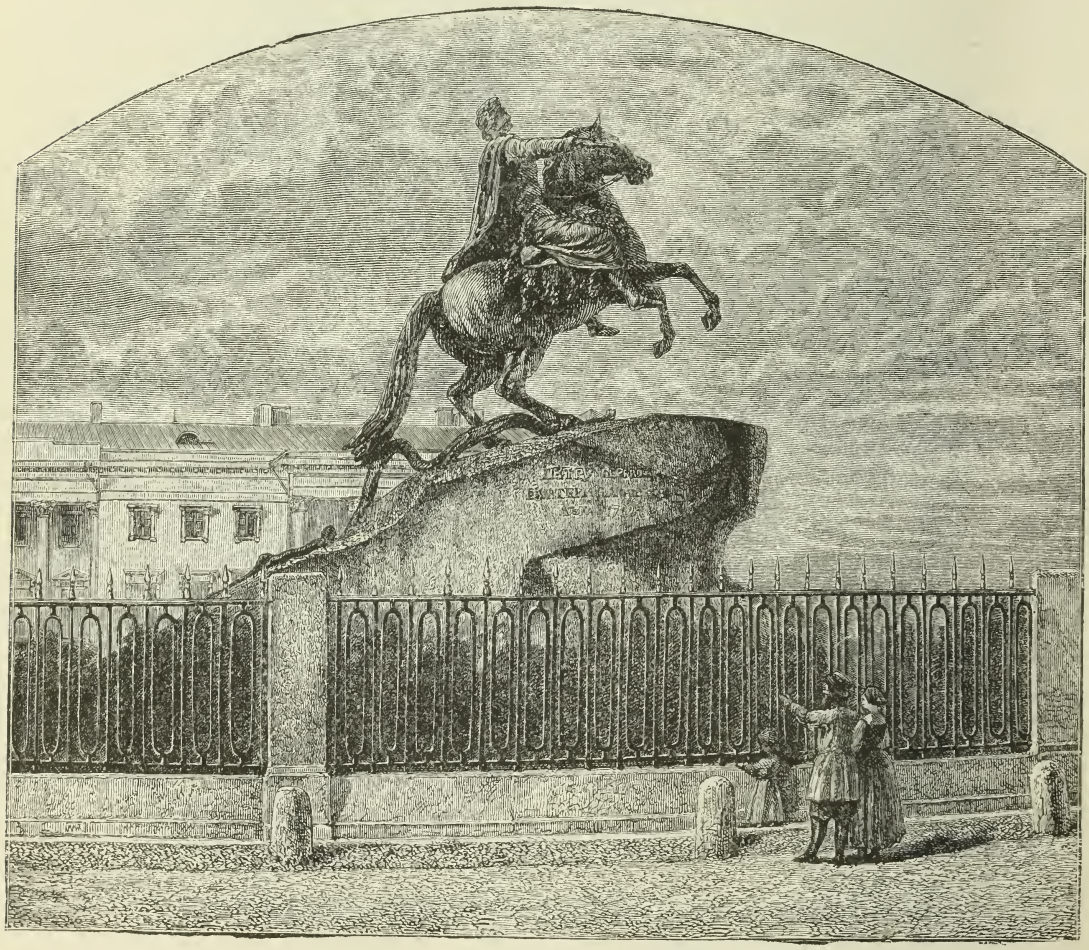
[1] The name *Dekabrists* meant literally the Decembrists, Decemberers, or Men of December, that month being the time of the death of Alexder and the outbreak of the insurrection.

[2] An incident of the times may serve to illustrate the profound political ignorance of the Russian people. The Dekabrists had adopted as their political motto and watch-cry, "Constantine and the Constitution." The word for the latter in Russian is *constitutzia*. When the Revolutionists tempted the army with the prospect of benefits, and gave out to the soldiers the watch-cry of "Constantine and the Constitution," the men innocently inquired if Constitutzia *was the wife of Constantine!*

Romanoff was no longer entitled to the throne of Poland.

A national army was sent into the field, and the forces of the Czar crossed the Bug for the suppression of the rebellion. In February and March of 1831 several bloody battles were fought in the neighborhood of Warsaw. The Poles upheld their cause with much valor and enthusiasm; but the generalship of their leaders was not equal to the emergencies. Their armies were driven back from the frontiers whither they had been sent to revolutionize the provinces. The main body of the patriots remained inactive around Warsaw until the Russians, under Paskevitch, crossed the Vistula, and marched against the capital. With the approach of the catastrophe, the people became suspicious, and all prospects of success were destroyed by the spirit of faction. On the night of the 15th of August a terrible massacre occurred, in which those who were thought to be lukewarm or treacherous to the Polish cause, were murdered without mercy by the revolutionists. On the 8th of September, the capital was taken by the Russians. The other Polish cities soon succumbed, and the war was at an end.

The ills which Poland suffered in this struggle were indescribable. Whole districts were well-nigh depopulated. The bleeding country lay once more at the feet of a Power which knew neither pity nor remorse. The patriot leaders were seized, and either executed or banished into the snows of Siberia. The estates of those who had participated in the rebellion were confiscated. The common soldiers were transferred to the Russian army. The Polish Constitution and statutes were abro-



EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF PETER THE GREAT.

gated. The university at Warsaw, and the other principal seats of learning, were abolished, and a censorship established over the press and the speech of the people. To all this was added a cruel system of police, and the fixing of Russian garrisons in Warsaw and the other principal towns of the country.

The late trouble of Emperor Nicholas with the Sultan had ended with the peace of Adrianople. By this agreement, the frontiers of Russia on the eastern shores of the Black Sea were considerably improved. The pressure, henceforth, of the great Empire of the North on the Ottoman dominions became constant, resulting, after twenty years, in a war which drew into its vortex the great Powers of Western Europe. In the meantime, international changes were taking place, by which the general relations of the European governments were extensively modified. During the reign of Louis XVIII. in France, strong ties had existed between him and the Czar. We have seen at many places in the preceding narrative how, at intervals, this overspanning relation of Russia and France had been established. The intimacy between the two Powers continued to the French Revolution of 1830, when the elder Bourbons were expelled from France, and the Citizen King brought in as a compromise between the past and the future. The event was very displeasing to the Czar, who, while he recognized the validity of the change, would never go further towards affiliation with the new French dynasty. He refused to give to the Citizen King the title of *My Brother*, with which the sovereigns of Europe have been wont to address each other.

The result of this palpable break of the Franco-Russian arch was to bring the Czar and his Government into close union with the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia. It was a renewal of the identical relationship which had been established in 1814, and the effect of the same was soon seen in the interference of the Czar with the affairs of Turkey in Egypt. The story of the rise of Mehemet Ali, vassal of the Sultan and Pasha of Egypt, and of the progress of his arms in Syria, need not be here repeated. We have already seen the results of that contest, and how the whole tendency of the struggle of Mehemet and Ibrahim was to bring again into the foreground that ever-recurring Eastern Question, the shadow of which, to the present day, rests in varying degrees of density on half the landscape of Europe.

It has been a feature in the policy of the Russian Czars to cultivate personal relationships with the Houses of the West. This has been effected by visits, compliments, and many intermarriages. It will be remembered that Czar Peter, in the days of his earthly pilgrimage, sallied forth on precisely such a mission as that to which we here refer. It was not only as a ship carpenter, a tradesman, an adventurer, but as a barbaric diplomatist, that he went abroad. Alexander I. had on more than one occasion pressing business in the West as far as Paris—a place with which he was greatly delighted. In 1844, Nicholas made a tour of the Continent, going first on a visit to Queen Victoria, afterwards on a like call with the Emperor of Austria, and two years later with Pope Gregory XVI.

In 1846 there was a second attempt at insurrection among the Poles; but the movement was easily suppressed. Czar Nicholas had little idea of politics or political excitements. It is evident that he was unable to understand or appreciate the agitations with which the larger part of Europe was shaken in the stormy days of 1848. In a general way he perceived that his own place was with the enemies of the Revolution. For a while, however, he stood aloof. The heavy and half-barbaric populations of his own dominions were little disturbed by the insurrection of the West, and the Czar found no opportunity of interference until he was invited by the Emperor of Austria to assist him in putting down the Hungarian Rebellion. Nicholas at once responded, and it was by means of a Russian army, rather than other forces, that the Magyars were defeated and the insurrection of 1849 finally crushed.

In the proper place in the history of England we have recited the story of the Czar's open and indiscreet purposes relative to Turkey. In that connection his overtures to England concerning the best disposition of the estates, political and personal, of his friend, the "Sick Man," were fully set forth. When his proposals were met, first with diplomatical silence, then with evasion, and finally with

downright antagonism, the Czar was greatly mortified; but his project of appropriating the Sick Man's goods was not abated. One aggression followed another, until the attention of the Western Powers was necessarily drawn to the Russian programme on the Black Sea—until the complication thickened and war ensued.

In the meantime, while Russia was putting forth her hand towards the Black Sea ports and the Mediterranean, she also extended her power as rapidly as possible in the direction



SHAMYL.

of the Caucasus. The tribes of the Daghestan were in union, under their celebrated leader Shamyl, in a religious war against the Northern Powers. The government which the chieftain established was a theocracy. Hostilities with the Russians began as early as 1837, when General Ivelitch was defeated by Shamyl in battle. Two years afterwards, when Akulgo was stormed by the Russians under General Grabbe, Shamyl was supposed to be among the killed; but his death was a fiction, which was soon dispelled by his reäppearance. War was renewed in 1844, and Shamyl, at the head of a large army, withstood for a while the forces of the Czar. For several years he kept the field, and was engaged in the prosecution of his own cause at the outbreak of the great war between Russia and the Western Powers. He held out bravely until after the Treaty of Paris, and was finally taken prisoner, in September of 1859, several years after the death of the Czar. Alexander II., who had now acceded to the throne, treated the captive chieftain with consideration, fixing his residence at Kaluga, and allowing him a pension of ten thousand rubles.

We have seen in a former chapter how, in the year 1853, the Russian Government demanded of the Ottoman Porte certain guarantees of the rights of the Greek Christians of Turkey in Europe. The interference was of a sort to arouse all the fears and suspicions of the Sultan, and to excite the hostility of those European Powers with which the preservation of the autonomy and independence of Turkey had become a cardinal political principle. The Sultan could but regard the demand of the Czar as virtually requiring him to abdicate his sovereignty, and he therefore refused to make the guarantees. In this action he was upheld by England, France, and Sardinia, who were thus thrown into an alliance with the Ottoman Power in the conflict now imminent.

The Crimean War broke out on the Danube in 1853, but the scene of the struggle was destined to be quickly transferred from Europe to Asia. It appears that at the very beginning of hostilities the Czar became convinced of the inexpediency of a European invasion. He accordingly reversed his movements, and while attempting to hold the slight gains made on the Danubian frontier, directed the military energies of the Empire to the small peninsula on the northern shore of the Black Sea, from which the war has taken its historical name. The latter region became thenceforth the principal theater of the action.

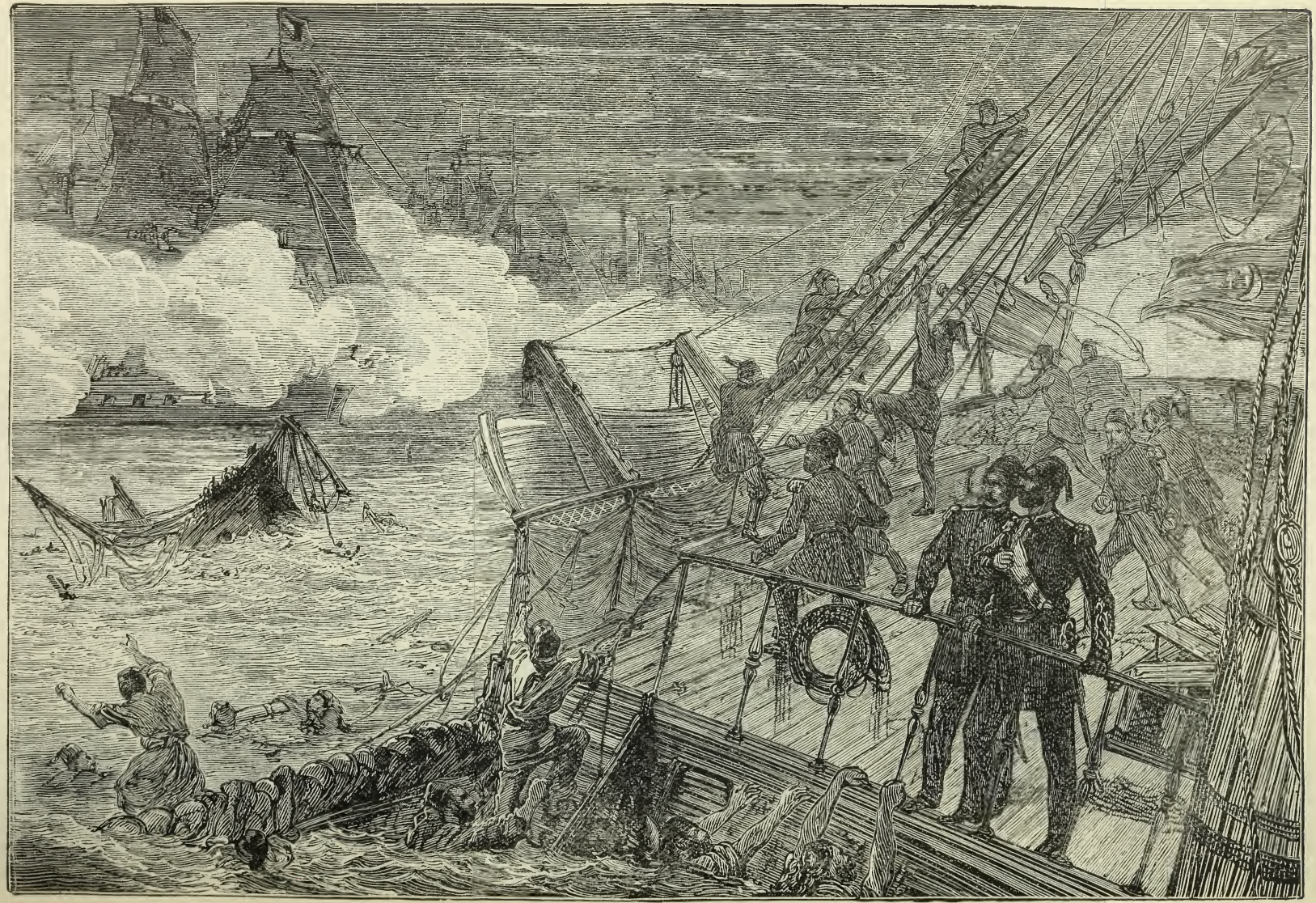
CHAPTER CXLIX.—CRIMEAN WAR.

IT is not needed that we should here repeat, other than by the briefest summary, the outline of that great Eastern Question, out of which the Crimean war arose. Suffice it to say that the whole issue, narrowed down to a point, was whether Russia might now move southward, gain control of the Black Sea, overawe the Porte, force her way through the Sea of Marmora into the Archipelago, and thus rectify, once for all, the mistake of Peter the Great; or whether she should be held back from her manifest destiny and compelled to limit her commerce to the frozen gulfs of the Eastern Baltic. Such, in a word, was—and is—the substance of the tremendous controversy.

The desultory conflict along the Danube continued until the autumn of 1853. Thus far there had been some possibility of an adjustment; but an event now occurred which made it necessary, from an international point of view, to refer the question to battle and the sword. At the time of which we speak, the sea-port town of Sinope, on the southern shore of the Black Sea, was held by the Turks.



SEBASTOPOL.



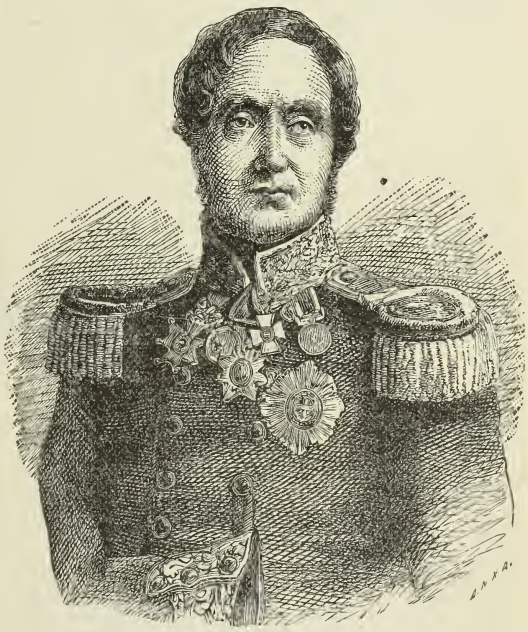
(706) DESTRUCTION OF TURKISH FLEET AT SINOPE.

The place was fortified, and a Turkish squadron lay in the bay. All of a sudden, on the 30th of November, a Russian fleet, coming across from Sebastopol, swooped down on the Turks, and the latter, seeing the conflict inevitable, sailed out to battle. The result was the utter destruction of the Turkish squadron. The estimate placed the loss of the Turks at more than four thousand, while scarcely as many hundred were saved alive. Thus, by an overt act, of so doubtful a character as to be called by the opprobrious name of the "massacre of Sinope," did Russia precipitate the conflict.

The wager was at once accepted. The allied Powers quickly sent into the Black Sea an army of sixty-five thousand men, with five thousand horse and eighty pieces of artillery. The expedition landed in the Bay of Eupatoria on the 14th of September, 1854. A period of nine and a half months had thus elapsed from the destruction of Sinope to the planting of a foreign army in the face of the Russian Power. The allies concentrated their forces at Varna, on the coast of the Black Sea, from which place the plan of the campaign contemplated a descent on the Russians, strongly posted in the Crimea. In the interval which had now elapsed the Turkish cause had been somewhat revived by a series of slight successes against their enemy. Omar Pasha had appeared at the head of the Turkish forces, and had shown such energy and ability as to call forth the applause, not only of his countrymen, but of all Europe. Nevertheless, the war remained to be fought out on a larger scale and with a stronger hand than the Ottoman Empire was of itself able to furnish.

The Russian army was commanded by Prince Menshikoff, who took up his position and awaited the invaders on the southern bank of the River Alma. It was along this line that the first serious struggle of the war ensued. Here, on the 20th of September, a bloody battle was fought, in which the Russians were defeated, and compelled to fall back in the direction of their strong fortress of Sebastopol, situated at the south-west extremity of the peninsula. To the defense of this stronghold all the energies of the Russians were now directed, and to its capture the allies devoted themselves with vigorous activity. Meanwhile, the Russian Government sent forward to the rescue additional forces, which reached the Crimea about the middle of September, and with these Menshikoff succeeded, on the 24th of the month, in uniting his army at Bakhtchiserai. Soon afterwards he retired within the fortifications of Sebastopol, where he prepared to defend himself to the last.

On the 25th of September the heights of Balaklava, lying south of the fortress, were seized by the British division of the allied army, under command of Lord Raglan, and the siege began, which was to continue from the 9th of October, for nearly eleven months. Several days were occupied by the allies with the introductory work of gaining favorable



LORD RAGLAN.

positions around Sebastopol, and on the 17th of October the allied batteries were opened on the town. The Russians had, in the meantime, blocked up the entrance to the harbor on the west with sunken vessels and other obstructions, by which the city had been rendered unassailable to the allied fleet.

The siege of Sebastopol proved to be one of the most memorable in modern times. On two occasions the Russians sallied forth and gave battle. The first conflict of this kind occurred on the night of the 25th of October, at Balaklava, which was now held and defended by a combined force of Turks and English. At first the Russian attack was suc-



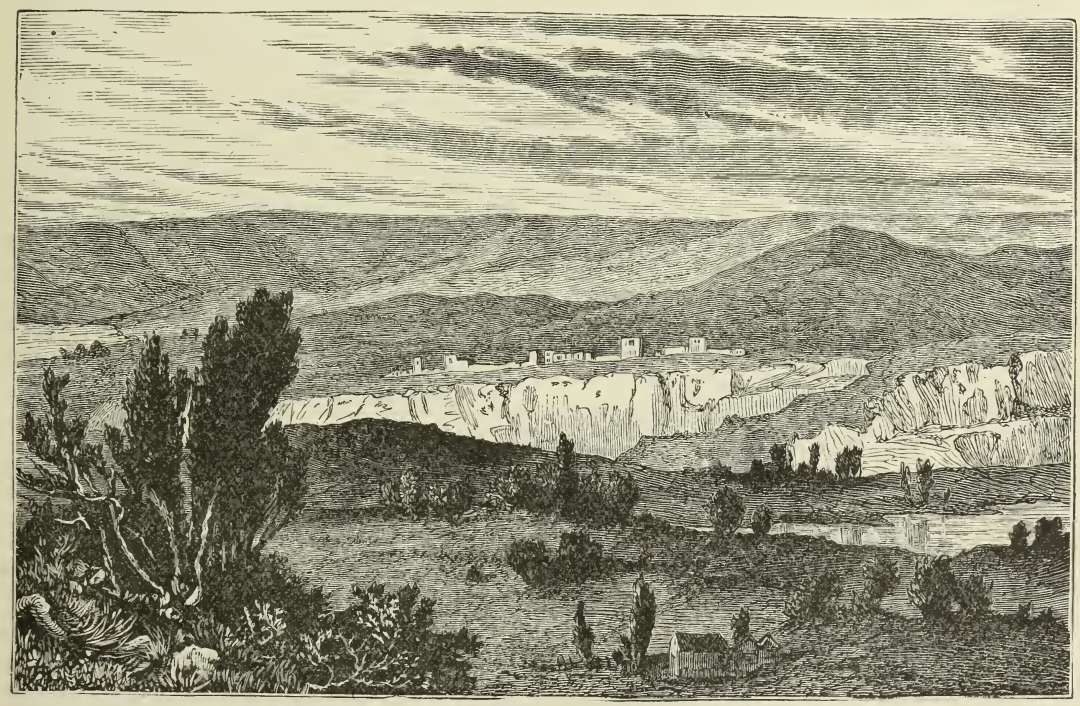
BATTLE OF THE ALMA.



BATTLE OF BALAKLAVA.

cessful, and four redoubts held by the Turkish troops were captured in the assault. At the crisis of the battle, however, the British Highlanders came into action, and the Russians were repulsed. The latter did not attempt to renew the attack, but confined themselves to the defense of their batteries against the counter charge of the allies.

It was at this juncture that the famous incident occurred of the charge of the Light Brigade. In the trenches of Balaklava was a body of light horse, numbering six hundred and seven men, under command of the Earl of Cardigan. It happened that this officer had drew their sabers. It has been said by a military critic that it was the charge of a brigade "against the Russian army in position." It was so understood at the moment. "Boys, here goes the last of the Cardigans," said the Earl, as, with compressed lips and bloodless face, he rode along the line and took his place at the head. Then they drew down their caprims, and charged. They went to their death like heroes. At every flash of the Russian guns men and horses flew into the air like chaff, but the rest rode on, and rode over the Russian batteries before they turned. One hundred and ninety-eight of the men survived



INKERMAN.

become an object of jealousy to Lord Lucan, who commanded the division. While certain Russian batteries on the heights at a distance were pounding away at the English position, an order, borne by Captain Nolan, came to Cardigan *to charge the Russian guns!* The order bore the signature of Lord Lucan, but this was afterwards declared to be a forgery. It was like ordering out a regiment of boys to carry Gibraltar. But obedience was obedience, and the order with the commander's signature might not be questioned.

So the brave young fellows of the Light Brigade tightened their girths, mounted, and the charge, and even so few would hardly have come forth from the valley of death alive, had not the Russians been struck with magnanimity at the spectacle, and ceased firing. Strangely enough, the Earl of Cardigan was not killed or injured.[1] Captain Nolan fell at

[1] Some years ago the Author had the good fortune to hear from an eye-witness an account of the famous charge, which has furnished Tennyson with the theme of his great war lyric:

"When can their glory fade?
O, the wild charge they made!
All the world wondered.
Honor the charge they made!
Honor the Light Brigade!
Noble six hundred."

the beginning of the charge, and so the authenticity of Lord Lucan's order could never be ascertained. It can not be doubted, however, that the purpose was simply to destroy Cardigan, by the method which has been the resort of military commanders devoid of morality, since the days of David and Uriah.

A few days after the battle of Balaklava occurred another hard conflict at the village of Inkerman, at the head of the harbor of Sebastopol. On the 5th of November, 1854, a strong force of Russians descended from the heights, and were met by the allies on the slope opposite the ruins of an ancient town, which occupied the site in the times of Strabo. A severe battle ensued, in which the English and French were victorious. Many other sorties were made from the fortress, but were designed rather to delay the siege than with any serious hope of breaking the investment. Sometimes the conflicts, though desultory, were severe, taking the proportions of regular battles. But nothing decisive was effected, until winter closed on the scene, and brought upon both the besiegers and the besieged the greatest hardships. The sufferings of the allies, so far away from the source of supplies, were at times beyond description. It is doubtful whether any other siege of modern times has entailed such cruel privations upon a civilized soldiery. At times the combined havoc of hunger, disease, and cold was seen in its worst work in the allied camps. The genius of Elizabeth Butler has seized upon the morning "Roll Call," in the Crimean snows of 1855, to depict the excess of human suffering and devotion—the acme of English heroism in a foreign land.



BATTLE OF INKERMAN.

Meanwhile, the allied lines around Sebastopol were considerably contracted, and several serious assaults were made on the Russian works. On the 23d of February the French in front of the bastion, called the Malakhoff, assaulted that stronghold with great valor, but were unsuccessful. On the 18th of the following June an attempt was made to carry the Redan, a strong redoubt at the other extreme of the Russian defenses, but the assail-

ants were again repulsed. Then, on the 16th of August, followed the bloody battle of Tchernaya, in which the Russians made a final effort to raise the siege. With a force of fifty thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry they threw themselves on the allied position, but were beaten back with great slaughter.

In the meantime, the trenches of the allies had been drawn so near the Russian works that there was a fair prospect of carrying the bastions by another assault. A terrible bombardment was begun on the 5th, and continued to the 8th of September, when both the Redan and the Malakhoff were taken by storm. But the struggle was desperate, and the losses on both sides immense. The Russians blew up their fortifications on the south side of the harbor, and retreated across the bay. Nor did they afterwards make any serious attempt to regain the stronghold which the allies had wrested from them. The victors for their part proceeded to destroy the docks, arsenals, and ship-yards of Sebastopol, and, as far as possible, to prevent the future occupancy of the place by the Russians as a seat of commerce and war.

A serious check was thus given by the allied Powers to the ambitious projects which had been entertained by Czar Nicholas and his predecessors relative to the extension of Russian power on the south and south-west. The results of the war seemed to have been reached by the capture of Sebastopol. The Russians were fairly brought to bay. The death of Czar Nicholas, on the 2d of March, 1855, tended to encourage the movement for peace. After the capture and sack of Kertch, at the entrance to the Sea of Azov, on the 25th of May, active hostilities ceased, and negotiations were opened for a general settlement. Commissioners met at Paris, and, on the 30th of March, 1856, a treaty was concluded, to which Russia was obliged to give a reluctant consent.



STORMING OF THE REDAN.

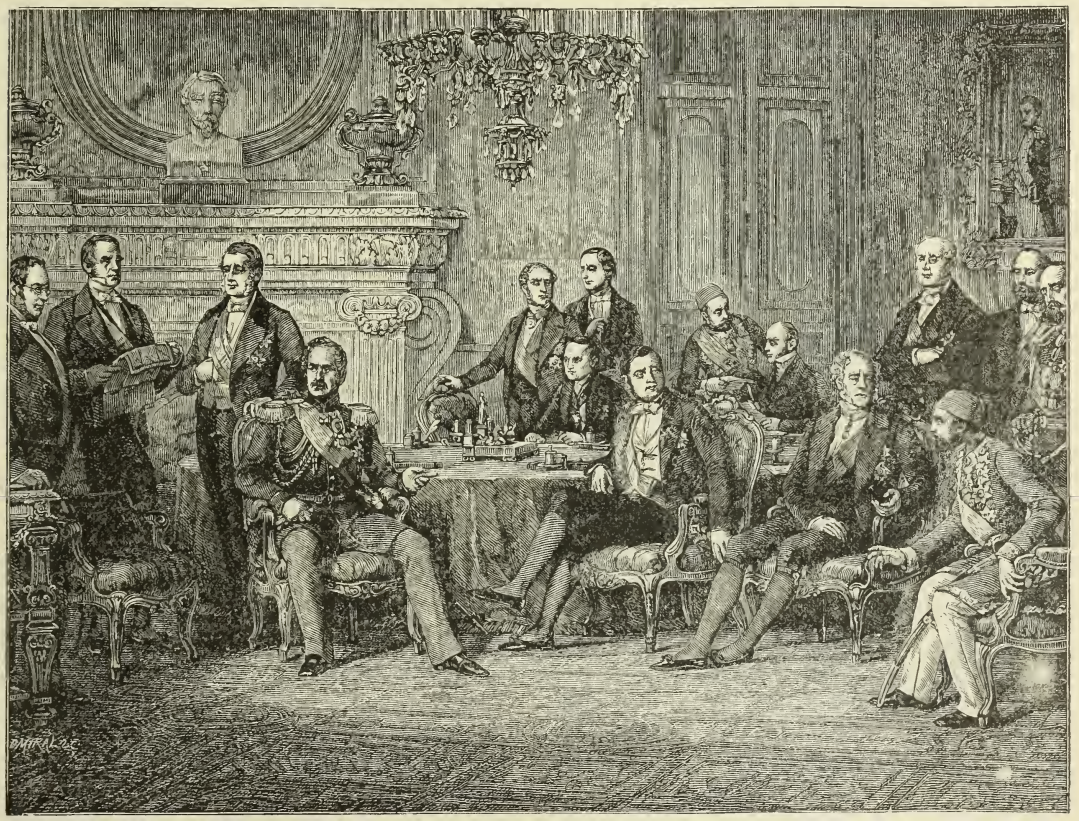
The event was notable in the diplomatical history of modern times. The terms agreed upon in the Treaty of Paris became a sort of



STORMING OF THE MALAKHOFF, SEPTEMBER 8TH, 1855.
Drawn by Richard Knoetel.

landmark in all subsequent diplomacy relative to the affairs of Eastern Europe. It was stipulated in the first place that the Black Sea should be and remain neutral; that it should be open to the commerce of all nations, but interdicted to ships of war, except that a certain force might be maintained for revenue purposes by Turkey and Russia. Neither Power might henceforth build any arsenal or fortress on the shores of the disputed water. No war-ships should be admitted into the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus; but certain vessels might be stationed at the mouths of the Danube. That river—last of the great streams of Europe—was opened to all friendly commerce. The limits of Bessarabia were changed, with a view to depriving Russia of the control of the mouths of the Danube. All the places taken from the Czar by war were restored without indemnity. Moldavia and Wallachia were placed under the general suzerainty of Turkey, but were given their independent rights as principalities. The Sultan was invited to participate in the advantages of the public laws and international system of Europe. As for the rest, the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was guaranteed by Great Britain, France, and Austria.

The commissioners next proceeded to the consideration of general questions, and adopted several principles of great advantage in the future intercourse of nations. Among these, the most salutary was the abolition of privateering; and though this clause has not yet become a part of the law of nations, it has nevertheless done much to put under the ban of international displeasure the nefarious business of private warfare on the sea. The Treaty of 1856 further provided that in times of war the flag of a neutral nation should protect the goods even of an enemy on the high sea, unless those goods should have direct respect to the purposes of war. It was still further stipulated that the goods of a neutral State, except contraband of war, should not be liable to capture, even under the flag of a belligerent Power; and that blockade, in order to be binding, must be actually enforced with



CONGRESS OF PARIS, 1856.

such a fleet as would make access to the coast of an enemy either impossible or extremely dangerous.

It is needless to remark upon the salutary character of the principles thus announced. For generations the nations of Christendom had struggled hard to reach enlightened rules of intercourse in war and peace. To the more civilized code now adopted the other great States of Europe and America were invited to accede, and many did so. But, for reasons peculiar to themselves, the United States and Spain refused their assent to the compact—the former State because the treaty did not go far enough in the acknowledgment of neutral rights, and the latter because the new rules were too liberal to accord with their relentless Bourbonism.

It thus happened that for directly opposite and irreconcilable reasons, the most progressive Power of the New World and the most reäctionary kingdom of Europe were placed in a common attitude on the great question of belligerent rights at sea. As for the United States and her decision that privateering should not, for the present, be banned by International Law, her action in the premises soon cost her dearly. Within six years, in the heat and fury of the Civil War, she was made to feel with terrible keenness the sharp sword which she had prepared for herself. The half-piratical craft, sent abroad under the authority of the Confederate States, or no authority at all, but still bearing the character of privateers, swept the commerce of our country from the seas, and terrorized the whole Atlantic with their captures and burnings.

CHAPTER CL.—LAST TWO ALEXANDERS.

RUSSIA emerged from the Crimean War with little credit or honor. ALEXANDER II. came to the throne about a year before the conclusion of the conflict. On the 7th of September, 1856, he was crowned with great pomp at Moscow, the ancient capital. From the first, it was clear that he was destined to be the most liberal Czar who had ever occupied the Russian throne. Scarcely had the echo of the war died away when the lines of despotism, so tightly drawn by Nicholas, were allowed to relax. Alexander undertook the work of emancipating the Russians from the terrible system of military discipline to which they had been subjected since the days of Peter the Great. A true civil administration was introduced throughout the Empire. The military colonies were dissolved, and a system of public instruction instituted under Imperial patronage. Especial pains were taken by the Czar to secure proper officers and professors for the new seats of learning. The censorship of the press was, in part, removed, and a spirit of toleration exhibited which had hitherto been unknown in Russia. The miserable system of espionage which had formerly prevailed was forbidden, and vigorous measures instituted to exterminate official corruption from the government. Talented young men of actual merit and real virtue were sought out and preferred for office. The internal industries of the Empire received a new impulse under the fostering care of Alexander, and foreign commerce was greatly quickened by the salutary regulations and liberal conduct of the Government toward the merchant marine. Better still was the general amnesty which was issued for political offenses. The exiles and fugitives, both Poles and Russians, were allowed to return from Siberia, and those who had been expatriated were permitted to resume their former rights without prejudice to themselves or family.

But the most conspicuous of all the humane works of Alexander II. was the emancipation of the Russian serfs. From his youth the Czar had cherished a sentiment of hostility to the institution of serfdom. On coming to the throne he was encouraged in his wish and purpose by Nicholas Milutin and General Bostoftzoff, two of his principal advisers. At the first

the proposed measure was violently antagonized by the serf-owners, who spared no effort to thwart the plans of the Czar. But the latter summoned the leaders of the aristocracy, who were chiefly interested in the preservation of serfdom, and quietly told them that their prejudices and supposed interests must yield; that if Russian society must suffer an upheaval, the revolution would better begin at the top than at the bottom; and that serfdom must be abolished.

Accordingly, on the 3d of March, 1861, he issued his famous decree of emancipation; and during the following two years the edict was successfully executed. Before the work was accomplished, however, namely, in Januuary of 1863, a Polish insurrection broke out, which, for the time, required all the energies of the government in its suppression. For about a year the insurgents remained in arms, but were finally put down and punished with the severity peculiar to the Russian administration.

It was the misfortune of Czar Alexander to reign in an age when the intellect of Russia was passing through the rapid stages of development. His many liberal concessions were met by the people less in a spirit of gratitude than with a sentiment of having recovered that of which they had long been robbed by the Imperial Government. As fast as new rights were granted, new demands were made; insomuch, that when the Czar would fain put a stop to the movement which he himself had begun, he found himself unable to do so. In the midst of what was really a beneficent administration he became an object of distrust and aversion. As early as April of 1866 an attempt was made upon his life by a certain Dimitri Karakozoff, whose purpose was frustrated by the heroism of a loyal peasant. At the Paris Exposition of 1867 a second unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the Czar was made by the Pole, Berezowski.

In 1870 the Emperor resumed the work of reform. The hereditary priesthood was abolished. The military methods of the Germans, now victorious in their great war with France, were introduced into the Russian army; and a series of liberal measures were adopted for the promotion of public education throughout the Empire. In 1871–72 the Czar's second son, the Grand Duke Alexis, made a tour of the United States, and was everywhere received with marks of consideration and respect. The people of our country, though they had no sympathy with Imperial institutions, could not well forget that in the recent fiery furnace of the great Civil War, Alexander II. was the only European sovereign whose moral influence and support were unequivocally given to the Union cause.

We have now arrived at one of the most interesting paragraphs in the history of modern times. The brief story here presented of the reign of Alexander II., during the fifteen



ALEXANDER II.

years after his accession, must have shown the reader the essential Liberalism of his principles, and convinced the most skeptical of his sincere purpose to reform the Russian Empire. Why, then, should there have come to pass, in the minds of the Russians themselves, a reaction against Alexander; a distrust first, and antagonism afterwards, with respect to all his purposes and policy? The answer, however, is not far to seek. It was the essential vice of a personal government. It was that fact or principle which makes it impossible, in modern times, for a personal autocracy to be established, or at least maintained, over mankind, except by despotic and arbitrary methods.

The throne of every autocrat in any part of the world must be upheld by an army, and be buttressed with batteries. So long as the autocrat will keep his place, he must be a despot. For him to be good is to be weak; and to be weak is to be miserable.

It thus happens that when nature and civilization combine to place at the head of some personal despotism a great and liberal-minded man, he really has before him a single alternative: He must avoid reform, and choke his own aspirations and those of his people with a common strangulation, or else he must loose the rein and allow a half-emancipated barbarism to dash away with his chariot and himself over the precipice of revolution into chaos. Such an alternative was, from the first day, before Alexander II. He desired reform, and so did his people. He hoped to effect it by means of the existing machinery of the autocracy; and the sequel was, as we shall see, his own destruction and the revocation of the ancient forms of despotism.

For no sooner was Liberalism announced than the under man in Russia arose and began to lay about him. The decade from 1870 to 1880 was marked in the history of the Empire for the growth and spread of that peculiar and dangerous social phenomenon called Nihilism. A great politico-social organization, known as the Nihilists, not dissimilar in its doctrines and methods to the International Society of Western Europe, but more pronounced in its radicalism, became prevalent in all the centers of Russian civilization. The political principles of the body were—and are—not dissimilar to those of our forefathers in the times of our Revolution, or to those of the French Democracy of 1789; but the *methods* of the Nihilists, one of whose principles appears to be to adopt assassination as a means of political reform, are unworthy to be classed with those adopted by our Revolutionists and by the Democrats of France.

As the organization became more powerful, it grew more bold. As early as April of 1879, General Gurko, commandant of St. Petersburg, was constrained to issue an order that every householder in the city should keep a watchman at his door, day and night, to prevent the posting of seditious placards and the circulation of revolutionary pamphlets. In the following winter an attempt was made to destroy the Czar by blowing up a railway train, and a little later it was ascertained that the Winter Palace had been undermined. Threats of assassination were heard on every hand, and at last the Nihilistic conspirators were successful. On the 13th of March, 1881, as the Czar, returning from a military review, was driving along the Ilkaterinoviski Canal, an Orsini bomb, thrown by an invisible hand, exploded under his carriage, tearing away the after part of the vehicle. Two marines and the Emperor, who alighted unhurt, approached the assassin, and were about to seize him when a second bomb, thrown by an accomplice, exploded close by the Czar's side, and blew both of his legs into a mass of mangled flesh and bone. "Help me!" cried the dying Alexander, as he sank into the dust, from which he was lifted only to expire in the middle of the afternoon. The terrible dynamite had done its work. A veritable reign of terror supervened. For a few days it was doubtful whether the Government could survive; but the police authorities of the Empire proved strong enough to uphold the authority of the reigning House, and ALEXANDER III. was crowned as his father's successor.

The assassins of the late Czar, five in number, were soon discovered, tried, condemned and executed. One of them was a woman of rank, named Sophia Perovska, daughter of the Minister of Domains, and granddaughter of a Minister of the Interior under Nicholas I. She it was who had given the signal for the exploding of the mine under the railway train in November of 1880. She it was who waved her handkerchief to Ruisakoff, who threw the bomb under the Emperor's carriage. She it was who, on being tried, asked the Court to condemn her to the same punishment with the others. It thus happened that the reign of Alexander III. began with the first public execution of a woman which had taken place in Russia for half a century.

We may well pause to ask whether these terrible proceedings had any effect on the course of events. Were the Nihilists enabled by such means to awe the Government into the liberation of the people from autocratic rule? For a while terror was the order of the day. The new Emperor was in daily peril

of his life. It is not impossible that the killing of the Czar compelled Alexander III. to consider the expediency of reformatory measures; but it must also be admitted that the assassination gave the occasion and the excuse for additional severity towards malcontents of every order. Trials, condemnations, executions, were for a season the constant evidence of the almost necessary vindictiveness of the Empire towards its enemies. As for the Nihilists, they believed that they had accomplished at least a part of their purpose. In the spring of 1881 they issued almost openly to the Czar a manifesto, telling him plainly that all attempts to put them down by force would prove futile. They described the growth of the Nihilist movement, and the success of the policy of violence which they had deliberately adopted. They charged the Czar with being at the head of a despotism, which was really no government at all, but only a "usurping gang" of flatterers and minions. They declared the condition of the mass of the Russian people to be that of mere beggary and ruin. They openly reminded the Czar that regicide had now become popular in his Empire. Finally they made an open proposition to the Emperor for an accommodation between himself and his people. They proposed a scheme which was to embrace as its leading features a complete amnesty for all past offenses, an election of a popular legislative assembly by universal suffrage, freedom of speech, and freedom of public meetings and discussions. Under such conditions the Nihilists promised on their part to conform thereafter unconditionally to the decisions of the National Assembly to be constituted as above, and to refrain from all future violence against the Government. The proclamation was sufficiently significant of the temper and purposes of the Revolutionary party after they had succeeded in destroying the Czar.

Out of the necessities of the situation it was impossible for the Emperor to enter into concessive negotiations with the Nihilist party. Each must necessarily pursue its own course to its own destiny. The Czar doubtless hoped that a better day would come, that the loyalty of his subjects would return, that himself and his Government might at length be safe from persecution and destruction. After his coronation, after the Nihilists' manifesto, Alexander



ALEXANDER III.

sought to awaken the affections and sympathy of the country by making a tour to Moscow. There, at the ancient seat of the Romanoffs, while he did his devotions at sacred shrines hallowed by the worship of his fathers, the fires of Imperialism might be kindled again.

But the journey of the Czar was anything else than a triumphal procession. On the contrary, the royal party was obliged to take every precaution for its own safety. The Czar ventured only in a few instances to be seen

by his subjects, and even in Moscow, the native place of Russian royalty, the Emperor dared only to speak a few brief words, saying: "Moscow has always given an example to the whole of Russia; I hope it will ever continue to do so." Such was the coldness of the populace that the Czar left the ancient capital suddenly and without announcement. It was evident to all the world that the Autocrat of the Russias, however excellent in himself, however well disposed towards his people, was brought so low as to be a petitioner for security and a little rest in his own Imperial dominions.

In the course of the two following years the Government of Russia was enabled to regain, to a certain extent, the ground which it had lost. The Nihilists were sternly repressed, and the whole Imperial machinery was set into systematic operation for their total extinction. The event showed that the climax of the anti-Imperial movement had been reached in 1881. Meanwhile the attention of the people was as much as possible directed to other questions, as if to divert them from their hopes of political emancipation. Nothing could be more instructive to the student of history than to witness the devices used to distract the Russian peasants from their dream of liberty. The common people turned in this direction and in that, showing in all their activities the restlessness and anger of people who have been thwarted in their wishes and aims. In 1882 a persecution of the Jews broke out in Odessa and at some other places in the Empire. The ferocity with which the Israelites were persecuted and destroyed showed conclusively the madness of half-barbarism turned against some other than its legitimate object. The Russian Government itself held to these persecutions, which seemed to furnish a sort of vent for the unappeased longing of the peasantry, an ambiguous attitude, pretending to prevent the atrocities to which at heart it was comparatively indifferent.

The question of amnesty constantly recurred to the Russian Government. Should or should there not be an act of oblivion made with the political and other offenders who had been sent, with or without a trial, to prison or into banishment? At length, in the beginning of 1883, the expected Act was brought forth by the Imperial Government, and the character of the decree was such as to furnish abundant food for reflection. The measure was denominated an "Act of Grace." It was thus issued as if it were born of a pure generosity and tenderness of the Czar for those who had offended against the Government of his predecessor and himself. It were hard to say whether surprise or indignation rather should be the prevailing mood of one who views the Act under consideration from the rational basis of civil and political freedom. The Imperial decree provided that applications for the pardon of political offenders might thereafter be made to the Minister of the Interior on behalf of those who had suffered condemnation for crimes. It should henceforth be possible for political criminals to receive from the Minister a pardon, under which they might return to their homes, provided that their homes *were not in large cities.* The next clause was the most astonishing of all. It ran to the effect that political offenders who had been in banishment for fifteen years might, in case the inquiry into their alleged offenses had in the meantime shown the charges to be groundless, be pardoned—which was equivalent to saying that they who had suffered for fifteen years amid the snows of Siberia might come forth and be restored to their homes, provided that they had *never been guilty of any offense at all!*

As for the rest, the severity of the decree ceased with the limit of merely political crimes. Those who had suffered for other offenses fared less hardly under the "Act of Grace." They who had embezzled public moneys, or committed frauds, or indulged in the trifle of thieving and robbery of individuals or society, might, under the decree, receive an immediate and unconditional pardon. Murderers and highwaymen might go free without even being called to restitution; but they who had clamored for the election of a National Assembly, or dared to say that men were not free in the Russian Empire, might hardly escape, even under the mockery of a general amnesty.

A single feature from the public policy of the Empire in the year 1884 may serve to show the persistency of the old theory of government and the absolutism of the system. We have already pointed out the fact that at this time the Czar and the Emperor William



ST. PETERSBURG.—NEVSKI PROSPECT.

of Prussia came into friendly relations. The amity between the Courts of St. Petersburg and Berlin gave opportunity for the former to prosecute the Imperial plans with respect to Poland. We have seen how the nationality of that unfortunate State was destroyed in 1831–32. But the spirit of the people refused to accept the fact as final, and the administration of the Czar was henceforth directed to the



GENERAL GURKO.

further denationalization of what had been the Polish Kingdom.

Space forbids an account of all the means employed to reach the desired result. The name of Poland ceased to be used by the Russian authorities, who designated the region once occupied by the kingdom as the "Vistula Country." Under the government of General Gurko, the policy of extinguishing the old national spirit of the Poles was carried to extremes. The Russian language was introduced into the schools and public offices, to the exclusion of the native tongue. Companies of Russian actors were imported for the express purpose of occupying the Polish theaters, and of preventing therein those references to the patriotic history of the people so dangerous to the existing order. The press was, in like manner, subordinated and corrupted, while the governmental surveillance, enforced by police and spies, prevented the discussion of all interdicted subjects by the people.

It is difficult for the more advanced peoples of the West, experienced as they are in the legitimate uses of political institutions and in the exercise of political rights, to apprehend the abuses and tyranny to which the Russians have been subjected under the rule of the Czars. The whole of the ninth decade was a constant illustration of the arbitrary, and one might say the cruel, character of the Imperial administration. The Russian Government regards all agitators of political reforms as revolutionists, against whom the whole enginery of the State must be directed with relentless severity. No age or sex or condition has been spared in the ever-recurring persecutions for political crime. And by political crime the reader must understand the simple entertainment of sentiments, the expression of opinions, and the doing of acts which, in a country acquainted with the simplest conditions of civil liberty, are meritorious rather than criminal.

In a former chapter reference has been made to the meeting of the three Emperors of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, in the autumn of 1884. The cordiality of that conference was made into a sort of license by Alexander III. for an increase of vindictiveness towards the Revolutionary party. Soon after the meeting of the rulers a military tribunal was

formed at Odessa, which sat with closed doors, and condemned all disturbers with a recklessness which might well remind one of the odious Star Chamber of the Tudors and Stuarts. Among the rest the woman, Marya Kalyushnaya, was sentenced to twenty years hard labor *in a fortress*. About this time a riot of students broke out at Kiev, which was put down by the military, after which several hundred of the rioters were seized and condemned to imprisonment or transportation to Siberia. An agitator named Minyakoff was soon afterwards arrested, condemned, and put to death at St. Petersburg. A second military Court was organized at Schlüsselburg, in the fortress there, before which six army officers and two ladies were condemned to death and sent out to execution. Six others were sentenced to exile in Siberia. One of the ladies, named Von Wolkenstein, was of noble birth, and the other was the daughter of a priest. In all this work the Government was as careful as possible to keep the people from the knowledge and spectacle of what was done. The executions, contrary to the general usage, were private, being witnessed only by a few officers of the Government.

The Imperial system has been as costly as it has been oppressive. Indeed, all despotisms are expensive in the last degree. It might be difficult to cite from the history of modern times a single example of an economical tyranny, with the exception of that of Frederick the Great. In the years which we are now considering, the Russian Government was constantly falling into debt. Notwithstanding the enormous revenues, the Administration was unable to show a balance-sheet in its own favor. In 1885 the budget revealed a large excess of expenditures over receipts. It was deemed necessary by the Ministry to provide for the deficit by an income tax on the profits of business, and by an increase of customs duties. These measures were devised without respect to the war with Afghanistan, which was then deemed imminent. The discouragement of a people under such conditions must needs be very great. What with the constant increase of taxation, the failure of the wheat-crops, and the denial of civil rights, the Russians might well regard themselves as the most disfavored people of the civilized world.

It was in 1885 that the difficulty, at times so threatening, between Russia and England, relative to Afghanistan, was brought to at least a temporary settlement, by the diplomacy of Lord Randolph Churchill. The point in dispute was the holding or the surrender by Russia of a mountain-gap called the Zulfikar Pass, which was regarded as the gateway into Herat, and therefore as the natural route of the Russians into Afghanistan and finally into India. The negotiations ended by an agreement on the part of the Czar to renounce his claim on the Pass, permitting the Afghans to hold the disputed passage under a guarantee of future non-interference. The sequel showed, however, that Russia was wiser than her adversaries. She had discovered that the Zulfikar Pass was not in reality the key to India. In the meantime, she had projected, and at length brought to completion, a Trans-Caspian Railway, by which it was made possible to throw armies and resources against what is known as Afghan Turkestan, thus threatening the border in another direction, more dangerous to Afghanistan as an intermediate and to India as a final objective than had been the gateway of Herat.

During the years 1886–87 but few events occurred in Russia which may be regarded as important to the course of general history. It can not be doubted that the Government continued to triumph over the Revolutionary party, and to reëstablish itself on the basis which it had occupied before the reforms of Alexander II. Of a certainty, history can not be reversed. Serfdom in the Russian Empire can not be restored, nor is it possible to reïnstitute the grosser practices and the methods of despotism such as it was in the times of Paul and Nicholas. But that the revolutionary and reformatory processes which for a while ran at full tide have been checked, turned into by-channels, and wasted in unprofitable endeavor, can not be doubted; and though History is little given to prophecy and glittering predictions, it can as little be doubted that the Russian people will at length reform, either by free-will or force, the gigantic absolutism under which they are still groaning.

We have reserved from the present narrative to a subsequent page the story of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. The same may be

said of the account of the difficulties of Russia with the Western Powers relative to Bulgaria and Roumania. Indeed, the narrative at this point has become so much foreshortened as to give no further perspective to the events under consideration.

Undoubtedly the Russian Empire and the vast and varied peoples and nationalities under its dominion present one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of the problems with which recent history has to deal. So far as force is concerned, there is undoubtedly within the Russian dominion a vaster aggregate than in any other single country now occupied by mankind. The Russians are at present in the emergent state. Everything is inchoate. It is the beginning of a mighty future. The nations not only of Eastern, but of Central and Western, Europe may well look with dread in the direction of that tremendous shadow which lies banked against all the sky, from Daghestan to Bessarabia, and from Bessarabia to the Gulf of Bothnia. The future holds the secret and the revelation.

CHAPTER CLI.—SICK MAN OF THE EAST.

WE may now revert with propriety to the course of events in Eastern Europe, as considered from the horizon of Turkey. We shall here resume the narrative, with an outline of Turkish history from the downfall of Napoleon to the present day. It should be remembered that Sultan Selim, the friend of Bonaparte, was deposed in 1807, and was succeeded by Mustapha IV., whose strength was derived from the Janizaries. His reign continued but a single year, when he was put to death by his brother, Mahmoud II., who began his reign with an attempt to overthrow the Janizaries and destroy their influence. In this work he was at last successful, and that celebrated



CONSTANTINOPLE.

body of soldiers, who had long been to Constantinople what the Prætorian Guard was to Rome, was dispersed and broken. The final disruption of the organization was effected in 1826, when the Janizaries were massacred by thousands.

Before this time, namely, in 1822, a great insurrection, headed by Ali Pasha, of Janina, had broken out in Albania; but the revolt was put down by the Sultan with a strong hand. Attempts were also made in Candia and the Island of Scio to throw off the Turkish yoke. But in both places the rebellions were extinguished in the blood of the participants. In 1821 a still more formidable uprising took place in Peloponnesus—a movement which was the beginning of the independence of modern Greece. The insurrection spread from city to city. Athens awoke from her slumber of centuries; the sons of the modern Greeks looked once more to the Acropolis for inspiration, and ships of war were manned in the Piræus.



ALI PASHA, OF JANINA.



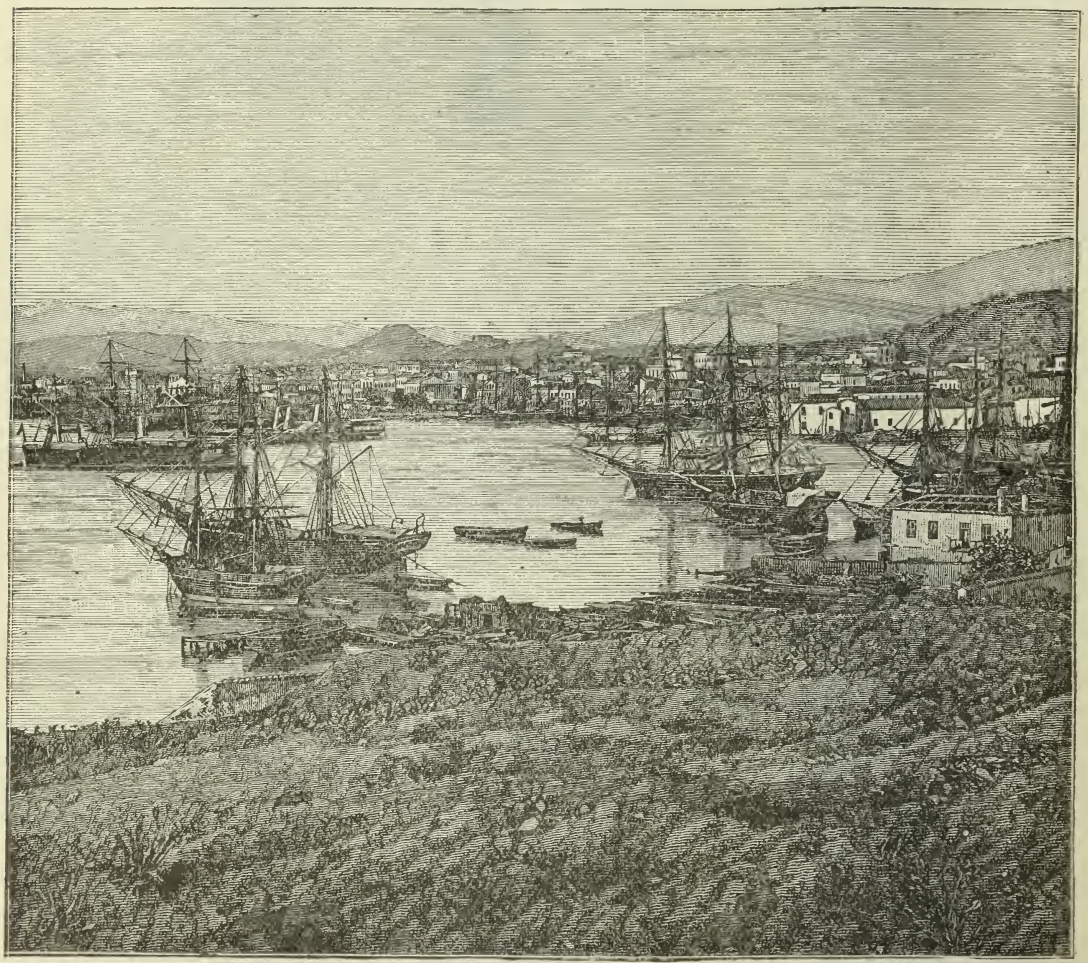
THE ACROPOLIS—ARCH OF HADRIAN IN THE FOREGROUND (Modern View)

The islands of the Archipelago soon joined their fortunes with those of their fellow-Greeks on the continent. Popular leaders appeared, whose fiery valor aroused the native tribes to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. Chief of these were Marco Bozzaris and Alexander Mavrocordatos, the latter of whom presently became President of the Hellenic Confederation. In 1822 a provincial government was established by a National Assembly at Epidaurus. A proclamation of independence was issued, and armies of allied Greeks rushed to the field to win their freedom by the sword.

The measures adopted by the Turks for

the suppression of the rebellion were the most bloody and cruel of modern times. Cold-blooded massacres were perpetrated at various places, that in the Island of Scio being of unparalleled atrocity. Such were the heroism of the Greeks and the cruelty of the Turks that the sympathies of all Christendom were aroused for the former, and the aversion of mankind excited against the latter. Societies came to the rescue, and their combined fleets in the great battle of NAVARINO, fought on the 20th of October, 1827, annihilated the Turco-Egyptian squadron, and virtually put an end to the war.

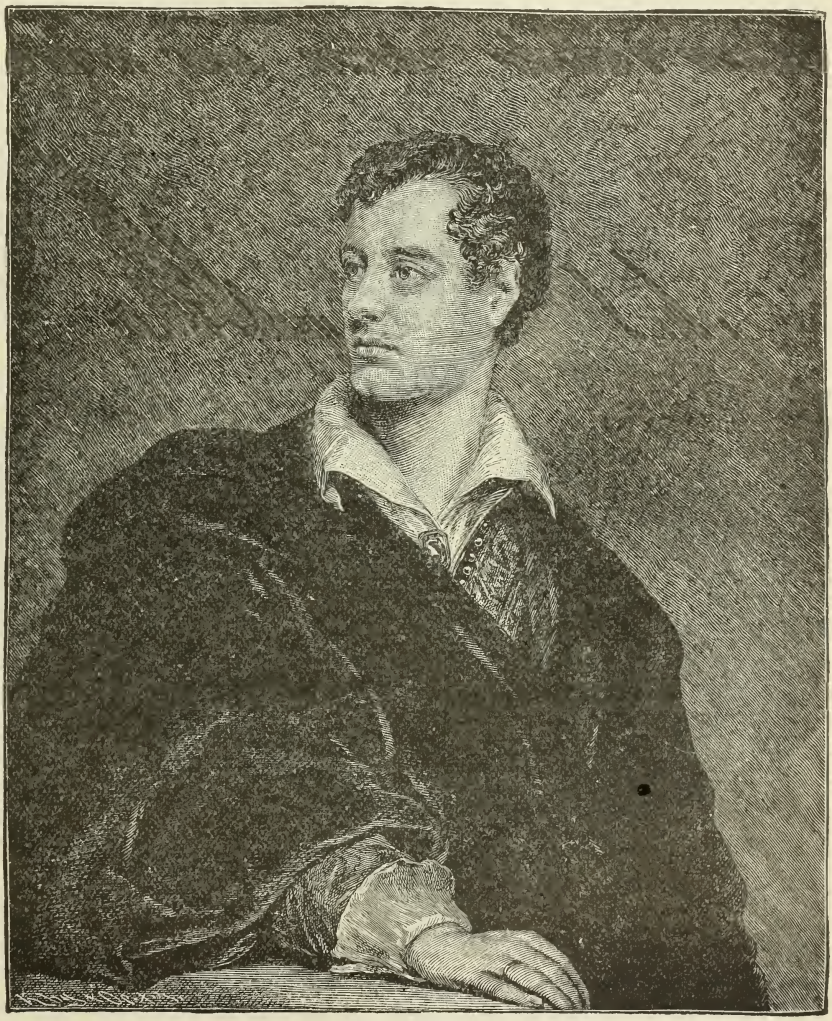
In the beginning of 1828 the Greek statesman, Count Capo d'Istria, became president of the Confederation, and in the following year hostilities ceased. The powers of Western



THE PIRÆUS. (Modern View.)

known as the *Philhellenes* were organized in many parts of Europe and America. Lord Byron left Italy, where he had resided several years, to devote his fortune and life to the cause of the Greeks. In the United States, Henry Clay and other patriots sought by their eloquence to enlist the friends of freedom against the perfidious Turk. For five years the Greeks continued the struggle. At length, Great Britain, France, and Russia Europe then devoted themselves to the work of settling the conditions of peace. Prince Leopold, afterwards king of Belgium, was elected sovereign of emancipated Greece. But when a difficulty arose respecting boundaries he declined the crown. In 1831, Capo d'Istria was assassinated at Nauplia, and an epoch of anarchy followed, which was terminated by the choice of Otho of Bavaria as king of Greece. In 1835 this prince took in

marriage the Princess Amalia of the House of Oldenburg, and established his court at Athens. For a period of ten years Greece was governed in a mild sort of way by Otho, who though bound by no constitution was sincerely anxious to govern well. The want of a constitutional form, however, was keenly felt by the Greeks, and in 1843 the people rose, surrounded the palace, and enforced their will by a peaceable revolution of the government. A constitution was adopted and accepted by the king on the 16th of March, 1844—an act which became the foundation of the limited monarchy of Modern Greece.



LORD BYRON.

The year 1832 was marked by the beginning of a contest between the Sublime Porte and Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt. Of this, much has been said in a former chapter. War broke out, and the Turks were repeatedly defeated. The contest continued until 1839, when Mahmoud II. died, and was succeeded by his son, Abdul-Medjid. It was at this time that, on the petition of Great Britain, Turkey was admitted into the States-system of Europe. Henceforth it became a cardinal principle with the Western Powers to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. It was this maxim of European politics which led to the Crimean War of 1854–56, the story of which has already been narrated.

In 1860 the Turkish Government was again rent with a conflict, which broke out between the Druses and Maronites, the two religio-political parties of Syria. Several frightful massacres were perpetrated, and a combined squadron of French and English was sent to the East in order to put an end to the conflict. In the following year Abdul-Medjid died, and was succeeded by his brother, Abdul-Aziz. In the following December the Danubian principalities were united under the name of Roumania, and Charles I., a prince of the House of Hohenzollern, was assigned to the government of the new province. The same year witnessed a great insurrection in Crete—an event which led to another war between the Turks and the Greeks. In 1869 a conference of the Western Powers was held at Paris, and the difficulties in the eastern Mediterranean were again adjusted by a treaty.

By this time Turkey had indeed become the "Sick Man of the East." The protectorate which had been established over the Ottoman Empire had tended to weaken rather than confirm the grip of the opium-smoking Turk on Europe. A tendency was manifested in all of the Turkish provinces to renounce the authority of the Porte and gain their independence. So was it in the Servian insurrection in 1867. So was it with Egypt, which power, after assisting the Turks to put down the Cretan rebellion, sought to throw off the Ottoman rule. A war between Turkey and Egypt was prevented only by the interference of the foreign Powers. With the coming of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870–71, the influence of France as one of the protecting States of Turkey was so greatly weakened that Russia, no longer kept in check, was enabled to renew her policy of aggression, and to enforce her will by demanding and obtaining a modification of the Treaty of Paris of 1856. A conference was held in London in January of 1871, and Great Britain consented that the provisions of that treaty relative to the neutralization of the Black Sea should be abrogated.



QUEEN AMALIA.

Two years afterwards the Sultan found himself so weakened that he was constrained to concede such prerogatives to Ismail Pasha, Khedive of Egypt, as to make him virtually an independent ruler. From this time forth a certain indifference supervened in Western Europe relative to the fate of the Ottoman Power. Whether the "Sick Man" should live or die ceased for a season to be a matter of great concern. Many modifications were thrust by the logic of events into the balance-of-power system by which the equipoise of Europe was supposedly maintained. Such was the contempt of Turkey that the Egyptian Khedive, without asking the consent of the Porte, proceeded to sell to England all his shares in the Suez Canal, by which transaction the influence of Great Britain was still further strengthened in the East.

During the decade from 1870 to 1880, the fact became more and more apparent that the Sublime Porte either could not or would not protect the Christians of the Turkish provinces against the bloodthirstiness and oppressions of the Moslems. Outrages and massacres became the order of the day. Now in Bosnia, now in Bulgaria, now in Montenegro, and now in Herzegovina, these scenes of violence and butchery were witnessed, until the sentiment of Christendom was shocked with the repetition. This condition of affairs furnished to Russia her long-coveted excuse for the further prosecution of her designs against Turkey. The Czar finally made a demand of the six Powers, which were still pledged to uphold the Ottoman Empire, that the outrages done by the Turks should cease

forever, and that the Porte should give a solemn guarantee that they should be no more repeated.

A crisis came on in the latter part of 1876, and early in the following year a conference was held in London relative to the threatening condition of affairs in the East. A protocol was issued on the last day of March, 1877, in which a formal demand was made by the protecting States that the rights of the Christians in the Turkish provinces should be respected, and that certain general reforms should be introduced in the manner, methods, and spirit of the Turkish Government. This action was resented by the Porte, and on the 10th of April a circular was issued from Constantinople declaring the London Protocol to be destitute of all equity and of all obligatory character.

This action was precisely such as Russia had anticipated and desired. The Russian army was at once put upon a war footing, and on the 20th of April, Prince Gortchakoff sent a circular to the Western Powers announcing the purpose of the Czar to "fulfill the duty imposed upon him by the interests of Russia, whose peaceable development was impeded by the constant troubles in the East." The Porte replied by a counter manifesto charging that the Christian population of Herzegovina, Bosnia, Servia, and Montenegro had been incited to insurrection by the Russians, and appealing to the Powers to uphold the treaty of 1856. The appeal, however, was in vain. And so began the TURCO-RUSSIAN WAR of 1877.



FOUNTAIN OF THE SERAGLIO.

The plans of the Czar in entering upon this contest were to cross the Danube, traverse the Balkans, beat the Turks in battle, and perhaps capture Constantinople. For this purpose a

large Russian army was collected in the South. A month was occupied in crossing Roumania, and then a wooden pontoon was built over the Danube. The crossing of the Lower River was accomplished on the 22d of June; but the passage of the Middle Danube was not effected until the beginning of July. The Czar transferred his head-quarters to the southern bank of the river, and issued a proclamation to the Bulgarians, reännouncing his purpose to vindicate the rights of the persecuted Christians in the Turkish provinces.



PRINCE GORTCHAKOFF.

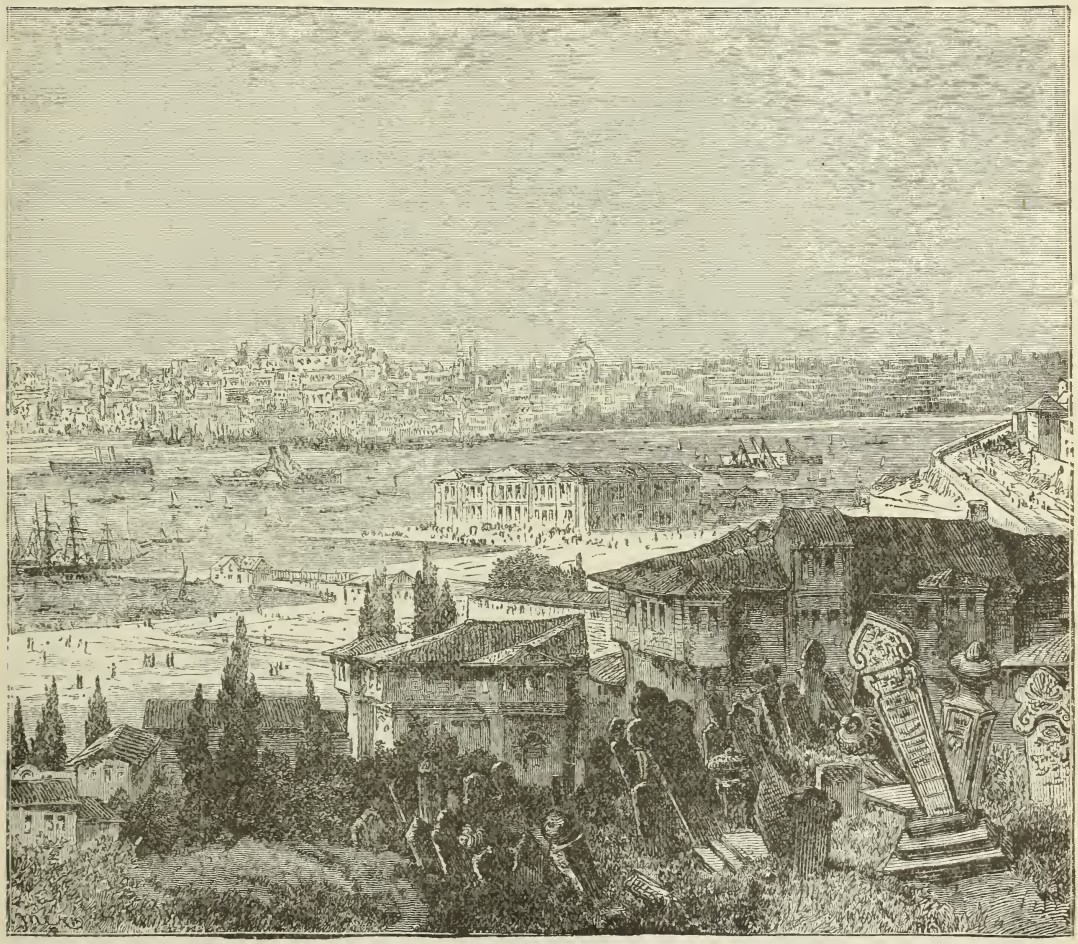
Fighting now began between the invaders and the forces of the Sultan. The outposts of the latter were driven in, and the Russians gained possession of the two roads leading to the Balkans. The head-quarters of the Grand Duke Nicholas were moved forward to Tirnova. The object of General Gurko was to press on to the mountains and gain possession of the celebrated Shipka Pass, which was held by the Turks. The advance towards the mountains was resisted by the Moslems, and several engagements occurred, in which the Russians were generally victorious. On the 16th of July a battle was fought at Tundja Brook, which, as usual, went against the Turks. Gradually all the Turkish forces fell back and concentrated at Shipka Pass.

Meanwhile the division of the Russian army under the Grand Duke Nicholas pressed forward to the city of Nikopolis, which was held by a garrison of twelve thousand Turks. On the 15th and 16th of July this important place was captured by the Russians, who now directed their march to the town of Plevna, about thirty miles distant from Nikopolis. Before this place a Russian force arrived on the 19th of July, and an assault was ordered on the following morning. The event showed that the Turks had been strongly reïnforced by Osman Pasha, greatest of the Ottoman generals of the age. After the Russians had gained possession of a part of the fortifications and town, they were assailed with a murderous fire from hundreds of windows and balconies, and were driven back with great slaughter to the trenches. It was soon ascertained that Osman Pasha had gathered an army of fifty thousand men for the defense of Plevna. In the meantime, Suleiman Pasha, with a force of forty thousand, had checked the progress of General Gurko; and Mehemet Ali, to whom the chief command of the Ottomans was now given, collected a third army numbering sixty-five thousand, at Rasgrad. It became necessary for the Czar to suspend the forward movement in order to mobilize the Russian militia, and bring reïnforcements to the front. The invasion was thus checked, and the month of August was spent in inaction.

The Turks were greatly elated at having brought the enemy to a dead pause. It was resolved to take advantage of the lull to make an attack in force upon Shipka Pass, which had in the meantime fallen into possession of the Russians. Accordingly, on the 19th of August, Suleiman Pasha advanced against the Gap, which was defended by an inferior force under General Darozhinski. The latter, with a force of less than eight thousand Russians

and Bulgarians, defended the Pass for five days against Suleiman, who, with an army of twenty-five thousand Turks, made one murderous assault after another upon the position held by his foe. But he could not succeed in dislodging Darozhinski from the Pass.

Soon after these severe battles at Shipka, Osman Pasha, with fifty-six thousand men, was for the third time assailed by the Russians at Plevna. On the 6th of September, and for three days following, the two hundred and fifty guns of the Russian batteries poured a tremendous fire upon the redoubts commanding the town. Then followed an assault, which proved to be one of the most bloody struggles of the century. Of the sixty thousand Russians who charged the redoubts, eighteen thousand were either killed or wounded. Nor did the Turks forbear to sally forth, mangle and mutilate both the dying and the dead. Another check was thus given to the Russian invasion. At Plevna a regular siege of five months' duration was substituted for the more expensive plan of storming an impregnable position. The work of investment was intrusted to General Todleben, who for this duty was summoned from St. Petersburg. By the beginning of December, Plevna was shut in by the Russian lines. Soon afterwards Osman Pasha attempted to cut his way through the investing lines, but was driven back into the town. In the course of the autumn Suleiman Pasha made another effort to dislodge the Russians from Shipka Pass. By degrees Osman Pasha and his fine army in Plevna were reduced rather by starvation than by force, and were obliged to capitulate. The country was thus cleared between the Danube and the Balkans for the distance of about two hundred



CONSTANTINOPLE FROM SCUTARI.

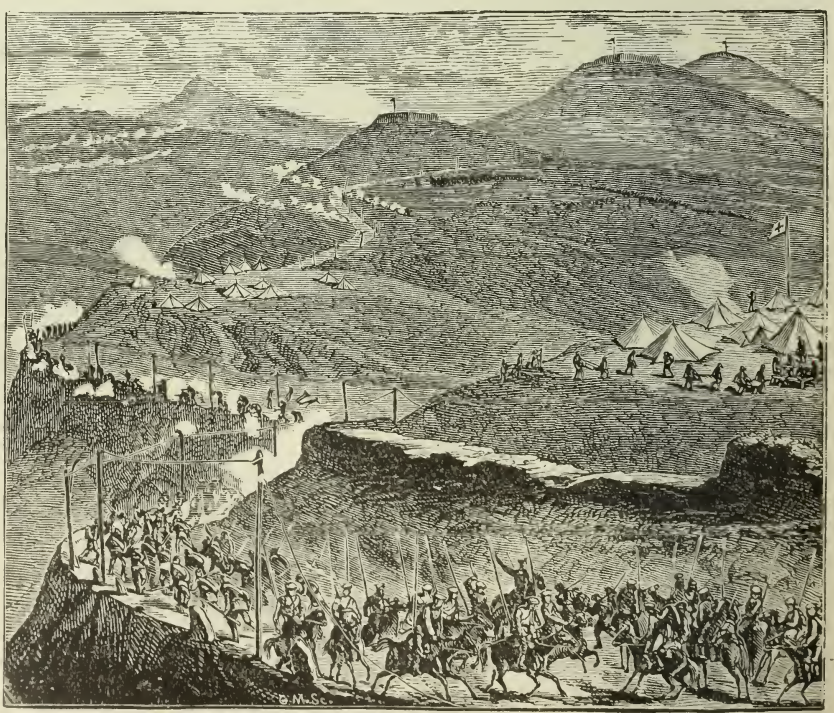


SULEIMAN PASHA.

and fifty miles, and there was no longer any real obstacle in the way of a Russian advance on Constantinople.

While these movements were taking place in Europe, a great Asiatic campaign had been conducted in the country of the Caucasus by the Emperor's eldest brother, the Grand Duke Michael. The two objects of the expedition were to gain control of the coast of the Black Sea and to capture the Fortress of Batoum. The opposing army of Turks, about fifty thousand strong, was under command of Mukhtar Pasha, and was distributed at Batoum, Ardahan, Kars, and Erzeroum. In the latter part of April the Russian advance against Batoum was begun. The first division, however, was met by the Turks under Dervish Pasha, and was driven back across the border. The other three columns of Russians poured into Armenia, and concentrated against the strong fortress of Kars. After a good deal of desultory fighting during the summer, the Grand Duke Michael, with sixty-three thousand men, reached the objective point of the campaign, and on the 2d of October, the Turkish left at Kars was turned by an assault. But the success of the Russians was so slight as to be little better than a failure.

A few days after the first battle, Mukhtar Pasha contracted his lines, and the heights were occupied by the Russians. On the 15th of October the latter attacked the Turks in full force at Aladja-Dagh, carried the position, which was defended by Omar Pasha, captured one half of his army and destroyed the other half. The Russian victory was so decisive that Mukhtar, giving up all except the Fortress of Kars, retired with eighteen thousand men to Erzeroum, and there intrenched himself and awaited reïnforcements. The Russians at once began a siege of Kars. The in-



DEFENSE OF SHIPKA PASS.

vestment continued until the night of the 17th of November, when a terrible assault resulted in the capture of the fortress. So bravely did the Turks defend their position that, when the place was carried, only three hundred of them were left alive. Next followed the siege of Erzeroum, which continued during the winter, and was concluded by an armistice on the 31st of January. The Turkish garrison was permitted to march out of the fortress and embark for Constantinople. Such was the victorious conclusion of the Russian campaign in Armenia.

Meanwhile, in European Turkey, the Grand Duke Nicholas, acting against the advice of his generals, had continued active hostilities during the winter. Great were the hardships endured by the Russian soldiers in forcing their way over the mountains. Thousands were frozen and starved in the sleet and snow. On the first day of the new year the Turkish position at Araba-Konak was taken, and two days afterwards the well-provisioned town of Sofia fell into the hands of the Russians.



REPULSE OF THE GRAND ASSAULT AT PLEVNA.

From this point General Gurko advanced to Philippopolis, attacking and destroying the army of Suleiman Pasha. General Kartsof's division poured over the Balkans by way of the Trojan Pass; and General Radetski, with his army of fifty-six thousand, succeeded in issuing from Shipka Pass into the valley. On the 9th of January General Skobelef, who had



GENERAL TODLEBEN.

been obliged to abandon most of his artillery in the mountains, fell with great audacity on the Turkish army at SHENOVO, carried the place by storm, captured one division of twelve thousand, and compelled another of twice that number to capitulate. It was the most brilliant exploit of the war.

The military power of the Turks now rapidly melted away. The Russian march was at once directed against Adrianople. The defenders of that city blew up the powder magazines and fled. On the 20th of January the Russians entered, and nine days afterwards the last shot of the war was fired at Tehorlu. The conflict had resulted in the complete prostration of the Turkish power. On the 31st of January the commissioners of the Sultan signed an armistice preliminary to peace.

The conditions of the settlement were briefly these: That Bulgaria should be erected into an independent principality; that Montenegro, Roumania, and Servia should become independent; that the Turkish Government in Bosnia and Herzegovina should be reformed; that Viddin, Rustchuk, and Silistria should be surrendered; that many Turkish fortresses should be evacuated, and that a war indemnity should be paid to Russia. In February the Turkish and Russian ambassadors assembled at San Stefano; and there, on the 3d of March, a treaty was signed on the basis outlined above. It appeared for the time that the Ottoman Power was about to be crushed.

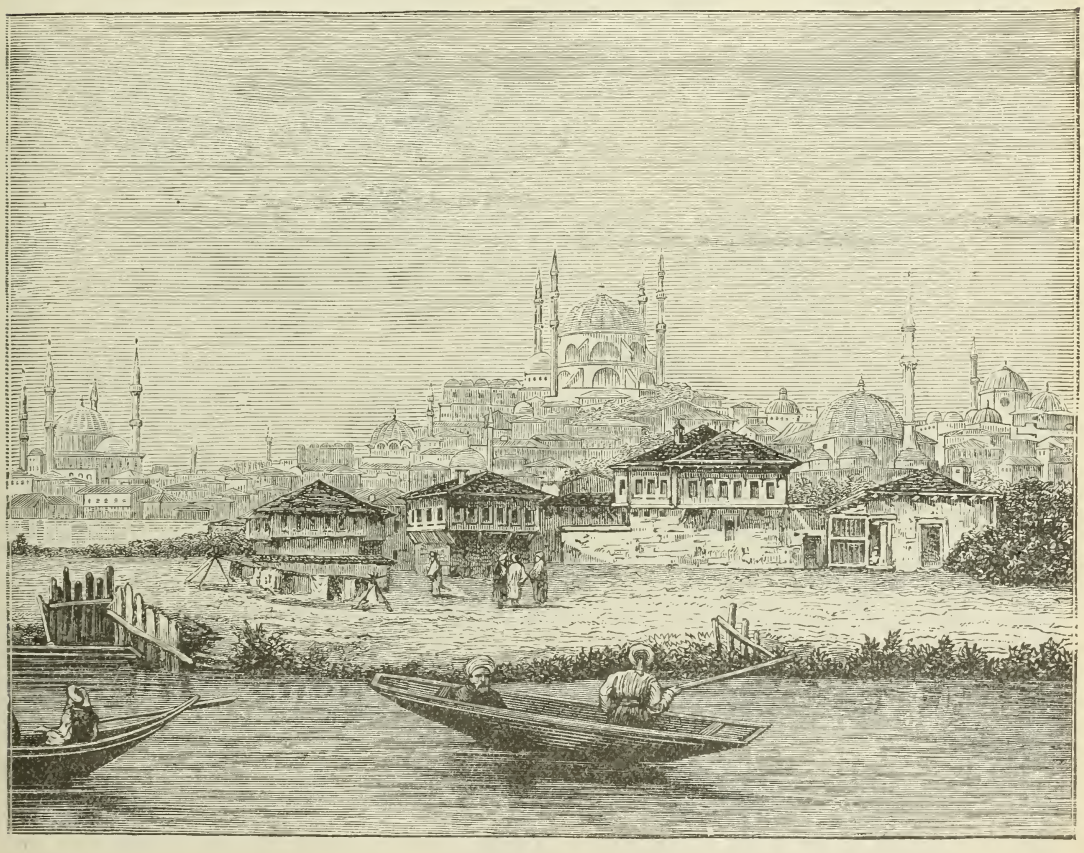
At this juncture, however, the Great Powers of Europe suddenly appeared on the scene. England took the lead in declaring that the treaty of San Stefano touched upon questions which were not only Turco-Russian but European in their nature. It was determined that the settlement imposed by the Czar on the Sultan should be reviewed by a Congress of the Powers, to be held in the city of Berlin, on the 13th of July, 1878. This assembly proved to be one of the most conspicuous of modern times. England was represented by the Earl of Beaconsfield; Austria, by Count Andrassy; the German Empire, by Prince Bismarck; Russia, by Gortchakoff and Shuvalof. Twenty sessions of the Congress were held, and the



OMAR PASHA.

provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano were thoroughly reviewed. Many amendments were adopted, some substracting from and others adding to the terms of the recent settlement. The results of the conference were of a sort to give a temporary, if not a permanent, check to the aggressive policy of Russia, and to stay up for another brief period the falling fortunes and ebbing vitality of the Sick Man of the East.

Though Russia was thus again foiled, her backset was received, not at the hands of the Turks, but at those of the allied Powers of Europe. It was again demonstrated that the Western States, particularly England, considered themselves bound to the policy of preserving the autonomy and independence of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. Noting with particularity the changes, territorial and civil, which were effected by the war, by the Treaty of San Stefano, and the Congress of Berlin, we find the principal to have been the reduction of the territories of Bulgaria and a division of that State into two parts. There was thus constituted a Bulgaria north of the Balkan Mountains, being a principality with an autonomous government. But that part of the country lying south of the Balkans was erected into a province, under the title of Eastern Roumelia, and subject to the Turkish Sultan. It was provided, however, that the Governor of Eastern Roumelia should be a Christian, either Roman or Greek, not a Mohammedan, and that the administration should be conducted as that of an independent principality.

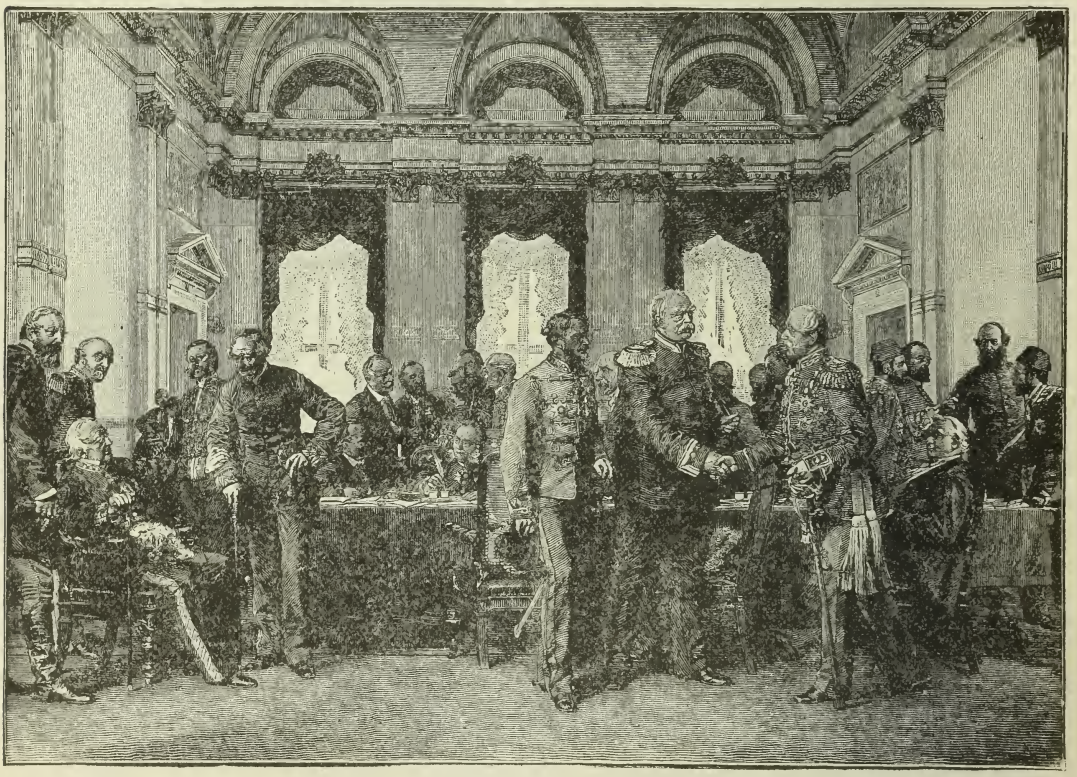


ADRIANOPLE.

As for the rest, Austria was augmented by the addition of Bosnia and Herzegovina. By the settlement of San Stefano the boundaries of Servia and Montenegro had been considerably enlarged, as well as the boundary of Russia in Asia. But these concessions were either wholly disallowed or greatly modified by the Congress. That body indulged in the usual inexpensive advice to the Sultan with respect to his principles and methods of gov-

ernment. The Porte was directed to cede Thessaly to the Kingdom of Greece, and to institute reforms in the civil administration—to which the Porte agreed, with the usual mental reservations. England herself was enlarged by the addition of the Island of Cyprus, in return for which she pledged herself to defend Asiatic Turkey from further aggression.

The organization of Eastern Roumelia into a separate principality was attended with difficulty. A European Commission was appointed to undertake the work, and a Constitution and administration were at length prepared.

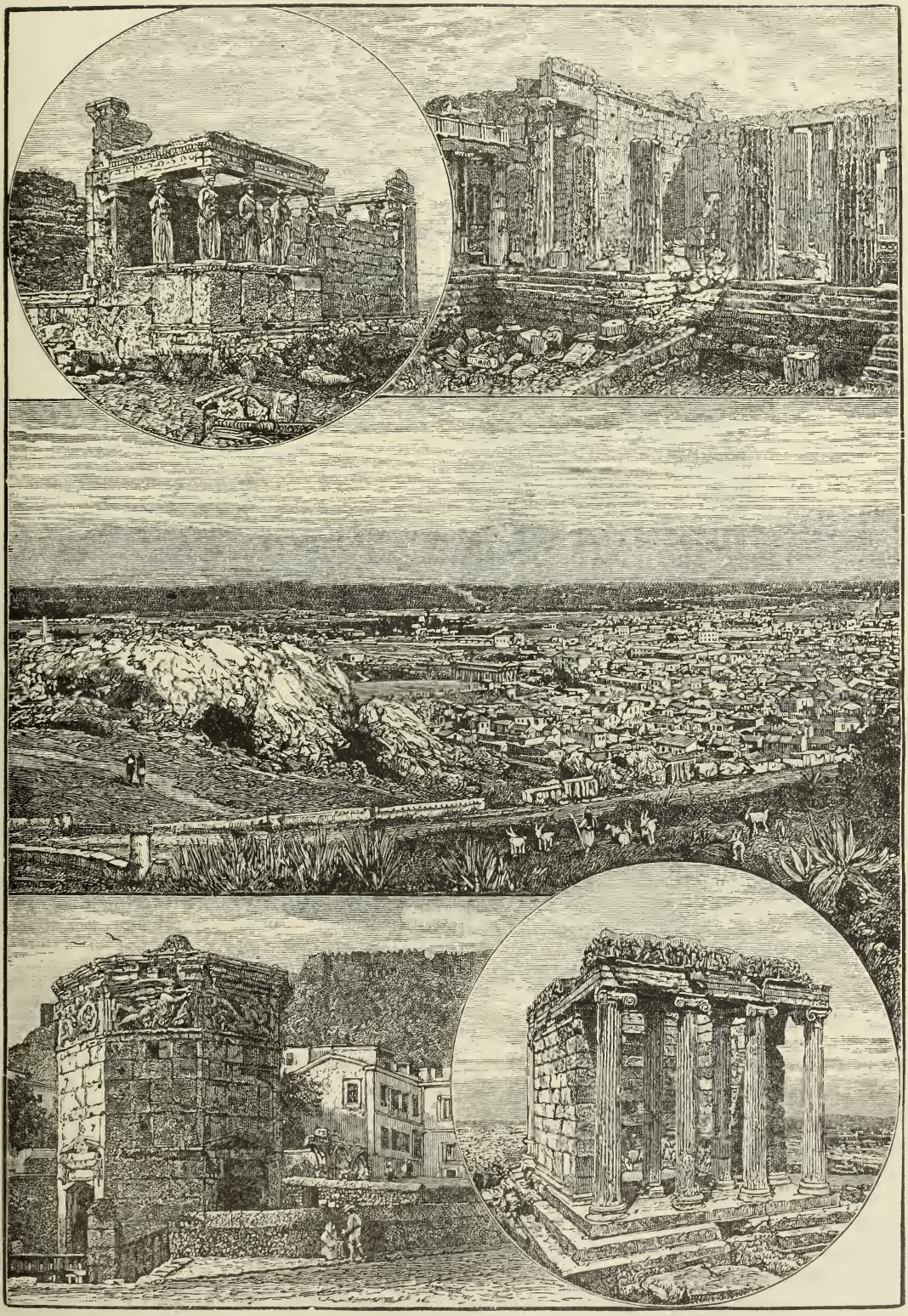


CONGRESS OF BERLIN, 1878.

This part of the policy had been the favorite scheme of Great Britain, but was resisted by Turkey, and at least not favored by Austria. It was necessary that an English fleet should be sent to the East by way of a demonstration before the final cessions and concessions were made by the States immediately concerned.

With the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish war—with the settlement of the issues growing out of that conflict by the Treaty of San Stefano and the Congress of Berlin—it was hoped and believed that Turkey and the Turks would emerge from their half-Oriental condition and become partners in the affairs of Europe. The English Conservative party held such hopes and beliefs, and the opinion reached as far as America. Such, however, was the condition of the Ottoman Administration as in a great measure to disappoint the cheerful expectations which were entertained of the Porte and the people of Turkey. As early as 1880 it was observed that the Sultan was bearing himself in the old fashion, even with respect to those questions which had been passed upon so recently at Berlin. When it came to the cession to Greece of Janina and Metsovo, the Porte first hesitated, and then became recusant. The cession would not be made, but instead thereof some other enlargements of Greek territory would be granted. The Greek Government at Athens, feeling assured of the backing of Great Britain and Austria, did not hesitate to threaten war in case of a refusal on the part of the Porte to follow the directions of the Congress, and thus the old difficulty was, in at least one of its features, revived.

Such complications were almost impossible of solution. True, the Western Powers might, if they chose, make war on Turkey, and thus



VIEWS IN ATHENS.

compel their dependent to fulfill her pledges and agreements. But such action would require concurrence among all the States concerned. Such was the political condition of Western Europe — such the ever-recurring jealousy of the Powers, the one of the other— that it was rarely practicable to secure the coöperation of all in so serious a matter as war. Thus Turkey went unwhipt, resuming as she would her ôld rôle in the affairs of the East.

We may here properly note the changes which had recently taken place in the succession. Abdul-Aziz, who had acceded to the throne in 1861, held on by a precarious tenure until 1876. During the whole of his reign, matters had gone from bad to worse. National bankruptcy had ensued. General Ignatieff, the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, had worked his way into the heart of the Government, and had gained such an ascendency in the palace that he was able virtually to direct the course of events. He kept his master, the Czar, thoroughly informed of the Sick Man's condition; and the Majesty of all the Russias was left to prepare his plans at his leisure.



ABDUL-AZIZ.

In his latter years, Abdul-Aziz appears to have lost a moiety of the small wit with which nature had supplied him. Whether or not he became partly insane under the conditions which surrounded him, it is difficult to tell. Certain it is that there was a conspiracy among the Pashas which aimed as high as the Sultan's deposition, and perhaps his life. Such was the state of affairs when, on the 30th of May, 1876, Abdul-Aziz either committed suicide or was assassinated in his own apartments. The inquest conducted by the Court physicians seemed to establish the suicide, but subsequent events pointed in the direction of murder. In 1881, five years having elapsed, the question of the manner of the Sultan's death was revived, and a judicial inquiry—or at least a process called "judicial"— was instituted to determine in what manner Abdul-Aziz had been dispatched. The proceedings brought out the fact that the Pashas about the Court were jealous of each other even to death; and history is more than half disposed to record that the revival of the question of the suicide of the late Sultan was for the purpose of destroying those who might be accused of having contrived an assassination. Two subordinates, one of them a wrestler, were induced *by torture* to confess that they were the killers of Abdul-Aziz; and five others, including Midhat Pasha, Nuri Pasha, and Mahmud Pasha, were found guilty as accessories before the fact. The judgment of the world, however, was not changed by the verdict of such a Court, and the theory of suicide continued to be accepted.

No sooner was Abdul-Aziz dead than the throne was give to the imbecile Murad V., son of Abdul-Medjid and nephew of Abdul-

Aziz. The Government fell into the hands of those who had contrived the deposition of the late Sultan, but it was found impossible to carry on an administration under such auspices. After three months of an alleged reign, Murad V. gave place to his brother Abdul-Hamid II.; and it was during his ascendency that the Russo-Turkish War was fought to its disastrous conclusion.

The year 1881 furnished another example of the impotence of human contrivance as a directive force in history. The Congress of Berlin had imagined itself able to direct the course of events, including the regeneration of Turkey and her admission as an equal at the Council Board of the Western nations. We have already seen how the Turk, unable to pay and unwilling to cede, sought to wriggle out of the conditions agreed upon by the Congress. Among the stipulations of the treaty was the payment of a war indemnity of a hundred and fifty millions of dollars to Russia. But how could the bankrupt pay? The Czar, however, was so unreasonable as to insist on payment! In his distress the Sultan proposed to cede to Russia a portion of Armenia as the discharge of his obligation, and this Russia was willing to accept. But Armenia was a part of those "Asiatic dominions of Turkey" which Great Britain had agreed to defend. As the price of such agreement on her part she had received from the Sultan the Isle of Cyprus. If, therefore, she should consent that Turkey might discharge her war-debt by ceding a portion of Armenia, it would imply the re-surrender by her of Cyprus to the Porte. On the other hand, should she not consent, Russia would insist on the payment of the indemnity, which Turkey could by no means make. Thus it was that Great Britain found herself, after all her pride of accomplishment at Berlin, suddenly pressed between the mountain and the deep sea. Unfortunately, moreover, the tide was rising! For the Liberal party came into power, and the so-called Jingoes, who had believed in the regeneration of Turkey by the Congress of Berlin, sat mourning their losses.

An incident of Turkish history belonging to 1882 may serve to show the hopeless condition of the Ottoman Power in Europe. We have already seen with what vehemence Arabi Pasha supported the cause of Egypt—of native Egypt—at this epoch. We have seen him in successful rebellion against the Khedive. At length it became the question with the Turkish Government how to deal with the great rebel of the Egyptians. From the Sultan's point of view, Arabi must appear as the most loyal rebel and the most disloyal patriot ever known. Now that he was down, what must be done with him? The Sultan instituted a court to try the cause. The law of Turkey, if law it may be called, is wholly deduced from the Koran. By that Book of the Prophet all judicial and juridical principles are tried and determined. Another peculiarity is the fact that such a thing as precedent—so potent an element in all legal proceedings among the Western peoples—is unknown in the Turkish Court. Every cause is tried as though it were the first issue which has arisen since the days of the Prophet.

It was under such conditions that the court was constituted for the trial of Arabi; and these are the questions which the Sultan submitted to the tribunal:

1. O jurists, is Arabi Pasha, in so far as he has disobeyed the Caliph, a rebel, and may he be unceremoniously treated as such?

2. But in so far as Arabi has been a defender of a Mohammedan country against the aggressive designs of Christians, has he merely fulfilled the duties of a good Mussulman?

3. May the Sultan punish Arabi—if some act of rebellion is proved against him—and at the same time dissociate himself from those who wish to crush Arabi Pasha as the defender of Islam?

As a matter of course, the court so constituted could but answer in accordance with the Sultan's wishes; namely, that Arabi might be punished somewhat as a rebel, but as a defender of the faith not at all. The difficulty of dividing Arabi into two persons, one of whom might be castigated for rebellion, while the other went unwhipt for patriotism, seems not to have occurred to either the Sultan or his court!

It was at the time which we are here considering, particularly in the years 1882–83, that a peculiar sentiment was created between Turkey and the United States. On the accession of Garfield to the Presidency, in 1881, he appointed, as Minister to Turkey, General

Lew Wallace, who went to the duties of his office at Constantinople with the unusual understanding that his trust was of some significance and importance to the Government which had sent him forth as its representative. He accordingly applied himself assiduously to the questions arising out of the situation. He informed himself relatively to the condition of affairs in Turkey and the possibility of establishing valuable connections between that country and his own. It was not long until he succeeded in gaining a footing with the Sultan which no other ambassador, not even Lord Dufferin, had obtained. General Wallace secured the confidence of the Porte, was taken into the counsels of the Government, was sought in many important instances as an adviser, and was not far from reaching such an ascendency in the country to which he was accredited as Anson Burlingame had already attained, fifteen years previously, with Prince Kung at the court of China. Though he was thus enabled to bring about the highest amity between Turkey and the United States, and to introduce some salutary reforms, particularly in the matter of education, it could but be that much of his own purpose was delayed or wholly disappointed. The conditions present in the Ottoman Government made it impracticable to do more than to secure as high a state of good feeling and mutual interest as might be reached between a Mohammedan and a Christian country.

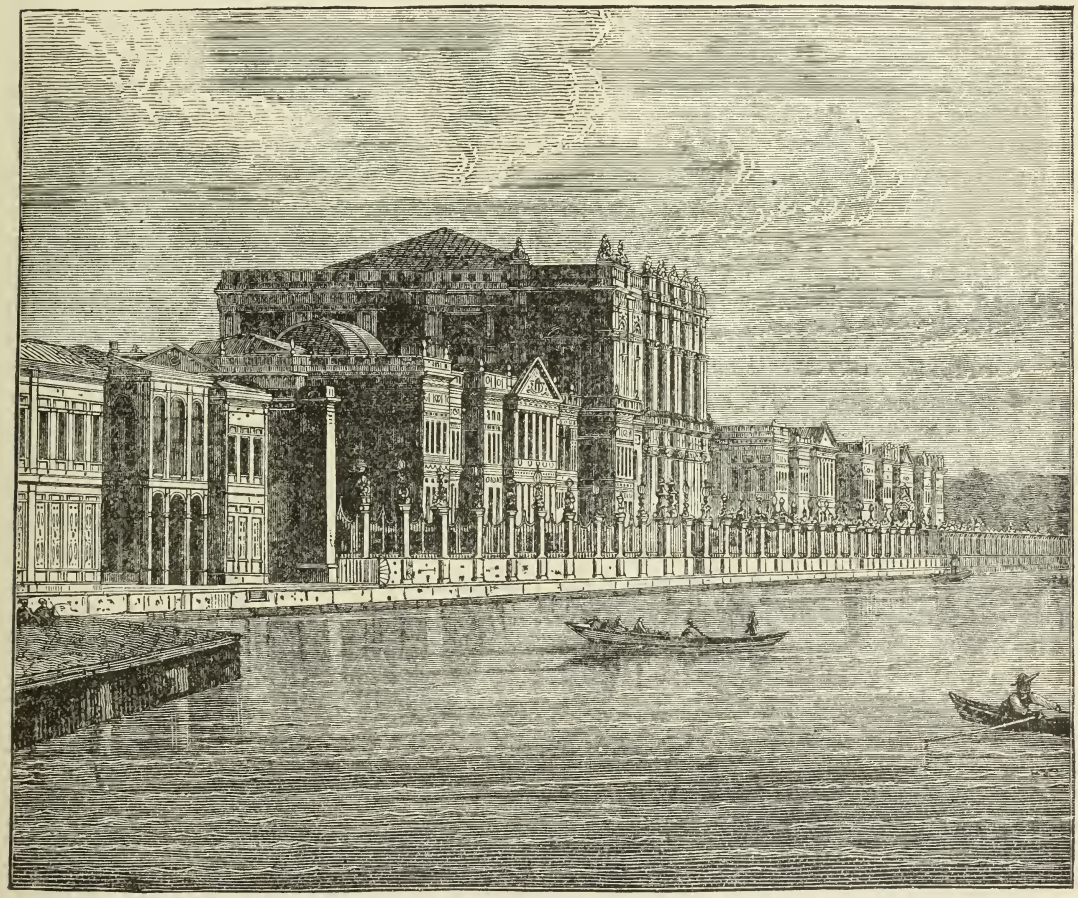
It was in April of 1883 that the consent of the Sublime Porte was finally obtained for the building, under the auspices of Austria, of certain railways reaching into Servia. The question was whether the city of Vranya, at the southern extremity of Servia, might be made the point of junction for the Servian railway and the branch line extending from Salonica on the Ægean. The Servian line reached from Belgrade to Vranya. In establishing the connection growing out of this enterprise, strong objections were urged by Turkey against the project of Austria-Hungary. It was believed by the Turkish Government that the railway lines in contemplation would tend greatly to weaken her in a strategic sense on the side of Servia, and it was only after much negotiation and urging that the Porte at length accepted the inevitable and agreed to the construction of the proposed railways. By means of these, large districts of country within the Danube, not hitherto penetrated, were opened to the world.

During the years 1884–85 it was manifest that Turkey was lapsing gradually into that state of un-European conduct and general imbecility, out of which so many and so strenuous efforts to raise her had been made. The disposition was everywhere apparent among her provincial dependencies to renounce their allegiance and become independent. This was particularly true of the western parts of Turkey in Europe. We have seen how the principality of Eastern Roumelia was constituted. In the meantime, Bulgaria had become virtually independent. As early as 1859 the Bulgarians had refused to pay their dues to the Primate of Constantinople, and had expelled the Greek Bishops from the country. A party arose favorable to a religious union with Rome, but the measure came to naught. In 1872 the Roman Catholics of Bulgaria had been reduced to a handful. Ten years before this date, Prince Gortchakoff had invited the Western Powers to join Russia in a project for the liberation of the Bulgarian Christians. In 1865, although the Porte had consented to the institution of several important reforms, Bulgaria was made into a *vilayet*, or principality, and the Sultan was obliged to issue a firman, granting a separate administration and equal religious rights to the Greek Catholics.

It was not long, however, until the latter were excommunicated by the Synod of Constantinople, being thus excluded from the general fellowship of Christians, both Greek and Roman. This condition of isolation continued for nearly ten years, when Prince Alexander of Battenberg was raised to the Bulgarian throne. Hardly had this been accomplished when a popular movement occurred in favor of the union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia in a single State. The revolution by which this was effected was displeasing in the highest degree to the Czar, who, finding himself unable to prevent the consolidation of the principalities, favored the defeat of the project by other means. The Sultan for his part offered no resistance to the proposed union, and things for the time took their natural course. It was not long, however, until an

extraordinary event occurred, which threatened to bring the great Powers into conflict. A conspiracy was formed, as was alleged, under the influence of Russia, by which Prince Alexander was kidnaped—forcibly abducted—and compelled to abdicate the throne. The question was, whether Russia should be thus permitted, indirectly, to undo a Government which the people of the two principalities had accepted, and to which there was no objection on the part of the other Powers, including Turkey.

The hiatus in Bulgarian affairs was soon ended by the restoration of Alexander. Russia was not willing to precipitate a general war for the sake of keeping that prince from the position to which he had been raised by the virtual accord of the two peoples. Alexander himself was not without ambition to become a king in a larger sense than might well be admitted while both Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia remained tributary to the Porte. So weak had the latter Power now become that the tribute could not be collected from Bulgaria, while that from Roumelia was irregularly gathered by the Sultan's officers in the midst of much discontent. So long, however, as even the theoretical dependence of the two States upon the Ottoman Empire was held, the Western Powers were obliged, by their agreements, to maintain the status which had existed before the Turco-Russian War.



SULTAN'S PALACE AND THE BOSPHORUS.

During the whole of 1885, and the greater part of 1886, Eastern Europe was under the threat and menace of war. The countries of that distracted region regarded Bulgaria as having enlarged herself by the addition of Eastern Roumelia. It was believed that Prince Alexander was on the high road to a kingly crown. The other States would hereupon do likewise. Each would aggrandize itself by an

addition of territory. Servia at once set up the claim that Old Servia had included a part of Bulgaria, and that the latter Power must now surrender as much as had belonged to the ancient dominion of the Servian princes. To this Bulgaria was in no mood to accede. King George, of Greece, looked to the North, and coveted Macedonia as his portion of the spoils. The armies of the different principalities were organized, and at several crises were about to be thrown upon each other in battle. It was evident to the Western Powers that the moment such a conflict should break out, Russia—seeing herself freed from the compact of Berlin by the natural disruption of that settlement—would throw herself upon Constantinople, scarcely giving the Turk time enough to get himself into Asia. It was believed, moreover, that the greater German Powers, Austria and Prussia, were half indifferent to the fate of the Turkish Empire. Nevertheless, the Powers determined to uphold for a while longer the existing order. A new conference was held on the "Balkan Question" at Constantinople, and the principles of settlement agreed to seven years previously were reäffirmed. As to the union of Bulgaria and Roumelia, it was conceded that the same should extend no further than a common executive administration under Prince Alexander. Otherwise the two States were to remain as heretofore, independent principalities.

The situation just described was, in a measure, that which has been maintained in Eastern Europe to the present day. The struggles which have taken place since the beginning of the sixth decade have resulted, in general, in the weakening and contraction of the Ottoman Power to the narrowest limit consistent with its further perpetuation in Europe. Russia, on the whole, has gained again and again, though the increments of her power have not been coëxtensive with her ambitions. The Kingdom of Greece, under Otho and George I., has become well established; but the expected revival of the Greek peoples from the lethargy of ages, and the hoped-for reässertion of their claim to a place among the most intellectual of the races have not occurred. The bonds between the Christian principalities of Turkey and herself have been gradually loosed, or so greatly attenuated that they may be henceforth disregarded in estimating the political and historical condition of the countries within the Danube. While these processes have been going on, the tendency and ambition for independence have been correspondingly intensified. The prospect would indicate at no distant day the complete disruption of the Ottoman Empire, and the institution of several petty kingdoms on its ruins, until what time the latter shall be mutually absorbed by Russia and Germany. These two great Powers are the upper and nether millstones between which the Mussulman dominion in Europe, with its various dependencies, is likely to be pressed and ground into political nonenity at no distant day.




MAP XXVIII.
CANADA
English Miles
0 20 40 80 120
RUPERTS LAND
LAKE SUPERIOR
ONTARIO
QUEBEC
LAKE HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE
Georgian Bay
Abbitibbe L.
Miskouaskame L.
Oskelanaio L.
Saguenay R.
Sources of the Ottawa
Labyrinth L.
Ottawa R.
Gatineau L.
Grand L.
Lake Temiscaming
Long L.
Matawin L.
Kenipt L.
Kajouale
Tamagamingue L.
Sault Ste. Marie
St. Joseph I.
ALGOMA
Spanish R.
Drummond I.
Nipissing L.
R. Ottawa
Cockburn I.
Grd Manitoulin I.
St. Duck I.
Lonely I.
Missouri
Allumette I.
Portage du Fort
Renfrew
Mc. Nab
Bay
Thunder B.
Saugeen R.
Saginaw Bay
Pt. Clark
Owen Sound
Orillia
Muskoka L.
Lindsay
Peterborough
Belleville
Napanee
Kingston
Ogdensburg
Plattsburgh
Brockville
Prescott
Gananoque
Cornwall
Lake Champlain
Goderich
Brantford
Brampton
Guelph
Milton
Hamilton
Toronto
Whitby
Port Hope
Cobourg
Picton
Oswego
Rochester
Rome
Utica
Syracuse
Lake Ontario
R. au Sable
Stratford
St. Mary's
Galt
Berlin
Port Huron
Sarnia
London
Woodstock
Paris
Brantford
Simcoe
Port Dalhousie
Niagara
Falls of Niagara
Grand I.
Detroit R.
St. Clair R.
Detroit
Chatham
Port Stanley
Port Rowan
Port Colborne
BUFFALO
Antrim
Long Pt.
Sandwich
Dunkirk
Erie
Pelee I.
Sandusky Cy
Cleveland
OHIO
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
ALBANY
Hudson R.
HARTFORD
CONNECTICUT
New Haven
Susquehanna R.
NEW YORK
LONG ISLAND
New York B.
PHILADELPHIA
TRENTON
NEW JERSEY
MARYLAND
DELAWARE
Reference to Smaller Counties in Ontario or Upper Canada.
1 Essex
2 Bothwell
3 Lambtonx
4 Middlesex
5 Elgin
6 Norfolk
7 Oxford
8 Perth
9 Waterloo
10 Brant
11 Haldimand
12 Welland
13 Monck
14 Wentworth
15 Halton
16 Peel
17 Cardwell
18 Durham
19 Northumberl'd
20 Pr. Edward
21 Lennox
22 Frontenac
23 Grenville
24 Dundas
25 Russell
26 Stormont
27 Prescott
28 Glengary
Reference to Smaller Counties in Quebec or Lower Canada.
1 Argenteuil
2 Two Mountains
3 Terrebonne
4 L'Assomption
5 Vaudreuil
6 Soulange
7 Huntingdon
8 Beauharnois
9 Chateauguay
10 Napierville
11 La Prairie
12 Chambly
13 Vercheres
14 Richelieu
15 St. Hyacinthe
16 Roueville
17 Iberville
18 St. John
19 Missisquoi
20 Brome
21 Shefford
22 Bagot
23 Drummond
24 Yamaska
25 Nicolet
26 Arthabasca
27 Wolfe
28 Richmond
29 Sherbrooke
30 Stanstead
31 Compton
32 Beauce
33 Megantic
34 Lotbiniere
35 Levi
36 Dorchester
37 Bellechasse
38 Montmagny
39 St. Maurice
40 Maskionge
41 Berthier
42 Jolliette
Fisk & Sco, N.Y.
Longitude Wes


Seigniory of Mingan
Mingan Islands
Natashquan Hor.
Natashquan R.
Natashquan Pt.
St. Mary Is.
C. Whittle
Seven Islands B.
St. John R.
Moisie B. & R.
Papimanoace L.
Espamiscotch L.
Pentecost R.
Pentecost Harbour
St. Margaret's B. & R.
The Seven Is.
West End
Lt. Ho.
ANTICOSTI
(To Quebec)
Charleton Pt.
Table Hd.
East Pt.
Heath Pt. Lt. Ho.
Cormorant Pt.
South Pt.
Bradleys Sta.
South West Pt. Lt. Ho.
C. Magdeleine
Lobster B.
St. Anne's B. & R.
L. Ho.
Pt. de Monts
Manicougan
Pena. & R.
L. Picogome
Saltau Coquin R.
Portneuf R.
Bersimis R.
Bersimis
Outardes R.
Outardes
Isle Verte
Grand Bay
St. John
Chicoutimi R.
Chicoutimi
Ha Ha Bay
Ha Ha L.
Kinouchi
Kinouchi R.
Saguenay R.
Tadoussac
Escoumains R.
Escoumains
Big Piticoui R.
Piticoui
Big Piticoui
Cabot
L. Matapediac
Matapediac R.
Matapediac
Restigouche R.
Restigouche
Mt. Logan
Mt. Murray
Mal Bay
Gaspe Bay
Perce
Bonaventure I.
C. Roziere
C. Gaspe
C. St. George
Newfoundland
St. Georges B.
GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE
Byron I.
C. Ray
Miscou I.
Shippigan I.
Chaleur Bay
Carraquette B.
Carlisle
Dalhousie
Tidiche
Bathurst
Gloucester
Nipisiguit Bay
Nipisiguit R.
Negowac
Tracadie
Tracadie R.
Gramichi R.
Chatham
Newcastle
Miramichi R.
Kouchibouguac Har.
North C.
Tignish
Cascumpec B.
PRINCE EDWARD IS.
Princetown
Greenwich
Margeree
East Pt.
Souris
Souris R.
Georgetown
Three Rivers
Port Hood
Pictou I.
St. George Bay
Antigonish
Richmond
Arichat
Grandby C.
Mire B.
Scutari L.
C. Breton
Gabaras B.
Sydney
Boulardarie Is.
CAPE BRETON ISLAND
Northumberland Strait
Pictou
Glasgow
Merigomish
Cheadabucto B.
I. Madame
C. Canso
Tor B.
Tormont & Country Hr.
St. Marys R.
Sheet Har.
Ship Har.
C. Spry
Halifax Har.
C. Sambro
Margarets B.
Mahone B.
Lunenburg
Port Medway
Liverpool & R.
Port Mouton
Jones Har.
Shelburne Har.
C. Sable
Sable I.
Seal I. Lt. Ho.
Abuptic Har.
Yarmouth
Shelburne
Barrington
Clyde R.
Roseignol
Dublin
Bridgewater
Lunenburg
Chester
Mahone B.
Margarets B.
Windsor
Hantsport
Cornwallis
Kentville
Canning
Horton
Wolfville
Grand Pre
Minas Basin
Minas Channel
Parsboro
Truro
Tatamagouche
Pugwash
Wallace
Sackville
Amherst
Dorchester
Shediac
Hopewell
Moncton
Chignecto B.
Chignecto
Memramcook
Memramcook R.
Petitcodiac
Petitcodiac R.
Hillsborough
Albert
Chepody
Fundy
Bay of Fundy
Cumberland
Westmoreland
Northumberland
Victoria
Restigouche
Gaspe
Bonaventure
Richibucto
Liverpool
Egmont Bay
Bedeque Bay
Malpeque Bay
Richibucto R.
Kouchibouguac R.
Miramichi
Newcastle
Chatham
Nipisiguit R.
Bathurst
Dalhousie
Tidiche
Gloucester
Caraquette B.
Caraquette R.
Tracadie
Tracadie R.
Gramichi R.
Shippigan I.
Miscou I.
Chaleur Bay
Carlisle
Matapediac
Restigouche R.
Restigouche
Escoumains
Escoumains R.
Big Piticoui
Piticoui R.
Cabot
Kinouchi
Kinouchi R.
Saguenay R.
Tadoussac
Chicoutimi
Chicoutimi R.
Ha Ha Bay
Ha Ha L.
Grand Bay
St. John
Isle Verte
Bersimis
Bersimis R.
Outardes
Outardes R.
Portneuf R.
Saltau Coquin R.
Pena. & R.
Manicougan
Pt. de Monts
L. Ho.
L. Picogome
Lobster B.
St. Anne's B. & R.
Mal Bay
Gaspe Bay
Perce
Bonaventure I.
C. Magdeleine
South West Pt. Lt. Ho.
C. Roziere
C. Gaspe
Bradleys Sta.
Cormorant Pt.
South Pt.
Heath Pt. Lt. Ho.
East Pt.
Table Hd.
Charleton Pt.
Natashquan Pt.
Natashquan Hor.
Natashquan R.
St. Mary Is.
C. Whittle
Mingan Islands
Seigniory of Mingan
Seven Islands B.
St. John R.
Moisie B. & R.
Papimanoace L.
Espamiscotch L.
Pentecost R.
Pentecost Harbour
St. Margaret's B. & R.
The Seven Is.
West End
Lt. Ho.
ANTICOSTI
(To Quebec)

Book Twenty-Seventh.

Minor American States.

Chapter CLII.—Dominion of Canada.

RETURNING from this extended survey of the nations of Europe, we may now continue the narrative of events within our century by considering the historical development of the Minor States of North and South America. It will be conceded that the one great Power of the New World is the United States, and that the rest are, either by recency of origin or slowness of evolution, of less importance in the view of general history than are our own country and people. Nevertheless, on both the north and the south, the processes of nationality are going on in some parts with marked activity. The Dominion of Canada, stretching geographically from the Atlantic to the Pacific, bounded northward by the frozen seas, and on the south by the territorial limit of the United States, may well be the first to fix our attention and command our interest.

The name Canada, as here employed, is intended to include not only the country between the watershed west of Lake Superior and the limit of Labrador, but also the British Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland on the east; and the tremendous region of the Northwest—Manitoba, Kewatin, the Northwest Territory, British Columbia, and the whole vast region to the boundary-line of Alaska, running north and south for six hundred miles along the one hundred and forty-first meridian west from Greenwich. Such is the territorial greatness of the Canada of to-day. The country embraces a total area of about three million five hundred thousand square miles, nearly one-half of which was regained by the Government of Great Britain from the Company of Hudson Bay. Without entering again into the discussion of the physical character and resources of Canada, but assuming, rather, that such geographical knowledge is already in possession of the reader, we may properly enter at once upon the civil and political development of the great and growing people on our north.

The story of the early explorations and settlements made at the first by the French Jesuits in Canada has already been given in a former Book. The earliest type of society established beyond the St. Lawrence was modeled

after that Feudal System with which the founders were acquainted from their European antecedents. We have already seen how, in New Amsterdam, and before New Amsterdam in Virginia, attempts were made by the primitive American fathers to set up Feudalism in the New World. Signal was the failure in all those parts included within the present limits of the United States. Nor was the success of the experiment much greater in the North. Before the middle of the seventeenth century an Order of Nobility, so-called, was planted on the banks of the St. Lawrence. But the grand seigneurs who flourished in that region had nothing but their swords and unpeopled tracts of land to indicate their social elevation above the rest of mankind.

The early nobles of Canada, however, were not so absolute in their rights and prerogatives as were those of Europe. As time went by, the unsuitableness of the system to the social conditions of the New World became more and more apparent, and the Northern feudalism, like the similar absurd societies attempted in Virginia and Carolina, fell into desuetude. The shadow of the Canadian Feudal System remained until the middle of the present century when, in 1854, it was formally abolished by the Legislature. The seigneurs, however, received an equitable compensation for the alleged rights which they had inherited from their fathers.

The civil and military history of New France down to the year 1867 is contained in the annals of the two provinces of Ontario and Quebec. It will be recalled that, in 1629, these countries of the St. Lawrence, which until then had been the possessions of France, were for a brief period secured by England. The French had never regarded their colonies as of much importance, and at the time of the first English conquest it was seriously debated in the council of Louis XIII. whether Canada should be again accepted or be left as a burden in the hands of its conquerors. It was decided to retain the province, and by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, in 1632, the country was re-ceded to France.

The next important event in the history of the country of the St. Lawrence was the great and disastrous earthquake of 1663. The shocks began on the 5th of February, in that year, and continued until the close of summer. They are represented as having been the most severe ever experienced in the New World, at least within the historic period. The whole face of the country—such is the record of tradition—was changed by the cataclysm. Mountains sank down to the plain. Rivers disappeared, and other streams were altered in appearance. The waters took new colors, and lakes were formed in various districts. Even the course of the St. Lawrence was changed by the precipitation of two moúntains, near Three Rivers. Doubtless the traditional accounts of the disaster have been exaggerated; for the loss of life is represented as having been but trifling.

In the civil administration of these early days the French governors were the military commanders as well as the chief executives of the province. The division of Canada in the latter half of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century was threefold. The principal province was Quebec, having for its capital the city of the same name. The second was called Three Rivers, and the third Montreal. Each had its own provincial governor and local administration. The religion of the country was Catholic, and the Jesuits continued to exercise a dominant influence in the direction of affairs.

In the course of time Quebec gained a kind of supremacy over the other two colonies, and the French king established the Supreme Council of Quebec as a kind of court of final appeal for all the districts of Canada. By this Council all the royal edicts, ordinances, declarations, and letters patent issued by the king and the Parliament of France were registered and enforced. The Council was composed of the Governor, the Bishop of Quebec, five associate judges, and the king's attorney. Though the seat of the court was generally at Quebec, its sittings were sometimes held at Three Rivers, Montreal, and even less important towns. It was not long under this system of administration until a conflict occurred between the ecclesiastical and the secular branch of the government, and in some instances the Bishop proved to be sufficiently powerful to effect the deposition of the Governor.

The story of the Anglo-American invasion of Canada by Sir William Phipps, in 1690,

has already been given in the colonial history of New England. Suffice it to say that the expedition, which was specially directed against Quebec, ended in failure and disgrace. Massachusetts was obliged to meet the expenses of the ill-omened business by an issuance of paper scrip to be used as money.

To this epoch belongs the career of the great La Salle. How that adventurous explorer, with a few dauntless comrades, traversed the wooded and watery solitudes of the Northwest, solved the problem of the Mississippi, made vast plans for colonization, drew the attention of France to the possibility of an empire in Texas, and was killed while following out his purposes with tireless energy,—has already been told in a former Book. It was really the day of promise for the French in the New World; but the paralysis of Bourbonism was already upon the nation, and the English were left to gain an easy mastery in America.

In April of 1713, Louis XIV. agreed by the Treaty of Utrecht to relinquish to England Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia, together with any claims which the French might hold on the country of the Five Nations south of the St. Lawrence. By this compact the American possessions of France were restricted to the valleys of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi. It was the peculiarity of this settlement that the real points of danger of future conflicts between the rival nations in the New World were left unguarded. There was little or no attempt to define the respective American possessions of England and France. What was the valley of the St. Lawrence? What was the valley of the Mississippi? These were the questions which were left to be determined by the French and Indian War.

The causes and the course of that conflict and the final issue of the struggle have been fully narrated in the preceding pages. It is not needed in this connection to repeat the history of the struggle which, from 1756 to 1763, made havoc among the outposts of civilization in America, and was only brought to a tardy conclusion by the Treaty of Paris. In accordance with this settlement, which proved the ruin of the French in America, the English gained an undisputed territorial supremacy on the Western Continent. All the French possessions in North America eastward of the Mississippi from its source to the river Iberville, and thence through Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the Gulf of Mexico, were surrendered to Great Britain. At the same time, Spain, with whom England had been at war, ceded East and West Florida to the English Crown.

From this time forth until the outbreak of the American War of Independence, Canada had a history in common with the other English Colonies in the New World. With the coming of the Revolution, however, the destiny of the country of the St. Lawrence began to diverge widely from that of the colonies lying to the south. The latter, owing to their antecedents, became more and more hostile to the assumptions of the British crown; but the former, untouched with the spirit of Puritanism, remained loyal to England. All of the seductive and patriotic appeals, made by the incipient revolutionists of rebellious Massachusetts, availed not with the people of Canada to induce them to join in the revolt against the Mother Country. Nor did the efforts of the American patriots—a stormy work in which Arnold displayed his heroism and Montgomery lost his life—avail to move the Canadians from their steady allegiance to the English crown. As a result the Thirteen Colonies became American, and Canada remained English as before.

The transfer of the Northern Provinces, in 1763, had not essentially changed the character of the population. Most of the people still were French. They spoke the French language and adhered to the Catholic religion. From these conditions it would have been anticipated that, in case of a war with England, Canada would readily join in the rebellion. But the memory of the French and Indian War, in which the American provincials had joined with Wolfe's regulars in the invasion of Canada and the capture of her capital, was still fresh in the minds of the Northerners, and they would not affiliate with the rebel patriots of 1776.

Just before the outbreak of the Revolution, namely, in 1774, the English Parliament passed an act for the better government of Canada. It was provided that the Province

of Quebec should hereafter be under the legislative direction of a royal council of not fewer than seventeen or more than twenty-three members, to be appointed by the King. At the same time it was provided that the benefits of English law more perfectly than hitherto should be extended to the Canadians.

It appears that these salutary provisions for a better government than the people had previously enjoyed added to the spirit of loyalty which they soon afterwards displayed. In the progress of the American war, Canada not only remained true to her allegiance, but furnished an excellent basis of operations for British movements against America. It was on the St. Lawrence that the formidable expedition of Burgoyne was organized, in 1777; and from that position he bore down on the patriots until he was swallowed up by their ire at Saratoga.

The constitutional provisions made by Parliament for the government of Canada continued in force for seventeen years. In 1791, however, a change of policy was adopted, and another Parliamentary Act was passed by which the so-called Province of Quebec was divided into Upper and Lower Canada. A great concession was at the same time made to free government by the formation of a popular Assembly for each of the provinces. The upper branch of the Legislature was to consist of a Council to be appointed by the crown. The Governor also received his appointment in like manner. The latter officer had the power of veto over legislative acts, or might at any rate suspend such acts until what time the pleasure of the King should be known.

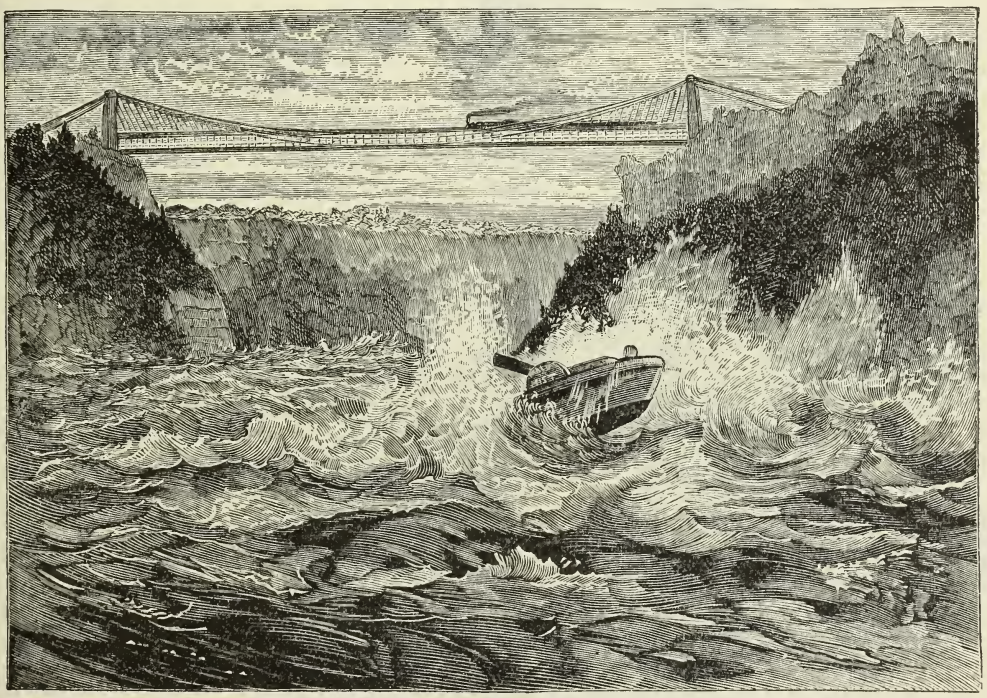
With the progress of events the Church of England had gained a firmer foothold, and the new Constitution of 1791 provided that one-seventh of the public lands should be put aside for the support of the Episcopal clergy. Almost three and a half million acres were thus set apart for the endowment of the Church. But this theory of ecclesiastical support was never fully carried out. Only a small per cent of the lands were devoted to the intended purpose. A few rectories were built and parishes laid out after the manner of England; but the Church would not flourish, and in 1854 an Act was passed by the Canadian Assembly whereby all the remaining church lands were reclaimed by the Government, and devoted to secular purposes.

The growth of British North America was not equal to the progress and development of the United States. At the close of the first quarter of the present century the population of the various provinces had hardly reached the aggregate of a million. Nevertheless, these Northern countries had held steadily on their way, and the time was now approaching when they were to acquire a greater historical prominence. That part of the country called Canada had thus far been detached in its political, industrial, and commercial relations from the maritime provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The only access of the inland country to the ocean and the world beyond was by way of the St. Lawrence; and that stream for fully five months in the year was closed to commerce. It thus happened that Canada proper was isolated and to a certain extent dependent for commercial and other intercourse on the United States.

After our War of 1812 relations of amity were soon restored on the north, and many connections were formed of friendship and interest across the border. Of the serious domestic disturbances occurring in 1837, some account has already been given in the proper place in the history of our own country. We have seen how for a while a general rebellion in Canada was threatened against the British Government; how the insurgents fortified themselves on Navy Island in Niagara River, and could not for a while be dislodged by the loyalist militia. The latter succeeded, however, in obtaining possession of the *Caroline*, the supply-ship of the rebels, set the vessel on fire, and sent her aflame over Niagara Falls, a spectacle to men. The event proved that the expectancy of the insurgents to gain a powerful support from the people of the United States was fallacious, and the movement soon collapsed. But we have not in the preceding narrative considered with any degree of fullness the circumstances which led to the revolt or the real nature of the contest.

It must be understood, in the first place, that great diversity still existed as to race, institutions, and language among the peoples of the British American provinces. Lower Canada, so-called, was filled up with people of

French descent. They preserved the manners and customs of their ancestors in a remarkable degree. The shocks to which Europe had been subjected at the close of the last century had little disturbed the society of the French Canadian countries. Indeed, had the traveler as late as the middle of the present century desired to find the best existing pictures of French Society under the Ancient Régime, he must have sought the same on the banks of the Lower St. Lawrence. In Upper Canada a very different social and political condition existed. In this province the people were of English descent, and had been developed on the same general lines with those of the approximate parts of the United States. The government of the province had all the time to be conducted with respect to these diverse conditions.



NIAGARA FALLS.

Before the close of the last century, namely, in 1791, it had been found desirable to separate Upper from Lower Canada, and to give to each State a separate government. At that time it was expected that the eastern province would continue to be French, while the other was to become wholly English. When this was done, two circumstances of importance were soon developed. The first was the multiplication of ties between the people of Upper Canada and those of the United States, and the second was the political difficulties which appeared internally in the Lower Province. In that country constant quarrels occurred between that part of the Government which received its appointment from the Crown and the popular element in the Legislative Assembly. In general, the former element desired to rule with an eye single to the supposed interests of the Mother Country, while the latter party sought, after the manner of Englishmen, to promote the local interests of the province, not much caring for the sovereign rule across the sea.

Such was the origin of that revolutionary tendency which broke out, in 1837, into open rebellion. At this time the Governor of Upper Canada was Sir Francis Head, whose method of dealing with insurrection was peculiar in the last degree. Instead of calling to his assistance the regular forces under his command, he deliberately sent them to the assistance of the authorities of Lower Canada, and publicly announced to the rebels that he intended to put them down by calling out the militia. This thing he accordingly did. The rebellion was inconsiderable from every point

of view, and the Governor easily succeeded in its suppression. For a while there was jubilation among the Loyalists, both in Canada and in England, but it soon came to be seen that Sir Francis, in his Quixotical and magniloquent method of dealing with the insurrection, had run what might have been a most serious risk. If the insurgents had been backed, as they fondly hoped, by the people of the Northern United States, the Governor would undoubtedly have been swept off his feet by the wave, and by the time he might have recovered himself the province would have been included in the American Republic! For this reason Sir Francis Head was recalled, and Lord Durham was sent out to succeed him.



EARL OF DURHAM.

The latter took with him to his Government in America Charles Buller and Edward Gibbon Wakefield as his assistants—both men of large abilities and practical common sense. On his arrival in Quebec, in May of 1838, Lord Durham sent forth a proclamation, in which he virtually assumed the office of Dictator, but at the same time *invited the colonists to assist him in establishing a new system of government.* Such was the radical character of his proceedings that opposition, both at home and abroad, sprang full-armed from the ground. The Governor published a series of ordinances, including an amnesty for political offenses. A few, however, were excepted from clemency, and transported to the Bermudas. Others were put under penalty of death in certain contingencies of disloyalty. He went on, with a high hand and an outstretched arm. Having cleared the field of those who were politically dangerous, he proceeded, without regard to law or Constitution, to institute salutary reforms. It appeared for the nonce that Lord Durham was about to become a greater revolutionist than any personage, loyal or disloyal, hitherto known in the Canadas. The Governor's integrity could not be assailed, but his methods were so arbitrary and so profoundly disturbing to the whole existing order in British North America, that the London *Times* conferred on nim the title of "Lord High Seditioner."

The great departure from established precedents, whereof Lord Durham had been guilty, was his constant solicitation to the people of the provinces to aid him in building up a fabric of British North American nationality. While himself dictatorial and arbitrary in unmeasured measure, he sought all the while to arouse and economize the political spirit and instincts of the Canadians, and in this

work he was successful. Meanwhile, however, he was recalled. The Opposition in Parliament became so clamorous that Lord Durham was about to suffer political decapitation; but he seized the emergency by the forelock, and suddenly turned it aside by returning to England and abandoning his office.

But the sequel soon began to show in his favor. A report on the whole condition of Canadian affairs, prepared under Lord Durham's direction, by his assistants Buller and Wakefield, was given to the public, and with that report the nationality of the Canadas may be said to have begun. The people of Great Britain had thrust upon them the demonstration of their own ignorance and mistaken policies relative to the condition, prospects, and management of the North American provinces. Though Lord Durham himself went down under the political storm, and presently died in the Isle of Wight, he lived to see an Act going through Parliament for the reunion of Upper and Lower Canada on the exact basis suggested by himself. Indeed, from that time forth, namely, from the year 1840, the whole progressive development of the Canadian dominions has been on the lines indicated by the stormy and rash reformer, whom the British Government sent out for the rule of its American colonies in 1838.

While the reforms suggested by Durham began to take root in the British Government, the movement in the same direction took its own natural course in Canada. As a general fact, the administration of Great Britain had been wise enough to learn the true lesson from such disturbances as those which occurred on the Canadian border in 1837. The slow-going and conservative political intelligence of England profits much by each fierce ordeal and agitation to which it is subjected, and after each shock it arises to a clearer apprehension of the rights of man. The Canadian revolt led, in 1841, to a peaceful revolution in the local administration of the province, by which the Council, or Upper House of the Legislature, was virtually subordinated to the popular Assembly. The movement was so important as to have been with good reason likened to the English Revolution of 1688. From this time forth the Government of the Canadas became, in large measure, directly responsible to the people.

The fifth decade in Canadian history was a sort of intermediate period or middle ages, in which there were few important events. The administration of Lord Elgin, however, was noted for the successful negotiation of a treaty of reciprocity between British America and the United States. The Earl of Elgin became Governor-General of the Province in 1846, and contributed much by his abilities and experience as a statesman to the progress of Canada in her civil and political affairs. By the terms of the treaty, to which we have referred, it was agreed that the Canadians should have free competition in the American market with the products of the United States.

While the disposition was shown to punish those who had engaged in the recent insurrec-



LORD ELGIN.

tion, the rigors of the Administration were soon relaxed, and in 1849 an act of general amnesty was passed by the Assembly. The same year witnessed a serious riot in Montreal, which, by the Act of Union of 1840, had become the joint capital of Upper and Lower Canada. It had been proposed—indeed a measure was now pending to this effect—that the losses which certain loyal parties had suffered in the revolt of 1837–38, should be compensated out of the public treasury. Angered at this proceeding, a great mob rose in arms, and attacked and destroyed the Parliament House in Montreal. The Legislature retired from the city, and for a while the sessions of the body were held for alternate quadrenniums at Toronto and Quebec. It became a serious question what place should be chosen for the

permanent seat of government. Many important cities—among them Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, and Toronto—claimed the distinction. As frequently happens in such cases, it was found expedient to compromise by the choice of some other place than any of those so eagerly competitive. In 1858 the whole question was referred to the Queen, who selected Ottawa as the capital. The name of this city had, until 1854, been Bytown, a place of inconsiderable importance, but now found to be in every respect desirable for the new seat of government. The years between 1858 and 1865—at which date the first session of Parliament was opened in Ottawa—were occupied with the preparation of the new capital. Fine public buildings, equal in expensiveness and architectural taste to most of the similar structures in Europe, were there erected, and have since continued to be used as the seat of general administration, first, for the United Canadas, and afterwards for the new Confederated Dominion.

The success of the experiment of the union of Upper and Lower Canada soon suggested the larger enterprise of the confederation of all the Northern Provinces. The movement in this direction, upon an account of which we are now to enter, was a part of that general tendency peculiar to the mood of our century, which seems to require the formation of large imperial consolidated States out of the smaller independencies and local political structures of the past. We have already had occasion to comment on this tendency as illustrated among the great Powers of Europe. We have seen how the disrupted Italian principalities have become United Italy, and how the petty German States, unnamable and numberless, have, by the processes of war and revolution, been molded into the Empire. We have seen how, in our own country, the somewhat indeterminate *Staatenbund* which we inherited from our fathers has become the *Bundestaat*, or Integral Union of imperial proportions. We are now about to witness the very same transformation taking place in the British American Provinces on our northern border.

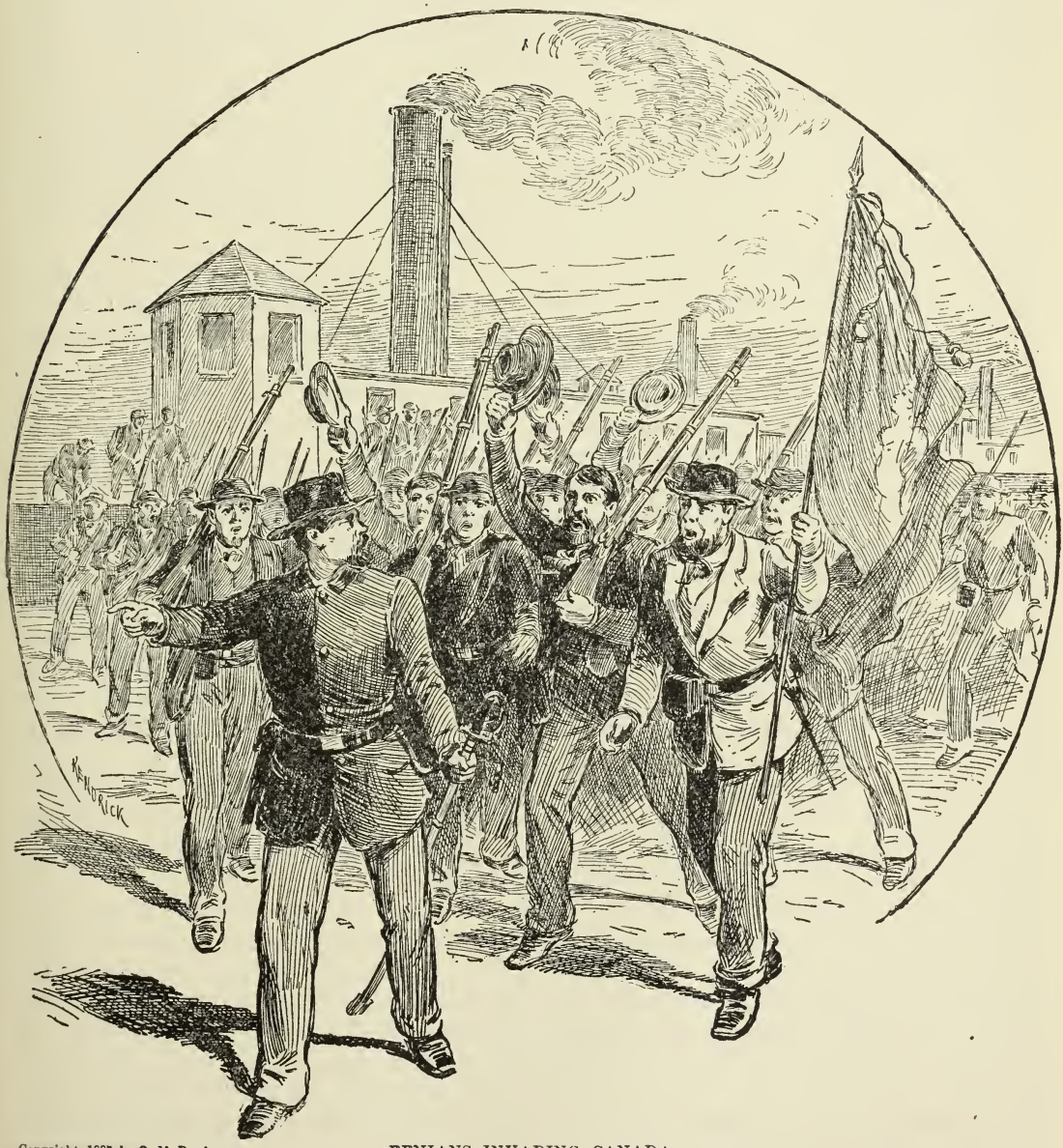
The sentiment of union was a growth. As early as 1810 a formal scheme for the consolidation of the provinces was put forward and discussed among the people of the North. Four years afterwards Chief Justice Sewell, of Quebec, became an advocate of provincial confederation, and to this end drew up and sent to the Duke of Kent, father of Victoria, an elaborate scheme of union. In 1827 the question was agitated for the first time in the Assembly of Upper Canada, at which time the project for the union, first of all of the two Canadas, and afterwards, more widely, of all the provinces, was debated with spirit. The issue reäppeared in the troublous times of the rebellion of 1837, and it is not improbable that Lord Durham found in the existence of such a sentiment, both the suggestion and the reason of his administrative policy.

As usual in such cases, the movement for confederation proceeded slowly, cautiously, tentatively. We have already seen how, within two years after Lord Durham's withdrawal, the actual work began by the union of the two principal States under the name of the Province of Canada. Now it was that the capital was fixed at Ottawa. Upper Canada became Ontario, and Lower Canada the Province of Quebec. The success of the movement justified it, and suggested the improvement and the expansion of the system. For several years the project of a more elaborate union was in gestation. Such intervals are peculiar to the history of all the English-speaking peoples. They accomplish somewhat, and then rest for a season, as if to watch the results of the experiment, to test and verify the slight advance before moving forward to the larger enterprise.

To this period belongs the event of the Fenian invasion. Of that movement a full account has already been given in the history of Great Britain. It was in 1866 that the proposed conquest of Canada by an Irish army out of the United States reached its climax and broke at length into—smoke. It can not be doubted that the American Fenians were in great force. Their drill-halls had been established in almost every city and town of the Northern States. They had a fair supply of arms, and the animosity of the insurgents was sufficient for the undertaking. Viewed philosophically, we might say that the movement was doomed to failure by the fact that Irish zeal generally reaches the heat of fight, but not the fire of battle. The Irish, under

competent leadership, make great soldiers, but as a rule, their insurrections have about them the suggestion of clubs and pitchforks rather than swords and cannon. In the present case, the Fenian forces at last gathered on the Niagara frontier. A company of the most daring crossed the river on the night of the 31st of May, 1866. The "invasion" was fairly begun; Fort Erie was taken by the adventurers, who held their ground for a day, when they were obliged to recede. The vigorous action of the Government of the United States made it impossible for the Fenians to use our territory as a base of operations against Canada, while the Canadians themselves rallied against the point assailed, and the invaders were scattered or taken, condemned and shot.

It remained for the year 1867 to witness the evolution into the historical foreground of the Dominion of Canada, being a Confederative system of Imperial government on an enlarged scale for the whole of the British American countries. The question had in the mean time received much attention in the Parliament of Great Britain. The scheme was brought to maturity in a bill prepared by



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FENIANS INVADING CANADA.

Lord Carnarvon, Secretary for the Colonies, for the Confederation of the North American Provinces of the British Empire. The measure was the virtual embodiment of the plan proposed by Lord Durham nineteen years previously. In the interim public opinion had changed. The author and first great promoter of the work was long since dead, but the statesmen of England had come at length to occupy his ground and advocate his principles of government.

The act of 1867 provided that the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, along with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, should be united in a confederated government, under the name of the Dominion of Canada. There was to be in the new system, first of all, a Federal Parliament corresponding to the English Parliament, or, still more closely, to the American Congress. The new Canadian governing body was to consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The former body was to be composed of seventy-two members, with life-tenure of office—twenty-four members from Quebec and Ontario respectively, and twelve each from the two maritime provinces—to be nominated by the Governor-General, under the great seal of Canada. The House of Commons was, in its constitution and prerogatives and methods, to correspond almost exactly with our American House of Representatives. The members of the Canadian House—one hundred and eighty-one in number—were to be elected by the people of the respective provinces on the basis of one member for every seventeen thousand of the inhabitants. In one respect the analogy was with the British House of Commons; for the Parliamentary term was fixed at five years, being thus a compromise between the septennial term in the British Parliament and the biennial term in the American House. The executive office was vested in the Crown of Great Britain, but was to be practically represented by a Governor-General appointed by the sovereign. Though there was great profession of conforming the whole system to the Constitution of Great Britain, it could but be seen between the lines that the great Confederative Government thus established was, out of the historical and political necessities of the situation, modeled almost entirely after the American Republic. Certainly the new Government could not be called a monarchy. Certainly it was in its essence a federative system. Certainly the different provinces corresponded almost exactly with the States of the American Union. The whole administrative scheme was virtually the analogue of our Presidency and Congressional system. The rights of the provinces, their peculiar systems of legislation and jurisprudence, were respected, and the theory of the Government as a whole was to confine the work of Parliament to strictly national questions, leaving all local issues to the determination of the Provincial Legislatures as before.

The same principle followed by the American Republic of admitting new members into the Union was made organic in the Constitution of Canada. The consolidation included at first only Ontario and Quebec—the two original Canadas—with the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. But the door was thrown wide open for all the rest. In 1870 the Province of Manitoba was organized, and came in after the style with which the American people are so familiar. In the following year British Columbia and Vancouver's Island were admitted to the Confederation, and this was followed, in 1873, by the admission of Prince Edward Island. In course of time all of the British North American dependencies, with the single exception of Newfoundland, were united in the common system. The Dominion of Canada, considered as a governmental expedient, was completely successful.

We have just spoken of the admission of Manitoba into the Canadian Union. The great Province so called, lying hard against our Minnesota and Dakota on the north, was constructed out of what had been the territory of the Hudson Bay Company. The charter of this great organization dated back two hundred years, having been issued hy Charles II. The company now agreed to surrender its claim to the Dominion, and the sum of a million five hundred thousand dollars was fixed as the price of purchase. Perhaps no history, except that of the British East India Company, furnishes an example of so successful a corporation. The monopoly of Northern furs, with the sole and absolute government of the vast

regions from which the same were gathered, was held for two centuries on condition that the British King and his successors, whenever they might choose to enter the territories of the company, should receive a present of "two elks and two black beavers," and was finally resold to the Government for three hundred thousand pounds! The Briton has thrift.

We may here properly proceed to consider the political development of Canada with respect to her great territories. The work has gone forward in almost precise analogy to that with which we are familiar in the United States. While the people of the American Republic were celebrating the Centennial Anniversary of their Independence, the Canadian Parliament was beginning its great work of political organization in the North-west. First of all, the country lying immediately north of Manitoba was organized into the district of Kewatin. The act provided in the usual way for the definition of the territory and for the extension of civil government over it. The population at this time, as it has continued to be, was exceedingly sparse, and the new region was scarcely half reclaimed from its original barbarism. But the confederative impulse was strong, and the Parliament, after the manner of the American Congress, made adequate provision for futurity.

The question of extending political organization still further to the west and north was renewed from time to time, until in 1882 the whole of the North-west Territories felt the impact of the British Canadian hand. By an order in Council of that year, the north-western territories of the Dominion were divided into four new districts, preparatory to political government. The first of these, with an area of ninety-five thousand square miles, received the name of Assiniboia. The Territory is bounded on the south by the United States, on the east by Manitoba, on the north by the fifty-second parallel of north latitude, and on the west by the meridian of 110½° west from Greenwich. The second Territory, containing a hundred and fourteen thousand square miles, was called Sakatchewan. It lies on the north of Assiniboia, and west of Lake Winnipeg and the River Nelson. The third district, called Alberta, having an area of a hundred thousand square miles, has for its boundary on the east Assiniboia, on the west British Columbia, on the south the United States. The fourth and last Territory, containing a hundred and twenty-two thousand square miles, was named Athabasca, which embraces in general the north-western portion of the great region under consideration. The Canadian Government has thus, after the American manner, and with British energy, laid its hand upon a region as large in area, and almost as wonderful in resources, and in every possibility of the future, as are our own dominions beyond the Rockies.

Meanwhile, the process of development, political, civil, industrial, has gone on rapidly, or at least steadily, under the auspices of the confederated Government. Canada can no longer be disregarded in the family of nations. According to the census of 1871, the population of the Dominion proper had risen to more than three million five hundred thousand, while Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island added a quarter of a million to the aggregate. At the present day the population has undoubtedly surpassed four millions, and is steadily increasing. Every element of nationality appears in vigorous growth. The geographical and commercial situation is by no means so unfavorable as might be reckoned at first glance. The magnificent St. Lawrence reaches far to the interior, and though closed during the winter months, it furnishes for the rest of the year a commodious all-water line into the Atlantic, and thence to all the world. Commercial relations with the United States have become vast and beneficial. Meanwhile, the railway development has gone steadily forward. The Canadian Pacific Railway, though built in piecemeal fashion, has reached the Pacific, so that there is no longer either isolation or weakness from a commercial point of view.

As to civil administration, there is little to be desired. In fact, the Canadian Government is not far removed from a model. It has been evolved from many experiences and conditions, the full consideration of which might well fill a volume. On the whole, there has been constant progress towards independence. The Canadians have been loyal to Great Britain. Superficially, there have been

many professions of attachment to the British crown. At no time has there been more than a small party desirous of absolute separation from the British Empire. On the other hand, a great majority of the Canadians have been and become favorable and still more favorable in their political dispositions to the *practical* independence of their country.

Many grave questions have arisen in this connection, the solution of which has as yet been but partly effected. One perilous situation was that in which the Dominion found itself in the critical days of the American Civil War. It will be remembered how nearly the United States and Great Britain came to drawing the sword. In that event, what would have become of Canada? Her whole border lay open to American invasion. Doubtless she would not have desired to fight. Doubtless the people of the United States would not have desired to make war on Canada. But the crisis was severe. Though the Canadians would bravely have defended themselves, though the conquest of their country would not have been an easy task, it can hardly be doubted that the powerful armies of the United States would have wrought havoc with the rising nationality on the north. Fortunately for civilization and humanity, the peril went by. Fortunately, nothing more serious than petty quarrels about the fisheries and other local interests are the worst that have troubled the perfect amity of our two countries. Fortunately, the people of both have come to a practical understanding that they have virtually a common destiny to be pursued and found along lines of almost perfect parallelism. It may well be believed that the strong links and weavings by which the selvages of these two powerful and progressive peoples are already bound together can not be rent or torn asunder.

In recent years several circumstances have occurred illustrative of the ever-enlarging autonomy of the Canadian Government and of the diminishing influence of Great Britain in the civil affairs of British North America. A single instance may serve to show the tendency towards independence. In March of 1878, M. Luc Letellier, at that time Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec, fell into serious trouble with his Ministry. De Boucherville, the Premier, though still supported by a majority of the House, was unceremoniously removed from office. It was claimed by the Lieutenant-Governor that De Boucherville was conducting the Government at his own option, with little regard to the wishes of the Executive—as though such were not the fundamental principle of the British Constitution! Letellier appointed another Prime Minister; but the latter was unable to command a majority in the House, and, therefore, the Government stood suddenly still, after the British manner.

Hereupon a petition, asking for the removal of Letellier, was addressed to the Marquis of Lorne, Governor-General of the Dominion. The latter refused to grant the petition, on the ground that it was his own prerogative to remove or not remove a Lieutenant-Governor, at his discretion. The question was carried to Great Britain, and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Secretary for the Colonies, returned for answer, that the Marquis of Lorne should accept the counsel of his Ministers in the matter of removing Letellier from office. The concession on the part of the Imperial Government was extraordinary, since it seemed to take from the Governor-General one of his few remaining prerogatives. It has been said by a British historian that the removal of Letellier was equivalent to the abrogation of "the last pretension of England to rule her North American Colonies."

The recurrence of such questions concerning the relations of the Imperial Government and that of the Dominion has evoked much discussion and brought out the expression of many statesmen-like views on the part of the Canadians. Prominent among the publicists of the Dominion stands the name of Honorable John George Bourinot, Clerk of the Canadian Parliament. More, perhaps, than any other writer of our day, has he brought to the attention of English and American readers the true essentials in this great national and international inquiry. Bourinot has urged upon the attention of Great Britain that one of three destinies is inevitably before the Dominion of Canada. The first of these is annexation to the United States. In this event, the ties between the Imperial Government and Canada would be cut, and the

Canadian Provinces would be admitted as States in the American Union. The transformation would involve the acceptance, by the people of the North, of not only the garment but the name of Republicanism. The second possibility is complete independence. This, as in the other case, would involve the snapping of the last political tie between Great Britain and Canada. But what of the ship thus cut loose from its moorings? Monarchy, republic, principality, or what? A second transformation of some kind would lie immediately beyond. The third destiny which Bourinot has outlined is, that of Imperial Federation, by which is meant the consolidation of the Dominion with the British Empire. It would imply the assumption on the part of the British Government of vast obligations with respect to Canada, and, on her part, of equally vast obligations to the home Government. The scheme implies a greater nearness and unity than exist at present in the relations of Great Britain and her dependency. The system proposed would involve the sending of members from Canada to the British House of Commons. It would imply a common Imperial legislation for the whole Empire, of which Canada is a part. It would signify that the latter is to become integral in the vast system of British Empire. It is the *detached condition* of Canada which the author referred to believes impossible of continuance.



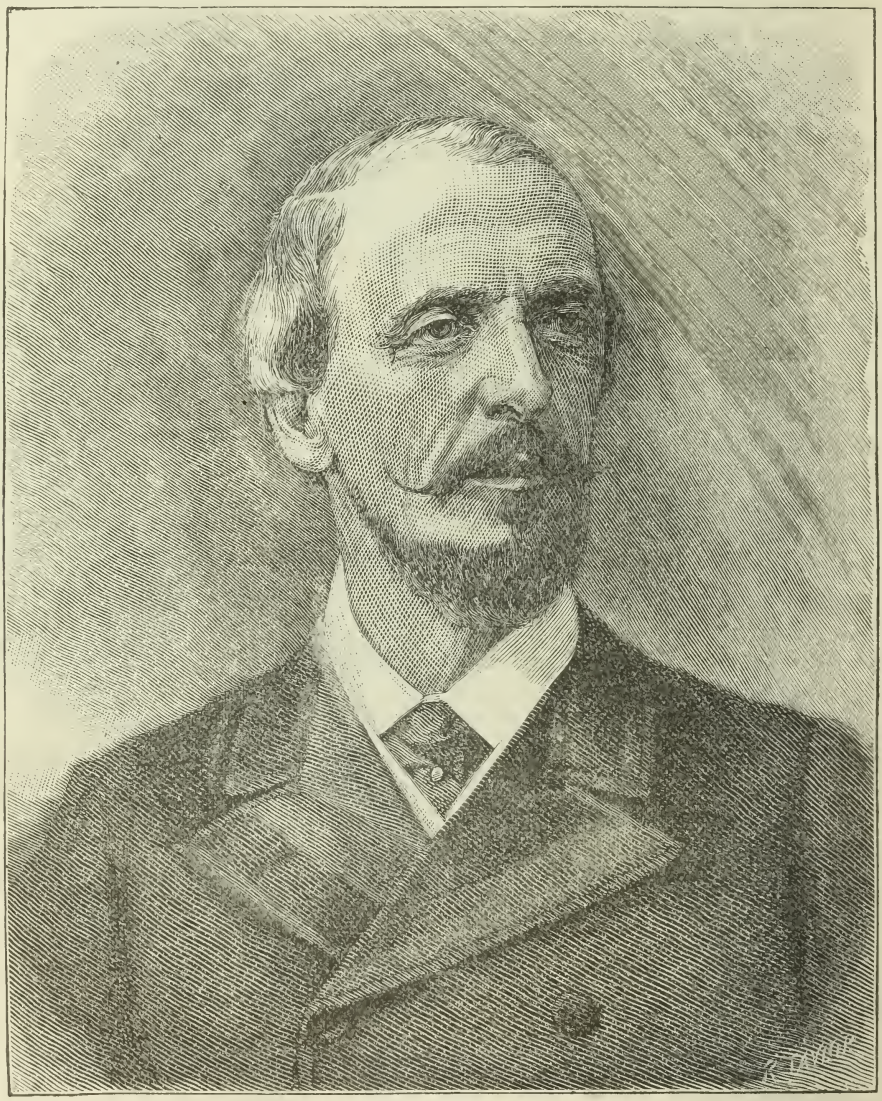
MARQUIS OF LORNE.

Many difficulties might arise under the proposal here discussed. Could Canada, so nearly independent as she is, recede by mergement into the British Empire without grief and injury to herself? As to the House of Lords, could a peerage like that of England be instituted in British America? Would not such a fact be an anachronism and an impossibility on this side of the Atlantic? Still, it may be freely confessed that the scheme of Imperial Federation has much to recommend it to the consideration of not only the Canadians themselves, but of all thinkers and statesmen everywhere.

The first of the two great Administrations in the Dominion was that of the Earl of Dufferin, beginning in 1872, and ending in

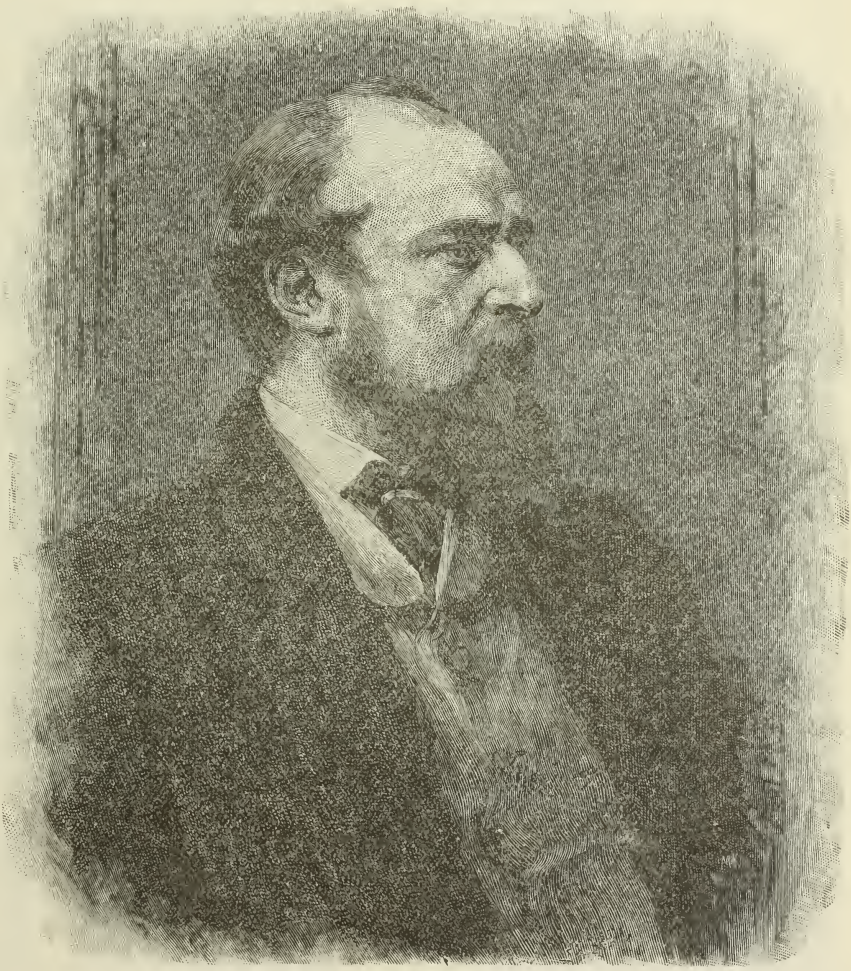
1878. At the latter date the term of Earl Dufferin expired, and he was succeeded by the Marquis of Lorne, son-in-law of the Queen. The Administration of Dufferin had been one of great popularity with the Canadians, and he left the country with every mark of appreciation and esteem. The coming of the Marquis of Lorne in his stead was welcomed with enthusiasm. From the time of his arrival at Halifax, until he reached the seat of Government, by way of Quebec and Montreal, he was greeted with a continuous ovation. We have seen how, shortly afterwards, his Administration, or at least his popularity, received a shock by his policy relative to the dismissal of the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec.

Meanwhile, Canada had taken on the regular moods and methods of British and American politics. There was a division of parties into Liberal and Conservative, and a struggle between the two for power. The elections became exciting. The contest of 1878 was notable for its vehemence and antagonisms. A general depression in business had preceded, and the Liberal party, then in power and professing the principles of Free Trade, was charged by the Conservatives with the commercial disasters which had fallen upon the country. Canada became almost as much



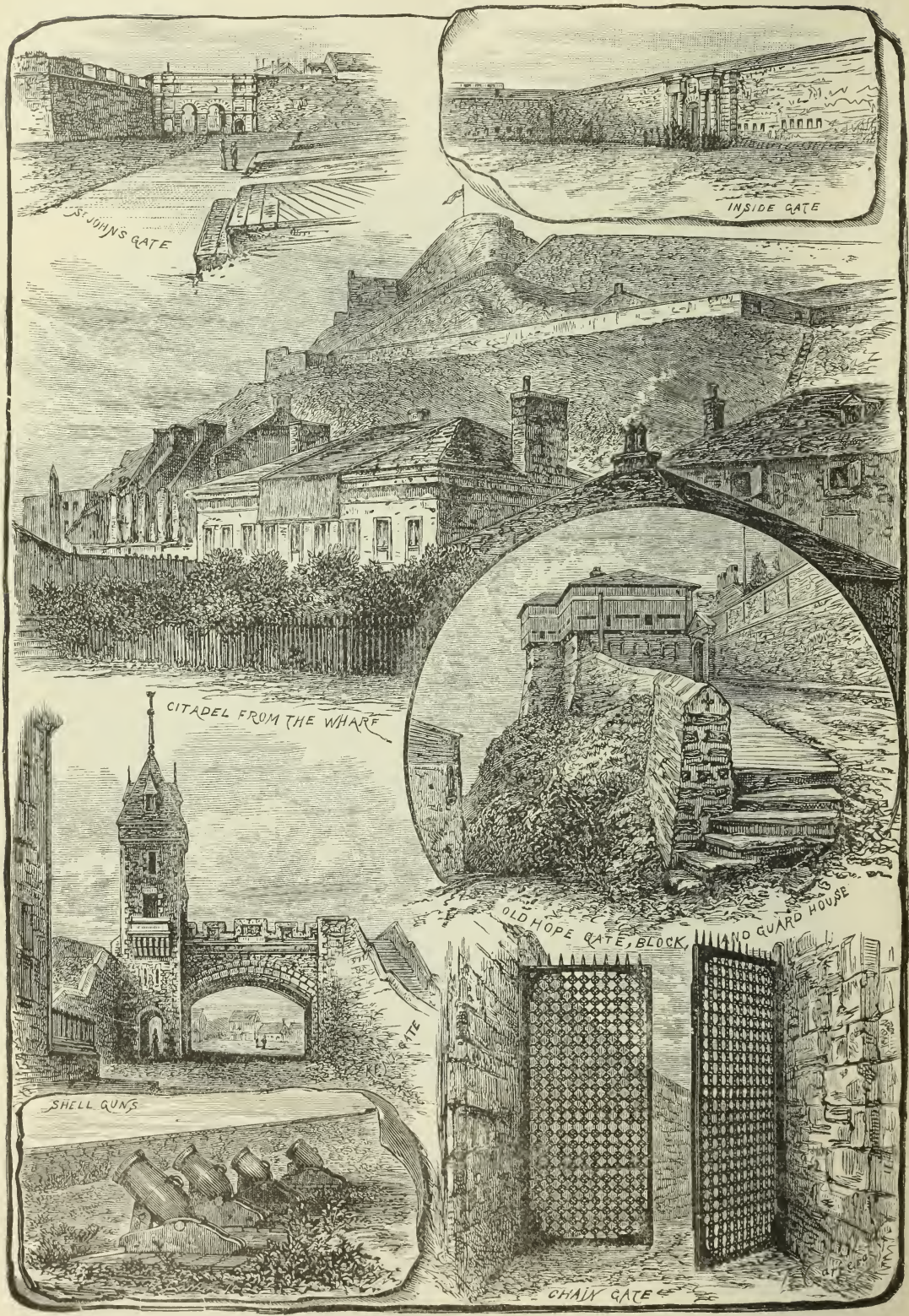
LORD DUFFERIN.

shaken with the contest between Free Trade and Protection, as opposing theories of political economy, as have the United States in more recent years. The Liberals stoutly defended themselves and their system; but the distress of the country told in favor of the Opposition, and the Conservatives came out with a large majority. The Mackenzie Ministry was overthrown, and a new Cabinet was constituted, with Sir John A. Macdonald as Prime Minister. The Government took on a strong Conservative complexion, which continued during the greater part of Lorne's Administration. It was in the year to which we have just referred that a difficulty of considerable proportions arose between the fishermen of Newfoundland and those of the United States, which resulted in a serious diplomatical correspondence between the two Governments.



SIR JOHN ALEXANDER MACDONALD.

If we pause to glance at the internal development of the Dominion we shall find many evidences of progress and promise. The cities of the North have increased in population and importance. The population of Quebec, that ancient and picturesque stronghold, consecrated by so many heroic memories out of the early days, has risen to sixty-five thousand. Many of the streets and public buildings of the city—her commercial, educational, and civil institutions—have been improved and brought to a high degree of interest and proficiency. Here may be seen the Laval University, dating from 1663; also, many Protestant schools, asylums, churches, and benevolent institutions. Here, on the historic Plains of Abraham, are the memorials of that great conflict by which the destinies of France and England in the New World were determined. Here may be seen, by the St. Foye road, the bronze statue and iron pillar sent by Prince Napoleon Bonaparte to commemorate the deeds of the men of 1760. Here, also, the eye, seeking for the site of the old chateau of St. Louis, will discover in its place the beautiful Dufferin Terrace, fourteen hundred feet in length, and two hundred feet above the level of the river. The gates of St. Louis, of Kent, and St. Johns will attract the eye by their massiveness and beauty. The



CITADEL AND RAMPARTS OF QUEBEC.

stately Parliamentary and other public buildings on the Grand Allée will interest the traveler, even him who has visited the principal European and American capitals.

As for Montreal, with her nearly one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, she stands easily at the head of the Canadian cities. Like Quebec, she has a history extending to the first half of the seventeenth century. Mount Royal, rising behind the city, still preserves the name which was given by the early French adventurers to their primitive village. On the summit of the mountain, embracing an area of four hundred and thirty acres, lies the Public Park, from which a view of the valley of the St. Lawrence and the surrounding country may be obtained. The river at this place is nearly two miles in breadth. The city is built upon a succession of terraces, rising from the stream, each terrace marking what was, perhaps, of old time a bed of the river. The St. Lawrence is here spanned by the Victoria Bridge, a tubular iron structure of great strength and durability. The St. Louis Rapids, just above, constitute the virtual limit of up-river navigation in the St. Lawrence.



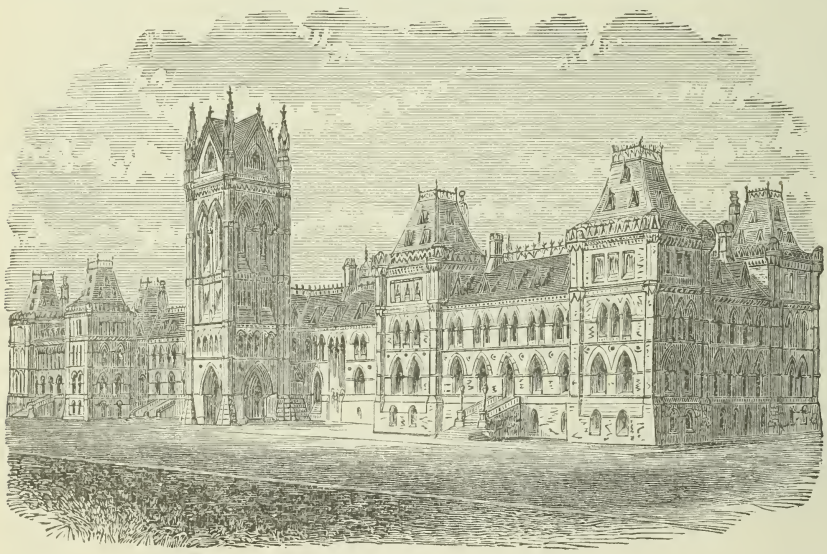
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.

Of the structures of Quebec, one of the most noted is the Metropolitan Cathedral, on the plan of St. Peter's at Rome. The Hôtel Dieu was founded as early as 1644, as a hospital, and at the present time the patients admitted number three thousand annually. The City Hall is an object of much interest, and the Court-house is one of the most classical structures in the Canadian Dominion. The great building of the Bonsecours Market, surmounted by a fine dome, is one of the most prominent objects of the city. Among educational institutions McGill College holds a prominent place. Many denominational schools flourish under the patronage of Protestant Churches. The city as a whole has an appearance of picturesqueness and an air of commercial enterprise, which at once delight and interest the traveler.

Toronto, the capital of Ontario, is, after Montreal, the largest city in the Dominion. The population increased from forty-five thousand in 1861 to eighty-six thousand in 1881, and it is believed that a current census would give an enumeration of over one hundred and twenty-five thousand. Less beautifully situated than Quebec and Montreal, Toronto has nevertheless much to recommend it, not only commercially, but as an attractive place of residence. It is doubtful indeed whether either of the rival cities is its equal in commercial thrift and promise. It is the seat of the Provincial Government and of the official residences of Ontario. The old Parliament buildings were long occupied by the Provincial Legislature, but the same have recently given place to newer and finer structures. Queen's Park has been devoted to the new buildings; and on the west of these beautiful grounds stands the University College and the School of Practical Science. The institution as a whole is under the patronage of the State, and is supported by funds gathered from the public. The conduct of the University is strictly secular; the curriculum is ample, and the training given equal to that of first-class universities in Europe. Several other colleges, mostly under patronage of religious denominations, are asso-

ciated with the University and subordinate to it as a center. The industries, such as manufactories, mills, breweries, etc., are in a flourishing condition, and the rich agricultural region with which the city is backed, contributes much to its prosperity.

Of Ottawa, the capital of the Dominion, something has already been said. It is distant from Montreal a hundred and twenty miles. The site was chosen on the banks of the Ottawa River, at the Chaudière Falls, where a village was planted, in the year 1800. About the close of the third decade the hamlet was enlarged, and received the name of Bytown, in honor of Colonel By. We have seen how, in 1858, the Queen settled the controversies



PARLIAMENT HOUSE OF OTTAWA.

and rivalries of the Canadian cities by selecting Ottawa—so called after 1854—as the capital of the Province of Canada. Nine years afterwards the city was able to hold its place as the seat of government for the new Dominion.

The last few years have been noted for several important events in the history of Canada. In 1885 the Macdonald Ministry won a victory over the Opposition in Parliament with respect to the Franchise Bill. The principal feature of this measure was the extension of the right of suffrage to the Indians of all the British American Provinces, with the exception of Columbia and the North-west Territory. The experiment was undoubtedly radical and not without suspicion as to its prime motive. Most of the Canadian Indians at this time lived on reservations, which were governed by agents sent out for that purpose. These agents must necessarily wield a great influence on the half-savage natives under their authority. It was claimed by the Opposition that the enfranchisement of the Indians was intended to fill the hands of the Government with the ballots of an enfranchised but ignorant people, who could be used to maintain the party in power to the detriment of good government. At the same time, the Franchise Bill contained a clause by which the property qualification for the suffrage in some of the elder Provinces was increased, to the hurt of the democratic principle. It happened that the bill, thus reäctionary and oppressive in some of its provisions, was finally passed on the significant Fourth of July — a circumstance with which the Opposition twitted the Ministry with satirical references to the bad use to which the day of American Independence had been put.

Early in the same year occurred the Riel Rebellion, so called from the name of its leader, the insurgent Riel. The movement had its origin and took its force from certain French sympathies still existing in the Dominion. Louis Riel was a half-blood French Canadian. For nearly twenty years he had been a turbulent spirit in the Provinces. Before the Act of Federation he drifted to the North-west, and established himself in Manitoba, at this time a part of the territories of the Hudson Bay Company. Here he became a recognized leader among the scattered Europeans, the half-breeds, and the Indians of the remote frontier. When Manitoba was organized, and the Government surveyors first penetrated the country preparatory to throw-

ing the public lands on the market, they found the inhabitants already in occupation, and little disposed to be disturbed in their settlements. The difficulty became serious, and in 1869 Riel headed an insurrection against the authorities. The rebellion was presently suppressed, and the controversy was terminated by conceding to the claimants of the lands three quarter-sections each. Riel was banished from the Provinces for the period of five years.

Sixteen years went by, and in March of 1885 a difficulty of the very same kind and headed by the same leader broke out in the North-west. The countries affected in this instance by the insurrection were Alberta and Saskatchewan. The scene of the insurrection was about five hundred miles distant to the north and west from the place of the former disturbance in Manitoba. The Dominion Government had by this time brought with it the machinery of party, and the same was in full operation. The Opposition to the Macdonald Ministry did not hesitate to give a certain kind of moral sympathy and support to the insurgents. It was urged that the settlers of the far North-west, the brave pioneers who had penetrated the bleak wilderness as the forerunners of civilization, were about to be ousted from their homes, and that the frontier revolt had in it many elements of justice. The Half-Breed settlers and many Indians gathered to the standard of Riel, and the rebellion put on a bold front. The Government forces were thrown forward, and in the spring of 1885 considerable fighting occurred between the militia on one side and the insurrectionists on the other.

It was not until the middle of May that Riel was captured by the troops under General Middleton and an end put to the rebellion. About a week later the Indian leader, Poundmaker, was taken, and his force of about two thousand men dispersed. The insurrection was at an end, but the very serious question remained as to what should be done with Riel. Much sympathy was excited for him and his cause, especially among the French element of the Canadian people. Some of the great American newspapers took up the question, and urged upon the Canadian Government the policy of clemency towards the rebel leader and his accomplices. The Macdonald Ministry found that they had on their hands what would in American parlance be known as an *elephant*. Sir John and the party in power took the ground that Riel must now be visited with the extreme penalty of the law. He was accordingly brought to trial on a charge of treason, rebellion, and murder; was convicted, condemned, and on the 16th of November, 1885, was hanged at Regina.

At the time of his death Riel was forty-one years of age. He was the son of an intrepid hunter, who had intermarried with an Indian woman, of which union the rebel leader was born. He was a man well educated, having been instructed in his youth at Mary's College, Montreal. For a while he had acted as a professor in an institution under the control of the Jesuits. His execution produced much excitement in Canada, and engendered the bitterest feelings among the descendants of the French. At Montreal there was danger of a serious upheaval. The students of the colleges paraded the streets cheering for Riel and his cause, and in the evening mass-meetings were held in the city. Other executions followed, but the greater part of the remaining sentences were commuted to milder forms of punishment.

The year 1886 was noted for the revival of trouble between Canada and the United States relative to the fisheries. It would seem that this question is interminable. The two nations having once adopted the principle that legislation, treaty, and contrivance instead of natural laws are the proper means of regulating industrial intercourse, could but proceed to amend and reämend the existing laws and compacts, but were never able to prevent the recurrence of troubles between the fishermen of the two countries. One of the clauses of the Treaty of 1818 forbade the fishermen of the United States to trade on shore with the merchants of Canada and Newfoundland, in the way of purchasing bait, ice, and other articles having immediate respect to the fisherman's work. Such articles the Canadians and Newfoundlanders desired to sell, and such the Americans desired to buy; but the treaty stipulation lay as a bar to this kind of intercourse.

As always happens in such cases, law-breaking, intrigue, and smuggling ensued. The

American fishermen persisted in going ashore to buy, and the Canadians persisted in selling the forbidden bait. The authorities of the Dominion, in the interest of the fisheries monopoly, complained to the American Government, and more rigorous measures were adopted to prevent the fishermen of the United States from purchasing supplies on shore. Hereupon tradesmen of Newfoundland and Canada became the transgressors. Having the contraband articles for sale, they adopted the plan of putting them in canoes and smacks, and paddling out from shore beyond the limits of a marine league, that is, to the high sea, where all trade is free, and there engaged in the interdicted commerce. It thus became necessary for the Government of the Dominion to direct its restrictions to its own subjects. But the combined endeavor of both nations could not avail to extinguish the illicit commerce.

In the meantime, the spirit of reciprocity has begun to prevail between Canada and the United States. On the whole, a feeling of perfect amity and cordial good-will has supervened, and the difficulties that occasionally fret the maritime borders of the two great States are sinking to the level of commercial squabbles, which are better ignored than magnified.

Ever and anon the question of the annexation of Canada is revived by the American people; and it may be fairly confessed that each renewal of the agitation has tended to a more favorable entertainment of the project. Canada is capable of independence. She is also capable of that Imperial Federation which we have above described as the most probable destiny before her. She is also capable, should she so elect, to cast in her destinies with those of the American Republic; and in that event her people would find a cordial welcome and glorious opportunities of expansion into the higher forms of power under the ægis of the American Constitution. In any event Canada has her future, and the voice of history out of the great sisterhood of States bracing her southern borders can but give her all hail and benediction.

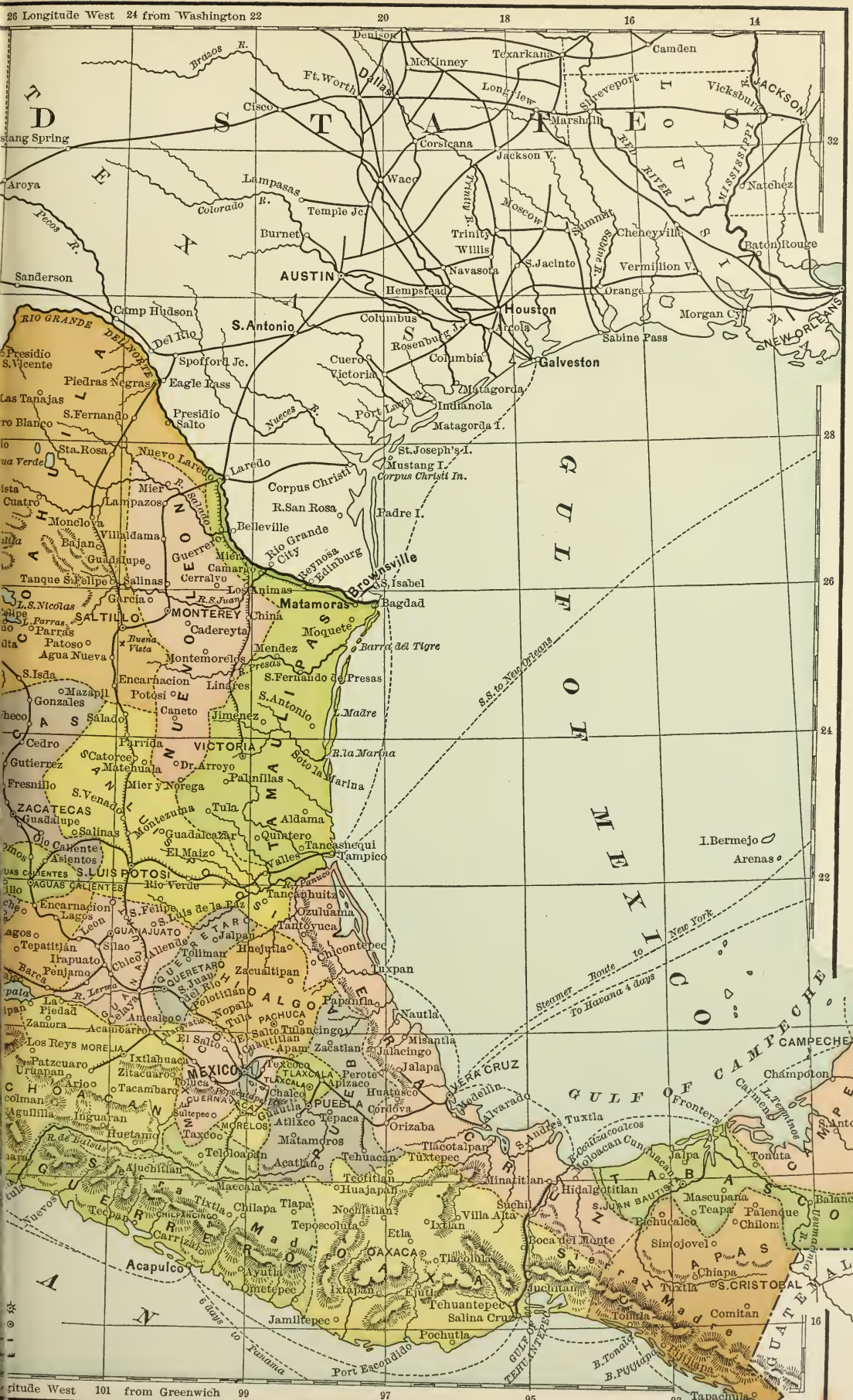
CHAPTER CLIII.—MEXICO.

WE may now glance from the North to the South, from the St. Lawrence to the Rio Grande, from Canada to Mexico, from the land of the French explorers to the land of the Montezumas. Different in every respect is the civilization which we are now to consider. Of the condition of Mexico in the time of Cortez, and of the wars in which the native subjects of Montezuma engaged, in the fierce struggle which ensued for the mastery of the country, a sketch has been given in the preceding Volume. Nor is it appropriate in this connection to enter into a dissertation on the manners, customs, and institutions of the ancient Mexicans.

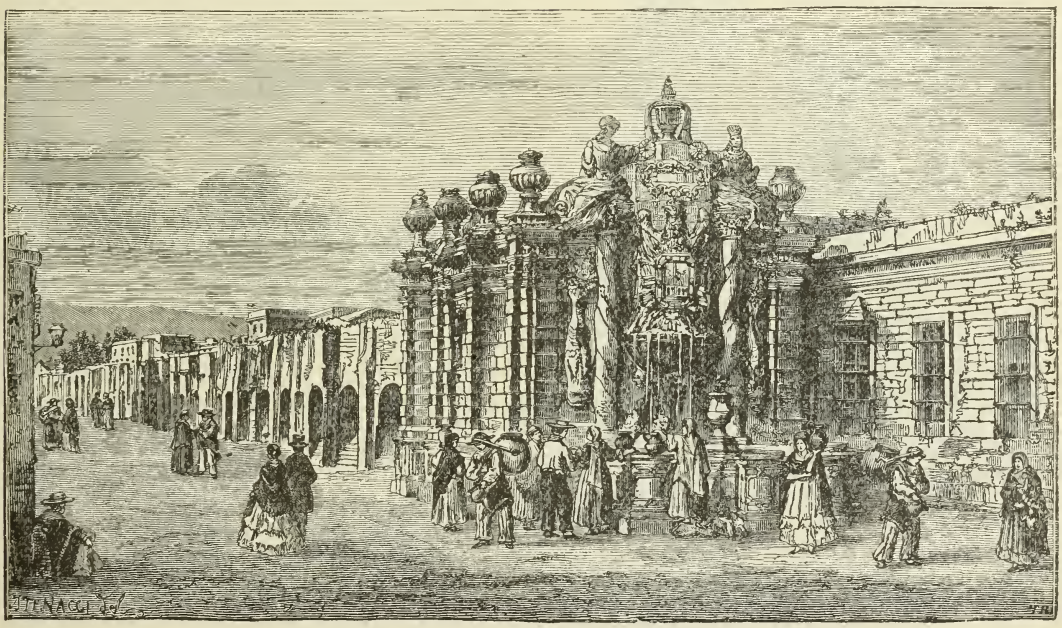
The first regular government in New Spain was established in 1522, under Cortez himself. Six years later a new administration was instituted under Nuño de Guzman. The arbitrary exactions of this Governor, whose practices were tyrannical in the last degree, produced so great discontent among the Spanish colonies that the mutterings reached the ears of Charles V., and Guzman was displaced to make room for a vice-regal government, which the Emperor now appointed. The first viceroy was Antonio de Mendoza, whose term of office extended from 1535 to 1550. Great progress was made during this Administration. Mexico became the most enlightened of the Spanish colonies. The country was explored from North to South. The first money was coined in the New World. The first printing-press ever used west of the Atlantic was set up in Mexico. There, also, a university of learning was established as early as the middle of the sixteenth century.

Between this epoch and the beginning of the struggle for Mexican independence, in 1821, the country was ruled by a succession of sixty-four viceroys, of whom only one was


MAP XXIX.
MEXICO
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150 200
Capital
State Capitals
Railroads
Unfinished Railroads
Fisk & Co. Engr's N.Y.
CALIFORNIA
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
UNITED STATES
TEXAS
LOWER CALIFORNIA
SONORA
CHIHUAHUA
COAHUILA
DURANGO
ZACATECAS
NUEVO LEON
TAMAULIPAS
SAN LUIS POTOSI
AGUASCALIENTES
JALISCO
COLIMA
TEPIC
GUANAJUATO
QUERETARO
HIDALGO
MICHOACAN
GUERRERO
OAXACA
PUEBLA
TLASCALA
VERA CRUZ
TABASCO
CAMPECHE
YUCATAN
CHIAPAS
GULF OF CALIFORNIA
PACIFIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
GUATEMALA
BELIZE
G. OF HONDURAS
Gila R.
Colorado R.
Rio Grande
Sierra Madre
Sierra Nevada
Sierra Blanca
Mazatlan
La Paz
Hermosillo
Guaymas
Culiacan
Durango
Chihuahua
Monterey
Tampico
Vera Cruz
Merida
Campeche
Tabasco
Oaxaca
Acapulco
Guadalajara
Manzanillo
Tepic
Colima
Puebla
Mexico
Tlascala
Guanajuato
Queretaro
Morelia
Zacatecas
Aguascalientes
San Luis Potosi
Monterey
Saltillo
Parras
Durango
Mazatlan
Culiacan
Guaymas
Hermosillo
La Paz
Loreto
Ensenada
San Diego
Vallecitos
Yuma
Gila Bend
Maricopa
Casa Grande
Tucson
Silver Cy.
Rincon
Dona Ana
Benson
Lordsburg
Deming
El Paso
Isleta
Guadalupe
Sierra Blanca
Fort Davis
Pilares
Montezuma
Tres Castillos
Ojo de Verano
Vado de Piedra
Brackettville
Presidio del Norte
Laguna
Encinillas
Candelaria
Presidio Viejo
Ojo del Monte
Carmen
Las Minas
Gallego
Torresiqua
Sacramento
Escobedo
Aldena
Chihuahua
Concepcion
Horcasitas
Cushuiriachi
Bachimba
Ortiz
Cienega
Padanas
Saucillo
Espiritu Santu
Satevo
Santa Rosalia
Diaz
Conchos
Jiminez
Corralitos
Parral
Allende
Escalon
Rio Florido
Saez
Cerro Gordo
Calvo
Indé
Mapimi
El Oro
La Zarca
Lerdo
Picardias
Nazas
Cuencame
Guadalupe
Rio Grande
Nombre de Dios
Suchil
Sombrerete
Chalchihuites
Jerez
Rincon
Colotlan
Villa Nueva
Chaltenango
Juchipila
Tequila
Guadalajara
Etzatlan
Ameca
Mascota
Tomatlan
Tecolotlan
Autlan
Sayula
Zapotlan
Tamazula
Colima Vol.
Colima
Manzanillo
Ixtlahuacan
Marua
Rosario
Concordia
Noria
Salto
Badiraguato
Mocorito
Altamura I.
Altata
Cosala
Culiacan
Tamazula
Rapaguato
Naranjo
Picardias
Guatimape
S. Dimas
S. Ignacio
S. Juan del Rio
Sinaloa
Ahome
Guadalupe
Calvo
Juntas
S. Benito
Chicorato
Loreto
Patrocinio
Guadalupe
Sta. Barbara
Batopilas
Choix
El Fuerte
Alamos
Guazapares
S. Martin
Jesus Maria
Belen
Moreno
Torres
Maytorena
Covorio
Tubutama
Caborca
Altar
Sonoyta
Pt. Isabel
Papagos
Nogales
Calabazas
Santa Cruz
Cibuta
Fronteras
Janos
Magdalena
Opato
Santa Ana
Arispe
Cruces
Bacuachi
Tepoca
Carbo
Oposura
Guazavas
Galeana
Casas Grandes
Ramos
Las Palomas
La Libertad
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S. Fernando
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S. Felipe
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R. Altar
S. Rafael
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S. Miguel R.
Sta. Ana
S. Domingo
Sta. Gertrudis
S. Juan
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S. Lorenzo
C. St. Lorenzo
C. Eugenio
Sta. Maria
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Sebastian Vizcaino B.
P. Concepcion
S. Pedro Martir
S. Javier
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S. Jacinto
Vermillion V.
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Orange
Houston
Morgan City
Camp Hudson
S. Antonio
Columbus
Arcola
Sabine Pass
NEW ORLEANS
Del Rio
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Galveston
Presidio
Spofford Jc.
Cuero
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Piedras Negras
Eagle Pass
Matagorda
Las Tanajas
S. Fernando
Presidio
Salto
Port Lavaca
Indianola
Matagorda I.
Nueces R.
Sta. Rosa
Nuevo Laredo
St. Joseph's I.
Mustang I.
Corpus Christi In.
Laredo
Mier
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Lampazos
R. San Rosa
Padre I.
Monclova
Villaldama
Belleville
Rio Grande City
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Edinburg
Brownsville
S. Isabel
Guadalupe
Camargo
Cerralvo
Tanque S. Felipe
Salinas
Los Animas
Matamoras
Bagdad
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MONTERREY
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SALTILLO
Cadereyta
Barra del Tigre
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Patoso
Buena Vista
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Agua Nueva
Montemorelos
S. Fernando de Presas
S. Isda
Encarnacion
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VICTORIA
R. la Marina
Gutierrez
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Matehuala
Dr. Arroyo
Palmillas
Soto la Marina
Fresnillo
Mier y Norega
S. Venado
ZACATECAS
Guadalupe
Tula
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Montezuma
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Guadalcazar
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Rio Caliente
El Maizo
Tancasnequi
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born in America. The greatest of all these reigns was that of Juan Vicente Pacheco, whose rule extended from 1789 to 1794. It was at this time that most of the important improvements of Mexico were made. The streets of the principal city were paved and lighted. Those great drains and sewers, which still attract the attention of the traveler, were constructed. A system of municipal government was instituted, more perfect in its details than could have been expected of the age and country. Regular taxes were imposed and collected, and elections held, at which only persons of reputable character were allowed to present themselves for office.



FOUNTAIN AND AQUEDUCT, CITY OF MEXICO.

If we glance at the social condition of Mexico at the beginning of the present century, we find four distinct classes of people. These were, first, the native Indians; second, the Creoles, or people of Spanish descent but Mexican birth; third, Spaniards born in Europe; fourth, the Mestizos — half-breeds, or crosses between the Mexicans and the Indians.

The first class, with the exception of the chiefs or caciques, was held in a subjection amounting almost to servitude by the dominant race. The Creoles, though strong in numbers, were weak in influence; for they were, as a rule, excluded from office, and even from any but common service in the army. It was the policy of Spain to govern Mexico by those who were certainly in her home interest, and under this theory she limited the administration of provincial affairs to Spaniards proper; that is, to those who were born in Spain. This method bore hard on the natives; but the latter, being oppressors themselves, could not well resist the foreign government which was imposed upon them. Should the Creoles have made a rebellion against the Spaniards they would have been attacked from the other side by the Mestizos and Indians.

Such was the condition of affairs when, in 1808, Napoleon I. overthrew the Spanish Bourbons. The shock of the revolution was at once felt in Mexico. The provincial government became almost as much convulsed as that of Spain. The alleged usurpation of Bonaparte was denounced by both the Spanish and Creole factions; and for the time it appeared that the two would make common cause. But when it came to the organization of a provisional government, a step made necessary by the abdication of Ferdinand VII. of Spain, violent disputes broke out, and the viceroy, Iturrigaray, was seized and thrown into prison.

It appears that the Mexicans now came to understand that they could survive and flourish without a foreign governor. There were

signs of a spirit of nationality and independence. The influence of the Spanish Government rapidly declined. In 1810 a conspiracy was organized by the priest, Miguel Hidalgo, a man whose influence over the lower classes was very powerful. A formidable insurrection broke out in the province of Guanajuato, and the rebellious army grew to a host of a hundred thousand men. But Hidalgo's insurgents were poorly armed, and were presently defeated in several battles. Hidalgo himself was taken and shot, and the rebels were, for the time, dispersed. Soon afterwards, however, another priest, named Morelos, rekindled the fire of insurrection, and in 1813 a National



MESTIZO MAIDEN

Congress was convened at Chilpanchiugo. An act was passed declaring the independence of Mexico, and in the following year the first Mexican Constitution was promulgated.

But the better equipment and discipline of the vice-regal army soon gave the advantage to the old Government, and the Nationals, under Morelos and other popular leaders, were several times defeated. In December of 1815 the leader was taken, carried to Mexico, condemned, and shot. For the next two years the war was carried on in the manner of guerrillas. The patriots broke into bands, and when unable to meet the forces of the Government in the field, took to the mountains. It seemed impossible, on the one hand, for order ever to be restored by the Spanish Government; and on the other, for the Nationals to gain their independence.

By degrees, however, the partisan troops were beaten down, and with the restoration of peace in Europe by the Congresses of Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle, the Spanish provincial authority in Mexico was, in a measure, reëstablished. But when, in 1820, the news came of the revolution which had broken out in Spain, and of the proclamation of the Liberal Constitution which Ferdinand VII. had been compelled to grant to his subjects, the agitation was at once renewed in Mexico.

Thus far the patriot party had had no competent leadership. At this juncture, however, a native Mexican soldier, Colonel Don Augustine Iturbide, who had served on the Royalist side in the recent Civil War, appeared at the head of the National party, and in February, 1821, proclaimed the independence of Mexico. The movement now drew to its support the better classes of Mexicans, and the revolt, headed by Iturbide, was soon successful. The Government in the provinces was quickly overthrown, and the Spanish Viceroy, Don Juan O'Donoju, was cooped up in the capital. But this city soon fell into the hands of the Nationals, and on the 24th of August, 1821, O'Donoju signed a treaty at Cordova by which the independence of Mexico was recognized. A regency was formed, with Iturbide at the head and O'Donoju as one of the members of the Government.

Ambition now came in to mar the work of popular revolution. The army and the Mexican mob of patriots proclaimed Iturbide Emperor, with the title of Augustin I. This happened in May of 1822. The style of government thus about to be established was exceedingly distasteful to the genuine Republicans, and in the course of a few months a counter insurrection broke out at Vera Cruz, under the leadership of Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna. The latter was supported by several other popular leaders, and the Mexican Republic was proclaimed at Vera Cruz. Two armies were organized, and the country was about to be involved in a bloody civil war, when, on the 19th of March, 1823, Iturbide abdicated the throne and was sent into exile.

Before this act, however, the alleged Em-

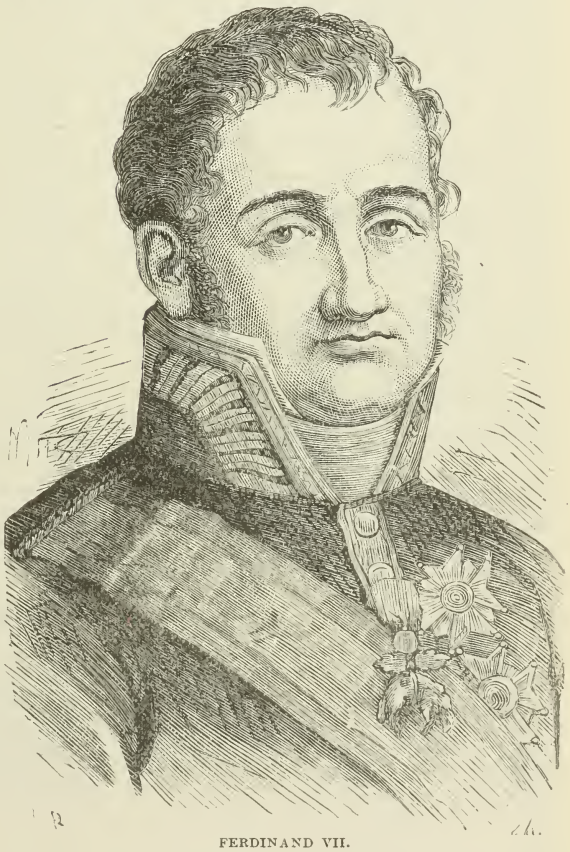
peror had convoked a Mexican Congress. That body immediately undertook the work of reorganization. A new Constitution was prepared on the basis of that of the United States. The Mexican Republic was organized, with nineteen States and five Territories. The new Government was proclaimed on the 4th of October, 1824, and General Don Felix Fernando Victoria was elected President. Soon afterwards the banished Iturbide came back from London, was arrested as a conspirator, condemned, and executed.

The first Administration of the new Republic went by with comparative success. But when, in 1828, the time arrived for a Presidential election, and General Gomez Pedraza was elected Chief Magistrate, the defeated party took up arms under the opposing candidate, General Guerrero, and Pedraza was driven from power. Guerrero took the Presidency on the 1st of April, 1829, and soon afterwards secured from the Government of the United States a formal recognition of the Republic of Mexico.

The same year was marked by an attempt on the part of Spain to recover her supremacy. A Spanish army under General Barradas was sent to Mexico, in July of 1829, and landing near Tampico, began an invasion of the country. But General Bustamante, Vice-President of the Republic, led forth the national troops and soon compelled Barradas to surrender. The Vice-President then made a proclamation against the usurping Guerrero, and drove him from the Presidency. A civil war broke out, and continued until 1831, when Guerrero was seized and executed.

In the next election General Pedraza was again chosen President. But about three months after entering on his official duties, in 1833, he was a second time deposed and driven from power. This time the leader of the opposition was Santa Anna, who took the Presidency for himself. The late Executive, Bustamante, was, with several of his adherents, sent into exile. Nor could it be denied that the violent proceedings of Santa Anna were accompanied with beneficial reforms. A law was passed for the abolition of the Mexican convict system, and another interdicting the compulsory payment of tithes. The President also proposed that the property of the Church should be confiscated for the payment of the national debt. This project, however, was not carried into effect, and the agitation resulted in several serious revolts.

In 1835 the Constitution of 1824 was abolished, and a new frame of government, less democratic but more substantial, was produced. The office of President was still retained, but the executive powers were so much enlarged as to constitute a virtual dictatorship. Santa Anna was continued at the head of the new Government. The revolution was quietly accepted in the Mexican States proper, but was resisted in Texas, in which country the American colonists had already scattered the seeds of the Texan revolution, which was about to ensue. The people of Texas chose to regard the Presidency of Santa Anna as a usurpation, and the Government which had been established under his auspicies as a centralized despotism.



FERDINAND VII.

The hostile attitude of the Texans induced

Santa Anna, in the beginning of 1836, to undertake a campaign against the rebellious province—an expedition which resulted, on the 21st of April, in the ruinous defeat of the Mexican army at the battle of San Jacinto, and the capture of the President. Then followed the declaration of Texan independence, the visit of Santa Anna to Washington City, the usurpation of the Mexican Government by Bustamante, and the return, in 1837, of Santa Anna to Mexico.

obliged to give up his office to General Herrera, who held the Presidency until December of 1845, and was then deposed by violence. During his brief administration, the Republic of Texas was annexed to the United States—an act which led immediately to the conflict between the latter country and Mexico.

The story of the Mexican War, from the beginning of hostilities on the Rio Grande to its conclusion by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, in February of 1848, has already



CITY OF MEXICO.

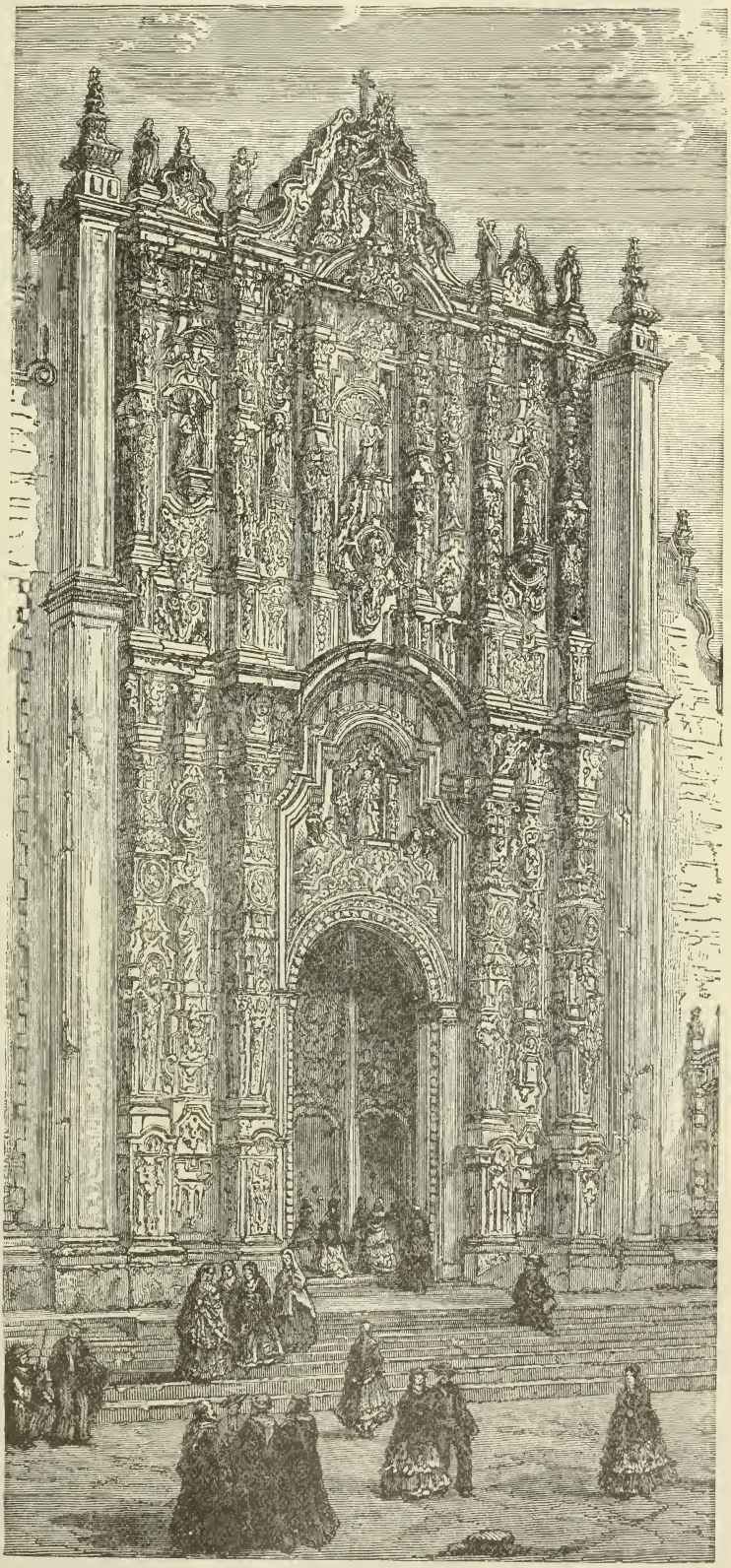
A period of great civil discord ensued, in which the dictatorship was for the most part held by the late President and by Generals Bravo and Canalizo. For three years, from 1841 to 1844, this confusion and turmoil continued. At the latter date the Constitution of 1835 again went into operation, and Santa Anna was again elected President. But his accession to power, or rather his continuance, led immediately to another revolution, in which he was deposed and superseded by General Canalizo. But he, in his turn, was

been fully narrated in a former chapter. It is sufficient, in this connection, to note the ruinous terms which the victorious power was pleased to exact of the vanquished. An inspection of the new boundary-line of Mexico along the Rio Grande, the southern border of New Mexico, the rivers Gila and Colorado westward to the Pacific, will show at a glance how greatly the Mexican dominions were reduced by the war. Nor could it be said that the small sum of fifteen millions of dollars, which the United States agreed to pay for her

immense acquisitions, was at all fairly compensatory to the Mexican Government for its tremendous losses.

For a while after the Mexican War, Santa Anna, blamed with the disastrous results, was under the disfavor of his countrymen. For four years he lived abroad; but after the Presidencies of Herrera and Arista he was, in 1853, recalled, and for the *fifth time* made President of Mexico. He was soon suspected of concocting a scheme for making the office which he held hereditary, or at least of securing to himself the right of appointing his own successor. On this account another revolution broke out, and in 1855 Santa Anna was deposed by General Alvarez, who succeeded to the place of chief magistrate. The latter, however, was more patriotic than ambitious, and soon resigned his trust to General Comonfort, who became President in December of 1855.

A violent agitation now ensued between the Administration and the party of the Church. Early in 1856 the President recommended to Congress a measure looking to the confiscation and sale of the church lands. The recommendation was accepted, and an Act was passed for this purpose, and for the establishment of the freedom of religious belief in Mexico. About the same time an agitation began for the formation of a more democratic constitution. Such an instrument was framed and accepted by the Government



ENTRANCE TO CATHEDRAL, CITY OF MEXICO.

in 1857, and, with greater enlightenment of the Mexican people, it would have appeared that the country might now have peace. But at this juncture it was foolishly resolved by the Government to repudiate a portion of the national debt due to Spain. The unwisdom and dishonesty of this course portended war, and Mexico appealed to the United States for aid. Conspiracies were made in many parts of the country, and Comonfort with difficulty retained the Presidency till January of 1858, when he



GENERAL PRIM.

was superseded by Zuloaga, and obliged to fly from the country.

The accession of Zuloaga, however, was contrary to the Constitution; for that instrument provided that in case of an abdication the Presidency should pass to the Chief-Justice of Mexico. In accordance with this provision, Benito Pablo Juarez, the Supreme Judge, came forward, and claimed the Executive office. Zuloaga at length gave way, but turned over the Presidency to one of his own supporters, General Miguel Miramon. Juarez retired to Vera Cruz, and there established himself according to the Constitution. The latter was recognized as President by the Government of the United States, and was at length successful in entering the City of Mexico and completely establishing his authority.

This change was followed by the most salutary reforms. Juarez showed himself capable of heroic measures. Thoroughly acquainted with the political vices of his country, he laid the axe at the root of the tree. Even while still at Vera Cruz he proclaimed the reformatory policy as the true work of his Administration. Once firmly seated in the Presidency, he carried forward his measures with a strong and steady hand. Marriage was declared to be a civil contract. Perpetual monastic vows were abolished. The ecclesiastical tribunals, which had always arrogated to themselves the right of meddling with the administration of justice in Mexico, were suppressed. The monasteries were put down. The enormous landed property of the Church, valued at more than three hundred millions of dollars, or about one-half of all the real estate in Mexico, was confiscated and given over to the uses of the State. Church and State were legally separated, and the mediæval *régime*, by which Mexico had been enthralled in fetters and darkness, was thoroughly broken up.

The effect of these reformatory measures was greatly to enrage the partisans of the ancient order. Juarez was assailed by every missile known to the experienced hands of religious bigotry. It chanced that among those who had suffered from the confiscation of the Church estates, by actual possession or by holding mortgages on the same, were many citizens of European States. Spain, France, and England were all thus represented in the losses which the clerical party had sustained by the secularization of the ecclesiastical properties. This fact furnished a good excuse to foreign powers to interfere in the internal affairs of Mexico. Remonstrances and demands for satisfaction were sent to the Government; but such demands were either ignored or disallowed. In October of 1861 a conference of the three kingdoms just mentioned was held in London, and President Juarez was notified that if the demands of the Powers were not at once complied with, he might expect an invasion of his dominions.

But even this had no effect, and in December of 1861 a Spanish army, commanded by General Juan Prim, Count of Reus, was landed at Vera Cruz. In the following month the forces of France and England arrived, and the city was taken. It soon appeared, however, that the claims of Great Britain, as well as those of Spain, against Mexico, could be easily adjusted. It was agreed by the Mexican Government that such claims should be discharged, and for this purpose a portion of the customs duties of the Republic was set aside. A settlement was immediately effected as to Spain and England, and in the following May the armies of those two Powers were withdrawn from the country.

Not so, however, with the French. The forces of Napoleon III. remained in Mexico, and it became evident that the covert purpose of the French Emperor was to subvert the existing form of government. It was soon discovered, moreover, that the scheme of France was promoted, if not originally suggested, by the Mexican diplomatist, General Almonte, who had been Minister of War during the Presidency of Bustamante, and afterwards ambassador at Paris. The plot became more evident when, in 1862, Almonte was made dictator by the authorities of Vera Cruz, supported by the French. But his usurpation was of brief extent, for in the following October he was deposed by the same power which had lifted him to office.

The last months of 1862 and the beginning of 1863 were occupied with a war between the French and the native army. The old city of Puebla was atttacked by the invading army, and after several assaults was carried by storm. On the 10th of June, 1863, the City of Mexico was taken by the French, and Juarez and his ministry obliged to retire to San Luis Potosi. As soon as the French were in possession of the capital, an assembly of the Mexican notables was convened and an act passed establishing a Hereditary Monarchy under a Catholic Emperor.

The story of the election of Maximilian of Austria, of his acceptance of the Mexican crown, of his attempt to establish his government on the ruins of Mexican Republicanism, of the disastrous collapse, and of the capture and execution of the ill-fated Emperor at Querétaro, has already been narrated. Generals Miramon and Mejia, who had been the chief supporters of Maximilian, were shot at the same time with himself. President Juarez soon returned in triumph to the City of Mexico, and in October of 1867 was reëlected to the Chief Magistracy of the Republic. While he was engaged in the work of reconstructing the government, that ancient specter of the past, Santa Anna, appeared on the horizon, and undertook to raise an insurrection against the constituted authorities. He even succeeded in gaining possession of some of the ports on the Gulf, but was presently captured and condemned to an eight years' banishment. His rebellion was of little consequence in itself, but was the precursor of several other revolts which took place in 1868–69.



EMPEROR MAXIMILLIAN.

In 1871 President Juarez was reëlected. The opposing candidates being General Diaz and Don Sebastian Lerdo. He was the first Chief Magistrate of the Republic of Mexico who was permitted to serve through a full term of office. His death, in July of 1872,



STORMING OF PUEBLA BY THE FRENCH.



ENTRANCE OF THE FRENCH INTO THE CITY OF MEXICO.

was a calamity to the country, to whose reformation, peace, and prosperity he had contributed more than any other ruler that country had ever known. His accession to power in Mexico marked the turning-point at which the military methods, which had hitherto prevailed, gave place to a true civil administration. The great reforms which he projected came like a shock from a battery to the lethargic body politic of the priest-ridden and oppressed country which he was called to govern; and much of the reputation which Mexico has gained in the last two decades, as a respectable and rising State must be attributed to the wisdom, patriotism, prudence, and courage of Benito Pablo Juarez, greatest of the statesmen whom that Republic has yet produced.



EXECUTION OF MAXIMILIAN AND GENERALS MEJIA AND MIRAMON.

Juarez died in office. He was succeeded by the Supreme Justice of Mexico, Lerdo de Tejada. It was the signal for the beginning of a struggle, the effects of which have not ceased to the present day. Organically considered, the question was whether the Liberal Constitution of 1857 should or should not be the fundamental law of the land. At times the political condition has seemed anarchic, but, on the whole, the ever-recurring violence and conflict has tended to permanence and the establishment of a higher order of Republicanism.

President Lerdo was at length regularly chosen to the Executive office; but it was claimed by the opposing party that the result was reached by means irregular, fraudulent, and tyrannical. The years 1874–75 saw the beginning of a new insurrectionary movement, which was destined by reäction and violent measures to give another check to the policy of Juarez, which had been followed by his successor. The difficulty to which we refer gathered head in the State of Michoacan. At bottom the opposition to Lerdo and his Government was of a religious origin. We have seen how secular in its tendencies was the Administration of Juarez; how strongly he had repressed the arrogance of the Mexican Church, and how the prerogatives and vast

landed monopolies of that organization had been swept away. To all this the Clericals could but oppose their whole power and endeavor. The party of the Church seems to have had its strongest hold in Michoacan, and there, in 1875, a political revolt broke out against the Government. Lerdo, his Ministers, and even the Supreme Court of the Republic were repudiated, along with Congress and the whole existing system.

A manifesto was issued, and a new election was demanded. The Revolutionists put on so bold a front that General Escobedo was sent, with a division of the army, to put down the insurrection. This he certainly would have accomplished in a brief period had not a new rebellion broken out in the opposite quarter. The mountain towns of the State of Oajaca, dissatisfied with the existing order, broke into revolt, and the leaders published a plan for a new Constitution. An army sprang up from the hill country, descended to the lowlands, and gained possession of the State capital. The movement in this part of the country was secular, and was based upon complaints, not wholly invalid, as to the methods by which Lerdo had gained the Presidency, and the measures by which he held it. These complaints were so well grounded that other States—Sonora, Jalisco, Aguas Calientes, Zacatecas, Durango, Guanajuato, Mexico, Puenla, Tlaxcala—joined the insurrection. Michoacan, though moved by religious prejudice rather than by the spirit of political reform, cast in her lot, and the movement gained tremendous headway.

The Revolutionists from the first looked to General Porfirio Diaz as their leader and candidate against Lerdo. The term of office of the latter was to have extended to 1880. General Diaz, however, took the field against him soon after his accession, and in November, 1876, the President and his Cabinet and staff, perceiving that the game was against them, retired from the city, and took flight to the coast on their way to Panama. According to the Mexican Constitution, the Presidency, in such emergencies as that now present, is devolved on the Chief Justice of the Republic. It was in this manner that Lerdo himself had come to the Presidency after the death of Juarez. Before leaving the capital, Lerdo, in accordance with the Constitutional provision, called on Señor Iglesias to assume the chief magistracy *ad interim*. The latter issued a manifesto, promising to introduce and enforce almost the identical reforms for which the Revolutionary party was clamoring.

The paper was thrown before the insurgent forces as a sop to Cerberus, and for the moment the ruse was sufficient. General Diaz himself made as though he would accept the situation. But the revolution was not to be so easily placated. Iglesias was also driven forth like his predecessor, and General Diaz succeeded to the Presidency. He had on two previous occasions been a candidate for the same high office, but was unsuccessful. Though not unwilling to be the leader of a revolution, Diaz was a lover of his country, and had given many evidences of patriotic devotion to her cause.

The new Administration was more peaceful than might have been expected. The President held authority with a firm hand, and the turbulent elements of Mexican politics fell to a comparative calm. During the new quadrennium, however, a trouble arose between Mexico and the United States relative to lawlessness along the boundary of the two countries. This border-line had been immemorially the scene of violence and brigandage. The boundary extends through a comparatively unpopulated territory, through a distance of more than a thousand five hundred miles. It was in 1878 that the American Government found occasion of unusual complaint against Mexico on the score of frontier lawlessness. Ever and anon bands of brigands and desperadoes broke out of the Mexican territories, crossed over into those of the United States, wrought what havoc they would with property and life, and returned unwhipt into their old lairs.

Our Government demanded of Mexico the immediate correction and abatement of these outrages, and the latter professed entire willingness to do as much as might be done to prevent their recurrence. But the difficulties in the way of establishing peace along such a border were very great. It transpired in the course of the negotiations that Mexico had herself suffered in like manner from lawless incursions into her territory by Ameri-

can desperadoes. The evil was found to be mutual between the two countries. Efforts were put forth by both for the protection of the border. At length the country in question was penetrated at several points by railways, from both directions, and with this facility for throwing troops into the troubled country, lawlessness in a large measure subsided and disappeared.

President Diaz served out his term, and in 1880 was succeeded in the office of Chief Magistrate by Manuel Gonzalez. The election in this instance was less violent and more in the constitutional manner than those which had preceded it, giving token of political development, civil quietude, and general promise to the Republic. At the close of his term, Gonzales was, on December 1, 1884, succeeded in office by General Diaz, whose Administration was noted for continued improvement, and for the strengthening of industrial and commercial relations between Mexico and the United States. The same interweaving of interests between the two countries may be noted which we have already observed on the side of the Canadian Dominion; but not in a like degree of intimacy. On the Mexican side the question of race comes in to retard and obstruct the development of internationality. The Mexican Republic has a large Indian citizenship, especially prevalent in the frontier States, with which it is difficult to deal. Besides this, the Spanish Mexicans are not themselves, in their ethnic and political antecedents, of a character to assimilate well with the English-speaking republican democracy of the United States.

As a fact, there has never been much *political* sympathy between our country and Mexico. Though the Mexican Republic is after the precise model of the United States, the two Governments are dominated by different forces and borne onward by diverse tides. But from an industrial point of view much intimacy and friendship are possible between the two peoples. This possibility impressed itself most strongly on the mind of General Grant, who, during his Presidency, and afterwards, sought assiduously to draw into greater intimacy the commercial interests of the two countries, and the policy of doing so may be said to have been accepted as correct by the American Government. It may be truthfully averred that, as it respects the problem of a republican government, Mexico furnishes by far the best example which has thus far been given by any of the Latin races, exclusive of France. There is manifested in our sister Republic of the South-west little disposition to recede from the representative method, or to take up with the abandoned forms of monarchy. Experience and habit appear to have prevailed over race instincts and ancient precedents, and it may well be hoped that the future holds in store for the Republic of Mexico a large and glorious nationality.

CHAPTER CLIV.—SOUTH AMERICA.

WE are now to enter upon the further consideration of the Spanish American nationalities of the New World. No transformation in history is more extraordinary than that by which the Spanish and Portuguese, having so great a start, were pushed aside and remanded to a subordinate work in possessing and developing the American Continents. Viewed from before the event, nothing could seem more improbable than that insular and provincial England—dominated at the time of the discovery and first planting in America by the dark-minded and illiberal founder of the Tudor Dynasty—should succeed in throwing forward her forces upon the central line of the American coast, beating her way to right and left, forcing back the French on the one hand and the Spaniards on the other, and finally compelling the one to accept the frozen countries beyond the St. Lawrence and the other to be content with the narrow, mountainous land beyond the Rio Grande, or with the tremendous solitudes of aboriginal South America. It is to the ris-

ing nationalities of the latter country, precariously founded and feebly developed by Spanish and Portuguese colonies, that our attention is now to be briefly directed.

Beyond the Isthmus of Darien, stretching from the upper arm of the United States of Colombia, in latitude 13° N., to the ocean-beaten cliffs of Cape Horn, lies the great continent of South America. In this vast region civilization has had a tardy growth. Though discovered at as early a date as North America, it chanced in the vicissitude of things that the South American coast did not feel the impact of any vigorous race. Perhaps we should say that it did not feel the impact of any race in which the political and colonizing instincts were naturally strong. What with the greater expanse of water lying between the coast of South America and the shores of Europe, and what with the more powerful exhibition of those forces of nature with which men must contend in the creation of civilized States, the development of the various kingdoms and republics of South America was late in beginning and slow in progress.

If we begin a cursory survey of the various political powers now spread before us in this great peninsula, we shall find, first of all, running up and including the Isthmus of Panama, bounded on the north by the Caribbean Sea and on the west by the Pacific, the United States of Colombia, formerly known as New Granada. At the present time this State is a republic in government, consisting of nine divisions, somewhat like the States of the American Union. The coast of this country was first traced by Ojeda, in 1499. The Viceroyalty of Granada was created in 1718, and the first struggle for national independence occurred near the close of the eighteenth century. For a while, however, Spain held her grip, and it was not until 1811 that actual independence was proclaimed.

Eight years afterwards, the people, under the lead of Bolivar, succeeded in their efforts, and a union was formed with Quito and Venezuela, the new State being known as the Republic of Colombia. After an existence of ten years this union was dissolved, and Venezuela and Quito resumed their former political condition. New Granada became an independent republic in 1831, and a constitution was promulgated in the following year.

The model of the new government was that of the United States. For twenty-eight years the course of events was comparatively unruffled; but in 1860 a popular revolution broke out against the conservative Administration of President Ospina. In July of 1861, Bogota, the capital, was captured by the insurgents and the government assumed by General Mosquera, leader of the rebellion. In the following October the Congress of the republic assembled, and the name of the country was changed to the United States of Colombia.

But the civil conflict did not end until December, 1862. The Constitution was modified. The President's term was reduced to two years instead of four. From 1863 to 1867, Mosquera continued in authority. But the majority in Congress became opposed to his policy, and he was driven into exile. Colombia, in this stage of her affairs, sought to steady her fragile institutions by an appeal to the United States of America. In 1868, Caleb Cushing was sent as an ambassador, and in the following year a treaty was concluded between our country and the lesser republic, by which the former acquired the right to construct a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. In 1870 the compact was amended and amplified, and the influence of the United States confirmed in that region. Since this epoch, the affairs of Colombia have greatly improved, and the lover of free institutions in South America finds many causes of gratification and promise as respects the future of the State.

The history of Venezuela is very similar to that of Colombia. This coast was visited by Columbus in 1498. The name of the republic signifies Little Venice; for the shore-lines from the mouth of the Orinoco westward are so much indented and the lake regions so pronounced as to justify the analogy expressed in the name. Venezuela was the seat of some of the oldest settlements in the New World. Many of these antedated the middle of the sixteenth century. About the year 1700 a Spanish company was formed for the cultivation of indigo and cocoa.

Under the auspices of this corporation the principal settlements in Venezuela were made and governed until 1778. When Napoleon I.


CARIBBEAN SEA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
CENTRAL AMERICA
WEST INDIA IS.
Barbadoes
Trinidad I.
Tobago
Grenada
Curaçao
Aruba
Buen Ayre
Los Roques
Orchilla
La Guayra
Tortuga
Margarita
Dragons Mth.
Port of Spain
Pt.Gallinas
Sta. Marta
R. Magdalena
G. of Venezuela
Maracaybo
L. de Maracaybo
Altagracia
Barquisimeto
Coro
Puerto Cabello
Valencia
CARACAS
Barcelona
Cumana
Serpents Mouth
Mths. of the Orinoco
G. of Cartagena
Cartagena
Tolu
Mompox
Truxillo
Merida
Guanare
Calabozo
Pao
Barcelona
Nicaragua
S. Juan
Chiriqui L.
Chagres
Portobello
G. of Darien
Panama
Pearl Is.
Cacares
Ocaña
Pamplona
Varinas
Apure
S. Fernando
R. Orinoco
Angostura
Caledonia
R. Essequibo
GEORGETOWN (Demerara)
New Amsterdam & R. Berbice
R. Corentyn
Nassau
PARAMARIBO & R. Surinam
R. Maroni
Sinnamary
CAYENNE
C. Orange
Oyakop
BRITISH GUIANA
DUTCH GUIANA
FRENCH GUIANA
Tumucumuque Ms.
Mt. Roraima
Parime
Sierra
Esmeralda
Ft. S. Joaquim
R. Parima
R. Uraricuera
R. Tacutu
R. Cuyuni
R. Caroni
R. Ventuary
R. Guaviare
R. Orinoco
R. Meta
R. Arauca
R. Casanare
R. Pauto
R. Zulia
Socorro
Tunja
Honda
Mariquita
Antioquia
Medellin
Cocos I.
C. Corrientes
Malpelo I.
Buenaventura
Cartago
Choco Bay
Gorgona I.
Bay of Panama
G. of Cupica
G. of Dulce
David
Santiago de Veraguas
Cabo
P. Malo
P. Mundo
G. of S. Miguel
Bogota
S. Juan
Caguan
Rio Negro
Popayan
Pasto
Tumaco
Esmeraldas
C. S. Francisco
Ibarra
Otavalo
Caqueta R.
R. Dos Bocas
Quito
Antisana
Cotopaxi
Riobamba
Chimborazo
Puerto Viejo
C. S. Lorenzo
Guayaquil
Pt. S. Helena
Gulf of Guayaquil
Puna I.
Tumbez
Cuenca
Loxa
Sauflago
S. Borja
Loreto
R. Napo
R. Putumayo
R. Negro
R. Pastaza
R. Morona
R. Santiago
R. Marañon or Amazon
C. Blanco
Parina Pt.
Payta
Sechura
Pt. Aluja
Lobos de Tierra
Piura
Tarapato
Mayobamba
Lambayeque
Caxamarca
Truxillo
Santa
Huanuco
Caxatambo
Guarmey
Huaura
Huacho
Callao
LIMA
Canete
Chincha Is.
Ica
Huancavelica
Huitumbamba
Huamanga
Cuzco
Abancay
Yca
P. S. Nicolas
Acari
Arequipa
Camana
Islay
Moquegua
Arica
Sahama
Tacna
Pt.
Tarapaca
Iquique
Urus
Lake Titicaca
Puno
Chiquitampa
Lampa
Azangaro
Sorato
Illimani
La Paz
Exaltacion
Apolobamba
Cochabamba
Trinidad
Sta. Cruz
S. Juan
Santiago
Valle Grande
Potosi
SUCRE
Porco
BOLIVIA
PERU
ECUADOR
COLOMBIA
VENEZUELA
UNITED STATES OF
Galapagos Is.
James I. (To Ecuador)
Abingdon I.
Indefatigable I.
Chatham I.
Hood I.
Charles I.
Albemarle
EQUATOR
R. Napo
R. Putumayo
R. Iça
R. Japura
R. Negro
R. Solimões
R. Purus
R. Jurua
R. Javary
R. Ucayali
R. Tunguragua
R. Pastaza
R. Morona
R. Huallaga
R. Marañon or Amazon
R. Tigre
R. Pachitea
R. Ucayali
R. Urubamba
R. Apurimac
R. Ene
R. Perene
R. Tambo
R. Mantaro
R. Pampas
R. Vilcanota
R. Beni
R. Madre de Dios
R. Mamore
R. Itenez or Guapore
R. Paraguay
R. Sta. Maria
R. Sta. Cruz
R. Grande
R. S. Miguel
R. Pilcomayo
R. Bermejo
R. Tarija
R. Tupiza
R. Vermejo
R. Pilaya
R. Pilcomayo
R. Tarija
R. Tupiza
R. Vermejo
R. Pilaya
R. Tapajos
R. Xingu
R. Tocantins
R. Araguay
R. Manapi
R. Machado
R. Madeira
R. Tamary
R. Arinos


MAP XXX.
SOUTH AMERICA
English Miles
0 100 300 500 800
Railways shown thus
Georgia (British)
Falkland Isles. (British)
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
CHILI
PATAGONIA
ARGENTINE
PARAGUAY
URUGUAY
PARANA
BOLIVIA
TERRA DEL FUEGO
RIO DE JANEIRO
Valparaiso
Cape Horn
Strait of Magellan
Port Stanley
Longitude West 60 of Greenwich
110 100 90 80 70 60 50 40 30 20 10
30 40 50



FIRST STEAMER ON THE ORINOCO.

overthrew the Bourbon dynasty of Spain, the same effects were first produced in the South American colonies as in Mexico. A spirit of loyalty was awakened for the overthrown house. But in the course of time a revolutionary reaction took place, and in 1811 Venezuela declared her independence. Freedom was won under General Bolivar, and the three States next to the isthmus formed a republican union.

For several years Spanish authorities sought to recover their supremacy; but the revolution had gone too far to be counteracted. In 1829–30, Venezuela became independent, and a republican Constitution was adopted. For a decade and a half the Government was administered by Presidents Paez, Vargas, and Soublette. With the accession of General Monagas, in 1846, until the election of General Falcon, in 1863, the country was involved in civil war. For two years tranquillity was restored; but under the Presidency of Guzman Blanco, hostilities broke out afresh, and for several years the civil Government was at the mercy of hostile factions. In 1873, Blanco's authority was renewed for four years and the Government became a virtual dictatorship. But the methods of the President, though arbitrary, were generally just, and the enforced quiet was preferable to the previous anarchy.

Of the same general character with the two preceding States is the Republic of Ecuador, the ancient kingdom of Quito. This country, one of the most varied in the world composed of snow-capped mountain-peaks, dense forests, and vast savannas, was at the first a dependency of Peru under the general dominion of Spain. This relation was maintained from the middle of the sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is probable that Quito was the most productive of all the Spanish colonies. In the year 1809 the yoke of Spain was thrown off by the Ecuadorians, who sought to gain their freedom by war with the mother country. In May of 1822 a decisive battle was fought at Pichincha, and independence was achieved. In common with the United States of Colombia and Venezuela, Quito proclaimed a republic, and



GATHERING PERUVIAN BARK.

entered into union with her sister States of the North.

The true independence of the country, however, dates from 1831, when the present name of Ecuador was adopted. For a long time the State was embroiled with civil wars, and this condition of affairs was not ended until the beginning of hostilities with Peru in 1852. This struggle continued six years; and even after the establishment of peace with the foreign power, domestic insurrections were of such frequent occurrence as to prevent the development of the State. In 1869 the city of Guayaquil was destroyed by fire, and Quito laid in ruins by an earthquake. A little later an unsuccessful effort was made by President Mosquera, of New Granada, to reconstruct the old Colombian Republic, and his ambitious scheme led to a war, in which the Ecuadorians were defeated. For several year civil discord reigned until the accession to the Presidency of Garcia Moreno in 1869. Even he was obliged to resign before the end of his official term, and was succeeded by Rafael Carvajal, whose Administration extended over a period of six years.

Of the history of ancient PERU, something has been already presented in a former Book. The country, perhaps the most famous of the early States of South America, still holds an important rank. Her products, especially the Peruvian bark and the guano, are in demand in every part of the world. The story of Pizarro need not be repeated. About the middle of the sixteenth century a civil government was firmly established by the Spanish Viceroy, Pedro de la Gasca. The ancient Empire of the Incas became one of the four principal Spanish dependencies in the New World.

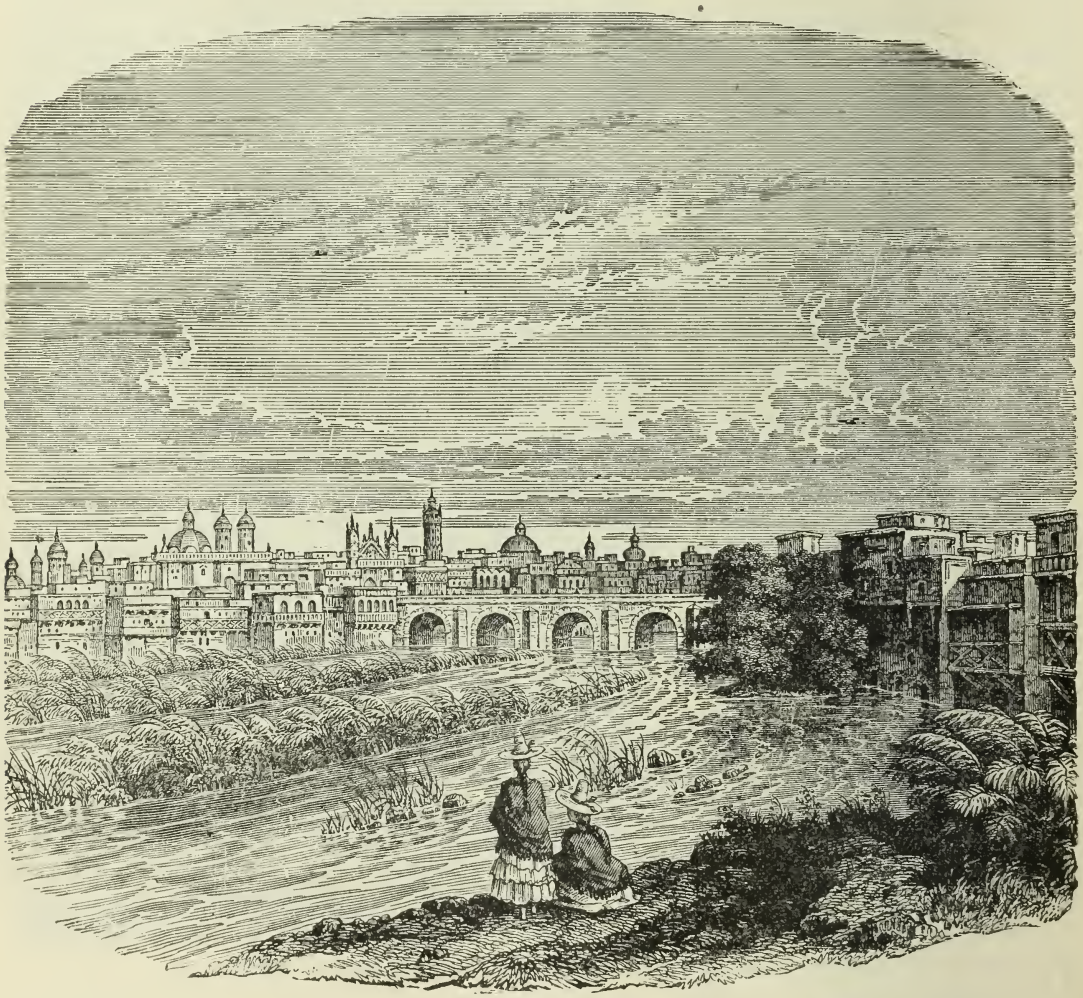
Until near the close of the eighteenth century, Peru was of vast territorial extent; but in 1776 the provinces of La Plata, Potosi, Charcas, Chiquitos, and Paraguay were torn away in order to form the new government of Buenos Ayres. In 1780 a formidable Peruvian rebellion broke out, but was presently suppressed. Peru was one of the most loyal of the Spanish-American States. She was the last to become independent of the Mother Country. Her independence was declared in July of 1821. Three years afterwards, the war with Spain still continuing, General Bolivar became dictator, and a few months later the Spanish army was decisively defeated.



BELLE OF PERU.

It was at this epoch that the State of Bolivia was wrested from the parent Republic to become an independent Confederation. The Peruvian annals subsequent to this event are so similar in character to those of the States already named in this chapter, that their recital in detail would prove uninteresting and monotonous. In the year 1837 war broke out

between Peru and Chili; but peace was concluded after a few months of conflict. After this, General Gamarra was chosen President, but was killed in 1841, in a battle in Bolivia. The next Chief Magistrate was Menendez, who was deposed from office in 1842. The two following years were occupied with another civil war, of which General Castilla was the hero. Being himself elected to the Presidency, he was defended by a body of European and American soldiers. By these, Vivanco was repulsed; but his fleet still held sway over the neighboring waters. It was at this juncture that the two American ships, *Georgiana* and *Lizzie Thompson*, gathering guano on the coast, were captured by one of Castilla's steamers. This act of violence was followed up by others of like sort, until what time the attention of



LIMA.

restored order in the country, and the following five years were a period of prosperity unparalleled in the history of the country.

Afterwards, during the Presidency of General Echinique, whose Administration was too corrupt to be tolerated, another revolution was headed by Castilla. Against him another leader arose, named Vivanco, who, for a while, besieged his rival in a town of Callao, which the American Government was drawn to the outrages, and Peru obliged to make ample reparation for the damage which she had inflicted.

In 1858, Castilla succeeded in capturing the city of Arequipa, and presently reëstablished his authority throughout the country. Meanwhile he had published a proclamation freeing the slaves, and at one time extended

his authority over Ecuador. Several attempts were made to assassinate the President; but these proved abortive, and he continued in power until the expiration of his term.

The next Chief Magistrate was General San Ramon, elected in 1862. In the following year he died in office, and was succeeded by General Pezet, during whose Administration a war broke out, occasioned by the seizure of the Chincha Islands. The conflict resulted favorably to the Peruvians; but the seizure cost them a war indemnity of three million dollars. The agreement to pay this large sum was regarded by one of the political parties as treasonable. President Pezet was deposed, and the war with Spain broke out anew. Chili and Peru entered into an alliance, and in 1866 the Spanish army was driven from the country.

In the following year the present Peruvian Constitution was adopted. But before the Government was one year old the ruling President, General Prado, was driven from office, and obliged to leave the country. Balta, the next Chief Magistrate, was assassinated in 1872. This event, however, seemed to put an end to the fierce broils which had continued for more than a quarter of a century, and with the reäccession of Don Manuel Prado to the Presidency, an interval of peace ensued, during which national industry was promoted, railways built, commerce encouraged, and an interest excited in the education of the people.

We have now reached by far the most important of the South American States—Brazil. It was on the coast of this country that Amerigo Vespucci made his most important discoveries. Even before his day, a greater than he, Pedro Alvarez Cabral, sailing under the flag of Emanuel, King of Portugal, and attempting to follow the course of Da Gama, was driven to these shores, on the 22d of April, 1500. It was on his return to Portugal that Vespucci published what purported to be a map of the New World, from which circumstance he gained for the Western Continent the name of America.

The dye-woods, of which Brazil is so wonderfully productive, gave a lucrative trade to the early Portuguese merchants, who, in the times of King John III., had already claimed a monopoly of this branch of commerce. It was to maintain these advantages of trade that the first Portuguese colonies were established in Brazil. For a while the settlements thus planted flourished greatly. But in the course of time the savages, as in North America, became hostile, and the nobles who had thus far conducted the enterprise were obliged to turn over the colonies to the government of Portugal.

In 1549 the first Portuguese Governor of Brazil was appointed. His name was Thoumé de Souza. He established his Government at São Salvador da Bahia, which was at that time the capital of Brazil. Six years after his arrival, a French colony was planted on an island in the bay of Rio de Janeiro. The founder of the settlement was Admiral Villegagnon, whose bad faith and worse management led to the extinction of the colony after an existence of ten years.

It was in 1567 that the city of São Sebantião, afterwards called Rio de Janeiro, was founded by the Portuguese. Thirteen years afterwards Portugal was annexed to Spain by Philip II., and the colonies of the former State passed under the dominion of the latter. So far as Brazil was concerned, the change was not salutary. By this time the rapacity of the Spaniards had wakened the hostility of half the world. Savage tribes, as well as civilized nations, had come to dread her cruel and domineering spirit. It were hard to say whether, at this epoch, Spain was more cordially hated by England, by France, or by Holland. As a result of these conditions, the coast towns of Brazil suffered greatly at the hands of the enemies of the parent State.

In 1612 the Province of Maranhão was seized by the French and the city of São Louiz founded, only to be captured by the Portuguese in the following year. In 1623 a Dutch fleet took Bahia and held it for two years, at the expiration of which time they were expelled. In 1629, Pernambuco fell into the hands of the Dutch, who were indefatigable in their efforts to gain possession of the whole country. In this ambition they were successful, in so far as to obtain possession of all Brazil north of Pernambuco, except Pará.

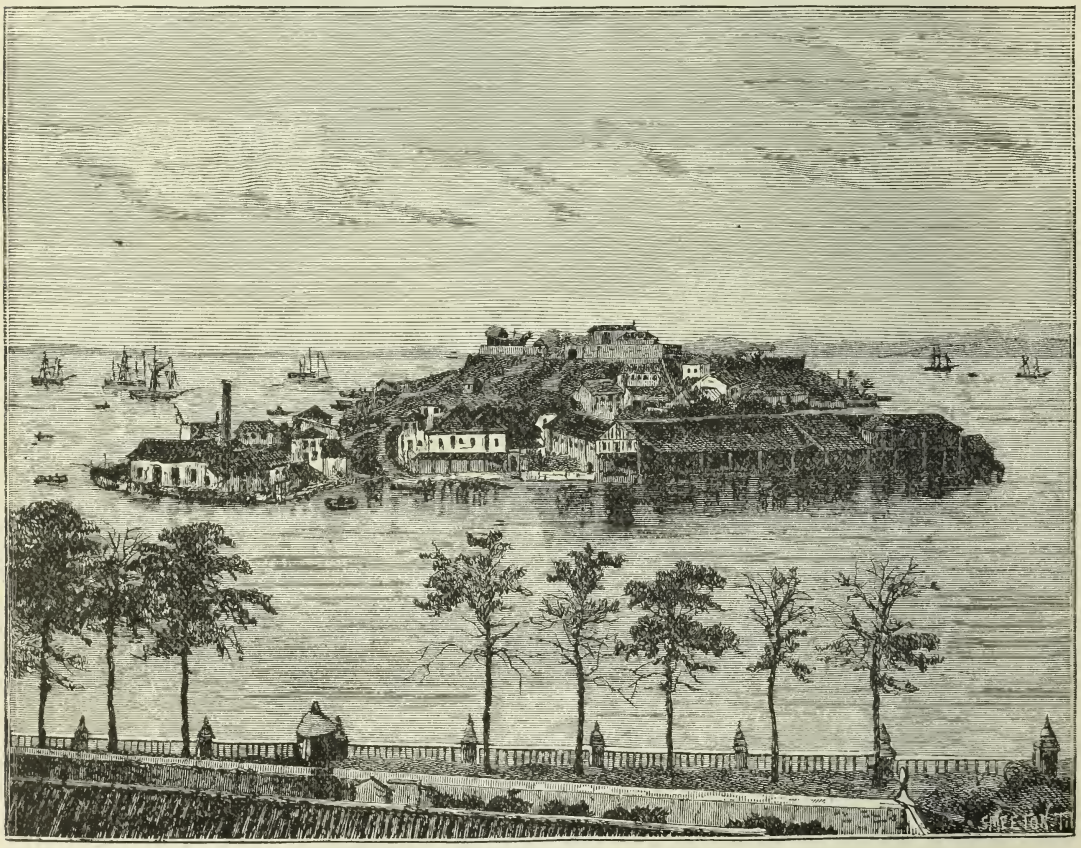
Such was the condition of affairs at the middle of the seventeenth century. But the Portuguese were in no wise tolerant of

foreign domination. They rose vindictively upon the invaders, and, in a war of five years' duration, succeeded in driving them out of the country. In 1660 a treaty was concluded by the terms of which the whole Brazilian territory was freed from the presence of the Dutch.

Meanwhile, Portugal, always restive under Spanish domination, revolted against the king of Spain, and, led by John IV. of Bragança, recovered her independence. The House of Bragança was permanently restored to the Portuguese throne, and the heir apparent of that kingdom was given the title of Prince of Brazil. These events happened about twenty years before the expulsion of the Dutch, and it can not be doubted that the revulsion in the parent State contributed much to make and keep the Portuguese dominant in Brazil.

Of all the South American countries, the colonies of Portugal had greatest peace and prosperity. From the earliest time the principality of Brazil appeared to possess stability and permanency. In the course of time the great mineral wealth of the country, especially in gold and diamonds, was discovered and a wonderful impetus was given to wealth and population. At length the seat of government was transferred from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro, which has ever since remained the metropolis of South America.

When, in 1807, the House of Bragança was overthrown by Napoleon, John VI., the reigning sovereign of Portugal, fled with his court to Brazil, and took up his residence at the capital. The movement was so important as almost to reverse the relations between the principality and the parent State. The Brazilian Constitution was modified and adapted to the altered condition. The restrictions which had been laid by Portugal upon her colony were removed, and the Brazilian ports opened to the commerce of all nations. For eight years the Portuguese world was ruled from Rio de Janeiro instead of Lisbon; and on the whole, the shock which the Braganças



ISLE OF SERPENTS—BAY OF RIO DE JANEIRO.

had received was favorable to the growth of their power. After Waterloo the title of Principality gave place to Kingdom of Brazil, and John VI. styled himself henceforth King of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarve.

In the interval of this foreign residence of the Bragança princes a revolt occurred in Portugal, and in 1820 the Liberal Constitution of Spain was proclaimed as the law of the land. The revolution extended to Pará and Pernambuco, and John VI., perceiving that the same wave would soon extend to Rio de Janeiro, anticipated the movements of his subjects, accepted the new Constitution, and made a proclamation of that fact in February of 1821.

As soon as this political transformation was effected the king appointed his son, Prince Pedro, to rule over Brazil, and himself returned to Portugal. By this time the former country, becoming conscious of its own vast territories and capacities, and the swelling tides of population, began to feel the premonitory thrills of independence. In the very year of the king's departure the revolutionary spirit became perceptible among the Brazilians. In October of 1822, the movement was so overwhelming that a declaration was made of the independence of the country, under the name of an Empire. On the 1st of the following December the Prince Regent was formally crowned as Emperor of Brazil, with the title of Dom Pedro I. Within the next two years an imperial Constitution was framed and adopted, and on the 7th of September, 1825, the independence of the new power was acknowledged by the Government at Lisbon. A year later King John died, and Dom Pedro became, by that event, ruler of Portugal. But he was well satisfied with the independence and sovereignty of his new American State, and resigned the Portuguese crown to his daughter, Donna Maria. The relations between Portugal and Brazil were thus amicably adjusted on the basis of mutual independence.

In the year 1826 war was declared by the Empire against the Argentine Republic. An effort had been made by the latter power to convert Uruguay into a dependency. When, however, the conflict between the two States was about to begin, Great Britain offered her mediation, and peace was happily restored. It was agreed that Montevideo should become independent, under her own Constitution.

It was the misfortune of Dom Pedro I. not to get along smoothly with the legislative branch of the Brazilian Government. Angry quarrels broke out between him and the Chamber of Deputies, and the troubles increased until 1831, when the Emperor, finding himself hopelessly unpopular with his subjects, was constrained to abdicate his throne in favor



DOM PEDRO I.

of Dom Pedro II. The latter prince, however, was at this time but six years of age, and a regency had to be established until he should reach his majority. Not until 1841 was Pedro proclaimed as sovereign in his own right. In the very year of the revolution which had dethroned his father, a law was passed by the Brazilian Government for the abolition of the slave-trade; but that nefarious business was still carried on in a covert way until 1850, when it was finally suppressed.

The first eight years of the reign of Dom Pedro II. were marked by a number of insur-

rectionary movements in the Brazilian provinces, notably in Minas Geraes and Pernambuco. But none of the revolts became so formidable as seriously to threaten the Empire. The years 1849–52 were marked in South American history for the rise of Rosas, the dictator of the Argentine Confederation, who was finally overthrown at Monte Caseros by the combined armies of Brazil, Uruguay, and Entre Rios. The dictator fled to England, and hostilities ceased in 1852.

The next thirteen years were a period of peace in Brazil. It was in this interval that the State of Paraguay, small in territory but intense in spirit, awaked the deadly hostility of the neighboring Powers. In 1865 an alliance was made by Brazil, Uruguay, and the Argentine Republic, and war was declared against Paraguay under the express agreement that the parties to the compact would not lay down their arms until the existing government of that offending State should be destroyed. The war which ensued continued for six years, and was concluded in 1871 by the defeat and death of the dictator Lopez, who had been the main-stay of the cause of Paraguay. When, however, it came to settle the conditions of peace, a dangerous dispute arose between Brazil and the Argentine Republic. The late allies became jealous, and war was seriously threatened. At last, in 1872, it was agreed that the Argentine Republic should be permitted to make a separate treaty with Paraguay, as Brazil had done before; and by this means the war was averted.

On the whole, Dom Pedro was one of the most successful rulers of his times. His liberal policy and enlightened views did much to make the Empire of Brazil reputable among the great Powers of the earth. He it was who, in 1875, was elected a corresponding member of the French Academy of Sciences, an honor not often done to kings. He it was who, in 1876, came with his Empress and suite to the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, and was received by the American people and their great representatives as a distinguished guest and friend. Under his auspices the domestic tranquillity and industrial prosperity of Brazil were greatly promoted, and his own example in literature and scientific acquirements did much to quicken the intellect and kindle the moral enthusiasm of the Brazilian people.

After the Emperor's visit to the United States, in 1876, he and the Empress proceeded to the Continent of Europe. He went as a student of political science, studying the economy and statecraft of the European governments. During his absence the Imperial authority of Brazil was left in the hands of the Princess Izabel, his daughter, who had been constituted Regent before his departure. Dom Pedro and the Empress, after nearly eighteen months of travel, returned to their own country, reaching Bahia in September of 1877. The good effects of the Emperor's intercourse with foreign nations were soon apparent. A great impetus was given to internal and international improvements. In 1867 there were only six railroads in the Empire, having a total length of five hundred and fifteen miles. In 1872 there were fifteen lines, aggregating seven hundred and sixty-eight miles in length. Four years afterwards the railways numbered twenty-two, having a total length of one thousand one hundred and forty-three miles. In the single year following, five other lines were added, with a total additional length of eight hundred and fifty-one miles. In 1882 there were two thousand three hundred and eighty-eight miles of Brazilian railway open to traffic, and twelve hundred miles additional in process of construction.

Within two months after his return, the Emperor signed an Imperial decree granting a subsidy of a hundred thousand dollars per annum, for a period of ten years, to the shipbuilders John Roach & Son for the establishment of a line of steamships between Rio de Janeiro and New York. The steamers were to have stations at St. Thomas, Pará, Pernambuco, and Bahia. It was stipulated that the vessels to be constructed should be equal in character to those plying between Brazil and Europe. The time fixed for the voyage between Rio de Janeiro and New York was twenty days. The steamships *Rio de Janeiro* and *City of Pará* were speedily constructed, and on the 29th of May, 1878, the former vessel completed its first voyage, coming safely to harbor, and receiving the Emperor and Empress of Brazil as guests. In every direction the material enterprises of the Empire were

thrust out rapidly and successfully, and the financial and commercial condition of the Government and nation were correspondingly improved.

The year 1878 was noted for the rare occurrence of a famine in Brazil. Several of the northern provinces of the Empire, Ceará in particular, were visited with an unprecedented drought. The brooks and minor streams, even some of the rivers, dried up to the bottom. The crops utterly failed, and the inhabitants of large districts, in a great measure inaccessible to relief, were reduced to sudden and fearful want. Some of the towns were depopulated. It was estimated that the province of Ceará lost at least ten thousand inhabitants by actual starvation. Though the national treasury was liberally opened for the relief of the sufferers, the help thus afforded could not avail, and the recovery of the stricken provinces was slow.

Something has already been said of the struggle of Dom Pedro II. and his Government against the institution of slavery. That incubus has rested upon the nation much as it did for two hundred and forty years on the United States; but it has been the good fortune of Brazil to proceed by easier stages to the destruction of the offending system. Beginning with 1871 the policy of emancipation was steadily pursued. At first, the legislation and Imperial decrees were directed to the traffic in slaves, and afterwards to the institution itself. Between 1871 and 1875, more than twenty-one thousand slaves were emancipated. It was provided by law that slave children on reaching the age of eight years should become free. The number of such in 1879 was fully twenty-five thousand. When the slave-child reached the age of emancipation, it was provided that the master might have his services to the age of twenty-one, on condition of paying to the youth fair wages and giving him an education. In lieu of this, the master might, should he so elect, receive a Government bond for three hundred dollars, bearing interest at six per centum. Nor will the reader fail to approve these judicious measures for the elevation of a servile race, and to compare the process with that by which, through blood and woe and wasting, the Negro slaves of the United States were brought to freedom.

Another favorable symptom in the current political and social condition of the Brazilians is the strong secularizing tendency everywhere apparent. In Brazil, as in other Catholic countries, the Roman Church continued until within the last two decades to dominate educational institutions, and to claim for herself that monopoly of society which she had enjoyed since the Middle Ages. The growth of public opinion at length demanded a reform. In 1878 the obligation which had been hitherto exacted from Protestants before they could receive degrees in the Government College was abolished, as was also the requirement for an examination in religious discipline and doctrine. The oath as to creed was also put aside, and the examinations were opened freely to all. The next step was the establishment of civil marriage, and the removal of the religious disabilities of the parties thereto. Then followed an amendment of the facilities for immigration, and the beginning of a new policy on the part of the Empire with respect to the foreign elements of the Brazilian population. This policy and many other liberal and enlightened measures were advanced by the Imperial Government, insomuch that it is doubtful whether any other rule of the present epoch did more for the advancement of the nation concerned than that of the broad-minded, reformatory, and progressive Dom Pedro II.

Events in the Empire followed an even course during the remainder of the decade until late in the year 1889, when an unexpected political cataclysm ensued for which it might be difficult to find a parallel in history. To all seeming the surface of civil society was undisturbed. The Government was administered in the usual manner. The internal affairs of the country, whether industrial, commercial, or political, gave no sign of disturbance. The relations between Brazil and all foreign Powers were amicable, and the observer could perceive no symptom of a coming storm. But all of a sudden, on the 15th of November, in the year just referred to, a revolution broke out, and was successful in a single day.

The event showed that the army, the navy, the larger part of the civil authorities, and the people generally had not only drifted away

from the Imperial system of government, but had become disloyal to the extent of wishing its destruction. It was also revealed that a specific cause of dislike had operated powerfully to break the allegiance of the people to the throne. This was the extreme unpopularity of the Princess Izabel with some classes of the Brazilians. The gravamen of her offending was the course which she had pursued during the absence of the Emperor in the United States and Europe. Acting as Regent for her father, she had taken the law into her own hands in the matter of the abolition of slavery. The process of gradual emancipation and compensation for slaves adopted by the Imperial Government has already been described. It appears that the Regent became dissatisfied with the slow operation of the emancipatory statute, and suddenly precipitated matters by an edict ending the institution of slavery at a blow. This gave a shock to the country and greatly offended the slaveholding classes on account of the inconveniences and losses to which they were subjected by the destruction of their human property. It appeared in the sequel that these classes and the affiliated parts of Brazilian society cherished a grudge against Princess Izabel, and determined to prevent her accession to the throne. Dom Pedro had now been Emperor for more than forty-eight years, and his demise was an event to be anticipated at no distant day. The dislike of the late Regent, and determination that she should never reign, seem to have been the *occasion*, if not the *cause*, of the impending Revolution.

Under these conditions a conspiracy of several of the leading men of the Empire was formed, under the leadership of General Fonseca, and, without a moment's warning, the Emperor was, on the 15th of November, 1889, summoned by a committee to come down from the throne, renounce his right to rule, and to leave the country. The aged sovereign was obliged to comply. He and his family, including the Princess Izabel, heir to the throne, were put on shipboard, and sent to foreign parts. It was supposed that the steamer was destined for London, but the event showed that Lisbon was the refuge chosen by the deposed monarch. The Revolutionists at once proclaimed a republic—the Republic of Brazil—and General Fonseca was made provisional President. The Revolution was enacted like the scenes of a drama. Foreign governments were notified that Brazil had peaceably, and of her own purpose, changed her form of government. The provinces gave in their adhesion to the Republican *régime*. It was expected that counter insurrections would break out, but only feeble symptoms of such movements appeared. The new order was accepted as a matter of course, and the historians of different nations were surprised at the spectacle of a thorough and radical revolution in the government of a great Empire, effected by the action of a few resolute men, with only sporadic and fitful resistance and trifling losses of life.

Next in greatness among the States of South America may be ranked the ARGENTINE REPUBLIC. In territorial extent this power is second only to Brazil, and in the vigor of her people and institutions she may claim the same relative position. The country at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata was first known to white men in 1512. Buenos Ayres was founded by Mendoza in 1535. Under his orders the country was explored as far north as Asuncion, present capital of Paraguay. Before the close of the sixteenth century many colonies were established in the valley of La Plata. At this period the country was regarded as forming a part of the Viceroyalty of Peru. This relation was also held by the State of Paraguay. Until 1620, Buenos Ayres was dependent upon the Government of Paraguay, but in that year became independent.

This condition was maintained until 1776, when an entirely new distribution was made of the powers south of the equator. The States of Bolivia, Uruguay, Paraguay, and the Argentine Republic were united in one government under the title of the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres. In 1806 a British fleet appeared on this coast and captured the capital and Montevideo. The inhabitants, however, rose on the invaders and recovered the cities. In the following year the British, more than ten thousand strong, returned to the attack, but were defeated and driven away. Three years afterwards a popular revolution broke out, and the people renounced their allegiance to Spain. War ensued, and in 1812 the independence of

the viceroyalty was achieved by the capture of Montevideo, the last city under the Spaniards. A republican form of government was instituted, and the chief power of the commonwealth was lodged in a chamber of deputies, known as the Sovereign Assembly. The city of Tucuman was chosen as the seat of government.

It was at this period that General San Martin, Governor of the province of Mendoza, raised an army of patriots, crossed the Andes, and aided the Chilians in gaining their independence. Shortly after, the combined armies of Chili and Buenos Ayres penetrated Peru and captured Lima. While these movements of the Argentines northward were taking place, the Portuguese gained possession of Montevideo. About the same time the seat of government was moved from Tucuman to Buenos Ayres, and the Constitution was modified in favor of democracy.

The transfer of the capital induced the provinces contiguous to the Rio de la Plata to join their fortunes with Buenos Ayres in the work of constructing a true republic. This was accomplished in the year 1824, and the first Presidency of the United Provinces was conferred on Las Heras. Then came a declaration of war on the part of Brazil, the general result of which was a serious check to the growth of republicanism in the South. Neither Las Heras nor his successor, Rivadavia, was able to uphold the cause against the superior power of the Brazilians. Nor is it likely that the Republic would have been able to maintain its existence at all but for the mediation of England. Under her auspices, in 1828, a treaty was concluded, by which the State of Uruguay was made independent under a triple guarantee of Great Britain, Brazil, and the Argentine Republic. The latter power was, however, for the time greatly weakened; but in 1831 the former course of affairs was resumed by the union of the provinces of Corrientes, Entre Rios, and Santa Fé with Buenos Ayres.

This work was seriously opposed by the army under General Lavalle, who defeated the constituted authorities and shot the President. For a while there were two governments, but at last Buenos Ayres was triumphant, and the distinguished General Juan Manuel de Rosas obtained control of the country. Once he was elected President, and twice Dictator. The latter office he held until 1852; and though for a period of more than ten years there was no meeting of the Congress, the Government was administered with such justice and patriotic rigor as to secure the public welfare in a higher degree than ever before.

It was the theory of Rosas that all the States formerly belonging to the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres should become integral parts of the Argentine Republic. The two most important countries to which this policy related were Uruguay and Paraguay, and the question whether these States should or should not be reïncorporated with the Republic of La Plata became the source of those bloody struggles which have made up the annals of the countries concerned for the last thirty years.

At last, in 1852, Rosas was defeated and compelled to fly from the country. The government was hereupon conferred upon Vicente Lopez; but he was suddenly overthrown by General Urquiza, who made himself Dictator instead of Rosas. The independence of Paraguay was acknowledged; and in the following year a new Constitution, modeled after that of the United States of North America, was adopted. Urquiza was elected President for six years. Bajada del Paraná was chosen as the seat of government. For a while Buenos Ayres resisted the new order of things, but gave in her adherence in the year 1855. For four years, however, the union between the latter city and Paraná was merely nominal, and the country was constantly threatened with civil war.

In 1865 the long-suppressed hostility between Paraguay and the Argentine Republic broke into an open declaration of war. It was at this juncture that the league above mentioned, between Brazil and Uruguay and the Argentine Republic, was made against Paraguay, under the solemn pledge that the existing government of the last named State should be destroyed. The result of this struggle, and its termination by the defeat and death of the Dictator Lopez, have already been narrated. During the progress of the conflict a strong anti-war party had sprung up in the States that were parties to the alli-

ance. Especially was this true in Buenos Ayres and Entre Rios, in both of which provinces formidable insurrections were made against the Government. During the last two decades the domestic tranquillity of Argentina has been little disturbed, and the civilizing forces have continued to propel the Republic in the direction of a broader and truer nationality.

Before the conclusion of the late war, namely, in 1868, the official term of President Mitre expired, and he was succeeded by General Sarmiento. The election was without a serious disturbance or revolutionary manifestations. In April of 1870, General Urquiza, who had been Governor and commander in Entre Rios during the Paraguayan War, was assassinated by some officers of the army, and Lopez Jordan was elected Governor in his stead. The latter publicly avowed the assassination as one of the necessities of the revolution, and the National Government refused to recognize his authority. Hostility supervened, which continued until 1873, when Lopez Jordan and his insurgents were put down by a division of the national troops, under command of Colonel Gainza.

The vast extent of territory and resources which the Argentine Republic had now attained might well make her the rival, or at least the competitor, of Brazil. The new Republic had now taken under its ægis no fewer than fourteen extensive provinces. Its dominions reached from the Atlantic to the crest of the Andes; from the borders of Bolivia on the north to Cape Horn. It would appear that Brazil was not insensible to the great and growing power on her southern boundary, and some jealousy was shown with respect to the establishment of the international line between the two Powers. The boundaries of Paraguay were difficult to determine, and hostilities were at one time imminent; but Ex-President Mitre was sent as special envoy to Rio de Janeiro, and the difficulty was peaceably adjusted.

Soon afterwards the Presidential election recurred, and Mitre was put forward as a candidate for Chief Magistrate. He was, however, defeated by Dr. Nicolas Avellanda. It has been the peculiarity of the Spanish American Republicans, both in Mexico and South America, that they accept political defeat with bad grace and ill-temper. This, indeed, is one of the difficulties in the way of the establishment by these peoples of a thorough republicanism. Of a certainty, if the political party suffering defeat refuses to accept the result—to bide its time, to agitate and reagitate the questions upon which it has staked its fortunes, to return to the charge at the appointed time and carry the field in a legitimate way and by the constitutional methods—there can be no republic at all.

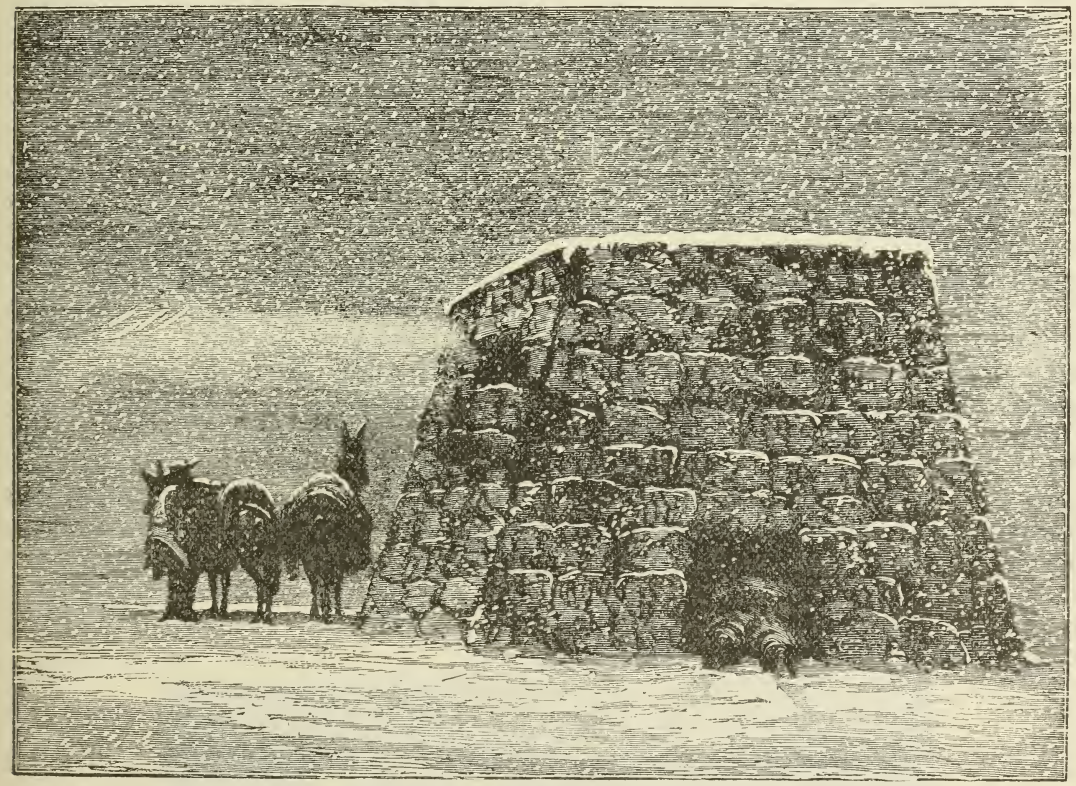
It is in this respect that the English-speaking peoples have been so strongly contrasted with the Latin races. The man who speaks English takes his political defeat as he does a bad breakfast. "To be sure," saith he to himself, "the taste of this unpalatable thing will not remain in my mouth forever. Presently we shall recover from it, and the *others* shall go to the hill country and reflect on their political sins." In the present instance there were strong symptoms of a revolution in favor of the defeated Mitre, but President Sarmiento took strong measures against the insurgents, and after an unimportant revolt of twenty-six days, the country was reduced to quiet. The insignificance of the movement and the easiness of the suppression were construed as a favorable augury of the non-recurrence of such troubles in the future.

Internal improvement and international relations came in the wake of the political transformations above described. Railways began to be constructed. In 1875 three new lines were opened, and a fourth in the following year. At this time the railroads embraced the Central Argentine, the Tucuman, the Andine, the East Argentine, the Great Southern, the Western, the Ensenada, the Northern, the Campana, and the Port Ruiz lines, having an aggregate of one thousand four hundred and twelve miles. In 1876 an important postal treaty was concluded between the Republic and Great Britain, and in the same year an extradition treaty with Belgium. The Argentine Government, however, continued to be distressed with a heavy national debt, entailed by the disturbances and wars of the last quarter of a century.

The administration of Avellanda continued in a peaceable manner until October of 1880, when he was succeeded by General Julio A. Roca, whose term extended, after the Amer-

ican manner, until 1884. Before the expiration of the quadrennium, the disputed boundary between the Republic and Chili was satisfactorily settled. It was agreed that Patagonia should be an integral part of the Republic. The Strait of Magellan was assigned to Chili, but was neutralized to the ships of all nations. According to the limits now fixed for Argentina, the territorial area was estimated at four million square kilometers, being more than half the extent of Brazil, and considerably in excess of the area of Chili. The population in 1881 was reckoned as considerably more than three millions, of which nearly one-half were of European descent. Free immigration was granted, and during the decade extending from 1871 to 1881 nearly a half million of foreigners became citizens of the Republic.

Meanwhile, education and other elements of enlightenment have made commendable progress. The number of the schools has been greatly increased. Two universities have been established, one in Buenos Ayres and the other in Cordova. One National College has been assigned to the provincial capital of each State, making fourteen secondary and superior institutions. Normal schools have also been established in all of the fourteen provinces. It was found at the close of the eighth decade that the ratio of children receiving instruction in the schools to the whole number of the population was as 1 to 16, while at the same time the corresponding ratio in Chili was 1 to 24, and in Brazil only 1 to 75. From this and similar facts the inference may well be drawn of the relatively greater progress and enlightenment of the Argentines as compared with the peoples of the neighboring nations. While from the governmental side, Brazil, by the liberal policy of the late Emperor, and by the recent promise of the Republic, may easily be given the first place among the South American nations, from the side of the people—the palm may be properly assigned to Argentina.



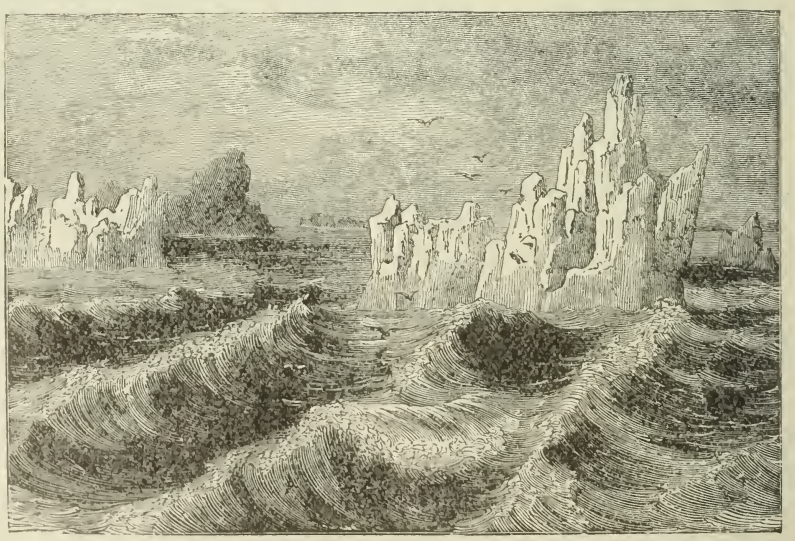
SHELTER FOR TRAVELERS IN THE ANDES.

The remaining important State of South America is Chili. Its geographical position is in every respect remarkable. The territory extends from Cape Horn to 17° N., thus occupying the whole western coast of the continent through more than two thousand miles. The

breadth, however, is limited. The country occupies the narrow and precipitous watershed of the Andes on the west. The situation is remote—almost inaccessible. The coast-line through the southern half is broken and indented with an infinity of bays and inlets; but from the latitude of 40° S., northward to Peru, the shore is smooth, like the remaining Pacific coasts of the two Americas.

The history of Chili goes back to the epoch of discovery and adventure. The country under the natives was first invaded by the Spaniard, Diego Almagro, who was a companion of Pizarro in the conquest of South America. The second invasion was made in 1550 by Pedro Valdivia, who began a war with the mountain tribes, which extended to 1559. Nearly a century was occupied in desultory conflicts, and it was not until 1665 that a treaty was made acknowledging the independence of some of the aboriginal nations, and conceding the remainder of Chili to the Spaniards.

From this time forth until 1723 was a period of peace. The country now rose to the rank of a viceroyalty, and was divided for purposes of civil government into thirteen districts. In 1810 occurred the outbreak of a war of independence. The conflict continued until April of 1818, when the patriots were finally victorious in the great battle of Maypu. The leader of the revolution was Juan José Carrera. The Constitution was formed in 1828, revised in 1831, and adopted as the basis of the present system of government in 1833. Chili has been much less disturbed by revolutions than the other South American States. One serious insurrection occurred in 1851, led by General Urriola. In that year, and again in 1856, Don Manuel Montt was elected President of the Republic. He was succeeded in 1861 by José Joaquin Perez, who also was re-elected in 1866. In that year a treaty of offense and defense was formed with Peru, and Chili became thus involved in a war with Spain. For this alliance she suffered severely. In March of 1866, Admiral Nuñez, of the Spanish Navy, bombarded Valparaiso, and the city suffered greatly. In 1871 an important treaty was formed with the United States. In recent times the history of Chili has been marked with great material and intellectual progress. Mines have been opened and developed, schools established, legal reforms effected, education to a considerable degree secularized, and the capital city magnificently improved. In 1871 the election was gained by the candidate of the Clerical party, Frederigo Errazuriz. The result, though reactionary, was for the time disastrous to the Chilian Liberals; but the latter soon revived from their defeat, and the present promise of the Republic is highly favorable to progress and enlightenment.



CLIFFS OF CAPE HORN.


MAP XXXI.
ASIA
English Miles
0 100 300 600 1000
EQUATOR
Fish & Son, N.Y.
Longitude East 80 of Greenwich
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ARCTIC
INDIAN OCEAN
ARABIAN SEA
Nova Zembla
Kara Sea
Gulf of Obi
Obdorsk
Berezov
Surgut
Tobolsk
Tara
Kainsk
Omsk
Barnaul
Zmeinoyorsk
Semipolatinsk
Sergiopol
L. Balkash
Chuguchak
Kopal
Turkestan
Khiva
Tashkend
Samarcand
Bokhara
Cashgar
Yarkand
Khotan
Kuen-lun
Herat
Candahar
Quetta
AFGHANISTAN
BELOOCHISTAN
Kej
Bella
Kelat
Gundava
Cashmere
Punjaub
Lahore
Mooltan
Simla
Bhawulpore
Delhi
Lucknow
Agra
Ajmeer
Bikaneer
Jhodpore
Gwalior
Cawnpore
Allahabad
Indore
Bhopal
Baroda
Cambay
Surat
Nagpore
Aurungabad
Bombay
Poonah
Hyderabad
Sattara
Kolapore
Kurnole
Bangalore
Madras
Pondicherry
Tranquebar
Cochin
Trivandrum
Trincomale
CEYLON
COLOMBO
Adams Pk.
Pt. de Galle
C. Comorin
Laccadive Archo
Maldive Islands
Persian Gulf
Gulf of Oman
Muscat
Ras-al-Had
Maseirah I.
Sonmeeanee
Kurrachee
R. Indus
G. of Cutch
Diu
Sawunt Warree
Goa
Mangalore
Beypore
Calicut
Mysore
Seringapatam
Masulipatam
R. Pennair
Ghauts
Malabar
Coromandel
Palk Strait
Gulf of Manaar
Ormuz
Muttra
Soham
Bushire
Kerman
Gambroon
Bampoor
Lar
Shiraz
Yezd
Kubles
Ispahan
PERSIA
TEHERAN
Astrabad
Mushed
Sari
Demavend
Merve
Kasbin
Tabreez
Khoi
Sheraz
Dizful
Shuster
Mohammerah
Basra
Bagdad
Hillah
Hamadan
Kermanshah
Sinnah
Besht
Baltrush
Atrek R.
Kara Kum
Kizil Kum
Kizil Irmak
Kara Hissar
Erzeroum
Trebizond
Sivas
Angora
Kastamouni
Amasia
Tocat
Kaisarieh
Iconium
Karaman
Tarsus
Adana
Aleppo
Damascus
Beyrout
Jerusalem
Gaza
Suez
Cairo
Alexandria
Rosetta
Nile R.
Mt. Sinai
Akaba
Petra
Dead Sea
Jordan R.
Syrian Desert
Ruins of Babylon
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Shat-el-Arab
Mollah
Wedjeh
Khaibar
Anezeh
Derlyeh
Medina
Tema
Jiddah
Mecca
Tayf
Lohaia
Hodeida
Mocha
Aden
Gulf of Aden
Str. of Bab-el-Mandeb
Perim I.
Socotra
C. Guardafui
Ras Hafoon
Berbera
Zeyla
Massuah
Khartoum
Suakin
Blue Nile
White Nile
Abu Arish
Loheia
Saba
Hadramaut
Shaher
Ras Fartak
Kuria Muria I. & Is.
Morbat
C. Isolette
Sankirah B.
Kooshin
Mekallah
Dahar
Yemen
Nejd
ARABIA
Lacha
Katar
Grane
Persian Gulf
India Cos. Is.
Sohar
Ormuz
Muttra
Gulf of Oman
Muscat
Ras-al-Had
Maseirah I.
Sonmeeanee
Kurrachee
R. Indus
Bhoot
G. of Cutch
Diu
Sawunt Warree
Goa
Mangalore
Beypore
Calicut
Mysore
Seringapatam
Masulipatam
R. Pennair
Ghauts
Malabar
Coromandel
Palk Strait
Gulf of Manaar
Laccadive Archo
Maldive Islands
Cochin
Trivandrum
Trincomale
CEYLON
COLOMBO
Adams Pk.
Pt. de Galle
C. Comorin


N. AMERICA
Behring Strait
East Cape
St. Lawrence or Clerk I.
St. Matthew I.
C. North
C. Shelagskoi
Wrangel I.
New Siberia
Liakov Is.
Severo
Fastlewskoi
Kotelnoi
Liakov I.
Bear Is.
R. Indigirka
R. Kolima
Ostrovnoi
G. of Anadir
C. Navarin
R. Anadir
Anadirsk
Mths. of the Lena
Kolimsk
Nishne Kolimsk
Verk Kolimsk
Olutorsk B.
Kuragin I.
Behring I.
Komadorski Is.
Attou
Aleutian Is.
Kamtchatka
Petropaulovski
Kronotski C.
Lopatka
Shumshu
Paramushir
Onekotan
Kurile Is.
Simoair
Bussole Chan.
Urup
Iturup
Kunasari
Yesso
Hakodate
JAPAN ISLANDS
Matsmai
G. of Sangar
Senday
Nee-gata
OKIO (YEDDO)
Yokohama
King
Simoda
Kioto
Osaka
Fatsisio
Oki Is.
Broughton B.
JAPAN SEA OF
Novgorod
Kirin Oula
Moukden
Newchwang
Ping-hai
Kin-chou
Kin-chou B.
Liao-tong B.
Liao-tong Pen.
Port Arthur
Talien-wan
Port Dalny
Gulf of Tartary
La Perouse Str.
Saghalien I.
C. Patience
C. of Patience
Kurile Is.
Sinsir
Bussole Chan.
Urup
Onekotan
Paramushir
Shumshu
Lopatka
C. Elizabeth
Bolcheretsk
Verk-Kamchatsk
Okhotsk
Port Aian
Ghijiginsk B.
Penjinsk
Yansk B.
Yansk
Okhotsk B. of
SEA OKHOTSK
Kamchatka Mountains
Yablonoi or Stanovoi Mts.
R. Aldan
R. Aldoma
R. Maia
R. Lena
Yakutsk
Olekminsk
Vilinsk
R. Vilui
R. Vitim
Vitimsk
Lower Tunguska R.
Stony Tunguska R.
Turukhansk
L. Piasina
R. Khatanga
R. Anabara
R. Olenek
Mths. of the Lena
Yakutsk
Jigansk
Sredne Kolimsk
Verkholansk
R. Yana
R. Indigirka
R. Kolima
Kolimsk
Nishne Kolimsk
Verk Kolimsk
Ostrovnoi
R. Anadir
Anadir



Book Twenty-Eighth.

ORIENTAL NATIONS.

CHAPTER CLV.—CHINA.

TO this, the concluding Book of the present Volume, has been reserved a brief narrative of the course of events in the two leading Oriental nations and Australia. Such sketches may hardly be dignified with the name of history; but it must be remembered that it is only within the memory of men still living that the great Empires of the East have drifted, like vast continents of the deep, into the visual circle of historical observation. For the present, therefore, and until opportunity has been given for the critical examination of the records and documents of China and Japan, the Western reader—for all Europe and America are in this regard the West—must be content with the mere outline of things to come.

It is a strange reflection on the imperfect knowledge and fragmentary annals of mankind that of the most ancient and populous nation in the world the least is known; and it is a biting satire on the moral condition of the human race that this want of knowledge is based upon the fact that the nation in question has from time immemorial devoted its energies to peace, and has not been sufficiently bloody-minded to attract the interested attention of other peoples. He who takes the sword is famous Alexander; he who handles the hoe is an obscure boor. Of the one, the blatant histories which men have written are full of praises; of the other and his humble home by the garden wall, they say no word at all. Such is the moral standard which has made butchery glorious, and perfidious politics the principal business of mankind.

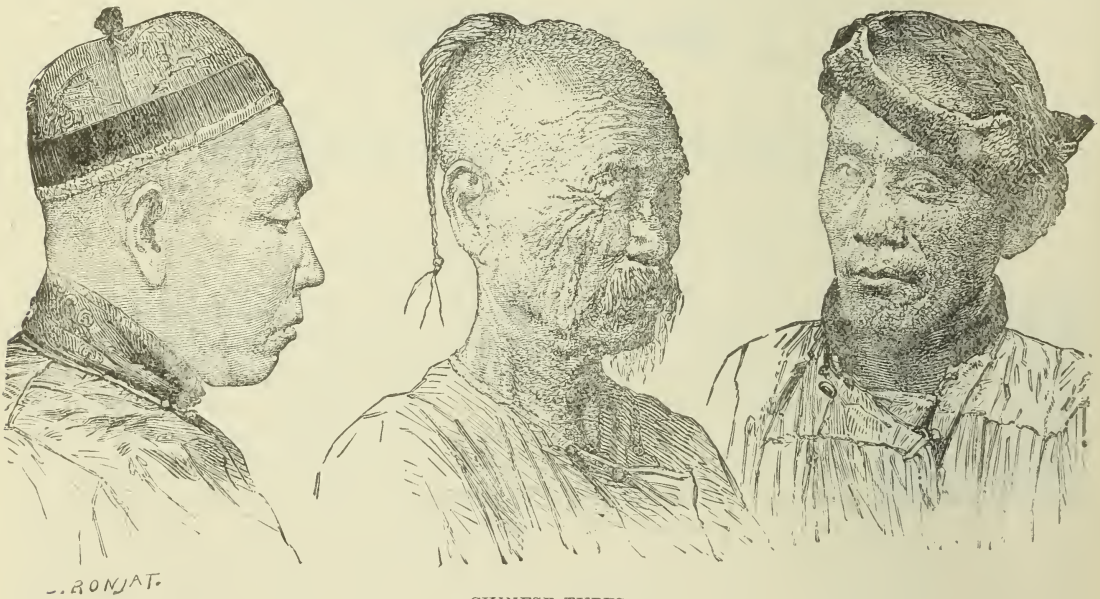
It is the purpose in the present chapter to give a mere outline of Chinese history, especially in the last century. The meagerness of such a sketch will be compensated by the fact that the present forces of civilization are drawing all nations into affiliation, and that the pen of the near future will amplify and perhaps glorify the poor, brief pages devoted in this connection to the annals of China.

The history—seemingly authentic—of this wonderful country goes back to the year 2207 B. C. Even before this period the myths of the far ages have preserved the shadows of celestial and terrestrial rulers back to the time of Fuh-hi, to whom is attributed the founda-

tion of the Chinese Empire, nearly three thousand years before the Christian era. In that remote twilight we discover people working in the fields, writing on tablets, marrying and giving in marriage. The doctor visits his patients; the artisan constructs wagons, ships, and clocks; the goldsmith does cunning work in ornaments, medals, and coins; the philanthropist establishes schools.

It was, however, by Yu the Great that, in 2207, the foundations of temporal authority were securely laid in China. In the reign of his grandson a popular revolution occurred, by which Chung-kang was raised to the throne. The reign of this prince and that of Shan-kang provincial governors rose in revolt. Sometimes the hostile Tartars threatened the destruction of the Empire. It was in the latter part of this period—viz., from 551 to 479 B. C.—that Confucius flourished, and soon afterwards Mencius, the principal expounder of his doctrines.

The next dynasty was that of Tsin, under whose princes the unity of the Empire was restored. By Ching-wang, one of the later rulers of this House, the great Chinese Wall was built for the protection of the country against the incursions of the Tartars. Ching-wang resumed the title of Emperor, which had long been in abeyance, and became the national



CHINESE TYPES.

and Ti-chu, who came after him, are represented as having been well-timed and vigorous. Afterwards we come to the dynasty of Shang, with its twenty-eight rulers, who occupied the throne from 1766 to 1112 B. C. These princes are said to have been wicked and cruel oppressors of the people.

The last member of this great House of Shang perished in a rebellion of the army against his miserable rule. General Wu-wang, who headed the insurrection, became the prominent founder of the dynasty of Chow. For nearly nine centuries he and his descendants held dominion over China. The annals of this period are filled with the story of bloody struggles, internal and foreign. Sometimes the hero of China. In order to destroy the memory of turmoil and disgrace he caused all the books to be gathered up and burned. It is to this circumstance that the fragmentary character of the works of Confucius and Mencius is to be attributed.

The next dynasty was that of Han, whose princes reigned from 206 B. C. to A. D. 220. Of this line of sovereigns, several left behind them a great reputation: Wen-ti, for restoring the ancient literature; Wu-ti, for patronizing the arts and sciences; Siuen-ti, for the conquest of Tartary; Ming-ti, for the introduction of Buddhism; Ho-ti, for his favor to agriculture and the cultivation of the vine.

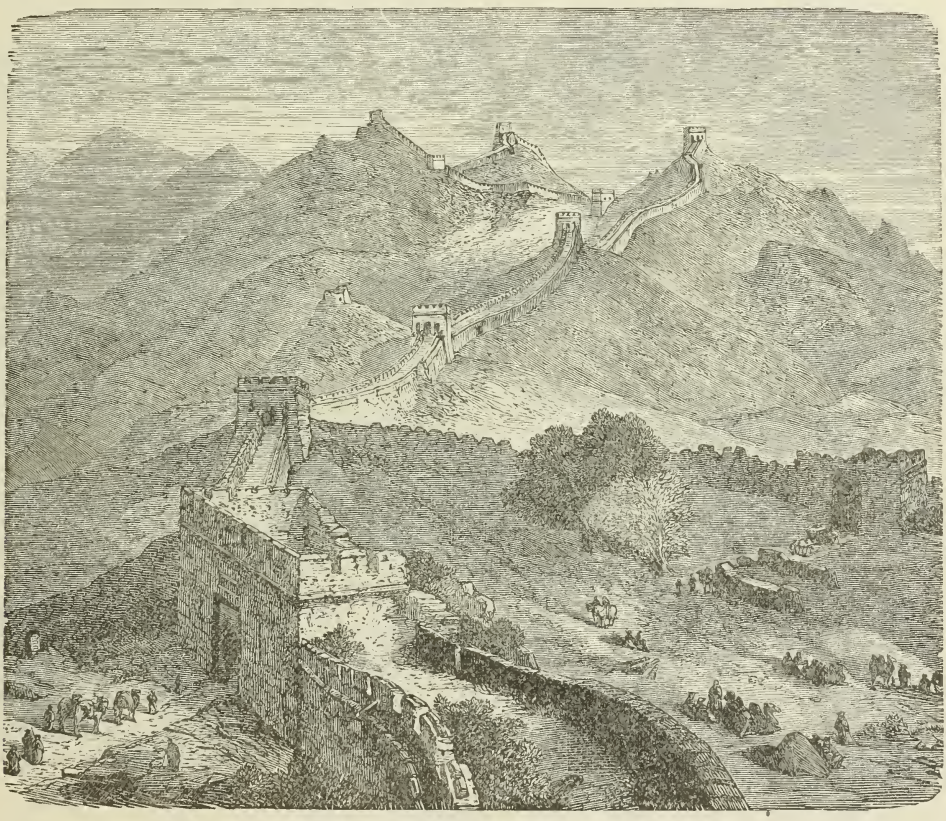
It was about the close of the Han Dynasty

that the nations of the West began to hear of China and the Chinese. There is a tradition that, about the year A. D. 200, a Roman embassy came to Pekin. Soon after this, the dynasty of Tsin was restored, and the three kingdoms into which China had been divided were again consolidated by the Emperor Wu-ti in the year 260.

In the following century—the fourth—the Tartars, who for many generations had beaten against the northern frontier, succeeded in breaking over the boundary and gaining a permanent foothold within the limits of the Empire. From this time, namely, 386 A. D., to the close of the sixth century, the four feeble dynasties of Sung, Tse, Liang, and Chin ruled the country. These times were full of trouble. Civil commotions prevailed, and warring factions in religion and politics gave the Imperial dominions no peace.

In the early part of the seventh century, Christianity is said to have been first proclaimed in China by Olopen, a Nestorian monk. A little later came the great Emperor, Tai-tsung, who was, in his own country, as famous a conqueror and organizer as was Charlemagne with the Franks or Haroun-al-Raschid among the Caliphs. By this Emperor the borders of China were widened out on the west to the confines of Persia. Under his successors, however, the Chinese power declined, and the Tartars again became troublesome on the north.

In the early part of the thirteenth century Genghis Khan made an invasion of China, and reached Pekin with an army of Mongolians. Under Kublai Khan, the first Mongol dynasty was established over the Chinese. The Sung dynasty was overthrown, and the royal family drowned themselves in the river at Canton. It was in the reign of this conquering Kublai that the traveler Marco Polo sojourned for a while at Pekin, and carried thence to Europe his wonder-inspiring story of things he had seen in the East.



CHINESE WALL.

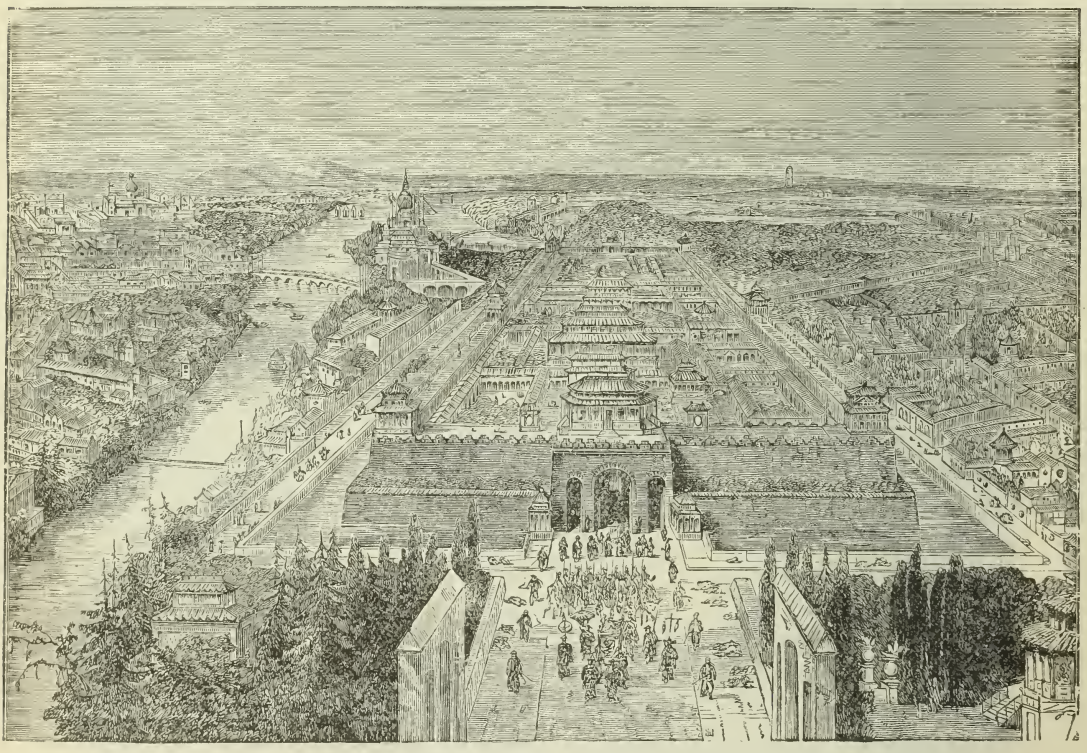
About the middle of the fourteenth century, China was visited with a great famine, and thirteen millions of her people are said to

have perished of starvation. So great was the distress, and so ill the repute of the reigning House, that a revolution broke out. A popular leader named Chu-Yneu-chang appeared on the scene, overthrew the Mongolian dynasty, and founded under his own sway the new House of Ming. Sixteen princes of this line held the throne for a period of two hundred and seventy-six years.

Meanwhile the Mantchu Tartars had become aggressive on the north. At length, in 1615, their Emperor was assassinated by the orders of the Chinese sovereign. From that time forth their vengeance slept no more until, in 1644, under the leadership of Li-tsi-ching, they entered Pekin, destroyed the reigning dynasty, and proclaimed their own prince, Sun-chi, as Emperor of China. From that time until the present the Mantchu Tartar Dynasty has held dominion over the country, and the boundaries of the Empire have been greatly widened by war and conquest.

The most conspicuous of the Mantchu princes have been Kang-hi, who came to the throne in 1661; Yung-ching, who reigned from 1722 to 1736; Kien-lung, who held the throne from the latter date to 1796, and by whom the greater part of Central Asia was reduced to Chinese authority; and Kia-king, whose reign, extending to 1820, was as cruel and tyrannical as it was vigorous and bloody. It was in the reign of the first of these sovereigns that the city of Pekin was overthrown by an earthquake, burying four hundred thousand of her people among her ruins.

From the beginning of the present century other nations took a deeper interest in the affairs of China. In 1807 an Anglo-Chinese college was founded at Malacca. In 1820 the Emperor Tan-kuang came to the throne, and soon afterwards that conflict began with Great Britain known as the Opium War. If we glance backward we shall find that, notwithstanding the commercial enterprise of England, she did not succeed in gaining a foothold in China until near the close of the seventeenth century. Even then the relations which the British established with the Celestial Empire were few and precarious. In the year 1793 a formal embassy, under Lord Macartney, was sent to Pekin, and was well received by the Imperial Government.

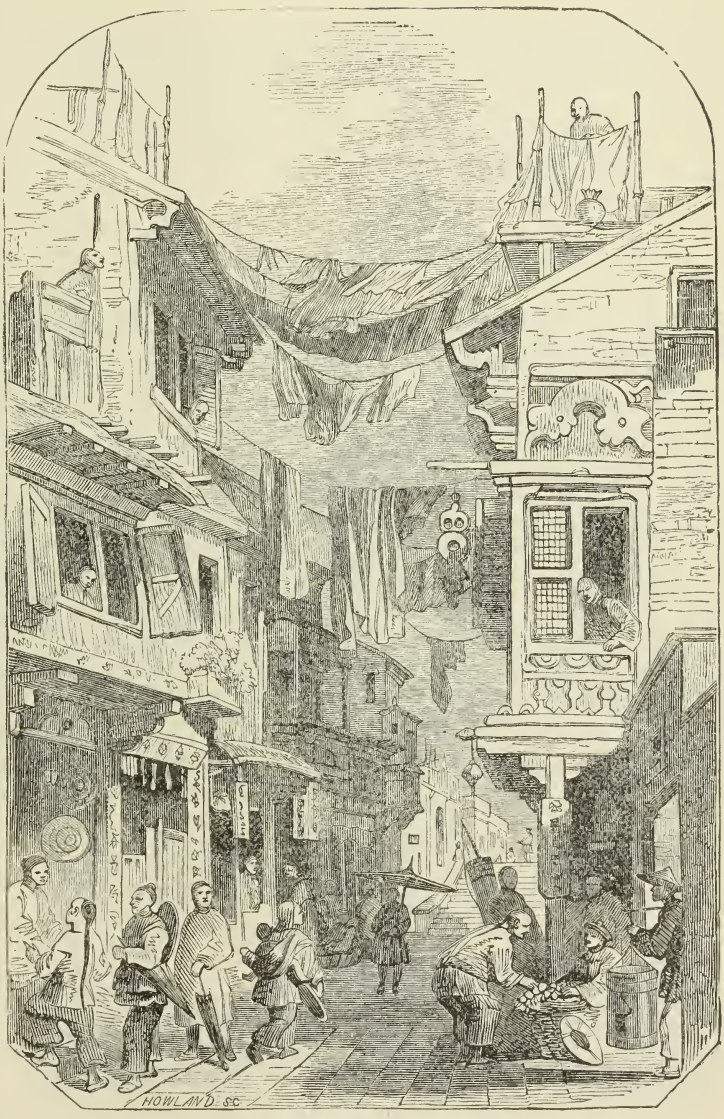


PEKIN, THE TARTAR CITY.

In 1816, however, a second embassy, headed by Lord Amherst, was less fortunate in its reception. The delegation was refused admission to the Emperor's presence; but, notwithstanding this backset, the slight trade which Great Britain had established with the Chinese was allowed to continue. This intercourse was carried on under the auspices of the British East India Company; but in 1834 the charter of that corporation expired, and Lord Napier was sent out by the Government to superintend the Chinese trade. This distinguished officer undertook to open communication with the authorities of Canton; but his efforts were unsuccessful, and two frigates which he brought to the coast were fired on by the Chinese forts at the Bogue. Napier fell back to Macao, where he presently died. For a while the British trade was carried on without the superintendence of any.

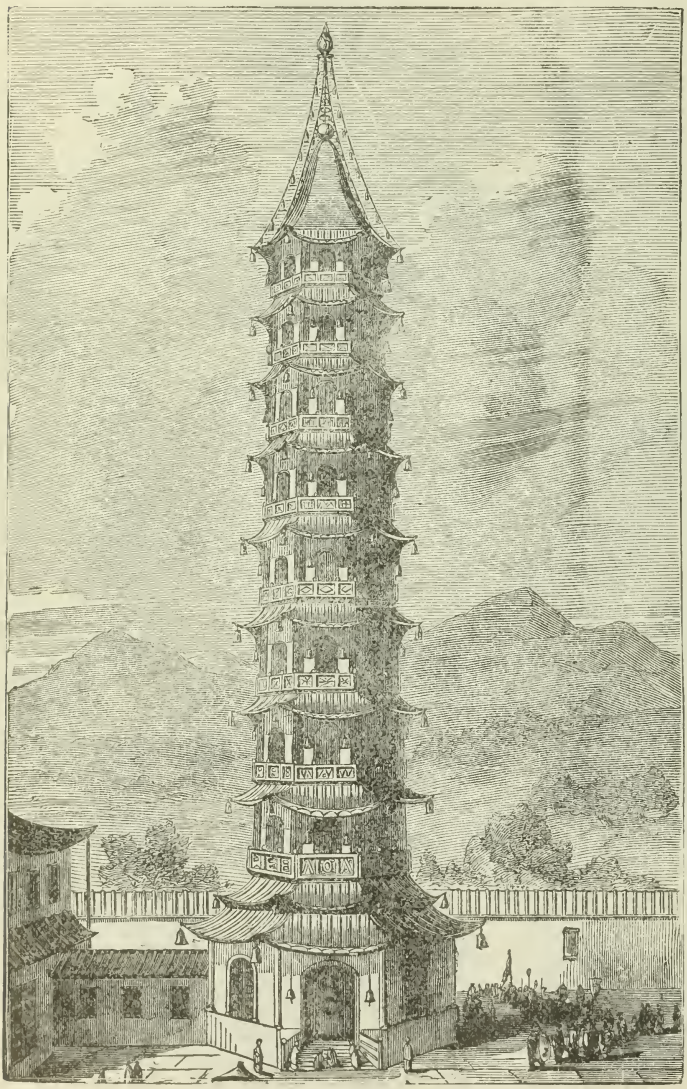
In 1837, Captain Elliott, of His Majesty's Navy, renewed the attempt to open communications with Canton. The point at issue, concerning which the profound antagonism of the Chinese was aroused, was the proposed legalizing of the opium-trade. Hitherto that trade, being illicit, had been carried on covertly, but a sufficient quantity of the pernicious drug had been introduced to arouse the fears of the Chinese Government as to the results. In the fall of 1837, Captain Elliott was notified by the Viceroy of Canton that the opium vessels must be driven away and not permitted to return. Had the British Government obeyed this mandate all would have been well; but England, with her habitual policy of making money at whatever disregard of international polity, did not exert herself to protect the Chinese from the continuance of the pernicious trade. The same went on for two years with little restriction.

In 1839 the Imperial Government, now thoroughly angered, sent to Canton a commissioner named Lin, who issued strenuous orders for the complete suppression of the opium business. He compelled the local authorities and merchants, whose palms were itching for gain, to surrender to him all the opium in the port. More than twenty thousand chests, valued at ten millions of dollars, were given up, thrown into a trench, and covered with a compost of lime and sea-water. But, notwithstanding this wholesale destruc



A STREET IN CANTON.

tion, the illicit traffic was continued. The Chinese Government became so much irritated that the British residents of Canton were constrained to withdraw from the city. Even the Portuguese colony at Macao was no longer a safe place for Englishmen. On the 6th of December, 1839, an edict was promulgated forbidding all trade of any kind with British ships and merchants. This led to a declaration of war, and in June of 1840 a British squadron appeared off Macao.



PORCELAIN TOWER, NANKIN.

The first actual hostility was at the mouth of the Yangtse, where the Island of Chusan was taken, on the 4th of July. In August negotiations were opened between British and Chinese ambassadors, and the terms of a treaty were agreed upon; but the Emperor refused to ratify the compact, and in the beginning of 1841 hostilities were resumed. Canton was brought under the guns of the British fleet, furiously bombarded, and was obliged to ransom herself by the payment of six million dollars. An avenue of trade was thus opened into the heart of the Empire, and even during the continuance of the war British opium-ships continued to eject their contents on the wharves of Canton.

On the 27th of August, 1841, Amoy was captured by the English fleet, and on the 18th of the following October the city of Ningpo was taken. During the winter nothing of importance occurred; but in May of 1842 Chapoo fell into the hands of the British, and in the next month Woosung and Shanghai were both captured. The British forces then moved against Chinkian and Nankin, the latter being the ancient capital of the country.

By this time the Imperial Government was ready to sue for peace, even at the expense of the ruin of the national character by the incoming plague of opium. In the summer of 1842 a treaty was concluded, the terms of which were sufficiently gratifying to English mercenary pride and sufficiently humiliating to China. It was agreed that there should be a lasting peace between the two Powers; that China should pay a war indemnity of twenty-one millions of dollars; that the ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai should be opened to foreign commerce; that Hong Kong should be ceded to Great Britain; that all British prisoners should be released; that the Chinese who had taken service under the British flag should not be punished; that future intercourse between China and Great

Britain should be on terms of equality; that Chusan and Amoy should be occupied until the indemnity was paid. Thus, by the right of the strongest and the law of the cannon, was China compelled to expose her teeming millions to the ravages of the life-destroying drug of Turkey and India, presented by the hands of Christian England. It was a work preparatory to the successful planting of Christian missions! The mockery needs no comment.

In February of 1844, Caleb Cushing came to China as ambassador from the United States. His mission was to negotiate a treaty with the Government, and to secure by friendly conference the same commercial advantages which Great Britain had obtained by force. In this work he was successful, and on the 3d of July, 1844, a favorable treaty was concluded at Wanghia, near Canton. Later in the same year, France also entered into treaty relations with the Chinese; and from this time forth the Imperial Government has been constantly, though with many checks and drawbacks, extending the field of its intercourse with foreign nations.



CHINESE OPIUM-SMOKERS.

It was in the nature of things, however, that the first decades of this new era should be greatly troubled by perplexing questions and reviving animosities. For a number of years after the conclusion of the treaties of 1842–44, foreign Powers were obliged to carry on their intercourse with China not directly with the Imperial Government, but through the Provincial Viceroys of the various States. This indirect method produced many misunderstandings and acts of violence. On the 8th of October, 1856, the Chinese constabulary of Hong Kong boarded a vessel called the *Arrow*, carrying the English flag, but manned by Chinese marines. The flag was torn down and the crew carried away by the authorities. Hereupon the British Consul demanded of the Viceroy the return of the seamen and a disavowal of the act. With the former request the Chinese official complied, but the latter he refused.

Without waiting for instructions from the home Government, the British officer immediately undertook to obtain by force the apology which the Chinese authorities had declined to make. But the Viceroy would not yield. On the contrary, he offered a reward for the heads of the British, and undertook to repel force with force. For several months a local war was conducted in the neighborhood of Hong Kong, and both the British and the Chinese Governments were obliged to take serious cognizance of what was going on.

The Western Powers deemed it advisable to act in concert, and France and England united in the determination to secure, even at the hazard of another war, a direct recognition of equality from the Emperor of China. The United States and Russia took a different view of the question, and gave to the ambassadors whom they sent to China instructions of a conciliatory character. As had been foreseen, Great Britain was now compelled to support her policy by force. A large army was sent out in the spring of 1857 to renew the war with China. But before reaching its destination the squadron was, as we have seen in a former Book, directed to change its course and proceed to India, to aid in the suppression of the Sepoy rebellion.

In the latter part of the year a portion of

the armament reached China, and Lord Elgin laid the ultimation of England before the Imperial Government. To this an unsatisfactory answer was returned, and on the 28th of December the British fleet opened fire on Canton. After a bombardment of one day the city was taken. It was a strange spectacle to see the ancient capital, with its more than a million of inhabitants, surrendering to a force of less than six thousand foreigners.

As soon as Canton was taken, trade was reopened, and the provincial Government reörganized under the auspices of France and England. At this juncture negotiations were reöpened with the Emperor at Pekin, but that sublime dignitary replied that the ambassadors of the foreign Powers should confer with the Viceroy of Canton, and not with himself. An advance of the allies was accordingly begun towards the Chinese capital. When the combined fleet appeared off Pei-ho, the Emperor, in answer to a second demand, replied that certain agents had been appointed to confer on the questions at issue; but it was soon known that the officers so appointed had only limited powers, and for this reason the negotiations were broken off.

In May of 1858 the allied fleet bombarded and stormed the forts at the mouth of the Pei-ho. The expedition then proceeded up the river to Tientsin, where they were met by another set of ambassadors, this time fully empowered to negotiate. Here treaties were made with the United States, Russia, Great Britain, and France. It was agreed that additional ports should be opened to foreign commerce; that the Yangtse River should be neutralized; that most of the restrictions on trade and travel should be removed; that residences of foreign Ministers should be permitted at Pekin, and that war indemnities should be paid to Great Britain and France.



BOMBARDMENT OF CANTON BY THE ENGLISH.

These several treaties were at once ratified by the Imperial Government; but the exchange of ratification was attended with much difficulty and several acts of hostility. For three years matters remained in so unsatisfactory a condition that the English and French squadrons were not withdrawn from the Chinese waters.

At length it became evident that the anti-foreign party was in the ascendant in the Imperial Council, and that no solid peace could be had without a further manifestation of force. In April of 1860, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, ambassadors of England and

France, arrived at Shanghai and laid the ultimata of their respective Governments before the Emperor. An evasive, or at least unsatisfactory, answer was returned. Preparations were immediately made to renew the conflict, and in August a force of five thousand men was sent to retake the forts at Pei-ho and the city of Tientsin. Both places were captured without serious losses.

At this time ambassadors were again sent out by the Emperor, and the terms of a treaty were agreed upon; but the allies came to believe that the Chinese were merely trifling, and renewed the campaign against the capital. Other legates came from the Emperor, but still no satisfactory adjustment was reached. Some of the English agents were seized and treated with cruelty. At length, in September, was fought the battle of PA-LI-KAO, and the Chinese were routed with heavy losses. On the 6th of October the allied army reached Pekin. A week later one of the gates of the city was taken by the English; nor, is it doubtful that the high places of the ancient Chinese capital would have been presently desecrated by a foreign soldiery, had not the authorities agreed to accept the treaty which had already been proposed at Tientsin.

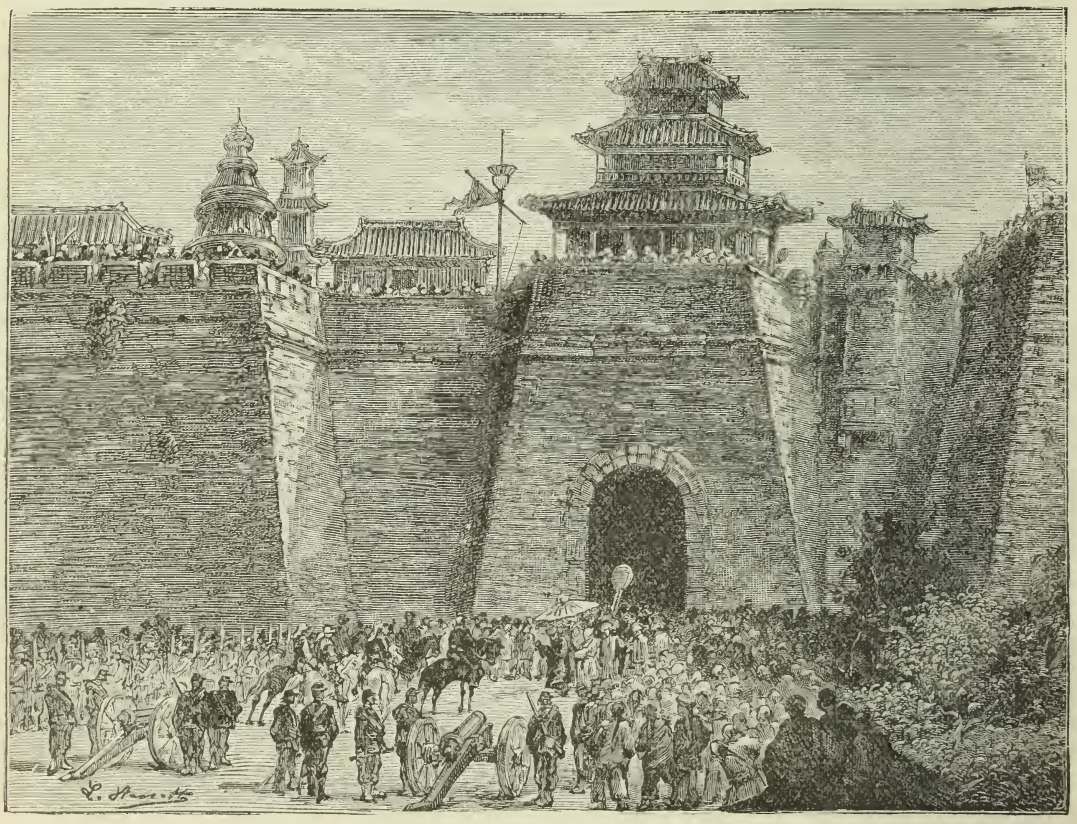
It was in the course of this brief occupancy of Pekin by the British that the summer palace of the Emperor was burned by the orders of Lord Elgin. This act, on the part of the British, was much criticised in other lands as a piece of wanton vindictiveness; but Lord Elgin justified himself on the ground that of the twenty-six subjects who, in the course of the war had gone to the Chinese under a flag of truce, only thirteen had returned alive, and that some retaliation was due for such a barbarous infraction of the rules of war.



BATTLE OF PA-LI-KAO.

Soon after the conclusion of these hostilities, the Chinese Emperor died, and the crown was transmitted to his son, who had not yet reached the kingly age. A regency was accordingly established, in 1861, and continued for twelve years. It was during this period that the Honorable Anson Burlingame was sent as an American Ambassador to China. His advent

at Pekin, in 1862, marks the beginning of the establishment of real amity between China and the Western Powers. By some means Burlingame managed to gain the confidence of the Emperor and his Court; and this advantage he used to promote in the highest degree the interests of his own and the country to which he had been sent. In 1865 he returned to the United States with the purpose of resigning his office; but the importance of the work in which he was engaged was recognized by the Government, and he was urged to reassume his task. Returning to Pekin, he remained two years longer, and then, to the astonishment of the whole world, Prince Kung, Regent of the Empire, appointed him *his* Ambassador, not only to the United States, but to the great Powers of Europe.

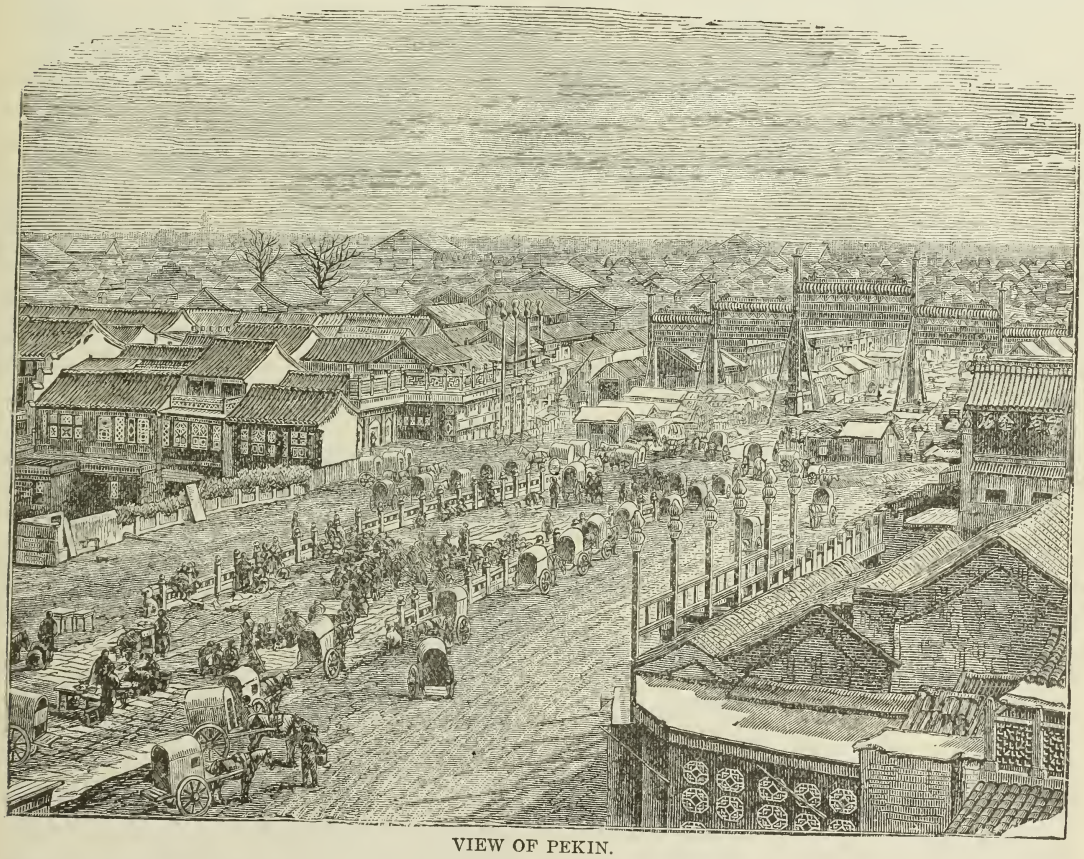


ONE OF THE GATES OF PEKIN GIVEN UP TO THE ALLIES.

This most important mission Burlingame accepted, in 1867, and immediately departed to assume his duties as a treaty-maker with the principal States of Christendom. With our own Government he was eminently successful, and, in 1868, secured the amplification and acceptance of the treaty concluded ten years previously. China was thus induced to accept the Law of Nations as the rule of her intercourse with foreign States. Burlingame next set out for England on a similar mission, and thence to France, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and Prussia. In all of these countries, with the exception of France, he was at once successful. In 1868 he repaired to St. Petersburg, where, just as he was beginning his important work, he fell sick of pneumonia, and died after an illness of only a few days. His success on his great mission had shown him to be one of the *avant-couriers* of civilization.

From the date of the Burlingame Treaty, China rapidly advanced to a more reputable rank among the great Powers of the world. One serious blot was fixed on her escutcheon—the Tientsin massacre of June, 1870. For some reason never fully known, but doubtless religious in its origin, the French officials, resident in this city, became the objects of an intense hatred to the people. A murderous mob broke out, and the French

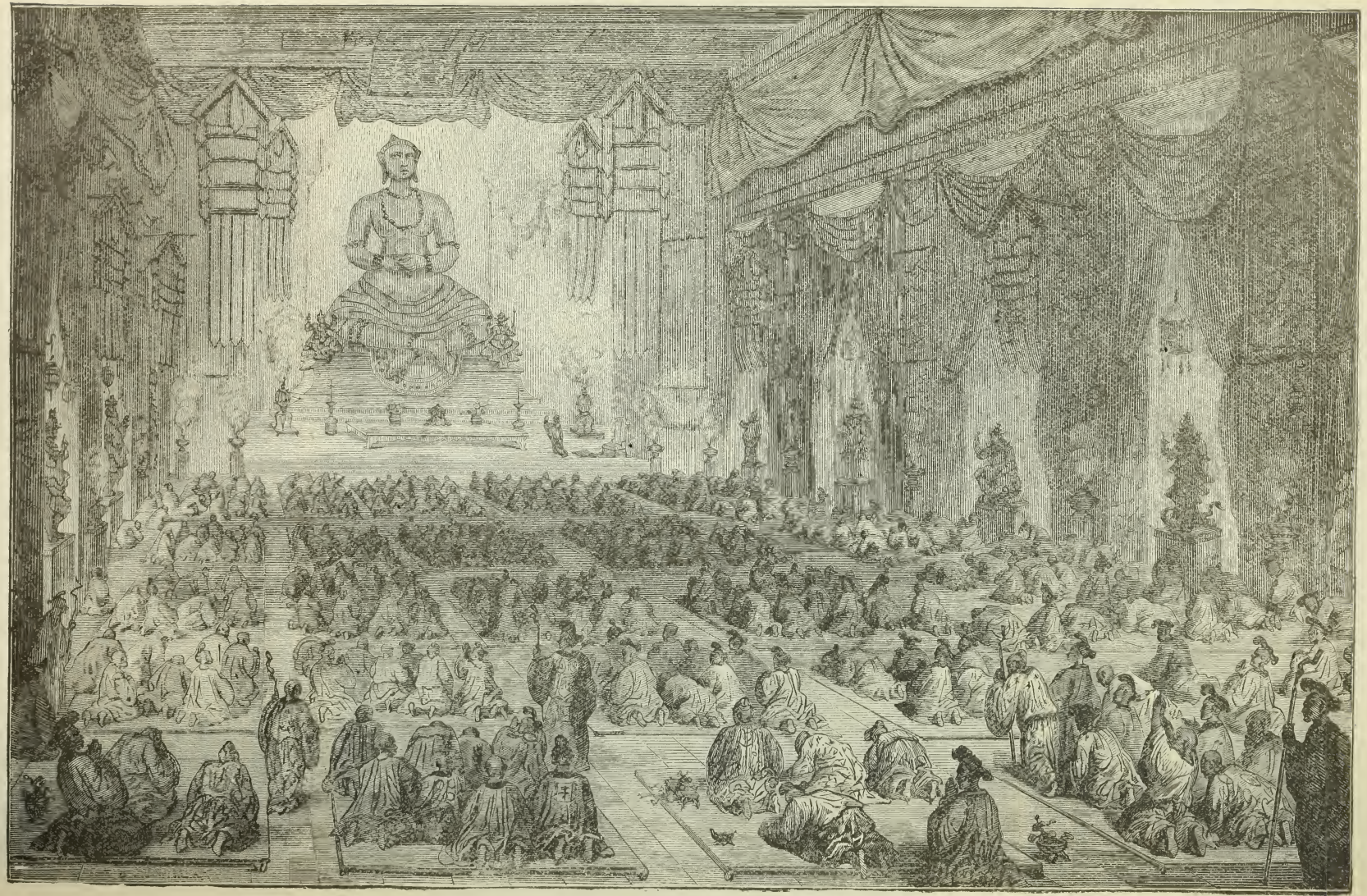
Consul, Vice-Consul, interpreter and his wife, a Catholic priest, nine Sisters of Charity, a French merchant and his wife, and three Russians were brutally murdered. All the buildings belonging to the embassy were destroyed, and the atrocity was not ended as long as a trace of the foreigners remained. It appeared, however, that the Chinese authorities were not responsible for the horrible outbreak. The Imperial Government at once took measures to punish the local officials who were implicated in the massacre, and a special embassy was sent to France to express the regrets of the Emperor for the crime committed by his subjects.



VIEW OF PEKIN.

The story of the war of 1858, between the Chinese on the one side and the French and English on the other, has already been recited. Sufficient reference has been made to the terms of the treaty, to the war indemnity extorted by the allies from the Imperial Government, and to the other circumstances with which the conflict was concluded. It might well appear that the humiliation of the Chinese Government was complete. The hated foreigner had trodden the capital, and it seemed that destiny had at length mocked and destroyed the immemorial policy of the Empire. It is likely that mortification at the insult and injury done to his country hastened the death of the Emperor Hin-Fung, who expired in the summer after the close of the war, leaving the Imperial throne to his son, Tung-Che, at that time but five years of age.

No sooner had hostilities ceased with the English and French than the Chinese authorities turned their attention once more to the suppression of the rebellious Tai-Pings, who had for some time been in defiance of Imperial authority. The Government succeeded at this juncture in enlisting the sympathies and services of that remarkable personage, Colonel Charles George Gordon, of the Royal Engineers, destined from the campaign upon which he now entered to be known to the world as Chinese Gordon. Of his subsequent career in the East up to the event of his death at the hands of the Mahdi's assassins in the Soudan,



RELIGIOUS CEREMONY IN CHINESE TEMPLE.

an account has already been given in a former chapter. Gordon soon succeeded in organizing a formidable army, incorporating with his forces the command of the American Colonel Ward, who had already been engaged against the Tai-Pings. An invasion of the rebellious district was now begun, and Gordon's army was constantly victorious. City after city in the Tai-Ping country was taken, but it was not until 1864 that the insurgents were finally brought to submission. Tin Wang, Prince of the rebel province, fell with the capture of Nankin, and the war was at an end.

In the meantime, the province of Yun-Nan, into which Mohammedanism had penetrated and gained there a sort of proscriptive authority over the other religions, also broke into rebellion, and a chief named Suleiman kept the Imperial army at bay. The Chinese Empire, however, had at this time advanced no further than a *Staatenbund*, or assemblage of confederated provinces. It was the policy of the Government to permit the provincial princes to rule their territories as they would. For this reason the war against Suleiman was not pressed with vigor. At length the rebel Prince's son Hassan was sent to great Britain to gain the recognition of the Queen for his father's Government. Hereupon the Imperial authorities were alarmed. The war was actively pressed, and Ta-Le Foo, capital of Yun-Nan, was taken from the insurgents. The latter were soon scattered in all directions and exterminated.

During the first years of the minority of Tung-Che, the child Emperor, the Government was under the Regency of two Dowager Empresses, wives of the late Emperors. Early in 1873, however, it was determined that the youth should be recognized as reigning in his own right, and the Dowager Empresses resigned their authority. With this event another great aggression was made upon the exclusive policy which had hitherto constituted the leading characteristic of the Imperial Government. The foreign ambassadors at the Chinese Court took advantage of the situation, and demanded the right, generally conceded in European countries, of personal audiences with the Emperor. Hitherto it had never been granted that a foreigner should gaze upon the Sacred Countenance. But this privilege was now extorted, and the foreign Ministers were granted the right of audience with the Emperor in person.

Soon afterwards Tung-Che died of small-pox, and the Imperial crown went to the Emperor's cousin, Kwang-Seu, who was not yet four years of age. It was the first time since the accession of the Mantchu-Tartar dynasty, in 1644, that the direct line of descent had been broken. It was regarded as a great misfortune that the crown should be again conferred on a child at a time when every national and international relation seemed to demand a strong and rational government. It happened, however, that this necessity was in part supplied by the ascendency of Li Hung Chang, the successful General of the Tai-Ping war. Holding the office of Prince of the Imperial Council, he became a sort of Mayor of the Palace. The Regency under the Dowager Empresses was reëstablished; but one of these died in 1881, leaving the survivor to the exercise of sole authority.

The Mantchu Princes in different parts of the Empire greatly resented the supremacy of Li Hung Chang; but the latter held his place, and adopted the policy of bringing the Chinese army into a higher state of efficiency than it had ever previously attained. To this end he established military schools and camps of instruction, and employed European officers to drill and instruct the soldiers in the tactics of the West. At the same time the Chinese capital was fortified so as to make it impregnable against assault, and a fleet of gun-boats, built for swift and energetic movements in the Yellow Sea, was constructed. The General went so far as to procure the building in English and German dock-yards of several first-class men-of-war. But while making this provision against present emergencies, he took care to establish navy-yards and arsenals from which hereafter China might launch and equip her own navy.

In the meantime, the friendly relations already existing between China and the United States had been drawn more closely by the establishment of a resident Chinese embassy at Washington. It was largely the result of the personal influence of General Grant and of his administration as President of the United States. It was the policy of that silent and astute man to draw the Oriental na-

tions into amity and commerce with our country. Such was his sincerity that he gained a hold upon the Imperial rulers of the East which no other American had ever possessed. Accordingly, in 1878, the Chinese Government sent out its first permanent embassy to the United States. The establishment was the legitimate fruit also of the great and liberal treaty negotiated twenty years previously by Ansom Burlingame. Under the protection of this compact, the commercial relations of the two countries had been vastly extended, and a knowledge of the institutions, manners, and customs prevalent in the Celestial Empire so widely diffused as to break down in some measure the race-prejudice existing against the Mongolians. The enlightened policy of the reigning Emperor had also contributed to establish more friendly intercourse with the United States, and to promote such measures as should make that intercourse lasting.

The idea of sending resident ambassadors to the American Government had been entertained for several years. The Emperor had been assured that the people of China—more particularly her Ministers—would be received with all the courtesy shown to the most favored nation. The officers chosen by the Imperial Government as its representatives in the United States were Chen Lan Pin, Minister Plenipotentiary; Yung Wing, Assistant Envoy, and Yung Tsang Siang, Secretary of Legation.

On the 28th of September, 1878, the embassy was received by the President. The ceremonies of the occasion were among the most novel and interesting ever witnessed in Washington. The speech of Chen Lan Pin was equal in dignity and appropriateness to the best efforts of a European diplomatist. Addressing the President the Chinese Minister said:

"Mr. President: His Majesty, the Emperor of China, in appointing us to reside at Washington as Ministers, instructed us to present your Excellency his salutations, and to express his assurances of friendship for you and the people of the United States. His Majesty hopes that your Administration may be one of signal success, and that it may bring lasting peace and prosperity to the whole country. On a former occasion the Chinese Government had the honor to send an embassy to Washington on a special mission, and the results were most beneficent. His Majesty cherishes the hope that this embassy will not only be the means of establishing on a firm basis the amicable relations of the two countries, but may also be the starting-point of a new diplomatic era which will eventually unite the East and West under an enlightened and progressive civilization."

In the meantime a threatening condition of affairs had arisen with respect to Chinese immigration into the United States. It became known in the Celestial Empire that gold-mines and silver-mines of great richness existed in our Pacific States. The precious metals have long constituted one of the few magnets capable of drawing the Chinese adventurer into foreign parts. We shall hereafter see companies of Celestials trooping from mine to mine in Australia, hunting the golden particles with all the assiduity of their race. At length the Chinese made their way into California, then into Nevada and Oregon. When it came to building the Central Pacific Railway it was found that Chinese laborers were the most available element within reach of the contractors. A considerable part of that great work and of the other immense stretches of railway constructed in the Pacific States was the result of Chinese labor. Living after the Chinese fashion and economizing everything in the Chinese manner, frugal and temperate as they were to the last degree, the Celestials were able to work for a minimum of pay, which to them indeed seemed the most astonishing wages.

This condition soon told upon the American and European laborers, with whom the Chinese were brought into competition. Then began that strife which has not yet ended. The Europeans and Americans raised the cry that they were ruined by Chinese cheap labor. From the first it was impossible to consider the question from a rational point of view. The demagogues seized hold of it, and turned it to their own advantage. Those politicians of the baser sort, who have been the bane of the American Republic, put themselves forward as the alleged champions of American free labor against the pauper labor of the East. They announced that the Chinese should be driven from the country. Statesmen were afraid to touch the question, lest the votes of the Pacific States should be lost to their



PEKIN TRAGEDIANS.

respective parties. No doubt there were many and gross evils attendant upon the large importation of Chinese laborers into our Western ports, but the greater portion of the agitation against the Celestials was pure prejudice and infamy.

It became necessary, however, for the Government of the United States to take the question under serious consideration. It was perceived that the existing treaty stipulations would have to be modified with a view to restricting by law, if not the immigration, at least the importation, of the Chinese into our country. Accordingly, in 1881, Honorable James B. Angell, President of the University of Michigan, was sent as American Envoy Extraordinary to China with the view of securing a change in the existing laws. In this work he was successful in the highest degree. The negotiations were conducted on the line of distinguishing between the importation of Chinese coolies and other degraded classes for the special uses of the American labor market and the legitimate immigration of the Chinese of the upper and professional classes—mandarins, merchants, travelers, scholars, and others of like character. The Imperial Government cheerfully conceded the required restriction upon the further importation of the former classes for a period of years; and in return for this concession the Government of the United States agreed that henceforth no opium should be carried into China by American merchants or in American ships, and that both American merchants and American ships should henceforth regard the laws of China in all their intercourse in the Chinese ports. Thus while Great Britain and several other European States persist in the nefarious trade, pouring upon the Chinese coast an avalanche of East Indian opium, amounting for Bengal alone to forty-five million dollars annually, the American Government has set the example of decency and international honor, from which it is to be hoped she will never abate a jot or tittle.

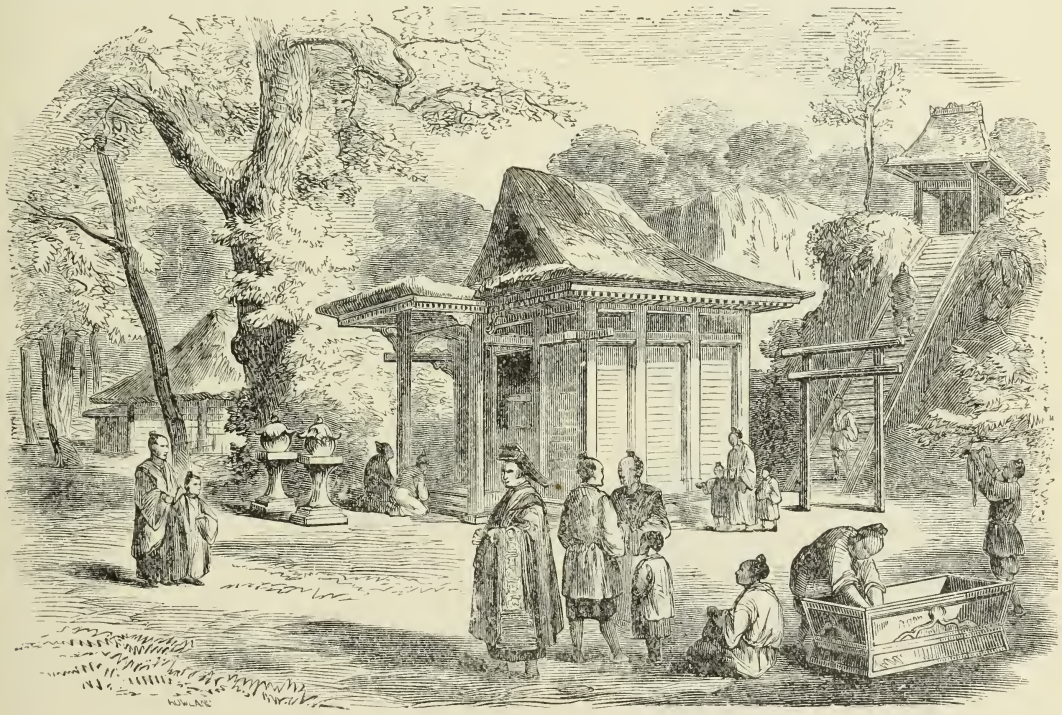


CHINESE MANDARIN.

As indicated at the beginning of the present Chapter, the outline here presented is but a cursory sketch of events, which, could they be viewed from the stand-point of Chinese historians, publicists, and statesmen, must widen into an infinity of details and a universality of interest. The Chinese people represent at present the conservatism of the human race. From them the radical peoples of the West have something—perhaps much—to learn. The age in which we live is rapidly becoming cosmopolitan. The territory of the earth is known to all its metes and bounds. The races of men have distributed themselves to the utmost limits of the world. The media of communication have become so far-reaching and perfect that the nations of mankind are as one in information, and must presently become one in sympathies and purpose. The regeneration of China is the greatest task imposed upon our epoch. That the gates of the Orient will presently open wide to receive the energies of the progressive and scientific peoples of Europe and America can not be doubted, and that those peoples will in their turn gather out of the East, as did the Greeks and the Crusaders, much to improve and enlighten the existing order, may well be hoped and expected.

CHAPTER CLVI.—JAPAN.

OF the Empire of Japan much that has already been said in a general way with respect to China may be repeated. But the two peoples, the two nations, are as unlike in their genius and tendency as are the Germans and the French, or the Norwegians and the Portuguese. Both the Chinese and the Japanese are Oriental, but the people of the Island Empire look in one direction while the Celestials look in another. We may confidently expect that the national development of the two shall presently present phenomena totally at variance, and perhaps wholly surprising, in the view of the Western races.



SHINTO SHRINE, NEAR YOKOHAMA.

Like China, Japan has only at a recent date forced her way into international associations and impressed her purpose upon the consciousness of other peoples. Of a certainty her history—ancient, mediæval, and modern—is of immense proportions; but the annals of this aspiring race have not yet been sifted from the darkness and placed on that plane of certainty on which we find the history of the classical nations of Europe and Western Asia. In the present Chapter we shall aim at nothing more than a sketch of the mythology and ancient story of the Japanese, down to a time within the memory of men still living. When we arrive at the latter date the narrative may be properly expanded into fuller proportions.

Like all other races, the Japanese story-tellers and mythologists have formulated and preserved an account of the origin of things; and this is the form and rhythm of the myth:

"In the beginning the world had no form, but was like an egg. The clear portion—the white—became heaven; and the heavy portion—the yolk—became the earth." Such are the words of the holy Book Shinto, or *Way of the Gods*. The narrative proceeds with the cosmogony of the people—first, the dynasties of the gods, then the dynasties of men. It is

the same old story, with its infinite inflections and incredible marvels. Two gods descended from the skies. Of them a son was born, Amaterashi Omikami, whose body was so bright that he ascended to heaven and became the sun. Then a daughter came, and she was the moon. Other children, in whom the upward tendency was not so strong, remained in the Island of Japan, and became the ancestors of the race.

Anon the myth melts into the tradition;



KATO KIYOMASA.

the tradition, into the poem; the poem, into the history. Thus about the year B. C. 600 we come to the dawn. The Japanese Herodotus is not complimentary in his description of his early countrymen. They were hairy. They ate meat raw. They abode in rude villages, and obeyed the head man of the settlement. But when the great Jimmu Tenno came, all this was ended, for he was a great civilizer and tamer of savage men. He subdued the barbarous tribes and brought order out of chaos. He compelled the hirsute natives to yield to civil institutions. The Japanese affirm, at least those of the higher classes, that they are the offspring of Jimmu Tenno and his people, and not of the hairy savages whom he conquered. There are, indeed, very manifest traces in the present physiognomy of the people of some such amalgamation of two races as is here indicated. The broad, flat face of the one, and the high nose and oval face of the other seem to point unmistakably to two sources of ancestral descent.

Jimmu Tenno established the capital of the country at Kioto. He was a law-maker as well as a conqueror. From him the title of *Mikado* is derived, a word signifying the Honorable Gate. The primitive Japanese Constitution did not preclude women from the throne, and the names of several famous empresses are found in the line of Jimmu. One of these, Jingo Kogo, conquered Corea, and gave to the Empire a son who, after his death, was deified as a god of war. At the middle of the sixth century, a prince of Corea brought over to Japan the idols and books of the Buddhists, and presented them to the Emperor.

Previously to this time the works of Confucius and other writings of the kind had familiarized the Japanese with the literature and religious beliefs of the Chinese. Against these the doctrines and practice of Buddha made rapid headway. During the reign of the Empress Suiko, in 593, full toleration was granted to the new faith. To this epoch belonged the resurvey of Japan—by which the provincial boundaries were properly established—and the invention of a script in which to write the langnage. The latter was the work of the famous priest Kobo, who flourished in the first quarter of the ninth century.

Meanwhile some important political and social customs had sprung up. Among these may be mentioned the common abdication of the emperors who were wont, after a brief reign, to retire from power and become priests. The art of brewing *saké* was invented about the close of the seventh century. The discovery of gold, in the year 749, led to the coinage of money as the agent of exchange. A little later, namely, in 788, Japan was invaded from the west by an army of Mongols; but the latter were defeated and driven away in confusion by the warlike natives.

The following three or four centuries in the history of Japan are occupied with the growth of the great princely families and the consequent decline of the Imperial authority. The names of the principal noble houses are Fujiwara, Taira, Minamoto, and Tachibana; and with the stories of these, of their intrigues and wars, the Japanese annals of the times are filled. Another circumstance also conduced to undermine the Imperial authority. This was the looseness of the social system. Custom had given to the Mikado twelve concubines as well as his lawful wife But any of these might become the mother of the future sovereign. The choice of the same depended wholly upon the will of the Mikado.

The consequence was that the Japanese princes struggled and conspired and fought to gain the throne of their father. Sometimes there were two reigning Emperors. This condition of affairs tended to make the army rather than the civil authority the power to which the claimants turned for the decision of their rights. The municipal guards became almost as important a factor in the history of the times as were the prætorians in the later annals of Imperial Rome.

It was by means of this central confusion and weakness that the local princes of the empire were enabled to build up their provincial thrones at the expense of the General Government. Many of the vassals almost rivaled the Mikado in power and influence. In order to counterbalance this growth of local independence, the Mikado, near the close of the twelfth century, introduced an important change into the civil administration. He appointed a Governor-Generalissimo called the *Shogun*, whose duty it was to exercise a military, and in most matters a civil, jurisdiction over the whole Empire. The first to hold the office of Shogun was the famous hero, Yoritomo, who was appointed in 1195, and who soon made himself the real ruler of the country. The Mikado became a kind of a shadow; the Shogun was the substance.

In the year 1260 the great Tartar Emperor Kublai Khan made a successful invasion of China. From that country ambassadors were sent by the conqueror on three several occasions to Japan. Some of these were insulted, and others put to death. At this Kublai Khan was greatly angered; and in 1274 he sent out a powerful expedition to conquer the offending country. But the Japanese drove back the Tartars with great slaughter.

An interval of seven years elapsed before Kublai Khan renewed the conflict. Then, in 1281, he made a second descent on Japan with an immense fleet and army. But in this instance the elements joined their wrath with Japanese valor to scatter and destroy the Tartar armament. The complete victory of the Shogun's army put an end to invasion, and centuries elapsed without the reäppearance of hostile fleets on the Japanese coasts.

The fourteenth century was mostly occupied with civil wars. There was one Emperor in the north and another in the south, both claiming to be the true Mikado. Down to the year 1573 these factious disturbances continued, insomuch that this period in Japanese history is known as the Epoch of War. It is in this time that three of the greatest names in the annals of Japan are brought to notice. These are Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Iyeyasu. The first of these heroes undertook to consolidate the Empire by reducing the weaker clans and overawing the stronger. In this work he was succeeding to admiration when he was struck down by a traitor. Hideyoshi then followed in his footsteps, took up the cause, and completed Nobunaga's unfinished work.

Both of these great leaders were sworn enemies to Buddhism, and both sought as a counterpoise to this religious power to encourage and strengthen the Jesuit missionaries. Among other great projects, Hideyoshi aspired to be the conqueror of China. He raised an army of a hundred and sixty thousand men, commanded by his great general, Kato Kiyomasa, and in 1592 proceeded by way of Corea to invade the Celestial Empire. At this juncture, however, he died, and his great expedition came to naught. His office was claimed by his son, and also by the warrior Iyeyasu, who overpowered the House of Hideyoshi and established his own. Thus was founded the Shogunate of Tokugawa, whose princes held power in Japan from 1603 until 1867. These two and a half centuries were as conspicuous for peace and quietude in the Empire as former times had been for wars and turmoils.

Iyeyasu made Yedo the capital of Japan,

and may be properly regarded as the most illustrious personage in Japanese history. It was in the long interval of the supremacy of his House that the Empire became not only organic, but venerable in its institutions. Socially considered, the country was feudal. A



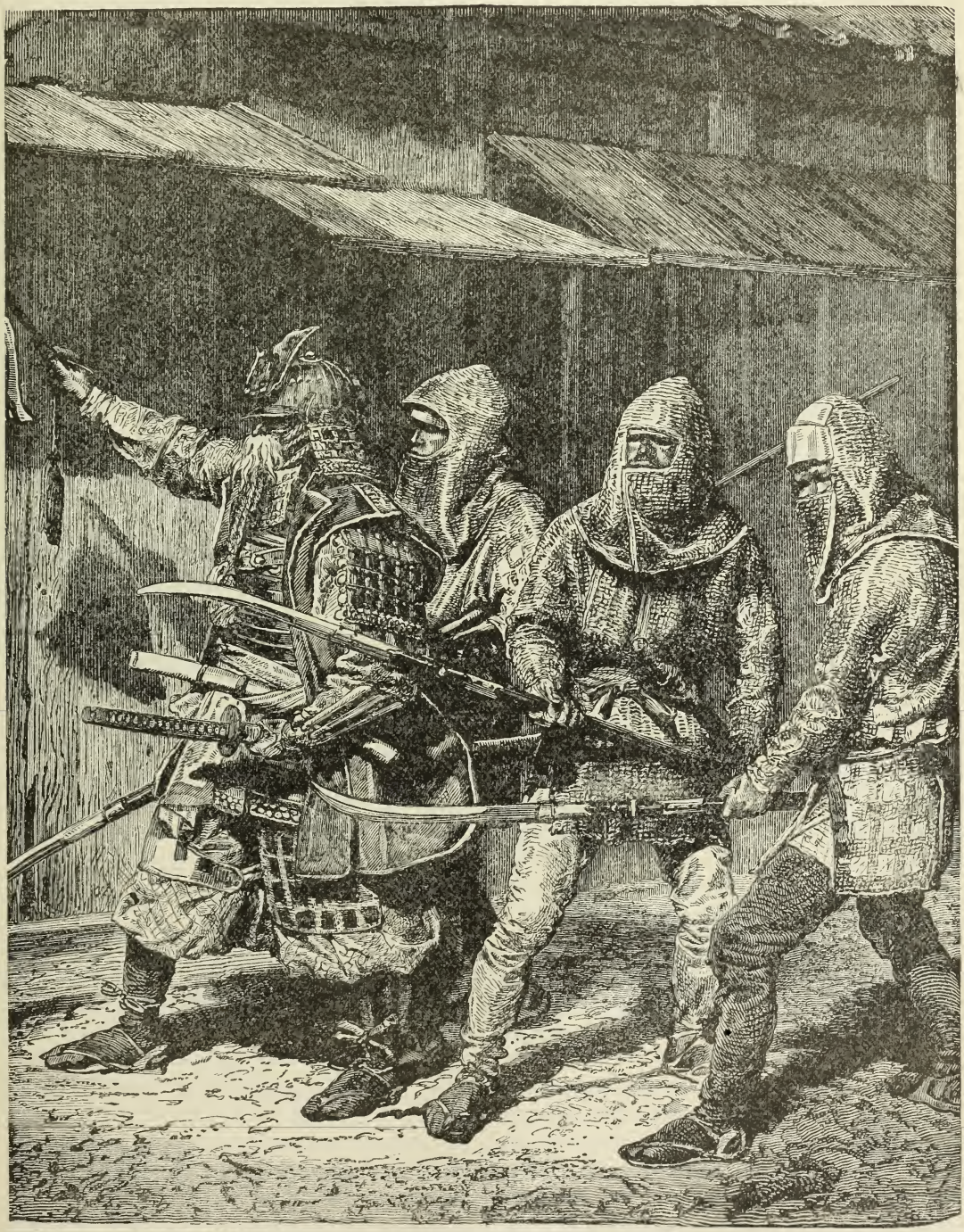
BATTLE OF KUBLAI KHAN WITH THE JAPANESE.
Drawn by F. Lix.

condition of affairs supervened almost identical with that of Europe in the tenth century. The customs, manners, and sentiments of the Japanese were essentially those of feudalism.

As to the government, the same was dual in character. There were two capitals and two heads to the State. The first was the Mikado, the divine Emperor, the source of all rank and honor, fit to be worshiped. The second was the Shogun, the military and civil Emperor, wielding the sword, maintaining peace by authority. The residence of the first was a temple; of the other, a castle. The one had for his companions priests and nobles; the other, warriors and vassals. One was the sovereign of Japan *de jure;* the other, *de facto.* In theory, however, the Emperor was always the high and mighty source and origin of Imperial authority.

The knowledge which the Western Nations first obtained of Japan and the Japanese came from Marco Polo, the Venetian traveler. Afterwards this knowledge was enlarged and rectified through the medium of Dutch and Portuguese adventurers and traders. In the course of time missionaries found their way into the island, and many Japanese converts were made in divers places. But the proselyting disposition of these ambassadors of Christianity tended constantly to produce unfriendly relations between them and the Buddhists. In 1622 a terrible massacre of the Christians occurred at Nagasaki, and many were sacrificed with horrible tortures. After this it presently transpired that the Christians in various parts of the island were engaged in a conspiracy to overthrow the Imperial Government. When this fact was discovered, the persecutions were renewed, and edicts of expulsion were issued

against all the Portuguese in Japan. The trade which they had enjoyed was taken away and given to the Dutch, whose enmity to the Cath-



JAPANESE WARRIORS IN ANCIENT ARMOR.

olics brought them into sympathy with the Japanese. These events happened in 1637–39.

In the following year the Christians in the Island of Amakusa revolted, and, crossing over to the main-land, captured the castle of Shimabara. This they held for a considerable time against the army of the Shogun, but the latter was at length successful, and the siege was ended by a massacre of more than thirty thou-

sand people. The reduction of the castle was effected by means of cannon, which the Japanese borrowed from the Dutch. The latter, for more than two centuries after these events, held a monopoly of the foreign trade of Japan. Not even the vigorous merchants of England were able to gain a footing in the island.

During the continuance of the Iyeyasu Dynasty, the Mikado, surrounded by his nobles, held his court at Kioto. The Shogun fixed the seat of his Government at Yedo, and there reigned as lieutenant of the Emperor. Here also resided the four classes of territorial nobles. These were, first, the Princes or Lords of provinces; second, the Relatives of the Shogun's family; third, the Landed Noblemen; fourth, the Vassals of those who had been retainers of Iyeyasu. There were two Councils of State, namely, the Senior and the Junior Senators; and of these Councils one of the chief duties was to keep watch and ward over the nobles and princes.

A system of espionage prevailed, so far-reaching and inquisitorial as to make the lives of the officials of the Shogun's Government almost intolerable. Besides this, the law made every head of a Japanese family responsible for the conduct of its members. Every five families were grouped together, and among these there was mutual responsibility for one another's actions. There was much social tyranny. A man of common rank could not change his residence without a certificate of previous good conduct. Every man of the lower classes must be elaborately registered on a tablet in a neighboring temple. The good results of the system were that crimes were infrequent, and that the concealment of the criminal was almost impossible.

On the emergence of Japan into the historical foreground in our own age, the people were found in the thralldom of the past. Society was organized on the aristocratic basis. The people were fixed in orders and systems and strata, out of which it seemed impossible to pass. Previous to the year 1871 there were nine classes of Japanese, and the relations among them were almost as arbitrary and unyielding as those by which the castes of India are held in form. The first of these social classes were the nobles of Kioto; the second, the nobles of Yedo; the third, the lower nobles, or Daimios; the fourth, the priests and professional men; the fifth, the farmers; the sixth, the artisans; the seventh, the merchants; the eighth, the actors and beggars; and the last, the tanners, skinners, and workers in leather. In 1871 the Emperor issued a decree removing the social disabilities of his subjects, and admitting all to citizenship.

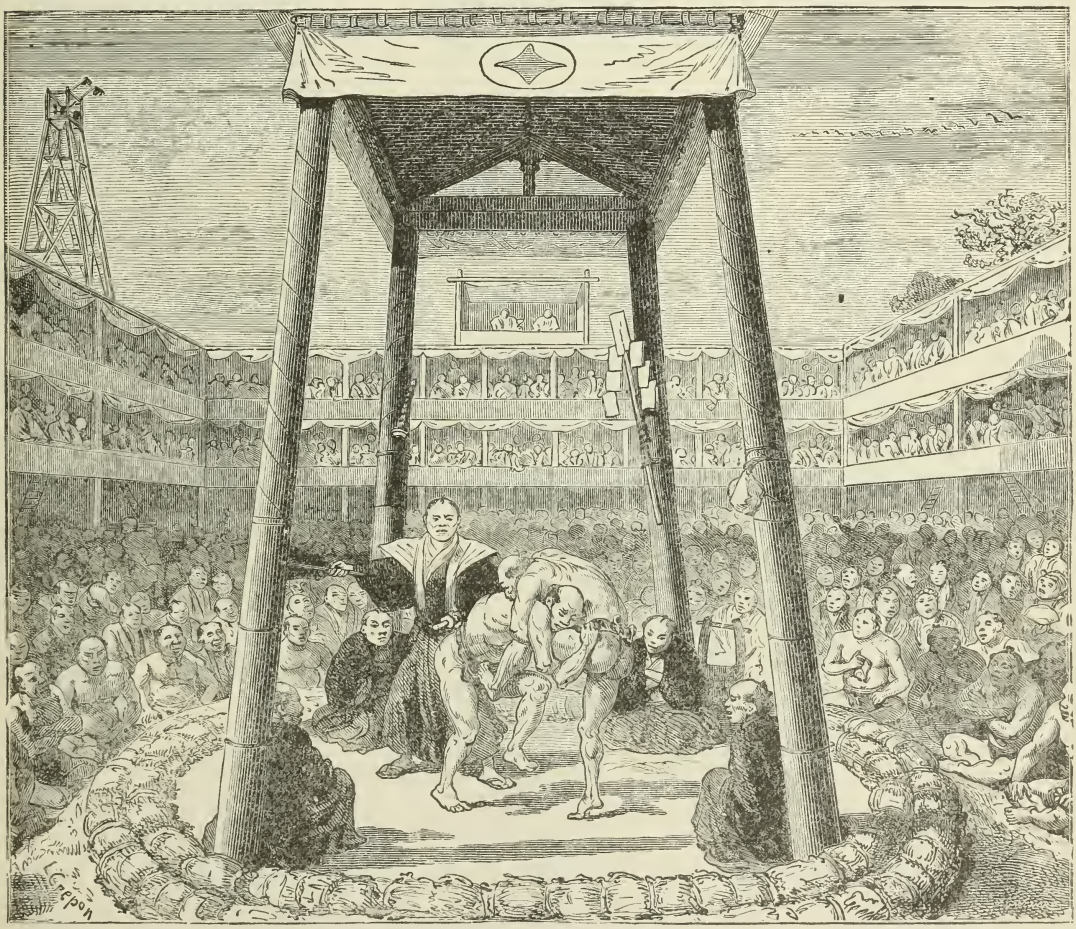
Perhaps no other nation in the whole circle of civilized and semi-civilized States has, in the last quarter of a century, made such wonderful progress as Japan. The opening up of intercourse between that country and the United States by Commodore Perry, in 1854, however forceful and arbitrary, was the beginning of the establishment of cordial relations between the Japanese and the peoples of the West. The harbors of the island were rapidly opened to foreign commerce. England and Russia followed the example of the United States and concluded advantageous treaties. Our own compact was greatly improved in 1857, and again in the following year. Between this time and 1874 full treaties of amity were concluded by Japan with our own country, Great Britain, Russia, Holland, Prussia, Portugal, France, Spain, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Greece, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Hawaii, Peru, and China. All of these compacts, though they began in semi-violence, are characterized by the spirit of true enlightenment.

Japan has shown and is showing herself capable of a grand display of statesmanship. A volume could not contain the record of the great social and political regeneration which has taken place in the Imperial dominions. In 1863–68 a civil war occurred in Japan, the general result of which was the overthrow of the Shogunate; the destruction of feudalism; the transfer of the Imperial residence to Yedo, of which the name was changed to Tokio; the emancipation of the people from social thralldom, and the emergence into broad daylight of the Mikado and his Government. It was the triumph of nationality over localism, of civilization over mediæval barbarity, of the present over the past.

A marvelous change now spread over the face of the island. It was discovered that the great peoples of the West were not barbarians; that their institutions and laws were worthy of imitation; that their learning and history

were sufficient to merit the praise even of Orientals. To all of these considerations the Japanese have responded with a glad alacrity; and the thoughtful observer, sunning himself amid the splendors of Fairmount Park, in our centennial summer, could but be astonished at the elegance of the court in which were displayed the products of the genius and industry of Japan. The contents surpassed description. The display of Japanese bronzes attracted universal attention and universal praise. The porcelains were, beyond comparison, the finest of the whole Exposition—finest in quality and in the immense variety of the exhibit. Richness of coloring—vivid hues of scarlet, green, and gold—prevailed everywhere. Lacquered ware of every variety, superb cabinets exquisitely designed, and silken screens embroidered with figures infinite, curious faces, and Japanese costumes, made up a display which astonished the peoples of the West with the profusion of Eastern art.

The current decade has furnished from the annals of Japan one of the most interesting and cheering chapters in the civil history of modern nations. It is a spectacle of a civil Government emerging from the old dogmatic and arbitrary forms, which had been entailed by the rudeness of the Middle Ages, into the regular, liberal, and symmetrical development



JAPANESE WRESTLERS.

of a highly organized and well-balanced Constitutional Monarchy. The work has been done under our very eyes, as if once in history we should be permitted *to see* the actual transformation of political society. We refer to the formation and adoption of the New Imperial Constitution of Japan, which was promulgated on the 11th of February, 1889.

This Constitution has not only been adopted as the fundamental law and outline for the



(826) VIEW FROM THE BRIDGE OF NIPHON, TOKIO.

future civil development of the Empire, but it has gone abroad in many translations through the Japanese embassies, at the civilized capitals of the world, to elicit the praise of publicists and statesmen among all peoples. The marvel of the matter is that the great instrument which we are now to consider has not been the result of revolution, turmoil, and bloodshed, but has sprung rather from the enlightenment and progress of the Japanese people and the liberal policy and purpose of the Emperor himself. The Constitution has been planned and conceded by the Imperial Government to the people. It may be called the voluntary contribution of the present Emperor to posterity. What had cost Europe and America centuries of strife has been so silently and peaceably accomplished as scarcely to be known in the process. The event is one of the most extraordinary in the history of the nations, especially when we remember that within the short space of thirty-five years Japan has been pressed forward by the inevitable logic of events, and transformed from a mediæval State into the Sparta of Asia, the England of the Orient.

It can not fail to interest the student of history to glance into the philosophy of the event, and to note the antecedents of the transformation through which Japan has, in a civil sense, so recently and miraculously passed.

Until 1854, when Japan opened her doors to foreign trade and intercourse under the armed eloquence of *Christian* diplomacy, her political institutions and solitary seclusion from the outside world had long proved a clog to the wheels of national progress. At that time we find Japan backed with a history of twenty-five centuries, during which the Imperial throne had been occupied by the same dynasty; but for the past eight centuries the Shogun, or, as he is called abroad, the Tycoon, had, by hereditary right, usurped the sovereign powers of the Empire, and exercised a despotic sway over the three hundred feudal lords who occupied the whole country. This Feudal system, with all its attendant evils arising out of local strife and jealousy, had thus far made a united national movement towards progress an impossibility.

Except limited relations with the Chinese, the Coreans, the Siamese, and the Dutch, the Japanese had had no intercourse with the outside world. Perhaps this determination of non-intercourse had been strengthened by the rash and insolent acts of the Jesuit priests and their native followers, who had alarmed and angered the Shogun by their political intrigues, leading him, in the sixteenth century, to expel and exterminate them by force. This had greatly increased the antipathy against foreigners in general, and against Christianity in particular, so that that faith was prohibited under the severest penalties. Thus, while the outside world was ablaze with the meridian sun of civilization, this hermit nation of the East was fast asleep, with bolted doors and drawn blinds.

Notwithstanding this pitiable state of affairs, the Japanese nation was destined soon to awake with freshened vigor. Behind the dark clouds which hung over the Japanese Islands thirty-five years ago, there lay a new era fraught with germs of great possibilities. These seeds of the future were: First, the educated intellect of the people; second, the national characteristic of unselfishly assimilating the higher and better civilizations with which they came into contact; and third, the logic of events, which pushed aside the shadows and let in the dawn. Let us look briefly at each of these elements tending in common to the creation of the new era.

1. The Japanese people, noted for their polished manners, had had for centuries a civilization of their own. Literature and the fine arts were carried to a high order of perfection. The study of the Chinese classics, which required the mastery of several thousand characters, strengthened the retentive faculties of mind, while the study of mathematics and the subtle philosophy of Confucius and Mencius developed the logical faculties in the highest degree. Thus while Japan was yet far behind Christendom in science and the useful arts, she was fully their equal in the education of *mind;* that is, in the development of the mental faculties. It is safe to say that thirty-five years ago the law of heredity and the process of discipline had bequeathed almost the same aptitude to the Japanese brain as to that of the European. Nothing was wanting in the Japanese mind but a hint from others. Even a quick glance into the civilized world

abroad was sufficient to break the ancient habit, and to excite a passion for going forth into the new avenues of Western civilization.

2. The national characteristic of the Japanese people, quick to cast away old traditions and prejudices at the sight of a new and better thing, was another force that brought about the present form of government. This spirit had already been manifested in the ancient history of Japan, when Buddhism and the teachings of Confucius were introduced without causing any serious international commotion. With this same spirit the Japanese now began the arduous task of assimilating their institutions and civilization with those of the Christian States of Europe and America.

3. The events which brought about the change are numerous; but the most important of them was the establishment of treaty relations with the Western Powers, beginning in 1854. About this time a small band of loyalists, becoming discontented with the Tycoon's method of government, found a particular cause of offense in his action in concluding treaties with the Western Powers without obtaining the Imperial sanction. Consequently, under the banners of a loyal, anti-foreign and anti-Shogun party, they gathered an invincible force. A short and decisive civil war ensued, in which the loyalists came out victorious.

The Shogun tendered his resignation in 1868. The governmental powers were restored to the hands of the Emperor. The Feudal system was abolished by an Imperial edict, thereby breaking down the double barriers between the Crown and its subjects, and uniting the latter in patriotic devotion to their country. Notwithstanding the former resolve of the loyalists, the new Government began its career with amicable relations with the foreign Powers, ratifying the treaties made by the Tycoon. Fourteen years' experience of intercourse with the Western nations had taught the Government and people of Japan to respect them and admire their civilization. The blind hatred of the former days was soon changed into an intelligent respect. Even the Christian religion was now tolerated, and the Government and people united in an eager solicitude to introduce into Japan the sciences, useful arts, and political institutions of Christendom.

Those who took the most prominent part in the civil war were chiefly *young men* of no hereditary rank or title; and after the restoration, personal merit and intellectual worth alone, and not titled imbecility, became the ruling influence of the Empire. The territories which had been occupied by the Feudal Lords were now divided into prefectures, and the prefects, who were directly under the control of the Minister of the Interior, were appointed by the Emperor from among the young men referred to above. A Board of Imperial Council was formed, and in this, as well as in less important posts of government, we see the same elements of youth and regeneration. This work brought in the dawn of the new era from which Japan dates her revival and progress.

On the 6th of April, 1868, the Emperor, under oath, proclaimed that a Deliberative Assembly should be formed, and that all measures of state be henceforth determined according to public opinion; that the old customs and usages, detrimental to progress, should be abolished; that impartiality and justice should be the future criteria of public action; and that intellect and learning should be sought throughout the world in order to establish the foundations of the Empire on rational and enduring principles.

The Emperor faithfully kept his pledges. In 1875 the *Genro-in*, which is a kind of Senate, was established to deliberate upon the laws of the Empire. In 1878 Local Assemblies were organized in every prefecture, consisting of members elected by the people under certain property qualifications. These assemblies meet once every year to consider and give approval to matters relating to local taxation and kindred subjects.

On the 12th of October, 1881, the Emperor issued a proclamation in the following general terms:

"Whereas, we have long had it in view to establish gradually a constitutional government: and whereas, it was with this object in view that we have already established the Genro-in and Local Assemblies; therefore, we hereby declare that we shall, in the year 1890, establish a Diet, in order to carry into full effect the determination we have announced. And we charge our faithful subjects bearing our com-

missions to make, in the meantime, all necessary preparations to that end."

The enterprise went steadily forward. In 1885 a responsible Ministry was formed, and this was followed, in 1888, by the establishment of a Privy Council. These successive steps towards the creation of a constitutional form of government were but the tangible manifestation of an unseen revolution which had taken place in the mind of the Japanese people. This revolution was greatly promoted by the reports of numberless commissions sent abroad by the Government to investigate the existing institutions of Japan; by the sentiment of a thousand students who, receiving education in foreign lands, brought home not only the arts and sciences of the West, but also the liberal ideas of representative government; by the incitements of popular education and the diffusion of higher learning at home; by the establishment of a great university and hundreds of high-schools; by the vast circulation of newspapers and periodicals, four hundred in number, filled with the advocacy of free institutions; by copious translations into Japanese of English, French, and German authors; and finally, by introducing railroads, telegraphs, steamers, banking and postal systems, etc., which, combined with the influx of the most ingenious inventions and articles of trade, proved an effective means of dispelling anti-foreign prejudices from the minds of the common people.

Let us now examine the major provisions and principles of the New Imperial Constitution. It is an instrument consisting of seven Chapters and seventy-six Articles, and is remarkable for its comprehensiveness and the display of statesmanship manifested in its composition.

Chapter First defines the Emperor and his relations to civil society. He is sacred and inviolable. He exercises the rights of sovereignty according to the Constitution, and executes the legislative enactments, with the consent of the Imperial Diet. He sanctions, promulgates, and enforces the laws. He convokes, opens, closes, and prorogues the Imperial Diet, and dissolves the House of Representatives. In times of emergency, when the Diet is not in session, he issues ordinances to take a temporary effect, but to be approved or rejected at the ensuing session of the Diet. He has the supreme command of the army and navy, and determines their organization and peace standing. He declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties. He determines the organization of the different branches of administration, and the salaries of all civil and military officers, and appoints and dismisses the same from service.

Chapter Second defines the rights and duties of subjects. No Japanese subject shall be arrested, detained, tried, or punished, unless according to law, and by the judges determined by law.[1] Except in the cases provided in the law, his home shall not be entered or searched without his consent, and the secrecy of letters shall remain inviolable, as also the right of property. The freedom of religious belief is secured, and within the limits of law the citizen shall enjoy the liberty of speech, of writing, of publication, of public meeting and association, and also the right of petition. He is amenable to service in the army and navy, and also to the duty of paying taxes. He may hold civil or military offices equally, according to qualifications determined in law and by ordinances.

Chapter Third relates to the Imperial Diet. The same consists of a House of Peers and a House of Representatives. The former is composed of the members of the Imperial family, of the nobility, and of persons nominated by the Emperor; and the latter, of members elected by the people.[2] The Diet shall be convoked every year; but when urgent necessity arises, the body may be called in extraordinary session. Every general law requires the consent of the Diet, and both Houses must vote upon *projĕts* of law submitted to them by the Government; and each House may itself initiate *projĕts* of law.

[1] The student of History can but be impressed with the almost perfect identity of this clause with the opening paragraph of Magna Charta. *Nullus liber homo capiatur*, etc. "No free man shall be seized or distressed or imprisoned, etc.; nor will we," saith King John, "proceed against him except by the judgment of his peers, and in accordance with the law of the land."

[2] In the law of election, among other qualifications for the electors and eligible persons, the payment of direct national taxes of not less than fifteen *yen* per annum is required.



(830) JAPANESE SCHOOL.

Each is also empowered to make representations to the Government as to laws, or upon any other subjects. Except upon demand of the Government, or by resolution of the House, the deliberations of both Houses shall be public. Each House may present addresses to the Emperor, and may receive petitions presented by subjects. No member of either House shall be held responsible, outside of his respective chamber, for any opinion uttered or for any vote given in the House. The members of both Houses shall, during the session, be free from arrest, unless with the consent of the House, and except in cases of flagrant delicts, or of offenses connected with a state of internal commotion or with some foreign trouble. The Ministers of State and the Delegates of the Government may at any time take seats and speak in either House.

Chapter Fourth prescribes the duties and functions of Ministers of State and Privy Councilors. The Ministers of State give advice to the Emperor, and are responsible therefor, and all laws, Imperial ordinances, and rescripts of whatever kind, require the countersignature of a Minister of State. The Privy Council shall, when consulted by the Emperor, deliberate and give advice upon important matters of state.

Chapter Fifth regulates the judicature, which is exercised by the Courts of Law, according to law, in the name of the Emperor. Proper qualifications are necessary for the appointment of judges; and they shall not be deprived of their position unless by criminal sentence or exemplary punishment, the rules for which shall be determined by law. Except in cases prejudicial to peace and order or public morality, trials and judgments of courts shall be conducted publicly.[1] All matters that fall within the competency of a special court shall be especially provided for by law. No suit at law which relates to rights alleged to have been infringed by illegal measures of the executive authorities and coming within the competency of the Court of Administrative Litigation, especially established by law, shall be judicially cognized by the Common Courts of Law.

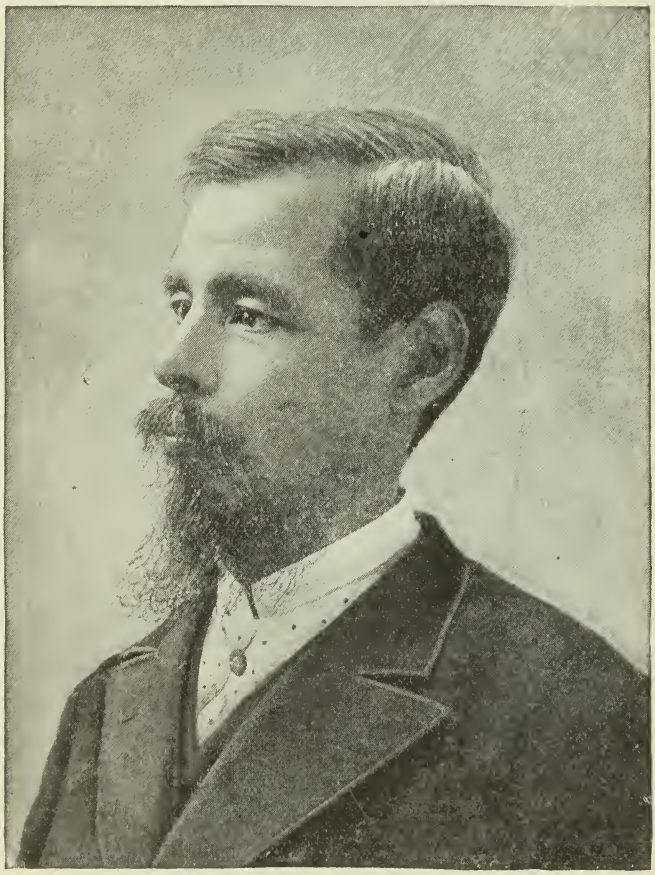
Chapter Sixth treats of the finance. A new scheme of taxation, or any scheme modifying the existing rates, shall be determined by law, but all administrative fees or other revenues having the nature of compensation for public service are exceptional. New national loans require the consent of the Diet, as does also the annual Budget; and all expenditure overpassing the amount provided in the Budget shall subsequently require the approval of the Diet. Except in the case of a necessary increase, the expenses of the Imperial House shall be defrayed out of the national treasury according to the existing scale already established. Those expenditures which by the Constitution are determined by the Emperor, and such as may have arisen by the effect of law, and such as appertain to the legal obligations of the Government, shall be neither rejected nor reduced by the Diet without the concurrence of the Government. A sinking fund against expenditures may be required of the Diet by the Government for a determinate number of years, in order to meet special emergencies. When the Diet has not voted on the Budget, or when the Budget has not been formulated for the year, the Government shall follow the Budget of the preceding year. In case of urgent necessity, for the maintenance of public safety, and when the Diet can not be convoked, the Government may take all needed financial responsibilities by means of Imperial ordinances subject to the approval of the ensuing session of the Diet. Every final account of finance, verified and confirmed by the Board of Audit, shall be submitted to the Diet for approval.

Chapter Seventh covers all supplementary provisions. Amendments to the Constitution shall be submitted to the Diet in a *projêt* by Imperial order, and their adoption requires a vote of two-thirds of not less than two-thirds of the whole number of members. No modification of the Imperial House-Law shall be required to be submitted to the deliberation of the Diet; nor can any provision of the Constitution be modified by the Imperial House-Law.

Such is an outline of that remarkable organic structure which the Emperor and Japa-

[1] The reader can but note that causes involving public morality may be heard in judicial session, that is, with closed doors—a provision by which the sluice-gates of scandal and indecency are effectually shut down.

nese statesmen have provided for the future government of the Empire.[1] Taking into consideration the rapid progress which the country has made in the past three decades, it appears that the Constitutional frame just adopted is but the logical fruit of national growth and expansion. From the peculiar aptitude of the Japanese to assimilate their thoughts, manners, and civilization to those of Christendom, we may well be confident that this first-born of civil liberty on Asiatic soil will grow mighty by its regenerating vigor, and permanent by its adaptation to the needs of the people. But this can be fully realized only when the States of Europe and America, acquiescing in the reasonable demands of Japan, shall liberate her from the iron chains of the unjust treaties wherewith they have bound her limbs.



MUNEMITSU MUTSU,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States.

In all events, the Japan of the present day is no longer the Japan of the past. The nation is awake. Activity and progress are displayed on every hand. The frugality and industry of the people have astonished Western economists; and the moralists of Europe and America have been constrained to acknowledge the social virtues—the courtesy, the respectful manners, the dignified demeanor, the sincerity, the modest ambition to know and to be—of the Japanese race. The educational progress of the people has been a matter of wonder; and the readiness with which they accept the new because it is better, and discard the old because it is inferior, has excited the emulation and pricked the conscience of the Western peoples to the extent of revealing to them a moral defect, of the existence of which in themselves they had not been previously aware.

The outgoing to distant lands of scores of the best young men of the country; the privation and social embarrassments which all such cheerfully undergo to the end that they may gather the treasures of foreign learning, the fruits of foreign discipline; the cheerfulness with which the aged parents of such give up their sons to reside for years among strangers, and the pride with which they welcome them home when their education is completed,—all show conclusively that a better epoch has dawned, and that New Japan has opened wide all her gates to the fructifying sunbeams of a higher civilization.

[1] The foregoing account and analysis of the new Imperial Constitution of Japan have been furnished to the author by the Honorable Aimaro Sato, of Washington City. Mr. Sato is Secretary of the Japanese Legation to the United States, under His Excellency, Munemitsu Mutsu, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Imperial Japanese Majesty. The facts presented, the outlines of the discussion, and the larger part of the composition are the work of Mr. Sato, whose familiarity with the subject can not be doubted. The author has himself examined a copy in English of the new Constitution, and thus verified Mr. Sato's presentation of the subject.

CHAPTER CLVII.—AUSTRALIA.

AUSTRALIA is another of those great countries which has been revealed to the consciousness of mankind within the present century. It is, however, out of all analogy with the Oriental Empires, which we have been considering in the two preceding chapters. The nation, instead of going back in its origins to barbarism, furnishes one of the best examples of a transplanted civilization. Like the United States of America and Canada, Australia has had a phenomenal, rather than an evolutionary, development. It was as though a new nation should be transported in a fleet, and set down in a distant quarter of the globe hitherto unoccupied, except by a weak, timid, and sparse population of savages. History is thus able to put her hand under the bottom and beginning of things, and it is likely that the great Australia of the ages to come will be more perfectly known, from a historical point of view, than any other nation and country of like extent.

We may well follow this line of reflection, and assert that States and nationalities, constituted as Australia has been, have a great advantage in this: That they are the work of right reason and rational adaptation, rather than the rude and approximative experiments of half-barbarism struggling to reach the light. It need not surprise the reader to be informed that the current political, social, and civil order presented in Australia has many features which the oldest and wisest nations of the world are coming to imitate and adopt, simply because they have been the product of right reason applied to the affairs of men. The ripest experiences, political and otherwise, of Great Britain have been employed in giving form and consistency to the institutions of Australia. There has thus been opportunity for doing the work as if *de novo*. No impediment has existed to the free exercise of the highest judgment of the English-speaking race in constructing this new Australian fabric, which is scarcely older than the life of a veteran. Such has been the success of the institutions and methods of the country that we have lived to see the United States of America boggling in the dark and laying hand on the Australian ballot-system as a means of defense against the political corruptions cultivated and perfected by the descendants of the Puritans!

In our own country the coming of Australia into the English-speaking sisterhood of nations has been gladly welcomed. Notwithstanding the remoteness of the country and the unfortunate circumstances under which its society was at first projected, we have felt for the Australians a sympathy similar to that which, in the last quarter of a century, has drawn so strongly together the American and the Canadian peoples. This disposition was encouraged and developed not a little by the part taken by Australia at our Centennial Exhibition, of 1876. The visitor at that great assembly of nations and aggregation of arts and industries had not strolled far adown the magnificent avenues of display until he discovered that Australia had remembered the jubilee of American independence. The flocks on her hill-sides had contributed their magnificent fleeces to surprise the Western nations. The Argonauts of the South Pacific were home again with the richest of treasures! Here stood an obelisk of phantom gold, showing in cubic inches the quantity of *real* gold taken from the mines of New South Wales since 1851. Here were bars of New Zealand tin and blocks of coal; sections of beautiful timber and cocoons of silk; ores of antimony and copper; native wines and heaps of precious stones. Excellent photographs of the principal Australian cities and scenery added much to the interest of the exhibit, and the observer passed on, realizing the fact that the Island Empire of the South Pacific had become one among the powers of the earth.

Is it an Island? or is it a Continent? Here is a coast-line embracing a circuit of eight thousand miles. Here is an area scarcely less than three million square miles in extent.

Here is a territorial capacity—a variety and compass of territorial condition—sufficient for the development of one of the most powerful nationalities on the globe. All the civilizing forces in Europe might here find room for exercise, and a population equal to one-fifth of all the inhabitants of the earth would hardly be uncomfortably compressed within these ample borders.

It belongs to geography, rather than to an outline of general history, to present the physical character and potencies of Australia. Suffice it to say that only the Australian coasts and coast-lands have been thoroughly explored. In the interior vast regions are as yet but partly known. In general the central districts consist of a table-land of moderate elevation, with small mountain ranges rising here and there. In many parts the plain sinks into valleys and swamps, sometimes fertile, but more frequently of a sandy and rather unproductive soil. In some regions desert tracts are found, where only the poorest species of vegetation can exist. Passing towards the coasts, however, the traveler enters more fertile districts, and his eye is greeted with some of the most beautiful scenery in the world.

Those parts of Australia which have been most fully made known to Europe are the eastern and south-eastern portions. This region has been thoroughly explored and surveyed. The eastern coast has mountain ranges of considerable magnitude. The principal mountains of these ranges are known as the Australian Pyrenees and the Grampian Hills, which extend eastward and westward from Melbourne. The highest mountains of the whole continent are along the eastern coast, and are known as the Australian Alps, the loftiest peak of which rises to a height of more than seven thousand feet. North of the range just mentioned, and to the west of Sydney, stretches the range called the Blue Mountains, some of the summits of which are over four thousand feet in height. The Liverpool range is still further to the north; and in this group Mt. Sea View rises six thousand feet above the level of the deep.

Of the rivers of Australia, only a few are navigable. The streams of the country differ much in character from those of Europe. The Australian rivers, even when bank full of water, suddenly sink away and disappear in some quicksand or marsh. Their volume is thus wasted for purposes of navigation; nor is the country much irrigated by their waters. In some cases, however, the opposite is true. The Murray is six hundred miles in length, and is a lasting stream, from its source, in the Australian Alps, to its mouth, in Lake Alexandrina. A few other rivers have the same character, but by far the greater number run dry in summer, and contribute little to the agricultural and commercial benefit of the country.

As it respects the Australian lakes, they are far less extensive and beautiful than those of Europe and North America. The former partake rather of the character of swamps than of true lakes. The most extensive of such bodies of water lie in a group northward from Spencer Gulf. The largest of these is Lake Eyre, and the second in size is Lake Torrens, which extends from north to south about one hundred and forty miles. In a south-easterly direction are several smaller bodies of fresh water, known as Gregory Lakes. Lake Gairdner, lying to the west of Lake Torrens, is of about the same extent as Lake Eyre, but its waters are so brackish as to make it a sea-lagoon rather than a lake.

The climate of Australia may be defined in general terms as hot and dry. These qualities, however, are less marked in Victoria, New South Wales, and the other parts of the continent lying south of the thirtieth parallel, than in the districts adjacent to and northward of the Tropic of Capricorn. In these parts the heat is very oppressive, and it is doubtful whether, in the larger portions of Queensland, North Australia, and West Australia, European civilization will ever flourish.

But in Victoria and New South Wales and the mountainous parts of Queensland, as well as to the west about the Gulf of Spencer, the country is healthful and the European constitution as vigorous as in France and Southern Germany. The variations of temperature and the irregularities in rain-fall are very great. In some places the mercury has been known to fall as much as 30° F. in half an hour; and it is said that, from noon until midnight, a range as great as 99° has been recorded. The


MAP XXXII.
AUSTRALIA
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400
Railways
Unfinished Railways
Exploration tracks marked thus
INDIAN OCEAN
WESTERN AUSTRALIA
NORTHERN TERRITORY
SOUTH AUSTRALIA
Timor
Sandalwood I.
Savou
Rotti
Sahul Bank
Bathurst I.
Melville I.
C. Van Diemen
Clarence Strait
Port Darwin
Cambridge Gulf
C. Londonderry
C. Bougainville
Admiralty Gulf
C. Voltaire
Montague Sd.
Browse I.
Scotts Reef
York Sound
Brunswick B.
Camden Har.
Mt. Cockburn
Providence Hill
Victoria R.
Wickham R.
Mt. Bains
Adele I.
Buccaneer Arch.
Sunday Str.
C. Leveque
King Sound
Collier B.
Colerelg R.
Jacepede Is.
Carnot B.
C. Boileau
Dampier Land.
Fitzroy R.
Rowley Shoals.
Roebuck B.
Lagrange B.
Desault B.
Tasman Land
Denison Plains
Gregory 1856
Mt. Muller
Mt. Wilson
Gregory 1856
Joanna Spr.
1873
L. Isabella
L. White
Waterloo W.
Breaker Inlet
C. Thevenard
Dampier Arch.
Barrow I.
Nickol R.
De Grey R.
Oakover R.
Shirley R.
Fortescue R.
Hamersley Range
Exmouth Gulf
North West C.
Curley R.
Mt. Macpherson
Gregory Sep. 1861
Mt. Bruce 4000
Pt. Cloates
Hardey R.
Ashburton R.
De Witt Land
Tropic of Capricorn
C. Farquhar
C. Cuvier
Mt. Augustus 3480
Gascoyne R.
Gascoyne Mt.
Geographe Chanl.
Bernier I.
Dorre I.
Shark Bay
Gregory 1858
Macadam Plains
Windich Spr.
Weld Spr.
Forrest 1874
Alexander Spr.
Ft. Mueller
L. Christopher
Amadeus L.
Naturaliste Chl.
Dirk Hartog I.
Hamelin Har.
Mt. Narryer
Mt. Murchison
Steep Pt.
Peyronet Har.
L. Austin
Mt. Magnet
Murchison R.
Gantheaume B.
Port Gregory
Wallaby Is.
Geraldton
Gregory 1858
Salt Lake
Boundary Dam
Giles 1875
Victoria Desert
Ouldabinna
Hottmans Abrolhos
Arrowsmith R.
L. Moore
L. Barlee
Beagle Is.
Mt. Lesueur
Cow-cowing L.
L. Brown
Toodyay
L. Lefroy
Queen Victoria Spr.
Nuyts Land
Youldea
Cliffs from 400 to 600 ft.
Head of the Gt. Australian Bight
Port Eucla
Guildford
York
Mt. Arrowsmith
Dundas Hills
PERTH
R. Avon
Freemantle
Rockingham
Salt Lakes
Pt. Dover
Pt. Culver
GREAT AUSTRALIAN BIGHT
Peel
Murray R.
Australind
Williamsburg
Ravensthorpe
Russel Range
Geographe B.
Philips R.
Pt. Malcolm
C. Naturaliste
Busselton
Blackwood R.
Wurreup
Esperance B.
Pt. Arid
Recherche Arch.
C. Leeuwin
Augusta
Doubtful I. Bay
Flinders B.
Dillon R.
Albany
Pallinup R.
Pt. d'Entrecasteaux
Port Two People
Pt. Nuyts
King George Sound
To Singapore & Canton
Bombay to Melbourne
Cape of Good Hope to A
Pink & Sea, N.Y.
110
115
120
125
Longitude East
130
from Gr
115
120
125
130
10
15
20
25
30
35
40


135
140
145
150
155
NEW GUINEA
TORRES STRAIT
Banks I.
Murray Is.
PAPUA OR NEW GUINEA
Woodlark
D'Entrecasteaux Is.
Louisiade Arch.
St. Aignan
South East I.
Goulburn Is.
Crocodile Is.
Junction B.
Castlereagh B.
C. Wessel
Wessel Is.
English Company Is.
Arnhem Bay
Melville B.
C. Arnhem
Caledon B.
Blue Mud B.
Groote Eylandt
Roper R.
Limmen Bight
GULF OF CARPENTARIA
Cape York Peninsula
Pr. of Wales I.
Endeavor Str.
C. York
Albany I.
Port Somerset
Batavia R.
Coen R.
Duythen Pt.
Pera Hd.
Shelbourne B.
C. Grenville
Temple B.
Weymouth B.
Lloyd B.
C. Direction
Pr. Charlotte Bay
Hathurst B.
Melville
Howick Is.
C. Flattery
C. Kee-weer
CORAL SEA
Osprey Reef
Bourgainville Reef
C. Bedford
Cooktown
C. Tribulation
Trinity B.
C. Grafton
Willis Is.
Cornga I.
Tregrosse Is.
Lihou Reef
David Reef
Horse Shoe Shoal
Sir Edward Pellew Is.
Daly Waters
Mc. Arthur R.
Gregory 1868
Stuart 1860
Wellesley Is.
Mornington I.
Bentinck I.
Nassau R.
Nondal Country
R. Mitchell
Kennedy R.
Normanton
Norman R.
Gilbert R.
Lynd R.
Cardwell
Rockingham B.
Hinchinbrook I.
Halifax B.
Cleveland B. & C.
Bowling Green B. & C.
Upstart B.
Edgecumbe C.
Port Denison
Townsville
Ross R.
Ashburton Range
Johns Plains
Kekwick Ponds
Douall Range
Nicholson R.
Plains of Promise
Flinders R.
Leichhardt R.
Gregory R.
Henbury
Burke R.
Wills R.
Landsborough 1860
Charters Towers
Norwood
Hervey Downs
Quartz Ranges
Mt. Standish
McKinlay Cr.
Middleton Cr.
Miller Cr.
Crawford Ra.
Central Mt. Stuart
De Little Ranges
Burke R.
Wills Cr.
The Daly
Sturt 1845
Finke Creek
Macumba
Bagot Range
Hanson Ranges
Lake Eyre
Barcoo
Illusion Plains
Quinta Country
Farina Town
L. Gregory
L. Blanche
Grey Range
Cooper Creek
Burke & Wills died here
Mt. Bulloo
Barcoo R. (Victoria)
Thompson R.
Warrego R.
Charleville
Cunnamulla
Williams Stn.
Nogoa R.
Belyando R.
Clermont
Suttor R.
Peak Range
Isaac R.
Connor Range
Comet R.
Denham Range
Taroom
Mt. King
Muckadilla
Roma
Emerald
Yaamba
Rockhampton
Keppel Bay
Curtis I.
Port Curtis
Gladstone
Banana
Gayndah
Maryboro
Hervey Bay
Bundaberg
Sandy C.
Gt. Sandy I.
Wide Bay
Gympie
Brisbane R.
Ipswich
Moreton Bay
Moreton I.
BRISBANE
Stradbroke I.
Pt. Danger
Logan R.
Tweed R.
Richmond R.
Clarence R.
Grafton
Armidale
Gowrie Jc.
Drayton
Toowoomba
Leyburn
Stanthorpe
Darling Downs
Warwick
MT. LINDSAY
C. Byron
McLeay R.
Smoky C.
Port Macquarie
Harrington Inlet
Port Stephen
C. Hawke
Newcastle
L. Macquarie
Gloucester
Hastings R.
Manning R.
Myall R.
Paterson R.
Hunter R.
Williams R.
Namoi R.
Gwydir R.
Peel R.
Castlereagh R.
Macquarie R.
Bingara
Narrabri
Werris Cr.
Liverpool Range
Tamworth
Canonba
Nyngan
R. Cobar
Darling R.
Murrin R.
Dubbo
Wellington
Orange
Forbes
Lachlan R.
Lawlass Mt.
Maitland
Windsor
Parramatta
Port Jackson
Botany Bay
Liverpool
Picton
Bathurst
SYDNEY
Goulburn
Wagga Wagga
Murrumbidgee R.
Murray R.
Albury
Kiandra
Jervis B.
Sussex Haven
Bateman B.
Shoalhaven R.
To Auckland New Zealand 1130 Miles
To Cape Horn 5800 Miles
Mt. Kosciusko 6500
Eden
Twofold B.
C. Howe
Timut
Deniliquin
Deniliquin R.
Mulwala
Yarrawonga
Ovens R.
Goulburn R.
L. George
L. Victoria
Lachlan R.
Murrumbidgee R.
Tumut R.
Murray R.
Darling R.
Murrin R.
Lachlan R.
Wentworth
Mt. Eyre
Mt. Bryant
Morgan
Burra Burra
Petersburg
Port Augusta
Port Pirie
Port Wakefield
Port Adelaide
Port Gawler
Port Elliot
Encounter Bay
Kangaroo I.
Rosworthy
Gawler
Barrier Ranges
Wilcannia
Menindie
Cawndilla L.
L. Frome
L. Gairdner
Mt. Eyre
Quorn
Lawler Ranges
Spencer Gulf
Investigator Str.
Coffin B.
Avoid B.
Anxious B.
Eyria Pen.
Port Lincoln
C. Catastrophe
C. Spencer
Wallaroo
Kadina
Moonta
Yorke Pen.
Troubridge I.
Stuart 1858
Flinders Range
Strzelecki Cr.
Macumba
Nepabunna
Oodnadatta
Stuart Range
Tarcoola
Fowlers Bay
Eyre Pen.
Streaky B.
Island
Ranges
Stanley
Mt. Lofty Ranges
Adelaide
Victor Harbor
Kingston
C. Bernouilli
Robe Tn.
Beachport
Mt. Gambier
C. Northumberland
Port Macdonnell
Portland
Belfast
Warrnambool
Camperdown
Port Fairy
Western Port
Port Phillip
C. Otway
C. Wilson
Corner Inlet
Alberton
Gippsland
L. King
Lake Tyers
Mallacoota Inlet
Cape Howe
Mt. Kosciusko 6500
Eden
Twofold B.
Jervis B.
Sussex Haven
Bateman B.
Shoalhaven R.
Port Jackson
Botany Bay
Liverpool
Picton
Parramatta
Windsor
Maitland
Lawlass Mt.
Gawler
Rosworthy
Barrier or Stanley

rains along the south coast are frequently of the tropical character, so violent as to be described as deluges and water-spouts.

If we turn to the animal life of Australia, we do not find a great extent or variety. The carnivorous beasts are not so great or numerous as might be expected from the character of the continent. The most formidable beast of prey is an animal of the dog kind, called the dingo. Like wolves, the dingoes roam about in packs, and attack flocks of sheep and goats. Ruminants and pachyderms are not found native in the country. In one branch of animal life, however, Australia is remarkable. Marsupials abound. Of these the most conspicuous example is the kangaroo. A small variety of the same species is called the wallaby. The opossum also abounds, and a variety of this species, called the flying opossum, or petaurus, is frequently met with. Still another variety of pouched animals, called the dasyurus, is common in certain districts. Another group of animals peculiar to Australia are the *mono-tremata*, of which the two leading examples are the porcupine ant-eater and the ornithorhyncus.

The Australian birds are for the most part identical with those of Europe and Africa. Eagles, falcons, and owls are common. Parrots of brilliant feather and birds of paradise are met with in almost every forest. The Australian reptiles are neither numerous nor formidable. The serpents are by no means comparable in size and venom with those of Asia, Africa, and South America Of the insects, several species have a poisonous bite, and the scorpion, centipede, and even the spider, are to be dreaded by the traveler.

It is, however, in the world of vegetation that Australia most displays her varied fecundity. The continent is said to possess more than eight thousand species of plants; and the strange thing is, that of these varieties of vegetable life, about nine-tenths are not native to any other part of the world. There are said to be more than a hundred varieties of the myrtle peculiar to Australia, and of this genus the trees not infrequently rise to the height of two hundred feet. The species of the acacias are equally numerous and important. Of the cone-bearing family, the leading varieties are the cedar and the casuarina. The palm is infrequent, but the arborescent fern, with its splendid branches ten or twelve feet in length, attracts the delighted attention of the traveler. Nor should failure be made to mention the beautiful giant lily, the remarkable tea-tree, the stench-plant, and the kangaroo-grass, so high as to conceal a horse and rider.

In grains and fruits, Australia is moderately—in some parts abundantly—productive. Perhaps Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia yield as fine crops of wheat as any other countries in the world. The gardens are especially fine, and almonds, figs, apricots, melons, grapes, apples, pears, plums, and quinces are produced in immense quantities, sufficient not only for home consumption, but for foreign markets.

In her mineral wealth, Australia may be ranked among the richest countries of the world. Gold is, or has been, found in such quantities as to be equaled only in the mines of California. The Australian gold is generally found mixed with quartz and pipe-clay, sometimes with sandstone and white and blue earths. It is not yet known how great in extent the Australian gold-fields are. Until recently the richest of the mines have been in the Bathurst District, in the northern part of New South Wales, and in the north-western regions of Victoria. Of late, however, the mining interests have turned to the Gympie diggings, in Queensland. No mines have surpassed in occasional discoveries those of Ballarat, where lumps of gold have been found weighing from twenty-eight to *a hundred and thirty-six pounds.*

The Australian mines differ greatly from those of California in this, that in the latter the precious metal is generally distributed in veins and strata that may sometimes be traced for a great distance, while in the Australian deposits the gold is scattered in separate particles on the surface and through the soil and sand. The aggregate quantity of the precious metal taken from the mines of Australia, and added to the wealth of Great Britain, has been enormous; nor are there good grounds for apprehending that the supply is yet in any danger of exhaustion. After the gold-mines, may be mentioned those of copper at Burra-Burra and in other places, as well as the rich deposits of tin, lead, silver, and precious stones.

The primitive—perhaps indigenous—people of Australia appear to be a race distinct from those inhabiting other quarters of the globe. At least this type of mankind has been found only in the Australian Islands, in New Guinea, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and the Solomon Islands. The color of this strange species of barbarians is black, ranging in hue from what may be called a brown-black to ebony. The hair of the Australian natives is as crisp as that of the negro, but is true hair, not wool. The general physiogomy is more pleasing and human than that of most of the African tribes. The Australian face is fairly well developed. The nose moderately high, and the lips by no means so gross and protuberant as those of the negro.

In intellectual capacity, moreover, the native Australians are fully equal or superior to those of the other aborigines. They readily adapt themselves to the manners and usages of civilized life. Their native customs, however, are rude and barbarous. It appears that they knew not the use of fire until made acquainted with the same by foreigners. They built no huts in their original state, but were satisfied with a rude barricade of bark, set up at an angle and rudely propped, between themselves and the wind and rain. Their food was eaten raw; and since the introduction of cooking the method is to dig a hole in the ground, kindle therein a fire, throw in the slain animal whole, and cover it over with earth until the work is done.

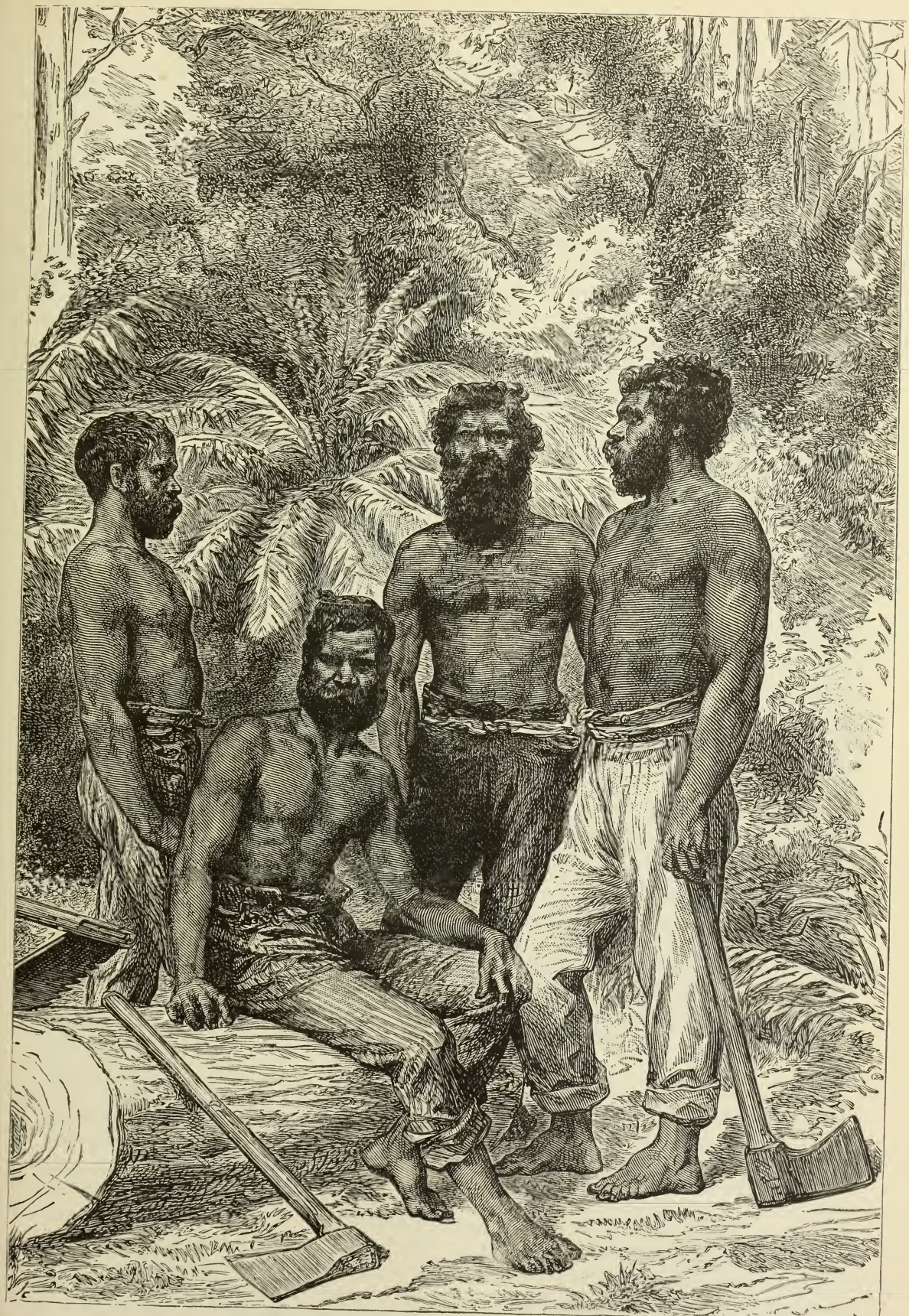
In the remote districts the natives go entirely naked, but in proximity to the European colonies the sense of shame has suggested a rude covering of sheep-skins and blankets. The native weapons are the spear, the club, and the boomerang. The first of these the natives hurl with great precision to a distance of seventy or eighty yards, and the last becomes a dangerous missile in the savage but experienced hands of them that throw it.

As a rule, the disposition of the native Australians is more pacific and less vindictive than that of most other savages. The various tribes have their feuds and wars, and this circumstance, as in the case of the North American Indians, has tended to reduce their numbers. At the present day it is estimated that there are not more than fifty thousand of the aborigines in the whole continent. Like most other barbarians, they are greatly addicted to drink, and the drunken habit has struck a fatal blow at the vitality of the race.

Socially, the native Australians are polygamists. Their marriage ceremony consists merely in the carrying off of the bride by the bridegroom. Perhaps she consents; perhaps she does not; but her resistance is of no avail. A belief in immortality prevails, and this furnishes a basis for the theory that the Europeans who have taken possession of Australia are the reänimated souls of the native blacks. The natives have the common vice of savagery—indolence; and the foreign colonists have great difficulty in inducing them to work. There can be little doubt that the aboriginal Australians are in a process of extinction, and that in the presence of English civilization they will soon fade into nonentity.

It is not the purpose in this connection to give more than a cursory sketch of the civil and political history of Australia. The country first became known to Europe in the early part of the seventeenth century. Before this time vague and indefinite traditions had existed of lands seen and heard of by navigators in the South Pacific. A Portuguese map, bearing the date of 1542, has an outline of a land in this region that may have been seen by him who drew the chart. It is commonly agreed, however, that the actual discovery was made by the Dutch ship *Duyfhen*, in 1606.

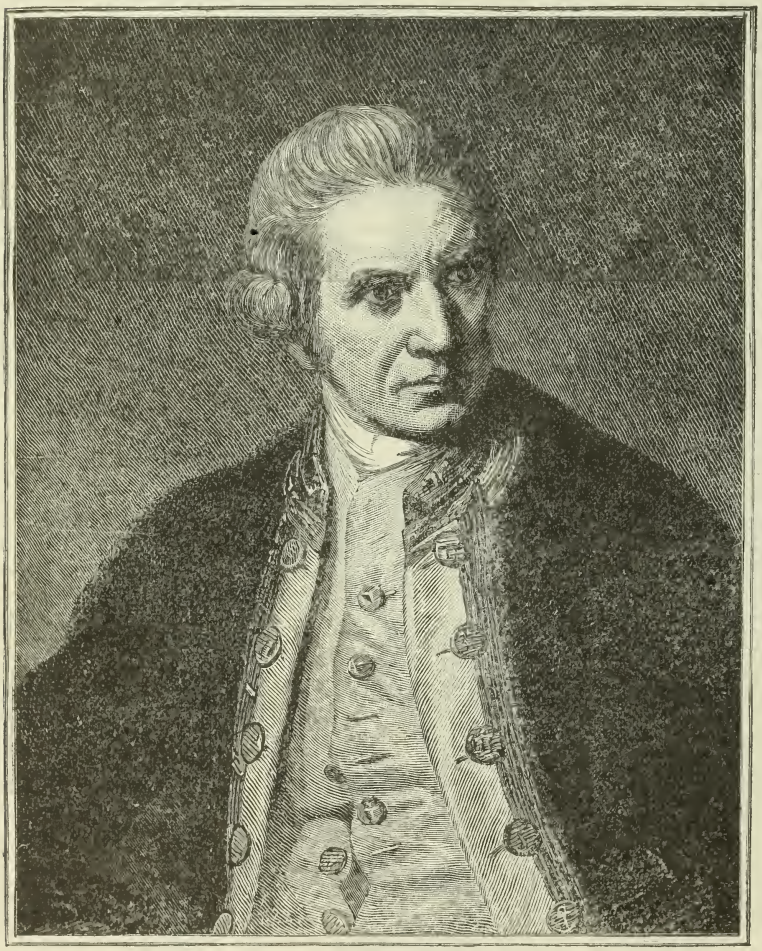
This vessel, on its way from Java, sailed into the Gulf of Carpentaria, where a portion of the crew went ashore, and some were killed by the natives. Ten years later, Captain Dirk Hartog, in the ship *Concord*, traced a portion of the north-western coast of the continent. Then followed an epoch of discovery and exploration under the auspices of the Dutch. In the year 1664 the continent received the name of New Holland. Thirty years later the Swan River was ascended and its banks explored. In 1699, Captain Dampier, in the ship *Roebuck*, traced the north-west coast of the continent, being the first Englishman who had visited Australia. It was not, however, until 1770 that the famous Captain Cook landed in the southern part of the island and gave names to some of the headlands. Soon afterwards Captain Howe hoisted



AUSTRALIAN NATIVES AT ABORIGINAL STATION.

the British flag at Port Jackson, and took formal possession in the name of George III.

The first settlement in Australia was made at Botany Bay, in New South Wales, in the year 1788. The name of this famous colony was given by Sir Joseph Banks, the *botanist* of the expedition, who was delighted with the splendid vegetation of the surrounding region. The colony was a penal establishment, the purpose of the British Government being to send thither her criminals for the full enjoyment of their own refined society. It was soon discovered, however, that the site of Sydney was better adapted for a settlement than that of Botany Bay; and Captain Arthur Phillip was presently sent out with a squadron carrying eight hundred and fifty convicts as the *avant-couriers* of the new civilization. Perhaps a more unamiable list of citizens was never presented as the advanced cohort of a new State.



CAPTAIN COOK.

Meanwhile, the work of discovery and exploration was carried forward. In 1791, Captain Vancouver made important contributions to the geographical knowledge respecting the southern coast of the continent. In 1803, Tasmania, or Van Diemen's Land, was selected as the site of another penal colony. The spot chosen for the settlement of the first company of convicts was the site of the present city of Hobart. In 1825, Queensland was first colonized, but was not separated from New South Wales until 1859. The Swan River settlement, the first of Western Australia, was founded in 1829, and was converted into a penal colony. The country of Victoria, hitherto known as Port Phillip, was first permanently colonized in 1835, but was not divided from New South Wales until July of 1851. South Australia was settled by emigrants from Great Britain in 1836. Four years afterwards, New Zealand was also separated from New South Wales, and was organized as a distinct colony.

Thus was the major part of the coast-line of the Australian continent made known, and in part devoted to civilization. Since the early part of the present century, almost every year has witnessed some effort on the part of the colonial or home Government to explore the interior of the country. By such means vast regions, hitherto unknown, have been traversed, and their physical features noted for the advantage of the coming Empire. The great question, however, which has occupied the attention of the local authorities of Australia has been that of the transportation of

criminals and their colonization in the country. From the first this system tended to destroy itself. As Australia became civilized, the punitive character of transportation was abated. The place to which the criminal was sent was frequently better than that from which he was taken. Besides, many settlements were established by free colonies of reputable people, and these increased more rapidly than did the penal settlements themselves. In the course of time an inevitable conflict arose between the depraved and vicious elements, which had aggregated in the penal colonies, and the better classes of society. It was as much as the latter, even when backed by the Government, could do to keep the former in subjection, and the difficulty was constantly increased, by the arrival of new criminal cargoes from Great Britain.

At length the free colonists set themselves to prevent the further transportation of convicts. An Anti-transportation League was organized, and the attention of the home Government was suddenly arrested by the outcry of those who were suffering from the abuses of the penal system of the Empire. It was soon discovered that either the system of convict colonization must be abandoned, or the free colonies already planted in Australia be hopelessly given up to the vice and demoralization which grew rank in the penal settlements. The sentiment against the system became overwhelming, and in 1837 an edict was passed forbidding further transportation into New South Wales.

The measure was found to be in the highest degree favorable to the interest of the colony, and an agitation was at once begun for carrying out the same policy in Van Diemen's Land. It was not, however, until 1853 that the abolition of penal colonies was effected in the latter country. From this time forth the stream of emigration set in rapidly, and the social and political condition of the colony was soon transformed by the impact of a healthier population.

We may now properly consider more fully the political development of Australia. At the close of the last century the whole European population amounted to scarcely a half million souls. We have seen how, in 1788, the first penal station for criminals from England was established in New South Wales, oldest of the Australian provinces. This may be regarded as the primitive English-speaking settlement of the Continent. Only eight years had elapsed since Captain Cook explored the eastern coast of the country. For a considerable length of time the penal colony included the whole population of the Port Jackson settlement. But at length a free people gathered around, and presently outnumbered those who had been transported. There thus came to coexist two elements among the Australians, those who were under punishment for their misdeeds, and those who had sought in the South Pacific a freer arena for enterprise and adventure. The dual character of the population at this place, as in other quarters, continued until 1837, when, as we have seen in the history of Great Britain, the system of penal transportation was abolished, and opportunity given for the expansion of the Australian colonists into nationality.

Considering the character of the primitive population, especially that of New South Wales, the oldest colony, it was but natural, indeed necessary, that the early Government should be a military tyranny. For this purpose officers of the army and navy were selected with special reference to their will, persistency, and courage. The primitive military Governors were Captain Arthur Phillip, Captain Hunter, General Macquarie, and others of like character. At first the principal object of the home Government of Great Britain was simply to disgorge her criminal population upon the unoccupied shores of a distant island, from which the convicts might not return. To this there was presently added the motive of improving the country. To this end was the convict labor directed by the Governors. Roads and bridges were constructed, and thoroughfares carried into the interior of the country. In the beginning of the third decade the population had reached thirty thousand, of whom about three-fourths had been at different times sent out to penal servitude.

In the meantime, a sense of the industrial importance of Australia began to rise in the consciousness of England and the world. Near the beginning of the century fine-wooled sheep had been introduced by John McArthur; it was discovered that the flocks multiplied and

thrived beyond precedent, and the idea of a great wool industry began to be entertained.

By this time the population had begun to regenerate itself. The phenomena were almost exactly identical with those movements by which the primitive American society of California recovered itself from barbarism and crime. It is a thing of which human nature is capable. Of a certainty, a colony of criminals will have no disposition to continue such when left to its own motions. Moreover, a new generation was growing up, and new colonists were constantly arriving, who were anxious that the taint of penal servitude should be taken away. During the Administrations of Sir Thomas Brisbane and Sir Ralph Darling the sentiment in favor of autonomy and the restoration of political and social virtue in the colonies gained ground rapidly, and at length a representative system of government was adopted. A Legislative Council was chosen, and Australia began to assert her consciousness.

Then came General Sir Richard Bourke, who began his administration in 1831. A new impetus was given to immigration, and the maritime parts of New South Wales became well populated. Additional districts of country were taken into the territory of the colony, and explorations were sent out into the interior. Parties of adventurers penetrated the country both north and south. The explorer Mitchell, in 1834 and 1836, traversed what was then called Gipps's Land, now included in Victoria. In 1838, Sir George Gipps succeeded to the office of Governor. Melbourne had risen from a group of squalid huts on the Yarra-Yarra, till, in 1840, it was a city of six thousand inhabitants. Other towns also sprang into importance. Commerce became free and regular. Adelaide, in South Australia, began to rival Melbourne in growth and importance. Deputy governorships were established, and the colonies expanded much after the manner with which the people of America have long been familiar from the history of our primitive settlements on the Atlantic sea-board. Western Australia was least favorably situated and slowest of development; though even here the impulse of immigration was felt, and towns were planted on the coast.

The rise of Australia furnishes another example of the correlations of civilization with its environment. Australia is almost wholly devoid of harbors. On the south and southeast are several bays and inlets of importance. On the west there are one or two considerable havens for ships. In the extreme north-west from the 125th to the 135th meridian from Greenwich, the coast is indented with several important bays. But for the rest the whole shore-line of the continent is as smooth as the coast of California. Though the British colonists had an ethnic and traditional disposition to commerce, the country in which they now found themselves was, on the whole, unfavorable to the development of a great merchant marine. At the same time the products of the country were of a kind to draw the attention of the people from the coast. Production and exportation therefore became the prevailing moods of industry. Wool-growing sprang into the favorite pursuit. Land, as a fact, became an object, first of investment, then of speculation. The rapidly rising interests of the country favored risks of investment and trade. The result was that a crisis was at length reached which extended from 1841 to 1843, during which the bubbles of inflation and speculation were pricked in the usual manner. It was some time before the colonies recovered from the effects of the commercial disasters which were precipitated upon the country. But the population increased, the annual product of wool rose to over forty million pounds, and the development of rich copper-mines in South Australia, all combined to bring about a revival of trade and the restoration of confidence. By the year 1851 the population of New South Wales had increased to one hundred and ninety thousand, that of Victoria was estimated at seventy-seven thousand, and that of South Australia about the same aggregate.

It was in February of the year just mentioned that the discovery of Australian gold was made. Before this time Count Stizelecki had announced the existence of gold in the country, and Sir Roderick Murchison had declared from an examination of Australian quartz that the same was probably associated with gold deposits. The actual discovery was made at Summerhill Creek, about twenty

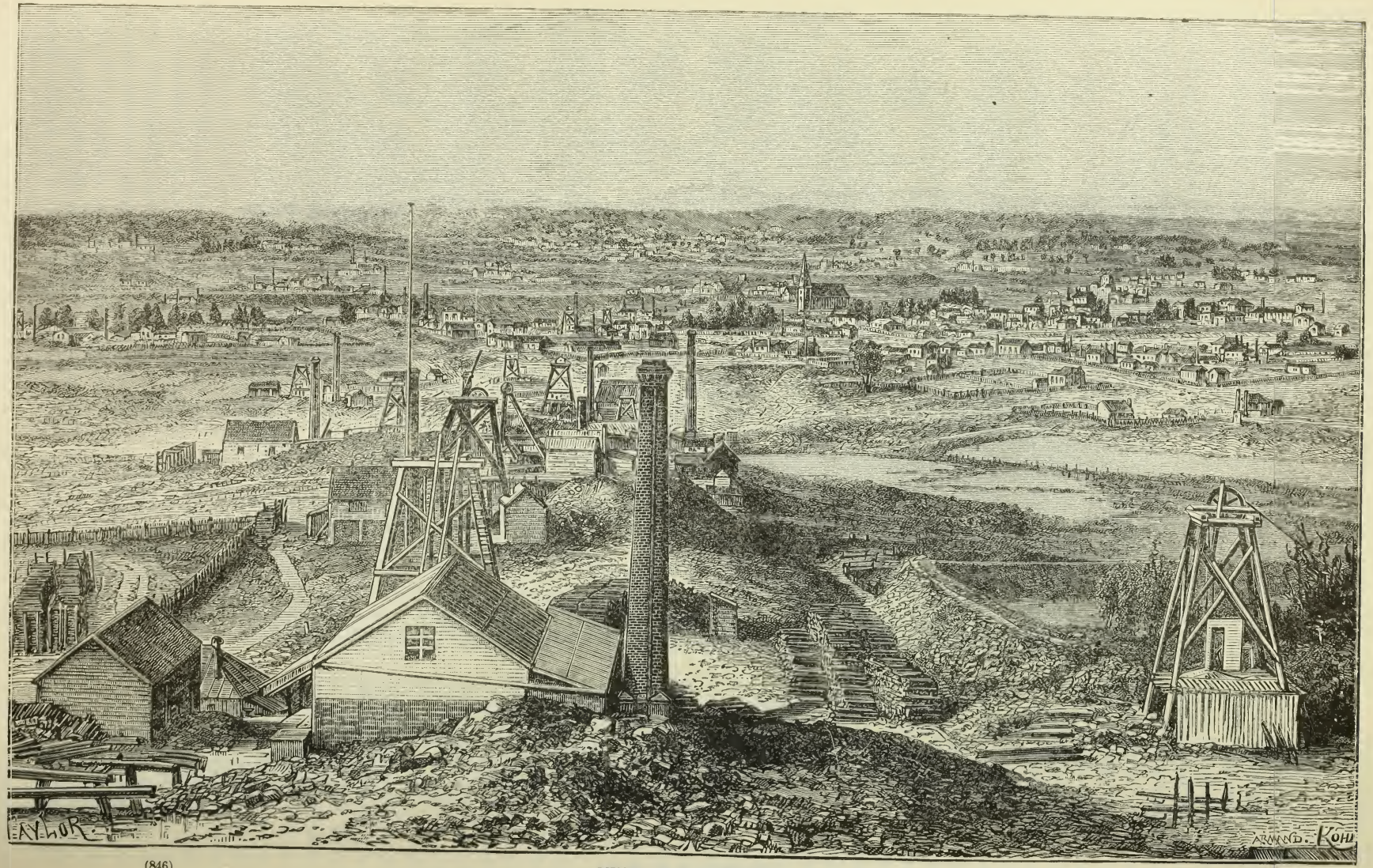
miles north of Bathurst, in the district called the Macquarie Plains, New South Wales. The discoverer was Mr. E. Hargraves, a miner who had recently arrived from California. It was not until April or May that the news was disseminated, and then occurred a repetition of the tremendous excitement which had agitated the world two years previously with respect to the discoveries in California. The first rush for the mines was from the surrounding country, and then from the more distant colonies of Australia. Thousands left their employment and homes to gather gold, and the passion presently drew into its vortex nearly the whole population. The news was soon carried to Europe, and from distant continents the tide of adventure turned to the South Pacific.



AUSTRALIAN GOLD RUSH, 1851.

Meanwhile, the discoveries extended to other parts of the country. In August of the same year gold was found on Anderson's Creek, near Melbourne. Soon afterwards the magnificent gold-fields of Ballarat, eighty miles west of the last named discovery, were opened, and finally the mines of Sandhurst, on the north, were found. Still exploration and discovery continued until almost every colony and settlement had found the precious metal. The copper-mines were for the time abandoned. The growing flocks were left to themselves. The rising industrial and commercial enterprises of the country were thrown aside as worthless. European adventurers and diggers began to arrive, and in a short time China contributed her quota of Celestials to the rout. Neither distance nor expense could deter the eager host that poured into the far-off Eldorado.

Within a year after the discovery, two hundred and fifty thousand people had rushed to Australia. The population of Victoria was at once doubled. The sudden abandonment of agriculture and the constant arrival of immigrants drew upon existing resources until the country was drained to the very verge of famine. But for the arrival of supplies from



(846)

MINES OF SANDHURST.

Europe multiplied thousands must have perished from starvation. Within two years after the discovery, Australian imports were multiplied tenfold; for commerce, as well as adventure of other kinds, had felt the draft, and her ships drifted in the direction of gold.

The social and industrial phenomena were almost identical with what had been witnessed only a short time previously in California. The excitement brought at length its own cure. After the first fever had run its course, the industrial equipoise was restored. Men recovered their senses, and, in course of time, it dawned upon the excited imaginations of the people that the raising of sheep was a more certain, a more healthful, and, withal, a happier method of gaining riches than even the golden, but ofttimes delusive, promise of the diggings. Nevertheless, the yield of the precious metal was enormous, and, as we have said above, the obelisk set up at our Centennial Exposition to illustrate by cubic measure to the eye the mass of gold taken from the Australian mines up to 1876 could but astonish the observer by its immensity.

By the events here described the whole industrial development of Australia was modified. The tremendous influx of population gave a new form and feature to society. The political development of the colonies now went rapidly forward. In July of 1851, while the gold-fever was at its crisis, Victoria was erected into a separate province. Governor Latrobe first held authority in the new State, and was succeeded in turn by Sir Charles Hotham and Sir Henry Barkly. The new province drew to itself a great increment of population and wealth, and if the territory had not been comparatively restricted, there can be little doubt that Victoria would have henceforth led all the Australian colonies.



CRADLING AND PANNING—AUSTRALIAN MINES.

The great disparity in territorial extent was at length removed in a measure by the cutting off from New South Wales, on the north, of the great Province of Queensland. This occurred in 1859. At that time the territory contained only about twenty-five thousand inhabitants. Sir George Bowen was first Governor, holding his office for six years, during which time the population of the province

rose to about a hundred thousand. South Australia had been erected into a crown colony as early as 1835, and on the 28th of December in the following year the province was proclaimed under a gum-tree.

The heroic epoch in the primitive history of nations is that which embraces the period of exploration. The American reader will readily recall the poetical vicissitudes by which the character of our own continent was revealed to the primitive fathers. After civilization flowed westward through the passes of the Alleghanies, we had another era of adventure. The Ohio and Mississippi Valleys were traversed by mighty hunters, and at length the ambitions of men speaking English looked to the Far West.

Much like this was the progress—but more rapid by far—of geographical discovery and exploration in Australia. Here the brave man who foreran the pioneer settlements had the greatest of difficulties to surmount. The completed story of the adventures and hazards by which the interior regions of Australia became known to Europeans would fill a volume with subject-matter as full of daring exploit and heroism as any in the world. Already before the discovery of gold the work of exploration had begun. Indeed, it may be said never to have ceased from the days of Dirk Hartog and William Dampier. For more than a century, however, the adventurers confined their expeditions to the shore. The maritime instincts of the Dutch and English captains were unfavorable to inland expeditions. Even in New South Wales, founded in 1788, nothing but a strip of country about fifty miles in breadth, between the Blue Mountains and the sea, was known until fully a quarter of a century after the establishment of colonies at Port Jackson and Botany Bay.

The first years of our century witnessed several brave but unsuccessful endeavors to pass the Blue Mountains. The precipitous ravines, sometimes fifteen hundred feet in depth, intersecting the ranges, turned back the traveler to the coast. Not until 1813 did a company of colonists effect a passage of the summit and reach the valley of Fish River beyond. Three years afterwards Lieutenant Oxley carried a company of explorers down the Lachlan River, in a north-westerly direction, for a distance of three hundred miles. He afterwards descended the Macquarie to the debouchure of that stream into the lagoons which swallow it up. Then for a season the attention of the people was drawn to the maritime explorations and voyages along the coasts of West Australia.

About the same time, namely, in 1821, a colony was planted on McIville Island in the North. Soon afterwards the inland region about the head-waters of the Lachlan and the Murray was explored. In 1827, Mr. Cunningham, the botanist, traversed the regions on both slopes of the Liverpool Mountains, exploring the tributaries of the River Brisbane. By the close of the third decade the eastern coast was fairly well known, and the western limit of the settlements had been considerably extended.

At this time the attention of the adventurous was occupied with the question as to what became of the rivers flowing north-westerly and south-westerly into the interior of the continent. In 1828, Captain Charles Sturt was sent out by Governor Darling to follow the Macquarie River to its destination. Beating about the marshes in which that river seemed to lose itself, the explorer found the primary streams of a new river, which he called the Darling. Three years afterwards the same party traced the Murrumbidgee through the greater part of its extent. In 1835, Sir Thomas Mitchell, accompanied by Cunningham, reached the Bogan River, where the botanist was killed by the natives.

By this time adventures inland had been undertaken from the coast of South Australia. From this region the explorers looked almost due northward, and their ambitious vision stretched as far as the utmost limits of the continent. It was along this line of endeavor that the interior of Australia was destined to be revealed. The first explorers in the direction indicated were Dr. Leichardt and Mr. Eyre. The latter first traversed the whole coast from Spencer Gulf to King George's Sound. Then from the gulf he made his way northward to Lake Torrens. Meanwhile, Sturt continued active, and succeeded, in 1845, in extending his explorations from the head-waters of the Darling a great distance towards the interior of the continent. Now it

was that the desert character of the inland regions began to be known. Sturt's party was obliged to face burning winds, hot enough to scorch the nostrils of a camel, and to bring at midday a temperature of 131° F.

By this time the northern coast of Australia had been traced through its whole extent. The continent as far south as the bottom of Gulf Carpentaria was known. In the fifth decade, West Australia, far away from the more populous eastern coast, had been to a considerable extent explored, and its character determined. The Arrowsmith, the Murchison, the Gascoyne, the Ashburton, and many minor streams falling into the Western Ocean, were traced by explorers hardly inferior in courage and adventure to those who had led expeditions in other parts of the continent.

Then came the discovery of gold and the diversion of all energies to the mines. In the early years of the sixth decade, while the gold-fever was at its height, little geographical knowledge was added to the common sum. But soon afterwards a new epoch of discovery was opened. In 1858, Mr. Stuart led a company into the region of the South Australian Lakes, and there discovered the true character of these waters. It was demonstrated that Eyre had made serious mistakes in his sketches and maps from the illusions of the prevalent mirage.

By this time the civil authorities had become keenly alive to the importance of a better knowledge of the interior. The Assembly of South Australia offered a reward of fifty thousand dollars to the first man who would traverse the continent from north to south. Incited by the hope of gaining the prize, and perhaps still more by his ambitions, Stuart resolved to tempt his destiny by the effort. In March of 1860 he accordingly set out from Lake Torrens, and reached the McDonnell range under the Tropic of Capricorn. He was here in the true heart of the continent, and Mt. Stuart will forever preserve the name of the explorer. He was, however, obliged to turn back on reaching the 18th degree of north latitude, but not until he had gained the watershed from which the streams descended northward into the Gulf of Carpentaria. In 1861, Stuart returned to the contest, and gained another degree to the north, but could not reach the coast.

In Victoria, meanwhile, a public subscription was raised for the projection of a still more famous expedition into the interior and the north. The company was organized under the leadership of Robert O'Hara Burke and William John Wills. The former was an officer of the police, and the latter an astronomer from the observatory of Melbourne. Their two principal assistants were Gray and King. The expedition departed from Melbourne on the 20th of August, 1860, having for its destination the Gulf of Carpentaria. The course was first into the interior, and northward to the Barcoo or Cooper River, where a station was established, and where the larger part of the company was left with the supplies and equipments. Burke and Wills, however, accompanied by King and Gray, mounted on camels, and struck out for the North-west, through a distance of three hundred miles of almost impassable country. The route lay through a desolate region covered with the prickly spinifex, more terrible to man and beast than the worst thickets of thorny cactus. Reaching the 140th meridian, the travelers turned due north, and succeeded in gaining the Flinders River, which falls into the Gulf of Carpentaria. The party did not actually reach the coast, only remaining long enough to note, by the rising of the tide in the river, that they were in proximity with the sea. They then turned back to regain their company on the Barcoo.

It was the 23d of February, 1861, when the return journey was undertaken. Three of the party perished *en route*. Gray died on the 15th of April. On the 21st, Burke, Wills, and King reached the Barcoo, and found, to their horror, that the men had abandoned the place, taking the supplies with them! This had been done, perhaps, within one day of the arrival of the explorers; but whither the major company had gone could not be ascertained. Burke, Wills, and King wandered about in half despair until the end of June, subsisting on the seeds of plants and occasional gifts from friendly natives found here and there. At last both Burke and Wills starved to death. King was rescued in September by a relief party sent out for the purpose. In comparison with the incidents, hardships, and dreadful end of the expedition, the adventurous journey



DEPARTURE OF THE BURKE AND WILLS EXPEDITION FROM MELBOURNE.

of our own Lewis and Clarke across the continent seems insignificant.

The bodies of Burke and Wills were at length recovered, and the great monument in Melbourne now attests their last resting-place. The continent had been opened. Mr. Stuart took up the work, following the line of Burke's expedition to the head-waters of the Adelaide of the North, and thence to the gulf. The Indian Ocean spread before him, and the character of the country through its central division was henceforth revealed to mankind.

By this time expeditions began to be thrown forward into the still unexplored regions of the West. In 1873, Colonel Warburton and Mr. Gosse led an expedition into the unknown country westward of the central telegraph line which had now been stretched from Adelaide and Melbourne to Port Darwin, on the northern coast. From the latter point a submarine cable was carried to India, and from India connection had already been established with Great Britain—and if with Great Britain, the world. Thus, by degrees, through the courage, the adventure, the ambition and aspirations, as well as the inventive genius of men and heroes, the great continent of the South Pacific has been bound in as a member of the family of nations and opened more fully to the civilizing energies of the most enlightened races.

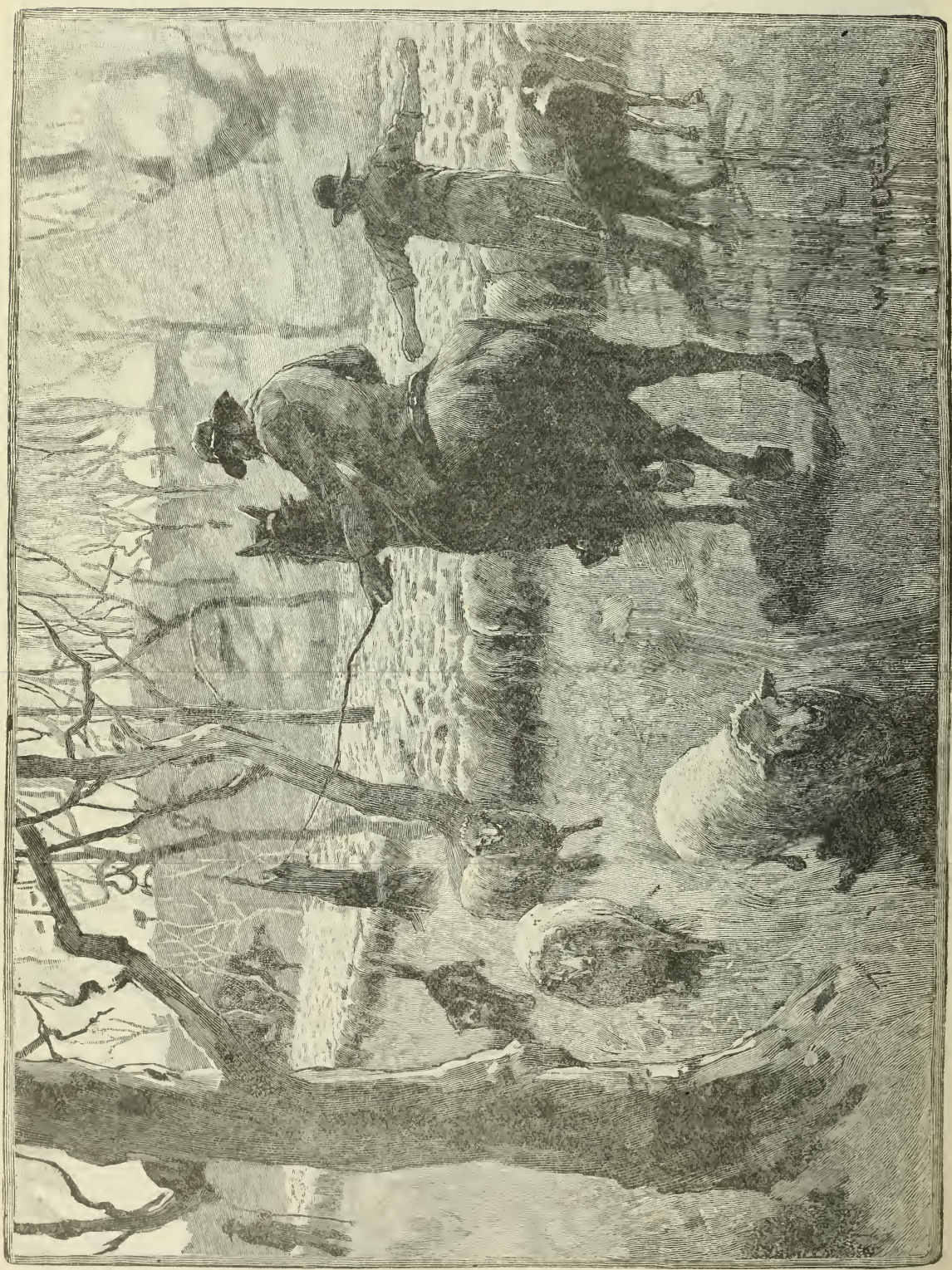
We have now reached a point in the narrative from which a general survey may well be made of the Australian States. First of these in order of historical development is NEW SOUTH WALES. The province is bounded on the north by Queensland; on the west, by South Australia; on the south, by Victoria; and on the east, by the Pacific. It is included between the 28th and 38th parallels of south latitude and the 141st and 154th meridians east from Greenwich. The area is approximately three hundred and ten thousand square miles, being about one-tenth of the whole continent. The country, besides its great mineral wealth, has a fertile soil, a fair rainfall, and other conditions favorable to agricultural production. The industrial life of the State has expanded until it includes almost every kind of activity peculiar to the productions and trade of the temperate zones. The winters are mild, and stock remains unhoused the year around.

Of the fauna and flora of the country sufficient has already been said in the general sketch of the continent. The early history of the province includes nearly all the primitive annals of Australia; for it was here that European civilization was first planted and developed. From a military government at the beginning, the colony, as we have seen, at length secured a representative government; and no sooner had a Legislative Council—constituted in part by appointment and in part by election—been organized, than the revolt against the system of penal servitude became universal, until the same was finally exterminated in 1853.

Of VICTORIA, and of the manner in which the same was detached from New South Wales, an account has been given above. The province lies between the parallels of 34° and 39° S., and extends from the 141st to the 150th meridian east. The greatest width is two hundred and fifty miles, and the greatest extent, from east to west, about four hundred and eighty miles. The total area is 87,884 square miles. The coast-line is about eight hundred miles in extent, and has several fine harbors, the greatest being the Bay of Fort Phillip, the harbor of Melbourne.

Victoria has much the same range of climatic conditions with New South Wales, but the sky is clearer, the atmosphere more salubrious. Precipitation occurs in about one hundred and thirty days of the year. The winters are mild, and the summers warm and dry. Only once or twice since the country came into possession of Europeans has snow been seen at Melbourne. The minerals of the country are extensive and rich. The gold-mines from 1851 to 1886 yielded a total of over a billion of dollars. The soil is fertile, and is well adapted to agriculture and grazing. It is here that the finest sheep in Australia are found. The flocks aggregate more than eleven millions of animals. The cattle are estimated at one and a fourth millions, and the horses at more than three hundred thousand.

The civil government of Victoria is almost independent. Parliament consists of two houses. The Legislative Council is composed of forty-two members, chosen by election from the fourteen electoral provinces, or counties. Qualifications for voting are that the elector must



MUSTERING SHEEP—AUSTRALIAN RANCH.

be twenty-one years of age, must hold a property to the value of fifty dollars, or pay taxes on a property having an annual value of one hundred and twenty-five dollars. But graduates of the universities and colleges, and all members of the learned professions, are in virtue of the fact entitled to the suffrage. The term of office in the Upper House is six years, and the members receive no pay for their services. The Assembly is composed of eighty-six members, apportioned to fifty-five electoral districts. The term of service is three years, and the compensation in this House is fifteen hundred dollars a year. The qualifications of the voter in the case of members of the Assembly are simply that he shall be twenty-one years of age, and shall comply with the law in establishing his electoral right. All voting is done by ballot. The Governor is appointed by the Queen. Over all the acts of Parliament he has the right of veto, with the exception of certain classes of measures, which must be referred to the sovereign of the Empire.

In the practical conduct of affairs the Government of Victoria presents the usual political phenomena peculiar to the English-speaking peoples. A single instance may serve to show the identity of the methods employed with those of the home Government of Great Britain and the Government of the United States. In 1863 an effort was made by the Democratic party to establish the system of protection for the native industries of the country. This party was in the ascendant in the Lower House, and by that body a bill incorporating the protective measures was adopted. But the bill was rejected by the Upper House. Hereupon the Assembly took up the defeated schedule and attached it to the Appropriation Bill for the year. This was equivalent to saying, No tariff, no appropriation for the expenses of the Government.

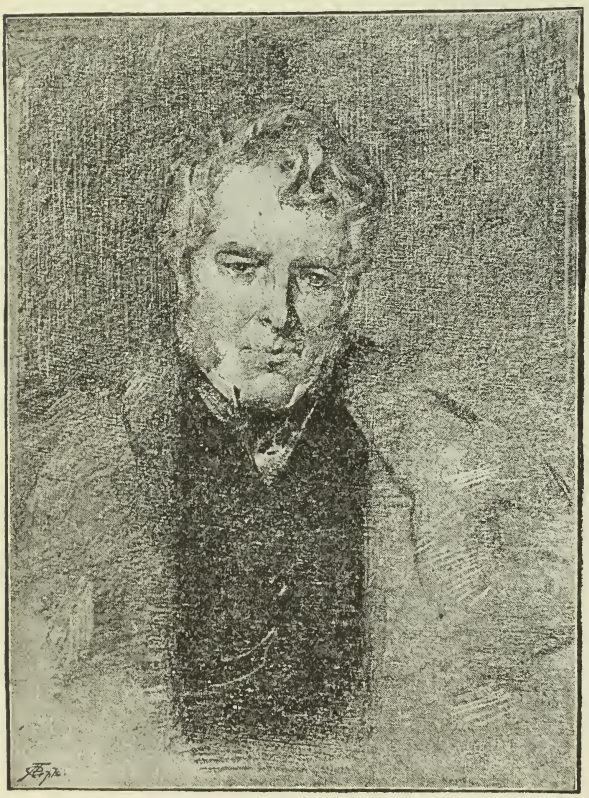
But the Council stood firm, and the Appropriation Bill was allowed to fail. The annual resources of the Government were thus cut off, and the business of the colony had to be transacted without funds. The struggle continued for three years. Sir Charles Darling, the Governor, was held to be in sympathy with the Democratic party, and was recalled. At this, the Lower House voted an appropriation to Lady Darling of a hundred thousand dollars. The home Government, in 1868, provided for Sir Charles another place in the public service, and the Assembly gave expression to their final sentiment by sending after him, under the head of arrears of salary, an appropriation of twenty thousand dollars. The incident is sufficiently significant as showing the universality of the temper of British colonists the world over, and at the same time as illustrating the fact that a colonial dependency is not likely to favor the doctrine and practice of Free Trade.

The great province of QUEENSLAND has an approximate area of six hundred and seventy thousand square miles. It extends from the 9th to the 29th parallel of south latitude, and from the 138th to the 141st meridian east from Greenwich. The population, according to the latest census, somewhat exceeds three hundred thousand souls. The sea-line of Queensland is more than two thousand five hundred miles in extent. There is a plentiful distribution of small islands along the coast, and several good bays and inlets. We have here reached the forest country of Australia. Here, also, are found many rich mines of gold, silver, copper, tin, and coal. In the coast regions the rainfall reaches as high as one hundred and thirty inches; but in the inland district the precipitation is only one-fourth as great. The most inauspicious feature of the climate is the monsoon, or hot wind, out of the Australian desert.

The gold product of Queensland is immense, but has declined considerably of late years. In 1875 more than seven billion dollars of the precious metal were exported, against about four billions in 1882. Until recently agriculture has, in the presence of such enormous profits, been in a backward state. Nevertheless the soil is not unfavorable to such products as spring from the earth. The growth of sugar-cane has of late years excited much attention among both the European and Chinese elements of the population. Many circumstances have operated against the wool industries in this part of the country, and though the flocks are extensive and profitable, they have not reached the tremendous development of those in other parts of the country.

The civil government has the same general form as that of New South Wales and

Victoria. The Governor is appointed by the Crown, and the Parliament is composed of two elective branches, the Legislative Council and the Assembly. While in many respects Queensland is behind her sister provinces on the south, in the matter of education she has led the way among all the Australian communities. Public instruction is free, secular, and compulsory. Under this general plan a thorough system of education has arisen, under the patronage and direction of the State; while at the same time many private and denominational schools have contributed somewhat to the general advancement of the people.



LORD MELBOURNE.

South Australia, since the inclusion therewith of the territory on the north, formerly known as Alexandra Land, has an area of over nine hundred and three thousand square miles. The country lies between the parallels of 11° and 38° S., and extends from 129° to 141° east from Greenwich. The coast line is broken by the two large gulfs of Spencer and St. Vincent. The former spreads into the open sea, but the latter is fairly well inclosed at the mouth by Kangaroo Island. The climate, though the country is approximate to a limitless expanse of water, is dry. The clouds from the Indian Ocean have already been wrung out before reaching this part of the continent. For a short distance from the coast there is a bare sufficiency of rain, but the precipitation at Adelaide falls as low as sixteen inches per annum.

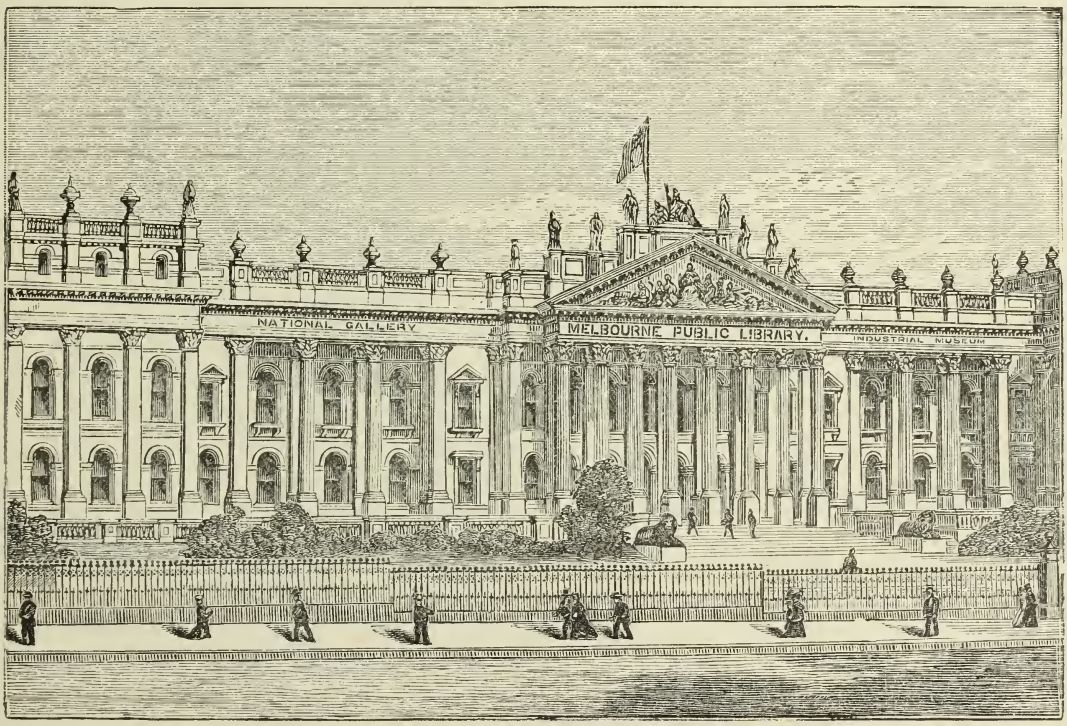
South Australia was one of the first districts of the continent to develop a mining industry; but the product of the precious metals in this province was never of great magnitude. On the other hand, agriculture here took the lead, and to the present day the products of South Australia are primarily agricultural. The civil government of South Australia is modeled after the same plan which we have already described for the other colonies. The Legislative Council consists of twenty-four members, and the Assembly of fifty-two members, representing respectively a body of electors with a property qualification, and a second body without such restriction. After the beginning of civil government in 1835, affairs went badly for a season, and in 1841 the charter of the colony was suspended. At length, however, with the revival of prosperity, more particularly with the opening of the copper-mines, public credit and confidence were restored, and during the fifth decade there was a steady addition to the population.

With the outbreak of the gold-fever, however, great numbers left South Australia and drifted into the mining region of the eastern provinces. For a season it appeared that the country around the bay of St. Vincent would be depopulated. But the necessity of feeding the miners soon drew upon the agricultural regions, and the products of South Australia were in great demand. There was thus a reflex draft to the west which presently restored the equilibrium of population and tended powerfully to develop the natural industries of South Australia.

The remainder of the provinces of the continent are still in a transitional condition. The great expansion of the civilizing forces has been in the eastern and south-eastern

portions of the country. The exploration and colonization of the remaining region has been attended with great difficulties, which have not yet been surmounted. Perhaps some of the widely extended desert regions of the interior may never be reclaimed, but the maritime districts offer, along the whole extent of eight thousand miles of sea-board, an inviting prospect for adventure and enterprise—the founding of colonies, the planting of institutions, and the development of States.

We may here note the progress of Australia as illustrated in her principal cities. The greatest of these is Melbourne, capital of Victoria, situated at the head of Bay Fort Phillip. The history of this metropolis of the South Pacific is covered in its entirety by the lives of men still living. It was founded in 1835 by Captain Fawkner, of the ship *Enterprise*, who sailed into the Yarra, went ashore, and planted a village in the coast forest. The place was first called Williamstown, in honor of William IV., but soon afterwards received the name of Melbourne, from Lord Melbourne, Prime Minister of England. It is one of the most flourishing emporiums of the outlying British Empire. The old city lay about three miles inland, on the banks of the Yarra, but the suburbs have now extended on both banks of the river to the sea, and cover the coast for a distance of ten miles. Wide streets, laid out at right angles and well-paved, attest the public spirit of the municipal government. For the city proper the census of 1881 showed a population of sixty-five thousand eight hundred. About the central municipality are grouped fifteen suburban towns and villages, whose population in the total many times exceeds that of the city proper. At the present day the aggregate is doubtless nearly four hundred thousand souls. The situation is picturesque and the city beautiful. The public buildings are of a high order. The Parliament Houses, faced on the four fronts with freestone, have an imposing appearance. The Treasury, the Post-office, the Custom-house, and the Government offices are only second in importance. The City Court is one of the finest structures in Australia, having a cupola after the style of our Capitol at Washington. The Public Library and Museum, in Swanston Street, is an edifice of the first order. Within are gathered not only the library proper, but collections of paintings,



PUBLIC LIBRARY, NATIONAL GALLERY, AND MUSEUM.



(856) COLLINS STREET, MELBOURNE.

statutes, and casts. The University of Melbourne, while not imposing for its buildings, has beautiful grounds and excellent adaptations. In 1881 the faculty consisted of ten professors and twelve lecturers, and the attendance of students reached four hundred. Full instruction is given in the arts, in law, in medicine, and in civil engineering. The Exhibition building of Melbourne is also worthy of note. The nave is five hundred feet in length and a hundred and sixty feet in breadth, while the two annexes have each a depth of four hundred and sixty feet. The Mint, erected in 1872, is a handsome and imposing structure. The Governor's residence, on a height beyond the Yarra, is worthy, in an architectural sense, of the uses to which it devoted.



THE UNIVERSITY, MELBOURNE.

Second only to Melbourne in population and importance, and oldest of the Australian cities, is Sydney, capital of New South Wales. According to the census of 1886, the population exceeded three hundred and thirty-two thousand. The city lies on the southern shore of the great harbor of Port Jackson, best in Australia. It is about four miles from the entrance, and is distant from Melbourne four hundred and fifty miles. The plan of the city is less regular than that of the Victoria capital, and has somewhat the appearance of an old English town. But the public edifices may well be mentioned with praise. The Exchange, the Government-house, the University, the Post-office, and the Town Hall are all imposing and elegant structures. Such also are the Parliament buildings, and the Treasury, the Railway Station, and the theaters, the Anglican and the Roman Catholic Cathedrals. The city can also boast of Hyde Park, of an extent of forty acres; the Domain, of a hundred and thirty-eight acres; and the Botanical Garden, of thirty-eight acres. More recently the great parks, named Prince Alfred, Belmore, and Moore, have been laid out, with an area of five hundred acres.

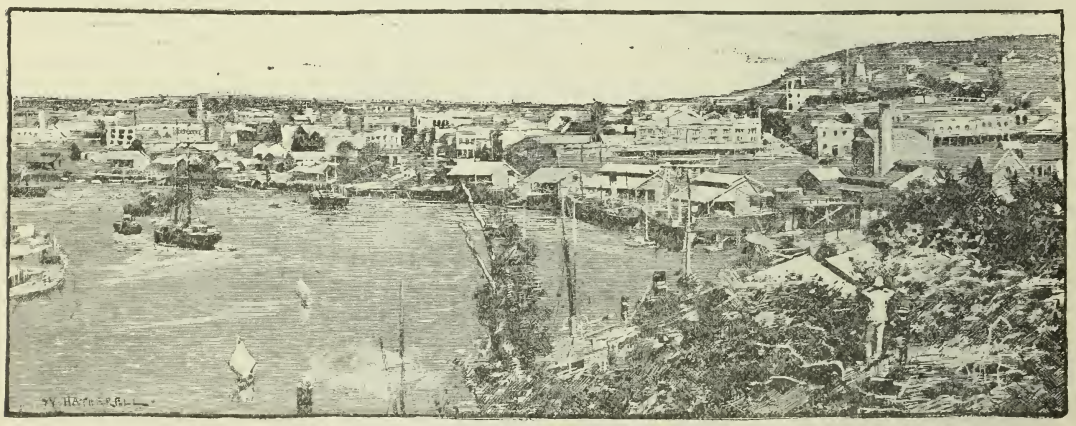
Besides the University, which is modeled after those of England, Sydney has St. Paul's American College and St. John's College, under the patronage of the Roman Catholics, as well as institutions directed by the Presbyterians and the Wesleyans. A Normal School, a Nautical School, a Free Museum, a Public Library, and an Astronomical Observatory bear witness to the intellectual progress of the people. Sydney was founded in 1788, and was named for Viscount Sydney, the first

Colonial Secretary. It was incorporated in 1842, and was selected in 1875 as the seat of the Australian Industrial Exposition.

The third city in importance is Adelaide, capital of South Australia. It is situated on the Torrens, seven miles from Port Adelaide, between which and the city is a railway. The river divides North Adelaide from South, which is the larger of the two towns. We have here another example of the regularity of plan, the broad streets crossing each other at right angles, and regular distribution of parts, which may be noted in Melbourne. The Government buildings, including the Official Residence, Post-office, and the Railway Station, are the most important public edifices. Churches belonging to the Roman Catholics and the leading Protestant denominations hold a prominent place among the structures of the city. There is a Botanical Garden in the midst of what are called the Park Lands, which cover nearly two thousand acres. The city was founded in 1836, and was named in honor of Queen Adelaide, wife of William IV. The act of incorporation was passed in 1842, from which date the city had a steady growth, reaching, according to the census of 1881, a population of more than thirty-eight thousand.

Fourth in importance may be mentioned the city of Brisbane, capital of Queensland. It is situated on both banks of the river of the same name, twenty-five miles from its entrance into Moreton Bay. The place was founded, in 1825, as a penal colony. Such it continued to be for seventeen years, when the criminal establishment was abolished, and the town became a free settlement. After another span of seventeen years, Brisbane was made the capital of Queensland. By 1886 the population had increased to thirty-two thousand souls. To the present, however, the city has not been able to compete to any considerable extent with Melbourne and Sydney, or even with Adelaide.

We thus see displayed, even from our great distance of observation, the States and cities of the Australian continent. As to Tasmania, or Van Diemen's Land, the same was constituted a penal colony as early as 1803. The spot chosen for the first settlement of convicts was the site of the present city of Hobart, which, long since recovered from the effects of its inauspicious origin, has reached a population of more than twenty-five thousand souls. The abolition of the penal system was not accomplished in Tasmania until 1853; but with that event the stream of immigration set in rapidly, and the social and political condition of the colony was soon transformed by the impact of a healthier population.

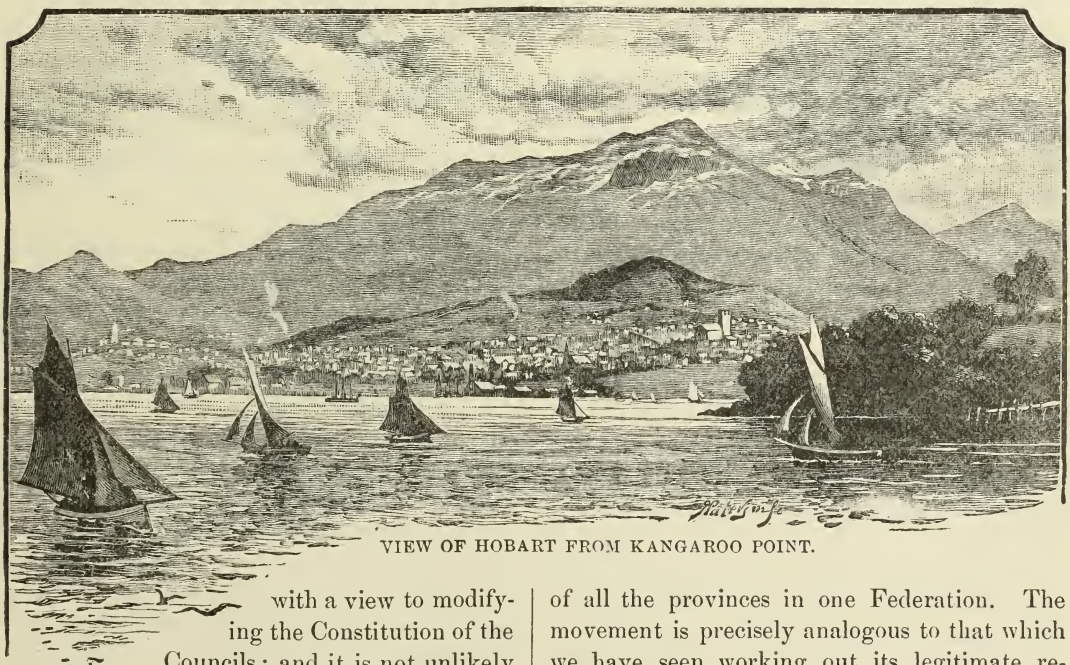


BRISBANE FROM BOWEN TERRACE.

All of the Australian provinces have a common type of government. Each is under its own Constitution and local laws. The political institutions of the continent are modeled after those of the home Government of Great Britain. But the difference in situation has introduced many modifications in the statutes and governmental system of the country. In general all the colonies, with the exception of West Australia, enjoy a responsible government; that is, one answerable to the people. Nor is it to be supposed that West Australia will long be excluded from the benefits of this administration. The different parts—execu-

tive, legislative, judicial—of the Australian governments are the types, so to speak, of the corresponding form under the British Constitution. The Queen is represented by the Governor-General of the province; the House of Lords, by the Legislative Council; the House of Commons, by the Legislative Assembly. The members of the Council are either nominated or elected; but the members of the Assembly are all elected by the people.

It has happened many times in the history of the colonial governments that serious deadlocks, such as that of 1863, in Victoria, have occurred in legislation, owing to disagreements between the Upper and Lower Houses of the Parliaments. This has led to an agitation with a view to modifying the Constitution of the Councils; and it is not unlikely that the near future will witness such a change as will make the members of the Upper Houses more directly responsive to the popular will.



VIEW OF HOBART FROM KANGAROO POINT.

The general statutes of the British Empire are in force in Australia, unless the same have been superseded by positive local enactments. On the other hand, all the local laws have to be submitted to the Queen for her sanction before they can come into force. Mutual dependence is thus established between the home and the local Government. Most of the salutary reforms which were agitated in Great Britain during the decade, 1830–40, have become fundamental in the Constitutions of Australia. As might have been anticipated, the newer country espoused, without fear, those liberal principles which found but a timid voice in the older. In general, the theory of manhood suffrage has been adopted throughout Australia. The people vote by ballot. The members of the Assembly are paid for their services. The sessions of Parliament are triennial. In short, in all of its features the Australian system of government is as popular in its methods and democratic in its principles as may be, consistently with the great Constitution of the monarchy, from which the local governments derive their existence.

A still larger question of Australian politics has of late years arisen respecting the union of all the provinces in one Federation. The movement is precisely analogous to that which we have seen working out its legitimate results in the States of Canada. Nor is it improbable that at no distant day such a general governmental union of the Australian countries may be effected. It is easy to see that many civil and political advantages would accrue from the establishment of a central government for the whole continent; nor is such an agitation an occasion for alarm either to the home Government of the Empire, or to the local governments of the several colonies.

As it respects the nationality of the people of Australia, the great majority are from the British Islands. Every year, however, raises the percentage of those who are native born.

Contrary to what might have been expected in the premises, the next in number among the foreign populations are the Chinese, of whom there are no fewer than seventy thousand in Queensland. The Orientals have for the most part been drawn to the country by the magnetism of the Australian gold-mines. So numerous have the Chinese become in certain districts that the Assembly of Queensland has in the last few years adopted some stringent laws for the restriction of this kind of immigration. Next in strength among the foreign elements of Australia are the Germans. The principal settlements of people of this blood are in Queensland and South Australia. After these three principal foreign populations, the Australian census shows a mixture of nearly all the nationalities of the world, European, American, Asiatic.

Notwithstanding the draft which Australia has thus made, and is making, upon other States and kingdoms—notwithstanding the fecundity of her soil, the richness of her mines, the salubrity of her climate—the fact still remains that the country is the most thinly populated of all the outlying possessions of Great Britain. The continent has not as yet one person to every square mile of territory. The paucity of the Australian population may well appear when it is remembered that the average in the United Kingdom is two hundred and eighty to the square mile, and a little over thirty in the whole of the British dominions. Of all the provinces of Australia, Victoria is most populous, having an average of nearly ten to the square mile. The most thinly settled region is West Australia, where there is as yet only one inhabitant for every thirty-three square miles of territory. The birth-rate in all the colonies, is high, and the immigration in 1881 over twenty-four thousand.

In industrial energies and internal improvements the Australians are displaying a commendable zeal. Three great lines of steamships—namely, the Peninsular and Oriental Company, the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, and the British India Steam Navigation Company—carry the mails between Australia and Great Britain. During the year 1880 more than eight thousand vessels arrived in the Australian ports. The following table exhibits the net tonnage of the steamers and sailing-vessels owned by the various Australian colonies in 1880–81:

NAME OF COLONY.	Sailing-Vessels.		Steamers.		Total.	
	No.	Tonnage.	No.	Net Tonnage.	No.	Net Tonnage.
New South Wales	493	54,565	277	32,768	770	87,333
New Zealand	445	54,266	129	15,785	574	70,051
Queensland	59	3,161	35	1,896	94	5,057
South Australia	207	24,567	73	6,798	280	31,365
Tasmania	181	14,263	20	3,280	201	17,543
Victoria	251	43,469	84	15,161	335	58,630
West Australia	109	6,643	12	569	121	7,212
Total	1,745	200,934	630	76,257	2,375	277,191
Fiji	9	906	1	19	10	925

The industrial development of Australia may be further illustrated with a few additional facts gathered from the census of 1881–82. At that time the total aggregate of gold taken from the mines of Victoria had reached the enormous sum of a thousand and ten billions of dollars. The aggregate from New South Wales was a hundred and seventy-two billions, and that from Queensland fifty-six billions, which, together with the yield from Tasmania, made a grand total of a thousand two hundred and fifty-five billions of dollars. The Australian exports had, up to this time, risen to a total of two hundred and eleven millions, and the imports to two hundred and twenty-six millions. The total population was two million two hundred and fifty-nine thousand—an aggregate which has been steadily augmented during the current decade. According to the same census, the total product of wool was two hundred and forty-eight million pounds, and the total number of sheep over sixty-one million. Of these more than one-half, namely, thirty-three millions, belonged to Queensland. In this province immense tracts of country had been converted into sheep-ranches, and the ranges, as well as the flocks which they contained, were regarded as the finest in the world. Merino and other fine breeds of sheep had been imported into the continent at an early date, and had been multiplied, with great rapidity, under the genial climate.

From other points of view the industrial development of the country has been equally successful. In 1882 there were in actual operation forty-one hundred and eighty-four miles of railway, while eleven hundred and forty-six miles additional were in process of construc-

tion. Other lines of importance, like that from Sydney to Adelaide, were projected, many of which have since been completed. One ambitious scheme proposed the building of a transcontinental railway from Adelaide, along the telegraph route, through the vast interior, to the northern coast, a distance of eighteen hundred miles. Of telegraphs there were, according to the reports of 1882, nearly forty thousand miles in operation. In all material respects the civilization of Australia has approximated that of Europe and North America.

Perhaps the greatest single incident of the social evolution in Australia within this (the ninth) decade has been the struggle between the ruling citizenship of the colonies and the Asiatic population. We have already noted the heavy influx of Chinese into the country. On their first coming they had few relations with the Europeans. They entered the mines and kept apart. But at length they sought and obtained employment at the hands of producers. In recent times the production of sugar-cane has become an important factor in the industry of Queensland. For this work the Chinese were found to be well adapted. The Polynesian Islands had also sent over their contribution of Kanakas from Hawaii.

This foreign labor was cheap in the last degree, and was eagerly sought by the sugar-planters. The wages usually paid to Chinese and Kanakas was thirty dollars a year, including food, clothing, and shelter, while the white laborers demanded, and had been accustomed to receive, two hundred and sixty dollars a year, with boarding and lodging. The planters declared that the success of the sugar plantations depended upon the employment of the cheap foreign labor, and with this view of the case, the home Government of Great Britain sympathized. The European and native colonists, however, were strongly opposed to the introduction and employment of the Chinese and Kanakas. The governmental authorities took the matter in hand, and, in 1884, adopted stringent regulations against the importation of cheap labor into Australia.

The contest was similar in all respects to that which we have witnessed in California. For four years the struggle continued against the importation of foreign laborers. A poll-tax of fifty dollars was put on every Chinese immigrant. It was also enacted that only one such immigrant should be brought as a passenger for every one hundred tons of the ship's burden in which he came. Even these measures did not prove sufficient, and in 1888 a colonial act was passed for the total exclusion of Asiatic laborers. The people of Australia demanded that a treaty similar to that which Angell had procured for the United States should be negotiated by the Home Government for Australia. But this the British Ministry refused to do. A threat was put forth by Parliament that the restrictive legislation of the Australian colonies should be abrogated. Hereupon Lord Carrington, Governor of New South Wales, sent home a communication prepared by his Premier, Sir Henry Parkes, in which it was declared that the Australian authorities were acting under the force of a public opinion which could not be withstood. Parliament was advised that the restrictive measures were in self-defense, and that they could not be relaxed without ruin to the whole social and industrial system. As usual in such cases, the British Government yielded, and the Australian colonies were permitted to conduct their affairs in their own manner.

It is evident, on the whole, that the potency of the great South Pacific continent has not yet been fully revealed to the world. True, the vast interior is a desert, but there remain fully one million four hundred thousand square miles of arable and grazing lands which invite the enterprise of immigrants, provoking all the energies of those who come. As we have seen, the development of this New World and its amazing resources has only begun. What may be the political and social future of this great ocean-bound land, to what rank Australia shall presently rise among the great powers of the world, it were useless to predict. But if the energy of the race, the natural gifts of the country, the freedom and progress of Australian institutions, may be taken as a criterion, the day is not far distant when the land which only half a century ago was stigmatized as the home of criminals—the debouchure of all the streams of vice and filth—purified at length by her own internal energies, and raised by the native vigor of her people, shall assume no second rank among the enlightened nations of the world.

CHAPTER CLVIII.—CONCLUSION.

THE concluding paragraphs of a historical work may well be brief and simple. It is not permitted to the writer of history to moralize at length upon the events which are sketched by his pen. He is forbidden to conjecture, to imagine, to dream. He has learned, albeit against his will, to moderate his enthusiasm, to curb his fancy, to be humble in the presence of facts. To him the scenery on the shore of the stream that bears him onward—tall trees and giant rocks—must pass but half observed, and for him the sun and the south wind strive in vain to make enticing pictures on the playful eddies of human thought.

None the less, the writer of history may occasionally pause to reflect; he may ever and anon throw out an honest deduction drawn from the events upon which his attention has been fixed. Particularly is this true when he has come to the end. All of a sudden he anchors in the bay of the present, and realizes that his voyage is done. In such a moment there is a natural reversion of the thought from its long and devious track across the fields, valleys, and wastes of the past, and a strong disposition to educe *some lesson* from the events which he has recorded.

The first and most general truth in history is that *men ought to be free*. If happiness is the end of the human race, then freedom is its condition. And this freedom is not to be a kind of half-escape from thralldom and tyranny, but ample and absolute. The emancipation in order to be emancipation at all, must be complete. To the historian it must ever appear strange that men have been so distrustful of this central principle in the philosophy of human history. It is an astounding fact that the major part of the energies of mankind have been expended in precisely the opposite way—in the enslavement rather than the liberation of the race. Every generation has sat like a stupid image of Buddha on the breast of its own aspirations, and they who have struggled to break their own and the fetters of their fellow-men have been regarded and treated as the common enemies of human peace and happiness. On the contrary, they have been saviors and benefactors of whom the world has not been worthy. The greatest fallacy with which the human intellect has ever been beguiled is, that the present—whatever age may be called the present—has conceded to men all the freedom which they are fit to enjoy. On the contrary, no age has done so. Every age has been a Czar, and every reformer is threatened with Siberia.

Nevertheless, in the face of all this baleful opposition and fierce hostility to the forward and freedom-seeking movement of the race, the fact remains that to be free is the prime condition of all the greatness, wisdom, and happiness in the world. Whatever force, therefore, contributes to widen the limits which timid fear or selfish despotism has set as the *thus-far* of freedom, is a civilizing force, and deserves to be augmented by the individual will and personal endeavor of every lover of mankind; and, on the other hand, every force which tends to fix around the teeming brains and restless activities of men one of those so-called necessary barriers to their progress and ambition, is a force of barbarism and cruelty, meriting the relentless antagonism of every well-wisher of his kind.

Let it be remembered, then, that the battle is not yet ended, the victory not yet won. The present is relatively — not absolutely, thanks to the great warriors of humanity—as much the victim of the enslaving forces as was the past; and it is the duty of the philanthropist, the sage, the statesman, to give the best of his life and genius to the work of breaking down, and not imposing, those bulwarks and barriers which superstition and conservatism have reared as the ramparts of civilization, and for which an enlightened people have no more need than for a Chinese wall.

One of the greatest enemies of freedom, and therefore of the progress and happiness of our race, is *over-organization*. Mankind have

been organized to death. The social, political, and ecclesiastical forms which have been instituted have become so hard and cold and obdurate that the life, the emotion, the soul within, has been well-nigh extinguished. Among all the civil, political, and churchly institutions of the world, it would be difficult to-day to select that one which is not in a large measure conducted in the interest of the beneficiaries. The Organization has become the principal thing, and the Man only a secondary consideration. *It* must be served and obeyed. *He* may be despised and neglected. *It* must be consulted, honored, feared; crowned with flowers, starred and studded with gold. *He* may be left a starving pauper, homeless, friendless, childless, shivering in mildewed tatters; a scavenger, and beggar at the doorway of the court.

All this must presently be reversed. Organization is *not* the principal thing; man himself is better. The institution, the party, the creed, the government,—that does not serve *him*; does not conduce to *his* interests, progress, and enlightenment; is not only a piece of superfluous rubbish on the stage of modern civilization, but is a real stumbling-block, a positive clog and detriment to the welfare and best hopes of mankind.

Closely allied with this overwrought organization of society is the pernicious *theory of paternalism*—that delusive, mediæval doctrine, which proposes to effect the social and individual elevation of man by "protecting," and therefore subduing, him. The theory is that man is a sort of half-infant, half-imbecile, who must be led along and guarded as one would lead and guard a foolish and impertinent child. It is believed and taught that men seek not their own best interests; that they are the natural enemies and destroyers of their own peace; that human energy, when liberated and no longer guided by the factitious machinery of society and the State, either slides rapidly backwards into barbarism, or rushes forward only to stumble and fall headlong by its own audacity. Therefore, society must be a good master, a garrulous old nurse to her children! She must take care of them; teach them what to do; lead them by the swaddling bands; coax them into some feeble and well-regulated activity; feed them on her insipid porridge with the antiquated spoons of her superstition. The State must govern and repress. The State must strengthen her apparatus, improve her machine. She must put her subjects down; she must keep them down. She must teach them to be tame and tractable; to go at her will; to rise, to halt, to sit, to sleep, to wake at her bidding; to be humble and meek. And all this with the belief that men so subordinated and put down can be, should be, ought to be, great and happy! They are so well cared for, so happily governed!

On the contrary, if history has proved—does prove—any one thing, it is this: Man when least governed is greatest. When his heart, his brain, his limbs are unbound, he straightway begins to flourish, to triumph, to be glorious. Then, indeed, he sends up the green and blossoming trees of his ambition. Then, indeed, he flings out both hands to grasp the skyland and the stars. Then, indeed, he feels no longer a need for the mastery of society; no longer a want of some guardian and intermeddling state to inspire and direct his energies. He grows in freedom. His philanthropy expands; his nature rises to a noble stature; he springs forward to grasp the grand substance, the shadow of which he has seen in his dreams. He is happy. He feels himself released from the domination of an artificial scheme which has been used for long ages for the subjection of his fathers and himself. What men want, what they need, what they hunger for, what they will one day have the courage to demand and take, is less organic government—not more; a freer manhood and fewer shackles; a more cordial liberty; a lighter fetter of form, and a more spontaneous virtue.

Of all things that are incidentally needed to usher in the promised democracy and brotherhood of man—the coming new era of enlightenment and peace—one of the most essential is *toleration*. It is a thing which the world has never yet enjoyed—is just now beginning to enjoy. Almost every page of the ancient and mediæval history of mankind has been made bloody with some form of intolerance. Until the present day the baleful shadow of this sin against humanity has been upon the world. The proscriptive vices of the Middle Ages have

flowed down with the blood of the race, and tainted the life that now is with a suspicion and distrust of Freedom. Liberty in the minds of men has meant the privilege of agreeing with the majority. Men have desired free thought, but fear has stood at the door. It remains for the present to build a highway, broad and free, into every field of liberal inquiry, and to make the poorest of men who walks therein more secure in life and reputation than the soldier who sleeps behind the rampart. Proscription has no part nor lot in the modern government of the world. The stake, the gibbet, and the rack, thumb-screws, swords, and pillory, have no place among the machinery of civilization. Nature is diversified; so are human faculties, beliefs, and practices. Essential freedom is the *right to differ*, and that right must be sacredly respected. Nor must the privilege of dissent be conceded with coldness and disdain, but openly, cordially, and with good-will. No loss of rank, abatement of character, or ostracism from society must darken the pathway of the humblest of the seekers after truth. The right of free thought, free inquiry, and free speech to all men, everywhere, is as clear as the noonday and bounteous as the air and the sea.

A second auxiliary in the forward movement of our age will be found in *the emancipation of woman*. There are two stations to which woman may be logically assigned. One is the harem of the Turk; the other is the high dais of perfect equality with man. The Middle Ages gave her the former place. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries sought to fix her in a station *between* the two extremes. The present, having discovered that human rights are not deducible from physiological distinctions, seeks to make her as free as man. The tyranny and selfishness of political parties will for a while retard what they can not prevent, and then, by an attempted falsification of history, will seek to make it appear that *they* have been the champions of the cause by which one-half of the human race are to be enfranchised—removed from the state of political serfdom to become a great and salutary agency in the social and political reforms of the age.

It follows naturally to add that the creation of *a universal citizenship by means of universal education* is a third force, which is to bring in and glorify the future of all lands. Just in proportion as the republican principle encroaches upon absolutism in the domain of government, will the necessity for enlightening the masses become more and more imperative. The development of a high degree of intelligence is, in all free governments, a *sine qua non* of their strength and perpetuity. Without it such governments fall easy victims to ignorant military captains and civil demagogues of low repute.

Whether, indeed, the republican form of government be better than monarchy turns wholly upon the intelligence of the governed. Where this is wanting, the king appears, and the people find in him a refuge from the ills of anarchy; but where the antecedent condition of public intelligence exists—where every man, by the discipline of virtuous schools, has been in his youth rooted and grounded in the fruitful soil of knowledge, the salutary principles and practices of self-restraint, and the generous ways of freedom—there indeed has neither the military leader with his sword, the political demagogue with his fallacy, nor the king with his crown and *Dei gratia*, any longer a place or vocation among the people.

May the day soon dawn when every land, from Orient to Occident, from pole to pole, from mountain to shore, and from shore to the farthest island of the sounding sea, shall feel the glad sunshine of freedom in its breast; and when the people of all climes, arising at last from the heavy slumbers and barbarous dreams which have so long haunted the benighted minds of men, shall join in glad acclaim to usher in the Golden Era of Humanity and the universal Monarchy of Man!

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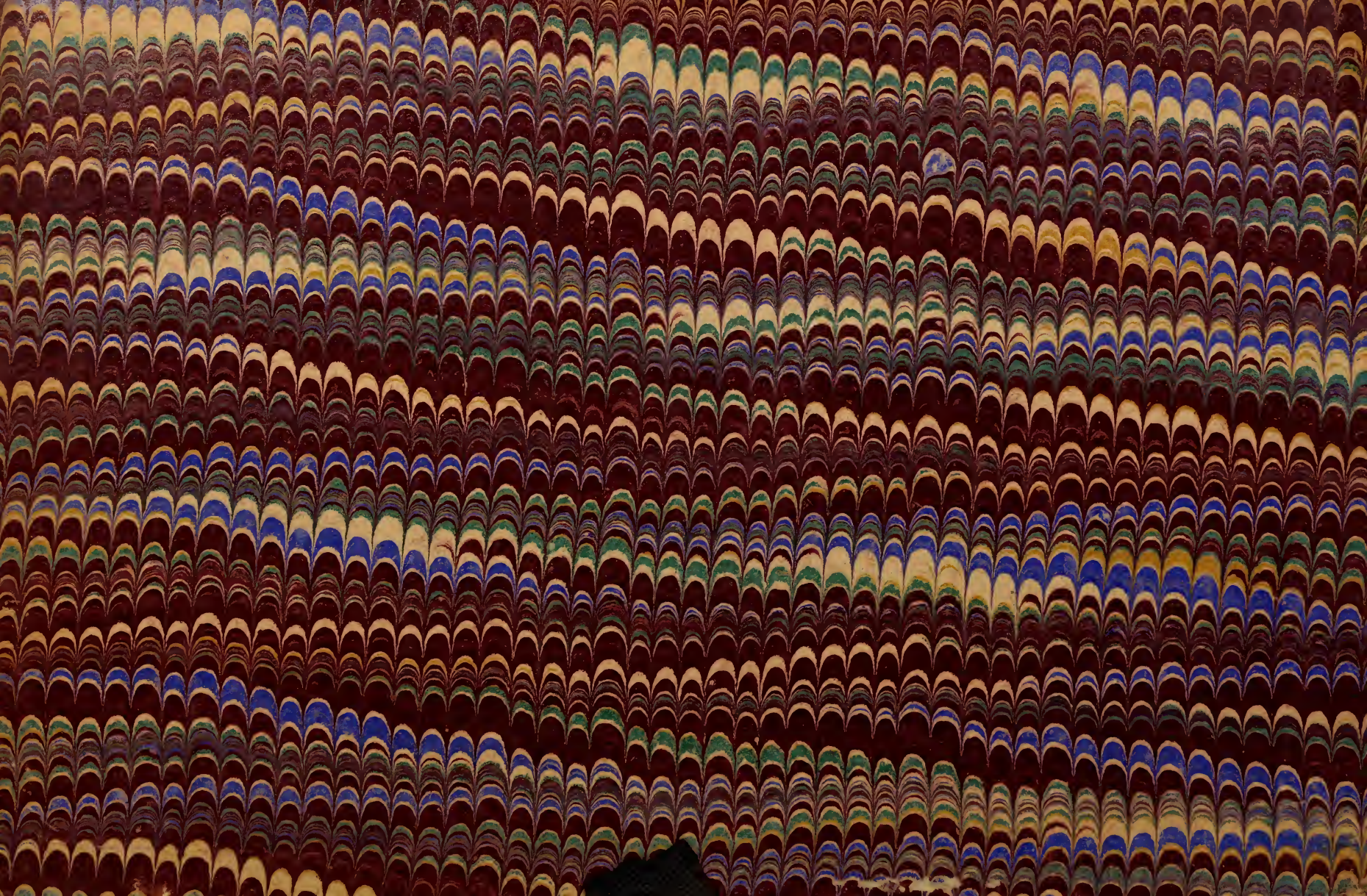
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