

note outlining contents book plate

(For submission to the Council in compliance with Report of Standing Orders Committee, Sess. 32, 1873. See App. to V, & P. page 69.)

I.—OPENING OF PROCEEDINGS, ELECTION OF SPEAKER, SITTINGS, &c.

1. In all cases not hereinafter provided Speaker to decide in cases for which no rule are made.
for, Mr. Speaker shall decide, taking for his Slide the rules, forms, and usages of the House of Commons, as far as the same can be applied to the proceedings of the Provincial Council.
6. In the event of a division being called
In event of division for election of Speaker or Deputy Speaker.
for upon motion for appointment of Speaker, or Deputy-Speaker, and the Tellers reporting that the "numbers are equal," the Clerk shall order the doors to be unlocked, and take a second division in manner provided by Standing Orders; and shall, if necessary, repeat the process till the Division Lists show a majority either in favor of "Aye" or "No."
7. The member elected shall be conducted
Mr. Speaker elect conducted to the chair
to the Chair by his proposer and seconder, and after having, whilst standing beside the Chair, expressed his acknowledgments for the honor conferred upon him, he shall take his seat in the Chair.
8. The proposer and seconder of the
Deputation to receive His Honor's confirmation of Election.
member so elected shall be a deputation to wait upon the Superintendent for His Honor's confirmation of the election, and shall forthwith act as such.
9. The Election being continued, Mr.
Superintendent introduced.
Speaker shall read the usual prayer. His Honor the Superintendent is then introduced for the purpose of opening the proceedings of the Session, as provided in order No. 14.
10. Should the office of Speaker become
Vacancy in office of Speaker.
vacant during the existence of any Council, the same mode of procedure shall be adopted in the election of a successor as in the case of first election.
Chairman of Committees may preside in the absence of Mr. Speaker.
11. Whenever the Council shall be informed by the Clerk of the unavoidable absence of Mr. Speaker, the Chairman of Committees shall take the chair for that day only; and, in the event of Mr. Speaker's absence continuing for more than one day, the, Chairman of Committees shall, if the Council think fit and shall order it, take the chair in like manner on any subsequent day during such absence. Should the
Deputy Speaker
Chairman of Committees be also absent, the Council shall forthwith proceed to the election of a Deputy Speaker to act during the remainder of the sitting, or during the absence of Mr. Speaker.
Opening of ordinary Sessions.
12. On the first day of the meeting of any Council subsequent to the first meeting thereof, Mr. Speaker shall take the chair at the hour appointed for such meeting, and after the reading by the Clerk, of the Superintendent's Proclamation convening the Council, shall read the usual form of prayer.
Return of new members.
13. Mr. Speaker shall then intimate the return of new members, if any; and such members, if in attendance, shall thereupon be presented to Mr. Speaker.
His Honor the Superintendent introduced opens proceedings
14. Mr. Speaker shall then direct the Clerk to acquaint His Honor the Superintendent that the Council is prepared to receive him, for the purpose of opening the proceedings of the Session.
15. In the event of anything transpiring
If Superintendent unable to attend, at time appointed.
to interfere with the attendance of His Honor the Superintendent, or his Deputy, at the time appointed for the opening of the Session, on such being intimated to Mr. Speaker, it shall be competent for the Council to order an adjournment until such time as may be deemed expedient or necessary.

16. The Council shall sit from day to day,
Sittings.

except Saturdays and Sundays, during Session, subject to alteration by resolution; and on Wednesdays and Fridays Government business shall have precedence, as provided by Order No. 29.

17. At the first sitting each day the Council

Each sitting to be opened with prayer.

shall be opened with prayer, read by Mr. Speaker; and during the reading of the prayers the doors shall be closed.

18. Mr. Speaker shall take the chair at

Hours of meeting and rising each day.

two o'clock in the afternoon, unless otherwise appointed by the Council; and if after prayers there be not present a quorum (one-third of the members) Mr. Speaker shall adjourn the Council until the

Quorum.

following sitting day at the usual hour; and if at any time after prayers notice be taken, or, on the report of a division by the Tellers, it appear that one-third of the members are not present, Mr. Speaker shall adjourn the Council without a question first put; and the Council shall rise daily at half-past five p.m., and resume its sittings at seven p.m.

Adjournment for want of quorum.

19. Whenever Mr. Speaker is obliged to adjourn the Council for want of a quorum, the hour at which such adjournment is made, and the names of the members then present, shall be inserted in the Journals of; the Council.

While Council counted members to retain their seats.

20. During the counting of the Council (or Committee of the whole) each member present shall resume his seat, and keep the same till the result of the counting is announced.

Minutes to be read. Presentation of petitions, &c.

21. After prayers, the minutes of the preceding sitting shall be read for confirmation. Thereafter Mr. Speaker shall call for the presentation of Petitions, Notices of Questions, Notices of Motions, Papers and Bills.

Order Paper

22. The Council shall then proceed to consider the business as set down on the Order Paper, Notices of Questions being first called. The answers, or an abstract of the answers given to questions shall be inserted in the Journals.

Council to resume at 5.25 p.m.

23. When the Council is in Committee, at; twenty-five minutes past five p.m. Mr. Speaker shall resume the Chair, and the; Chairman of the Committee shall report progress, and ask leave to sit again.

24. If all motions shall not have been

Motions not disposed of before half-past five p.m.

disposed of at half-past five o'clock, the consideration thereof shall stand adjourned, and on the Council resuming at seven o'clock p.m., the Orders of the Day shall be taken in rotation; but if there should be no Order of the Day, the consideration of motions may be continued. The consideration of motions may be resumed after the Orders of the Day are disposed of, on motion to that effect being put and agreed to.

25. No notice of motion for the next sitting

When notice of motion to be given.

day shall be received after the Council shall have proceeded to the Orders of the Day, and no notice of motion shall be received for a period extending over more than four sitting days, and all notices for next day's Order Paper shall be given in before nine p.m. A member may give notice for any other member not present.

26. No member shall make any motion

Notice to be given before motion discussed.

initiating a subject for discussion, but in pursuance of notice given at a previous sitting of the Council.

27. It shall be competent, on the presentation

Motions for printing documents, petitions, &c.,

of any document, except a petition to move without notice that it be printed and to appoint a day for its consideration.

Motions to take precedence of Orders of the Day.

28. Motions shall take precedence of Orders of the Day, except on Government days as hereafter provided, and be moved in the order in which they stand on the Order Paper, and if not so moved, shall be expunged therefrom.

Government day.

29. Unless the Council shall otherwise direct, Orders of the Day for Wednesdays and Fridays shall be

disposed of before the Council proceeds with any motions of which notice shall have been given; and on such days Government Notices of Motions shall take precedence of all others.

Form of motion for information emanating from Superintendent

30. Motions for the production of despatches or other correspondence addressed to the Superintendent, or for any information emanating from the Superintendent, shall be in the form, "That an Address be presented to His Honour the Superintendent," to that effect.

Form of motion for other official information.

31. Motions for the production of Returns or other information from the several departments of the Provincial service shall be in the form, "That there be laid on the table, &c."

Motion or Bill rejected not to be introduced the some session without leave.

32. When a motion or Bill shall have been rejected by the Council, no motion or Bill involving the same argument or matter shall be brought forward during the same Session without leave.

33. A motion which has been by leave of

A motion withdrawn may be renewed.

the Council withdrawn may be made again during the same Session on motion upon notice.

34. A Resolution or other vote or order

A resolution may be rescinded.

of the Council may be read over and rescinded on motion upon notice.

35. All Addresses to the Superintendent

Addresses to Superintendent by whom to be presented.

shall be presented by or forwarded through Mr. Speaker, unless otherwise ordered by the Council.

36. All papers and documents laid upon

Papers, &c. laid on the table to be considered public.

the table of the Council shall be considered public (unless otherwise ordered), and may be printed.

37. On a motion made and passed "that

Call of the Council

the Council be called over" on any day therein named, Mr. Speaker shall cause circular letters to be addressed to all the members, requiring their attendance on that day.

38. No order for a call of the Council

Order for the same.

shall be made for any day earlier than fifteen days from the date of such order.

II.—RULES OF DEBATE, DIVISIONS, AMENDMENTS, &c.

Members to address the chair

39. Every member desiring to speak shall rise in his place, uncovered, and address himself to Mr. Speaker, or, in Committee, to the Chairman.

Motions must be seconded.

40. All motions shall be duly seconded before being proposed from the Chair (except in Committee of the whole); and if not so seconded, shall be forthwith dropped, and no entry be made thereof in the Journals.

When read a motion to be deemed in possession of the Council.

41. After a motion shall have been proposed from the Chair, it shall be deemed to be in possession of the Council, and shall not be withdrawn or altered without the unanimous consent of the Council.

Questions of order or privilege to supersede original motion.

42. A motion having been moved and seconded, and the question thereupon proposed from the Chair, any question of order, or any matter of privilege, which may arise, shall supersede the consideration of the original question, and must be first disposed of.

Interruptions.

43. While Mr. Speaker is putting a question, no member shall walk out of, or across the House; nor while a member is speaking, shall any member hold discourse to interrupt him, nor pass between him and the Chair.

44. Whenever Mr. Speaker rises during a

When Mr. Speaker rises Council to be silent.

debate, any member then speaking, or offering to speak, shall sit down, and the Council is to be silent, so that Mr. Speaker may be heard without interruption.

45. A member called to order by Mr.

Call to Order.

Speaker shall sit down, unless permitted to explain.

46. If in consequence of highly disorderly

Member called upon by name after explanation to withdraw.

conduct, Mr. Speaker shall call upon any member by name, such member shall withdraw as soon as he has been heard in explanation; and after such member's withdrawal, the Council shall at once take the case into consideration.

47. In the case of a charge against a

Breach of order by a member: procedure.

member for any breach of the Orders of the Council, or on account of any matter that has arisen in debate, the charge shall be stated, and the question moved before the member accused shall withdraw; he shall then be allowed the opportunity of explaining to the Council the motives of his conduct in the matter alleged against him, and, after having so done, he shall withdraw.

48. Any member may of right require

A member may request that any question under discussion may be read.

the question or matter in discussion to be read for his information at any time during the debate, but not so as to interrupt a member speaking.

Member not to speak twice on the same question. Exceptions.

49. No member shall speak twice (except in Committees of the whole Council) on the same question, unless in explanation on some material point of his speech on which he had been misrepresented or misunderstood, and without introducing any new matter; but the mover of any question, not being an amendment, shall be allowed the liberty of reply; and after such reply, it shall not be competent to any member to speak to the subject in debate. And it shall be competent to a member, when he seconds a motion or amendment without speaking to it, to address the Council on the subject of such motion or amendment at any subsequent period of the debate.

Questions of privilege-

50. Whenever any matter of privilege arises, it shall immediately be taken into consideration.

Motion "That the Council do now adjourn.

51. In course of a debate upon a question, any member who has not spoken on the original question, may move (except when a member is in possession of the Chair) "That this *Council* do now adjourn:" but no discussion shall take place on the original question; and if this second question is resolved in the affirmative, the 'original question shall be held to be entirely superseded; and the Council shall immediately adjourn till the next usual hour of commencing a sitting; and if the motion for adjournment be negatived, it shall not be competent to propose it again without some intermediate proceeding.

52. In like manner, in course of a debate,

Motion "That' the debate be now adjourned"

any member who has not spoken on the original question, may move (except when a member is in possession of the Chair) "That this *debate* be now adjourned:" but Mr. Speaker shall confine the discussion as nearly as may be to the question of adjournment, and if such motion be carried, its effect will be merely to defer the decision of the Council on the original question; and if the motion for adjournment be negatived, it shall not be competent to propose it again without some intermediate proceeding.

53. When the motion for the adjournment

Resumption of debate.

of a debate has been agreed to, the Council shall forthwith fix a day for the resumption of such debate.

54. The member upon whose motion any

Mover of such motion to be titled to pre-audience

debate shall be adjourned, shall be entitled to pre-audience on the resumption of the debate.

55. A question may be superseded: (1) By

Questions superseded. 1. By adjournment.

the adjournment, of the Council, either on the motion of a member "That this Council do now adjourn;" or, on notice being taken, and it appearing that a quorum is not present: (2) By a motion "That the

2. By considering orders of the day.

Orders of the Day be now considered;" which motion, however, is restricted to days on which Notices have precedence of Orders

3. By previous Question.

of the Day: (3) By the previous question, viz., "That this question be now put," being

4. By Amendment.

proposed and negatived (but this cannot be proposed in Committee); and (4) By amendment.

If previous question resolved in the affirmative.

56. If the previous question ("that this question be now put") be resolved in the affirmative, the original question is to be put forthwith, without any amendment or debate.

Previous Question superseded by adjournment

57. A question for considering the Orders of the Day, and also "the previous question" may be superseded by the adjournment of the Council.

Debates interrupted.

58. The debate upon a question may be

1. Privilege.

interrupted: (1) By a matter of privilege

2. Words of heat.

suddenly arising; (2) By words of heat

3. Points of order.

between members; (3) By questions of order; (4) By a message from the Superintendent;

4. Message.

(5) By a motion for reading an

5. Reading documents.

Act of Parliament, an entry in the Journals or other public document, relevant to the question before the Council.

Complicated questions may be divided.

59. The Council may order a complicated question to be divided.

Question 'put' and again stated.

60. So soon as a debate upon a question is concluded, Mr. Speaker *puts* the question to the Council; and if the same should not be heard, will again state it to the Council.

61. A question being put, is resolved

Question determined by majority of voices.

in the affirmative or negative by the majority of voices "Aye," or "No."

62. Mr. Speaker states whether, in his

Mr Speaker states whether ayes or noes have it.

opinion, the "Ayes" or the "Noes" "have it," and unless his opinion is acquiesced in by the minority, the question is determined by a division.

63. Immediately after a call for a division

Procedure on call for division.

the bell shall be rung, and at the expiration of three minutes, denoted by a sand-glass, the doors shall be locked, when Mr. Speaker shall again put the question, and if a division still be insisted on, direct the "Ayes" to go to the right and the "Noes" to the left, and appoint two tellers for each side. If on one of the sides there be not two tellers, Mr. Speaker shall declare the resolution as previously decided on the voices.

64. An entry of every division list shall

Divisions to be entered in journals.

be made by the Clerk in the Journals.

65. In case of an equality of votes, Mr.

Casting vote.

Speaker shall give a casting vote; and any reasons stated by him may, if he so desire and shall order it, be entered in the Journals.

No member to vote if personally interested.

66. No member shall be entitled to vote upon any question in which he has a direct pecuniary interest, either in the Council or Committee, and the vote of any member so interested will be disallowed.

(AMENDMENTS.)

Different forms of amendment.

67. A question having been proposed may be amended: (1) By leaving out certain words only; (2) By leaving out certain words in order to insert or add other words; or (3) By inserting or adding words.

Amendments to be seconded.

68. An amendment proposed but not seconded will not be entertained by the Council (except in Committee), nor entered in the Journals.

Amendments to leave out words.

69. When the proposed amendment is to leave out certain words, Mr. Speaker puts a question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question," which is resolved by the Council in the affirmative or negative, as the case may be.

Amendment to leave out words and insert, or add others.

70. When the proposed amendment is to leave out certain words, in order to insert or add other words. Mr. Speaker puts a question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question," which if resolved in the affirmative, disposes of the amendment; but if in the negative, another question is put, that the words of the amendment be inserted or added instead thereof, which is resolved in the affirmative or negative, as the case may be.

71. When the proposed amendment is to

When later part of question has been amended or proposed to be amended.

insert or add certain words, Mr. Speaker puts a question that such words be inserted, or added, which is resolved in the affirmative or negative, as the case may be.

72. No amendment may be proposed in

Amendment to insert or add words.

any part of a question, after a later part has been amended, or has been proposed to be amended, unless a proposed amendment has been by leave of the Council withdrawn.

73. No amendment may be proposed to

No amendment to be made to words already agreed to.

be made to any words which the Council has resolved shall stand part of a question, or shall be inserted in or added to a question, except the addition of other words thereto.

74. A proposed amendment may be, by

Proposed Amendment withdrawn.

leave of the Council, withdrawn.

75. Amendments may be proposed to a

Amendment to proposed amendments.

proposed amendment, whenever it comes to a question whether the Council shall agree to such proposed amendment.

76. When Amendments have been made,

Question as amended put.

the main question, as amended, is put.

When amendments proposed but not made.

77. When amendments have been proposed, but not made, the question is put as originally proposed.

III.—MESSAGES.

From Superintendent when announced other business to be suspended.

78. Whenever a message from the Superintendent shall be announced, the business before the Council shall be immediately suspended, and the bearer of the message introduced into the body of the Council to deliver the message to Mr. Speaker.

To be immediately read.

79. Mr. Speaker shall immediately read the message to the Council, and, if necessary, a day shall be fixed for taking the same into consideration.

And members to be uncovered.

80. During the reading of a message from the Superintendent, members shall remain uncovered.

Noise of proposed reply to be given.

81. When an address is to be moved in reply to a message from the Superintendent notice of the proposed reply shall be given as provided for motions (see 25 and 26).

IV.—LAPSED QUESTIONS.

How debates when superseded by counting out, &c. maybe resumed.

82. If a debate on any Motion or Order of the Day be superseded by the Council being counted out or adjourned, such Motion or Order may be restored to the paper for a future day, on motion upon notice, and then such debate shall be resumed at the point where it was interrupted.

83. If the discussion on any question in a

Procedure if interrupted by motion being carried to "report progress" or "to leave the chair." Committee of the whole Council be interrupted by a motion being carried "That the Chairman report progress," he shall, on reporting progress, ask leave to sit again; and if the discussion be interrupted by a motion being carried "That the Chairman do now leave the chair," the Council may order the resumption of such Committee on a future day, on motion upon notice; and in either case the discussion of such question shall be resumed at the point where it was so interrupted.

84. All Notices of Motion and Orders of Motions and orders not called on, how dealt with.

the Day not called on during the day for which they are set down, shall be placed before the Motions and Orders of the Day for the next day on which the Council shall sit, subject to the provisions made in Order No.29.

85. When a debate on any Motion is interrupted

When debate interrupted by adjournment at half-past five.

by the adjournment of the Council at half-past five p.m., then if the Orders of the Day are proceeded with at seven o'clock p.m., such interrupted debate shall, unless otherwise ordered, have precedence of the Motions for the following day; but such debate may, by leave of the Council, be resumed either on the Council resuming at seven o'clock, or after the Orders of the Day have been disposed of.

V.—COMMITTEES OF THE WHOLE COUNCIL.

Quorum.

86. In Committees of the whole Council, one-third of the members of Council, inclusive of the Chairman, shall be a quorum.

Procedure when not a quorum.

87. If, during the progress of business, notice be taken that there are not present one-third of the members of Council, inclusive of the Chairman, the Chairman shall announce that there is not a quorum present, and immediately leave the Chair; and Mr. Speaker shall resume the Chair for the purpose of adjourning the Council.

Procedure on committee breaking up for want of quorum.

88. When Mr. Speaker shall have resumed the Chair on the breaking up of the Committee owing to the requisite number of members not being present, the Chairman shall inform Mr. Speaker thereof, but make no further report. If the Council be then complete it shall again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Council; but if not, Mr. Speaker shall forthwith adjourn the Council, and the question under consideration shall lapse.

VI.—SELECT COMMITTEES.

89. The Rules of the Council shall be

Rules 'to be observed in committee.

observed in a Committee of the whole Council, except the rule limiting the number of times of speaking, and the rule requiring that motions be seconded.

90. At the commencement of every Session,

Sessional committees.

the following Committees are appointed viz.:—House Committee, Printing Committee, and Private Petitions Committee.

91. No Select Committee shall consist of

Number of members.

less than three or of more than seven members, without leave from the Council on motion upon notice.

92. It shall not be compulsory on Mr.

Not compulsory on Speaker to serve on committees.

Speaker to serve on any Select Committee.

93. Any member upon whose motion a

Member proposing committee to be member thereof.

Select Committee shall be appointed shall be one of the Committee without being named.

94. Every notice of motion for the appointment

Notice of motion for select committee to contain names of proposed members.

of a Select Committee shall contain the names of the members proposed by the mover to serve on such

Committeef

Mode of electing select committees.

95. Upon a motion for a Select Committee, any member of the Council may require such Committee (the Council having first decided that a Committee shall be appointed) to be elected by ballot in manner-following. viz.:—Each member shall give in to the Clerk a list of the members proposed by him to serve on such Committee, not exceeding the number originally proposed, exclusive of the mover himself; and if and such list contains a larger number of names it shall be rejected; and the members reported by the Clerk to have the greatest number of votes shall be declared by Mr. Speaker to be, with the mover, the members of such Committee; and in case of two or more members having an equality of votes, Mr, Speaker shall decide by lot which shall serve on such Committee.

Addition,&c. to select commttee, how to be made. Mey sit during adjournment

96. Any notice of motion for discharging, adding, or substituting members of a Select Committee, shall contain the names of such members; and Select Committees shall have leave to sit after any adjournment of the Council, notwithstanding that such adjournment shall be for a longer period than till the next day.

Quorum.

97. In all Select Committees there shall be a quorum unless otherwise provided in the Order of Reference.

Chairman.

98. Every Select Committee, previously to the commencement of business, shall elect one of its members to be the Chairman, who shall have a deliberative as well as a casting vote.

99. The examination of witnesses before

Mode of examining witnesses.

every Select Committee shall be conducted as follows, viz:—The Chairman shall first put to the witness, in uninterrupted series, all such questions as he may deem essential. The Chairman shall then call upon the other members severally by name in the order of their sitting, to put further questions. All questions and replies, or either, at the discretion of the Committee, shall be reduced to writing and signed by the witness, and the name of every member interrogating a witness shall be prefixed to the question asked.

100. Every Report of a Select Committee

Report.

shall be signed by the Chairman thereof.

101. A list shall be affixed in some conspicuous

Lists of committees to be posted.

place in the Council Chambers, and also in the Lobby, of all members serving on Select Committees.

102. Whenever it may be considered necessary

Power to call for evidence to be asked for

to examine witnesses, special application shall be made to the Council for power to call for papers, persons, and reports, and for leave to report from time to time.

Chairman to report to Mr. Speaker in cases of special expenditure

103. It shall be incumbent upon the Chairman of each Select Committee to report to Mr. Speaker, for the information of the Council, any case calling for special expenditure for attendance of witnesses, &c., previous to the summoning of such witnesses.

Day to be fixed for reporting.

104. On the appointment of every Committee, a day shall be fixed for reporting the proceedings to the Council, and on or before such day the final report of the Committee shall be brought up, unless further time shall be moved for and granted.

No discussion to be on presenting report

105. Upon the presentation of a report, no discussion shall take place; but the report shall be laid upon the table, and may, on question put and passed, be printed, together with the appendix and reported evidence.

Specific motion on report.

106. If any measure or proceeding be necessary upon the report of a Committee, such measure or proceeding shall be brought under the consideration of the Council by a specific motion, of which notice must be given in the usual manner.

VII.—PETITIONS.

When to be presented.

107. No petition shall be presented during any debate, nor after the Council shall have proceeded to the Orders of the Day.

108. It shall be incumbent upon every Member presenting to acquaint himself with contents.
member presenting a petition to acquaint himself with the contents thereof, and to ascertain that it does not contain language disrespectful to the Council.
109. Every member presenting a petition
And to affix his name thereto
shall affix his name at the beginning thereof.
110. Every petition shall be in writing,
Form of petitions.
or print, or partly in writing and partly in print, and shall contain, at the end thereof, the prayer of the petitioners, and shall be in the English language.
111. No letters, or affidavits, or other
No documents to be attached thereto.
documents, shall be attached to any petition.
112. No petition shall make reference to
Nor is a petition to contain reference to any debate.
any debate in the Council, or to any intended motion.
113. No petition shall pray directly for a
Nor to pray for grant of money.
grant of public money.
114. Any member presenting a petition
Procedure on presenting a petition.
shall confine himself to a statement of the description and numbers of the petitioners, and of the material allegations contained in the petition, and to the reading of the prayer thereof. It may be read upon motion without notice, and the only question which shall be entertained on the presentation of any petition shall be "that the petition be received."
To be received as the petition of the parties signing.
115. All petitions shall be received only as the petitions of the parties signing the same.
Private petitions to stand referred to Private Petitions Committee
116. All private petitions shall stand referred to the Private Petitions Committee, unless otherwise ordered by the Council.
Copies of petitions to be forwarded to Government before presentation.
117. Copies of all petitions making any claim upon the Government, or making any complaint against any Government officer, shall be forwarded to the Government before being presented to the Council.

VIII.—BILLS.

- Bills, how to be introduced!
118. Every Bill, except such as are transmitted by the Superintendent in pursuance of the Constitution Act, by message or by members of the Executive Council, shall be introduced either by a motion for leave specifying the title and object of the Bill, or by a motion to appoint a Committee to prepare and bring it in, or by an order of Council on the report of a Committee.
119. The member having leave to bring
Member having leave to bring in a Bill to prepare it.
in a Bill, shall prepare the draft of such Bill, with the necessary blanks to be filled up in Committee; and shall on an early day, present a fair copy thereof to the Council.
120. No clause shall be inserted in any
Clauses in a Bill not to be foreign to its title.
Bill, which shall be foreign to what the title of such Bill imports; and such matters as have no proper relation to each other shall not be intermixed in one and the same Bill.
121. No perpetual clause shall be inserted
Bills for temporary objects not to include anything perpetual.
in any Bill, the provisions of which are intended to be temporary; and the temporary character of the Bill shall be declared in the title, and the precise duration mentioned in a distinct clause at the end thereof.
122. Immediately on the presentation of
Motions on presentation of
any Bill a motion shall be made, "That this Bill be now read a first time," which, if agreed to, shall be

followed by another motion, "That this Bill be printed."

123. At the first and second reading of

First and second reading.

any Bill, the title only shall be read by the Clerk; and the first reading shall take place without discussion.

124. Every Bill read a first time, and ordered

Bills read a first time to be printed.

to be printed, shall be printed with as little delay as possible, and two copies shall be provided for each member.

Direction for second leading.

125. After the first reading of a Bill, its second reading shall be made an Order of the Day for some future convenient day.

Question on second reading.

126. On the Order of the Day being read for the second reading of a Bill, the question put shall be, "That this Bill be *now* read a second time."

Amendments to question for second reading.

127. Amendments may be moved to such question by leaving out "now," and at the end of the question adding "this day three months," or six months, or any other time; or that the Bill be rejected.

Amendments to be relevant.

128. No other amendment may be moved to such question, unless the same be strictly relevant to the Bill.

Bills read a second time to be committed.

129. After a Bill shall have been read a second time, the Council shall resolve itself into Committee for the consideration of it in detail, unless it be deemed expedient by the Council that it be referred to a Select Committee; in which case, a committee for that purpose may be at once appointed with the requisite instructions.

Procedure in Committee.

130. Bills in Committee of the whole Council shall be debated clause by clause, the question being put upon each, "That this clause stand part of the Bill," or as amended stand part of the Bill, leaving the preamble and title to be last considered.

131. Any additional clauses must be

Additional clauses.

added after the other clauses have been considered.

132. At the close of the proceedings of a

Bills reported with amendments.

Committee of the whole Council on a Bill, the Chairman shall report the Bill forthwith to the Council, and when amendments have been made thereto, the same shall be received without debate, and a time appointed for taking them into consideration.

133. Amendments merely of a verbal or

Amendments verbal or formal

formal nature may be made on motion in any part of a Bill at any time during its progress through the Council or Committee.

134. Clerical and typographical errors

Correction of errors.

may be corrected in any part of a Bill by the Chairman of Committees.

135. When a Bill shall have been reported

Bill reported without amendment.

without amendment, it may thereupon be read a third time and passed.

136. When a Bill shall have been reported

Bills when reported with amendments may be printed. Notice of motion for third reading Recommitment.

with amendments, it may be ordered to be printed as amended; and notice shall be given of a motion that it be read a third time on a convenient day; and when the motion shall be made for the Bill being read a third time, it may, on a motion without notice, be re-committed for further amendment; and when again reported with amendments, a day may be fixed on motion without notice, for its being read a third time.

Certificate of Chairman of Committee required before Bill read a third time.

137. Before a Bill shall be read a third time, the Chairman of the Committee shall certify that the amended copy is in accordance with the Bill as reported.

Procedure on third reading.

138. On the third reading of the Bill, Mr. Speaker shall announce that the amended copy has been so certified by the Chairman of Committees, and the title only shall be read, unless on motion, without notice,

made and seconded, that the Bill be read at length.

No motion to be made for amendment on third reading: Exception.

139. No alteration or amendment not being merely verbal, shall be made in any Bill on the third reading, the question simply being that the Bill, in its then shape, be read a third time; but the addition of a clause may be made, and if passed, shall be added to the Bill.

What if a clause be proposed to be added.

140. If the clause proposed to be added to the Bill has for its object to impose a pecuniary fine, the Council shall not entertain it with Mr. Speaker in the Chair. In order to fill up the blanks in such case, the clause must be read twice, and then committed to a Committee of the whole Council; after which, Mr. Speaker shall resume the Chair, the clause shall be reported, read a third time, and passed with the Bill, if approved by the Council.

141. When a Bill shall have been read a

Question "that this Bill do now pass."

third time, it shall be delivered by the Clerk to Mr. Speaker, who shall put the question "That this Bill do now pass."

142. When a Bill shall have passed the

Bill passed, how to be authenticated.

Council, Mr. Speaker shall sign the same, and the Clerk shall forthwith certify the date of its passing at the foot of the Bill.

143. All Bills, when passed, shall be presented

To be presented to the Superintendent. Estimates transmitted by message.

by or forwarded through Mr. Speaker to the Superintendent for assent and transmission to the Governor.

IX.—COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY.

144. The Estimates of Expenditure for

Committee of Supply.

the service of the Province are transmitted by message from the Superintendent and taken into consideration in Committee of Supply.

145. On the Order of the Day being read

Questions for

for Committee of Supply. Mr. Speaker puts the question "That T do now leave the Chair," &c.

Omitting or reducing items.

146. When a motion is made in Committee of Supply, to omit or reduce any item of a vote, a question shall be proposed from the Chair for omitting or reducing such item accordingly, and members shall speak to such question only, until it has been disposed of.

Proposed in order of printed Estimates.

147. When several motions are offered, they shall be taken in the order in which the items to which they relate, appear in the printed Estimates.

No motion to be made relating to any prior item.

148. After a question has been proposed from the Chair for omitting or reducing any item, no motion shall be made or debate allowed upon any preceding item.

Question put on the original or reduced vote.

149. Where it has been proposed to omit or reduce items in a vote, the question shall be afterwards put upon the original vote, or upon the reduced vote, as the case may be.

Adoption of resolutions agreed to in Committee.

150. Resolutions of the Committee of Supply reported to the Council are, on motion to that effect, put to the Council for adoption, or may be amended, postponed, recommitted, or disagreed to.

151. No amendment, whereby the charge

Reported resolutions not to be amended so as to increase charge upon the people.

upon the people will be increased, may be made to any such resolution, unless such charge so increased shall not exceed the charge already existing by virtue of any Act of Parliament or Ordinance of the Council.

152. Motions for Addresses to the Superintendent

Motions for sums to be placed on Estimates to be considered in Committee. To withdraw when requested by Speaker.

requesting that sums be placed on the Estimates are considered in Committee of Supply.

X.—STRANGERS.

153. On the request of any two members,
Liable to fine & imprisonment for certain acts.
or in his own discretion, Mr. Speaker shall at any time order strangers to withdraw, and such strangers shall immediately withdraw.

154. If any person not being a Member
By absence after call of the Council.
of the Council shall, within the place of assembling of the Council, refuse or neglect to obey the order of Mr. Speaker, or shall otherwise wilfully disturb the Council, such person shall be liable to pay such penalty, not exceeding Twenty Pounds, as shall be imposed by this Council, and in default of payment thereof, shall be liable to be imprisoned in some common gaol, or other convenient place to be named by Mr. Speaker, for a period (not exceeding one month) to be fixed by this Council, or until such fine be paid.

XI.—CONTEMPT.

By absence after all of Council.

155. Any member not attending in compliance with an order for the call of the Council, without reasonable excuse, shall be held guilty of contempt.

By absence for more than three day 8.

156. No member shall absent himself for more than three days at a time without leave; and any member infringing this order, and not excused, shall be held guilty of contempt.

BY disobedience of orders.

157. Any member who shall wilfully disobey any order of the Council, and any member who shall wilfully and vexatiously interrupt the orderly conduct of the business of the Council, shall be guilty of contempt.

Penalty for contempt.

158. Any member adjudged by the Council for any of the causes hereinbefore mentioned guilty of contempt, shall be fined in a penalty at the discretion of the Council, not exceeding Twenty Pounds; and in default of immediate payment, shall be committed by warrant of Mr. Speaker, to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, or some officer appointed by Mr. Speaker, to detain the said member in his custody for the period directed by the Council, unless sooner discharged by the order of the Council, or unless the amount of the fine imposed shall be sooner paid.

XII.—STANDING ORDERS.

159. Any Standing Order or Orders of
How Standing Orders may be suspended.
the Council may be suspended on motion duly seconded, made without notice, provided that two-thirds of the members be present, and provided also that two-thirds of those present consent; but notice shall always be given when practicable.

160. No proposal for altering or annulling
Alteration, &c., of Standing Orders.

any Standing Order or Orders of the Council shall be entertained, except when two-thirds of the whole number of members are present, and when notice extending over at least four sitting days has been given.

161. The whole of these Standing Orders
Duration of Standing Orders

shall continue in force only until the expiration of six sitting days after the opening of the first Session of the next Council.

N.B.—By direction of Mr. Speaker, this draft is forwarded to Members of Council for their consideration previous to the meeting of Council.

WM. E. SESSIONS,
Clerk of Council.

Dunedin, New Zealand.

Printed under the Authority of the Provincial Government of Otago, by Coulls and Culling, of Rattray-street, Printers to the Provincial Government for the time being.
Standing Orders of the Provincial Council Of Otago.
As Adopted by the Council and Approved by his Honor the Superintendent, May 31, 1871.
coat of arms Mills, Dick & Co., Printers Dunedin Stafford-Street 1871

Order.

Analysis.

Standing Orders of the Provincial Council of Otago.

I.—GENERAL CONDUCT OF BUSINESS.

1. On the first day of the meeting of a new
Election of Speaker; first meeting of new Council
Council, the Clerk of Council shall read the names of members returned to serve in such Council, and the Council shall immediately thereafter proceed to the choice of some proper person to be their Speaker.
2. The House then proceeds to the election of
Standing Orders of House of Representatives to apply
a Speaker, in manner provided by Standing Orders of the House of Representatives, so far as the same can be made applicable to this Council.
3. Should the office of Speaker become vacant
Vacancy in office of Speaker
during the existence of any Council, the same mode of procedure shall be adopted in the election of a successor as in the case of first election.
Speaker to decide in cases for which no rules are made
4. In all cases not hereinafter provided for, Mr. Speaker shall decide, taking for his guide the rules, forms, and usages of the House of Commons, as far as the same can be applied to the proceedings of the Provincial Council.
Chairman of Committees may preside in the absence of Mr Speaker
5. Whenever the Council shall be informed of the unavoidable absence of Mr. Speaker, the Chairman of Committees is to take the chair for that day only; and, in the event of Mr. Speaker's absence continuing for more than one day, the Chairman of Committees shall, if the Council think fit and shall order it, take the chair in like manner on any subsequent day during such absence. Should the Chairman of Committees be also absent, the Council shall forthwith proceed to the election of a Deputy Speaker to act during the remainder of the sitting.
Election of Speaker and Acting Speaker
6. In the event of a division being called for upon motion for appointment of Speaker, or Acting-Speaker, and the Tellers reporting that the "numbers are equal," then the Clerk presiding shall be empowered to order the doors to be unlocked, and to take a second division in manner provided by Standing Orders; and, if necessary, to repeat the process till the Division Lists show a majority either in favor of "Aye" or "No."
Each sitting to be opened with prayer
7. At the first sitting each day the Council shall be opened with prayer.
Sittings
8. The Council shall sit from day to day, except Saturdays and Sundays, during Session, subject to alteration by resolution; and on Wednesdays and Fridays Government business shall have precedence, as provided by Order No. 49.
9. Mr. Speaker shall take the chair at two
Hours of meeting and rising each day

o'clock in the afternoon, unless otherwise appointed on motion without notice; and if after prayers there be not present a quorum (one-third of the members) Mr. Speaker shall adjourn the Council until the following sitting day at the usual hour; and if at any time after prayers notice be taken, or, on the report of a division by the Tellers, it appear that one-third of the members are not present, Mr. Speaker shall adjourn the Council without a question first put; and the Council shall rise daily at half-past five p.m., and resume its sittings at seven p.m.

10. When the Council is in Committee, at

Council to resume at 6.25 pm

twenty-five minutes past five p.m. Mr. Speaker shall resume the chair, and the Chairman of the Committee shall report progress, and ask leave to sit again.

11. If all motions shall not have been disposed

Motions not disposed of before half-past five p m

of at half-past five o'clock, the debate thereon shall be adjourned, and the Orders of the Day taken in rotation; but if there should be no Order of the Day, the debates on motions may be continued. The debates on motions may be resumed after the Orders of the Day are disposed of, on motion to that effect being put and carried.

12. Whenever Mr. Speaker is obliged to adjourn

Adjournments

the Council for want of a quorum, the hour at which such adjournment is made, and the names of the members then present, shall be inserted in the journals of the Council.

13. Immediately after a call for a division, the

Division Bell, &c

bell shall be rung, and at the expiration of three minutes the doors shall be locked.

Division List

14. On division, an entry of the division list shall be made by the Clerk in the journals.

Addresses to Superintendent, by whom to be presented

15. All Addresses to the Superintendent shall be presented by or forwarded through Mr. Speaker, unless otherwise ordered by the Council.

A member may request that any question under discussion be read

16. Any member may of right require the question or matter in discussion to be read for his information at any time during the debate, but not so as to interrupt a member speaking.

Member not to speak twice on the same question. Exceptions

17. No member shall speak twice (except in Committees of the whole Council) on the same question, unless in explanation on some material point of his speech on which he had been misrepresented or misunderstood, and without introducing any new matter; but the mover of any question, not being an amendment, shall be allowed the liberty of reply; and after such reply, it shall not be competent to any member to speak to the subject in debate. And it shall be competent to a member, when he seconds the motion or amendment without speaking to it, to address the Council on the subject of such motion or amendment at any subsequent period of the debate.

To address the Chair

18. Every member shall address the Chair when speaking.

Questions of privilege

19. Whenever any matter of privilege arises, it shall immediately be taken into consideration.

Motions to be seconded

20. All motions shall be duly seconded before being put from the Chair.

Questions of order or privilege to supersede original motion

21. After a motion has been moved and seconded, and the question thereupon put from the Chair, any question of order, or any matter of privilege, which may arise, shall supersede the consideration of the original question, and must be first disposed of.

22. In course of a debate upon a question, any

Motion—"That the debate be now adjourned "

member who has not spoken on the original question may move (except when a member is in possession of the Chair) "that the *Council* do now adjourn but no discussion shall take place on the original question; and if this second question is resolved in the affirmative, the original question shall be held to be entirely superseded; and the Council shall immediately adjourn till the next usual hour of commencing a sitting; and if the motion for adjournment be negatived, it shall not be competent to propose it again without some intermediate proceeding.

23. In like manner, in course of a debate, any

Motion — "That the Council do now adjourn"

member who has not spoken on the original question, may move (except when a member is in possession of the Chair) "that the *debate* be now adjourned till—(*Here insert the day when the debate is to be resumed*)—but Mr. Speaker shall confine the discussion as nearly as may be to the question of adjournment, and if such motion be carried, its effect will be merely to defer the decision of the Council on the original question; and if the motion for adjournment be negatived, it shall not be competent to propose it again without some intermediate proceeding.

24. The member upon whose motion any debate
Mover of such motion entitled to pre-audience
shall be adjourned, shall be entitled to pre-audience on the resumption of the debate.

25. A member called to order by Mr. Speaker
Call to order
shall sit down, unless permitted to explain.

26. If, in consequence of highly disorderly conduct,
Member called upon by name after explanation to withdraw
Mr. Speaker shall call upon any member by name, such member shall withdraw as soon as he has been heard in explanation; and after such member's withdrawal, the Council shall at once take the case into consideration.

Breach of order by a member: procedure

27. In the case of a charge against a member for any breach of the Orders of the Council, or on account of any matter that has arisen in debate, the charge shall be stated, and the question moved before the member accused shall withdraw; he shall then be allowed the opportunity of explaining to the Council the motives of his conduct in the matter alleged against him, and, after having so done, he shall withdraw.

Interruptions

28. While Mr. Speaker is putting a question, no member shall walk out of, or across the House; nor while a member is speaking, shall any member hold discourse to interrupt him, nor pass between him and the Chair.

When Mr Speaker rises, Council to be silent

29. Whenever Mr. Speaker rises during a debate, any member then speaking, or offering to speak, is to sit down, and the Council is to be silent, so that Mr. Speaker may be heard without interruption.

While Council counted members to retain their seats

30. During the counting of the Council (or Committee of the whole) each member present shall resume his seat, and keep the same till the result of the counting is announced.

Call of the Council

31. On a motion made and passed "that the Council be called over" on any day therein named, Mr. Speaker shall cause circular letters to be addressed to all the members, requiring their attendance on that day.

Order for the same

32. No order for a call of the Council shall be made for any day earlier than fifteen days from the date of such order.

33. All papers and documents laid upon the
Papers, &c, laid on the table to: be considered public
table of the Council shall be considered public (unless otherwise ordered), and may be printed.

II.—PETITIONS.

34. No petition shall be received after the
When to be presented
Council shall have proceeded to the Orders of the Day.

35. It shall be incumbent upon every member
Member presenting to acquaint himself with contents
presenting a petition to acquaint himself with the contents thereof, and to ascertain that it does not contain language disrespectful to the Council.

36. Every member presenting a petition shall
And to prefix his name thereto
affix his name at the beginning thereof.

37. Every petition shall be in writing, and
Form of petitions
shall contain, at the end thereof, the prayer of the petitioners, and shall be written in the English language.

38. No letters, affidavits, or other documents,
No documents to be attached thereto

shall be attached to any petition.

39. No petition shall make reference to any
Nor is a petition to contain reference to any debate
debate in the Council, or to any intended motion.

40. No petition shall pray directly for a grant
Nor to pray for grant of money
of public money.

41. Any member presenting a petition, shall
Procedure on presenting a petition
confine himself to a statement of the description and numbers of the petitioners, and of the material
allegations contained in the petition, and to the reading of the prayer thereof. It may be read upon motion
without notice, and the only question which shall be entertained on the presentation of any petition shall be
"that the petition be received."

To be received as the petition of the parties signing

42. All petitions shall be received only as the petitions of the parties signing the same.

Private Petitions to stand referred to Private Petitions Committee

43. All private petitions shall stand referred to the Private Petitions Committee, unless otherwise ordered by
the Council.

Copies of petitions to be forwarded to Government before presentation

44. Copies of all petitions making any claim upon the Government, or making any complaint against any
Government officer, shall be forwarded to the Government before being presented to the Council.

III.—MOTIONS.

When notice of motion to be given

45. No notice of motion for the next sitting day shall be received after the Council shall have proceeded to
the Orders of the day, and no notice of motion shall be received for a period extending over more than four
sittings days, and all notices for next day's Order Paper shall be given in before nine p.m.

Notice to be given before motion discussed

46. No member shall make any motion initiating a subject for discussion, but in pursuance of notice given
at a previous sitting of the Council.

Motions for printing documents, petitions, &c

47. It shall be competent, on the presentation of any document, except a petition, to move without notice
that it be printed, and to appoint a day for its consideration.

Motions to take precedence of Orders of the Day

48. Motions shall take precedence of Orders of the Day, except on Government days as hereafter provided,
and be moved in the order in which they stand on the Order Paper, and, if not so moved, shall be expunged
therefrom.

49. Unless the Council shall otherwise direct,

Government days

Orders of the Day for Wednesdays and Fridays shall be disposed of before the Council proceeds with any
motions of which notice shall have been given; and on such days Government Notices of Motions shall take
precedence of all others.

50. After a motion shall have been read by

When read a motion to be deemed in possession of the Council

Mr. Speaker, it shall be deemed to be in possession of the Council, and shall not be withdrawn nor altered,
without the unanimous consent of the Council.

51. Motions for the production of despatches

Form of motion for information emanating from Superintendent

or other correspondence addressed to the Superintendent, or for any information emanating from the
Superintendent, shall be in form, "That an Address be presented to His Honor the Superintendent," to that effect.

52. Motions for the production of Returns or

Form of motion for other official information

other information from the several departments of the Provincial service shall be in form, "That they be laid
on the table."

53. When a motion or Bill shall have been

Motion or Bill rejected not to be introduced the same session without leave

rejected by the Council, no motion or Bill of the same argument and matter shall be brought forward during

the same session without leave.

IV.—LAPSED QUESTIONS.

54. If a debate on any Motion or Order of the

How debates when interrupted by counting out &c may be resumed

Day be interrupted by the Council being counted out or adjourned, such Motion or Order may be restored to the paper for a future day, on motion upon notice, and then such debate shall be resumed at the point where it was so interrupted.

Procedure if interrupted by motion being carried to "report progress" or "to leave the chair"

55. If the discussion on any question in a Committee of the whole Council be interrupted by a motion being carried "That the Chairman report progress," he shall, on reporting progress, ask leave to sit again; and if the discussion be interrupted by a motion being carried "That the Chairman do now leave the chair," the Council may order the resumption of such Committee on a future day, on motion upon notice, and in either case the discussion of such question shall be resumed at the point where it was so interrupted.

Motions and orders not called on, how dealt with

56. All Notices of Motion and Orders of the Day not called on during the day for which they are set down, shall be placed before the Motions and Orders of the Day for the next day on which the Council shall sit, subject to the provisions made in Order No. 49.

V.—BILLS.

Bills, how to be introduced

57. Every Bill, except such as are transmitted by the Superintendent in pursuance of the Constitution Act, shall be introduced either by a motion for leave specifying the title and object of the Bill, or by a motion to appoint a Committee to prepare and bring it in, or by an order of the Council on the report of the Committee.

Member having leave to bring in a Bill to prepare it

58. The member having leave to bring in the Bill, shall prepare the draft of such Bill, with the necessary blanks to be filled up in Committee; and shall on an early day, present a fair copy thereof to the Council.

59. No clause shall be inserted in any Bill,

Clauses in a Bill not to be foreign to its title

which shall be foreign to what the title of such Bill imports; and such matters as have no proper relation to each other shall not be intermixed in one and the same Bill.

60. No perpetual clause shall be inserted in

Bills for temporary objects not to include anything perpetual

any Bill, the provisions of which are intended to be temporary; and the temporary character of the Bill shall be declared in the title, and the precise duration mentioned in a distinct clause at the end thereof.

61. At the first and second reading of any

First and second reading

Bill, the title only shall be read by the Clerk; and the first reading shall take place without discussion.

62. Every Bill read a first time shall, on leave

Bills read a first time to be printed

obtained be printed with as little delay as possible, and two copies shall be provided for each member.

63. After the first reading of a Bill, its second

Direction for second reading

reading shall be made an Order of the Day for some future convenient day.

64. After a Bill shall have been read a second

Bills read a second time to be committed

time, the Council shall resolve itself into committee for the consideration of it in detail, unless it be deemed expedient by the Council that it shall be referred to a select committee; in which case, a committee for that purpose shall be at once appointed with the requisite instructions.

65. Bills in Committee of the whole Council

Procedure in Committee

shall be debated clause by clause, the question being put upon each, leaving the preamble and title to be last considered.

Bills reported with amendments

66. At the close of the proceedings of a Committee of the whole Council on a Bill, the Chairman is to report the Bill forthwith to the Council, and when amendments have been made thereto, the same are to be

received without debate, and a time appointed for taking them into consideration.

Amendments verbal or formal

67. Amendments merely of a verbal or formal nature may be made on motion in any part of a Bill at any time during its progress through the Council or Committee.

Correction of errors

68. Clerical and typographical errors may be corrected in any part of a Bill by the Chairman of Committees.

Bills when reported with amendments may be printed: Notice of motion for third reading: Recommitment

69. When a Bill shall have been reported with amendments, it may be ordered to be printed as amended; and notice may be given of a motion that it may be read a third time on a convenient day; and when the motion shall be made for the Bill being read a third time, it may, on a motion without notice, be re-committed for further amendment; and when again reported with amendments, a day may be fixed on motion without notice, for its being read a third time.

Certificate of Chairman of Committee required before Bill read a third time

70. Before a Bill shall be read a third time, the Chairman of the Committee shall certify that the amended copy is in accordance with the Bill as reported.

Procedure on third reading

71. On the third reading of the Bill, Mr. Speaker shall announce that the amended copy has been so certified by the Chairman of Committees, and the title only shall be read, unless on motion, without notice, made and seconded, that the Bill shall be read at length.

72. No alteration or amendment not being

No motion to be made for amendment on third reading: Exception

merely verbal, shall be made in any Bill on the third reading, the question simply being that the Bill, in its then shape, be read a third time; but the addition of a clause may be made, and if passed, shall be added to the Bill.

73. If the clause proposed to be added to the

What if a clause be proposed to be added

Bill has for its object to impose a pecuniary fine, the Council shall not entertain it with Mr. Speaker in the chair. In order to fill up the blanks in such case, the clause must be read twice, and then committed to a Committee of the whole Council; after which, Mr. Speaker shall resume the chair, the clause shall be reported, read a third time, and passed with the Bill, if approved by the Council.

74. When a Bill shall have been read a third

Question "that this Bill do now pass "

time, it shall be delivered by the Clerk to Mr. Speaker, who shall put the question "That this Bill do now pass."

75. When a Bill shall have passed the Council,

Bill passed, how to be authenticated

Mr. Speaker shall sign the same, and the Clerk shall forthwith certify the date of its passing at the foot of the Bill.

76. All Bills, when passed, shall be presented

To be presented to the Superintendent

by or forwarded through Mr. Speaker to the Superintendent for assent and transmission to the Governor.

VI.—COMMITTEES OF THE WHOLE COUNCIL.

77. In Committees of the whole Council, one-third

Quorum

of the members of Council, inclusive of the Chairman, shall be a quorum.

Procedure when not a quorum

78. If, during the progress of business, notice be taken that there are not present one-third of the members of Council, inclusive of the Chairman, the Chairman shall announce that there is not a quorum present, and immediately leave the chair; and Mr. Speaker shall resume the chair for the purpose of adjourning the Council.

Procedure on committee breaking up for want of quorum

79. When Mr. Speaker shall have resumed the chair on the breaking up of the Committee owing to the requisite number of members not being present, the Chairman shall inform Mr. Speaker thereof, but make no further report. If the Council be then complete it shall again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Council; but if not, Mr. Speaker shall forthwith adjourn the Council, and the question under consideration shall lapse.

Rules to be observed in committee

80. The Rules of the Council shall be observed in a Committee of the whole Council, except the rule limiting the number of times of speaking, and the rule requiring that motions be seconded.

VII.-SELECT COMMITTEES.

Number of members

81. No Select Committee shall consist of less than three or of more than seven members, without leave from the Council on motion upon notice.

Not compulsory on Speaker to serve on committees

82. It shall not be compulsory on Mr. Speaker to serve on any Select Committee.

Member proposing committee to be member thereof

83. Any member upon whose motion a Select Committee shall be appointed shall be one of the Committee without being named.

84. Every notice of motion for the appointment

Notice of motion for select committee to contain names of proposed members

of a Select Committee shall contain the names of the members proposed by the mover to serve on such Committee.

85. Upon motion for a Select Committee, any

Mode of electing select committees

member of the Council may require such Committee to be formed in the manner following, viz.:—Each member shall give in to the Clerk a list of the members proposed by him to serve on such Committee, not exceeding the number originally proposed, exclusive of the mover himself; and if any such list contains a larger number of names it shall be rejected; and the members reported by the Clerk to have the greatest number of votes shall be declared by Mr. Speaker to be, with the mover, the members of such Committee; and in case of two or more members having an equality of votes, Mr. Speaker shall decide by lot which of them shall serve on such Committee.

86. Any notice of motion for discharging,

Addition, &c, to select committee, how to be made May sit during adjournment

adding, or substituting members of a Select Committee, shall contain the names of such members; and Select Committees shall have leave to sit after any adjournment of the Council, notwithstanding that such adjournment shall be for a longer period than till the next day.

87. In all Select Committees three shall be a

Quorum

quorum unless otherwise provided in the Order of Reference.

88. Every Select Committee, previously to the

Chairman

commencement of business, shall elect one of its members to be the Chairman, who shall have a deliberative as well as a casting vote.

Mode of examining witnesses

89. The examination of witnesses before every Select Committee shall be conducted as follows, viz.:—The Chairman shall first put to the witness, in nninterrupted series, all such questions as he may deem essential. The Chairman shall then call upon the other members severally by name, in the order of their sitting, to put further questions. All questions and replies, or either, at the discretion of the Committee, shall be reduced to writing and signed by the witness, and the name of every member interrogating a witness shall be prefixed to the questions asked.

Report

90. Every Report of a Select Committee shall be signed by the Chairman thereof.

Lists of committees to be posted

91. A list shall be affixed in some conspicuous place in the Council Chambers, and also in the Lobby, of all members serving on Select Committees.

Power to call for evidence to be asked for

92. Whenever it may be considered necessary to examine witnesses, special application shall be made to the Council for power to call for papers, persons, and reports, and for leave to report from time to time.

Chairman to report to Mr. Speaker in eases or special expenditure

93. It shall be incumbent upon the Chairman of each Select Committee to report to Mr. Speaker, for the information of the Council, any case calling for special expenditure for attendance of witnesses, &c., previous to the summoning of such witnesses.

Day to be fixed for reporting

94. On the appointment of every Committee, a day shall be fixed for reporting the proceedings to the Council, and on or before such day the Seal report of the Committee shall be brought up, unless further time shall have been moved for and granted.

95. Upon the presentation of a report, no discussion

No discussion to be on presenting report shall take place; but the report shall be laid on the table, and may, on question put and passed, be printed, together with the appendix and reported evidence.

96. If any measure or proceeding be necessary

Specific motion on report

upon the report of a Committee, such measure or proceeding shall be brought under the consideration of the Council by a specific motion, of which notice must be given in the usual manner.

VIII—MESSAGES.

97. Whenever a message from the Superintendent

From Superintendent when announced other business to be suspended shall be announced, the business before the Council shall be immediately suspended, and the bearer of the message introduced into the body of the Council to deliver the message to Mr. Speaker.

98. Mr. Speaker shall immediately read the

To be immediately read

message to the Council, and, if necessary, a day shall be fixed for taking the same into consideration.

99. During the reading of a message from the

And members to be uncovered

Superintendent, members shall remain uncovered.

IX.—STRANGERS.

100. On the request of any two members, or

To withdraw when requested by Speaker

in his own discretion, Mr. Speaker shall at any time order strangers to withdraw, and such strangers shall immediately withdraw.

Liable to fine and imprisonment for certain acts

101. If any person not being a Member of the Council shall, within the place of assembling of the Council, refuse or neglect to obey the order of Mr. Speaker, or shall otherwise wilfully disturb the Council, such person shall be liable to pay such penalty, not exceeding Twenty Pounds, as shall be imposed by this Council, and in default of payment thereof shall be liable to be imprisoned in some common gaol, or other convenient place to be named by Mr. Speaker, for a period (not exceeding one month) to be fixed by this Council, or until such fine be paid.

X.—CONTEMPT.

By absence after call of the Council,

102. Any member not attending in compliance with an order for the call of the Council, without reasonable excuse, shall be held guilty of contempt.

By absence for more than three days

103. No Member shall absent himself for more than three days at a time without leave; and any member infringing this order, and not excused, shall be held guilty of contempt.

By disobedience of order

104. Any member who shall wilfully disobey any order of the Council, and any member who shall wilfully and vexatiously interrupt the orderly conduct of the business of the Council, shall be guilty of contempt.

Penalty for contempt

105. Any member adjudged by the Council for any of the causes hereinbefore mentioned guilty of contempt, shall be fined in a penalty at the discretion of the Council, not exceeding Twenty Pounds; and in default of immediate payment, shall be committed by warrant of Mr. Speaker to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, or some officer appointed by Mr. Speaker, to detain the said member in his custody for the period directed by the Council, unless sooner discharged by the order of the Council, or unless the amount of the fine imposed shall be sooner paid.

XI.—STANDING ORDERS.

How Standing Orders may be suspended

106. Any Standing Order or Orders of the Council may be suspended on motion duly seconded, made without notice, provided that two-thirds of the Members be present, and provided also that two-thirds of those present consent; but notice shall always be given when practicable.

Alteration &c of Standing Orders

107. No proposal for altering or annulling any Standing Order or Orders of the Council shall be entertained, except when two-thirds of the whole number of members are present, and when notice extending over at least four sitting days has been given.

Duration of Standing Orders

108. The whole of these Standing Orders shall continue in force only until the expiration of six sitting days after the opening of the first Session of the next Council.

Passed the Provincial Council,

May 31, 1871.

JOHN L. GILLIES,

Speaker.

CHAS. SMITH,

Clerk of Council.

MESSAGE No. 4.

The Superintendent has approved of the Standing Orders adopted by the Provincial Council this day.

J. MACANDREW,

Superintendent.

May 31, 1871.

Dunedin, Otago, N.Z.:

Printed under the authority of the Provincial Government of Otago, by MILLS;, DICK & Co., Stafford-street, Printers to the said Provincial Government for the time being.

By-Laws and Rules And Regulations of Underwriters' Fire Patrol of San Francisco.

Adopted November, 1875.

San Francisco:

PRINTED BY WINTERBURN & Co., 417 CLAY STREET. 1875. Dunedin

Articles of Incorporation of the Underwriters' Fire Patrol of San Francisco.

FIRST. The name of this Corporation is "UNDERWRITERS' FIRE PATROL OF SAN FRANCISCO."

SECOND. This Corporation is formed for the purpose of discovering and preventing fires, of saving property and human life from conflagrations, of holding by lease or fee simple, such estate, real and personal, as shall be by such Corporation deemed necessary for its uses and purposes, exclusively at the proper cost and expense of the Fire Underwriters of San Francisco.

THIRD. The principal business of this Corporation is to be transacted in the City and County of San Francisco, State of California.

FOURTH. This Corporation is to exist for the term of fifty years.

FIFTH. The number of Directors of this Corporation are seven; and the names and residences of such of them who are to serve until the election of such officers, and their qualifications, are: Andrew J. Bryant, E. D. Farnsworth, David J. Staples, Thos. C. Grant, Charles A. Laton, Wm. N. Olmsted and George T. Bohen; all residents of the City and County of San Francisco, State of California.

SIXTH. This Corporation has no Capital Stock.

In witness whereof, the Directors hereinabove mentioned do hereunto subscribe their names, to wit:

A. J. BRYANT, San Francisco.
E. D. FARNSWORTH, San Francisco.
DAVID J. STAPLES, San Francisco.
THOMAS C. GRANT, San Francisco.
CHARLES A. LATON, San Francisco.
WM. N. OLMSTED, San Francisco.
GEORGE T. BOHEN, San Francisco.

STATE OF CALIFORNIA, CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO,

ss.

On this 24th day of November, in the year 1875, before me, E. V. JOICE, a Notary Public, personally appeared A. J. BRYANT, E. D. Farnsworth, David J. Staples, Thomas C. Grant, Charles A. Laton, Wm. N. Olmsted and George T. Bohlen, known to me to be the persons whose names are subscribed to the within instrument, and acknowledged to me that they executed the same.

Witness my hand and official seal,

E. V. JOICE,
Notary Public.
[Seal]

OFFICE OF THE COUNTY CLERK OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO.

ss.

I, William Harney, County Clerk of the City and County of San Francisco, State of California, and Clerk of the County Court thereof, do hereby certify the foregoing to be a full, true and correct copy of the Articles of Incorporation of the "Underwriters' Fire Patrol of San Francisco," filed in my office on the 24th day of November, A. D. 1875.

Witness my hand, and the Seal of said Court, this 24th day of November, A. D. 1875.

WILLIAM HARNEY, County Clerk.
By THOS. PENNIMAN, Deputy Clerk.
[COUNTY COURT SEAL.]

STATE OF CALIFORNIA, Department of State.

I, Drury Melone, Secretary of State of the State of California, do hereby certify that I have compared the annexed copy of Articles of Incorporation of Underwriters' Fire Patrol of San Francisco, with the copy of the original now on file in my office, and that the same is a correct transcript therefrom, and of the whole thereof.

Witness my hand, and the Great Seal of State, at office, in Sacramento, California, the 26th day of November, A. D. 1875.

[Seal.]
DRURY MELONE, Secretary of State.
By N. E. WHITE, Deputy.

Code Of By-Laws for the government of the Underwriters' Fire Patrol, of San Francisco,.

A Corporation formed and existing under the Laws of the State of California.

Article I.

All Fire Insurance Companies now, or hereafter, authorized by the Insurance Commissioner of the State of California to transact the business of Fire Insurance, in the City and County of San Francisco, are and shall be hereby constituted members of this Corporation. For the purpose and convenience of specification, all such companies acting by virtue of incorporations under laws of the State of California shall herein be termed "local" companies, and all other such companies shall be termed "non local" companies.

The meetings of this Corporation shall be the Annual, in January in each year; the Semi Annual in July in each year; and the Special, whenever called by the President, at the request of any three Directors or any five members. The place of meeting shall be the Directors' room, and the manner of calling a meeting shall be by a written or printed notice, over the written or printed name of the President or Secretary, served by a messenger personally upon each member, or deposited in the Post Office in San Francisco aforesaid, directed to each member, not so personally served.

A notice left at the office, or principal place of business, of a member, shall -be deemed personal service within the meaning hereof. Such notice must give the date and hour of meeting.

The President, or, in his absence, the Vice President, shall preside at such meetings. In case of the absence of both the President and Vice President, the members present shall elect a Chairman to preside at a meeting. The Secretary (or in his absence a Secretary *pro tem.*, appointed by the presiding officer), shall keep correct minutes of the proceedings at any meeting. All elections shall be by ballot, but all other votes may be *viva voce* or as the members present may determine. No member shall be entitled to vote, except for election of officers, and amendments of By-Laws, who is in arrears for dues or assessments.

Article II.

Ten members assembled, in conformity with the provisions of these By-Laws, shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, except at the annual meeting for the election of Directors, when a majority of all the members shall constitute a quorum, and at a meeting for the purpose of amending these By-Laws, when two-thirds of all the members shall constitute a quorum.

Article III.

There are no shares of stock in this Corporation, but each member's interest in the property of the Corporation, shall be proportionate to the amount such member shall have paid toward the cost of such property, and the expense of maintaining the organization, not only as a Corporation, but including the preliminary association known as the "Underwriters' Fire Patrol of San Francisco" organized in April, 1875. The interests of all retiring members, shall inure to the remaining members.

Article IV.

No member shall be represented at any meeting by proxy. Local companies shall be represented by either their Presidents or Secretaries, and nonlocal companies by those Agents respectively who shall be recognized as such, by the Insurance Commissioner of California; provided, that no Agent shall be entitled to more than one vote however many non-local companies he may represent

Article V.

The Annual Meeting of this Corporation for the election of Directors, shall be held at the Directors' room, at two o'clock, P. M. on the third Thursday in January in each year, and the mode and manner of giving notice thereof, shall be as provided in Article I. of these By-Laws and as required by law. The Semi-Annual Meetings shall be held on the third Thursday in July in each year, at such hour as shall be designated by the President.

Article VI.

No member shall, own such an interest in the property of this Corporation as shall be in any manner assignable, except as provided for retiring members in Article III of these By-Laws.

Article VII.

The duties of the President shall be to preside at all meetings of the Directors and of the members; to appoint all special committees (unless otherwise instructed by a majority of the Directors); to direct all committees as to their duties; to sign all orders upon the Treasurer; to generally supervise the employees and property of this Corporation; and to perform such acts during fires and at all other times as shall in his judgment promote the objects of this organization.

The duties of the Vice President shall be confined to such times as the President, in consequence of sickness or absence from the City and County of San Francisco, shall be incapacitated from acting, in which case, he shall assume the duties of such President.

The Secretary's duties shall be to keep regular minutes of all proceedings at the meetings of the Directors, and of the members; issue notices of meetings; keep accounts of dues and assessments, and furnish each member with such statements thereof, as the Directors shall prescribe; countersign all orders drawn upon the Treasurer by the President, in due form; and perform such other duties, as the Directors shall require of him.

The Treasurer's duties shall be to collect all money due this Corporation, and keep exact accounts of all such money received and disbursed, and pay out the same only on orders drawn on him, by authority of the Directors, which orders shall be signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary. He shall report quarterly to the Directors such receipts and disbursements, and at such other times as the Directors shall so order.

The Directors shall, within three days after their election, meet and elect from their members, a President, a Vice President, a Secretary and a Treasurer, who shall be the officers of this Corporation.

The Directors' duty shall be to organize the Fire Patrol Corps, which shall consist of a Captain and such other employees as they shall deem necessary and expedient; fix the compensation of such Corps, and remove or suspend any member thereof at pleasure; to provide rules and regulations for the government of such Corps, prescribe their duties and provide the necessary quarters, apparatus, and supplies for such Corps and for this Corporation, for the cost of all which (to be within appropriations made by the members) the President must draw money orders 011 the Treasurer.

The Directors shall hold regular monthly meetings, at their room at the Corporation's head quarters, on a date and at an hour in each month to be determined by resolutions of at least a majority of the members of the Board. A majority of the Directors shall be requisite to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. The compensation of the officers of this corporation shall be such, as from time to time, shall be allowed by a two-thirds vote of all the members of the Corporation.

Article VIII.

The term of office of the subordinate officers of this Corporation shall be limited to the pleasure of a majority of the Directors.

Article IX.

The penalties for violation of any of the provisions of these By-Laws, shall be such fines as from time to time, shall be imposed by a two-thirds vote of all the members of this Corporation, not to exceed in any one case the sum of one hundred dollars.

Article X. DUTIES OF MEMBERS.

Each member shall serve faithfully on any committee, when appointed by the President, and shall report to the Secretary, on or before the first days of January, April, July and October of each year, a statement of the gross premiums, less return premiums and re-insurances received by him, for Fire Insurance on property in San Francisco, during the quarter ending on the last day of the month preceding such statement, for each Company represented by him. Members of this organization shall pay to the Treasurer the sum assessed on the quarterly receipts reported by him, within ten days from the date of such assessment.

Article XI. ASSESSMENTS.

The Board of Directors shall have power to assess the members of the organization, on the basis of net City Fire Premium Receipts, *i. e.*, Gross City Fire Premium Receipts, less City Fire Return Premiums and City Re-insurances; but no assessment exceeding one per cent, shall be made without special authority of the organization, granted at a regular meeting or at a special meeting called for the purpose.

We, the undersigned, members of the "Underwriters' Fire Patrol of San Francisco," a Corporation formed and existing under the laws of the State of California, do hereby sign respectively our written assent to the

adoption of the foregoing Eleven Articles, as the Code of By-Laws for the government of the said "Underwriters' Fire Patrol of San Francisco," on this the twenty-ninth day of November, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five, (November 29, A. D. 1875,) at the City and County of San Francisco, State of California.

We, the undersigned, the President and Secretary of the "Underwriter's Fire Patrol of San Francisco," hereby certify that the foregoing is a correct copy of the Code of By-Laws of the said "Underwriters' Fire Patrol of San Francisco."

E. D. FARNSWORTH, *President.*

CHAS. A. LATON, *Secretary.*

Rules and Regulations of the Underwriters' Fire Patrol of San Francisco.

Membership.

RULE 1. No person under twenty-one years of age, or who is not a citizen of the United States, shall be a member of the Fire Patrol.

2. Every officer and member, before entering on his duties, shall sign an agreement, to be deposited with the Directors, that he will abide by and conform to all the rules and regulations established, or which may be established by said Directors, for the government of the Fire Patrol, and be subject to the penalties named therein.

The Force.

3. Will consist of a Captain, Lieutenant, a Driver, and as many men as the Directors shall determine.

Captain.

4. The Captain shall devote his whole time and attention to the duties of his office, as herein prescribed, or as may hereafter be modified or increased, and shall hold his office at the pleasure of the Directors of the Underwriters' Fire Patrol. It shall be his duty to attend all fires and fire alarms within the limits named by the Directors, and he shall have full charge of all officers and employees while on duty. He shall wear, while on duty, a badge or fire-cap, with the words, "Captain Underwriters' Fire Patrol" painted on the front. It shall be his duty to report daily to the President of the Patrol all fires and tire alarms; also all violations of duty, and such general information as may be of interest. He shall see, by personal inspection, that all the apparatus is at all times in proper order, and that the station-house beds and bedding are kept clean and neat, and also that the employees shall fully perform all the duties assigned to them.

5. He shall keep a book for the purpose of recording all fires, fire alarms, and such transactions as may occur, under his supervision, as Captain of the Underwriters' Fire Patrol.

6. He shall take charge of property damaged or exposed to damage, when so ordered; shall employ watchmen or laborers to protect the same, and to extinguish fires in ruins, after the Fire Department has abandoned them, and as soon as possible report his actions to the President or one of the members of the Board of Directors.

7. It shall be his duty to make report at the end of each month of all alarms and fires which he has attended during the month, as well as those at which he was not present, and shall report the number of covers spread, time employed by the men at such fires, and the general condition of all property under his charge.

8. It shall be his duty daily to call the roll, and to take charge of the watch from the time of setting to the time of discharging the same.

9. He shall at all times pay strict attention to the conduct of the employees while on duty, and any employee who may be tardy either in obeying orders or unable from any cause to perform all the duties required of him, shall at once be reported by him to the Directors or the President.

10. He shall not absent himself from duty without first obtaining permission from the President, which permission shall not exceed one night, without the sanction of the Directors. He shall prevent all discharged employees of the Patrol, and all strangers, from visiting the station-house during watch hours.

11. For neglect of any duties herein prescribed, or as may be hereafter prescribed, the Captain shall be

liable for such penalty as the Directors shall inflict

Lieutenant.

12. The Lieutenant shall in the absence of the Captain, perform all the duties and exercise the authority of the Captain, and be subject to the orders of the Captain, when such Captain is on duty.

The Drivers.

13. The Drivers shall under the direction of the Captain, have the care and management of, and properly govern the horses. They shall keep the stable neat and clean, and have their horses ready at all times for immediate use, and, under the order of the officer in charge convey the apparatus to the fire. The manner of exercising the horses will be by walking them on the streets in the vicinity of the location of the apparatus. The Drivers shall do such other duties as may be required of them.

14. Racing to or from a fire is prohibited, and the right of way is in all cases to be given to the Fire Department.

15. The Drivers will be held responsible for any damage caused by them, or carelessness displayed in conveying the apparatus to or from a fire or alarm.

Employees.

16. It shall be the duty of every employee of the Patrol to strictly obey the orders of the Captain or those in charge.

17. No employee shall leave the premises occupied by the Patrol without permission of the officer in charge. Every employee whether absent from or at the station, shall, at an alarm of fire, repair immediately to the same, and assist in getting the apparatus into service.

18. Employees shall wear their badges or fire-caps while on duty, except while at the station.

19. Employees shall, while at, going to, or returning from an alarm or fire, avoid all controversy with the Police or Fire Departments, and shall assist in no duties other than those for which the Patrol is organized, except when ordered to do so by the Captain or officer in charge.

20. Any employee found intoxicated, or who shall use indecent language, or introduce political or religious controversy in the station, or while on duty, or violate any of the rules now made or hereafter made, shall be suspended from duty by the Captain, and the case reported to the Directors or President,

21. All employees attached to the Patrol are especially forbidden, under any circumstances, to receive any pay or reward for the discovery or extinguishing of any fire, except that which may be received through the Directors; nor shall they collect money from owners or occupants of stores for watching or protecting their property.

22. No employee shall lend his badge or fire-cap, or allow any other person to wear either, under penalty of dismissal.

23. Not more than three hours daily will be allowed for meals, and not more than one-half of the company will be absent at meals at any one time. The hours will from time to time be designated by the Captain and posted in the station-house.

Substitutes.

24. Each company may have two substitutes to take the places of regular members absent from the city or disabled by sickness. The substitutes must be approved by the Directors or the President.

Property.

25. No property shall, under any circumstances, be taken from premises on fire to the station-house, for safe-keeping or otherwise.

26. Whenever it shall be reported that property has been stolen during or after a fire, when in charge of an employee of the Patrol, he shall, if the fact be proven, be dismissed.

Special.

27. No person shall be allowed to ride in a wagon of the Patrol at any time, except employees of the Patrol or Directors, the members of the Board of Fires Commissioners, the Chief or Assistant Engineer of the Fire

department, and the Fire Marshal or Assistant, without permission from the Captain.

Special Rules.

28. There shall be a roll-call daily at 8 p. m., at which all on duty shall be present in uniform; the Captain shall then inspect the company, and see that they have their badges and other equipments, and are in condition for prompt service.

House Duty.

29. Detail for house duty shall be made by the Captain, and posted twenty-four hours before going into effect, and read at roll-call. The man on duty in quarters shall be relieved by the man detailed. He shall allow himself to be relieved by no other without the authority of an officer; and he shall continue on duty until he is relieved, always reporting to his company commander when he is not relieved at the proper hour. He shall call up the men announced on the next detail in time for them to commence at the time designated. He shall habitually be upon the main floor, but frequently visit different parts of the house and see that everything is in order. He shall have charge of the company daily journal, and enter *in it all* facts of the slightest importance occurring during his hours on duty.

Leave Of Absence.

30. All applications for leave of absence from officers and members permanently employed will be decided by the President (except as before provided), and must be made in writing, and sent through the Captain, approving or disapproving, with the reasons indorsed thereon; and the name of a substitute must accompany applications from company officers and members for approval by the President. The substitute shall be on duty before the applicant leaves his post; but the Captain may grant to the members of his company leave of absence not exceeding twelve hours, and not oftener than twice a week to the same member.

General Rules.

31. All members of the Patrol, when on duty at a fire, shall exert themselves in the most efficient manner possible in performing any duty that may be required of them by any officer in command. They shall remain on duty until relieved by orders to return, which shall be given only by the officer in command.

32. No officer or member of the department shall attend any caucus or political convention as a delegate, distribute tickets at an election, or take any part whatever in political matters, other than to exercise a right of suffrage.

33. No association or organized society of firemen, as such, shall be allowed, except benevolent associations.

34. Persons not employees of the Patrol, shall not be permitted to frequent or loiter about the station without permission from the Captain or the officer in charge. The men on duty at the time of allowing the same shall be subject to dismissal.

35. No spirituous or intoxicating liquor, or gambling in any form will be allowed in any of the houses of this association. The Directors shall determine what amusement may be indulged in by the department while at the station-houses.

36. Smoking will under no circumstances be permitted in the stable or hay loft, or upon the main floor of the house, when other quarters have been provided for a waiting or sitting room.

37. When the Directors, or either of them, or any superior officer, visits the quarters of any company, the officers and members shall rise, if seated, and salute, by touching the visor of their caps: but it is not intended that any work going on shall be interrupted thereby.

38. Each wagon-house shall be swept daily, the stable kept clean, and the quarters of the men kept neat and in order.

39. All officers and members of the force shall wear the uniform prescribed always when on duty, and habitually at other times when the nature of their work admits of it.

40. Violation of any of the rules and regulations of the Directors, may be punished by suspension or dismissal; and it is made the duty of all officers and members of the department to take notice of any such violations, and to prefer charges against the person violating, forwarding them to the President. Charges may be drawn as a "Violation of Rule No.—;" or as "Disobedience of orders;" or "Absence without leave;" or "Intoxication;" or "Neglect of duty;" or "Disrespect toward commanding officer;" or in general; "Conduct prejudicial to good order;" and the specifications, one or more, will contain a simple recital of the facts and

circumstances which make up the offense.

41. The foregoing Rules and Regulations must be strictly enforced, and any neglect of them must be reported to the Directors or the President.

Amendments.

42. The Rules and Regulations may be altered or amended at any time by the Directors.

Uniform of the Underwriters' Fire Patrol.

Dress Coat.

For CAPTAIN, a double breasted, close fitting coat of light blue cloth (as per sample to be furnished by the Directors of the U. F. P.); Cut to button close to the neck with rolling collar; to have seven (7) department buttons on each breast at regular distances apart. The cuff to be no larger than to allow the hand to pass in and out without strain, with three (3) department buttons on each cuff. To have an outside pocket on each breast, covered with a three pointed scalloped flap, the pockets to enter the top of the flap; one inside pocket on left breast. No other pocket will be allowed in any part of coat. The edges to be made raw, with two rows of stitching, one-quarter inch apart. The length of coat to be to the ends of the fingers, when standing erect. The coat to be lined with blue flannel, the sleeves to be lined with linen, and to wear on each end of the collar a star, encircled with a wreath, as an insignia of office.

LIEUTENANT, same as Captain, except there shall be six(6) buttons on each breast, and on each end of collar a wreath.

PATROLMEN, same as Lieutenant, except the coat to be single-breasted, with six (6) buttons and slightly cut away in front.

Pantaloons.

FOR OFFICERS AND PATROLMEN, made of same material as coat; the outside seam to be lapped, cut close at the waist, large at the hips, and taper to the ankle, with slight spring at the bottom.

Vest.

Vest to be cut from the same cloth as the uniform coat. To be cut single-breasted, without collar; eight(8) buttons, to button within five (5)inches of the neck.

Overcoat.

FOR CAPTAIN, double breasted frock coat, with rolling collar, made with lap seams throughout, of dark blue cloth. In length, to come down to the knee; to button up to the neck with seven (7) department buttons on each breast, regular distance apart; three(3) buttons on each skirt behind, and three (3) small department buttons on each cuff. The skirt to be closed behind with box-plaits tacked with "Crow's toe." One large pocket on each skirt in front, and one small pocket in the left breast, each to be covered with a three-pointed, scalloped flap, lined with the same cloth of coat; inside pocket on right breast. Coat to be lined with blue flannel, and waist with blue cassimere.

LIEUTENANT'S to be the same as Captain's, with six (6) buttons on each breast, equal distance apart.

PATROLMEN, same as Lieutenant's, with five (5) buttons on each breast, equal distance apart.

Hats.

FOR CAPTAIN, Navy Cap, with a straight, unbound visor, with star, encircled with a wreath.

LIEUTENANT, same as Captain, with a wreath.

PATROLMEN, the same as Lieutenant, with a Maltese cross thereon, with the letters U. F. P. and number on the four ends of the cross, thus—
decorative feature

Fire Cap.

THE CAPTAIN to wear a six (6) cone fire hamlet, to be painted red, with white front piece, insignia of office thereon.

LIEUTENANT, same as Captain, except that his front piece shall have his appropriate insignia thereon.

PATROLMEN, same as Lieutenant, except that their front piece shall be black, with the letters U. F. P. and number on the four ends of a Maltese cross, heretofore described.

WILLIAM N. OLMSTED,

D. J. STAPLES,

E. D. FARNSWORTH,

CHARLES A. LATON,

ANDREW J. BRYANT,

THOS. C. GRANT,

GEORGE T. BOHEN,

DIRECTORS OF THE UNDERWRITERS' FIRE PATROL OF SAN FRANCISCO.

The Savings Bank in the School

An Account of an Economic Experiment at Ghent. Adapted to Suit New Zealand,

(FROM "MACMILLAN'S MAGAZINE.").

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The Savings Bank in the School

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The Society for Encouraging Habits Of Thrift Among the Young People of the Colony.

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Organizing Committee.

REV. W. JOHNSTONE, M.A., Member of the Senate of the New Zealand University; MRS. JOHNSTONE; MR. W. DALRYMPLE, Sen.; MISS DALRYMPLE; MR. F. G. DOWNES; all of Port Chalmers, Otago.

Hon. Treasurer: F. G. DOWNES.

Hon. Secretary: W. DALRYMPLE.

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Progressive Lessons In Social Science,

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Notes In Support.

1.—"Habit makes everything easy and casts difficulties upon the deviation from a wonted course."—LORD BROUGHAM.

2.—"A mind trained to reflect on consequences, to guide conduct, and to forego immediate enjoyment for the sake of greater good to self or others, may be produced without reading or writing, and is a far nobler product of education than the mere power to read or write, however neat the penmanship, or correct the pronunciation."—DR. HODGSON, *at the Social Science Congress*, 1873.

3.—"Instruction means communicating knowledge; education implies the repetition of certain modes of action until they have become habits,..... Train up (educate) a child in the way he should go, and when he is old, he will not depart from it says Scripture; but it does not promise the same result from merely *instructing* the child."—GEO. COMBE, *in his Essay on Education*.

4.—"The power of enjoying the present without anticipation of the future or regard of the past, is the especial privilege of the animal nature, and of human nature in proportion as it has not been developed beyond the animal."—GEO. MACDONALD *in Robert Falconer*.

5.—"What we contend for is this, that habits of prudence and forethought in money matters are far from being common, and that to endeavour to encourage them, is one of the most practical forms, which a really thoughtful benevolence can assume, that a large part of the suffering which we all deplore, is caused by want of habits of economy and forethought, and that the habit of saving, so as to be beforehand with the world, if it is to be acquired at all, must be acquired early,"—LORD DERBY, *on Thrift*.

6.—"To teach habits, is the very master power of education,"—MRS. W. GRAY, *at the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1874.

7.—"Education means something more than merely learning lessons out of a book; and habits, early

implanted, last longer even than leases, districts, or towns."—*Quoted by DR. HODGSON from John Hollingshead in Ragged London.*

8.—"Never treat money affairs with levity: money is character."—*Quoted by SMILES, in Self Help, from Sir E. Bulwer Lytton.*

9.—"Action in conduct and in work, is at once the practical expression of the character and the intellect, but finds little room to show itself in the ordinary systems of education,"—*FRÖBEL'S Kindergarten Schools.*

10.—"L'école ne doit pas seulement instruire, elle doit aussi élever les enfants, et nous insistons sur l'épargne, comme moyen d'éducation, comme instrument de moralisation,"—*LA CAISSE D'ÉPARGNE dans les Ecoles de Gand.*

11.—"The extent to which teaching and training can create habits of saving and self-denial, will be seen by comparing the conduct of a well informed and prudent man with that of the untutored savage..... We have no hesitation in enumerating this quality (habit of saving) among the virtues, inasmuch as its prevalence is indispensable for individual and national well-being,"—*RICHARD DAWES, M.A., Dean of Hereford.*

The Savings Bank in the School.

MR. J. G. FITCH, of London, one of her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, on a recent visit to Ghent, made himself familiar with the details of a remarkable experiment now being carried on in connection with the schools of that city. The results of his observations he contributed in a paper to *Macmillan's Magazine*, and of which, the present pamphlet is an adaptation to suit the conditions of life in the Colony, as distinguished from those in England. Here and there, remarks have been suppressed or added as occasion seemed to require; or the phraseology has been merely altered by some slight turn of language to suit existing circumstances. The paper is now published with the desire of enlisting the active sympathy of all who are interested in the grand work of education, and more especially with the earnest hope that it may be the means of diverting attention to that particular phase of it which may be called "moral," the cultivation of which, in the school—to judge from the almost entire absence of allusion to it in the usual codes—is deemed unnecessary, or at least impracticable. By the introduction of the Savings-Bank into the school, an opportunity would be presented which, from information already gathered, the more intelligent of our teachers would gladly avail themselves of, as a means by which they could foster and encourage the formation of habits that would have a life-long influence for good, in those whose training has been committed to their care.

Mr. Fitch sets out by remarking that prudential warnings against thriftlessness and waste, have become so trite, and devices for encouraging the practice of saving are now so familiar to most of us, that a little diffidence may well be felt by one who ventures to again expatiate on this well-worn subject. Not only in the chief cities of the colony, but in remote townships and far "up-country"—be that north or south, or east or west—New Zealand is far from behind in having its Savings-Banks, Building Societies, and numerous other provident associations, and few even of the far out-lying districts remain long unvisited by the Government lecturer on the advantages of life assurance; but the extent to which any or all of these, influence the habits of the people as a whole, is comparatively insignificant. The proportion of earnings drawn from immediate consumption and reserved as part of the capital of the future is very small, and the number of persons who habitually save is relatively still smaller. The constantly recurring instances of pecuniary demands upon us for the support of families suddenly plunged into the depths of poverty by the death, or temporary suspension from work by accident or illness, of the bread-winner of the household, furnish ready proof of this. It would seem as if all the economic truisms about the sin of improvidence and the duty of saving were spoken to the winds or written on the sands of the sea-shore, so insufficiently are they in practice recognised. The experiment in the Belgium schools furnishes a forcible and striking example of the triumphant results of *practice* during a period of six or seven years, over many times that number in endeavouring by *precept* merely, to bring about similar results. It is, in fact, a bright and happy illustration of the favourite motto—"Deeds, not Words."

Ghent is a thriving town of about 121,000 souls; it contains a Free (*i.e.*, a non-clerical) University and many Primary Schools, which are said to be very efficient, and are under the supervision of a Communal Council. This Council, though it sustains the schools and periodically inspects them, does not dispense with voluntary aid, and two important societies—the *Société Caller* and the *Cercle pour l'Encouragement de l'Instruction Primaire*—co-operate with the Council, by the offer of prizes in the schools and by various forms of stimulus and help to the teachers. Some seven years ago it occurred to M. Laurent, the Professor of Civil Law in the University, that much might be done through the agency of the Primary Schools to familiarize the people while young with habits of economy and forethought. Accordingly he called the teachers of the Ghent Public Schools together, explained to them his plans, and having inspired them with some of his own enthusiasm on the subject, proceeded, with their full concurrence, to visit the schools one by one, in order to

give simple economic lessons to the children. He went from class to class enforcing and illustrating the advantages of saving, and showing how it might be practised. A plan was devised by which the teacher of each division undertook to receive the little savings of the children from day to day, even a single centime (about the tenth part of a penny) at a time. As soon as the deposits of a pupil amount to 1 franc (10d.) he receives a Savings-Bank book, and a deposit account is opened in his name with the State Savings-Bank, which gives interest at the rate of 3 per cent. Each school also opens at the Savings-Bank its own separate account, in which all the smaller deposits are placed from day to day, the pupil's deposit being transferred under an arrangement with the bank into his or her own name as soon as it amounts to a franc. Simple books and cards of account are provided by the administration of the bank, and the children receive duplicates to be carried home from time to time for the information of their parents, but generally to be preserved at the school. The signature of a parent or guardian is required whenever any money is to be withdrawn.

By these simple arrangements the opportunity of making little savings was brought closely within reach of every child of the Ghent Schools, and the moral influences of gentle and kind persuasion were brought to bear by Professor Laurent and the teachers with singular success. The response made by the children and the parents to his appeals, has been marked during the last six years by an emphasis and a steady persistence, which are well deserving the attention of all who have the future well-being of the young people of New Zealand at heart.

The public schools of the city of Ghent fall into four classes: those most numerous attended are the Free Primary Schools, maintained in great part at the expense of the Communal Council. In these there are 4,315 boys and 3,674 girls, in all 7,989. Then there are the *Ecoles Payantes*, primary schools of the same educational character, but not gratuitous, and designed for children of a higher social rank. In these there are 1,079 scholars. In the *Ecoles Gardiennes*, or Free Infant Schools, there are 3,039 children, and in the Adult Schools, which are held in the evening or on the Sunday, there are 3,285 men and women under regular instruction. Out of this total of 15,392 pupils, no less than 13,032 are this year in possession of accounts in the Savings-Bank. The uniformity and steadiness with which the system has taken root in the schools may be estimated from the following tables.

1.—Number Of Depositors.

1867	1869	1871	1873	Number of Pupils in 1873.	Free Primary Schools	4,182	6,995	7,229	7,583	7,989
Paying Schools	491	666	628	640	1,079	Infant Schools	—	1,075	1,572	1,920
Adult Schools	628	1,801	2,724	2,889	3,285	5,301	10,537	12,153	13,032	15,392

II.—Sums Deposited.

1867	1869	1871	1873	frs.	frs.	frs.	frs.	£	Free Primary Schools	23,014	55,685	172,643	274,602	or	10,984
Paying Schools	3,666	13,220	19,347	22,687	or	907	Infant Schools	—	4,880	37,803	66,523	or	2,661	Adult Schools	5,227
	22,513	68,203	99,252	or	3,970	31,907	96,298	297,996	463,064	or	18,522				

Thus the average sum now standing to the credit of each depositor is about 35 francs. It will be seen that relatively to the numbers, the largest success has been attained in the schools of the first class, the scholars in the ordinary juvenile schools being necessarily more amenable to influences of this kind than those of the second class, older and more thoughtful than those of the third, and with habits of extravagance which, if acquired at all, are less confirmed than those of the fourth. The work has been done without Government authority or pressure of any kind, but simply through the energetic initiation of one earnest man, aided by the sympathy of the teachers and local managers. The reports show that there is also a steady growth in the interest with which the parents regard the experiment. At first the act of economy was mainly that of the child, who was induced to put by the half-pence he would otherwise have spent to indulge his appetite. Now, children are often intrusted by their parents with small sums expressly for the purpose of being added to their store. And the general result, that in a single town of moderate size upwards of 10,000 children have opened separate accounts in the Savings-Bank, and that nearly £15,000 are deposited in their names, is one which is full of encouragement to the thoughtful philanthropists who devised the plan, and which has already produced a very marked effect on the social and moral life of the working classes of Ghent. The experiment has created great interest throughout Belgium.

A mutual friend had requested Professor Laurent to forward to a correspondent in New Zealand the latest intelligence concerning his interesting work. Writing in March of the present year, he says, "Il m'est impossible de donner des renseignements statistiques sur le mouvement de l'épargne, puisque il se répand partout par une action individuelle sans l'intervention du gouvernement. Je sais seulement que l'épargne à l'école fonctionne

dans les Pays Bas, dans le Grand Duché de Wurtemberg, en France, en Italie et dans quelques parties de l'Allemagne." Mr. Fitch also mentions in a recent letter, that since the publication of his paper, every day brings him letters expressive of interest and of further enquiry concerning the movement. See also the *Leisure Hour*, for October of last year.

In Antwerp, in Bruges, and in the the rural districts, successful efforts have been made to secure the adoption of the same plan, and last year a new association for the special encouragement of saving has been formed under distinguished auspices, with its head quarters at Brussels, and designed to operate on all the Communal and State Schools of the country in a systematic manner.

Belgium abounds with associations for promoting healthy recreation and amusement, as elements which tend to foster a sound moral tone among the labouring classes. Many of these societies seek to attain their object by means of rewards and scholarships, designed to encourage children to remain longer at school; others aim at the formation of workmen's clubs for historic readings and discussions, for simple theatrical exhibitions and fetes, and for organised visits to famous factories, museums, and monuments. But in all of them the plan of explaining and recommending the use of the Savings-Bank, and bringing that institution close to the pupils in the school or the evening class, is now becoming recognised as one of the chief engines of usefulness. For example, there is an active society at Brussels especially designed to improve the education of girls and young women, and the object is attained to a considerable extent by means of prizes to meritorious pupils, and to those governesses whose efforts to raise the standard of instruction have been most successful. But the prizes and bursaries thus distributed always consist, in whole or in part, of a Savings-Bank book, inscribed with the pupil's name, and crediting her with a small sum of money, which is not to be withdrawn till after a given time.

It is surely unnecessary to dwell on the significance of these humble but useful efforts in their bearing on our own social and industrial life in the colony. Our labouring classes are better paid than those of any other country, but they are not richer, perhaps with one exception—the ploughman or yearly agricultural servant—and they do not as a rule economise their resources, and a very small proportion of them make provision for the future. The same remarks may apply to numbers of tradespeople, and many others who regard their social standing as above that of either the tradesman or artisan. Reckless spending is the rule. Compared with Great Britain or the Continent of Europe, money is a plentiful commodity with everyone, but by very many never realized or capitalized in any of those permanent forms by which the dignity of family life is established and sustained. But until a man begins to care about this and some of the many substantial comforts and blessings which accumulated savings can alone procure, he has no motive to put forth his best energies to become a first-rate workman, a respected tradesman, or a confidential and trustworthy clerk, but every temptation to degenerate into a drunkard or a gambler. The degree with which a man cares about such things forms, in fact, the measure of his prosperity, and his self-respect is the surest guarantee for his future industry and happiness. With those who receive their income in the form of weekly wages, economy and thrift may be somewhat difficult, but they are also more necessary when the horizon of a man's resources and of his expenditure is narrowed by the inevitable circumstances of his life; and a man is enriched and ennobled in just the proportion in which this horizon is enlarged, and in which he learns to see the actions and the sacrifices of to-day in their relation to to-morrow. Dr. Johnson's famous sentence, "Whatever makes the "past, the distant, or the future predominate over the "present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings," expresses with characteristic solemnity an indisputable truth. The difficulty, however, is to convert a truism like this into a practical maxim for the conduct of daily life.

It is not in the natural order of things for employers, even when they see the need of frugality and temperance, to take measures for urging the duty upon those they employ. In this direction, in the home country, many and various efforts have been made, some employers going so far as to offer a bonus of so much per cent, over that allowed by the banks upon all sums deposited, but nowhere has the experiment succeeded. Motives, it is supposed, were misinterpreted, and the deposits that had been made on the first impressions were generally withdrawn. Perhaps, however, the true cause of failure might be attributed to the fact that, when first yielding to the proposals, the workmen acted under persuasion, not conviction—teaching had begun with them too late in life.

There is one class of teachers who might use their power to much advantage, and these are our ministers of religion; nor are we wholly without outspoken proof that the subject does not entirely escape their attention. At a recent public meeting at Tokomairiro, Otago, the Rev. Mr. Coffey, in speaking of the vice of intemperance, recommended the practice of saving, as tending to lessen it. He said, "the joining of a "benefit society would, he thought, encourage thrift, "and to encourage thrift was to discourage vice. A "benefit society by inculcating habits of saving, "encouraged habits of self-control." The Rev. Mr. Stanford, in introducing resolutions for the discouraging of intemperance, at the meeting of the Anglican Synod, in Dunedin, in October last, used remarks to a similar effect. It must however be owned, that generally speaking, the inculcation of saving as a substantial part of practical morality is, for some unexplained reasons, not dwelt upon with anything like the

urgency or frequency which, as a great motive-agency for good, it ought to be. It is, after all, in the schools that the work can be most efficiently done. School committees and teachers have opportunities of constantly bringing the matter before the attention of the children, and can readily furnish to them simple facilities for carrying out the lessons of economy which are learned in the class; moreover, their disinterestedness is unquestionable, and they are less likely than any other persons who are brought into contact with the pupil to be suspected of selfish motives. Much might be done by the help of judicious lessons, by the use of wise and simple text-books, like Mr. Ellis's "Outlines of Social Economy," Jowitt's "Helps for the Young in Self Guidance," also Bastiat's little book, "What is Seen and What is not Seen,"

Messrs. Reith and Wilkie, Booksellers, Princes-street, Dunedin, have kindly agreed to procure a supply of these books. translated into English by Professor Hodgson, of Edinburgh, whose labours in that city and elsewhere to render the principles of economic science interesting and intelligible to young people have been remarkably successful. These books illustrate the need of economy, and the increased power of usefulness and of enjoyment which it gives to those who have learned it. But it must ever be kept in mind that thrift is an act—a habit to be learned like other habits, not mainly by teaching or lecturing, but by *actual practice*. All experience shows that it is hard to learn it for the first time in adult life, but if it be acquired in early life it will probably never be lost. Habit is second nature, and there is as much room for its exercise in the life of a child at school as in that of a grown man who is earning wages. To him, as well as to his elders, there are temptations to waste that might be resisted; there are frequent opportunities for little acts of forethought and self-restraint which ought to be embraced. It may seem a trifle to speak of pence which children spend in sweetmeats and other trash, but economy is essentially a matter of trifles, and even of petty details. Relatively to his resources and to his wants, these are the items which make up the extravagance of a child. The boy or girl who is encouraged to deny himself or herself some immediate gratification and to prefer to it some future permanent advantage, who has once experienced the delight of receiving a letter by post inscribed "On Her Majesty's Service," and containing an acknowledgment from the Postmaster-General for the sum deposited, or who in some temporary trouble of the family has given relief by a draft upon the accumulated store, has learned a lesson in self-sacrifice which will abide in memory for life.

It may seem like special pleading to identify very high qualities too closely with so worldly a matter as the management of money; yet in truth there is no one problem or duty of life that calls into exercise so many moral attributes, or connects itself in so many subtle ways with the growth of the whole character. He who said "that a right habit of getting, of saving, "and of spending money argued a perfect man," was scarcely guilty of exaggeration. From the very beginning of responsible life the inclination to spend the whole of what we possess, becomes a potent temptation to spend or to enjoy a little more than we possess. And the records of our law courts and our police courts show that impecuniosity and extravagance are the parents not merely of much of the crime of the world, but of shiftiness, of evasion, of false-hood, and of the sins which enfeeble and degrade men most. The best remedy for this evil is to train children very early in the habits of distinguishing between real and unreal wants. "Artificial wants," says M. Laurent in his pamphlet, "which are at once "the sore and the curse of riches, are not unknown "among the humbler classes." Everyone who can refuse to satisfy one of these, however slight, or who puts aside any portion, however small, of the resources of to-day to make part of his supply for future use or enjoyment, is, in a sense, a capitalist; and in this sense not only every man and woman, but every boy and girl who has the command of a single luxury, should be encouraged to become a capitalist.

It may be argued that it is cruel and unwise to interfere with the joyousness of childhood by prematurely burdening the mind with thoughts of the future; but I do not believe that the objection, however natural on a first view, would long be seriously maintained by any careful thinker. The penurious spirit, the calculating, hard, and grasping habit of mind, has doubtless its dangers; but it is not the fault to which colonists are at all prone, nor against which it is needful to take any elaborate precautions. The tendencies of colonial life are unquestionably in the opposite direction; Our dangers are of another kind; and, in truth, we are not encouraging a hurtful egotism and suppressing generous instincts when we invite children to set aside the pence with which they would otherwise satisfy a craving of the appetite. To spend money for such a purpose is in no sense more generous or unselfish than to reserve it for some future gratification in the choice of which thought and judgment shall be exercised. Both are self-regarding actions; but the one has elements of sacrifice and of wisdom in it, the other is a mere act of careless and short-sighted indulgence.

Such is a sketch of the simple and judicious experiment initiated and carried forward by Professor Laurent and his friends in the Belgian schools. It may be considered as having passed its time of trial. As has been previously stated, it has been introduced to the Home public by Mr. Fitch, who earnestly recommends its imitation by the thoughtful and benevolent interested in the well-being of the rising population of Great Britain. In a like spirit it is now recommended to the consideration of the same classes of persons in New Zealand; more

especially could it be wished that an active interest in it would be taken by our clergymen and teachers, in whose hands rest, it may be said, the training for good or evil of the great majority of our young people. In this movement we see an engine to mould of great might and strength. With the exception of the societies alluded to at the commencement of this paper, little or nothing has been done amongst us to foster and encourage the practice of thrift. Many of the members of these societies, we are aware, feel it as no small hardship to save for their weekly or monthly payments, notwithstanding the indisputable fact that the income of all of them is more, and of most, from two to four times greater, than that of which they were in receipt at home, and this also in the face of the necessaries of life being much less expensive. It arises, no doubt, from the single circumstance that the restraint necessary to save has been begun too late in life. What is needed is to make the habit of thrift part of the child's education—to make him store and save up his pence, for, in his eyes, their own sake, but in the eyes of the teacher the far-reaching effects the training to such a habit will have in the future life of the child. Here, indeed, were the practice of this began in the school, would be introduced that teaching, that' education, which is, apart from mere book knowledge, the beginning of the realization of a dream—a fond hope of many a despairing soul. Dr. Hodgson, whose name has already been mentioned, was among the first to urge the teaching of economics in schools to both boys and girls. In one of his lectures on the subject he remarks, most truly, that the evils arising from their ignorance retard our social progress, deform and disgrace our civilization, and make good men despair of any remedy or even serious abatement. "I am utopian enough," he says, "to believe that it is "in the school-room that the work of teaching economics "can be done. Thirty years' experience of old systems "and of new, gives me confidence in the issue of such an "extension of the scope of our school teaching, high and "low, as shall amount, in spirit and in purpose, to a "radical reformation.... Some readers may well "think that I imagine a vain thing;' nevertheless "I know what I am saying. Economics I hold to be a "part, and no small or unimportant part, of morality; "they are, indeed, at the very root of practical morals, "for morals decay alike amid squalid poverty and "thriftless waste. Into all social relations does money "somehow enter—in getting or spending, in lending or "borrowing, in sowing or reaping, as well as buying "and selling. Money means independence, leisure, "culture, peace of mind, freedom from corroding and "debasement, the power and the right to be generous,. "to direct and pay labour, individual and social pro-"gress; and the disregard of it, so loudly professed by "some; is either stupidity or hypocrisy, or both. Few "things are, indeed, more important than money, the "means by which it is acquired, the ways in which it "is employed. Wealth may be abused, and so "may health, but that cannot be used which is "not possessed. What training then is given in this "most vital theme?"

Dr. Hodgson deplures that in schools the subject should be almost ignored. He says that in the few where it is taught, experience goes to prove that no other subject has more interest for the pupils, or is more easily taught without loss, nay even with gain, to other ones. The need of such teaching appears on every hand, to all whose eyes are not blinded that they cannot see. Has not, as Carlyle's Professor would say, has not custom hoodwinked us in New Zealand, and has not prejudice been our lawgiver? There are honourable exceptions, but we cannot find, that generally, the science of economics form any part of the programme of studies in the public schools of the Colony.

But to return to the subject proper of this paper, and to keep more to Mr. Fitch's remarks. Some may say that there are Post-office Savings-Banks everywhere, or at least, that they increase in number as townships make way in outlying districts. This is doubtless true, but it must be remembered that these banks themselves, however numerous, can never be brought close enough to the children while the habits of their life are in process of formation. Nor is it possible that the banks should ever receive sums so small as those by which the habit of saving must be formed. Let the habit be taught in the school, and when the child grows up he is already familiar with that truly useful institution: and this is a great step, indeed, more than half the battle gained.

The last report of the Postmaster-General shows that Savings-Banks were established in New Zealand on the 1st of February, 1867, and on the 31st of December of that year there were 2,156 depositors, with an average of £33 0s. 5d. to the credit of each; in 1870 the number had risen to 8,317, with an average of £35 10s. 3d. to the credit of each; while in 1873 there were 17,132 depositors, or 1 in 17 of the population, with an average of £38 16s. 1d. to the credit of each. This will compare favourably with the published reports of the Victorian Savings-Banks, in which, in 1874, the number of depositors was only 1 in 30 of the population, with an average amount of £37 7s. 10d. to the credit of each. And yet in New Zealand the full development of the Post-office Savings-Bank system is hindered by several causes; there are many districts in which no bank is yet attached to the Post-office, and the rule which limits each deposit to a minimum of 1s., and forbids the receipt of sixpences even when tendered with larger amounts, and which is most noticeable in the case of half-crowns, acts unfavourably in encouraging the practice of the smaller economics; and the fact that the banks are closed in the evenings, especially on the Saturday evenings, when working-men generally receive their wages, is also very unfavourable for the timid and irresolute. Suggestions for reform and improvement in these matters of minor detail have, however, seldom had a better chance of being favourably regarded than at the present

moment. The position of Postmaster-General is held by the Hon. Sir Julius Vogel, whose career has been characterized by so much administrative capacity, and whose readiness to adjust means and measures to suit the circumstances of every class of colonists is proved by the admirable provisions recently made for encouraging life insurance. It is far from likely that he regards the department of the Post-office Savings-Bank as nothing more than a mere source of revenue or an instrument of public convenience; and it is not too much to believe that the present movement will have in him a deep and active sympathiser, and by his help and wise administration the Post-office Savings-Bank of New Zealand may thus be made a potent teacher and an unflinching aid in the grand and glorious work of true education.

That great results can be accomplished with the aid of the teachers, even with the resources at the command of the scholars in the district schools, is manifest from the fact that upwards of 10,000 children in a single town, where the earnings of the parents are far below those of the colony, have saved sums averaging 30s. each. It is probable that very little, if any, of this money would have found its way to the bank but for the agency of the school. The work is one the success of which will much depend on the spontaneous efforts of the teachers, combined with those of the school committees, and the influence brought to bear upon children individually by benevolent and thoughtful people. Each province can now boast of a well-organized system of public instruction, but even with that there is still much room for the exercise of that personal zeal and that affectionate interest in the welfare of the scholars which have always characterized both the parochial and the voluntary systems in the old country, and for the exercise of such exertions, here is one field in which the harvest truly may be great. In proportion as our schools increase in number, and the advantages of education become better understood, so will school attendance be prolonged and the number be greater; in like ratio a larger proportion of children become amenable to such simple reasonings and influences as have proved so efficacious at Ghent. And those who will take the trouble to associate themselves with the teachers in bringing the Savings-Banks into the school, and making the simple arrangements by which the business part of the matter may be done smoothly and in proper order, may fulfil a most useful function. They will aid the work of true education in an effectual way, not only by thus giving practical and experimental lessons in economic science to the scholars, but also by enlarging their comprehensions and increasing their power of self-control. It is, however, not a panacea. If adopted ever so earnestly and successfully, it will leave much improvidence unremedied; but in its daily practice as part of the discipline of life, it may, with the Divine blessing, prove one instrument for establishing such a basis of character in the rising youth of New Zealand as shall elevate the whole of their social and moral life.

Fergusson & Mitchell, Printers, Princes Street, Dunedin

The Early Date And Consequent Truthfulness

of The Four Gospels, By Archdeacon Stock.

"Certain also of your own poets have said "for we are also His offspring."

ACTS, xvii. 28.

"The Apostles in the memoirs written by them which are called Gospels."

Justyn: APOLOGY, 1., p. 98., B.

Price, 6d.

Printed By Lyon And Blair Lambton Quay, Wellington 1875

THIS Lecture, delivered in the School-room of St. John's Church, was written with the desire to give, in short compass, some of the Historical proofs of the early existence of the Four Gospels, and therefore of their truthfulness. If this be so, then were miracles wrought, notwithstanding anything of assertion of the improbability or impossibility of a miracle from a supposed unvarying order of nature. Seekers after truth should especially notice the argument from the early publication of St. Paul's epistles.

A. Stock.

The Four Gospels.

THE task before me is a pleasant and yet an arduous one. I wish to shew in short compass why it is that the Christian Church accepts the Four Gospels as part of the Word of GOD; and that it is right in so accepting them. It is a task from which any one, who holds that these Books are inspired, might well shrink, lest he should fail in convincing others that his own belief is well grounded; not as the marsh light, only a snare to the weary traveller, but as the light from some well-built light-house, shining bright alway in the darkness, pointing out the haven where the mariner would be. He might well fear, too, lest by some mistake of his, others who think not with him, might be the rather confirmed in their un-belief.

The Christian Church holds, then, that these Books are the very foundation of The Faith. If they are false; if they are but the fond imaginings of some one or other, magnifying a faint, far off mythical story; if they are not

truly written by men of GOD, and of men inspired of GOD to write; then are we left in almost darkness—our Christianity is well nigh gone—we of this day have scarce anything to tell of Jesus that is worthy of acceptance in comparison with this loss—we must walk on sadly as those who are unknown and uncared for, wanderers in a wilderness without a guide.

This result is well put by one who has always endeavored to prove that the Gospels are false. He sees clearly the result of his labor, and then shrinks from it terror-stricken. The late Dr. Strauss writes:—"The loss of faith in Providence is, in fact, "one of the most deeply-felt deprivations which are "connected with the giving up of the Christian be-"liefs of the Church. In the enormous machine of "the Universe—amidst the incessant whirl and hiss "of its iron-toothed wheels—amidst the deafening "crash of its ponderous stamps and hammers—in "the midst of this whole terrible commotion, man, "a helpless and defenceless creature, finds himself "placed, not secure for a moment that, on an im-"prudent motion on his part, a wheel may not "seize and rend him, or a hammer crush him to "powder. This sense of abandonment is at first "something awful." The writer has well understood the matter at issue. Nowhere more plainly than in The Four Gospels do we learn of the Providence of GOD. The coming of the Lord is proof that GOD careth for the world. And thus He speaks:—"Consider the lilies of the field, how they" grow. They toil not, neither do they spin, and "yet I say unto you that even Solomon in all his" glory was not arrayed as one of these. If then "GOD SO clothe the grass of the field, which to-day" is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, how much "more will He clothe you? * * * Behold the "fowls of the air, for they sow not, neither do they "reap nor gather into barns, and yet your Heavenly" Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better "than they?"

If, then, our Gospels are not what we profess them to be, there is no longer any such comforting sense of GOD'S providence tenable—we must live aided by our own power only. They are but human compositions, and of little value — pleasant, per- chance, to read, but not speaking with any authority,

I.

Our first step will, clearly, be to ascertain what these Books say of themselves upon this point.

1. St. Matthew's Gospel, said to have been written by a constant follower of the Lord Jesus, describes the Jewish Temple as standing in all its magnificence, unscathed yet by the Roman fire and sword. In the 23rd chapter Jesus saith, "Behold "your House is left unto you desolate." The Disciples, understanding well His meaning, call His attention, as if in utter astonishment, to the buildings of the Temple, to the strength of the walls, as if such a ruin could not be. St. Mark, in his account, is still more particular. "Master, see "what manner of stones and what buildings are "here," is his version of the words of the Disciples. St. Luke, in the corresponding chapter in his Gospel, makes the Lord to foretell accurately the coming destruction of the city. We know that Jerusalem was taken A.D. 70. Thus these three Gospels claim to have been written before that event. There is not a single word to tell of the desolation of the city, and of the consequent fulfilment of Our Lord's words, as, we feel sure, would have been the case had they been written by man only, and after the city's overthrow. An event of such importance to a Jew could not then have been by any possibility altogether ignored. Some mention would have been made by him of the bravery of the Jews in the war; of the fierce determination of the Romans, and of their success. He most certainly would have spoken of the noble stand of his people against all the might of their foes, thus casting, in their utter ruin, a light upon the darkness by this remembrance of their courage. The belief of the Christian Church is that these Scriptures are not mere human compositions; that the narrators of facts which themselves witnessed, or of which they could have been informed by eye-witnesses, were always directed of GOD what to write. But if these Gospels are not inspired, and of late date, then most certainly a Jewish writer would not have passed by the destruction of Jerusalem, or have lost the opportunity of magnifying his nation from the very magnitude of her distress.

2. St. John, who was, as St. Matthew, a constant follower of Jesus, writes his Gospel at Ephesus nearly at the close of the first century. Eusebius tells that the Bishops of Asia brought to him the Three Gospels; that he declared them to be Scripture; and that he wrote his own Gospel to supplement the omissions of the other Evangelists, and to oppose the Gnostic heresy of the day. Generally speaking, he rather narrates what Jesus said than what He did. But St. John most distinctly asserts that he saw what he describes. When the dead body of Jesus is pierced he writes, "Forthwith there "came out blood and water:"—and he continues, "He that saw it bare record, and his record is true, "and he knoweth that he saith true." Again, appealing to his known character amongst the Ephesians, he writes in the last chapter, "This is the "disciple which testifieth of these things, and wrote "these things, and we know that his testimony is "true."

3. In the Acts of the Apostles, which Book was often considered to be but a continuation of St. Luke's Gospel, the writer places himself in the midst of his narrative. He writes of things which had passed before him. It is especially noteworthy that St. Paul, in his defence before King Agrippa and the Roman Governor Felix

Acts, xxvi. 26) appeals to this publicity of the Christian history. "The King "knoweth of these things; before whom also I speak "freely, for I am persuaded that these things were "not hidden from him, for this thing was not done "in a corner."

The belief of the Church is, as I have said, that these Gospels are GOD-inspired, that they therefore are true;—that three of them were written early in the first century, and narrate truly facts which were well known. It is not necessary to our present object to prove carefully that they are GOD-inspired. It is quite sufficient to shew that they were written in the very life-time of many who had witnessed the miracles of Jesus; who had shared in the events narrated; who could easily therefore have disproved any falsehood, if there had been any. The whole story is thus of miracle, and it is but a very little step onward to hold that the writers share in this miraculous energy; that they wrote not what they chose to write, but as men directed of GOD to write. We believe that we have this double security. But it is enough for the establishment of our faith to shew that these Books were published in the midst of those who themselves were well acquainted with what was written. No after narrator could write, without inspiration, as the Evangelists have written.

Thus the three first Gospels claim to have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem. St. John claims to have written his Gospel as an eye-witness of what he describes. We have now to search why it is that these Three Gospels are ascribed to St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke;—why they are believed to have been written at an early date;—and to see whether St. John's claim is just, and not that of a forger, writing thus to gain an appearance of truthfulness for his manufacture.

II.

We have, as testing points of the times at which the Gospels appeared, in the Books themselves many points of agreement with what is narrated by other writers.

1. St. Matthew tells that Herod, disappointed in his expectation that the Magi would conduct him to the King of the Jews, gives orders that the young male children at Bethlehem should be slain. Josephus tells how ruthlessly he committed greater cruelty than this—that he swept away every opposer to his rule, not hesitating to slay his wife and child because of some fancied treachery.

2. We find in the Gospels a curious and complicated Government. Herod is King of Judea. We read of Roman Governors ruling in part of the land, while members of Herod's family reign in another part. In the very midst of this double Government there is a Jewish Government with very large powers of administration, and, stranger still, having authority to collect tribute for the Temple service. This tribute is that referred to when the fish is caught by St. Peter to pay the sum required for himself and Jesus. (*St. Matthew*, xvii. 24.) But, strange as this admixture of ruling powers may seem, we know from Josephus that while the Romans were the real rulers in the land, they permitted these Jewish forms of Government to exist, taking only away the power of life and death.

3. St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, call the Lake of Galilee by various names, as the Sea, the Sea of Galilee, the Lake of Gennesaret, the Lake. And these titles are used indifferently. But St. John calls the Lake the Sea of Tiberias—a title which is used by him only. Now, we know that the titles used by the three first Evangelists were in common use before the Roman war; but afterwards, as the City of Tiberias had been spared by the Romans when they destroyed the other cities of Galilee, and had grown quickly into great importance, the Lake was called by the title which St. John uses. Had, then, the three first Evangelists used St. John's title, or he theirs, all would have been wrong; a very grave mistake would have been committed. But late writers could not have been so exact, or so truthful, in a point apparently of so little consequence.

4. Again, from Josephus we know of the bitter contempt in which the Samaritans were held by the Jews. We read in these Gospels the words of envy and hatred spoken by the Pharisees against Jesus—"Say we not well that thou art a Samaritan?" St. John records that when Jesus, sitting by the well of Sychar, asks the woman who had come to draw water to relieve His thirst, He is answered, not rudely, but in utter astonishment that He could condescend to ask, "How is it that Thou, being a "Jew, askest drink of me, which am a woman of "Samaria?"

5. One other instance only would I give. When St. Luke narrates the circumstances that led to the birth of Jesus at Bethlehem, he writes—" There "went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all "the world should be taxed. And this taxing was "first made when Cyrenius was Governor of Syria." It is well known that he was Governor some ten years afterwards, and those who would disprove the authority of the Gospels caught eagerly at this discrepancy. Here, at least, was a manifest mistake—a mistake quite sufficient to prove the untruth of the Gospel. Many explanations of the difficulty have been given. One of these is satisfactory enough: that the taxing was ordered by Augustus, and the census for the taxing was at once made; but, Herod dying, the tax was not collected until Cyrenius was Governor. The true explanation is, as was discovered by Zumpt, that Cyrenius

was twice Governor. St. Luke, whether the word taxing refers to the census or to the collection of the tax, was, after all, exactly right.

Many other instances could be given of similar import. They can easily be found in such books as *Paley's Evidences*, or *Horne's Introduction to the Scriptures*.

I believe that we might fairly enough rest the matter here. There is in these exact narrations sure proof of truthfulness, the more valuable because found in unimportant matters, just in those places where any forger would not have been so exact; or if he had, by giving like detail, sought to throw an air of reality about his imposture, he would most certainly have been readily detected in some misstatement. This exactness could not have been in a late writer, writing in the second century, unless he were inspired of GOD to write. And this claim for inspiration is utterly disallowed by those who object to the faith of the Christian Church concerning the Gospels. I would yet add that if there be this thorough exactness in places which can be tested, surely the same truthful, exact writer may be trusted when he is speaking of matter which cannot be thus enquired into. We may believe him still, even if his narrative involve a miracle. he is still narrating, as exactly as before, what was done miraculously.

This, then, is our second point. The Gospels themselves contain many proofs that they were written in the first century.

III.

We have next to enquire for external evidence of this early date for their publication.

1. The most eminent of the present school of opposers of Christianity, in Germany and in France, confess that many of the Epistles of St. Paul were undoubtedly written by him. M. Renan (I allude to him as his name is familiar to the most of us), in his *Life of St. Paul*, thus summarises St. Paul's Epistles:—1. Those which are indisputable and undisputed. 2. Those which are certainly authentic, notwithstanding some objections. 3. Those probably authentic. 4. One, a doubtful Epistle. 5. Those that are falsely ascribed to St. Paul. In the first class he places the Epistle to the Romans, the two to the Corinthians, and that to the Galatians. Thus, four of the Epistles of St. Paul are confessedly, to use M. Renan's words, undisputed and indisputable. No one would dream of objecting to these Epistles that they were not written by him. It is further certain that St. Paul was put to death at Rome, when Nero was Emperor, about A.D. 68. But this can be proved from these Epistles:—That Christianity was firmly established in the Imperial City of Rome;—that it was as thoroughly established at Corinth, another centre of that day;—that this had occurred in about twenty-five years after the death of Jesus;—and that the facts of Christianity were thoroughly accepted as true by very many in the Roman Empire at that early date. Even then supposing for an instant that our Gospels were written later than we assert, still the main facts given in those Gospels had already won their way. I would quote a well-known passage to remind you of the particularity of the facts to be gathered from St. Paul's Epistles. "I," he writes to the Corinthians, "delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins, according to the Scriptures. And that He was seen of Cephas, then of the Twelve. After that He was seen of above five hundred brethren at once, of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep. After that He was seen of James, then of all the Apostles." Thus the Death and the Resurrection of Jesus are here established. But if He hath thus lived, Who was dead, then is our Faith not vain; then were the Apostles not false witnesses of GOD, when they testified of GOD that He raised up Christ. I cannot, I confess, see how this argument can be shaken. If these Epistles of St. Paul are true, then is our Faith true. Then are the Gospels true, for they but give fuller accounts of what St. Paul has summarised. Let men object as they ever have objected, as they ever will object, they cannot disprove that in a very few years after the public condemnation of Jesus, at the sentence of a Roman tribunal, the assertion that He had risen from the dead was firmly believed by very many:—and that a very large number of them could have disproved the story had it been untrue. The thing was not done in a corner.

Amongst these, the evidences of our Faith, St. Paul's Epistles, acknowledged to be his by men who would rather have proved them to be falsely written, and based, as they evidently are upon a widely spread acceptance of Christian doctrine, occupy the first place. They could not have been thus written had there not been this spread of Christianity. And this is the especial point we are insisting upon, the early spread of Christianity, while the facts upon which Christianity rests had but lately occurred; and that the Gospels are but the early records of these facts.

2. We pass on to later writers; and from out the number of names that could be given of Christians who mention the Gospels I purpose to select two only, partly because of the well-known character of these two, and of the value, therefore, of their testimony. I mean Justyn Martyr and Irenæus.

Justyn, surnamed Martyr, as having suffered death for his Faith, was born A.D. 90 at Sichem, in Samaria,

in the very land in which Christ preached. He was converted to Christianity A.D. 133. Of his writings, the two *Apologies for Christianity*, and his *Dialogue with Trypho*, are still extant, in the Dialogue he tells that he had carefully studied the then prevalent forms of Heathen Philosophy, and had at last embraced Christianity as the only safe philosophy. Justyn teaches that Christ was miraculously conceived, and born of a Virgin in Bethlehem, in the time of Cyrenius; that He lived for thirty years an ordinary life, being regarded as a carpenter and a carpenter's son; that He was baptized of John in Jordan, when the Holy Ghost descended upon Him like a dove; that He was tempted of Satan in the wilderness; that He established the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; that He was crucified under Pontius Pilate; that He rose again from the dead on Sunday; that He will come again to judge the world. He records many of the sayings of Christ; quotes His prophecies; and mentions His miracles.

In the Dialogue he thus bears witness to the spread of Christianity: — "There is no race of "men * * * among whom prayers and thanks-"givings are not offered up to the Father and "Maker of the Universe in the name of the Cruci-"fied Jesus." He tells that new converts were continually added to the Church through the admiration excited by the virtuous practices and enduring constancy of the Christians.

But, further, Justyn was acquainted with our Gospels. His exact words on this matter are—"The "Apostles, in the Memoirs written by them, which "are called Gospels." And of these Memoirs he says that two were written by Apostles, and two by companions of the Apostles; that these Memoirs, or the writings of the Prophets (writings acknowledged by all Christians to be part of the Word of God), were read in the assemblies of the Christians every Sunday. Sometimes he quotes from these Memoirs exactly. Sometimes his quotations are given somewhat carelessly. Sometimes he only alludes to passages in them. But in what he was doing there was no especial need for exact quotation. He was not writing for Christians, but for the enemies of the Christian Faith. He is desirous to give them an outline of Christianity, and his purpose would be as well served by this general reference as if he had given the very words of writings which were not valued by others than Christians. But if he does not refer to our present Gospels—which are read in our Churches, just as these Memoirs were read—there were then, at that day, some other Scriptures giving exactly the same account of the Gospel facts as do the Gospels, which were held in highest esteem by the Church, and which yet have, in some most unaccountable way, vanished utterly; while these spurious Gospels of ours have, in some most unaccountable way, occupied the very position of the old writings, which are lost. Those who say that Justyn did not use our Gospels only create a difficulty which is insurmountable. We have only, to get rid of the difficulty which they have professed to find, to surmise that Justyn, when he quotes in- exactly, is quoting from memory; and that he has done what every writer is likely to do when he does not think it necessary for his purpose to put down the very words of Scripture. I have found, when correcting my first manuscript, that in quoting from the Sermon on the Mount, familiar as that Scripture is, I have done much the same thing. I have purposely left the error uncorrected, as an illustration of my meaning; and I do not think that I am likely to be charged with not accepting the Gospel of St. Matthew as the writing of the Apostle.

The second writer that I would select is *Irenæus*, made Bishop of Lyons A.D. 177. He wrote many books, of which his work against Heresies remains to this day. Irenæus declares that in his youth he had been well acquainted with Polycarp, who is known to have been the disciple and intimate friend of St. John. Thus his testimony is especially valuable, not only as coming from a learned man, from one who has written largely upon Christianity, and the heresies that had so early arisen in the Church, but as reaching through Polycarp so far backward. In his writings he then repeatedly mentions the Four Gospels. He ascribes them to St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, St. John. And, as if to make the matter the more certain, he gives many fanciful reasons why these were four in number only. In short, testimony more explicit there could not be to the writings of the Evangelists;—to the estimation in which they were held;—to the dates at which they were written. It is difficult, indeed, to imagine how any one can gravely urge that the Gospels were not written until the beginning or the middle of the second century, when Irenæus, so competent a witness, directly asserts the very contrary.

This, then, is our third point. Early Christian writers have quoted the Gospels. And of these the testimony of *Justyn Martyr* and *Irenæus* is especially valuable.

IV.

Other proofs of the early existence of the Gospels are found,—

1. That *Tatian*, about A.D. 170, wrote a book in which he endeavors to harmonise the various accounts of the Lord's actions given in the Gospels. This work is called a Diatessaron; literally a work concerning the Four. But clearly such a work would not have been attempted had not the Four Gospels been generally received and valued by Christians. It is again certain that Tatian used our Gospels, for a Greek manuscript in the British Museum has a note in which a different reading is supported by the authority of Tatian.

2. The same argument applies to the Syrian version of the Scriptures, called *The Peshito*, that is The Literal Version, which in the opinion of learned men was made very early in the second century. A version implies, of very necessity, that the books translated have already become famous. The difficulty for an objector would be to shew how books, arising as he would have it the Gospels have arisen, could in about twenty years have won such acceptance as to require that a version should be made of them into another language from that in which they were originally written.

3. Another curious proof has been lately discovered, that of the *Numatorian Canon*, or *List of the Books of Scripture*, found by Numatori at Milan, in the Ambrosian Library. It had been brought thither from a convent in Pavia by Columbanus, an Irish monk. The compiler of the Canon has fixed its date when he thus speaks of another book as written "just lately in our times, when Pius was "Bishop of Rome." This was A.D. 150, and thus the Canon cannot be later than that date. That such a list should have been made shews, as did *The Peshito*, that the books thus catalogued had been long held in highest esteem. The beginning of the Canon is imperfect. It commences, "In the "third place St. Luke." Then St. John, the Acts, and all the other books of the New Testament are named except the Hebrews and one of St. John's Epistles.

4. From the early adversaries of the Faith, as witnesses for its truth, I would select Celsus, an Epicurean Philosopher, who wrote against Christianity at the middle of the second century. He mentions that the Gospels existed in three forms. He accepts all the prominent facts of the Gospel History, but endeavors from the facts themselves to overthrow the Christian Faith. In no one instance does he cast any discredit upon the narrative. But if, as it is said, the Gospels were but of recent date, so learned and acute a writer would at once have seized upon the late date as the very proof that the professed history could not be true.

It never seems, indeed, to have been imagined in the early days of Christianity that the Gospels were of late origin, when the truth of the case could have been so readily discovered. It has remained for modern criticism, in the face of all evidence against the supposition, to make this assertion. The objectors believe that they have discovered this or that insuperable difficulty—that this Gospel cannot be reconciled with that—this statement with that statement. I read but a short while ago an elaborate magazine article on the Gospel of St. John, in which the writer thus persuaded himself of its late date. But as I read the thought again and again occurred to me, "How very easily St. John would have cleared up this matter." In truth, most of the objections against the Gospels would be readily removed could we but ask the writers how these things were so; or if we were in possession of every possible detail, of all the surroundings, in each case, v.

Other arguments are to be found,—

1. From the numerous sects which arose very early in the Christian Church. David, in the 76th Psalm, writes—"Surely the wrath of man shall "praise thee." And many an illustration of this truth is to be found in the history of the Christian Church. Justyn Martyr tells how he and many others were won to embrace the Faith by noticing the holiness of life of the Christians, and their patient endurance of persecution. Again, men began soon to tamper with God's truth, and to add to it their own fancies. Jesus had said that the enemy would quickly sow tares amongst the wheat, And quickly thus appeared the Gnostic heresy. These Gnostics were many in number, and multiform in tenets. They agreed only in hating the truth. But the truth has gained largely by their error. Except for these heresies we should not have had the clear, distinct, unanswerable testimony of Irenæus in favor of the Gospels. Again, these heresies prove the incorruptness of the Gospels. All, whether Christian or Heretic, appeal to them to establish their own views; and so we are sure that the Gospels could not have been altered in any way. Had any wished to alter a Gospel to suit then peculiar views, the alteration would have been at once detected and refused by the rest.

2. The manuscripts of the Gospels were very rapidly multiplied. It would very soon have been manifestly impossible for any one to have altered every one of the manuscripts in existence. All the manuscripts are the same, wherever they are found. They still give the same truths without any change. There are variations in the readings of these manuscripts, but these variations are chiefly in unimportant matters. The Faith is never in any way injured by any variation. From any manuscript, let it be one that is most corrupt, could be learnt the way of Salvation.

3. But after all the argument that seems to be the most weighty is from a common-sense view of the matter. The Gospels exist. We have the very same Four Gospels as had the Christian Church of the time of Irenæus. No one has yet dared to dispute that. Even if it be said that they first appeared in the middle of the second century, they have remained unchanged from that time. But why should they have been written at that particular time? It would be an utter absurdity for any one seriously to assert that Jesus Christ did not live during the Governorship of Pontius Pilate. Christian apologists appeal to the accounts of his Governorship kept at Rome. We are as certain of His life and death, at that time, as we are of the life and death, say, of Julius Cæsar at a certain period of Roman history. Had not, then, our Gospels been written at the time when we say that they were written, what possible motive would there have been for any one afterwards to have written such Books? Good men, loving the Lord Jesus, would not have penned such falsehoods. Evil men would not have cared to do it. Or even if

such a thing had been done from some strange, undiscoverable motive, how could they, bad men as they must have been on this supposition, and writing falsely, have gained for their falsehood, so quickly, so universal an acceptance? How, if they had been written, say, about A.D. 120, could the writers have persuaded Justyn Martyr, Irenæus, Celsus, Tatian, to have believed as they did concerning them? I often judge that this common-sense view of the question is but too much lost sight of. Christian defenders of the Faith have laboriously followed objectors into every detail of their objections, without sufficiently attending to this broad view of the whole question;—a method of reply which has this especial advantage, that it needs nothing but common sense to understand it. The youngest child can at once see how utterly impossible it would have been for a late writer to have persuaded the whole Christian Church that his writings, utterly unknown before to the Church, had yet been written by St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, or St. John. The Christian, the heathen objector to Christianity, would at once have exposed the cheat. Any one can understand that no one would have dreamt of so manifest an impossibility. The instant reply would have been, "If Jesus, as you say in these writings, did such wonders, how is it that no one has heard of these things till now?" So great a marvel could not have been so strangely hidden. Such a thing could not have been done in a corner. Such a thing could not have been hidden in a corner until now.

VI.

In drawing this Lecture to a close, I would briefly allude to the chief objection against the Gospels. There are very many; but that which seems to be the favorite one at this time is that a miracle is an impossibility, and that these Four Gospels, containing so much of miracle, are of necessity untrue. This is the argument adopted by a late writer, who, while assailing the Faith, that which is held in the utmost reverence by very many, has not the courage to place his name upon his title-page. Christian writers have boldly met this new assailant. He has been shewn by Professor Lightfoot, especially, amongst other grave errors, to have utterly misunderstood the intention of one Christian writer whom he has largely quoted; and, when his work required an exact knowledge of the Greek language, to have made a mistake in translating the words of another, in a most important passage, which even a school-boy should not have made.

This argument—the impossibility of miracles—is no new one, but was long ago brought forward by Hume. In its present shape it is—"The Order of Nature is so unvaried and invariable that miracles cannot be. Or it is most improbable that there could have been any. This is absolutely or almost proved by the advanced Science of the day. If there be miracles, Science must be blotted out. Those who believe in miracles are opposed to Science." It is strange indeed that an assertion should be made so rashly. Newton, Faraday, Herschel, believed in the Four Gospels; and their names are not unknown to Science. It is still stranger that this ground should be taken, because Science teaches the very opposite:—that the Order of Nature has not been always unvaried, but that there has been constant change, constant interference. The bone-covered, ground-feeding Fish of the Old Red Sandstone die out, to be succeeded by the Fish of the Coal Strata—fish of a very different form and manner of life. Then suddenly appear the Flying Reptiles of the Oolite; then the huge Mam- mals; and then Man. Many speak, indeed, as if these differing forms have been all evolved from their predecessors in due order, but they have not advanced one proof to establish this assertion. They can only shew variety occurring in some particular form of life. They cannot shew any change of one species into another. To use the word of *Genesis*, i., the "kind," whether of animal or of vegetable, is unchanged. But if one kind appears, and another succeeds, there must have been some One who hath tilled with new life the blank which would otherwise have been left. Change of the Order of Nature from an outside force is not improbable—is not impossible. There has been such change.

But I firmly hold that we can see proof that there is not any unvariable Order of Nature in our very midst. In 1818 the cholera, that most terrible disease, which had been always known in India, became epidemic. It then left India, slowly and steadily advancing over Asia, Europe, and America, a well remember, when it appeared in London in 1849, that Mr. Glaisher, of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, in a letter to *The Times*, mentioned the appearing of a bluish-colored mist amongst the trees of the Park as an accompaniment of the attacks. It was also then said that a magnet at St. Petersburg, which usually supported 80 lbs., became weaker as the cholera increased; that it lost all its strength at the worst of the disease; that it recovered gradually its power as the cholera abated. Yet there was no intensely marked change in the world—no especial cause in 1818—to invite the cholera to desert its old haunts. Things then were pretty much as they had been before, when all suddenly there is a dread, mysterious impulse given to Death. If, then, the Order of Nature is unvaried, cholera should not have left India, but have remained there alway. It must not, too, be forgotten that previous to one visit of the cholera appeared the strange, hitherto unknown, potato disease, which, between 1847-1850, destroyed two million lives in Ireland. Yet here again all the surroundings of Irish life remained the same as

before, when all suddenly appeared this new vegetable death. To those who believe that GOD ruleth and ordereth the world there is no difficulty in these things. He can interfere when and how He wills. The difficulty is with those who deny the constant presence of this overruling. They must, on their theory that Nature is unchanging, explain this change. Here is no orderly working of an old force, but a new force is introduced. But if Nature is not unchanging, the favorite objection to a miracle is gone.

The late Dean Hansel has well written that while some have taken occasion from the advancement of Science to deny the possibility of miracles, this advance tends rather to prove their probability, inasmuch as it shews how utterly impossible it is now, with all of present skill or experience, to do what Jesus Christ did day by day;—that there is no agent which can repeat, in our times, with all our wonder-working powers, such wonders as these, as when a Man standing at the tomb of one who had been dead four days speaks the few words only, "Lazarus, come forth;"—and he that was dead came forth.

Yet if some have found difficulties in the Gospels, and, as I have said, profess themselves unable to believe because of the difficulty, many of these difficulties afford a very sure proof of the truth of the Gospels. Whence, it may be asked, came the sponge used at the crucifixion of Jesus? What possible reason can be given for the soldiers having it at that time? Or why, again, should the soldier who gave the sponge to Jesus have understood, and have joined in, the mocking cry, "Let be, let us see "whether Elias will come to take him down?" Or why, again, should Jesus have been pierced after that the Centurion, convinced by the words, "It is "finished," and by the earthquake, had said, "Truly "this was the Son of God?" Yet all these difficulties are at once removed if we suppose that the women had brought the sponge, the vinegar, and the stem of hyssop, with the vain hope of giving some relief to the Sufferer; and that, when they see the willingness of the Centurion that His thirst shall be quenched, they at once proffer what they had brought;—or if we suppose that it was a Jewish recruit in the Roman band who gave the sponge to Jesus, in obedience to the orders of the Centurion, but cannot help uttering his inward conviction of the imposture of the Nazarene, and mocking Him with the bystanding Pharisees;—and, further, that this man, when his comrades are breaking the legs of the crucified thieves, in an ungovernable rage, and without orders, thrusts his spear into the Saviour's side. I say that a late writer, inventing the detail of the history, would not have inserted these difficulties, or, if he had, carefully would he have given some hint of the true explanation. But here the difficulty is stated without any thought that there is a difficulty. Nor was there any, in truth, to the writer, who knew all the details of the matter, and who simply described what had happened. The difficulty exists only for us because of our ignorance of these details. So, again, no impostor would have inserted the apparent impossibility that the Disciples did not recognise Jesus after His Resurrection, when He had been separated from them for two days only, without some attempt at explanation. But here all is simply given. We are left to conjecture why it was that there was no re-cognition, because, perchance, of the utter confusion of their minds; the breaking up of all their long-cherished expectations at His crucifixion; or especially because of the changed, restful expression, of the Lord's face, which once had been "marred more "than any man and of the peace now visible in One Who erst was "the Man of sorrows and acquainted with grief."

I have thus sought to put before you the reasons which have convinced me of the reasonableness of our faith in the Four Gospels. Reasonableness, I say, for the Christian is not to believe with a blind, unreasoning faith, but should be able to give an answer for the Hope that is in him. We are to love GOD with all our mind, as well as with all our strength. I have endeavored to shew that the Gospels were written at the times and by the writers named; that we have followed no cunningly-devised fable.

Then, although some may say that miracles are impossible, or improbable, they have been wrought; and our Faith, which rests upon the constant interference of GOD'S will, is surely based.

I confess that the difficulty with me has always been to understand the position of the objector. No one doubted of these Gospels at the very time when, if they had been false, doubt must have arisen. He, living so long after the events therein narrated, would still have us to believe that Books, containing the loving, merciful invitation to all who were in sorrow to find rest in the grace of Jesus, came from a Jew, who firmly believed in the salvation only of those who held his shibboleth, in the age of fierce disquiet at the Roman yoke:—or that men could have discovered such a doctrine as that which Jesus taught, in an age which allowed so much unholiness of doctrine:—or have imagined, or perchance have taken from the life of Krishna—of whom it is said by his worshippers none but a God could have been so sinful—such an One as Jesus; so holy, and yet so merciful to sinners; so pure, in the midst of all temptation; so zealous, when day by day His steps were dogged by envy; so patient, notwithstanding three years of neglect; so pitiful, in all the agonies of the Cross; so mighty, and yet so quiet in the exercise of that might. Man could not, by himself, have pictured such a Saviour. The Life of Jesus Christ of Nazareth stamps these Gospels, wherein that Life is written, as True. And as we reverently and lovingly read there of His love, and—as He hath taught us to do—seek of His Spirit that we may be guided into all Truth, are we drawn the closer unto Him. We find the Peace which He hath promised. We look onward with a new hope to the day when we shall see Him as He is. We have now no shadow of doubt. If there be this

or that in the Gospels which we cannot explain, it disturbs not our Faith one whit. We but wait for the fulfilment of the promise, when we shall understand all. for we shall be "filled with all the fulness of GOD." We are doing the Lord's will, and we "know the Doctrine that it is of GOD."

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Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East.

By The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.

Seventy-Sixth Thousand.

John Murray Albemarle Street, London

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Dedicated to Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe,

With The Admiration Which All Accord to Him, and the Esteem which has Grown with a Friendship of more than Forty Years.

Contents.

Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East.

In the difficult question of the East, entangled by go many cross-purposes and interests, the people of this country have shown a just, but a very remarkable, disposition to repose confidence in the Government of the day: and the Government of the day has availed itself to the uttermost of that disposition. For months the nation was content, though measures and communications known to be of the highest interest were in progress, to remain without official information, and to subsist upon the fragmentary and uncertain notices which alone would transpire through the press. It had to dispense not only with official information, but with discussion in the House of Commons. Only on the thirty-first of July did the House of Commons receive, from the bounty of the Government, after interminable delays and in the dregs of the Session, a single night in which to review the transactions of the Administration, together with those of other Powers, during a twelvemonth, and to ascertain the prospects and policy of the coming recess. The lateness of the period fixed for the debate went far to insure its inefficiency. But this was not enough; and further precautions were adopted. It was announced that, if the debate overflowed this narrow limit, it could only be finished in fragments; the ordinary business of the Government must proceed in preference to it, but it could doubtless be renewed on some day of yet thinner benches, deeper exhaustion, and greater nearness to the Twelfth of August, the principal and inviolate festival of the sportsman's calendar.

So much for discussion. Next as to information. For not weeks only but months together, appeal after appeal was made to the Government to supply Parliament with full and authentic information, in lieu of the scanty and uncertain notices which alone could be obtained from unofficial sources. Appeal alter appeal was met with dilatory pleas. In these pleas, taken singly, there may often be much reason; but, in the aggregate, they were pushed to excess. Some measure was in progress, and could not be explained till it was completed; or was completed, and therefore a thing of the past, which had disappeared from the range of discussion; or was in contemplation, and the public interest would suffer by disclosure. During this time, instead of preparing the papers and documents, to be ready for instant presentation, when presentation might be allowable, they were left unprepared, so that after every reason and every pretext for withholding them had been exhausted, precious weeks were lost afresh in the necessary labours for, and of, the press.

And the ending of this extraordinary confidence on the one side, and of these free drafts upon it from the other, what has it been? That we have had by degrees, from private and voluntary exertion, the knowledge which it was the bounden duty of the Administration to supply: and that, by the light which this knowledge casts upon past events we learn with astonishment and horror that, so far as appears, we have been involved, in some amount, at least, of moral complicity with the basest and blackest outrages upon record within the present century, if not within the memory of man.

The effect of the course which was taken by the Government was by no means confined within the walls of Parliament. For securing the escape of a great question from public vigilance there is no expedient comparable to adjourning Parliamentary discussion of it until the dying hours of a Session. For thus it is brought before the public mind at a time when the nation is in holiday, when society as well as Parliament is prorogued, when the natural leaders of every country or municipal community are dispersed. It is the great vacation of the year, when no one expects, and few will consent, to be called to serious business. All, who are acquainted with the inner working of our Parliamentary as well as our social system, know the weight as well as the truth of what I now say.

The state of the case, then, is this. The House of Commons has in the main been ousted from that legitimate share of influence which I may call its jurisdiction in the case. A subject of paramount weight goes before the people at the time when the classes having leisure, and usually contributing most to form and guide public opinion, are scattered, as disjointed units, over the face of this and of other countries. In default of Parliamentary action, and a public concentrated as usual, we must proceed as we can, with impaired means of appeal. But honour, duty, compassion, and I must add shame, are sentiments never in a state of *coma*. The working men of the country, whose condition is less affected than that of others by the season, have to their honour led the way, and shown that the great heart of Britain has not ceased to beat. And the large towns and cities, now following in troops, are echoing back, each from its own place, the mingled notes of horror, pain, and indignation.

Let them understand that the importance of their meetings, on this occasion at least, cannot be overrated. As Inkerman was the soldiers' battle, so this is the nation's crisis. The question is not only whether unexampled wrongs shall receive effectual and righteous condemnation, but whether the only effective security shall be taken against its repetition. In order to take this security, the nation will have to speak through its Government: but we now see clearly that it must first teach its Government, almost as it would teach a lisping child, what to say. *Then* will be taken out of the way of an united Europe the sole efficient obstacle to the punishment of a gigantic wrong.

I have thus far endeavoured to describe how it has come about that the nation, deprived of its most rightful and most constitutional aids, has been called upon at the season when the task would, under ordinary circumstances be impossible, to choose between leaving its most sacred duties unperformed, and taking the performance of them primarily into its own hands.

Had the call upon the country been only that of Serna, Bosnia, and the Herzegovina, it would have been a grave one. But it is now graver far. By a slow and difficult process, the details of which I shall presently consider, and through the aid partly of newspaper correspondence, and partly of the authorised agent of a foreign State, but not through our own Parliament, or administration, or establishments abroad, we now know in detail that there have been perpetrated, under the immediate authority of a Government to which all the time we have been giving the strongest moral, and for part of the time even material support, crimes and outrages, so vast in scale as to exceed all modern example, and so unutterably vile as well as fierce in character, that it passes the power of heart to conceive, and of tongue and pen adequately to describe them. These are the Bulgarian horrors; and the question is, What can and should be done, either to punish, or to brand, or to prevent?

The details of these abominations may be read in published Reports, now known to be accurate in the main. They are hardly fit for reproduction. The authors of the crimes are the agents, the trusted, and in some instances, the since-promoted servants,

Of these there are named Ahmed Aga and Tussum Bey (Mr. Schuyler); also Chevket Pacha (Consul Reade).—Papers 5, p. 18.

of the Turkish Government. The moral and material support, which during the year has been afforded to the Turkish Government, has been given by the Government of England on behalf of the people of England. In order to a full comprehension of the practical question at issue, it will be necessary to describe the true character and position of the Turkish Power, and the policy, as I think it the questionable and erroneous policy, of the British Administration.

Let me endeavour very briefly to sketch, in the rudest outline, what the Turkish race was and what it is. It is not a question of Mahometanism simply, but of Mahometanism compounded with the peculiar character of a race. They are not the mild Mahometans of India, nor the chivalrous Saladins of Syria, nor the cultured Moors of Spain. They were, upon the whole, from the black day when they first entered Europe, the one great anti-human specimen of humanity. Wherever they went, a broad line of blood marked the track behind them; and, as far as their dominion reached, civilisation disappeared from view. They represented everywhere government by force, as opposed to government by law. For the guide of this life they had a relentless fatalism: for its reward hereafter, a sensual paradise.

They were indeed a tremendous incarnation of military power. This advancing curse menaced the whole of

Europe. It was only stayed, and that not in one generation, but in many, by the heroism of the European population of those very countries, part of which form at this moment the scene of war, and the anxious subject of diplomatic action. In the olden time, all Western Christendom sympathised with the resistance to the common enemy; and even during the hot and fierce struggles of the Reformation, there were prayers, if I mistake not, offered up in the English churches for the success of the Emperor, the head of the Roman Catholic power and influence, in his struggles with the Turk.

But although the Turk represented force as opposed to the law, yet not even a government of force can be maintained without the aid of an intellectual element, such as he did not possess. Hence there grew up, what has been rare in the history of the world, a kind of tolerance in the midst of cruelty, tyranny, and rapine. Much of Christian life was contemptuously let alone; much of the subordinate functions of government was allowed to devolve upon the bishops; and a race of Greeks was attracted to Constantinople, which has all along made up, in some degree, the deficiencies of Turkish Islam in the element of mind, and which at this moment provides the Porte with its long known, and, I must add, highly esteemed Ambassador in London. Then there have been from time to time, but rarely, statesmen whom we have been too ready to mistake for specimens of what Turkey might become, whereas they were in truth more like *lusus nature*s, on the favourable side; monsters, so to speak, of virtue or intelligence; and there were (and are) also, scattered through the community, men who were not indeed real citizens, but yet who have exhibited the true civic virtues, and who would have been citizens had there been a true polity around them. Besides all this, the conduct of the race has gradually been brought more under the eye of an Europe, which it has lost its power to resist or to defy; and its central government, in conforming perforce to many of the forms and traditions of civilisation, has occasionally caught something of their spirit.

This, I think, is not an untrue description of the past, or even of the present. The decay of martial energy, in a Power which was for centuries the terror of the world, is wonderful. Of the two hundred millions sterling which in twenty years it borrowed from the credulity of European Exchanges, a large part has been spent upon its military and naval establishments. The result is before us. It is at war with Servia, which has a population, I think, under a million and a half, and an army which is variously stated at from five to eight thousand; the rest of those bearing arms are a hitherto half-drilled militia. It is also at war with the few scores of thousands of that very martial people who inhabit the mountain tract of Montenegro. Upon these handfuls of our race, an empire of more than thirty millions discharges all its might: for this purpose it applies all its own resources, and the whole of the property of its creditors; and, after two months of desperate activity, it greatly plumes itself upon having incompletely succeeded against Servia, and less doubtfully tailed against Montenegro. Shades of Bajazets, Amuraths, and Mahmouds!

Twenty years ago, France and England determined to try a great experiment in remodelling the administrative system of Turkey, with the hope of curing its intolerable vices, and of making good its not less intolerable deficiencies. For this purpose, having defended her integrity they made also her independence secure; and they devised at Constantinople the reforms, which were publicly enacted in an Imperial Firman or Hatti-humayoum. The successes of the Crimean War, purchased (with the aid of Sardinia) by a vast expenditure of French and English life and treasure, gave to Turkey, for the first time perhaps in her blood-stained history, twenty years of a repose not disturbed either by herself or by any foreign Power. The Cretan insurrection imparted a shock to confidence; but it was composed, and Turkey again was trusted. The insurrections of 1875, much more thoroughly examined, have disclosed the total failure of the Porte to fulfil the engagements which she had contracted under circumstances peculiarly binding on interest, on honour, and on gratitude. Even these miserable insurrections, she had not the ability to put down. In the midway of the current events, a lurid glare is thrown over the whole case by the Bulgarian horrors. The knowledge of these events is, whether by indifference or bungling, kept back from us, but only for a time. The proofs are now sufficiently before us. And the case is this. Turkey, which stood only upon force, has in the main lost that force. It is a Prussian, we learn, who has planned her campaign. Power is gone, and the virtues, such as they are, of power; nothing but its passions and its pride remain.

It is time, then, to clear an account which we have long, perhaps too long, left unsettled, and almost unexamined.

In the discussion of this great and sad subject, the attitude and the proceedings of the British Government cannot possibly be left out of view. Indeed, the topic is, from the nature of the case, so prominent, and from the acts done, so peculiar, that I could hardly be excused from stating in express and decided terms what appear to me its grave errors; were it only that I may not seem, by an apparent reserve, also to insinuate against them a purposed complicity in crime, which it would be not only rash, but even wicked, to impute. The consequences of their acts have been, in my view, deplorable. But as respects the acts themselves, and the motives they appear to indicate, the faults I find are these. They have not understood the rights and duties, in regard to the subjects, and particularly the Christian subjects, of Turkey, which inseparably attach to this country in

consequence of the Crimean War, and of the Treaty of Paris in 1856. They have been remiss when they ought to have been active; namely, in efforts to compose the Eastern revolts, by making provision against the terrible misgovernment which provoked them. They have been active, where they ought to have been circumspect and guarded. It is a grave charge, which cannot be withheld, that they have given to a maritime measure of humane precaution the character of a military demonstration in support of the Turkish Government. They have seemed to be moved too little by an intelligent appreciation of prior obligations, and of the broad and deep interests of humanity, and too much by a disposition to keep out of sight what was disagreeable and might be inconvenient, and to consult and flatter the public opinion of the day in its ordinary, that is to say, its narrow, selfish, epicurean humour. I admit that, until a recent date, an opinion widely prevailed, and perhaps was not confined to any particular party, that this game had been played with success and even brilliancy, and that, amidst whatever mishaps and miscarriages elsewhere, the Government stood high upon its foreign, that is, its Eastern policy, in the approval of the country.

Since that time, but two or three weeks have elapsed. But a curtain opaque and dense, which at the Prorogation had been lifted but a few inches from the ground, has since then—from day to day—been slowly rising. And what a scene it has disclosed! and where! Nearly four long months have passed, during which there has been maintained in this country, almost until now, an unnatural and deadly calm. We now look backwards over this tract of lethargy as over days of ease purchased by dishonour, the prolonged fascination of an evil dream. A voice, an almost solitary voice, sounded indeed over sea and land, in the month of June, to warn us of what was going on. There was no want of ears disposed to listen, when the tale was told of wholesale massacre perpetrated by the authority of a Government to which we had procured, in our living memory, twenty years of grace; and to which, without inquiring how those years had been employed, we had this year defied Europe in affording the strong support of the British name. Nor was this all; for those wholesale massacres were declared to be complicated and set off with crimes, by the side of which the horror and infamy of massacre itself grew pale. But what then? These allegations came from a nameless, an irresponsible, newspaper correspondent. With the instinct of prudent Englishmen, startled Peers and Members of Parliament put question after question to the Government. The effect, the general sense of the answers was what I may call a moral, though not a verbal, denial. Whatever they were meant to produce, they did produce the result, not of belief qualified by a reserve for occasional error, but of disbelief qualified by a reserve for purely accidental truth. And this was the attitude which, conformably to general and needful rules, we could not do otherwise than assume. For what was the staple of those answers? They consisted of warnings against exaggeration; of general attenuations of the matter, as what must be expected to happen among savage races, with a different idea or code of morals from our own; of cynical remarks, such as that the allegations of lingering inflictions hardly could be true, since the Turkish taste was known to incline towards dispatch; of difficulties in deciding on which side lay the balance of crime and cruelty; of bold assurances that the insurgents were the aggressors, suggesting the reflection that the chief responsibility must rest on him who strikes the first blow; of acquittals of the Turkish armies and authorities in general, by suggesting that we were really dealing with a momentary outbreak of fanaticism among a handful of irregulars, gone by almost as soon as come; and, above all, at first with calm denials of knowledge. It was these denials of knowledge, which we believe to amount to a negative demonstration.

For we know that we had a well-manned Embassy at Constantinople, and a network of Consulates and Vice-Consulates, really discharging diplomatic duties, all over the provinces of European Turkey. That villages could be burnt down by scores, and men, women, and children murdered, or worse than murdered, by thousands, in a Turkish province lying between the capital and the scene of the recent excitements, and that our Embassy and Consulates could know nothing of it? The thing was impossible. It could not be. So silence was obtained, and relief; and the well-oiled machinery of our luxurious, indifferent life worked smoothly on. There was a pressure of inquiry, but the door was each time quickly closed upon the question, as the stone lid used to be shut down, in the *Campo Santo* of Naples, upon the mass of human corpses that lay festering beneath.

But inquiry was to be made. And at this point I think the Government are to be charged with a serious offence. For inquiry, in these times, means the employment of the Telegraph. But I must here turn aside for a moment, in the endeavour to do an act of justice.

The first alarm respecting the Bulgarian outrages was, I believe, that sounded in the 'Daily News,' on the 23rd of June. I am sensible of the many services constantly rendered by free journalism to humanity, to freedom, and to justice. I do not undervalue the performances, on this occasion, of the 'Times,' the *Doyen* of the press in this country, and perhaps in the world, or of the 'Daily Telegraph and our other great organs. But of all these services, so far as my knowledge goes, that which has been rendered by the 'Daily News,' through its foreign correspondence on this occasion, has been the most weighty, I may say, the most splendid.

I believe it is understood that the gentleman who has fought this battle—for a battle it has been—with such courage, intelligence, and conscientious care, is Mr. Pears, of Constantinople, correspondent of the 'Daily News,' for Bulgaria.

"We are now informed (Pari. Papers, No. 5, p. 6) that the accounts received by the German Government confirm its report. It is even possible that, but for the courage, determination, and ability of this single organ, we might, even at this moment, have remained in darkness, and Bulgarian wretchedness might have been without its best and brightest hope.

On the 26th of June, the Duke of Argyll, in the House of Lords, and Mr. Forster in the House of Commons, made anxious inquiries respecting the statements contained in a communication from the correspondent of the 'Daily News,' which had been published in the paper of the 23rd, following a more general statement on the 10th. In order not to load these pages too heavily, as well as on other grounds, I shall cite or describe, in referring to these proceedings, chiefly the replies of the Head of the Government.

In answer, then, to Mr. Forster, Mr. Disraeli said, "We have no information in our possession which justifies the statements, to which the Right Hon. gentleman refers" The disturbances appeared to have been begun "by strangers, burning the villages without reference to religion or race" A war was carried on between "Bashi-Bazouks and Circassians," on one side, and "the invaders" on the other, and no doubt, "with great atrocity," much to be deplored. Since that time, measures had been adopted to stop these "Bashi-Bazouks and Circassians." "I will merely repeat," he concluded, "that the information *which we have at various times received* does not justify the statements made in the journal which he has named."

'Times,' June 27.

I must add Lord Derby's concluding sentence:—

"As the noble Duke has thought the evidence in this matter sufficient to justify him in bringing the subject before the House, I will make further inquiry, and communicate the result to your Lordships."

There were reasons enough why others besides the Duke of Argyll, should have thought the evidence sufficient to require some notice. For, in the statement of the 'Daily News,' there were contained these ominous words:

Pari. Papers, Turkey, 1876, No. 3, p. 336.

—
June 16.—"Even now it is openly asserted by the Turks, that England has determined to help the Government to put down the various insurrections. England, says a Turkish journal, will defend us against Russia, while we look after our rebels."

So much for the first attempt to throw light into these dark places. On the 8th of July, the 'Daily News' inserted a second communication from its correspondent at Constantinople, confirming and extending the purport of the first. On the 10th, Mr. Forster renewed his inquiries. Mr. Disraeli stated, that there had not yet been time to receive any reply to the inquiries made. And this, though the Telegraph passes in a few hours, and the statement in question had appeared on the 23rd of June. Even now the only efficient instrument was not put in action, nor did this happen until July 14th;

Papers, No. 5, p. 1.

and within five days after that date, a British agent was on his way to the bloody scene. It is absolutely necessary that Her Majesty's Government should explain why the Telegraph had not at once been employed on the 26th or 27th of June.

But other parts of the First Minister's reply require notice. He hoped, "for the sake of human nature itself," that the statements were scarcely warranted. There had without doubt been atrocities in Bulgaria. This was a war "not carried on by regular troops, in this case not even by irregular troops, but by a sort of *posse comitatūs* of an armed population." "I doubt whether torture".... "has been practised on a great scale among an historical people, who seldom have, I believe, resorted to torture, but generally terminate their connection with culprits in a more expeditious manner (*[unclear: oughter]*)." Every effort had been made, and would continue to be made, "to soften and mitigate as much as possible the terrible scene that are now inevitably occurring." Atrocities, he believed, were "inevitable, when wars are carried on in certain countries, *and between certain races.*"

'Times,' July 15. Lord Beaconsfield has, in the 'Times' of this day (Sept. 7), corrected the report as given above, by substituting "oriental" for "historical."

Down to this date what we have to observe is—

First. The deplorable inefficiency of the arrangements of the Government for receiving information.

Secondly. The yet more deplorable tardiness of the means adopted, under Parliamentary pressure, for enlarging their store of knowledge.

Thirdly. The effect of the answers of the Prime Minister, from which it could not but be collected, by Parliament and the public,

- That the responsibility lay in the first instance with certain "invaders of Bulgaria."
- That the deplorable atrocities, which had occurred, were fairly divided, and were such as were incidental to wars "between certain *races*" What could and did this mean, but between Circassians on the one side, and Bulgarians on the other? It now appears that the Circassians had but a very small share in the matter.

- While the Bulgarians were thus loaded with an even share of responsibility for the "atrocities," we were given to understand that the Turkish Government, and its authorized agents, appeared to be no parties to them.
- That the "scenes," that is, as is now demonstrated, the wholesale murders, rapes, tortures, burnings, and the whole devilish enginery of crime, "were to be mitigated and softened as much as possible."

I am concerned to subjoin the following declarations stated to have been made by Lord Derby to a Deputation on the 14th of July.

"He did not in the least doubt that there had been many acts of cruelty, and of wanton cruelty, committed *by the irregular troops of both sides*... It was not a case of lambs and wolves, but *of some savage races*, fighting in a peculiarly savage manner."

'Times,' July 1.

This declaration is a gross wrong inadvertently done to the people of Bulgaria, and it ought to be withdrawn.

Again, on the 17th of July, Mr. Baxter revived the interrogatories. By this time, as we have seen, the Government had used the Telegraph, and they had ordered *on the 15th* a real and special inquiry from Constantinople. The subject could no longer be entirely trifled with. The Prime Minister made a lengthened statement, which occupies two columns of the 'Times.' The main portion of it was extracted from official reports, which are now before the world, and which did not in the smallest degree sustain either the doctrine of a fair division of the blame of inevitable atrocities, or an acquittal of the Turkish Government. But the Minister added matter of his own. What wonder was it, as to the Circassians, that "when their villages were burned and their farms ravaged," "they should take matters into their own hands, and endeavour to defend themselves?" "Scenes had occurred towards the end of May, and so on," "from which with our feelings"—what fine feelings we have!—"we naturally recoil." "We were constantly communicating," "I will not say remonstrating, with the Turkish Government," for "the *Turkish Government was most anxious to be guided by the advice of the British Ambassador*." And still the guilt was to stand as a fairly divided guilt.

"There is no doubt that acts on both sides, as necessarily would be the case under such circumstances, *were equally terrible and atrocious*."

'Times,' July 16.

Observe: though information on particulars was still wanting, one thing was placed beyond doubt, the *equality* of guilt and infamy. And I am still, writing on the 5th of September, dependent mainly on a foreign source for any official voucher to bring this testimony to the test. Mr. Schuyler, on the 22nd of August, reports to the American Government that the outrages of the Turks were fully established. He proceeds as follows, with more to the same effect: "An attempt, however, has been made—and not by Turks alone—to defend and to palliate them, on the ground of the previous atrocities which, it is alleged, were committed by the Bulgarians. I have carefully investigated this point; and am unable to find that the Bulgarians committed any outrages or atrocities, or any acts which deserve that name. *I have vainly tried to obtain from the Turkish officials a list of such outrages*.... No Turkish women or children were killed in cold blood. No Mussulmen woman were violated. No Mussulmans were tortured. No purely Turkish village was attacked or burned. No Mussulman house was pillaged. No mosque was desecrated or destroyed."

The declarations, which had proceeded from the highest authority in the highest Parliamentary Assembly of the world, produced, at the time, an immense effect. They did not remove suspicion, but they effectually baffled and checkmated it, so far as the prevailing sentiment in this country was concerned. So that when, on the 7th of August, the question of cruelties in Bulgaria was yet again raised, a member, and not a young member, "deprecated," says Mr. Boss, in his valuable Record, "party speeches against the Turkish Government."

But it was not only within these shores that the language of the Government was heard. It rang through an astonished Europe. It reached, and it was questioned in, Constantinople. The *Courrier d'Orient* was so bold as to criticise a declaration imputed to the Minister that the alleged burning of the forty girls had been found false upon inquiry instituted. For this offence, in a notice issued by the Director of the Press for Turkey, which I subjoin in the French original, and which referred to the impartiality of the heads of the British Government, and to "*the pretended excesses in Bulgaria*"—note this was on the 9th of August—the journal was suppressed.

"SUBLIME PORTE.:

"MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES.

"Le Bureau de la Presse,

"Vu le numéro du Journal le *Courrier d'Orient* du 8 août:

"Attendu que cette feuille en mentionnant, dans sa revue politique, les déclarations du premier ministre du gouvernement anglais devant le Parlement britannique, (1) touchant les prétendus excès commis en Bulgarie, se fait une sorte de mérite d'avoir été la première à publier la relation de ces crimes supposés;

"Attendu que la dite feuille se prévaut du silence que la Direction de la presse a gardé à son égard, soit par

inadvertence, soit par excès d'indulgence, pour en induire que ses assertions étaient fondées, et que les déclarations du Chef du Cabinet Britannique sont entachées de partialité;

"Après avoir pris les ordres de S. Exc. le ministre,

"Arr#te:

"Le journal le *Courrier d'Orient* est et demeure supprimé ' partir du jour de la notification du présent arr#té.

"Constantinople, 9 août, 1876.

"Le Directeur de la Presse, "BLACQUE."

Five attempts had thus been made to penetrate what was still a mystery in the official mind. A sixth and a seventh still followed, on the 9th and the 11th of August. With true British determination, Mr. Ashley opened the question for discussion on the 11th. He was ably supported; and this time, it is pleasant to say, from both sides of the House there might be heard the language of humanity, of justice, and of wisdom. It was in the dying throes of the Session.; Mr. Ashley's action was especially judicious, because he had a right, which none could contest, to appear as a representative of Lord Palmerston. The powerful speech of Sir W. Harcourt was denounced by the Prime Minister in terms of great vivacity. He was assured that "from the very commencement of the transactions" the Government "were constantly receiving" from the Ambassador information on "what was occurring in Bulgaria." The minister selected particular statements for contradiction of details, on which I am not yet sufficiently informed to pronounce; but what I complain of is that he still, on the 12th of August, effectually disguised the main issue, which lay in the question whether the Turkish Government, which was receiving from us both moral and virtually material support, had or had not by its agents and by its approval and reward of its agents been deeply guilty of excesses, than which none more abominable have disgraced the history of the world. For the Government, it was still merely a question of "civil war," "carried on under conditions of brutality unfortunately not unprecedented in that country,"

'Times,' Aug. 12.

namely Bulgaria. A repetition of language, which is either that of ignorance, or of brutal calumny upon a people whom Turkish authorities have themselves just described as industrious, primitive, and docile.

In the Report from Philippopolis, to which I shall presently revert.

Such then are the steps taken by Her Majesty's Government during the Session with respect to the Bulgarian atrocities, for enlightening the country as some may think, or for keeping it in the dark, as may occur to other and less charitable minds.

It is not the smallest part of the service rendered by the 'Daily News,' that it was probably the means of bringing into the field an American Commission of Inquiry. I have the fullest confidence in the honour and in the intelligence of Mr. Baring, who has been inquiring on behalf of England; because he was chosen for the purpose by Sir H. Elliot, and because I believe he personally well deserves it. But he was not sent to examine the matter until the 19th of July, three months after the rising, and nearly one month after the first inquiries in Parliament. He had been but two days at Philippopolis, when he sent home, with all the dispatch he could use, some few rudiments of a future report. Among them was his estimate of the murders, necessarily far from final, at the figure of twelve thousand,

Mr. Schuyler's estimate is 15,000 at "the lowest."

The leaf, which contains his paper, is almost the only leaf in (the latest) Parliamentary Papers (Turkey, No. 5), "presented to both Houses of Parliament by Her Majesty's command," which in reference to the main issue is worth more than a straw.

Paper No. 5, p. 5.

I have read that compilation with pain and humiliation, called forth by finding that this was all which, in the month of August, the whole power and promises of the Government could contribute towards the elucidation of horrible transactions, the greatest and worst of which occurred if not in April, yet early in May. Mr. Baring's Report exists no doubt for us: but only in hope. When it comes, we shall receive it with confidence, and with profit, although we may be very sure that the Ottoman Government will have done everything in its power to blind, and baffle, and mislead him. But is it equally sure, that it will be so received all over Europe? Or, after what has passed, can we reasonably expect that it should? Possibly, when it appears, it may dispute, and even correct, some of the statements now before us. It may establish a few deductions from the awful total. It is one of the painful incidents of a case like this, that injustice may be done unwittingly to this or that man, in this or that circumstance, even by the most necessary and best-considered efforts to attain the ends of justice. These questions do not admit of absolute but only of reasonable certainty. What seems now to be certain in this sense (besides the miserable daily misgovernment, which, however, dwindles by the side of the Bulgarian horrors) are the wholesale massacres,

"Murder, most foul as in the best it is,
But this most foul, strange, and unnatural,"
Hamlet, i. 5.

the elaborate and refined cruelty—the only refinement of which Turkey boasts!—the utter disregard of sex and age—the abominable and bestial lust—and the entire and violent lawlessness which still stalks over the land. For my own part I have, in the House of Commons and elsewhere, whatever my inward impressions might be, declined to speak strongly on these atrocities, until there was both clear and responsible evidence before me. For want of this evidence, I did not join in the gallant effort of Mr. Ashley, at the last gasp of the Session. But the report of Mr. Schuyler, together with the report from Berlin, and the Prologue, so to call it, of Mr. Baring, in my opinion, turns the scale, and makes the responsibility of silence, at least for one who was among the authors of the Crimean War, too great to be borne.

I express then my gratitude to Mr. Schuyler, and to the Government which sent him into the field. It is too late, as I have said, to hope to convince Europe by any report of ours. We may ourselves be sceptical as to Russian reports. Every European State is more or less open to the imputation of bias. But America has neither alliances with Turkey, nor grudges against her, nor purposes to gain by her destruction. She enters into this matter simply on the ground of its broad human character and moment; she has no "American interests" to tempt her from her integrity, and to vitiate her aims.

The ground, then, seemed to be sufficiently laid in point of evidence to call for action, when, as I am writing, a new piece of testimony reaches me

September 2nd.

through the courtesy of M. Musurus. It is a French translation of a Report on the Bulgarian events, dated July 22, presented to the Ottoman Government by a commission of Mussulman and Christian notables, and approved by the Administrative Council of Philippopolis. Since it is put forward as an official statement of the Turkish case (following the Report of Edib Effendi on the 'Vilayet' of Adrianople), I hope it will, for the sake of justice, be extensively read. Others may think differently of it from myself. I cannot but at once denounce it as a disgraceful document; confirmatory, in its moral effect, even of the worst parts of the charges. After all that has happened, it would have been too much to expect a word of penitence or shame; but it does not contain a word of sorrow or compassion. The reporting Commission, which was armed with the powers of the State, wonders that the Bulgarians should have risen against their "paternal"

P. 17.

government; describes them as a peaceable, primitive, and docile people;

Pp. 8, 17.

and then charges them largely with murdering, burning, impaling, roasting, men, women, and children indiscriminately, with the extremest refinements of cruelty.

Pp. 9, 10.

One of the most definite statements it contains is this; it cites,

P. 9.

as a proof of the "barbarous devastations" committed by the insurgents, the destruction of—a great bridge over the Railway. It is full of laudations of the humanity and consideration of the troops, the commanders, and the Mussulman population.

E.g. p. 15.

It denounces those who have opened the eyes of Europe to this Turkish *Inferno*, as the "fantastic story-makers of dismal episodes."

P. 15.

It takes no notice of the attested fact, that the bodies of slain women and children lie in multitudes, unburied and exposed; except indeed by alleging that at Prestenitza some of the insurgents slew their own women and children. Dated three months after the first outbreak, and full of horrible accusation, it contains hardly in a single instance such verifying particulars as would allow of the detection of falsehood by inquiry into the statement. And it winds up with a particular account of a Pansclavic pamphlet, printed at Moscow in 1867!

Then, by way of Appendix, comes one original document in proof, which contains, in the form of a sort of Catechism, the plans and instructions of the great Bulgarian conspiracy. They are signed by twelve names of individuals, without profession or employment specified; who may, for all we know, have been the most insignificant men in the country. The Report, however, states that the Insurgents had instructions to massacre the Mussulman population.

P. 5.

The sole document appended in proof of its charges contains, together with very severe provisions against such as should resist, the following passage:

"*Question 13.* What course is to be pursued with regard to those Turks who submit?

"*Answer.* They should be put in charge of our agents, who will convey them to the headquarters of the insurrection. From thence, they will be sent, with their families and with the aged, to the places occupied for refuge by our own families. *They are to live there as our brethren. It is part of our duty to take care for their happiness, their life, and their religion: on the same ground as for the life and the honour of our own people.*"

The perusal of this statement of the Turkish case removes from my mind any remaining scruple. The facts are, in the gross, sufficiently established. The next, and for us the gravest part of the inquiry is, what have we to do with them?

The British Fleet At Besik A Bay.

P. 22.

It was on the 20th of April that the insurrection broke out in Bulgaria. In the beginning of May, the horrors of the repression had reached their climax. We had then no other concern in them than this very indirect one, that we were supporting rather too blindly and unwarily in the councils of Europe the supposed interest of the Power, which thus disgraced itself.

On the 9th of May, Sir Henry Elliot seems to have had no consular information about Bulgaria, except a statement (strange enough) from Adrianople, dated the 6th,

Pari. Papers, Turkey, No. 3, 1876, p. 145.

that as far as appeared the Turks were not committing any acts of violence against peaceful Christians. But, observing a great Mahomedan excitement, and an extensive purchase of arms in Constantinople, he wisely telegraphed to the British Admiral in the Mediterranean, expressing a desire that he would bring his squadron to Besika Bay. The purpose was, for the protection of British subjects, and of the Christians in general.

Ibid. p. 146.

This judicious act, done by the Ambassador in conjunction with the Ambassadors of other Powers, who seem to have taken similar steps, was communicated by him to Lord Derby on the 9th of May by letter and by telegraph.

Ibid. p. 129.

On the 5th had occurred the murder of the French and German Consuls at Salónica. On the 15th, the Admiralty acquainted the Foreign Office that the squadron was ordered to Besika Bay, the 4 Swiftsure sent to Salónica, and (as Sir H. Elliot had also asked) the 'Bittern' to Constantinople.

Ibid. p. 147.

These measures, were substantially wise, and purely pacific. They had, if understood rightly, no political aspect; or if any, one rather anti-Turkish than Turkish.

But there were reasons, and strong reasons, why the public should not have been left to grope out for itself the meaning of a step so serious, as the movement of a naval squadron towards a country disturbed both by revolt, and by an outbreak of murderous fanaticism.

In the year 1853, when the negotiations with Russia had assumed a gloomy and almost a hopeless aspect, the English and French fleets were sent Eastwards: not as a measure of war, but as a measure of preparation for war, and proximate to war. The proceeding marked a transition of discussion into that angry stage, which immediately precedes a blow; and the place, to which the fleets were then sent, was Besika Bay. In the absence of information, how could the British nation avoid supposing that the same act, as that done in 1853, bore also the same meaning?

It is evident that the Foreign Minister was sagaciously alive to this danger. On the 10th of May he asked Sir H. Elliot for a particular statement of the reasons which had led him to desire the presence of the squadron "at Besika Bay."

Pari. Papers, Turkey, No. 3, 1876, p. 130.

He indicated to the Admiralty Smyrna as a preferable destination.

Ibid. p. 131.

And this he actually ordered; but he yielded, and I believe he was quite right in yielding, to the renewed and just instances of the Ambassador.

The Government, then, were aware of the purely pacific character of this measure, and also that it was one liable to be dangerously misconstrued.

There was another reason for securing it from misinterpretation. At this very time, the Berlin Memorandum was prepared. It was announced by Lord Odo Russell to Lord Derby on May the 13th; and, on May 15th, he

sent to Lord Odo an elaborate pleading, rather than argument against it.

Ibid. pp. 137, 147.

It became known to the public that we were in diplomatic discord with Europe, and particularly with Russia. Now the transition from discussion pure and simple to discussion backed by display of force is a transition of vast and vital importance. The dispatch of the fleet to Besika Bay, could not but be interpreted, in the absence of explanation, as marking that perilous transition. And yet explanation was resolutely withheld.

The expectation of a rupture pervaded the public mind. The Russian funds fell very heavily, under a war panic; partisans exulted in a diplomatic victory, and in the increase of what is called our *prestige*, the bane, in my opinion, of all upright politics. The Turk was encouraged in the humour of resistance. And this, as we now know, while his hands were so reddened with Bulgarian blood. Foreign capitals were amazed at the martial excitement in Loudon. But the Government never spoke a word.

Silence in these circumstances was bad enough. But they were worse than silent. They caused the clang of preparation to be heard in the arsenals. They progressively increased the squadron to a fleet; and, moreover, I believe it is true that they mainly increased it, not by sending the class of ships which had large crews, available for landing considerable numbers of men, for the purpose of defending such persons as might be assailed; but those vast ironclads, with crews relatively small, which principally, and proudly, display the belligerent power of England. If this be not an accurate statement, let it be contradicted.

July 27. Mr. Disraeli stated that the Fleet then in Turkish waters consisted of twenty vessels: eleven ironclads, and nine unarmoured ships of war.

And this ostentatious protection to Turkey, this wanton disturbance of Europe, was continued by our Ministry, with what I must call a strange perversity for weeks and weeks. It was so continued, when a word of explanation as to the true cause of the dispatch of the fleet would have stopped all mischief, dissipated all alarm. I admit, that it would have also dissipated at the same time a little valueless popularity, too dearly bought.

All this time, so far as we can learn, the sequels in detail to the wholesale massacres in Bulgaria were proceeding. In the latter part of it, the fencing answers of the Ministry about Turkish misdeeds had begun. And during the latter part of it also, the request of members of Parliament for authentic information about the East, were repeatedly refused; on the ground that the production of it would be injurious to the public service! Kay more, compliments were accepted, with the silence which not only might mean consent, but could mean nothing else, from more than one Peer in the House of Lords, and from two members of Parliament in the House of Commons, on the vigorous policy which our Government was pursuing in the East.

Such is the spectacle which, during the present spring and summer, we have exhibited to Europe.

At last came a day of disclosure. Lord Derby received at the Foreign Office, on the 14th of July, a numerous and weighty deputation. They went there in the interests of peace, to which I cordially wish well, and of non-interference—a word which, in my opinion, must be construed, especially for the East of Europe, with a just regard to our honourable engagements, and to the obligations they entail. These gentlemen did not at all approve of the demonstration in Besika Bay. Lord Derby justified it, by admitting that portion of Parliament and the public, who formed the Deputation, for the first time, to the knowledge of the truth. He stated that it was sent, at the request of Sir H. Elliot, for the defence of the Christians against a possible outbreak of Mahometan fanaticism. The country, or great part of it, felt relieved and grateful. But the mischief that had been done by the moral support, and I say boldly by the material support, afforded to Turkey during all these blood-stained weeks (the Servian war, too, was now raging) was not, and could not be, remedied. To repair, in some degree, the effects of that mischief is now a prime part of the peculiar obligation imposed upon the people of this country. For, in fact, whatever our intentions may have been, it is our doing.

And how are we, in this particular, to set about the work of reparation? Any reader who has accompanied me thus far will probably expect that I, at least, shall answer the question by recommending the withdrawal of the Fleet from Besika Bay. But such, I must at once say, is not my view of duty or of policy. I would neither recall the fleet, nor reduce it by one ship or man.

We have been authoritatively warned, that the condition of the Christians in Turkey is now eminently critical. The issue of the war is still hanging in the balances, which have wavered from day to day. The lapse of time, and possibly aid from without, may still do much to retrieve the vast inequality of chance, with which the brave but raw levies of Servia carry on the contest. We are told, with too much appearance of credibility, that if the fortune of war should veer adversely to Turkey, the consequence might be, in various provinces, a new and wide outbreak of fanaticism, and a wholesale massacre. My hope, therefore, is twofold. First, that, through the energetic attitude of the people of England, their Government may be led to declare distinctly, that it is for purposes of humanity alone that we have a fleet in Turkish waters. Secondly, that that fleet will be so distributed as to enable its force to be most promptly and efficiently applied, in case of need, on Turkish soil, in concert with the other Powers, for the defence of innocent lives, and to prevent the repetition of those recent

scenes, at which hell itself might almost blush.

For it must not be forgotten that the last utterance on this subject was from the Prime Minister, and was to the effect that our fleet was in the East for the support of British interests. I object to this constant system of appeal to our selfish leanings. It sets up false lights; it hides the true; it disturbs the world. Who has lifted a finger against British interests? Who has spoken a word? If the declaration be anything beyond mere idle brag it means that our fleet is waiting for the dissolution of the Turkish Empire, to have the first and the strongest hand in the seizure of the spoils. If this be the meaning, it is pure mischief: and if we want to form a just judgment upon it, we have only to put a parallel case. What should we say, if Russia had assembled an army on the Pruth, or Austria on the Danube, and Prince Gortschakoff or Count Andrassy were to announce that it was so gathered, and so posted, for the defence of Russian, or of Austrian interests respectively?

Perhaps, in these unusual circumstances, before describing what it is that we should seek and should desire, it may be well to consider what we should carefully eschew. In the channel, which we have to navigate, with or without our Government, there are plenty of false lights set up for us, which lead to certain shipwreck. The matter has become too painfully real for us to be scared at present by the standing hobgoblin of Russia.

Yet it appears to be considered good enough for the electors of Bucks (I judge from a reported speech of Mr. Fremantle). They seem to be treated as Railway Companies are sometimes said to treat obscure branch lines, with their worn-out rolling-stock, not presentable in more fashionable districts.

Many a time has it done good service on the stage: it is at present out of repair, and unavailable. It is now too late to argue, as was argued some time back by a very clever and highly enlightened evening Journal, that it might be quite proper that twelve or thirteen millions of Christians in Turkey should remain unhappy, rather than that (such was the alternative hardily presented) two hundred millions of men in India should be deprived of the benefits of British rule, and thirty millions more in the United Kingdom made uncomfortable by the apprehension of such a catastrophe. But more plausible delusions are about. What we have to guard against is imposture; that Proteus with a thousand forms. A few months ago, the new Sultan served the turn, and very well. Men affirmed that he must have time. And now another new Sultan is in the offing. I suppose it will be argued that he must have time too. Then there will be perhaps new constitutions; firmans of reforms; proclamations to commanders of Turkish armies, enjoining extra humanity. All these should be quietly set down as simply equal to zero. At this moment we hear of the adoption by the Turks of the last and most enlightened rule of warfare, namely, the Geneva Convention. They might just as well adopt the Vatican Council, or the British Constitution. All these things are not even the oysters before the dinner. Still worse is any plea founded upon any reports made by Turkish authority upon the Bulgarian outrages. This expedient has been long ago tried by sending a Special Commissioner, Edib Effendi, who relates in effect that the outrages were small, and almost all committed by the Christians. Mr. Schuyler, officially, and with an American directness, declares that Edib's report contains statements on a particular point, "*and on every other*, which are utterly unfounded in fact," and that it practically is "a tissue of falsehoods." Again; one of the latest artifices is to separate the question of Servia from the question of Herzegovina and Bosnia and of Bulgaria. How, asks the 'Pall Mall Gazette,' can Turkey improve their condition while war is going on? *Inter arma silent leges*. Give her peace, that she may set about reforms. If the people of this country are in earnest, they will brush aside all these and all other cobwebs, and will march as if they marched to drum and fife, straight, with one heart and one mind, *ohne Hast und ohne Rast*, towards their aim.

The case of the Servian war is, in outer form, quite distinct from that of the misgovernment in Bosnia and the Herzegovina; and these again, from the Bulgarian outrages. But they are distinct simply as the operations in the Baltic, during the Crimean War, were distinct from the operations in the Black Sea. They had one root; they must surely have one remedy, I mean morally one; and administered by the same handling; for, if one part of the question be placed in relief, and one in shadow, the light will not fall on the dark places, and guilt will gain impunity.

The case against Servia is the best part of the Turkish case. Servia, before she moved, had suffered no direct injury; she had no stateable cause of war. It does not follow that she has committed a wanton aggression, or has, in fact, been guilty of any moral offence. A small and recently ordered State, with a weak government, and a peninsular territory, she is surrounded on every side by Slave populations; along three-fourths of her frontier, by oppressed and misgoverned Slave populations; along nearly half of it, by a Slave population in actual revolt, whom the Turks had been unable to put down, and whom Europe had ceased, since we succeeded in overthrowing the Berlin Memorandum, actively, though pacifically, to befriend. Could her people do otherwise than sympathise with these populations? Could they, ought they to have recognised in Turkey an indefeasible right of oppression? Further, Montenegro, at a very small distance, was throbbing with emotions similar to her own.

Now there are states of affairs, in which human sympathy refuses to be confined by the rules, necessarily limited and conventional, of international law. If any Englishman doubts that such a case may, though rarely,

occur, let him remember the public excitement of this country nine months ago respecting the Slave Circulars of the Government; and ask himself whether we model our proceedings towards slave-holding Powers, respecting runaways, on the precise provisions of international law. Now such a case did arise in the position of Servia and Montenegro two months ago. As long as European action gave a hope of redress for their brethren, peace was maintained. I hold that in going to war, when that hope was finally withdrawn, they might plead human sympathies, broad, deep, and legitimate, and that they committed no moral offence. Their case is, therefore, one with that of the oppressed provinces in their neighbourhood. It would have been as reasonable for the thirteen colonies of America in 1782, to negotiate separately for peace with Great Britain, as it would be for Europe in 1876 to allow that, in a settlement with Turkey, the five cases of Servia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Bulgaria, should be dealt with otherwise than as the connected limbs of one and the same transaction.

There is yet one other danger. Do not let us ask for, do not let us accept, Jonahs or scapegoats, either English or Turkish. It is not a change of men that we want, but a change of measures. New Sultans or ministers among Turks, new consuls or new ambassadors in Turkey, would only in my opinion divert us, at this moment, from the great practical aims in view. Besides, if we are to talk of changing men, the first question that will arise will be that of our Ministers at home, to whose policy and bias both Ministers and subordinate officers abroad always feel a loyal desire as far as may be to conform. In my hope and my opinion, when once the old illusions as to British sentiment are dispelled, and Lord Derby is set free, with his clear, impartial mind and unostentatious character, to shape the course of the Administration, he will both faithfully and firmly give effect to the wishes of the country.

We come now to consider the objects we should desire and seek for through our Government.

I trust they will endeavour to make up, by means of the future, for the serious deficiencies of the past. Let them cast aside their narrow and ill-conceived construction of the ideas of a former period. I am well aware of the necessity which, after the severe labours of the Parliamentary Session, obliges the Ministers to disperse for a period of repose. Nevertheless, in so grave a state of facts, I trust we shall soon hear of a meeting of the Cabinet. It is not yet too late, but it is very urgent, to aim at the accomplishment of three great objects, in addition to the termination of the war, yet (in my view) inseparably associated with it.

- To put a stop to the anarchical misrule (let the phrase be excused), the plundering, the murdering, which, as we now seem to learn, upon sufficient evidence, still desolate Bulgaria.
- To make effectual provision against the recurrence of the outrages recently perpetrated under the sanction of the Ottoman Government, by excluding its administrative action for the future, not only from Bosnia and the Herzegovine, but also, and above all, from Bulgaria; upon which at best there will remain, for years and for generations, the traces of its foul and bloody hand.
- To redeem by these measures the honour of the British name, which, in the deplorable events of the year, has been more gravely compromised than I have known it to be at any former period.

I have named, then, three great aims, which ought I think at this crisis to be engraved on the heart, and demanded by the voice, of Britain. I may be asked, either seriously or tauntingly, whether there is not also a fourth to be added, namely, the maintenance of the "territorial integrity of Turkey."

In order to comprehend the force and bearing of this expression, it is necessary to go back for a moment to the Crimean War. The watchword of that War, and of the policy which preceded it, was "The integrity and independence of Turkey." Of those two phrases, integrity and independence, the bearing is perfectly distinct. The first is negative, the second positive. The integrity of Turkey will be maintained by a titular sovereignty, verified as it were through a moderate payment of tribute, in order that Ottoman sovereignty may serve the purpose of shutting out from the present limits of the Turkish Empire any other sovereignty, or any exercise, in whole or in part, of sovereign rights by any other Power, whether it be Russia on the Euxine, or Austria on the Danube, or France or England on the Nile and the Red Sea.

The independence of the Ottoman Empire is a very different affair. It meant at the time of the Crimean war, and it means now, that, apart from Roumania and Servia, where Europe is already formally concerned, and apart from any arrangements self-made with a vassal State like Egypt, which can hold its own against Constantinople, the Porte is to be left in the actual, daily, and free administration of all the provinces of its vast dominion.

Now, as regards the territorial integrity of Turkey, I for one am still desirous to see it upheld, though I do not say that desire should be treated as of a thing paramount to still higher objects of policy. For of all the objects of policy, in my conviction, humanity, rationally understood, and in due relation to justice, is the first and highest. My belief is that this great aim need not be compromised, and that other important objects would be gained, by maintaining the territorial integrity of Turkey.

There is no reason to suppose that, at the present moment, any of the Continental Powers are governed by selfish or aggressive views in their Eastern policy. The neighbours of Turkey, namely, Austria and Russia, are

the two Powers who might, in many conceivable states of European affairs, most naturally be tempted into plans of self-aggrandisement at her expense. But the peculiar conformation of Austria, in respect to territories and to the races which inhabit them, has operated, and will probably at least for the present operate, so as to neutralise this temptation. In the case of Russia, we have, been playing, through our Government, a game of extreme indiscretion. Pretending to thwart, to threaten, and to bully her, we have most mal-adroitly, and most assiduously, played into her hands, livery circumstance of the most obvious prudence dictates to Russia, for the present epoch, what is called the waiting game. Her policy is, to preserve or to restore tranquillity for the present, and to take the chances of the future. We have acted towards her as if she had a present conspiracy in hand, and as if the future did not exist, or never could arrive. But, regard it or not, arrive it will. It offers Russia many chances. One acquisition, if now made by her, would bring those chances very near to certainties. In European Turkey, it cannot be too often repeated, the Christian element is the growing, and the Turkish the decaying one. If a conviction can be engendered in the Christian, that is for the present purpose mainly the Slavonic mind of the Turkish provinces, that Russia is their stay, and England their enemy, then indeed the command of Russia over the future of Eastern Europe is assured. And this conviction, through the last six months, we have done everything that was in our power to beget and to confirm.

But we may, I hope, say truly what Louis Napoleon, in 1870, telegraphed in error: *tout peut se rétablir*. Russia has in late years done much to estrange the Greek Christians of the Levant: and the Slaves will, we may be sure, be at least as ready to accept help from Powers which are perforce more disinterested, as from Powers that may hereafter hope and claim to be repaid for it in political influence or supremacy. It is surely wise, then, to avail ourselves of that happy approach to unanimity which prevails among the Powers, and to avert, or at the very least postpone, as long as we honourably can, the wholesale scramble, which is too likely to follow upon any premature abandonment of the principle of territorial integrity for Turkey. I for one will avoid even the infinitesimal share of responsibility, which alone could now belong to any of my acts or words, for inviting a crisis, of which at this time the dimensions must be large, and may be almost illimitable.

But even that crisis I for one would not agree to avert, or to post-pone, at the cost of leaving room for the recurrence of the Bulgarian horrors. Nothing could exceed the mockery, and nothing could redeem the disgrace, of a pretended settlement, which should place it in the power of Turkey to revive these fell Satanic orgies: a disgrace of which the largest share would accrue to England, but of which the smallest share would be large indeed. The public of this country, now I trust awakened from sloth to nobleness, may begin to fear lest the integrity of Turkey should mean immunity for her unbounded savagery, her unbridled and bestial lust. I think these apprehensions, so reasonable in principle, or if there were ground for them, may be dismissed upon an observation of the facts. We have, in the neighbouring province of Roumania, a testimony which appears to be nearly conclusive. For twenty years it has, while paying tribute to the Porte, and acknowledging its supremacy, enjoyed an entire autonomy or self-government. It has constituted a real barrier for Turkey against the possibilities of foreign aggression. It has overcome for itself serious internal difficulties in the adjustment of the relations between class and class. It has withstood the temptation to join in the Servian war. Guaranteed by Europe, it has had no grave complaint to make against Turkey for the violation of its stipulated rights, which have indeed been not inconsiderably enlarged. With such an example before us, let us hope at least that the territorial integrity of Turkey need not be impaired, while Europe summons and requires her to adopt the measure which is the very least that the case demands, namely the total withdrawal of the administrative rule of the Turks from Bulgaria, as well as, and even more than, from Herzegovina and from Bosnia.

But even this minimum of satisfaction for the past, and of security for the future, I am sorrowfully convinced will not be obtained, unless the public voice of this country shall sound it clearly and loudly beyond all chances of mistake, in the ears of the Administration. We have fortunately obtained a rather recent disclosure of the purposes of the Government through the mouth of the Prime Minister. On the 31st of July (when we knew so much less than now), after endeavouring to describe the hopeless impotence of the Turkish Government, and to point out that any effectual measures of redress or security must lie in the direction of local self-government for the disturbed provinces, I expressed the hope that this end might be obtained compatibly with the "territorial integrity" of Turkey. The Prime Minister, who followed me in the debate, did me the honour to refer to this portion of my speech, and said I had recommended the re-establishment of the *status quo*. Across the table I at once threw the interjection, "not *status quo*, but territorial integrity." The Prime Minister promptly replied, that territorial integrity would be found virtually to mean the *status quo*. Now the territorial integrity means the retention of a titular supremacy, which serves the purpose of warding off foreign aggression. The *status quo* means the maintenance of Turkish administrative authority in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria. Territorial integrity shuts out the foreign state; the *status quo* shuts out the inhabitants of the country, and keeps (I fear) everything to the Turk, with his airy promises, his disembodied reforms, his ferocious passions, and his daily gross and incurable misgovernment. This, then, is the latest present indication of British policy, the re-establishment of the *status quo*. Let us take the phrase out of the dress of the learned

language, which somewhat hides its beauty. It means "as you were." It means the re-establishment of the same forms and the same opportunities, which again mean, on the arrival of the first occasion, the same abuses and the same crimes. This purpose of the Government, I feel convinced, is not irrevocable. But it will only be revoked, if we may take experience for our guide, under the distinct and intelligible action of public opinion. No man will so well understand as the Prime Minister what is the force and weight of that opinion; and at what stage, in the development of a national movement, its expression should no longer be resisted.

Since the ominous declaration of Lord Beaconsfield on the *status quo*, or "as you were" policy, there has appeared a letter from Mr. Bourke, the Under-Secretary of the Foreign Office; which could not have been written without higher sanction. Of this letter, the positive part is null, the negative part important. It assures us of the indignation of the Government at the crimes committed by the Turks. It might as well assure us of their indignation at the crimes of Panton, or of Robespierre, or of Nana Sahib. Indignation is froth, except as it leads to action. This indignation has led, he says, to remonstrance. I say that mere remonstrance, in this case, is mockery. The only two things that are worth saying, the Under-Secretary does not say. The first of them would have been that, until these horrible outrages are redressed, and their authors punished, the British Government would withdraw from Turkey the moral and even material support we have been lending her against Europe. The other was, that after crimes of so vast a scale and so deep a dye, the British Government would no longer be a party to the maintenance of Turkish administration in Bulgaria. It is, then, the negative part of this letter that signifies. Mr. Bourke's words, viewing their date, are futile. But his silence is trumpet-tongued: it proclaims that even last week, on the 27th of August, the Government were still unconverted; and, warning us what we have to expect, it spurs the people of England onwards in the movement, which is to redeem its compromised and endangered honour.

It would not be practicable, even if it were honourable, to disguise the real character of what we want from the Government. It is a change of attitude and policy, nothing less. We want them to undo and efface that too just impression, which, while keeping their own countrymen so much in the dark, they have succeeded in propagating throughout Europe, that we are the determined supporters of the Turk, and that, declaring his "integrity and independence" essential to "British interests," we have winked hard, and shall wink, if such be, harder still, according to the exigencies of the case, alike at his crimes and at his impotence. We want to place ourselves in harmony with the general sentiment of civilised mankind, instead of being any longer, as we seem to be, the Evil Genius which dogs, and mars, and baffles it. We want to make the Turk understand that, in conveying this impression by word and act to his mind, the British Government have misunderstood, and, therefore, have misrepresented, the sense of the British people.

But this change is dependent on an emphatic expression of the national sentiment, which is but beginning to be heard. It has grown from a whisper to a sound; it will grow from a sound to a peal. But what, *until* it shall vibrate with such force as to awaken the Administration? It is melancholy, but it is also true, that we, who upon this Eastern ground fought with Russia, and thought Austria slack, and Germany all but servile, have actually for months past been indebted, and are even now indebted, to all or some of these very Powers, possibly to Russia most among them, for having played the part which we think specially our own, in resistance to tyranny, in befriending the oppressed, in labouring for the happiness of mankind. I say the time has come for us to emulate Russia by sharing in her good deeds, and to reserve our opposition until she shall visibly endeavour to turn them to evil account.

There is no reason to apprehend serious difficulty in the Councils of Europe on this subject. All the powers, except ourselves, have already been working in this direction. Nor is there any ground to suppose that the Ottoman Government will tenaciously resist a scheme based on the intention to do all in its favour that its own misconduct, and the fearful crimes of its trusted agents, have left possible. To do this Government justice, a distinction must be drawn between what depends upon a decision to be taken at Constantinople once for all, and the permanent vitalizing force required for the discharge of the daily duties of administration all over its vast empire. The central agency at the capital, always under the eye of the representatives of the European Powers and in close contact with them, has acquired, and traditionally transmits, a good deal of the modes of European speech and thought. It is when they try to convey these influences to the provinces and the subordinate agents, who share little or none of that beneficial contact and supervision, that they, except here and there by some happy accident of personal virtue, habitually and miserably break down. The promises of a Turkish Ministry given simply to Europe are generally good; those given to its own subjects or concerning its own affairs are, without imputing absolute mendacity, of such tried and demonstrated worthlessness, that any Ambassador or any State, who should trust them, must come under suspicion of nothing less than fraud by wilful connivance. The engagement of a Turkish Ministry, taken in concert with Europe, that Bulgaria, or any other province, shall now settle and hereafter conduct its own local government and affairs, would carry within itself the guarantee of its own execution. The only question is, whether it would be given or withheld. I am disposed to believe it would be given, not withheld; and for this reason. I know of no case in which Turkey has refused to accede to

the counsel of United Europe—nay, even of less than United Europe, if Europe was not in actual schism with itself under unwise or factious influences. In the matter of Greece, in the Union of the Principalities after the Crimean War, and in the conduct of its relations (for example) with Persia and with Egypt, there has been abundant proof that the Ottoman Porte is no more disposed than other governments, in the homely phrase, to drive its head against a brick wall. It has known how to yield, not ungracefully, to real necessity, without provoking violence. And those of its self-constituted friends, who warn us against an outburst of wild Mahomedan fanaticism within the Cabinet of Constantinople, and in the year 1876, found themselves on notions drawn from their own fancy, or from what they call having been in the East, much more than on the recorded lessons of political and diplomatic experience.

No doubt there will be difficulties to overcome when these provinces set about their own affairs in adjusting relations with the Mahometan minorities. These are difficulties insurmountable to those who have not the will to surmount them, but easily surmounted under the real pressure of such a case. They were surmounted in Greece; and at this hour, as we learn by the very recent testimony of Sir Charles Trevelyan, Mahometan landlords in Euboea live contentedly under the Government of that country. Mahometan, it must be remembered, does not mean the same as Turk. And in none of these provinces has it been in the main a case of war between conflicting religions or local races: nearly the whole mischief has lain in the wretched laws, and the agents at once violent and corrupt, of a distant central Power, which (having none others) let these agents loose upon its territory; and which has always physical force at its command to back outrage with the sanction of authority, but has no moral force whatever, no power either of checking evil or of doing good.

But I return to, and I end with, that which is the Omega as well as the Alpha of this great and most mournful case. An old servant of the Crown and State, I entreat my countrymen, upon whom far more than perhaps any other people of Europe it depends, to require and to insist, that our Government, which has been working in one direction, shall work in the other, and shall apply all its vigour to concur with the other States of Europe in obtaining the extinction of the Turkish executive power in Bulgaria. Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner, namely by carrying off themselves. Their Zaptiehs and their Mudirs, their Bimbashis and their Yuzbachis, their Kaimakams and their Pashas, one and all, bag and baggage, shall, I hope, clear out from the province they have desolated and profaned. This thorough riddance, this most blessed deliverance, is the only reparation we can make to the memory of those heaps on heaps of dead; to the violated purity alike of matron, of maiden, and of child; to the civilisation which has been affronted and shamed; to the laws of God or, if you like, of Allah; to the moral sense of mankind at large. There is not a criminal in an European gaol, there is not a cannibal in the South Sea Islands, whose indignation would not arise and overboil at the recital of that which has been done, which has too late been examined, but which remains unavenged; which has left behind all the foul and all the fierce passions that produced it, and which may again spring up, in another murderous harvest, from the soil soaked and reeking with blood, and in the air tainted with every imaginable deed of crime and shame. That such things should be done once, is a damning disgrace to the portion of our race which did them; that a door should be left open for their ever-so-barely possible repetition would spread that shame over the whole. Better, we may justly tell the Sultan, almost any inconvenience, difficulty, or loss associated with Bulgaria,

Than thou reseated in thy place of light,
The mockery of thy people and their bane."
Tennyson's 'Guinevere.'

We may ransack the annals of the world, but I know not what research can furnish us with so portentous an example of the fiendish misuse of the powers established by God "for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the encouragement of them that do well." No Government ever has so sinned; none has so proved itself incorrigible in sin, or which is the same, so impotent for reformation. If it be allowable that the executive power of Turkey should renew at this great crisis, by permission or authority of Europe, the charter of its existence in Bulgaria, then there is not on record, since the beginnings of political society, a protest that man has lodged against intolerable misgovernment, or a stroke he has dealt at loathsome tyranny, that ought not henceforward to be branded as a crime.

But we have not yet fallen to so low a depth of degradation; and it may cheerfully be hoped that, before many weeks have passed, the wise and energetic counsels of the Powers, again united, may have begun to afford relief to the overcharged emotion of a shuddering world.

Having done with the argumentative portion of the case, I desire to perform yet one other duty, by reminding my countrymen that measures appear to be most urgently required for the relief of want, disease, and every form of suffering in Bulgaria. Lady Strangford, following, I believe, the example of Mr. Freeman, has,

with energetic benevolence, proposed to undertake this work. It seems to me to go far beyond the powers of any individual, however active and intelligent. I will presume to urge that, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, there is a call upon Her Majesty's Government to take the matter in hand. I do not mean by means of a grant of public money: but by communicating with the municipal and local authorities, and submitting to them the expediency of opening subscriptions: by placing the whole machinery of the Embassy at Constantinople and of the Consulates and Vice-Consulates at the service of the undertaking; and by supplying men able to organize and superintend the distribution, of relief from the military and possibly also the naval departments.

HAWARDEN, CHESTER,

Sept 05, 1876.

Notes.

1. Mr. Schuyler is the Consul of the United States at Constantinople, and I learn, on high authority, that he is worthy of all reliance.

2. The Russian Funds, before the despatch of the squadron to Besika Bay, ranged (Stock of 1822) between 96 and 90. But in the end of June and beginning of July they ranged from about 84 to 81. After Lord Derby's declaration on the 15th they rallied to 86,88, 89, and in August they touched 92.

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Lessons in Massacre; or, The Conduct of the Turkish Government in and About Bulgaria

Since, May 1876.

Chiefly From The Papers Presented By Command.

By The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.

"Away, with me, all you whose souls abhor The uncleanly savours of a slaughterhouse; For I am stifled with this smell of sin."

KING JOHN, iv. 3.

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Contents.

Lessons In Massacre.

I. THE INTRODUCTION.

THE lesson, which the Turkish Government has conveyed to its Mahometan subjects by its conduct since last May in the matter of the Bulgarian rising, cannot be more pithily or more accurately expressed than in the three short English words, "Do it again." My charge is, that this lesson was conveyed; and not only conveyed, but intended to be conveyed; that it is as plain, as if it had been set forth expressly in a Firman of the Sultan, or a Fetwa of the Sheik ool Islam. To comprehend aright this great lesson in Massacre, we must look at the facts as a whole, and must carefully scrutinise the details in themselves, as well as in their bearing one upon another. It may seem that one, who is no more than a private individual, is guilty of presumption in dealing with so great and perilous a question. But I have a great faith in the power of opinion, of the opinion of civilised and Christian Europe. It can remove mountains. I have seen this in the recent past; and I seem to see it in no distant future.

Six months ago, England and Europe had just learned, upon official authority, the reality and extent of the Massacres, and of the outrages far worse than Massacre, in Bulgaria. Over and above the horrors of the perpetration, there was ground for the darkest surmises as to the seat of the ultimate responsibility for those fiendish crimes. Miscreants, fatally prominent in the proceedings, had been decorated and rewarded; and the solemn business of retributive inquiry had been visibly tampered with by the Turkish Government, to which we had been lending, through a bloodstained period, our moral and our material support. But the revelation of the facts was still new; and there had not been time sufficient for clearly carrying home the guilt beyond the

wretched men, who performed the deeds of blood and shame. The belief that a Government in alliance with Her Majesty could stand in close complicity with crimes, so foul that the very possibility of them seems to lower the level of our nature, was a belief so startling, nay, so horrible, that it was not fit to be entertained, unless upon the clearest and fullest evidence. And all this time we were unblushingly assured, by one if not more of the organs of the Turkish cause in the London Press, that order, momentarily disturbed in Bulgaria by agents from abroad, had been restored, and that life, honour, and property were secure under a calumniated but really paternal Government.

As time has gone on, and facts have gradually emerged, those surmises, which at first floated as thin vapours in the air, have acquired more and more of substance and consistency: and at length the copious, but not too copious, Papers supplied to Parliament have so accumulated the evidence, as to leave no longer any room for reasonable doubt. We have now to confront a fact, more revolting than the fact of the Massacres themselves. The supposition, which I have described as too shocking to be entertained in our state of imperfect knowledge, now stands forth as clear as the lurid light of a furnace against the blackness of a nocturnal sky. Let me try to make entirely plain the issue, which in these pages I desire to raise.

There were separate acts which, in September, it was perhaps possible to construe, by a large indulgence, as referable to weakness, to accident, or to the bewilderment and confusion attendant upon war, in a country which never had any but a military organisation, and which has now lost in the main even that solitary ornament. Such a construction would now be irrational. All the acts, and all the non-acts, of the Turkish Government, before the rising when we knew them scantily, during and since the lamentable scenes, when we know them but too fully, stand forth to view in a dark and fatal consistency. It matters not who was Sultan or who was Vizir. Rushdi was as Mahmoud, and Midhat was as Rushdi, and Edhem thus far is as Midhat. There is a point of development and ripeness in a series of acts, at which tendency becomes proof of purpose; as there is also a point in the accumulation of evidence, at which not to see guilt is in some measure to share it. When deeds admit of no interpretation but one, that one can no longer be honourably avoided. The acts of the Porte, through nine long months, demonstrate a deliberate intention, and a coherent plan. That purpose has been to cover up iniquity; to baffle inquiry; to reward prominence in crime; to punish or discourage humanity among its own agents; to prolong the reign of terror; to impress with a steady coherency upon the minds of its Mahometan subjects this but too intelligible lesson for the next similar occasion, *do it again*.

I hope that my charge against the Porte is now intelligible and clear. My first duty was to make it so. My second is, to allow that no one should accept it from me as proved, but to ask every one to examine and pronounce upon the proof; which will be drawn principally, indeed almost exclusively, from the official information supplied by British Agents. If I take it as my third duty to look around for some palliation of what appears so monstrous a wickedness, I can only find it in this. In what we deem atrocity, the Porte sees only energy. What we think crimes, the Porte holds to be services. To uphold the existing relation of domination on one side, and servitude on the other, by that force, in which all along the Osmanli have lived and moved and had their being, is for the Turk the one great commandment "on which hang all the law and the prophets." Violence and fury, fraud and falsehood, are sanctified when, in circumstances of adequate magnitude, they are addressed to such an end. The utmost refinements of cruelty, the most bestial devices of lust, become either meritorious or venial, when they are the incidental accompaniments of the good and holy work. All these things, which are terrible to say, are, if true, yet more terrible to leave unsaid. I will therefore set about the proof; and, to give at once a true view of the scope of the undertaking, I will specify its heads.

I. When it had become plain, long after the fact, that the Massacres could not be hushed up, in the manner of an every-day occurrence, the Porte attempted to veil them by ordering inquiries not judicial, but simply illusory, in the hands of men altogether unfit.

II. This expedient having failed, the next was to appoint another inquiry under judicial forms, but with ample security, whether in the characters of the men, the forms of proceeding, or the instructions given, or possibly from all, against its attaining the ends of justice. Even this inquiry was not extended, for many months, to the North of the Balkan.

III. The conduct of the insurgents in the rebellion afforded no warrant whatever for the conduct of the Turks in the suppression.

IV. After that suppression, after all the streams of blood that had been shed, Bulgarians were imprisoned by thousands, and detained in foul dens under the name of prisons, on the vaguest charges of complicity in the insurrection. Detained (mostly) for long terms, often, when no charge could be formulated against them, they were left to perish in their gaols. Large numbers were condemned and hung: while those who were liberated, or were sent in transit from prison to prison, were subjected to shameful, and in some cases murderous ill-treatment.

V. While all this was going on, honours and rewards were copiously showered upon the miscreants, who had distinguished themselves by superior atrocity.

VI. And, as a just counterpart to the last-named proceeding, those Mahometans, who had nobly hindered or slackened the work of blood, sometimes at great risk to themselves, were in every instance either passed over or dismissed.

VII. We have distinct cases, in which Mahometan Commissioners on the bench shamefully interrupted the proceedings to hinder the course of justice; and the declaration of the Consul of the United States that Selim Effendi tortured prisoners in gaol to compel them to give the evidence he desired, which was made in September last, has not yet been met.

VIII. No attempt was made to restore in any sense the dwellings of the people, which had been destroyed wholesale, until there had come a peremptory diplomatic demand from England, scarcely less than an order.

IX. When these so-called restorations began, they appear to have been made by the forced labour of the people, principally of Christians already plundered and destitute; with a contribution from the Porte, apparently less than one-tenth of what English alms alone, to say nothing of Russian gifts, have supplied for the destitute, and less than one-hundredth of the ruin which, by its agents, it had wrought.

X. The extortions of the Government under the name of taxes were still continued in districts, and upon persons, whom their servants had reduced to misery.

XI. All this time the outrages were also continued; the same in kind, though on a scale less magnificent and imperial than in the month of May; and it is a moral certainty, that they continue still.

XII. Though it was only by a supply of regular forces, under proper command, that security could be re-established, these troops were advisedly kept back; and, when the diplomatic pressure for them was found too strong for direct refusal, a promise to supply them was made and broken.

XIII. Among all the descriptions, or references, by the Porte, touching these horrible and shameful excesses, there is not found one single word of condemnation or regret.

XIV. On the contrary, it is officially denied that any excesses at nil occurred on the part of the Mahometans. The Commission down to the date of Oct. 30 had not been able so much as to determine that the great massacre of Batak was a criminal transaction.

XV. When the accused Bulgarians have been hung, and the prisons at length nearly emptied, but proceedings against Turkish criminals hardly begun, and when an Amnesty is demanded for the Christians, the Porte, by a counter-proposal of a general amnesty, seeks to cover its own still unpunished agents.

XVI. After all the acts of falsehood, concealment, obstruction, and delay have been exhausted, with reward or impunity for the bad, discouragement or dismissal for the good, and the careful maintenance of the reign of terror in the desolated region, it is officially declared by the highest authority, that the proceedings in the suppression of the Bulgarian rising were not worthy of condemnation but of praise.

XVII. And it may now be stilted as a matter beyond doubt, that the inquiry into the excesses, the granting of which was a concession to pressure, has proved to be a fictitious and pretended inquiry, beginning in obstruction, and ending in mockery.

The English Government, which on the 21st of September demanded reparation, security, and signal punishment of principal offenders, is disparaged and insulted by the substantial refusal of its demands.

And I may now again sum up these accusations by saying that, if proved, they show that the Turkish Government has since the Massacres, by word and act, been steadily inculcating this one lesson—*do it again*.

Before dealing with the charges specifically, I must premise two or three observations.

First, the facts are incomplete; that is to say, they are not the whole facts. It is possible that there may be circumstances, unknown to us, which might in some points diminish the force of some among those known. But, in the first place, the known facts (and I have omitted very many) are such that, over and above what is needed for proof, they leave a large surplussage of force. Secondly, they have been collected by men impartial and, in almost every case, officially responsible. Thirdly, it is plain that the great hindrance to a yet fuller development of the case has not been the manufacture of false complaints by the Bulgarians, but the terror of recollection, and the terror of anticipation, which has made it extremely difficult in many instances to obtain from them any full statements in accusation of their masters.

See e.g. Papers I. 524.

Fourthly, there is no portion of the evidence which leads to darker inferences, than that which is supplied by the language of the Porte and of its agents. Again, viewing the marked general character of the facts, the only reasonable supposition is that their further multiplication would only have worsened the case in its quantity; as to quality, nothing could worsen it. Lastly, I have laboured hard to make myself master of these Papers; but, from their great and miscellaneous mass, and the difficulty of tracing their order, I may in this or that instance have failed, not wilfully, to state the case with adequate fulness and exactitude.

Secondly. I hold it to be a reasonable inference from the whole circumstances, and in particular from the conduct of the Porte as an accessory after the fact, that the Bashi Bazouks were originally chosen as the main instruments of repression, together with the Mussulman population, in order that it might be the more effective,

that is to say, the more terrible, the more bloody, and the more brutal. For we find that this was the surmise of those best qualified to judge (*e. g.* Papers I. 432). And again, there is no other reason to be assigned for the employment of the irregulars, and for letting loose the population. There was ample time to supply troops between the first of May, when the first serious events occurred (Papers I.144-6, and Schuyler,

It may be well to mention that the Report of Mr. Schuyler, to which my references are made, is an enlarged and digested form of the document which appears in Papers I. 167. I translate from the French version, kindly sent me by the author. It is dated Nov. 20., 1876.

Section on the Insurrection of May, 1876), and the tragedy of Batak, which occurred on the 9th of May.

To say they were wanted elsewhere, would be ridiculous. Only an insignificant fraction of the army was employed in Bosnia and Herzegovina; the empire generally was tranquil; and the war with Serbia did not break out until two months after the beginning of the brief revolt.

At the same time, we have not here the cumulative proof from acts anterior to the crisis, which establishes the subsequent sanction and adoption of the Massacres. The light, thrown by that after-conduct upon the prior measures, leaves little room for doubt, that a repression of such a character, as that which actually happened, was within the original intentions of the Porte. I state this, however, not as demonstration, but as reasonable inference.

II. THE PROOF.

I. It would appear that at the outset the Porte was thoroughly satisfied with the Repression, and had nothing to do but to imprison, try, and hang Bulgarians, and to distribute rewards like our War Office and Admiralty after some gallant service. It was very gradually made to understand that there was other work, not indeed to do, but to pretend to do. The first proceeding taken by the Porte in the vindication of justice was the appointment of a Commissioner, as late as July 17, to examine, as was pretended, into crimes committed in May. We read in the Papers of 1876, under that date (III. 37G): "A Turkish functionary of high position has been sent as Extraordinary Commissioner to suppress the excesses being committed in Bulgaria. He will be furnished with full powers to inflict summary punishment."

It is necessary here to consider whether this Government, with its defective organisation, was in real, or only in official, ignorance of the gravity of the case?

We now know the proper answer, in connection with a most singular occurrence, which Sir Henry Elliot has mentioned, but not explained.

It was on the 26th of last June, that the first questions were put in the two Houses of Parliament to the Government of this country respecting the Bulgarian Atrocities. The answer, certainly given with perfect truth, was to the effect that there was no official information to justify the statements in circulation. But in February, 1877, we became for the first time aware that, twelve days before that date, Vice-Consul Brophy had sent from Bourgas a report, correcting or reversing a former report of June 4, and setting forth fully the horrible massacre of unresisting Bulgarians at Boyadjik by Shefket Pacha. "Of some 2000 men, women, and children, only about 50 escaped." There were the usual accompaniments of plunder and kidnapping. In the Caza of Bourgas "brigandage and robbery are, as usual, the order of the day." A man of ninety had been carried to the mountains, another man, who is named, had been burned with hot irons upon the breast, for purposes of extortion. A Commissioner had been sent; but "the local authorities had already concerted steps to prevent his arriving at the knowledge of the truth." Such are some of the contents of the despatch which, while England was still in the dark on this vital matter, was calmly slumbering in the pigeon-holes of the Embassy at Constantinople. But on the 8th of September, when the Indignation was already at its height, there arrived at the Foreign Office a despatch from Sir H. Elliot, which commenced with the following unimpassioned remark: "The inclosed despatch from the Vice-Consul Brophy appears not to have been forwarded, as it ought to have been, when it was received" (Papers I. 116,117).

It had been, however, immediately communicated to Safvet Pacha; and the business of ineffectual protest was, for the thousandth time, duly re-commenced. Of the miscreant Shefket Pacha I treat elsewhere. What I now wish to bring home is this: that within a few days (as it must have been) after the 14th of June the Porte was made aware, on British and official authority, of one of the worst of the Bulgarian Massacres. It had appointed a Commissioner to inquire; and measures to make the local inquiry useless had already been taken by its own local authorities. It was with this knowledge of the scale of the horrors which had been perpetrated, that the Porte appointed Kiani Pacha to make his general inquiry.

Of the "full powers" to "suppress excesses," and "inflict summary punishment," with which the Parliamentary Papers of 1876 conveniently closed, and on which for a time we fed in delusive hope, we hear no more. But we find Kiani Pacha acquainting Mr. Schuyler (see his last Section) that the insurgents had slain a Mudir's wife and daughter; whereas he had no daughter, and his wife was alive and absent.

The Porte likewise sent other chosen Agents to report upon the condition of Bulgaria. The most important inquiry, which embraced the Southern Vilayet, was intrusted to Edib Effendi.

Musurus Pacha, without doubt acting simply as the organ and on the information of his Government, on the 4th of August sends this Report of Edib Effendi, for the Vilayet of Adrianople, to Lord Derby, with the assurance that

"This conscientious Report exposes in the most impartial manner the latest events of which Bulgaria has been the scene; it makes the facts appear in their true light, and shows in the most indisputable manner which side committed those atrocities that have so deeply moved the Sublime Porte and all Europe." (Papers of 1876, No. V. p. 27.)

And so forth.

In this paper we hear much of the outrages committed by Bulgarians; and the Commissioner, in winding up his preposterous account of what happened at Batak, bursts into a noble indignation, and even curses ('Rapport,' p. 11) those who had induced the Bulgarians to rebel. According to him, there was a sanguinary battle, with heavy losses on both sides! According to Baring (I. 154), there was "hardly any loss inflicted on either side in action." Of the massacre, the burning, the heaps of unburied corpses of women and children, there is not a trace in the "conscientious Report" of Edib Effendi.

Nor is there, according to this worthy, a trace of any one cruel, disgraceful, or even precipitate act by a Mussulman; though he tells us of their extraordinary care in sparing women and children (p. 8). But as I am accusing the Turkish Government of deliberate and wholesale falsehood, used to conceal its other and still greater crimes, I will refer more explicitly to his account of the proceedings at Boyadjikevi, in contrast with that of Mr. Baring.

He says that, in a severe action, most of the houses took fire, and all the cattle attached to them thereupon took refuge with the Turkish soldiery. The losses of the Bulgarians were between 70 and 80; no women or children, except one single woman hit by a ball ('Rapport,' p. 13). The number was swelled, by the exaggeration of the villagers, to 100 or 110.

We turn to Mr. Baring (I. 158), and we find that, out of 139 houses, all were burned but 20; 143 men and 6 women were massacred; 13,000 animals were carried off. Mr. Schuyler, at a much later date, gives the official number of the slain (Section on Sliven) at 170, including 2 priests, 8 women, and 8 children. The Kaimakam of Yamboli took 120 cows for his own share. It is not pretended that at this village any Mussulman had been slain. The cause, which led the villagers to meet together and consider their state, was that some Turks came to extort money on the 24th and 25th of May, and "ravished one man's wife and daughter" (I. 158).

We cannot therefore be surprised, if the Report of Edib Effendi exhausted the long-suffering even of Sir Henry Elliot, and was described by him as "entirely untrustworthy;" if Mr. Baring treats it as "pretty correct" in the part which does *not* relate to the Massacres, and as false or worthless in what does (I. 155, 166); and if Consul Schuyler (*sub fin.*) bluntly characterises it as "a string of falsehoods."

Such was the official mendacity, by which the Porte, three months after the Massacres, strove to delude Europe and to conceal its crimes.

II. But the air was stirred disagreeably by strong vibrations from the English Parliament and Press, which partially forestalled the noble movement of the people; and the matter could not rest here; for, if opinion were too impudently braved, what would become of the moral support that had been officially promised, and the material support that had been actually given, and not withdrawn, by the ancient ally on whom Turkey could always depend? On the 29th of August, Earl Derby thought it necessary to warn the Government at Constantinople of the rising indignation and disgust of the nation; and about September 12 or 13 they must have been put in possession by the post of his despatch of September 5. At length, under the compulsion of the tempest from the West, so late as the 17th September, four months after the Massacres, a new Commission was appointed to do what we were told had been done in July; to inquire, and punish the guilty. It would be instructive to see the terms of this appointment; but they have not been supplied (1.371).

It was composed of four Mussulmans and four Christians. Among each moiety, says Sir H. Elliot, "were true and resolute men; but there are others in whom equal confidence cannot be felt." Unfortunately, he does not tell us which were which. In my eyes, the appointment of Christians as such is a matter of small moment. What we want is the virtue and courage of the man, not his religious profession. Of the Christian servants of the Porte, some are venal, some are servile. I rather think Blacque Bey is a Christian; but the name of a Blacque is attached to the shameful document which suppresses the 'Courier d'Orient,' and (August 3) sneaks of the "pretended excesses" in Bulgaria.

Prétendus. The Bulgarian Horrors,' p. 29. The subsequent language leaves little room for doubt that *pretended*, and not *alleged*, is the true sense of the word.

What I submit is this; that Turkey offered a fresh insult to us, and to the whole civilised world, in daring to appoint on this Commission, *quæ sera tamen respexit inertem*, any members, of whom Sir Henry Elliot has to

record that confidence could not be reposed in their character and courage (I. 371): and of whom he does not even say, that they formed a minority in the Commission.

It was in part to encourage the better-minded Commissioners against their colleagues, that Mr. Baring was sent to attend the proceedings. Sir H. Elliot also thought it would encourage witnesses to speak, who might otherwise avoid the risk.

It was only at a later date that the Commission was empowered to include within its scope the Vilayet of the Danube. But it never went there at all.

We shall see farther on what was the conduct of the Commission.

II. It may be thought that a defence for the Turks is to be found in the allegations of cruel acts done by the revolted Bulgarians. On this plea, I take leave to assert that there is no such defence; nor the shadow of it.

1. Outrages by oppressed inferiors do not excuse like outrages by the race which has held them down, and ground them into debasement, by superior force: much less do they excuse outrages at least a hundredfold in amount, and immeasurably different in their savage and filthy brutality.

2. Assertions from Turkish agents of outrages by Bulgarians are of no more weight, than their denials of outrages by Turks, which are shown by impartial reports to be valueless. It is remarkable, however, that the Turks themselves deal mainly in generalities on the subject, and allege (Schuyler, *sub fin.*) not more than twelve deaths of Mahometan women and children.

3. The assertions by Christian Commissioners of the Porte (I. 108), that the insurgents committed deeds of atrocity, are of no higher value, until we know that they were men of integrity and of courage, who would both wish and dare to speak the truth. They are also almost uniformly vague and without particulars.

4. Vice-Consul Dupuis has indeed reported (August 7, 1, p. 51), that at Otlou-kevi the Bulgarians massacred eighty Mussulmans. But this appears only to prove his own credulity. Mr. Baring, in a document (I. 150) which "he thinks may be relied on," gives the number slain at Otlou-kevi by the insurgents at 14. The Christians killed at the same place, according to a detailed list, were 763: viz.—

Mr. Dupuis also reports two cases which, if they happened, were truly atrocious: that a boy had his fore-arms flayed; that a child was cut to pieces (and his flesh offered for sale—to whom?) Also that there were "unspeakable atrocities" on females. Mr. Baring, in a much fuller and more careful statement (I. 156), reports not one of these things; but says, two women were killed, one of them fighting. Mr. Schuyler, in summing up, mentions the same number, informs us that both were killed in a skirmish, and adds the remarkable words, as applicable to the entire insurrection:

"No woman, no child among the Turks was killed in cold blood. No woman was violated; no Turk tortured."

Mr. Dupuis ought, it would appear, either to support his statement, or to withdraw it. I see no cause, however, for ascribing it to intentional partiality.

5. Finally, we have learned from Mr. Baring, that the document called 'Catechism' or 'Instructions' of the Bulgarian leaders is authentic. In that document the orders are express (I. 194); "no violence, no plunder, for men who submit; the aged, the women, and the children, are to be watched over, as much as the honour and life of our own people." (Nos. 12, 13.)

Mr. Baring sums up by saying on this part of the case: "A small minority of the population committed reprehensible acts, which merited punishment" (I. 166.)

III. The proceedings of the Porte against the perpetrators of massacre were slow, late, and reluctant; those against the Bulgarians were brisk, lively, and spontaneous. On July 20 (I. 12) many Bulgarians had already been hanged for defending their houses and families against the Bashi Bazouks. Though it is impossible to obtain any full view of them from the Papers, it is also clear that the proceedings were wholesale.

Feeling the real importance of this count in the indictment, and of the contrasted proceedings against those who executed the Vengeance, I requested in the House of Commons on the 12th of February that the Government would endeavour, for greater accuracy, to put together succinctly the figures, so far as they might be at their command. With great courtesy, they sent immediately a telegram to Constantinople for the purpose; but as yet (March 10) without result.

Mr. Baring has given us certain figures for the districts of Philippopolis and Adrianople; at the first 1956 were imprisoned, and at the second he believes about 1200 (I. 159). To the northward, at Tirnovo, 430 were imprisoned (I. 162). At Philippopolis, 900 were still in prison when Mr. Baring came; on the 6th of September there were still 104 (I. 254). The total number of arrests, following upon the massacre of 15,000, may have been from four to five thousand.

As regards treatment in prison, Mr. Dupuis gives us the narrative of the priest, Peter Patcharutoff (I. 75). Charged as a rebel, he denied it. No evidence was produced. He was beaten, threatened with knives and with death by his "escort" of zaptiehs and Bashi Bazouks; compelled to save his life to sign a confession; and, on retracting it, he was first chained to the prison window, then shut up for live days in a sort of cupboard, where it

was impossible to stretch his limbs or to sleep.

The Bulgarians of Philippopolis asserted (I. 147), that the greater part of the evidence was obtained by torture, while the Turks denied it. Three men told their own experience to Mr. Baring.

One was kept seventy-eight days in prison, nineteen of them in a cell with but just room to lie down. Declaring he had no evidence to give, he was partially hung, his toes just touching the ground, and kept so till he fainted. He was never examined; and at length was released (I. 147).

Another priest stated that he was confined for twenty-eight days, seven of them in a privy, and for three of them without either food or water.

A Greek physician who visited the prisons, thinks that, if there had been torture of these kinds, complaint would have been made to him. I am concerned to say that in my opinion a Greek, in Turkish employment at Philippopolis, was about the last man to whom a Bulgarian would be likely to complain.

Mr. Calvert, some time later (September 6, I. 254), appears to have cleared up this subject: for he says that "the testimony of numerous eye-witnesses," as well as of sufferers, established "that violent means were used to extort the required confessions." In the case of three men from Tchirpan, a Turk confirmed the testimony (*ibid.*).

We now come to the savage vengeance of the Porte through its tribunals; not tribunals appointed to try the authors of the Massacre, but those which dealt with charges of complicity in the poor and feeble rising.

In the Vilayet of the Danube, the movement had been very slight. Chakir Bey, in his Report dated July 2 (p. 7), says the losses of the Mus-sulmans consisted in some children and some shepherds killed near Yeni Key, with some wounded in actual conflict. The Prosecutor for the Government in the proceedings reported by Consul Reade on Aug. 21 (I. 53) charged two men capitally. But the Court condemned three; and they were executed at the end of the same sitting. In one case the cord broke three times; and the fourth time the man was partially held up by the soldiers, that it might not break again. This is not lawful execution, but death by torture. The other two were "most inhumanly treated" on their way to execution. Other severe sentences were pronounced; and "a few were acquitted,"

The special tribunal of Philippopolis had so soon as Aug. 5 condemned to hard labour 65 Bulgarians and to death 27, of whom 25 had been executed. At Adrianople 18 were hung (I. 159). Two men, wholly unconnected with the revolt, were seized by Fazli Pacha, who got drunk, and ordered them to be hung immediately (I. 161). One officer refused obedience; another more docile -was readily found, and the act was promptly performed. Twenty-two were hung at Tirnovo (I. 162). Twenty-five died in prison at Philippopolis. It is plain that we are to count in hundreds the lives destroyed by sentence or by ill-usage. Mr. Baring stated the hangings (Oct. 30, p. 668) at about a hundred. These trials were but an afterpiece to the Vengeance, and an afterpiece in perfect keeping with the principal performance.

Hanging, on a smaller scale, was still proceeding in November (I. 752).

Mr. Baring says that whether the prisoners were tortured or not, there is no doubt that they were, while being conveyed to Philippopolis, most brutally ill-treated. Four hundred men, heavily chained, were "mercilessly beaten by their escort, and pelted and insulted by the Mussulman mob." Prisoners were beaten by zaptielis, even on the way from the prison to the court. Of eighty sent from Philippopolis to Sofia, five died on the road (I. 147). Within the prison, 265 men were confined for four days in a bath, without the slightest attempt at drainage, and with such a stench, that the guards could not sit even in the ante-room, but remained in the street. Nami Effendi, First-Secretary to the Government, found the room doors within the khans open on account of the heat: he ordered them to be shut. The state of things had been mitigated by July 21st (I. 148).

On August 11 (I. 61) it was promised by the Porte that all the prisoners not actually under trial, except ringleaders, should be set at liberty without delay, But it was on November 1 that we find the trials of the remaining Bulgarian prisoners, who had been in prison since May, were only about to begin (I. 670). Finally (I. 60), on December 4, Mr. Baring *hopes* that in a short time all the prisoners will be set free.

IV. I come to the important subject of the liberal rewards bestowed by the Turkish Government upon its most distinguished miscreants, to encourage them in their profession.

And as it is desirable, without neglecting others, to concentrate attention on one conspicuous case, let us state, at least partially, that of General Shefket Pacha.

As the praise of a certain early Christian was in all the churches, so the infamy of Shefket Pacha has sounded throughout Christendom.

Respecting Shefket Pacha, see I. 92, 116, 158-9, 257-8, 417, 729, 753; II. 131. Schuyler, Section on Sliven.

It is enough to refer to the reports of Baring and Schuyler, and to my slight sketch from Vice-Consul Brophy (see *sup.*, p. 7). "The atrocity of his proceedings," as reported on June 14, says Sir II. Elliot, "has been fully confirmed by all subsequent inquiries" (I. 110). "At Boyadjik there was not a semblance of revolt, the inhabitants were perfectly peaceable" (I. 159). Every house was burned except 20: 143 men and G women massacred (I. 158). For this service he received a "high place in the Palace" (I. 159). Under pressure from

without, he was dismissed on Sept. 2 (I. 92); but he was almost immediately (Sir H. Elliot, Sept. 26, I. 417) named a Member of the Military Council; and he is still retained upon it, although frequent representations have been made to the Porte that, in the face of the grave charges against him, his employment, till he had cleared himself, was "*almost a defiance of public opinion.*"

As if all this were not enough, recently it was stated by the 'Times' Correspondent that Shefket had been appointed to a command on the Danube. The statement was contradicted here, in answer to a question in Parliament. But, says the Correspondent ('Times,' March 1, 1877), it had been published in two Turkish Journals on Jan. 29 and 31, on Feb. 12 in the 'Courier d'Orient' and the 'Phare du Bosphore,' and on Feb. 13 in the semi-official 'Turquie,' And all without contradiction or notice on the spot from the Censors of the press. It is a fair inference, that this further appointment was intended; and that, had not public attention been drawn to the subject, it would have been made.

Meantime, the General is not without defenders; and the 'Times' (March 1, 1877) further quotes the following passage of supreme eulogy from the 'Vérité' of February 12, 1877, which is described as a Government organ. It refers to accusations of conspiracy made against this "important personage."

"S. E. Shefket Pacha, entre autres, est un des meilleurs officiers de l'armée, dont le caractère, le mérite personnel, *et le passé*, sont les plus sûrs garants; son zèle, son patriotisme, et sa fidélité envers son pays militent trop en sa faveur pour qu'une enquête ait été jugée nécessaire."

The fact that this paramount offender should have remained unpunished, rewarded, free, becomes yet more astonishing when we remember not only his place in the reports of Baring and Schuyler, but the efforts of Sir Henry Elliot, from the middle of June onwards, and at the very time when, according to Lord Beaconsfield, Turkey had no other wish than to take the advice of England, to obtain some measure of justice in this instance. The Porte did not attempt to show his innocence. She had in the Salonica case tried and retried, sentenced and resented, her own official servants under French and German pressure; and now we, the darling Power, could not obtain the smallest *modicum* of justice against Shefket. There is but one explanation. He was an agent; there was a principal behind. Who is that principal? Did Abdul Kerim, the General of the Army in Serbia, prevent his being sent to Philippopolis to be tried, and receive in consequence the thanks of his harem? ('Times' Corresp., March 1, 1877.) Does Shefket carry a telegraphic order of that same General to burn the village of Slivno, which Haidar spared, and was thereafter dismissed? Is he or is he not a relative of Midhat? All this may be capable of disproof. Why was it not put to the test, by sending the sanguinary miscreant to Philippopolis for trial?

These ideas are not the mere offspring of carelessness or malignity. Sir Henry Elliot, incredulous to the last degree of any charge against a Turkish functionary, but ever honourable and plain-spoken when he sees the truth, returned on the 26th of November to the subject he had been so wearily and hopelessly treating for many months, and spoke to the Minister of War as follows (I. 729);

"I told him that, as the General professed to have in his pocket orders which would show that he had done no more than carry out his instructions, his continued impunity would lead to a belief in the truth of his assertion."

From May to September, from September to November, from November to March, his impunity has continued. Could the wit of man have devised a more eloquent instruction to "do it again?"

He appears to have succeeded in diffusing round him a congenial tone; for Vice-Consul Brophy reports that he heard a Secretary of his "declare that the whole race of Bulgarians, innocent or guilty, ought to be exterminated."—I. 10.

But though Shefket may be considered the Choregos of iniquity, some of those, who for like distinctions obtained other rewards, must not remain unnoticed.

Hakki Pacha, who, when acting as a judge, took part against the Bulgarians whom he tried, was appointed in September to be Governor of Widdin (1.296,331). The Ambassador is desired to warn the Porte against the probable consequences of so unwise an appointment. The result, as usual, is *nil*.

Achmet Aga, in acknowledgment of his monstrous cruelty and iniquity at Batak, received the order of the Medjidje (I. 155). Presently a storm arose. He remained long at large; but it was at length found necessary to arrest him, Sept. 2 (L 92), and to try him. After much shuffling, he was, on the 27th of December, condemned to death. Bulgarian Christians, when condemned, were executed forthwith. Achmet Aga still lived at the date of the latest news.

For the pillage and burning of Yenikur, Nedjib Effendi was decorated (I. 161), so was Toussou Bey, the hero of Derwent (or klissoura) (I. 165, 522, and Schuyler). Hafiz Pacha (I. 165) received a command in Serbia (I. 165).

Many others are denounced by Mr. Baring (I. 156, 255), and Schuyler (*subfin.*). Not one has been executed. The Vali of Adrianople has been dismissed, and there have been a few sentences to hard labour. "We have not the smallest security that they will be carried into effect.

The statement of Sir H. Elliot, that Shefket Pacha alleged he carried with him justifying orders, is thus enlarged in the report of Schuyler:—

Section on Sliven.

"Shefket Pacha quitted Boyadjik with the intention of subjecting the surrounding villages to a similar fate, and produced a telegram to that effect from the Serdar-ékrem Abdul Kerim Pacha, which ordered the destruction of those places."

Here is a positive, public, and official statement; to which we hear of no contradiction.

VI. My sixth charge is that those Mahometans, who had hindered or slackened the work of blood, sometimes at great risk to themselves, were in every case either passed over or dismissed.

There is hardly a more touching chapter in the whole sad story, than the conduct of these good Mahometans. From the bottom of our hearts let us cry, "May God reward them!" Having the same temptations as others to indulge the spirit of revenge, yet, in the teeth of their coreligionists, and despite the well-understood sentiments of their Government, they did their duty in the day of need; and in the Day of Judgment, without doubt, their doing it will be remembered.

It is a pleasure, alas! a solitary pleasure, to record them.

Aziz Pacha, who was unfavourable to the arming of the Mussulman population, was recalled from Philippopolis (I. 116).

Hamid Pacha, who succeeded him, saved the city, says Mr. Baring (*ibid.*), by his firmness and impartiality.

Haydar Effendi, the Mutessarif of Slimnia (I. 383; I. 166, 247; II. 208, 210), was spoken of by the Christians "in terms of the highest praise," and delivered that Caza or district from devastation. Pie then frustrated the design of Shefket Pacha to burn the village of Slivno; and he has been dismissed, according to the Correspondent of the 'Times' (March 1, 1877), from his place.

Yamboli was saved from the destruction intended by Shefket Pacha through the interference of "a Mussulman named Hafiz Effendi, a most noble and liberal-minded man. Braving the opinion of his co-religionists, he took as many Christian families as he could into his house, and, going to Shefket, insisted that the plundering should be stopped" (I. 158).

The case of Hadji Shaban requires a longer notice. he was Mudir of Kazan. Hearing that 300 Bashi Bazouks were marching upon the village of Virbitza, he started, alone, to overtake them. Two Christian peasants came into view. The ruffians began to observe one to another that it would be as well to kill them, for they might have money upon them. Hadji Shaban thereupon halted them, and went himself over to the two peasants. Hearing murmurs, he boldly pointed his gun at the 300, and ordered them to pass on. Abashed, as is constantly the case with the Turk, by manful conduct, the body marched forwards the fifty paces he had commanded, and Hadji Shaban took the rescued peasants home. Now mark the Vice-Consul's conclusion (I. 383). "Shortly afterwards, Hadji Shaban was dismissed from his post; I do not know for what reason."

In the district of Tournova (or Tirnovo?), after 600 Christians had been destroyed on the side of the people, and six Mussulmans on the side of the Government, *only* twenty-four Bulgarians were executed under judicial sentence. But this number "would have been at least tripled," says Mr. Baring, had it not been that Ali Shefik Bey, the President of the Commission, was "a just man," and did what he could on the side of mercy (I. 162).

Eshrif Pacha, Vali of Salonica, was indefatigable in his efforts to obtain the deliverance of the women and children kidnapped from Batak (II. 81).

Ismail Effendi, sent to Isladi to recover the stolen cattle, was met by a proclamation from the authorities of the place that any man who claimed cattle, and failed to establish his claim, would be punished. He left to report the facts, and was sent back. Here we lose sight of him (II. 278).

Others, named by Vice-Consul Brophy for good service, are Ahmet Effendi, at Slimnia; Ismail Bey, at Karnabad; Ibrahim Aga, at Aidos (I. 247).

I close this head with an extract from Mr. Baring's Report of September 1st. His list, framed at that date, is of course not exhaustive.

"Those, who have committed atrocities, have been rewarded; while those, who have endeavoured to protect the Christians from the fury of the Bashi Bazouks and others, have been passed over with contempt.

"For example:—

"Shefket Pacha holds high office in the Palace.

"Hafiz Pacha has a command in Serbia.

"Achmet Agha has been decorated; so have Toussoun Bey, and Nedjib Effendi, Kaimakam of Plevna.

"On the other hand, has any reward, been given to Hafiz Effendi, who saved Yamboli; to the Mutevelli of Karlovo; to Husni Effendi, commander of the troops at Yamboli, who saved those places; to Rustem Effendi, Yuzbachi at Tournova, who, having fought against insurgents really in arms, saved the prisoners from the fury of the mob; or to Haidar Effendi, Mutes-sarif of Slimnia?" (I. 165).

The answer is, No! and the reason is plain. The miscreants were rewarded, the humane and just were

treated, in the words of Mr. Baring, "with contempt," in perfect consistency with the whole method of the conduct of the Porte since the rising, and for the more emphatic inculcation of the lesson to *do it again*.

Many times (*e.g.* I. 28, 729, and 581) the Porte, with its usual and incomparable hardihood, has pleaded imperfect information as an excuse for the honours and preferments bestowed on the miscreants. In what strangely crooked channels must this imperfect information have run, when it led the Government *both* to pass over or punish all the good men, and to reward all, so far as we know, who were conspicuously bad!

This imperfection, however, was removed on the 7th of October. On that day, not through his own exertions, but by information from the British Ambassador, Safvet Pacha was made aware (I. 488) who were the good Turks, that had nobly striven for humanity and justice. Five months have elapsed since the list was supplied; and we do not find that, even for decency, or even to lull suspicion, so much as one among these good men has been reappointed or rewarded. Is it possible that circumstantial proof can further go?

VII. I have touched on the character of the Commission; I now come to its conduct.

On the 21st of October Sir H. Elliot (I. 581) gives an account of an interview with the Grand Vizir.

"I said that Mr. Baring's Reports showed that the Commission, in conducting this inquiry, were desirous of favouring the accused, rather than of eliciting the truth."

The Grand Vizir's language in reply was "not satisfactory."

On the 5th of October (I. 521) Mr. Baring had conversed with the whole of the Commissioners. All of them told him the relations of Mussulmans and Christians had become excellent; that Achmet Aga (since condemned to death) had by his promptitude averted a great public calamity: the fact, that the Bulgarians feared to move about, was admitted; but the reason was that, "knowing themselves to be guilty of all sorts of excesses, they shrank from meeting their Mahometan neighbours."

We have here a tolerably just measure of the character of these judicial functionaries: and it even seems to include the so-called good, as well as the bad.

With reference to the great case of Batak, Mr. Baring proceeds:—

"The Commission attaches great value to the evidence of some Turks, and of some Bulgarians of another village: but they appear to treat with contempt that which is offered by inhabitants of Batak itself" (I. 522).

Otlou-kevi, Avrat-Alan, and other villages had not yet been visited: Dervent (or Klissoura) had, but only one old woman's evidence was taken down. Other witnesses were to be summoned to Philippopolis (I. 522), where it was apparently a practice of the Commission to keep the impoverished people waiting for an indefinite time (I. 583; *Why* the evidence was not taken down at Dervent seems pretty plain.

"In this village the inhabitants certainly spoke out manfully, in spite of the presence of their authorities" (I. 522).

Now as to the capacity of the Commissioners. It appears (I. 582) that Ikiades Bey "was the only member of the Commission who really knew how to examine, the others being utterly inexperienced;" except Selim Effendi, of whom I shall have enough to say further on.

Ikiades Bey examined Achmet Aga, the hero of Batak, with great skill; but, says Mr. Baring (I. 582):—

"I regret to say he was frequently interrupted by the Mahometan members; to such an extent, that at one moment he refused to proceed."

The most atrocious charge, however, that has been raised in connection with the conduct of the Commission, was that of Sir. Schuyler, against Selim Effendi. I will shortly relate the circumstances, so far as I know them.

Mr. Schuyler and the Correspondent of the 'Daily News' ('Daily News,' Sept. 14, 1876) charged on Selim Effendi, a Commissioner, that before the trials he had visited the prisoners in their gaols and made use of torture to procure from them such evidence as he desired.

To this accusation I referred in a letter of Sept. 14th to the 'Daily News,' published on Sept. 10th.

At a later period, I received a letter from Selim Effendi, written in perfectly becoming terms, and complaining, as if innocent he might well do, of so grievous a charge. He entered into details, the whole of which were connected with the forms in the Court, not to acts before the trials. he pointed to these forms, as clearly demonstrating that nothing of the kind could have taken place.

I lost no time in forwarding his letter to the 'Daily News,' that it might have the advantage of immediate publicity, and it was at once printed by the Editor (Dec. 19, 1876); but he very properly pointed out that the charge related to one thing, and the defence to another.

I pointed out this remarkable fact in a letter to Selim Effendi, dated Dec. 16, and published in an English version on that day by the same journal; I explained who were the real authors of the charge, and expressed my expectation that he would at once address himself to the consideration of it.

Since that time nearly three months have elapsed; but not another word has, to my knowledge, proceeded from Selim Effendi.

Consul Schuyler, however, informs me that he on his side intends to produce evidence in proof of his

charge.

VIII. The failures, excesses, and crimes of the Porte are not commonly prompted from without; but the ideas of duty, justice, mercy, are purely exotic, and, as it were, mechanically, if at all, infused into the system. I have not found from the Papers that in May, or June, or July, or August, it had occurred to the Turkish Government that some assistance ought to be afforded to its houseless, plundered, and be it remembered unaccused, subjects. First (I believe) on the 25th of September (I. 316), we learn, on Turkish authority, that a sum of money had been sent into Bulgaria. But this was four days after

I take it for granted that the substance of the important despatch of September 21 was made known in anticipation or through Musurus Pacha by telegraph.

the peremptory despatch of Lord Derby had been written, in which (I. 238) the restoration of buildings, and of industries, was demanded.

The Turks might certainly have retorted upon Lord Derby the strange plea he had used in May. When they had spent far less, he objected to a demand of this kind in the Berlin Memorandum, on the ground that Turkey had no money to meet it. See Papers of 1876.

IX. It is, then, four, nay, more nearly five, months after the Massacres, when we begin to hear of the restorations. To repair the devastations of every kind, apparently of a hundred times the amount, the Porte, under the extremest pressure, slowly supplied a sum of 18,000 Turkish pounds (I. 316) = about 16,000*l.*: and ordered the people to find and carry the wood of which the houses were to be built. Mussulmans and Christians were alike included in this command: the latter impoverished and plundered, the former (as a rule) untouched, or enriched by spoil. Mr. Baring says: "I fear it is not too much to say that the greater part of this forced labour 'will fall on Bulgarians, who can ill afford to give it" (I. 430, 431).

To find materials, and bring them to the spot, was imposed upon the rayahs, who could not move out in safety to seek for them: and the cost of restoration was actually entered as a charge against those who were thought likely to have at a future day the means of paying for it (I. 525). From those -who had means—means to pay a second time for their own houses—payment was exacted at once: and thus was the work of restoration performed by the Government I

The Christian inhabitants of Peshtera were ordered to provide at Begha 4800 beams of wood, or about eight beams for each able-bodied male (I. 525). A like requisition was made on the Mahometans, but they were rich with plunder, the Christians had only the roof over their heads.

And how was the work carried on? Mr. Baring tells us on the 8th of October, that of forty-three Turkish houses in the place, no less than forty were then rebuilt or were in course of it, "not a single Christian house (out of sixty-one) had been touched" (I. 526).

All that was wanted to make the scheme of these restorations perfect, was supplied by placing over them Ali Bey, as a superintendent. Mr. Baring says:—

"If the Commission wished to select a man, whose name would inspire terror in the hearts of the Bulgarians, a most admirable selection has been made" (I. 670; compare 669).

Had there been a spark of human feeling in the breast of the Turkish Government, it would have endeavoured to make palpable to the people the sense of a desire to do justice, and a moral change. But, in point of wantonness, the deeds which followed the great Vengeance almost exceeded those which were included in it. Thus about the middle of July, before we had even learned officially any appreciable portion of the truth, irregulars forwarded by rail from Adrianople to the seat of war amused themselves "in many places" (I. 13) by firing from the train on such Bulgarians as dared to labour in the fields, and even women, as well as men, were wounded in this manner.

True, however, to the arts of falsehood, the Porte continued to send forth anodyne assurances; and, when Sir Henry Elliot had been fairly choked with them, assured the British Government through Musurus Pacha (Nov. 23, 1. 716) that all that was needful had been done. Houses rebuilt; carpets, victuals, blankets distributed; peasants supplied with agricultural implements and advances in money. And all this out of a fund of 16,000*l.*

On the 21st of November (II. 265), according to Turkish account, only 1598 houses out of 5300 had been rebuilt. The sum of the matter, under this head, then, is that to the free action of the Porte there is due nothing whatever; that what has been done was extorted by Lord Derby; that it has been small in amount, late in time, partial in distribution, and a new instrument of oppression to many who had already suffered much.

X. Although the idea of restoration or alleviation in any form does not seem to have occurred to the Turkish mind, one department of the State at least did not forget Bulgaria; that was the Taxing Department.

On September 20, Consul Reade at Rustchuk hears that "the war and other taxes are being peremptorily levied; and that many who have lost their all, and cannot of course pay, are treated with great severity" (I. 415).

He adds, at that date, he is convinced that a system prevails which, "if the insurrection should be renewed, will bring on a far worse state of things than hitherto."

By September 20, this demand had been "suspended" (I. 418) in that district. But at Panagourichta, writes

Consul Schuyler, where the local industry was entirely ruined, the people were forced to pay the usual taxes, and to make good the damage done by the Turkish troops. They had been so careless as to burn a granary belonging to a tax-gatherer, and the inhabitants were required to bear the loss. (§ Repression.)

XI. My eleventh head of charge is on the continuance of the outrages, through many weary months after the Massacres. And here the only difficulty is how to escape from overwhelming the reader with the abundance of the evidence.

In July, writes Vice-Consul Dupuis on the 20th (I. 12), after all that had occurred, there was a fresh levy of Bashi Bazouks at Ilasskevi.

"After committing excesses in that town, which ought to have been sufficient warning to the authorities, they were suffered to depart for Philippopolis. The Caza of Hasskevi, and the Makie' of Kinoush, "which had escaped, comparatively speaking unhurt, the former razzia of the Bashi Bazouks," "were destined this time to become the scene of new outrages, and fresh horrors."

He then describes the careful organisation, under which these ruffians conducted the business of plunder.

Mr. Reade, who on Aug. 11 reported from Rustchuk the hangings of Bulgarians, on the 15th reports the gross maltreatment of a boy, including the "beating him unmercifully over the head," by a "regular," that is to say, a Turkish marine officer; which I name, because he happened himself to witness it. He reported it to the Pasha, who "did nothing whatever" (I. 66).

On the 19th, he mentions that he has "every now and then" reports of robbery, violence, and often murder by the Circassians; a few days before, of six Bulgarians murdered by them. No Bulgarian dare move about, unless with a Turkish guard, "whom he has to pay heavily." "I have over and over again spoken to the Pasha on the subject, but to no purpose" (I. 67).

Mr. Brophy, on Aug. 18, reports from Bourgas (I. 117) how on July 21 eight Circassians attacked a Bulgarian family at midnight. The father and son were pricked with daggers to obtain money; the daughter, of thirteen or fourteen, was twice violated, the second time "before her father's eyes." He has heard, but is not quite certain, that the girl was dead. Other outrages were committed on Aug. 3 or 4; and on the 12th, when four Circassians, on a sheep-stealing excursion, fired at the two shepherds. One was killed, the other not expected to live.

On Aug. 26 Mr. Brophy writes from Bourgas (I. 247): "On every side the Bulgarians are robbed, beaten, or killed, by their Circassian or Turkish neighbours. The rayahs are in many places afraid to go to their fields to plough, or to the mill to get their corn ground. The Mussulmans of all races seem to consider that it is lawful to despoil the 'infidel' in every way, and, if the 'infidel' dare to resist, to murder him."

With much more to a like effect; and with a notice of some honourable exceptions "among officials and private gentlemen."

Observe that these reports are from a portion of Bulgaria hardly implicated in the rising. Let us now pass to the south of the Balkans.

Mr. Baring reports on Sept. 20, four months after the Massacres, "no visible improvement has taken place in the condition of the Bulgarian villagers." The people were taken from their own grounds, to execute forced labour for the Turks, in a case which he names, and he is assured the same goes on throughout the Province (I. 431). On the next day he writes thus from Tatar Bazardjik (I. 432): "Not a day passes without the rayahs being insulted, threatened, and made to feel their inferiority." On the same day, Acting V. C. Calvert reports (I. 430): "The inhabitants of the burnt villages stand so much in dread of the Pomaks

The local name for Mahometan Bulgarians.

that they dare not go to the forests to cut wood for new dwellings; whilst the Pomaks make continual raids on the shelterless people, and take what few things they possess."

Passing again to the North, we find that Consul Reade on the 5th of October reports thus (I. 519):—

The open acts of tyranny and oppression of the chiefs of police, municipality, and such other authorities in power, that are also of daily occurrence, are alone sufficient to goad any people into revolt."

About the same time, October 6th, Consul Sanderson reports on the raids of the Circassians in the Dobrutscha. I will not dwell on the details of plunder and maltreatment: but it is well to notice that when these ruffians came up to serve as troops to Toultscha, by the order of the Governor, "many of the inhabitants buried their goods." This is one of the minor facts, perhaps more instructive in respect to the daily and habitual life of the subject races in Turkey than any number of details concerning actual crime.

On the 5th of October, writing from Philippopolis, Mr. Baring repeats his statement "that no improvement had taken place in the condition of the Bulgarians" (I. 521), and supports it by some cases. The murder of a Christian at Strelidja by two fellow-villagers; the women there unable to repair to the field, as the Turks violate them; a man sent to the place to work at harvest, but the Turks attempt to violate *him as well as* his mother, and they fly. A theft happening at Bellova, two Bulgarians are seized; and then two more, who are beaten until they consent to give evidence against the first two. A Bulgarian girl is beaten by a Mussulman gipsy, for refusing to

do forced labour for him. Christians demanding the restitution of stolen goods are threatened for it by the depredators who hold them. Wounded Bulgarians are seen in three cases by Mr. Baring himself: but in the last of those, wonderful to say, and probably owing to his presence, the malefactors had been arrested. Such are a set of instances, wound up with a declaration that "nothing can possibly be worse than the condition of the Christians in this part of Turkey" on the 5th of October; when the Porte had already had four months to repent of and redress the villainies, which, instead, it protected and rewarded.

One day later, Mr. Calvert writes from the same place (I. 525):—

"As regards the general condition of the Christian peasantry, I regret to say that it is as deplorable as ever. One well-authenticated incident will give an idea of the universal manner in which the Mussulmans are armed. A Pomak child, receiving the other day some real or imaginary offence from a Christian woman in a village near Peshtera, drew a pistol, and fired point blank at the woman, wounding her severely in the belly."

She lay at Philippopolis "in a precarious state." For the boy (of 8 or 10 years) the law provided no punishment. For the last four months, at Hasskevi, the Christian inhabitants had been forced to work without pay for the Turks.

In the Kalofer case, the 'Courier d'Orient' was suppressed for criticising the declaration by Lord Beaconsfield of the falsity of the story that forty girls had been burned there. It was false. In every case of terror such as this, however large the truth may be, it is sure to be exaggerated here and there by fable. But in that very place the villagers who contradicted the story said "that many women had been ravished, often in the presence of their relations" (I. 161); a favourite practice, as the Papers prove, with the Turks. Many women were also killed (I. 14).

At length, on the 12th of November, Mr. Baring reports "a change for the better in the state of public security." But again on the 4th of December, he regrets to have learned "several cases of robbery and violence," and a regular raid, made upon Avrat-Alan by a number of Turks. There were troops in the place, and the robbers fled: but "no arrests were made" (II. 60, 61).

On the 11th of December (II. 78) he reports two deaths "under suspicious circumstances," at Peroustitza, which he fears will make it more than ever difficult to obtain evidence against any Turk. A Bulgarian peasant has been found murdered on the road to Bazardjik. A policeman (*zaptieh*) steals the cat of an old man; perhaps the only living thing, which was now left him in the world to love. When the old man came to reclaim it, the *zaptieh* cut him down, and gave him a severe wound in the wrist. He went to Bazardjik to complain; but the brother policemen, with a fine feeling of loyalty to their comrade, drove him off. The *zaptieh*, thus under Mr. Baring's eyes, was captured; but (p. 70) he escaped. News came, Dec. 15, that he was recaptured. And we hear no more. It is the old story. Everywhere the insolence of old domination breaks out in crime; committed, in a large share of instances, by the professed ministers of the law. If the agent of a foreign Government be near, if he chance to hear of it, if he be humane, intelligent, active, bold, and persevering, then the Porte is compelled for the moment to mask its habitual purpose of shielding and rewarding outrage in a case like this, and to take some lazy measure towards a trial, in the nature of a first step which need not be followed up. So it is under the happy combination of all these *ifs*, which does not always happen. It did happen in the case of Mr. Baring. But how was it possible, even for him—and I think that the Queen has never had a braver or a better servant—to follow up continuously every case, to track the Porte and its agents through all its shiftings and escapes, to inspire, into what was for every purpose of good no better than a corpse, the hearty pulse of justice?

On the 30th of November (II. 33) Mr. Calvert reported that, owing to the presence of soldiers, at last obtained, and to the punishment of some *recent* outrages, a gradual yet continuous improvement was observable. The country was now full of relief-agents, every one of whom would be a centre of protective influence; and it would have been somewhat difficult to keep the troops out of Philippopolis at a time when it had become necessary to mass them in the Peninsula of the Balkans on account of the threatening attitude of the Russian forces.

But on the 19th of December, Mr. Baring is again found entreating protection for the village of Petrich from those who were its legal and should have been its zealous protectors. Here, he says, near the Vilayet of Sofia, the Turks show a most lawless spirit, and commit continual robberies (II. 178).

Again going northwards, we find from Mr. Reade on the 30th of December that through the Vilayet of the Danube the Christians are in great and general alarm; that, while he was there, robberies and violences were committed by other Mussulmans, as well as by Circassians; that Fandoukly Sultan, a notorious and wholesale offender during the Massacres, had been all this time at large, until, under pressure from him, bail was exacted; that the villages enjoying security only obtained it by paying Circassians for immunity, at the rate of 3000 to 4000" piastres a year (II. 208).

Here closes the sickening series of official reports. These outrages were thus constantly committed, with abundant shelter from a Government which towards outrage at least was truly paternal, upon a people most of whom had no concern whatever in the rising; and at a time, when the rest were subdued, and even grovelling,

under abject terror, and under the memory, mingled with the anticipation, of abominations hard to believe, and in some cases far too foul to name.

Happily we have the promise of a further report from Consul Schuyler upon this subject. In the meantime, for the months of January and February, I refer to the petition of Bulgarian Notables, dated Feb. 3, in the 'Daily News' of March 3; to a petition, which has been presented from the villages in the district of Tatar Bazardjik to the Representatives of the Six Powers, and of which I possess a copy; finally to the declaration of a Bulgarian, whom Mr. Jasper Moore, an English gentleman well known in political life, attests to me as among the very best authorities in the country. I subjoin his description, dated Feb. 20, 1877, from Philippopolis.

"The Juggernaut of Turkish extortion is abroad; a debased paper currency, forced labour for transporting military stores, or for working at military works, a second compulsory war contribution, squeeze the very life-blood out of our people.... Murders, outrages, and robberies by Mussulmans on Christians are occurring almost daily. Why should they not? Midhat's Constitution was made for the Europeans, and not for the people of this country?"

Such is the continuing condition of Bulgaria. One outrage perhaps in a hundred repressed or noticed, and that always under representation or influence from the agents of foreign Powers; who do not perceive or appreciate the normal utility of these outrages in producing the submissiveness, which is regarded as the only secure basis for the Turkish domination.

XII. The presence of a military force in Bulgaria has been but a bad security against outrage. But it was the only one; since the presence of Bashi Bazouks, or the free action of the Mussulman Pomaks, was invariably a security not against outrage, but for it. The regulars were heavily implicated, on various occasions, in the crimes of the suppression.

See, for example, Mr. Baring's Report, I. 157. After a recital of horrors (such as the *violation, followed by the murder, of a girl of fourteen, in the presence of her mother*), he says, "The case is not improved by the fact that these deeds were committed not only by Bashi Bazouks, but also by regulars; the Arab soldiers in particular distinguishing themselves by their licentiousness and ferocity." Again, "I am told," says Mr. Marsh (I. 980), "that the soldiers in Sliven number 600... But I myself have seen and experienced their lawlessness. The city would be safer without them!" Also see Mr. Schuyler on Novo Mahalleh and Peroustitza.

Something of even their character may be inferred from the Blue Books of last year. I quote the case, because I stated it with full detail in Parliament on July 31, 1876, and no contradiction has been or could be given. A party of twelve refugees came back from Dalmatia to Herzegovina, on the invitation of the Porte, under the escort of a party of regulars. The refugees were attacked, and massacred to a man, by some local Mahometans: the appointed guardians stood by and looked on (Papers of 1876, I. 49). However, there was a chance that they might do their duty in Bulgaria, on which the eyes of all Europe were now set. Without them, the ordinary routine of plunder, murder, rape, and bestiality, was certain. Without them, also, says Mr. Sandison, it was not easy to say (I. 372) how far the Commission would or even could do its duty.

On the 26th of September, nearly five months after the Massacres began, Mr. Baring reports, from the central point of Philippopolis, as follows (1.431):-

"No troops have been sent here from Constantinople; the 3000 men who left last week, and some of whom were said to be destined to garrison this town, went on to the seat of war."

This passage opens up another of the dark labyrinths of iniquity and falsehood, into which we must now descend.

The practice of the Turks and their devotees, since the Massacres, has been persistently to ascribe "what occurred" to the want of regulars. On their own showing, then, it was the first duty of the Porte to supply this want. It would be ridiculous to contend that this Empire of forty millions, ready as it is stated to face the eighty millions of the Czar, or even all Europe, in arms, could not supply 3000 or 4000 men for Bulgaria, because it had to conduct military operations against populations numbering say two millions, who were aided in Serbia by three or four thousand Russian volunteers. From May to July 1, however, even such a war did not exist. We find, notwithstanding, that Bulgaria remains denuded of military, to such an extent that Acting Vice-Consul Calvert has to move the Porte through Sir H. Elliot, by telegraph from Philippopolis, on two successive days, to provide for the peace of one of its own provinces lying next its capital. On the 16th of September he announces that threats are freely used by the Mussulmans, that isolated outrages are frequent, and "can only be stopped by considerable reinforcements of troops and police to disarm Turks." On the 17th, we are told the local Governor had already applied to Constantinople, but without result. *u* Bloodshed on a small scale possible, unless more troops sent at once" (I. 373). The Governor had made a second application. All in vain!

On the 19th, Sir H. Elliot sent his Dragoman to represent the case. With the two applications of his own Governor in his pocket, the Grand Vizir impudently replied, "that the news received by the Sublime Porte were satisfactory, and that nothing necessitated the Government sending troops in the direction of Philippopolis."

This, it may be said, was the Grand Vizir, not the impeccable Midhat. But unfortunately the next words of

the Dragoman are, "Midhat Pacha has confirmed the words of the Grand Vizir" (I. 374).

It seems, however, to have been felt that this portion of the miserable farce had been rather over-acted; and Sir H. Elliot writes on the 20th (I. 373), "I have since been told that a considerable number of troops have been sent to the district in question." Join on to this Mr. Baring's report of the 26th; and the picture is complete, as to the particular transaction.

But the particular transaction must also be joined on to the original, proceedings of. the Turk. At the outset of the rising "the provincial authorities sent urgent appeals to Constantinople for troops but the Grand Vizir did not send them (I. 164).

Mr. Baring insinuates that he listened to the evil counsels of Russia. But where, in this great emergency, were the good counsels, and the boasted influence, of England? If it be true that Russian agents recommended that the Massacres should be allowed, it is all the more expedient that we should keep out Russian ascendancy by now at length snowing the Slavs that they have something else to lean on; but no counsel of Russian agents can in the least degree diminish, though it might cumulate, the abominable guilt.

Why were not the Bashi Bazouks recalled when their horrible proceedings had become known? Sir H. Elliot incessantly pressed it. (Papers, I. 9)

On May 23, 1876, Mr. Sandison, by the order of the Ambassador, strongly remonstrated against the employment of the Bashi Bazouks in Bulgaria, peace still prevailing; but the Grand Vizir replied that he had referred the matter to Abdul Kerim, the Commander-in-Chief; to that Abdul Kerim whose written order to kill, burn, and destroy, we are told that Shefket Pacha carries, as the amulet of his safety. (Papers of 1876, III. 214.)

On the 8th of June (Papers of 1876, III. 267), the Ambassador was assured that the irregulars had been recalled. But on a later day of the same month, the Porte expressly refused to withdraw them; and we now further know that at a later date a fresh levy of them, and also of Circassians, was made. (Papers of 1877, I. 12.)

On the 5th of October Mr. Reade reports that, for want of police and military, "the public security is very unsatisfactory," both in the Dobrutcha and almost throughout the Vilayet of the Danube (I. 518).

This relates to Bulgaria north of the Balkans: we have already accounted for the country to the south.

XIII. Among the many recitals of the defensive or apologetic language by which the Porto was obliged to conceal its real sentiments respecting the Massacres, there is not to be found one single expression of condemnation, nay, not even of regret, for the utter ruin, and ineffable sufferings, of so many Bulgarians. It appears that no pressure of words from England, no dread of acts from Russia, has been able to draw from the Porto one syllable against the Massacres. From a certain point of view, this is even creditable.

The favourite method is to describe the Bulgarian outrages as "recent events" (II. 50), "occurrences" (I. 316), "what has occurred" (I. 750). But sometimes there seems to arise a vision of diminished receipt from Bulgaria; and we hear of the "troubles" (II. 319), "losses" (II. 225), "grievous sacrifices" (II. 24). The nearest approach to decency that is found practicable is in the phrase "unhappy business" (I. 61), used by Safvet Pacha on the 10th of August, and "sad episode" on December 23rd (II. 225). Turkey sought, too, "to heal the wounds of the civil war," by the means faintly imaged in these pages. The true spirit comes out in the speech of Ali Effendi, delivered for the Government in the trial of Alish Pehlivan, on the 20th of December, as it is reported by Mr. Baring. "Had it not been for the gallant efforts of those public benefactors, the Bashi Bazouks, the Empire would have been placed in great jeopardy" (II. 179). And this is borne out by the judgment of Mr. Baring in another despatch (I. 432).

"The vast majority of the Mussulman population look upon the perpetrators of the horrors not as criminals, but as heroes, who, for their praiseworthy efforts to extirpate a noxious race, have deserved well of their country.

XIV. I have not discovered in a single document proceeding from the Porte an admission that any excesses had been committed by the Mahometans in Bulgaria. When Sir Henry Elliot says he had received promises (*e.g.* I. 419), that the "guilty" should be punished, he does not profess to be quoting official language. In the view of the Porte, and in the declarations of the Porte, there are no where any guilty, except Bulgarian Christians.

Two methods of proceeding, however, seem to have been pursued. In communicating with the British Ambassador, it would have been perilous to say outright there was no outrage, no atrocity, in the execution of the Vengeance. The indirect method is therefore adopted. On June 19, 1876, the Grand Vizir (Papers of 1876, III. 344) dwelt upon the exaggerations, which were but here and there; on the atrocities of the Christians, which cannot be said to have existed in the sense in which the Turks flooded Bulgaria with atrocities; of the foreign agents, respecting whom Mr. Baring spoke in his first Report, but explained in a later Paper that they were not foreign at all, but were expatriated natives of Bulgaria. Again, Sefvet Pacha complained bitterly that the deeds of the Turks were exaggerated by the newspapers: and this at a time when British official agents had hazarded the astounding statement that it was uncertain on which side the greatest amount of crime had been committed!

But for the outer world, a different and bolder course was adopted. I refer again to the Order of Blacque

Bey, in which he speaks, on the 8th of August, of the pretended excesses committed in Bulgaria, and recites as part of the ground for suppressing a newspaper, that it had ascribed to itself a sort of merit in having been the first to expose those imaginary crimes (*supposés*).

So on the 5th of October (I. 524) Toussoun Bey stoutly maintained "that there had been no massacre at Dervent." This worthy's performances at the place are thus recorded by Mr. Baring (I. 523)

And surely, in addition to his other decorations, still enjoyed, he deserves the title of "the Infant-Slaughterer."

But it is not necessary to multiply the denials of inferior authorities in detail; for we proceed next to the highest of all authorities. It is however well to mention that, in close parallelism with the denials and evasions, ran the careful suppression of intelligence.

On one occasion the Porte had put into action a perilous machinery. After the scandalous affair of Edib Effendi, it sent two Christian Commissioners of its own to Philippopolis; and moreover it instructed them to tell the truth. It appears that they tried to do so. With regard to "the principal scenes of slaughter" their report did not "differ materially from that of Mr. Baring," except as to numbers slain; and they denounced the conduct of those who executed the Vengeance in the severest terms. At Batak they set forth that the villagers had given up their arms before they were assailed; and that "men, women, and children were ruthlessly slaughtered by the Bashi Bazouks, led by Achmet Agha, his son, and his son-in-law" (I. 418, 419).

But this report has been kept back by the Turkish Government; and it was not from them, but by some other means, that Sir H. Elliot obtained an acquaintance with its contents (*ibid.*).

XV. On the 11th of January, 1877 (II. 190), Lord Salisbury sends home a list of proposals to which as an irreducible minimum the Russian representative, and to which also the other representatives, had agreed. Among these is named—

"General amnesty to Christians condemned for political reasons."

In II. p. 274, Midhat is represented by Sir H. Elliot as having declined the proposal.

In p. 302, Lord Salisbury mentions on the 12th of January, a concession proposed by Midhat. He offered "to grant an amnesty to Mussulmans and Christians." This amnesty would, as Lord Salisbury proceeds to observe, have included Shefket Pacha and Achmet Agha.

XVI. We may now proceed to consider the authentic Ottoman account of the Bulgarian Massacres. It was delivered by Safvet Pacha, in the assembled Conference, on the 23rd of December. We shall find that it did not stop short of eulogy. Assuredly of blame it does not contain a word, except for the "revolutionary party," and the Bulgarian people.

The revolt broke out, said Safvet Pacha, "in a country as quiet as it was prosperous:" of which the moral wants had been the object of a special solicitude, so that the Porte was even accused of an undue partiality for the Bulgarians (II. 225).

No attempt is made to sustain by evidence this string of gross untruths. It was perhaps hoped that we should have mistaken the schools, which the energy of the people had built for themselves at their own cost, or which in some cases missionary activity had supplied, for a sign of the moral solicitude of the Turk.

These ungrateful Bulgarians, he continues, deluded by the strangers, rose against their benefactor, and massacred, pillaged, and burnt out the Mussulmans. But the movement was repressed. "without that effusion of blood which was pretended." Quite on the contrary "one would be astonished that an insurrection, which had for its object the conversion of all the Peninsula of the Balkans into a vast field of slaughter, could have been suppressed and completely annihilated, in so short a time, and without having had more losses to complain of."

Such is the estimate formed by the official Turk of orgies which hell itself might have envied. But he is not yet content. In the face of Europe, he pronounces a deliberate eulogy upon his crimes (II. 227).

"Turkey can say that it is her firmness and moderation which have overpowered that great revolutionary conspiracy,' which openly aimed at the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire, and at profoundly disturbing the peace of Europe."

And for this, and the whole of its services (*ibid.*), "The Ottoman Government believes it has acquired new claims to the sympathetic interest of the Great Powers."

These declarations entirely support my view. From first to last the Porte has been consistent. Compelled at times for a moment to dissemble, it has returned, upon the earliest opportunity, to its point of view. The bloodshed in Bulgaria was small not great, the whole proceedings good not bad. How, if this fails, is it possible for us to be undeceived as to the character, in its internal government, of an ally with whom the British Ambassador hopes to see us drawn into yet closer ties of sympathy and friendship (I. 425)?

XVII. The inquiry, originally wrung from the Porte, has been proved, by its history and upshot, to be a fictitious and pretended inquiry, a mockery and a prostitution of justice.

I might lengthen this pamphlet by setting out in detail the series of complaints by the Ambassador, the

Consuls, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Baring, respecting the delays, the evasions, the partiality, of the Commission, its evident determination to do as little as possible, and to do nothing that was effective, or (which is the same thing) that could bring it into collision with the inflamed and savage temper of the Mahometan population of Bulgaria.

As respects Lord Derby, it may be enough to say that on the 24th of November (II. 14) he addressed to the Porte through Lord Salisbury a most severe condemnation of the Commission; and that this condemnation was cited by the Government on the 12th of February, 1877, in the House of Commons, a fact showing that we must consider it as still in full force.

Lord Derby contrasts the laxity shown in bringing the Mussulmans to justice with "the activity displayed by the Porte in punishing the Christians and says of the Commission, the amended and final Commission (*ibid.*):

"The conduct of the Commission has also been in many other respects most unsatisfactory: the few members of it, who have shown any capacity for judicial investigation, have been checked and hindered by the interruptions of their colleagues; and, months after the massacre of hundreds of women and children, and of unarmed men, the Commissioners are still considering whether such murders are crimes."

Down to this date the Turkish Government had only supplied a sum of 7000*l.* for the restoration of the village. Nothing done to restore the industries. It was doubtful how many of the kidnapped women had been brought back. No examples on the spot. The trials far from the scene of the outrages. "The proceedings have thus been delayed, the effect of example lost, and the ends of justice to a great extent frustrated" (*ibid.*).

While Lord Derby described as above the conduct of the Commission, the Porte, at very nearly the same date, on the 22nd of November, assured the world (I. 751) that its progress was "most satisfactory;" that the character of its members "offered every guarantee" for justice; that "it was doing its work so speedily, that nothing further could be desired."

Until after the severe despatch of Lord Derby, dated September 21, we now hear from Mr. Baring (September 27. I. 432), that "not one of those who committed the atrocities had been put into confinement."

What, then, is the upshot, as far as at this date we know it?

It is important to bear in mind that after the murder of the Consuls at Salonica by a fanatical populace, not acting under the orders or according to the mind of the Government, the Porte made no difficulty about hanging at once six, and condemning to death six more, of the offenders. The extraordinary contrast between this proceeding and the course followed in the Bulgarian case, cannot possibly have been without a cause. The Porte does not desire the minder of Consuls. The Salonica mob had not understood the Government; the offenders in Bulgaria had understood it, and fulfilled its will.

On the 12th of February, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs gave the following account of the sentences pronounced in Bulgaria for excesses in the execution of the Vengeance.

Two condemned to death: Achmet Aga, and an insignificant person. Melto Behtash.

One to hard labour for life.

Three to hard labour for terms.

Two to short imprisonments.

Two functionaries recalled.

Of the execution of these sentences, Mr. Bourke had nothing to say. They were sentences only. They were ten in number. In the case of the two Consuls at Salonica, where the Turkish mob really had some sort of excuse, they were *twenty-seven*. (Papers of 1876, IV. 56.)

I am not sure that this answer did full justice to the Turk. We hear from Mr. Brophy on July 22 (I. 13), that a Bashi Bazouk was stated to have been hung, it did not appear for what crime. Somewhere else the death of another obscure malefactor is reported. If we add these two to the list, it stands as follows:—

III. CONCLUSION.

Our results on the whole may be summed up as follows:—

The Porte at first intended no inquiry at all into the repression, but energetically followed up the Massacres with further and rather sweeping vengeance.

It did not trust to avowed vengeance only; but prolonged the reign of terror and suffering in Bulgaria by advisedly withholding military guardianship.

To make its teaching yet more intelligible, it rewarded the most prominent cases of cruelty, and other yet worse outrage, by decorations, commands, and offices, as exhibitions of virtuous and patriotic energy; and it excluded from reward, or even visited with the punishment of dismissal, the cases, not a few, of courageous humanity among the Mussulmans, as exhibitions of a spirit unfaithful to the domination of Islam.

So far its action was perfectly spontaneous, as well as consistent; and it was singularly favoured by the extraordinary reticence, which kept back from the people of England the officially-attested knowledge of the

Massacres, until in the month of August, three months after they had occurred, it began to ooze out

Then arose the indignation of this country; it resounded in every other; and in a sudden manner, and probably with surprise, the Porte, which had been exulting in the success of its great achievement, found itself charged, in the hearing of all Europe, with having committed through its agents a portentous mass of crimes.

When the first mutterings had previously reached it, Commissioners were sent out, and official papers contrived, and circulated in Europe, which by omission, and by positive falsehood, wholly put aside the charges. This measure was carefully backed by the suppression of a newspaper for daring to support them; and false confessions were extorted from the terrified population, to assure the world that they were unfounded.

After other shifts, as the Indignation "did not 'pass but grew," a Commission was appointed to proceed judicially. Men known to be bad were placed upon it to mar the action of their more honourable colleagues. The support of adequate force, which is required in order to withstand the exasperated pride of the Mahometan population, was withheld. Evasions and delays of every kind were practised; the Christians charged, and sometimes the Christian counsel who defended them, exhibited the most abject terror. The bad men of the Commission bullied and domineered from the bench. The sentences have been few, slowly extorted under incessant diplomatic pressure, with the threat of Russian arms, and with the presence and incessant vigilance of foreign agents, especially of Mr. Baring. They have also been illusory, for as to those of confinement with or without hard labour, we have no means of knowing whether it has ever been inflicted, or whether if begun it will be continued. The only real, that is the only irrevocable sentence has been that of death, pronounced after some months of delay on one or two persons; in December, on a Pomak who had previously been rewarded for his crimes: and this sentence has not yet, in March, been executed. Even were the Turks to alter now the character of their proceedings, it is far too late. We have before us, "with ample verge and room enough," the true character, first of their spontaneous view and action on the Massacres; secondly, of the niggardly amount of make-believe inquiry and retribution, which gratitude for favours too many and too recent, which the fear of estranging friendly sympathy too long maintained, which humanity, which reason, which policy, which anything short of coercion could wring out of a State, of which the heart is on this subject harder than the nether millstone.

"Duris genuit te cautibus horrens Caucasus, Hyrcanarque admôrunt ubera tigres."

Virgil.—Æn. IV. 366.

It had become too late, for a long time too late, by any spasmodic change of proceedings to abate the force of the evidence here inadequately sketched, when on Friday, the 1st of March, the Under-Secretary of State was asked whether it was true that Toussoun Bey, the Infant-slaughterer, an offender second only to Shefket Pacha, with his batch of coadjutors, had been acquitted, and whether Mr. Baring had taken away the sanction of his presence from the Court which had performed this shameless mockery of justice? The answer was, that Toussoun and his accomplices had been absolved; that Mr. Baring had departed; and that no more trials would take place.

This is not a treatise on the subject of the East at large. But the Bulgarian outrages, though they are not the Eastern Question, are a key to the Eastern Question. They exhibit the true genius of the Turkish Government. Externally an isolated though portentous fact, they unlock to us an entire mystery of iniquity. Vast as is their intrinsic importance, they are yet more important for what they indicate, than for what they are. The heaviest question of all is not what was suffered in a given district at a given date, but what is the normal and habitual condition of eight or ten millions of the subject races, who for fifteen generations of men have been in servitude to the Turk. This is, I may say, the question of questions. And of this we can best judge by observing what is the conduct of the Government and its agents upon a great and palmary occasion, when, for once, it is brought fully into view. Let us see, then, what light has just been cast upon it. With the outrages the Porte now stands unalterably identified; and a Government so identified is not merely weak, or impotent, or passionate, or cruel in this or that particular: it is a Government which reverses the great canon of right and wrong; and which, in the holding down of the subject races, adopts the motto given by Milton

'Paradise Lost,' iv. 110.

to his Satan—

"Evil, be thou my good."

Not, indeed, that this inverted law is for the Porte an unvarying rule of action. There is no such thing in the world. Man is never consistent, in evil or in good. Hope, fear, interest, shame, a better nature breaking into light upon occasion, may produce, in its commonplace and secondary action, much that is less evil, and even some very few things that are good. But as in individual life, so in the life of Governments, it is the great crisis that searches nature to its depths, and brings out the true spirit of the man. The Bulgarian rising was a great crisis. A people of five millions, the most docile, patient, and submissive in all Europe, had dared to commence a revolt. It was as if the sheep were to attack the butcher, and fill him for a moment with alarm. Much violence, some cruelty, might in those circumstances well be understood. Habitual brutality, exasperated by fear, so far from

remembering in the hour of wrath the long endurance of a suffering race, determined that in proportion to their effeminacy in bearing should be their deep descent into the pit of suffering. Bulgaria had on the whole theretofore exhibited the most splendid example of successful Turkism, in its perfect submission to terror; in the seeming extinction even of the wish to murmur; lastly, in the copious revenues yielded by its dogged industry. Alfieri boasted of the Italians, long years before their resurrection to a nation's life—

"Siam servi si; ma servi ognor frementi."

In Bulgaria generally, even the last sigh had been stifled; it seemed not even to fret for freedom. And it is no wonder if to those who had spoiled this magnificent success, this great work of art, there was due, on the principles of Turkism, under the impulses of the wild beast that dwells in human nature, an exemplary vengeance. This is not new. The wars of the Serbian and of the Greek Revolutions

See *e.g.* the admirable paper of Mr. Godkin on the Eastern Question in the 'North American Review' for January, 1877,

supplied apparent parallels to the great Bulgarian Vengeance. But Christendom had not then the open channels, which happily it now possesses, for tolerably full communication of the facts; and though we may believe, we are not judicially entitled to assert, that the Turkish Government had at those junctures, as it has had now, the wretched perpetrators of the acts for the mere tools of its master-spirit, working from the centre at Constantinople for the misery of man.

This, I say again, is upon the whole the great anti-human specimen of humanity. To exorcise it will be easy, when the exercisers are agreed; difficult only as long as some remain wrapped in contented ignorance, others case-hardened in political selfishness, and some even possessed, as the British Ambassador has been possessed, with the belief that the condition of the subject races of Turkey ought to be supremely determined by whatever our estimate of British interests may require.

"We may and must feel indignant at the needless and monstrous severity with which the Bulgarian insurrection was put down; but the necessity which exists for England to prevent changes from occurring here, which would be most detrimental to ourselves, is not affected by the question whether it was 10,000 or 20,000 persons who perished in the suppression."—*Sir n. Elliot to the Earl of Derby*; Sept. 4, 1876. Papers, 1. 197.

A little faith in the ineradicable difference between right and wrong is worth a great deal of European diplomacy, bewildered by views it dare neither dismiss nor avow. In this state of things, and even with the great example of Mr. Canning in the case of Greece before us, it was natural to hope, as long as hope was not irrational, that the disease of Turkey was curable; that the mild and gentle tone, which the spirit of our Century has infused into so many Governments, might find access even to the hard heart of the Porte. But this hope only could be rational, only could be even excusable, so long as it remained ready to own the truth, to conform itself to the teaching of experience. This teaching we have now, to our sorrow, perhaps even to our shame, obtained. Neither weakness, nor accident, nor ignorance, nor an occasional fit of fury, nor the unfaithfulness of agents to their principal, lies at the root of the Bulgarian Massacres. They are the true expression of the spirit and policy of the Turkish Government in seasons of emergency; when, passing from the indifference and contempt with which it commonly regards every function of civil government, except the receipt of money, it dispels the precarious ease for which at times that indifference and contempt leave room, and in the words of Bluntschli, "does not shrink from sanguinary horrors" in support of its "barbarous domination."

"Das Recht der Europäischen Intervention in der Türkei."—In 'Die Gegenwart,' Berlin, December 9, 1876.

Again, then, I repeat the accusation. The Turkish Government, which debases its subjects when they submit, and by its agents plunders, violates, and murders them "at its own sweet will" from time to time, has a more developed and consistent method for seasons of crisis. On the occasions when they rise, as in Bulgaria, it exhausts upon them, it must be deliberately said, all the resources of a wickedness more fiendish than human, either by instigation beforehand, which is not yet proved, or by reward, protection, sanction afterwards, which is proved. After the most solemn and reiterated pledges to endow them with equality of rights, after incessant boastings of its own beneficent and paternal spirit, after trampling in the dust all these promises, and confuting all these boasts by its acts a hundred times repeated, it is inexhaustible like Proteus in ever new forms of evasion and escape, available to cozen none except those who are, lazily or perversely, willing to be deceived. Thus it is now going to be regenerated, for the hundredth time; it has launched, at length, its written Constitution. On this I do not waste a word; but I simply refer to the straightforward declaration of Sir Stafford Northcote,

'Times' of Feb. 9, 1877.

and to the masterly and lacerating exposure of Lord Salisbury.

Papers, II. p. 302.

If ever, in the whole history of human action, a negative was demonstrated by experience, it is the moral impossibility that the Porte either will or can efficaciously transmute by self-reform the relation between itself and its subject races. And are we thus to go on from day to day, and from year to year?

*"The days will grow to weeks, the weeks to months,
The months will add themselves and make the years."*

We palter, we excuse, we set up false lights to draw us off the path; at last with huge effort we appoint a man, yes, a real man, to speak; but he is well warned that his big brave words at Constantinople shall be well understood to be words only. What in the meantime is the state of these subject races? It is this; that their Government is the incarnate curse of their existence. If the child can laugh, if the maiden can breathe freely, if the mother can tend the house and the father till the field in peace, it is when, and so long as, the agents of this Government are not in view; and it only proves that tyrannous Power has not yet found the alchemy, by which it can convert human life into one huge mass of misery, uniform and unredeemed. What civilisation longs for, what policy no less than humanity requires, is that united Europe, scouted, as we have seen, in its highest, its united diplomacy, shall pass sentence in its might, upon a Government which unites the vices of the conqueror and the slave, and which is lost alike to truth, to mercy, and to shame. It is not a harsh sentence, but a mild one, that, at least where its guilt is thus fully proved, where the restoration of respect and confidence is hopeless, it shall submit, if not as I should desire to confine its claims to acknowledged dignity and liberal tributes,

I must, once for all, beg leave to assert my strong conviction that the method of a real autonomy, superintended from abroad in the transition-stage, is the method by far the most favourable, among all that have been proposed, to the Porte itself, as well as to its subjects, and to the peace of Europe.

yet at the very least to such restraints on the exercise of administrative power, as all Europe has declared to be indispensable. But above all, let us not cover with the name of compromises the new shifts we may devise to hide the nakedness of our minds, and the febleness of our wills. A "respite" for Turkey is simply a respite to the criminal, not from punishment, but from prevention; a solemn licence to continue his misdeeds. "A year of grace" to Turkey is to Turkey's victims only another year of debasement; of want; of misery and shame, felt more or less keenly by them just in proportion as they may less or more retain the higher senses and capabilities of humanity. In this free country, every man has his word, and every man his responsibility: the action of every man contributes to make up that tide of opinion, which moves the moral world. I ask of England, that we redeem the pledges which we gave to the subject races by the Crimean War, and by the Peace which followed it. Let others if they choose invite the spreading of new snares, and walk into them in open day. With a share of the responsibility of the Crimean War upon me, I respectfully decline to join them: and I have a firm conviction that, when the people of England tell their mind to the world and to the Porte in the choice of their representatives from time to time, the lesson conveyed by their acts, so far as it goes, will be, "You shall *not* do it again."

March 10, 1877.

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