as the inquiry was confined to Damascus, the result was undoubtedly to present the ferocity of the Mohammedans in the worst possible light, with little or nothing of a redeeming character. But on extension of the investigations to the mountainous regions of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, important facts came to light on the other side. Fuad Pasha had ordered a military occupation of the Lebanon, and had instituted punitive measures against the guilty Druse chiefs—viz., forfeiture of titles and sequestration of property. This was the very least that was due from the perpetrators of the massacres of Hasbeya, Rasbeya, and Deir-el-Khaman. In addition to these, the two chief men responsible for the massacres at Hashbeya and Rasbeya were shot, as well as Ali Bey and Achmet Agha, the two principal Turkish authorities at Damascus.

In the course of the investigations it became clear to Lord Dufferin that it was the Christians who had provoked the Druses into embarking on a war of extermination. The former, agitated by the success of the anti-feudal movement, and stimulated to further effort by the intrigues of their priesthood, had long meditated an onslaught on the Druses, eventually to end in the overthrow of Turkish authority in the Lebanon. The Turks, perceiving what was intended, and probably afraid of using force towards the Christians, determined to chastise them through the instrumentality of the Druses.

All parties were thus almost equally to blame: the Maronites for being at the bottom of the whole trouble, the Druses for their ferocity, and the Turks for making scapegoats of the latter to gain their own intolerant ends. In order to be logical, Fuad Pasha had sentenced eleven chiefs to death. By stigmatising them as rebels, he hoped to make the Commissioners forget they were really accomplices.

On the other hand the attitude of the Maronites may be gauged from the fact that when Fuad Pasha asked the Bishops to submit the names of such people as were deserving of capital punishment, a list of four thousand nine hundred was furnished. This enormous demand was a tolerable indication of their feelings, and the list had to be cut down, rather more in consonance with humanity, to about seven hundred. When the Christian notables were invited to come forward and supply the Military Tribunal with some evidence or information against the persons they had accused, they flatly refused.

Although Syria was inhabited by ten distinct and uncivilized races, and these races again were split up into seventeen fanatical sects, Lord Dufferin expressed himself as convinced that the Government of the country would be a matter of little difficulty. Unfortunately the whole region had been regarded by the Porte for a long time as an outlying Pashalik, from which, in addition to revenues from taxation, a considerable profit ought to be extracted by farming the post of

Governor to the highest bidder. Such a practice naturally led to squeezing the people of the province, which was thus cursed with a succession of incapable and corrupt Pro-Consuls. Nevertheless, the valleys and plains of Coele-Syria, Hauran and Esdraelon were naturally productive, and under decent administration capable of ample development.

Lord Dufferin's suggested remedy was to convert Syria into a semi-independent Pashalik. He proposed that a Governor-General, named for a fixed term of years, should have a permanent authority, and that a Christian Pasha should govern the Mountain, controlled by the Civil Power. Four out of five of the Commissioners agreed that the Christian Pasha should not be a native of the Mountain. This scheme was regarded favourably, both by Sir Henry Bulwer, our ambassador at Constantinople, and by Lord John Russell. But on the proposal being laid before the Sultan it met with uncompromising disapproval. The status of the Danubian principalities and of Egypt had been productive of so much trouble that the constitution of a fresh dependency on similar lines was scarcely a project likely to commend itself to the Porte.

On being informed of the Sultan's decision, Lord John Russell perceived the necessity of proceeding on rather simpler lines. He therefore instructed Lord Dufferin to (1) preserve the Christian Kaimakamships as settled in 1842-5, (2)

confine the plan of the Commissioners to the government of the Lebanon, and to (3) ask from the Porte the immediate contribution of a sum of not less than £200,000 for the restoration of the Christian villages on the Mountain.

The fact was that the villagers had, for some time past, been in the most terrible plight. Most of the people had been despoiled of their bedding, and this in a peculiar climate like that of Syria, was a terrible business, for, with the rapid changes of temperature, absence of covering at night meant sickness or death. Fuad Pasha's representative, Abro Effendi, had no funds at his disposal, so Lord Dufferin most generously, offered out of his own private means, to advance £5,000, on the condition that Fuad Pasha pledged his personal honour for the repayment of the debt within a given time.

In March his Excellency, Fuad Pasha, paid a visit to Damascus, and suggested that the Commission might occupy the interval by drawing up a project for the re-organisation of the Lebanon for discussion with him on his return. Various plans were accordingly taken into consideration, that eventually commending itself to the majority being based on the geographical separation of the Christian and Druse populations. As, however, the Bairam soon after supervened, and Fuad Pasha's views were essential to the formulation of a complete scheme, Lord Dufferin took the opportunity in the interval to pay a visit to Tyre

and Sidon, with the object of ascertaining the condition of the refugees from Hasbeya and Rasbeya, then congregated near those towns to the number of about four thousand. A large proportion of these consisted of women and children, whose male relations had been butchered. Lord Dufferin sent for twelve of the most respectable men and questioned them, one at a time, in his tent. The prevailing feeling was that an example ought to be made of the Druses, and that the fugitives would be glad to return to their homes, if security for life and property were guaranteed.

In the meantime the approaching departure of the French troops, who had hitherto figured as the champions of order and religious tolerance as against the forces of disruption and fanaticism, was exciting a good deal of uneasiness. The foreign traders and merchants residing in the Lebanon and at Beyrout addressed a petition to the Commission, in which, while grateful for the protection afforded by the naval and military forces, to whose presence the pacification and comparative security of the country were due, they complained that ten months had elapsed since the massacres, and that the unfortunate victims as yet had received nothing but illusory promises of indemnity. The greater number of the guilty were still awaiting condign punishment, and the question of re-organisation was scarcely determined on even in principle. This petition was signed by two hundred and thirty-three persons.

A few weeks later an important conversation took place between M. Thouvenel and Lord Cowley in Paris. The former dwelt on the unsatisfactory condition of the country, as evinced in the petition, and remarked that nothing had been done towards the payment of the indemnities sanctioned by the Commission, while the forced loan which it had been intended to raise at Damascus as a previsament could not be realised. M. Thouvenel feared a catastrophe whenever the troops were withdrawn. Lord Cowley had, of course, no difficulty in meeting the suggested inference. "Turn and twist the question as you might, place whatever Government you chose in the Lebanon, the issue to be tried was simply this: Could and would the Porte maintain its authority?" M. Thouvenel admitted the difficulty of the situation, and candidly confessed that if he was asked to devise a solution of the Syrian question, he could not do it. His determination was, in the event of the entire withdrawal of the troops, to address a note to the Turkish Government, throwing upon them the whole responsibility of any untoward consequences. It is worth noting that the two Ministers were undoubtedly right in doing nothing to cancel or retard the withdrawal of the troops. Even the British merchants and residents at Beyrout, who had the best of reasons for rejoicing at the tranquillising effect of foreign occupation, saw its evils very plainly. In a joint letter addressed to Lord Dufferin they said, "Abstractedly considered,

such a measure (as the French occupation) is a calamity to any country where it is enforced, as its unavoidable effect must be to undermine all legitimate authority."

And if any further proof were needed of the effects of the occupation, we find it in Lord Dufferin's own words:

> The International Commission and the army of occupation seem completely to have effaced the Porte's authority on the Mountain, and the Maronite population is persuaded that the sole mission of the military interferences of Europe is to erect the Mountain into an independent principality, and to subject every other sect and community within its precincts to the domination of some servile tool of their own priesthood.

Eventually, the evacuation of Syria by the French expeditionary corps was completed by June 10th.

To revert, however, to the events of April, the scheme of the Commission was now fast approaching completion and final approval. There were various points, however, on which Lord Dufferin entertained more or less misgiving, and therefore he took the opportunity, before actual signature, to draw up a memorandum of his individual opinions. At the same time he made it clear that he was perfectly willing to subscribe his name to the composite project.

This memorandum of Lord Dufferin's is a very interesting paper. It is dated Beyrout, April, 1861, covers several foolscap pages of the Blue Book, and gives a clear *aperçu* of the conditions of the

problem which the Commission had to examine. The following reproduces the essential parts:

For several centuries the Lebanon had been a source of anxiety to all those interested in its administration. Entrenched within the fastnesses of their Mountain, its inhabitants had acquired a prescriptive right to certain exceptional privileges; but it was an error to suppose that previous to 1842 these privileges were founded on any other claims than such as a mountain population is tacitly allowed to establish by a weak and distant Government, and it is a still greater mistake to imagine that they possessed anything of a religious character.

After the conquest of Syria in the sixteenth century, by Sultan Selim, the Lebanon became subject to the Porte under exactly the same conditions as any other section of the province. For upwards of two hundred years its Government was administered by the Mohammedan Emirs, at first taken from the House of Ma'an, and latterly chosen out of the family of the Shehabs who derive their descent from a Mohammedan tribe of Southern Arabia. Emir Beshir, a man of vigorous and unscrupulous dealing, was the most prominent of these; but the downfall of Mahomet Ali, his patron, accomplished his ruin. His nephew succeeded to the title of Prince of the Lebanon, but he was regarded by the people with very different feelings as having degenerated from the representative of their Sovereign into the mere chief of a religious community.

The settlement of 1842 recognised, as a principle, the administrative independence one of another of the two most important races which compose the population of the Mountain, and rewarded the loyal spirit which had animated all sections of its inhabitants in the expulsion of the Egyptians, by the grant of elaborate municipal institutions.

The condition of affairs thus established endured with questionable success until the summer of 1860, when the events narrated above broke out with startling suddenness. The Commission which followed had to ascertain how far the disasters were to be referred to the arrangements of twenty years ago, and whether it would be possible by a different organisation to prevent their recurrence.

Lord Dufferin's answer to the former of these two points was, that the massacres were referable only in part, and in a minor degree, to the settlement of 1842, and the division of the Mountain. The chief characteristic of that settlement consisted in the administrative independence, one of another, of the two principle races of the Lebanon—a most beneficent arrangement. Unfortunately it was accompanied by a latitude of self-government which neither community was fit to exercise, and a species of chronic anarchy resulted. Feudal tyranny was substituted for constitutional law, and the vendetta system for criminal justice; the whole presenting the same spectacle of disorder that used to characterise the worst-governed States of Europe in the worst period of the middle ages. The insecurity

of human life, the immunity of crime, and the prostitution of justice had probably prevailed to a greater extent in the Lebanon than in any corresponding area of the Turkish dominions.[1]

Irrespective of the loss of life in periodic war, it had been calculated that during the nineteen years immediately preceding the outbreak in 1860, about eleven hundred murders had been committed within the precincts of the Mountain, without a single author of any one of them having been brought to justice; while to enumerate the various minor acts of cruelty and oppression perpetrated during the same period was a practical impossibility.

The arrangement devised by the Commission to remedy these terrible evils practically confirmed the principles adopted in the Settlement of 1842. Separate jurisdictions were at that time granted to the Maronite and Druse communities: in 1861 arrangements were made for extending the same benefit to the Greek orthodox and the Greek Catholic rites. Other minor provisions were included to secure greater efficiency for the judicial councils, and further check on the tyranny of dominant majorities. The greatest blot of all, however, in Lord Dufferin's opinion, was the absence of all superintending and controlling authority on the part of the Imperial Government. He was also opposed to the stipulation that no troops should be sent into disturbed districts of the Mountain, except at the request of the

[1] Of course this was long before the Bulgarian and Armenian horrors.

Kaimakam, confirmed by the vote of the Medjlis. On the whole Lord Dufferin was disposed to question the expediency of continuing the anomalous autonomy of the Lebanon, for he mistrusted the qualification of the population for self-government.

There was, however, a hitch to intervene before the Commission finally reported. At a meeting at Lord Dufferin's house, preparatory to signing, the Prussian Commissioner unexpectedly informed his colleagues that he had received instructions from his Government to abandon the principle of a division of the Mountain into separate circumscriptions dependent on the Vali of Sarda, and had been recommended to advocate in its stead the establishment in the Lebanon of a single Christian Governor, dependent on the Porte. The Austrian Commissioner followed on similar lines. Lord Dufferin objected to the unanimous conclusion of the Commission being capriciously disavowed by the Commissioners themselves, on the mere intimation that the new project was regarded with disfavour in one or more of the distant capitals of Europe. Eventually a sort of compromise was arrived at. Neither the first nor revised project was signed, but both were appended as annexes to a short collective note, descriptive of the procedure adopted, and of the circumstances which had led to the elaboration of the second set of articles. Lord Dufferin explained, however, to Sir H. Bulwer that with the exception of the

Photo by] [*Sarrafian Bros., Beirut.*

MARONITE WOMEN.

[*To face p.* 56.

article placing a non-native Christian Governor at the head of the Mountain, the revised document differed in but very few particulars from those regulating the former plan. In some respects (notably in the matter of the entry of regular troops into the Mountain on occasions of emergency being no longer dependent on the consent of the Medjlis) it was preferable.

Although one or two additional meetings of the Commission were held subsequently at Beyrout this practically concluded Lord Dufferin's task, and on May 11th, he wrote both to Lord John Russell and to Sir Henry Bulwer stating his readiness to proceed as instructed to Constantinople. This despatch was acknowledged by Lord John in the following terms:

FOREIGN OFFICE.
May 27, 1861.

I have received and laid before the Queen your despatch of the 11th instant, reporting your departure for Constantinople; and I have great satisfaction in conveying to you, by the Queen's command, her Majesty's most gracious approval of all your conduct during the whole period of your residence in Syria.

The ability and judgment which you displayed in dealing with the intricate questions which came under discussion, the temper and conciliatory spirit which you uniformly maintained in your intercourse with your colleagues, and the zeal with which, while caring for the exigencies of public justice, you endeavoured to consult the claims of humanity, would necessarily ensure for you the approbation and thanks of her Majesty's Government; but I have still greater pleasure in ac-

quainting you that those qualities were warmly recognised by the Governments of those foreign Powers with whose representatives you have been associated in the arduous work of bringing about the pacification of Syria.

It only remains to say that Daoud Effendi was eventually appointed as Governor of the Lebanon, with the rank and title of Mushir. He was by birth an Armenian and of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and had held various offices of trust, his last appointment being Director-General of Telegraphs, in which he had displayed energy and business capacity. The appointment was considered a good one. Lord Dufferin's reward was the Knight Commandership of the Bath (Civil). When the offer first made to him was that conferred ten years later—an earldom.

It is very interesting here to recall what Lord Dufferin himself had to say, twenty-seven years later, as to the tribal arrangement effected in the Lebanon. At that time (1887) he was confronted with a somewhat analogous problem in the rising of the Ghilzais, an important Afghan tribe, and in a letter to the Secretary of State, dated May 19th, he suggested the substitution for the existing *régime* in Afghanistan of some such system as that established by him and his fellow-Commissioners in the Lebanon, in 1861. He added:

The tribes of the Lebanon at that date were as wild, as fierce, as blood-thirsty and as difficult to rule as ever have been the Afghans. Blood feuds were universal,

and the traditional jealousies of the clans, though themselves sufficiently intense, were still further embittered by animosities of race and religion, constantly fanned into a flame by foreign influences. Various expedients had been tried to introduce something like order into the Mountain. At one time, it was placed under a native Emir; then divided under two Governors; then the Turks endeavoured to establish their own military ascendancy; but every plan failed in turn until we put each principal section of the people under its own Chief, assisted by divisional councils, with an inter-tribal police under an independent Governor, appointed by the Turks, though not himself a Mohammedan. Under this system the domestic independence both of the Druses and of the Maronites remained perfectly free and uncontrolled. The Turkish troops garrisoned certain strategical points outside the privileged limits, but no Turkish soldiers were permitted to be quartered on the villagers, or to enter within the "liberties" of the tribes. Within a couple of years after these arrangements had been carried into effect, blood feuds entirely ceased, and from that time until the present day the Lebanon has been the most peaceful, the most contented, and the most prosperous province of the Ottoman dominion.

Still more recent testimony as to the fruits of the Commission of 1860, have reached me in the shape of a letter from Mr. R. Drummond Hay, H. B. M.'s Consul-General at Beyrout, dated September 11th, 1902. He says—"As to the general state of the Mountain, there are, of course, complaints on matters of detail, especially with regard to points where the Organic Statute has been disregarded; but it may fairly be said that the arrangements to which Lord Dufferin

contributed so much, have been on the whole successful, as the Lebanon offers complete security of life and property, and is certainly an exception to the usual state of Turkish possessions."

It would be difficult to light on a more satisfactory or convincing criterion of the solid good effected by Lord Dufferin's earliest essay in the field of statesmanship.[1]

[1] It may be noted here that Lord Dufferin's despatches in the Syrian Blue Book are all spelt "Dufferin and Claneboye." On this point the present Lord Dufferin has been kind enough to supply me with some interesting information. He refers to the following passages in "The Annals of Ireland by the Four Masters" (edition of J. O'Donovan):

Vol. i., p. 587: "Clann-Hugh-Boy," *i.e.* the race of Hugh Boy O'Neill, who was slain in 1283. They possessed at this period an extension to the east of Lough Neagh, which was called "Clann-Aodha-Buide," *anglicè* "Clannaboy," from their tribe name.

P. 605: "The race of Hugh Boy," *i.e.* of Hugh the Yellow. This tribe, as well as their country, is called "The Clannaboy" by English writers.

Lord Dufferin adds in his letter to me: "Not being an Irish scholar I do not know how 'Aodha'—the Celtic for 'Hugh'—is pronounced, but I imagine the 'd' in it was sounded, and that my father therefore thought that 'Clandeboye' more nearly reproduced the Celtic form of the word than 'Claneboye.'

"The spelling 'Claneboye' is still retained in the Irish Barony, and when voting for an Irish Representative Peer we sign our names 'Dufferin and Claneboye.'"

CHAPTER IV

DEATH OF PRINCE CONSORT—MARRIAGE OF LORD DUFFERIN—UNDER-SECRETARY FOR INDIA AND FOR WAR—SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT—VIEWS ON IRELAND—CHANCELLOR OF DUCHY AND PAYMASTER GENERAL

TOWARDS the close of the year 1861, the Queen and her people were thrown into profound grief by the death of the Prince Consort. Her Majesty's speech from the throne was delivered by Royal Commissioners, and the task of moving the Address in the House of Lords was entrusted to Lord Dufferin. The grace, eloquence, and pathos that characterised his speech, supplied clear evidence to the Lords of the orator that had arisen in their midst. The speech was almost ideal. It was modest, as befitted the orator's age and standing in the House, and yet the opinions of the speaker were launched forth in bold and confident tones. It disclaimed any panegyric aims, but the fearless way in which the difficulties of Prince Albert's position were indicated, formed a convincing tribute to his acknowledged services and worth. One of the most prominent passages was the following:

Here was one who was neither king, warrior, nor legislator, occupying a position in its very nature incompatible with all personal pre-eminence—alike debarred the achievement of military renown and political distinction; secluded within the precincts of what might easily have become a negative existence; neither able to confer those favours which purchase popularity, nor possessing in any peculiar degree the trick of manner which seduces it, who nevertheless succeeded in winning for himself an amount of consideration and confidence such as the most distinguished or the most successful of mankind have seldom attained. By what combination of qualities a stranger and an alien, exercising no definite political functions, ever verging on the peril of a false position, his daily life exposed to ceaseless observation, shut out from the encouragement afforded by the sympathy of intimate friendship, the support of partisans, the good fellowship of society; how such an one acquired so remarkable a hold on the affections of a jealous insular people, might well excite the astonishment of any one acquainted with the temper and the peculiarities of the British nation.

The social side of the Prince Consort's life and popularity was reviewed in phraseology, if anything still more felicitous and touching, and the tribute of condolence to the Queen was appropriately and feelingly closed with the lines:

May all love,
His love unseen, but felt, o'ershadow thee,
The love of all thy sons encompass thee,
The love of all thy daughters cherish thee,
The love of all thy people comfort thee,
Till God's love set thee at his side again.[1]

[1] From the end of the dedication prefixed to Tennyson's "Idylls of the King."

In the same speech grateful acknowledgment was made of the long and distinguished services of Lord Herbert and Sir James Graham, both of whom had died in the same year, and a fine allusion to the watchword *Laboremus*, given to his Captain of the Guard by the Emperor Septimius Severus, while on his deathbed at York, supplied the point to a masterly peroration.

Lord Dufferin's happy marriage took place on October 23rd, 1862. His bride was Hariot Georgina, eldest daughter of Archibald Rowan Hamilton, Esq., of Killyleagh Castle, County Down, a lady whose single-minded devotion to the public interests entrusted to the charge of her husband; whose example in her own family circle, and whose kindness to all those with whom she has been brought into contact, have contributed much to her own as well as her husband's popularity.

On the day deputations of the tenantries from the Killyleagh and Clandeboye estates presented addresses to Mrs. Hamilton and Lord Dufferin. Both these addresses were couched in feeling terms and elicited sympathetic replies, that of Mrs. Hamilton making reference to Lord Dufferin as "the best-loved friend" of Captain Hamilton. The bridegroom's reply was as follows:—

GENTLEMEN,

On an occasion like the present, the fewest words generally convey the most meaning, and when I say I

thank you, you will feel what I wish you to understand. You have known my bride from her childhood, and can therefore guess how great my happiness must be. I trust I shall make her a good husband, and that she will be a happy wife. As for the future, we neither of us can have a higher ambition than to do our duty faithfully in that station in which God has placed us,

DUFFERIN AND CLANDEBOYE.

The ceremony was performed about 7 p.m. in the drawing-room at Killyleagh Castle, the bride being given away by her brother, and the Misses G. and Catherine Hamilton being the bridesmaids.

Lord and Lady Dufferin then drove off to Clandeboye, but on emerging from the Castle grounds the horses were loosed from the carriage, and the latter drawn by a number of the tenants through the principal streets of the town, amid a scene of great *éclat* and rejoicing—bonfires, illuminations and fireworks being in evidence for miles around.

Lord Dufferin was appointed Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India on November 16th, 1864. He was the sixth holder of the office, which, of course, had existed only since the transfer of the administration of Hindustan to the Crown. His predecessors had been successively Mr. H. J. Baillie, M.P., Mr. T. G. Baring (the present Earl Northbrook), Earl de Grey and Ripon (now Marquess of Ripon), Mr. T. G. Baring, for the second time, and Lord Wodehouse, afterwards

Earl Kimberley. A Secretary of State of India, in those days, had not the same onerous duties that devolve upon him now, and an Under-Secretary's offices were still lighter. Lord Dufferin had to reply to the rare interpellations in the Upper House, on Indian topics. Witness, for instance, a question about Bhutan put to him on April 7th, 1865. Relations between that Frontier State and the Government of India were then strained, the whole history of our connection with Bhutan having been a continuous record of injuries to our subjects all along the frontier of two hundred and fifty miles, of denials of justice, and of acts of insult to the Government. In 1863 the Hon. Ashley Eden, with three subordinate officers, was sent on a mission to Bhutan to try and arrange matters on a peaceable basis and conclude a treaty. Unfortunately the country was in a disturbed condition, and the Bhutan Durbar lost its head. Mr. Eden was treated with audacious insolence, and the Bhutan authorities followed up impossible demands by stopping supplies of provisions to the Mission, and personal outrages on its members. Mr. Eden managed to escape, and on his return a punitive expedition was organised and, in the year 1865, exacted satisfaction from the Bhutanese. It was during the early part of the military operations referred to that Lord Dufferin had to make a brief statement in the House of Lords of the objects of the expedition.

In the following month Lord Dufferin was called

on to reply to an interpellation as to the position of the British officers of the native regiments which had been disbanded at the time of the Mutiny. These officers, of course, had their grievances, but it seemed to be generally realised that it was practically impossible to provide them with the same prospects as they would have succeeded to if the disbandment of their regiments had not had to be enforced. The question and answer were unimportant enough, but Lord Dufferin managed to introduce one of his usual touches of humour, by comparing the compromise of the Secretary of State, Sir C. Wood, to that of the innkeeper who was suddenly called upon to provide thirteen nuns with a bedroom apiece, when he had only twelve rooms at his disposal. Lord Lyveden, however, capped this sally rather cleverly. He remarked that the real end of the story had been omitted by Lord Dufferin. The point was, How did the innkeeper manage in these trying circumstances? and when the hearer gives it up, the proper answer of the narrator is, So did the innkeeper! The Secretary of State, so Lord Lyveden declared, ought to have done the same, and given it up too, rather than attempt an utterly impossible compromise.

Sir Charles Wood, Lord Dufferin's chief, met with a serious accident in the hunting field, during the autumn of 1865, which obliged him to give up all arduous official work and, in the following year, to resign the Indian Secretaryship of State.

His successor in that high office was Earl de Grey and Ripon, and, as an Under Secretary in the Lower House thus became a necessity, Lord Dufferin was transferred to the War Office, his old post at the India Office being taken by Mr. James Stansfield, M.P.

During his few months' sojourn at the War Office Lord Dufferin was called upon to reply, for the Government, in an important debate (on March 16th) on the state of Ireland. The Fenian movement was then beginning to make headway, and to excite wide-spread disaffection. With a view of drawing the Government Earl Grey initiated a debate, and towards the end of his speech moved a series of twelve resolutions, the first in favour of an Irish Parliament and the last two in favour of the improvement of agriculture and land tenure. All the other resolutions were directed against the Church of the minority being regarded as the Established Church of Ireland.

It was natural that the Government should put up a representative Irishman out of their ranks to reply, and it was natural that the Irishman should lead off with a bit of chaff. Lord Dufferin compared Lord Grey and his unexpected twelve resolutions, with an American duellist, who, first concealing a 12-barrelled revolver about his person, engages his antagonist in friendly converse, and then suddenly discharges his weapon at him, through his pocket. Lord Dufferin frankly said he did not appear as the advocate or the apologist of the

Established Church system in Ireland, and in a great deal of what had fallen from the noble Earl he felt disposed to agree, but he added that the presence of the Established Church had nothing to do with the existing disaffection, which was mainly of a Fenian character. Lord Dufferin avowed himself also in favour of improving the law dealing with the relations between landlord and tenant. As to emigration he clearly disposed of the allegation that the large emigration that had taken place of late years was due to evictions. He cited on good authority a dictum that in 1841 five persons were engaged in the cultivation of the soil in Ireland, where only two persons were similarly engaged in England, though at the same time the total agricultural produce of England was exactly four times the total of the agricultural produce of Ireland.

The real foundation on which, in Ireland, the whole fabric of the State rested was the potato.

> The poorest peasant could always find a patch of mountain where he could grow his favourite vegetable; there were always stones and mud at hand out of which to construct a cabin; there was always a bog near to cut turf from; there was a handsome girl to make him the father of twelve children, in about a dozen years, and there was always the domestic pig to pay the rent. Potatoes, pigs and children were propagated in a highly agreeable and free-hearted manner.

Other facts were brought forward by the speaker to shew that emigration was not the evil it was

so often described as. Within sixteen years of its commencement, the people who had left their old home, almost in the guise of paupers, had actually earned enough to remit to their friends in the old country £12,000,000. The density of population in Ireland was 181 per square mile, this being greater than that of any European country, wages had risen, crime had diminished and Ireland had even outstripped England in its progress in agricultural wealth. Fenianism was the last wave of Irish discontent, and the Irish nation, Lord Dufferin averred in conclusion, was essentially loyal and contented, spite of a "traditional hostility" to England among the lowest class. "What they demand is your sympathy, the actual presence of yourselves, your wives, and your daughters moving among them in the villages, active in the promotion of works of charity, thus convincing the people that you regard them as your fellow countrymen, and Ireland as your country."

After a few speeches from the Archbishop of Armagh, Lord Carnarvon and Earl Russell, the motion of Earl Grey was negatived, and the Premier's amendment in favour of a Commission of Inquiry affirmed.

One of Lord Dufferin's first essays in the region of political economy was a pamphlet of some forty quarto pages, entitled "Mr. Mill's 'Plan for the Pacification of Ireland,'" published by Mr. Murray in 1868. Mr. Mill had, in the words of Lord Dufferin, recommended the following:

The landed estates of all the proprietors of Ireland are to be brought to a forced sale. Their price is to be fixed at the discretion of parliamentary commissioners. Should the rent roll of any estate be above the figure which may recommend itself to the approval of these gentlemen, it will be reduced to more legitimate proportions, and its owner compensated on the amended valuation. The vacated properties will be then handed over to that section of the Irish agricultural class who may happen to be in the occupation of farms at the moment the projected Act receives the Royal Assent, and the accruing quit-rents will thenceforth be collected through the instrumentality of Government land agents, Government bailiffs, and Government process servers.

The vexed question of Irish land tenure has formed the subject of so much fierce and incessant recrimination, and passed through so many developments, that I only venture to quote a few passages from this pamphlet, because they seem to my mind typical of Lord Dufferin's style of thinking and manner of conducting a controversy. At the outset he is conscious that he is pitting himself against a thinker and writer of high reputation.

In other circumstances I should have hesitated to enter the arena with so august an antagonist ; but when your house is broken into, you have no time to examine whether the intruder's thews are mightier than your own. You close with him on the spot. Even should he prove to be a policeman in plain clothes, you may be excused for assuming an attitude of self-defence.

He is severe on Mr. Mill's main contention that "land is a thing which no man made, which exists in limited quantity, which was the original in-

heritance of all mankind, which whoever appropriates keeps others out of its possession." He points out that the same principle or theory must not be limited to a few inches of the earth's surface, but should include the world's wealth of water, its secret stores of gold and silver, its fields of buried fuel, which were equally contrived by the Almighty for man's use. "The subordination to Imperial exigencies of an individual's property in a coal mine or a mill dam, would be as complete in the case of a cornfield." In fact, Lord Dufferin points out that Proudhon's well-known apothegm, *La propriété c'est le vol* is more logical than Mill's limited application of it to the landed estates of the United Kingdom.

In the following sentences he seems to me to formulate a fair critical comment on the contentions of people who even now declare that "landlordism" in Ireland must go.

> It will be found that when persons exclaim against the tenures and the land laws of Ireland, what they want to see changed is neither the tenures nor the laws, but the relative situations of those affected by them. What they really object to is not that rent should be recoverable, but that the proportion of those who pay rent and receive rent, should be reversed. This, of course, is a perfectly reasonable aspiration, and those who share it are entitled to advocate any legitimate process which would be likely to promote their object; but to denounce a state of the law which would be found as necessary then for the protection of the poorest peasant proprietor, as it is now for that of the wealthiest landlord, is illogical.

The strength of Lord Dufferin's position was

that he was himself an Irish landlord, who resided, as far as his public duties allowed him, on his own property in County Down, and not only interested himself greatly in such matters as crops, the price of land, houses and cottages, rates of wages and other multifarious branches of the question, but had spent large sums on improvements designed for the benefit of his tenants. In fact he was a type of the best of Irish landlords.

As to his own property Lord Dufferin gave some interesting information. When it came originally into his family, some two hundred and fifty years before, the principal portion of it was forest and morass. A tradition still existed that in those ancient days a squirrel could go from one end of it to another without once touching the ground. Under his predecessors, it had been gradually brought into cultivation and its resources developed, while the relations with the tenantry had been uniformly friendly. He went on, however, with chivalrous courtesy to speak of his neighbours, who, he maintained, were conspicuous instances of good landlords. One was Mr. Sharman Crawford, a gentleman admittedly very popular with his tenants; another was promoting the prosperity of a whole neighbourhood by the prudent liberality with which he had inaugurated his career as a landed proprietor. On another side Clandeboye marched with the distinguished French exile[1] who introduced the linen trade into Ireland and founded

[1] Mr. de la Cherois-Crommelin.

the prosperity of Ulster, while in another direction stretched the prosperous estate of a nobleman whose ancestor became Prime Minister of England.

If, however, the whole *brochure* be characteristic, the concluding paragraph is specially so.

> In bringing the foregoing hurried observation to a close, I am painfully oppressed by the ungracious character of the task I have undertaken. . . . I can only plead in mitigation of my offence, that probably there is not one among them (Mr. Mill's friends) who has such a profound respect for the intellectual power and pure integrity of purpose displayed in every word that has ever been said or written by one of the great thinkers of our time. If, in the opinion of others, I may be thought to have gained some little advantage in the present controversy, it will only be for the same reason that a handful of feeble savages are sometimes able to defend the defiles of their native mountains against a powerful European army—*because they know the country.*

Lord Dufferin was a supporter of the disestablishment policy in regard to the Church of Ireland, and had indicated his views thereon in a masterly speech in the House of Lords on June 26th, 1868.

On the advent to power of Mr. Gladstone on December 7th, 1868, Lord Dufferin was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Paymaster General, offices which he held until 1872. Soon after his appointment, in a public speech he made humorous allusion to his duties, which were naturally of a light and almost purely honorary description, and in the course of his remarks described himself as "maid of all work" of the

Government. The phrase was happy, but it would have been more prophetically and officially accurate if he had styled himself as *en disponibilité*, for that was the obvious meaning of the duties temporarily assigned to him. His great chance was soon to come. In the meantime Mr. Gladstone managed to find some important miscellaneous jobs for his Lordship.

In 1869 he was created Chairman of a Royal Commission on Military Education. The inquiry had been started in the previous year under the chairmanship of Earl de Grey and Ripon, and on his resignation Mr. Gladstone cast about for a fitting successor among the ranks of his friends, and not unnaturally lighted on Lord Dufferin. It was a difficult and rather wide investigation; sixty-three meetings in all were held and finally a Report had to be drafted by the Chairman, embodying the general sense of the Commissioners. This was successfully carried through by Lord Dufferin, and signed on August 9th, 1869. The result, though scarcely needing detailed notice in these pages, produced some very salutary reforms in a highly technical and professional instruction, which, of course, requires fresh and closer attention from time to time. In the light of the experiences of the South African campaign, demands are being now put forward in various quarters for a complete overhauling of the subject.[1]

Oddly enough, the sister service was soon to

[1] See letter on this Royal Commission from the Rev. H. Montagu Butler, D.D., p. 384.

require his good offices in an analogous inquiry. The loss of the *Captain* in the Bay of Biscay, on the night of September 6th, 1870, had thrown anxious doubt on the best form of design for the ships of our iron-clad fleet, which was being rapidly evolved into being, and on January 12th, 1871, the Lords of the Admiralty appointed a Special Committee of sixteen in all, under the chairmanship of Lord Dufferin, to take evidence, and report on this momentous matter. The inquiry was, of course, of a rather technical and expert nature, but the Report, dated July 26th of the same year, led to far more attention being paid to the stability of ships of war.

The condition of Ireland had for some time been so deplorable that the Government found themselves compelled to pass a Peace Preservation Bill in 1870, and it fell to Lord Dufferin, to bring it into the House of Lords, a task from which, though specially painful to him, he in no way shrank. A few months later he had to move the second reading of the famous Land Bill, in doing which he had the satisfaction of pointing out that he himself had years previously been contending for the legislation of its main principles. But the subsequent course of land legislation in Ireland was very far from meeting his approval in 1897 (see p. 356.

The next year (1871) saw the conferment on him of the Earldom of Dufferin and the Viscountcy of Clandeboye.

CHAPTER V

GOVERNOR-GENERALSHIP OF CANADA

BELFAST BANQUET—ARRIVAL AT QUEBEC—OTTAWA—TORONTO —MONTREAL—OPENING OF PARLIAMENT—CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY SCANDALS—REASSEMBLING OF PARLIAMENT—TOUR IN MARITIME PROVINCES

IT was not till the early part of 1872 that Lord Dufferin was honoured with his first great opportunity, the brilliant fulfilment of which marked him out as one of the first statesmen of the day. The offer to him of the Canadian Viceroyalty from Mr. Gladstone was a conspicuous proof of the confidence reposed in him by the Queen and her Ministers. For the post was no light undertaking. The dependencies of the Empire were at that time in comparative infancy, and far from attaining the expansion, wealth, and importance, which under more enlightened statesmanship and active encouragement from home, have since combined to raise them to the dignity of living bulwarks of our Empire beyond the seas. Nevertheless the North American colonies were showing vigorous signs of growth, following on the grant of responsible government and subsequent federation

under the Act of 1867. This Act united into one dominion, a country forty times the size of England, Scotland, and Wales. But the union was as yet fresh and imperfect, and local susceptibilities were by no means allayed.

Moreover, the relations of Great Britain with the United States on the one hand, and with her colonies on the other, were far from satisfactorily settled, and called for prudent and delicate handling. Lord Dufferin came, too, as the nominee of a government which was debited with half-heartedness in the maintenance of the existing connection between the Mother country and her dependencies, and this must have further embarrassed his task.

Mr. Leggo remarks in his work, "It was urged against Mr. Gladstone that he had, in tolerably plain terms, informed Canada that England would consent to retain her, only so long as she cost nothing, and would be ready to cast her off at any moment, and would certainly do so, if ever her sacrifice became necessary to secure peace." Nowadays, views like these would be held to be almost treasonable, if they were not regarded as too laughable for serious notice.[1]

Yet the popular verdict as to the new Governor-General's competency to emerge successfully from

[1] How prophetic and apposite is Bacon's remark in his "Essay on Plantations": "For the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most plantations hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years."

his impending ordeal was favourable. One of the leading English journals fairly voiced the prevailing opinion in the following terms :

Lord Dufferin has at length obtained a working office, in the conduct of which he can display his signal abilities. Courteous, cultivated, prudent, yet enterprising, gifted with an imagination which is as useful to a general or a statesman, as to a poet or a musician, the new Governor-General is precisely the person to fill an office which demands tact in the management of men, acuteness in the perception of things, and a comprehensive moderation able to make ample allowance for party passions and national peculiarities. If the same talents which fitted Lord Dufferin for mediating successfully between the stolid Mussulman and the fanatical Druse, the shifting Maronite and the red-breeched Frenchman, will enable him to deal equitably with the French Acadian, the orange, green and sturdy old buff and blue Canadian, and the generous but quick-tempered Yankees across the border, it is a matter of surprise to many that a politician, whose abilities, were well known, should have been kept so long out of active employment. Lord Dufferin's Irish blood and breeding will stand him in good stead among a people variously composed of Celt and Teuton, yet strongly attached to the old country.

In connection with the foregoing I cannot resist the temptation of quoting the following extract from one of a London Correspondent's letters to a Canadian journal.

I once got on top of an omnibus, running from Kingston towards Piccadilly—eschewing the inside in order that I might enjoy a balmy April morning, and also a whiff of that weed, which, as the Indians told Columbus, "destroys care." By my side there sat a middle-sized man

with a very intelligent countenance, who had taken the same elevated but democratic position, from evidently the same motive as mine. We had a good deal of conversation. He was particularly interested in America and indicated such an intimacy with its politics, that he might have been mistaken for an American, especially as there was very little of the Englishman in his appearance. He had a face more Celtic than Saxon—a fine intellectual forehead—a light soft eye—in all a face of delicate beauty, but at the same time vigorous in expression. We discussed Tennyson's poetry, and that of Robert Browning. Certain little observations made me aware that he was the personal friend of both poets. But he was chiefly interested in American politics, taking very heartily the side of the men of progress there, and asking many questions about Wendell Phillips, and other reformers. He said it had been his privilege to meet Senator Sumner when he was in Europe seeking to recover his health, and was much pleased with him, but that he had felt deeply grieved by his speech on the Alabama question. It did not at all do justice even to the devotion which many of the highest classes, even the nobility—the Argylls, Granvilles, Howards, Carlisles, Houghtons and others—had shewn to the cause of the North; much less to the sacrifices which the great mass of working people had borne unmurmuringly, rather than countenance any of the propositions made for interfering with the determination of the North to crush the rebellion. He rejoiced in the liberation of America from slavery, and believed it would be reflected in England and in Europe in a mighty advance of liberalism. He hoped still that the Alabama difficulties would be surmounted, and England and America enter upon a friendship such as they had never before known; and march together on the highway of human progress. I was much delighted with my companion's ideas of literature, art, and politics, his fine eye and his charming voice, his beaming expression,

convinced me that I was in the presence of no ordinary man. By the time we reached Regent Circus, cigars were ended—my new acquaintance alighted and disappeared among the millions of London, with a fair prospect of remaining with me for the time to come only as a pleasant memory. But it was not so to be. A few evenings afterwards I happened to be in the strangers section of the House of Lords. A debate in which I found little interest was going on, and my eyes were wandering about from face to face, lingering here and there upon one which seemed like an historical figure-head of ancient aristocratic England. But a voice struck me as one I had heard before. I could not be mistaken in that low clear tone. Certainly when I looked in the direction of the man who had begun to speak I could not be mistaken. It was my friend of the omnibus-top. Dry as the theme was—I have forgotten it—the speaker invested it with interest. He had looked deeper into it than others—knew the point on which the question turned, and in a few simple words made the statement to which nothing could be added.

The peer was of course Lord Dufferin.

Soon after the announcement of his Canadian appointment, the good people of Belfast gave their distinguished neighbour a banquet as a send-off, which was held on June 11th.[1] All shades of politics were represented, for Lord Dufferin, though labelled as a Liberal, was so thoroughly cosmopolitan as to compel good-will, even from his political opponents. On that

[1] One biography of Lord Dufferin gives it as the 11th, and another with equal seriousness as the 12th. And this within only thirty years of the event! Who shall say that the would-be historian's is a happy lot?

occasion his speech in no way fell short of what might fairly have been expected. It was just as modest, deferential, and nicely suited to the occasion as a fastidious critic could have desired. After a brief and happy reference to the fact that political controversy seldom degenerates into personal rancour; that judges, ambassadors or viceroys, when once invested with authority are regarded—without reference to their political antecedents—as the common servants, champions, or representatives of their countrymen, he led up to this passage: "This generosity of sentiment on the part of the British people seems to have acted like an inspiration on the minds of those great men, whose services abroad have added so many glorious pages to our history. It has purified their natures, elevated their aspirations, invigorated their intellects, until, as in the case of Lord Canning, Lord Elgin, and our late countryman—Lord Mayo, their reputations have expanded beyond the anticipations of their warmest friends, and in dying they have left behind them almost heroic memories." And then he insensibly drew on his hearers to contemplate the following pleasing picture.

> As the ship he sails in slowly moves away from the familiar shore; as the well-known features of the landscape, the bright villas, the pointed spires, the pleasant woods, the torrent beds that scar the mountain side, gradually melt down into a single tint, till only the broad outline of his native coast attracts his gaze, something of an analogous

process operates within his mind, and as he considers his mission and his destiny, the landmarks of home politics grow faint, the rugged controversies which divide opinion become indistinct, the antagonisms of party strife recede into the distance, while their place is occupied by the aspect of an united nation, which has confided its interests and its honour to his keeping, and by the image of the beloved Mistress he represents and serves.

Recently, a good deal of banter has been bestowed on oratorical metaphors, but the brightest essays of the world's greatest speakers would be assuredly dry and dull without them. Lord Salisbury's opinion[1] may perhaps be recalled. "Metaphors are admirable things. They adorn oratory. They often enable you to explain in a short compass." It is true our late Premier went on to deprecate the pushing of metaphors to excess, but this obvious caution will not detract from the usefulness and beauty of "tropes" such as the above. At the same time, the subject of this memoir seems to have subsequently arrived at the conclusion that they were best avoided (see p. 171).

In the same speech Lord Dufferin dwelt on the resources of Canada—a branch of the subject-matter that he had evidently studied with care, and on which he was soon to descant with still closer knowledge.

On June 14th, their Excellencies embarked on the Allan Steamship *Prussian*, which on the 25th instant arrived at Quebec. The oldest city of Canada—it was founded by Champlain in 1608

[1] Reply to Address from Irish Nonconformist Ministers, Nov. 14th, 1888.

—has been often described as a bit of the old world set down on the shores of the new; and its gaily decorated battlements[1] must have presented a cheering and exciting picture, while the ships and ancient Citadel thundered forth such a welcome as no previous Governor-General had ever enjoyed. He was cordially received on landing by Sir John Macdonald, the Premier (who was very like "Dizzy," as Lady Dufferin remarked), the President of the Senate, several of the ministers and other distinguished citizens, amid the acclamations of an enormous crowd who thronged every available vantage point. Lady Dufferin thus mentions their arrival:

> The papers give a most amusing description of D., stating his apparent weight and height. I am very flatteringly described, though the ignorant male writer speaks slightingly of my dress as being a "plain blue silk," whereas it was in reality excessively smart and had caused me infinite trouble and anxiety! However, I had the satisfaction of hearing from Lady Harriet Fletcher[2] that the ladies knew better and had appreciated it.

During the day the new Governor-General was duly sworn in, in the Executive Council Chamber, the Chief Justice administering the oath. Addresses of welcome flowed in from

[1] When Lord Dufferin arrived in Quebec, he found that the municipality had begun to demolish the walls and fortifications. He succeeded in stopping the operations, and suggested the improvements carried out later on. See p. 120.

[2] Daughter of the Earl of Romney and wife of Lord Dufferin's Military Secretary.

various bodies, and after a visit to the volunteer camp at Lévis, the Viceregal party left on the following day for the Dominion capital at Ottawa.

Here a large number of addresses, emanating from Corporations, Institutions, and other public bodies awaited him. An interesting visit, too, was paid to some other of the volunteer drill-camps, which were then in working order, and have since formed the nursery for the contingents that have done such brilliant work in South Africa. According to the latest figures at the present day (1902) the active militia number over thirty-six thousand men, while the reserve is estimated at over a million. Even in those early days Lord Dufferin could not help being struck by the magnificent physique, steadiness, and proficiency of the men; and as a former Under Secretary of State, and member of a Military Commission, he knew something about soldiering.

At Laprairie the Mayor addressed the Governor-General in French, and the latter to the great delight of the French officers and men replied in the same language. Lord Dufferin showed in this that attention to linguistic *convenances*, to which, perhaps, the out-and-out "Britisher" is not sufficiently heedful. As a rule, Englishmen are not good at foreign tongues, but Lord Dufferin spoke French with a pure Parisian accent, and also understood and read Greek, Latin and Italian, besides having made considerable progress in the study of hieroglyphics. During his reign as Viceroy

in India he studied Persian, and gained proficiency in that language. At the McGill University he was made the recipient of an address in Greek to which he replied in that language,[1] and with such success as to call forth the encomiums of some high classical authorities for the neat, terse diction and pure Attic style of the composition. But far above these will endure that delicious monument of dog-Latin which graced the memorable feast in Iceland, and to which reference has already been made.

Lord and Lady Dufferin next returned to Quebec and took up their residence at the Citadel, where a brilliant and popular series of entertainments was inaugurated. Dinner parties, receptions, dances, and balls, brought back to Old Quebec the long-forgotten memories of the ancient *régime* when the proud and courtly chivalry of France held sway there. The palmy days of the old French Governors had come again, and for a time, at least, Quebec assumed the character of another Versailles and a second Dublin, and the viceregal hospitalities vied in splendour with those of the famous Court at the Castle. Nor did the intercourse between the Governor-General and his people stop here. He was sedulous in his visits of inspection to the educational institutions, and displayed quite as warm an interest in the Catholic as in the Protestant schools. Moreover, sporting functions were not neglected, and at the Stadacona athletic sports Lady Dufferin distributed the prizes.

[1] See p. 371.

But the Viceroy was expected in the western part of the Dominion before the advent of winter, and his departure from Quebec could not be deferred. The appointed date, September 23rd, was made the occasion of a gala demonstration. The Governor's reply to the Mayor's address contained a felicitous passage, thoroughly indicative of Lord Dufferin's kind way.

> Encamped, however, as we have been upon the rock above us, and confined within the narrow casements of the Citadel,[1] it was impossible for us to open our doors as widely as we could have wished; but though in one sense the space at our disposal for your accommodation has been restricted, in another way, at all events, we can make ample provision for you all. In the chambers of our hearts there is room and verge enough for many friends. Their avenues are guarded by no State, nor ceremonial; no introduction is needed to gain admission there, and those who once enter need never take their leave.

Toronto, the "Queen City," organised a magnificent public reception: at Hamilton, where the Provincial Exhibition was in full swing, fifty thousand people gathered in the grounds, to do honour to the viceregal party. At Petrolia the oil industry was seen with all its busy evidences of success and prosperity, and on his return to

[1] The Citadel, where the Dufferins resided while in Quebec, occupies a delightfully lofty, and commanding position over the town, the majestic St. Lawrence, and the blue hills beyond. The old mess-room, converted into the dining-room, opened on to a huge platform girt by a balustrade, where everyone delights to *flâner*, and enjoy one of the most celebrated views of the world.

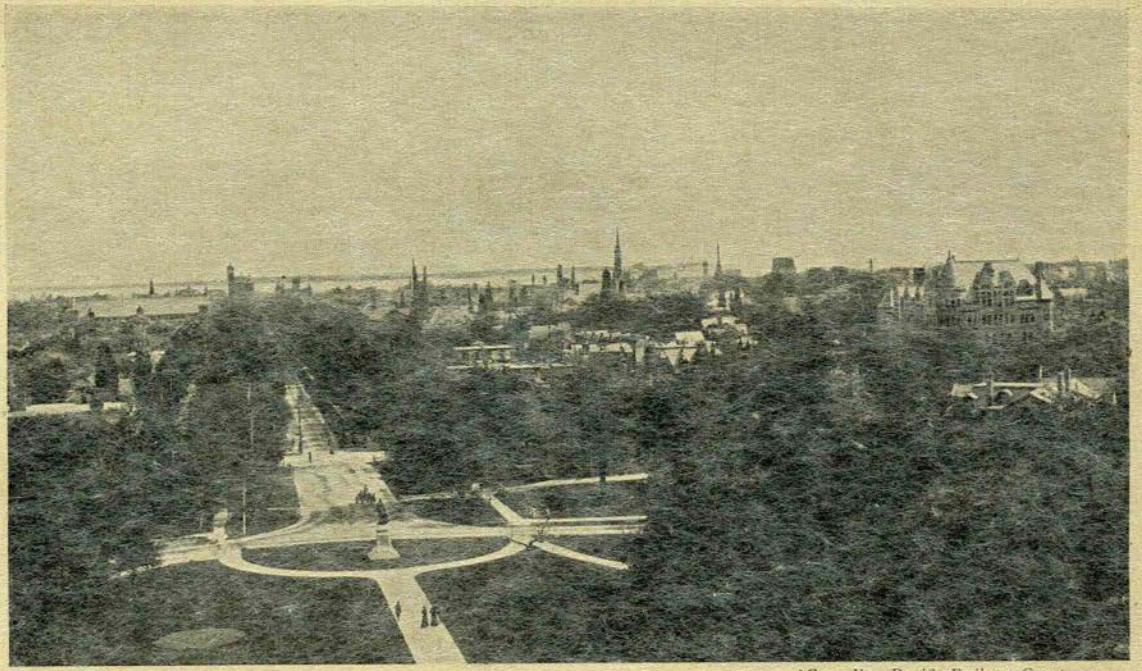

Photo by [*Canadian Pacific Railway Company.*

TORONTO.

[*To face p.* 86.

Toronto, Lord Dufferin made an extended series of visits to the principal educational institutions including University College—on the occasion of its annual convocation—and Trinity College.

At the end of October, Lord Dufferin made a move for the capital with the view of entering upon his regular administrative duties. By this time he had already achieved his mark and secured a distinct claim to the respect and affections of the Canadians.[1] Mr. Stewart remarks :

Wherever he had been, he had left behind him a reputation such as no previous Governor-General of Canada had ever gained. The splendid style of the Earl of Elgin had been eclipsed ; the magnificence of Lord Sydenham's entertainments had been more than surpassed. Lord Dufferin won all hearts from the very first. . . . Lord

[1] The following remarks of the correspondent of the *New York World* may be cited as a disinterested criticism. "It would be trite to say that, since Lord Dufferin came to Canada he has been winning 'golden opinions' from all classes. He is the most popular of Royal representatives, and court journalists never tire of singing his praises. He has placed upon record his mature conviction that he has social as well as political responsibilities, and he has accordingly entered upon a ceaseless round of festivities and entertainments. Not only does he give splendid balls and magnificent dinners, but he holds lévées, attends concerts, visits public schools, patronises lacrosse matches, lays corner stones, attends University convocations, receives addresses on all possible occasions, and delivers happy impromptu replies. He mingles very freely with the people and is altogether so unaffected, pleasant and popular, that if the Great American Eagle were to be his guest at Holland House, Toronto, or Rideau Hall, Ottawa, the Geneva award might be cancelled, or perhaps handed over to the Dominion to pay for the enlargement of its canals. Not only does his Excellency guide the affairs of a growing nation, but he buys dolls for pretty little girls in the street. The Earl of Dufferin is, in fact, the most wonderful and popular Governor that has been for years bestowed on the loyal Canadians."

Dufferin had been in the East, and his quick discerning mind had not been slow to comprehend the character of the people, and the wide difference between them (*i.e.*, the Orientals and the "true Northerners").

But Lord Dufferin was not the only subject of journalistic eulogy. Another compliment paid by the papers was that the Countess was "not affected"—a negative virtue which, as she remarked, might be mentioned without incurring the allegation of conceit. Indeed this was a mild way of putting it, witness the following incident. Her Excellency was to be at home to receive visitors, so she and Lady Harriet Fletcher sat in state, but nobody came! At five o'clock Lord Dufferin came home, and his wife remarked that not a single soul had called to see them. The servant was duly questioned, and it turned out he had replied "not at home" to every caller. The visitor's book revealed the fact that the callers were one hundred and four in number, so Lady Dufferin promptly sat down and wrote one hundred and four letters of explanation and apology.

A brief visit to Montreal became necessary in November for the purpose of unveiling a statue of the Queen, "an appropriate and congenial duty," as the Governor-General remarked. His speech contained a touching tribute to her Majesty's personal qualities, which had so helped to maintain her remarkable hold over the hearts of her people. "He had served near the person of the Sovereign,

and had had renewed opportunities of observing with what patience, patriotism and devotion to the public service, her brave and noble nature bore each burden and discharged each daily task. From dissipation, gaieties, the distraction of society, the widowed Sovereign may have shrunk, but from duty never." At the request of the Mayor, his Excellency also addressed the company in French, in which he paid some sensible and agreeable compliments to the "race valeureuse et hardie, dont les explorateurs dans l'intérieur de le continent ont permis à l'industrie européene de s'implanter non seulement sur les bords du Saint-Laurent, mais encore dans les riches vallées de l'Ohio et du Mississipi."

A visit to Quebec gave opportunity for various other Canadian functions—a "snow-shoe tramp" by torchlight, a sleigh journey to the Mont Morency Falls (eighty feet higher than Niagara), and a descent of the ice cone. At Montreal a tour of inspection of institutions, similar to that pursued at Toronto, took place. A "Citizen's Ball" came off on January 28th, and brought the Viceregal visit to a close.

It was on March 5th, 1873, that the second Parliament of the Dominion of Canada met for the despatch of business. The election of 1872 had given the Government of Sir John Macdonald renewed power. His party were triumphant at the polls, and though a few important seats had

been lost, the Premier found himself at the head of a majority of from thirty-seven to forty members. The Coalition Government, which was strong in 1867, was still stronger in 1872, and decidedly more conservative in tone. The quasi-parochial politics of British North America had been united in one great federation, and the first Ministry had been the active promoters of that enterprise and had carried it to a successful issue. Manitoba had entered the Union in 1870, British Columbia a year later, and at the beginning of the 1873 Session, strong hopes were entertained that the little Colony of Prince Edward Island would link her fortunes with Canada before the close of the year. These hopes were realised, and in July 1873 Prince Edward Island became a part of the Dominion. The conversion of Nova Scotia from a passionate opponent of confederation into one of its most loyal supporters, and his success in inducing Columbia to link her fortunes with the confederated provinces, had been Sir John Macdonald's crowning successes.

Parliament opened on March 5th, and in the speech from the Throne (read first in English and then in French), the Governor-General referred to the very promising aspect of the country's prospects, especially in the consolidation of her political unity and the development of her resources. He announced the grant to a body of Canadian capitalists of a charter for the construction of the Pacific Railway, and made mention of the progress of

plans for the construction of those various canals which play so vital a part in the distribution of Canada's trade.

Among these and other projects, administrative and legislative, the Pacific Railway naturally claimed prominent attention. When British Columbia, in 1871, joined the Confederacy, one of her principal conditions was that within ten years a railway should be built, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and shortly before Lord Dufferin met his Parliament, the charter referred to in the speech had been granted to the company which, after much negotiation, had been preferred to two rival railway corporations. Sir H. Allan was president of the company, the Board was selected from the various provinces of the Dominion and comprised men of the highest respectability, enterprise and wealth. The capital was fixed at ten million dollars, allotted in various proportions to Ontario, Quebec, and the other provinces, and a large subsidy of thirty millions was granted, as well as fifty millions of acres in alternate blocks along the line. No foreign capital was to be employed in the construction of the railway. As Sir George Cartier, descendant of the famous French pioneer of Canadian exploration, bluntly remarked more than once, "Aussi longtemps que je vivrai et que je serai dans le Ministère, jamais une sacrée Compagnie Américaine aura le control du Pacifique, et je résignerai ma place de Ministre plutôt que d'y consentir."

On April 2nd, however, a storm burst over the House. Mr. L. S. Huntington, a prominent member of the Opposition, rose in his place and, reading from a paper in his hand, announced that he was credibly informed, and believed he could establish by satisfactory evidence, that an agreement had been made between Sir Hugh Allan and an American gentleman—Mr. G. W. McMullen, representing certain American capitalists, for the construction of the Pacific Railroad, the scheme being ostensibly that of a Canadian company with Sir Hugh Allan at its head. The speaker added that subsequently arrangements were made between the Government and Sir Hugh Allan by which a large sum of money was paid by the latter and his friends, to aid the election of Ministers and their friends at the General Election.

Mr. Huntington's sensational *coup* in the House met with a chilling silence. He brought grave charges against a popular Ministry, and after reading his resolutions, not a tittle of corroborative evidence had been adduced. His manner was unconvincing and not over-confident. If he had calculated on a heated debate with inevitable revelations, he was entirely disappointed. As soon as he sat down every eye was turned first on the Prime Minister, and then on his assailant. Sir John Macdonald, however, never moved a muscle. The motion had been made and seconded, but no debate ensued, and being

put to the House, was negatived by a majority of thirty-one.

But the Government were in no way inclined to shirk the challenge, and on the very next day Sir John Macdonald gave notice of a motion with a view to a searching inquiry, and following thereon a Select Committee of five was appointed to inquire and report into Mr. Huntington's allegations. As, however, any student of English constitutional history could have foreseen, an inquiry of this sort was futile without power to compel sworn testimony, and an "Oaths Bill" was duly introduced into the Commons, and having passed the Senate, received the assent of the Queen's representative. It was, though, a notoriously moot point whether the Commons had power to pass such a Bill, and though Lord Dufferin, in giving his assent, had relied on the best procurable advice, this important, though purely legal question had to be reserved for the judgment of the Home Government.

In the meantime, two of the most important witnesses, Sir George Cartier and the Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, were away in England, and in view of this the Committee resolved to adjourn for a couple of months, until July 2nd, "if Parliament should then be in Session," and the House of Commons endorsed this decision. Arrangements were thereupon made that the prorogation of Parliament should take place on August 13th. Lord and Lady Dufferin then proceeded to Quebec

and there made preparations for a contemplated tour through the Maritime Provinces.[1]

On June 27th, the Viceroy received a telegram from the Secretary of State (Lord Kimberley) that the Oaths Bill had been disallowed. The Law Officers of the Crown at home had taken much the same ground as Sir John Macdonald had, that under the 18th Section of the British North America Act of 1867, the Canadian Parliament were not able to vest in themselves the power to administer oaths, as that was a power which the House of Commons did not possess in 1867 when the Imperial Act was passed.

On receipt of this disabling cablegram a public proclamation to the effect was duly issued by the Governor-General. It was urgently necessary that something should be done, for in a few days the Committee were to assemble. To meet the difficulty it was arranged between his Excellency and Sir John Macdonald that a Royal Commission

[1] See *infra*, p. 100. Lady Dufferin had given birth to a daughter on May 17th at Ottawa, and it had been arranged that the christening should take place at the Anglican Cathedral, Quebec. Her Majesty the Queen had graciously intimated her wish to be godmother, and the child was named "Victoria Alexandrina." The ceremony took place in the presence of a brilliant crowd, Lady Dufferin standing proxy for the Queen, Lady Harriet Fletcher being godmother, and Sir John Macdonald, godfather. Her Majesty had sent, as a present to her godchild, a beautiful locket of fine dull gold, with a raised medallion portrait of herself in the centre, enclosed in a circle of brilliants, and surrounded by an outer border in which pink coral bosses were relieved by diamond and pearl settings. From the locket depended five drops of coral. On the reverse was the inscription, "To Lady Victoria Blackwood, from her godmother, Victoria R., 1873." Lady Victoria is now married to Lord Plunket.

should issue to the Committee, that body being thereby invested with a sort of duplicate character and function. Two opposition members of the Committee, however, declined to serve or sit as members of a Commission appointed by the Executive, and in these circumstances it became necessary to adjourn until August 13th, the day fixed for the prorogation.

The delay was in a way unfortunate for the Government, for it gave an opening to the Huntington party to develop their line of attack. On July 4th, the *Montreal Herald* published a long series of copies of letters from Sir Hugh Allan, containing details of the negotiations, which had taken place between him and Mr. McMullen. These testified *primâ facie* to the substantial character of the Huntington charges, and created an undoubted sensation throughout the country, though Sir Hugh Allan promptly countered the attack with a detailed statement, in which, amongst other things, he specifically denied that "any money had ever been paid to members of the Government, or was received by them, or on their behalf, directly or indirectly, as a consideration in any form for any advantage to me (Sir H. A.) in connection with the Pacific Railway Contract." Mr. McMullen being thus driven to bay, retaliated with another statement, purporting to show, and, indeed, proving that several members of the Government had accepted large sums of money from him "for election purposes." This could

have little other meaning than the bribing of the Canadian constituencies. At the same time, though McMullen was in a measure successful in giving colour to his charges, he showed himself to be little else than a common blackmailer, both in his relations with Sir Hugh Allan, and the contractor.

On the eventful August 13th, Lord Dufferin returned from his tour of the Maritime Provinces to Ottawa, and was promptly waited on by the Premier. A deputation of the Opposition also approached him with a memorial signed by ninety of their number, praying his Excellency not to prorogue Parliament until the charges against ministers had been fully inquired into. This, however, the Governor-General refused to do on the ground that this would involve the dismissal from his counsels of his constitutional advisers; that it was impossible for him to place himself in direct communication with the Parliament of the Dominion; that there was no guarantee they would endorse the prayer of the deputation; and that the signatories to the memorial were not a moiety of the House. (As a matter of fact, they were ten short). Lord Dufferin added in conclusion that he had decided to issue a Royal Commission of three gentlemen of legal standing, character, and authority, and that on conclusion of their labours Parliament should reassemble.[1]

When the two Houses met at 3.30, the scene in

[1] See below, p. 98.

the Commons was a strange contrast to that in the Senate. While the Governor-General was enthroned in all his dignity in the Upper House, calmly awaiting the arrival of the Speaker and members to assist at the ceremony of prorogation, a babel of vociferation was raging through the Lower chamber, owing to the efforts of Mr. Mackenzie (the leader of the Opposition) to make and establish his protest against prorogation. Eventually the Usher of the Black Rod was admitted, and allowed to deliver his message summoning members to the Senate, and the Speaker, followed by most of the ministerialists (for the Opposition signatories to the memorial refused to leave their seats) repaired to the Senate, and Parliament was then and there prorogued till October 23rd.

An indignation meeting of the Opposition was subsequently held in the Railway Committee Room, and after some able and bitter speeches, resolutions were passed protesting against the prorogation and the appointment of the Commission, as a gross violation of the rights, privileges, and independence of Parliament.[1]

A Commission, however, was duly issued to Judge Day, Judge Polette, and Judge Gowan, to inquire into the whole matter and to report thereon. These judges had been long removed from active political

[1] Lord Dufferin's despatch to Lord Kimberley dated two days later, August 15th, 1873, No. 197, gave a most exhaustive and able review of the whole situation.

life, and were so freed from any suspicion of partisanship. The sittings took place at Ottawa, and were open to the public. Some of the principal witnesses were unfortunately conspicuous by their absence, notably Mr. Huntington (the prime mover in the affair), Senator Foster, and Messrs. C. M. Smith and McMullen, of Chicago. Nevertheless thirty-six witnesses did come forward and the clear upshot of their testimony was to prove that Sir John Macdonald had accepted money from a Government contractor, which money had gone a great distance in furthering the elections on the Government side.

Parliament reassembled on October 23rd, 1873, and on the 27th instant, on the presentation of the Report of the Commission, a memorable debate ensued. Mr. Mackenzie moved a vote of severe censure against his Excellency's advisers, in a clever, vigorous and manly speech, and was followed by others whose speeches were also characterised by conspicuous ability. Sir John Macdonald did not address the House till the sixth day[1], and then delivered a masterly oration which lasted four or five hours, and was marked by all the speaker's noted characteristics and talent. But by this time the tide was beginning to turn. The Premier, who at the outset was confident of a majority,

[1] In the interval the Premier appears to have been solacing himself with distractions of a more refreshing and exhilarating character than any mumbling of the dry bones of politics. Sir John's amiable failing is described, laughably enough, but in the very plainest terms, in Sir M. E. Grant Duff's "Notes of a Diary," Vol. ii., p. 166.

saw his supporters melt away from his side and himself left in a minority. He therefore tendered his resignation and that of his colleagues, which his Excellency accepted, and with this announcement the debate was brought to an abrupt close. Mr. Mackenzie was sent for, and in a few days succeeded in forming a new Government.

Thus ended this exciting Session, the result of which was to depose from office the ablest statesman Canada had yet produced. He had done valuable service to the Crown in the negotiations with the United States, and had been the prime agent in the grand task of Confederation. Through his tact Nova Scotia had been quieted, and New Brunswick satisfied, while he was mainly instrumental in the incorporation of Prince Edward Island, and the rich province of British Columbia within the Dominion. For the space of a generation Sir John Macdonald had dispensed patronage and wielded the influential power of a minister without incurring a vestige of reproach, and while he had raised numbers to posts of honour and wealth, he had taken no thought for his own old age. This man, as Mr. Leggo fairly observes, "was compelled to bend to the verdict of the Canadians, when they reluctantly declared him guilty of an act, as to which much may be said in extenuation—in justification, nothing." Bribery was unhappily a very common vice, both on the Liberal and Conservative side, and, as a matter of fact, neither party came into court with clean

hands. The ramifications of the political organisations were enormous, and the impropriety of the electoral expenditure had come to be looked upon as almost venial. In England, as Sir John pointedly remarked, this sort of party outlay was managed by the Carlton Club for the Conservatives, and for the Liberals by the Reform Club. In Canada there were no analogous organisations, and when subscriptions came in they were sent to the leader of the party. Sir John Macdonald distributed the money all over the kingdom, and even so independent a politican as Mr. Goldwin Smith declared that he felt satisfied that not one cent of illicit gain went to Sir John personally. Without exculpating the Canadian Premier, it may be confidently averred that neither of the great political parties in Canada was entitled to cast stones at the other, in respect of expenditure of this character, and the dignity with which Sir John received the verdict did much to enhance him in the public regard.

We may here revert to the viceregal tour through the Maritime Provinces, commenced in the previous June. On June 21st, their Excellencies embarked on the *Druid*, which had been specially fitted up, and steaming for the lower St. Lawrence enjoyed some excellent salmon fishing in its lower tributaries.

Travellers in Canada are familiar with the form of the noble red man, though the sorry specimens I was fortunate to come across at wayside stations of

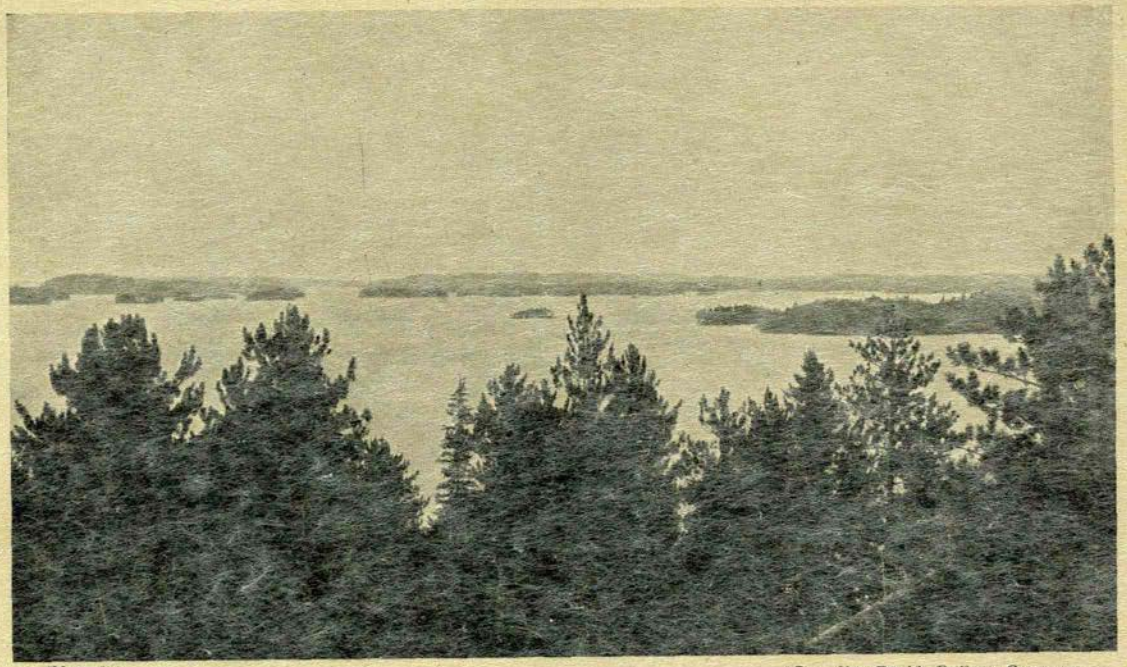

Photo by] [*Canadian Pacific Railway Company.*

A CANADIAN LAKE.

[*To face p.* 100.

the "Canadian Pacific" were in sooth curiously lacking in nobility. Still the life of these aborigines is very interesting, and on several occasions the Dufferins made a point of visiting them in their primitive homes.

At Mingan, opposite Anticosti at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, the Indian settlement boasts a neat chapel, surrounded by the wigwams and flanked by some houses belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company. A priest visits these out-of-the-way stations, and he happened to be there when the Viceroy was exploring the place in his yacht. The Indians trooping into chapel formed a picturesque sight, the women dressed in gaudy colours with pointed cloth caps of red and black. The squaws squatted on one side and the men on the other, and they sang a Canticle—the women one verse and the men the next, the music was a melancholy wail with very few notes and the voices of the singers were thin and weak, but it was interesting and curious.

The Priest dined with the Dufferins. Poor man! his lot seems to have been a hard one. He was going up to visit some Esquimaux, and being a shocking bad sailor was contemplating his three weeks' cruise in a small schooner with anything but glee. He said that on the previous Saturday he had scarcely anything to eat, the Indians having nothing to give him. The huts were here made of poles very lightly covered with birch bark, and in each tent seven or eight families lived! In

his yearly visits to these Indians the priest arranges all of a suitable age in couples and marries them, there is a total absence of love making. They are very moral—drink (when they can get it) and laziness being their only vices.

Once a year there is a great Indian meeting at a place called Bersimis and most of the marriages take place then. The Chief had on a black frock-coat ornamented with epaulets, and addressed Lord Dufferin as "Brother." He accosted one of the Royal Princes, when they were on tour, in the same way, and then showed him a royal medal he wore on his breast, saying "Ta mère: tu connais?"

While enjoying the sport up the Mingan one of the footmen was unfortunately drowned. He had taken up his post on the rocky margin of a pool to fish, and the steward said to him, "Can you swim?" "No." "Then take care for it is slippery, and the water is very deep." "Never fear" was the reply of the poor fellow, who instantly slipped. He put up his hands to take a mosquito veil he had on, and disappeared. The steward dived after him, but the other never rose at all. It was not till a boat was procured that they eventually recovered the body. The man had gone straight down in an erect position, with the rod fixed tight in his hands. The sequel of the story is very strange. Eleven days afterwards there arrived a letter for the man-servant, from a servant girl in Ottawa, to whom he was attached, dated exactly

seven days after the accident. In it she said, "I have been in my new place a week, and I like it very much, but I had such a dreadful dream on the day of my arrival. I dreamt that you and Nowell (the steward) were upset in a boat together, and that Nowell was saved but you were drowned." As the spot where the accident really did occur is in an uninhabited region on the Labrador Coast, several hundreds of miles distant from Ottawa, without either telegraphs or posts, it was impossible for the news to have reached her when the letter was written. It is only one more of those curious intimations, by no means so very unfrequent, which can hardly be accounted for on any but psychological grounds.

The Viceroy and party next went across the gulf St. Lawrence on to Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, where he was received by the Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. Robinson. The climate was pronounced to be just like that of England, for everybody promptly got colds. It was the first visit of a Governor-General since the incorporation of the Island into the Dominion. Nova Scotia was the next halting place, and here the Viceroy, anxious to inspect the coal measures which form so important an Acadian product, descended a mine in a miner's dress, and taking a pick from one of the miners cut away a block of coal weighing nearly half a ton, to the huge delight of the Picton pitmen.

Halifax was reached on July 28th, and on the

next day but one[1] the landing at the dockyard was made with all the normal ceremony.

Nova Scotia was at that time a little restless. They looked upon confederation as a yoke forced upon them without their leave, and a substantial proportion of the population were still clamouring for repeal, though six years had elapsed. The Pacific Railway scandal had still further embittered the situation, and feeling ran high—the people themselves being at sixes and sevens. The Governor-General of Canada could hardly be described as a *persona gratissima* in those trying circumstances. For Lord Dufferin personally they had the highest respect; but in his representative and official capacity he was altogether a different personage. However, good feeling and judgment did not mar the friendly reception accorded to him.

The turning point of the visit was however marked by the speech at the Halifax Club. The Government press had been already announcing in a seemingly inspired way what the Governor-General's views and probable line of action were. This was, of course, quite gratuitous and unauthorised, and Lord Dufferin, feeling that his name was improperly dragged into the controversy, took this opportunity of putting the facts in the right light. At the dinner his Excellency's health was proposed by Sir William Young, the Chief Justice, with an eloquence, directness, and yet happy tact,

[1] Exactly thirteen years before, King Edward VII., then Prince of Wales, had landed there.

which seem to have inspired an equally manly and felicitous reply. His Excellency emphatically declared that he understood his duty too well to allow his judgment or his sympathies to be surprised into political partisanship, and that no human being was authorised to state or suggest what the Viceroy's opinions were. He continued: "My only guiding star in the conduct and maintenance of my official relations with your public men is the Parliament of Canada—in fact, I suppose I am the only person in the Dominion whose faith in the wisdom and in the infallibility of Parliament is never shaken (great laughter). Each of you, gentlemen, only believe in Parliament so long as Parliament votes according to your wishes and convictions. I, gentlemen, believe in Parliament no matter which way it votes."

CHAPTER VI

THE GOVERNOR-GENERALSHIP OF CANADA (*continued*)

THE MACKENZIE GOVERNMENT—RIEL CASE—CARNARVON TERMS AS TO RAILWAY—VISIT OF THE DUFFERINS TO ENGLAND—CLANDEBOYE—THIRD PARLIAMENTARY SESSION—BRITISH COLUMBIAN TOUR

THE General Election of 1874 resulted in a triumph for the Reforming party, and Mr. Mackenzie and his colleagues found themselves at the head of a substantial majority. The speech from the Throne delivered by Lord Dufferin on March 26th, made promises, *inter alia*, that Parliament would be invited to consider the speediest means of communication with British Columbia. One exciting incident, however, was connected with the return to Parliament of Louis Riel—the notorious rebel—for Provencher in Manitoba. This person managed to take the oath, and writing his name in the book by a subterfuge, had hurried away before his presence in the city became known. He was a fugitive from justice for his murder of Scott on March 4th, 1870, and he ought to have been arrested in Ottawa, but