

many inequalities, disfranchising small constituencies and securing increased representation to large ones.

First Prime Ministry of Mr. Gladstone (December, 1868-February, 1874). **The Irish Question.**—The elections under the Reform Bill gave the liberals a large majority and made Mr. Gladstone prime minister. The badly organized and ill-fated Fenian movement had been noisily dragging along for nine years. Mr. Gladstone grappled at once with the Irish question. Ireland had serious grounds of complaint. Those most apparent could be grouped roughly under two heads, the Church and the Land. As to the Church: the large majority of the Irish were intensely Catholic, but the Irish state church was Protestant, Anglican and heavily endowed. As to the Land: the position of the tenant was little removed from serfdom and he was practically at the mercy of his landlord. He could be evicted at the landlord's pleasure, and had no claim for money expended and improvements made. Mr. Gladstone's measure for the disestablishment of the Irish church and its partial disendowment became a law on July 26, 1869. His other measure, which freed the tenant from the grip of his landlord, guaranteed him the fruits of his labor and protected him by a special judiciary arrangement, became a law on August 1, 1870.

The Alabama Claims.—Under the "Alabama Claims" is summed up the gravest case the United States have had against Great Britain since 1776. Mr. Adams, the American minister to the Court of St. James, gave notice (November 20, 1862) that the United States solicited redress for the public and private injuries caused by the *Alabama*. Lord Russell denied any British liability for the same. Mr. Adams (April 5, 1865) submitted an official memorandum of the losses caused by the *Alabama*, and similar ships of war which had gone from Great Britain. He had previously suggested arbitration. Lord Russell replied that the British government declined "either to make reparation or compensation . . . or to refer the question to any foreign state." Succeeding British cabinets were less reserved.

The Johnson-Clarendon Convention to adjust these claims was rejected as unsatisfactory by the American Senate (April, 1869). The United States took no further action. Later on, when the European political sky grew threatening, Great Britain herself made overtures for an adjustment

(January, 1871). After long negotiations the whole matter was submitted to a tribunal of arbitration, the president of the United States, the queen of Great Britain, the king of Italy, the president of the Swiss Republic and the emperor of Brazil each appointing one commissioner. The tribunal, the British delegate alone dissenting, decided that the British government had "failed to use due diligence in the performance of its neutral obligations," and awarded the United States an indemnity of \$15,500,000 (September 14, 1872).

Second Prime Ministry of Mr. Disraeli (February, 1874-April, 1880).—Mr. Disraeli was created a peer under the title of Lord Beaconsfield in August, 1876. His administration concerned itself little with domestic politics, but won spectacular triumphs in foreign affairs. One morning he announced in the House of Commons that he had secured Great Britain proprietary control of the Suez Canal by purchasing the shares of the khedive of Egypt for £4,000,000 (February, 1876). He consolidated the authority of the queen over India by inducing her to assume the proud title of Kaiser-i-Hind, Empress of India, and by assembling a gorgeous durbar at Delhi, where all the chief native princes acclaimed Victoria as the successor of the Great Mogul (January, 1877). This dramatic ceremony made deeper impression upon the Oriental mind than any display of armies could have done. By peaceful convention with Turkey he acquired the island of Cyprus, which is of importance in commanding the Suez Canal, but, above all, counterbalances the Russian fortress of Kars and threatens the Syrian route to the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf (June 4, 1878). He imposed the Congress of Berlin on Russia (June, 1878), thus forcing that victorious empire to submit to the arbitrament of Europe and vindicating the principle that what concerns all cannot be decided by one alone. The territorial decisions of that congress, as of all similar international assemblies, were certain to be modified by circumstances and time, but the fact that the congress convened was a striking diplomatic triumph for Great Britain. The reverse of the picture is found in the Zulu war (1877-1879), the attempted annexation of the Transvaal Republic (1878-1881) and the second Afghan war in search of "a scientific frontier" (1878-1881), none of which increased the reputation of British justice or British arms.

Lord Beaconsfield died a year after his departure from office (April 19, 1881).

Second Prime Ministry of Mr. Gladstone (April, 1880-June, 1885). — The defeat of the University Bill for Ireland had thrown Mr. Gladstone from power in 1874. The Irish question thrust itself to the forefront throughout his second administration. In 1873 the Irish Home Rule movement had begun. Its founder, Mr. Butt, and his great successor in leadership, Mr. Parnell, were both Protestants. It sought self-government for Ireland in local affairs, but by legal means without violence. In 1879 the National Irish Land League was formed. It aimed at abolishing the iniquitous landlord system and introducing peasant proprietorship. The landlords were in the habit of evicting their tenants and the tenant of committing outrages in revenge. The government passed a coercive act, arrested Mr. Parnell and the Irish leaders, threw them into prison and suppressed the Land League. Lord Frederick Cavendish, chief secretary for Ireland, and Mr. Burke, permanent under-secretary, were assassinated in Phoenix Park, Dublin (May 5, 1882). In unhappy Ireland coercion and murder kept pace.

Occupation of Egypt (1882). — The khedive acted as both ruler and proprietor of Egypt. The enormous loans which he had obtained in Europe resulted in the country being placed under the dual financial control of Great Britain and France. Rapidly succeeding khedives were lazy and weak and the interests of the natives were entirely ignored. France withdrew from the combination. Colonel Arabi Pasha raised the cry, "Egypt for the Egyptians," and began to fortify Alexandria. He desisted at the remonstrance of the British consul. A native mob plundered the European quarter and murdered several foreigners. Arabi Pasha went on with his defences. The British fleet bombarded the city, and meanwhile the infuriated populace massacred more than 2000 Europeans (July 12, 1882). Two days later the British forces disembarked and took possession. Arabi Pasha concentrated his army at Zagazig and Tel-el-Kebir. Attacked by General Wolseley (September 13), the Egyptians fought bravely, but finally took to flight, leaving 2000 dead. Arabi Pasha was exiled to Ceylon and the British have since occupied Egypt.

Mohammed Achmet, who proclaimed himself the Mahdi,

raised his banner in the Soudan and defeated four Egyptian armies (1880-1882). Next he destroyed an anglo-Egyptian force of 10,000 men, commanded by General Hicks Pasha and forty European officers (October, 1883). Of the host only two persons escaped death. General Gordon was sent from London (January 18, 1884) to extricate the Egyptian garrisons still remaining in the Soudan. Just one month later (February 18) he reached Khartoum, which was at once invested by the Arabs. In desperate need of assistance he seemed to be forgotten by his government. Toward the end of the year a powerful expedition started with precipitate haste to his relief. A few days earlier it might have saved him. Before it arrived, Khartoum had been captured and Major-General Gordon, one of the saintliest and most heroic soldiers England ever produced, was slain by the Arabs on January 27, 1885.

The Third Reform Bill (June, 1885). — This bill emphasized the progress of Great Britain toward universal suffrage, adding nearly 2,000,000 voters, largely from the agricultural classes, to the list. It redistricted the country on the basis of population and rectified the former undue proportion of members allowed the towns. Heretofore the towns had one deputy for every 41,200 inhabitants and the country districts one deputy for every 70,800.

First Prime Ministry of Lord Salisbury (June, 1885-February, 1886). **Third Prime Ministry of Mr. Gladstone** (February, 1886-August, 1886). **The Irish Home Rule Bill.** — The liberal majority of 120 in the Commons had gradually shrunk to a minority. Lord Salisbury became prime minister. Five months afterwards Mr. Gladstone again took office. To the new House 335 liberals had been elected, 249 conservatives and eighty-six Irish home rulers. The system of coercion pursued by Mr. Gladstone in his former ministry had utterly failed. Completely reversing his preceding policy, he introduced an Irish Home Rule Bill. The Irish members abandoned their temporary alliance with the conservatives and rallied to its support. But the bill was opposed by many liberal leaders, among them Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Chamberlain and John Bright, who took the name of liberal unionists. It was defeated by a majority of thirty. Parliament was immediately dissolved.

Second Prime Ministry of Lord Salisbury (Aug., 1886-

August, 1892). — The elections had given the conservatives and liberal unionists a majority of 112 over the Gladstonians and Irish home rulers combined. The policy of Lord Salisbury's second administration was vigor in foreign relations and renewed coercion in Ireland. The Bering Sea controversy with the United States in regard to the seal fisheries began in 1886 and was supposed to have secured a settlement in 1893. Parliament dissolved in 1892, having filled its allotted span of six years.

Fourth Prime Ministry of Mr. Gladstone (August, 1892–March, 1894). **Lord Rosebery Prime Minister** (March, 1894–June, 1895). **Third Prime Ministry of Lord Salisbury** (June, 1895–). — This time the united Gladstonians and Irish home rulers obtained a majority of forty-two, though among the English members there was an adverse majority of seventy. Mr. Gladstone was again prime minister. The Home Rule Bill, victorious in the House of Commons, was defeated in the House of Lords by a vote of more than ten to one. The venerable prime minister, at the age of eighty-four, resigned his high office, and advised the queen to intrust Lord Rosebery with the formation of a Cabinet.

Dissensions and internal rivalries soon further weakened the liberal party. At the elections in July, 1895, the conservatives obtained a clear majority and are no longer dependent on their still faithful allies, the liberal unionists, for support. The Irish question could not however be shelved. The ministry itself introduced an Irish Local Government Bill, which was approved by the House of Lords on July 29, 1898. The foreign policy of Lord Salisbury in his present ministry has been less vigorous than of old. In international questions, like the Armenian massacres or the Cretan insurrection, Great Britain has been content to act or to abstain from acting in concert with the great Powers. But no American should forget, when recalling our struggle of this present year with Spain, that the sympathies of the British government and people were almost unanimously upon our side. Lord Salisbury and the Englishmen of 1898 have not repeated the blunder of Lord Palmerston and the Englishmen of 1861–1865. On May 19, 1898, Mr. Gladstone died at the age of eighty-eight, admired and regretted by the world.

Characteristics of the Reign of Queen Victoria. — The first and most apparent is its length. Already the venerated

queen has honored the throne for more than sixty-one years. Edward III was king for fifty years and George III for fifty-nine. Thus the present sovereign has surpassed all her predecessors in the length of her reign. In its prosperity, its increasing imperial strength and its intellectual brilliancy, the only other English reign which can be brought into comparison is that of another woman, Queen Elizabeth. But the England of the sixteenth century was an undeveloped child beside that giant among the nations, the British Empire of to-day. This reign is memorable for its constant advance in political reform. The Civil Service Reform (1853–1855), the Removal of all Disabilities from the Jews (1859), the Abolition of Army Purchase and University Religious Tests (1871), the Ballot Act (1872), the Act for the Prevention of Corrupt Practices at Elections (1883), the Plimsoll Act for the Better Protection of Seamen (1886), the Employers' Liability Bill (1897), are among those hard-wrung acquisitions which, once secured, contribute to make a nation strong and great.

Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone. — Their swords first clashed in the House of Commons in February, 1852. The agony of their contest ended only when Gladstone pronounced his eloquent eulogy over the bier of his rival in April, 1881. Each thrice succeeded the other as chancellor of the exchequer. In the same year, 1868, both vaulted to the summit of British political ambition. Twice Mr. Disraeli gave place to Mr. Gladstone as prime minister. Disraeli, at first a radical, became a conservative, and Gladstone, at first a conservative, became a liberal. In both there always remained something of their earlier political creed. Disraeli failed in his Reform Bill of 1859, but gave the workingmen the Reform Bill of 1868. Gladstone failed in his Reform Bill of 1867, but gave the agricultural classes the Reform Bill of 1884. Disraeli presented Great Britain with Cyprus, a province of the Sultan, and Gladstone presented her with Egypt, another province of the Sultan. Both were endowed with unusual talent, but Gladstone was born in the purple of politics and Disraeli was the child of an ostracized race. To Gladstone honors came apparently unasked. To Disraeli honors came because he forced them to come. Each served Great Britain with his might. The figure of Gladstone, overshadowing because to-day removed from the world, hides to our eye the titanic proportions of

his rival so long under the sod. But as both recede in the horizon of the past, the problem will constantly grow more difficult as to which was the greater. For nothing is the reign more memorable than that two such men, through almost a generation, were pitted against each other in a political duel such as the history of statescraft nowhere else presents.

