

Since Margaret's arrival an effort had been made to alter this state of things. The tablecloth was laid at the beginning of the day; it remained on the table until the evening. But the irregularity of the meals continued.

Nine, ten, eleven for breakfast; one, two, three for dinner; five, six, seven for tea; what did an hour matter? After the orderly, regular meals at Fen

Court, Margaret's health was likely to suffer from the change.

The rain came down in sheets; the room was close; Nell was biting in her remarks.

A loud ring at the door, a man's voice in the passage made Margaret spring from her seat.

"Geoffrey!" she said.

END OF CHAPTER THE ELEVENTH.

THE PARLIAMENTS OF THE WORLD.

BY ALFRED F. ROBBINS.

I.—OF PARLIAMENTS IN GENERAL.



THE CLOCK TOWER.

(From a photograph by J. Valentine & Sons, Dundee.)

most appropriately theirs, indicates that the latter function is the one with which they have always been most associated in the popular mind. The word, derived from the French *parler*, which signifies "to speak," came itself from France some seven centuries since. It was the invention of the reign of the Seventh Louis, a monarch who seems to have done nothing in particular to distinguish himself beyond convening a general assembly of "states" under the now familiar name. Not yet did it reach England, for in our Statutes its earliest use is to be found in 1275; but that earliest use was of singular significance, for it was in the preamble to the First Statute of Westminster.

FROM a time to which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, large communities, as soon as they have approached a high degree of organisation, have felt it necessary to delegate a portion of their governing duties to an assembly of presumably their wisest. Such assemblies have assumed a wide variety of forms: they have sometimes worked, while they have always talked; and the very name of Parliament, which we now regard as

Although the name is thus comparatively modern, the institution, in its essence, is of remotest age. It is of world-wide spread: even in Russia there are the elements from which Parliaments in more civilised nations have developed; and its growth and expansion alike demand study and supply instruction. Far in the mists of antiquity is hidden the origin of legislative assemblies. A constant succession of such was certainly not demanded in the case of the Medes and the Persians, whose boast it was that their laws altered not; but this condition of immobility was scarcely more remote from our present Parliamentary ideas than the extremely fluid practice of the Athenian Senate, which changed its president every day. Yet it is interesting to recall this latter body, because Socrates once held the chair, and showed as brave a front against a clamorous assembly as Speaker Peel would be sure to do in this present age. It is a far cry from Socrates to Speaker Peel: to make the chain complete, we ought to have as Speaker for a single sitting Mr. Herbert Spencer. But the Athenian Senate, like the Roman Senate of a later day, had special glories of its own. The scholastic idea of these assemblies, roughly speaking, is that they were composed of venerable men who wore long beards, which were occasionally plucked by the Goths. It is as incomplete a generalisation as the vague belief of the casual visitor to Westminster that the House of Commons is a body of bald-heads, who sleep in the intervals of exclaiming "Hear, hear!" But in these days of impressionism it is just that kind of hasty view which is apt to be permanent.

England has so often been described as "the mother of free Parliaments," that it has come almost to be generally believed that all similar assemblies the world over are modelled upon the Westminster pattern, and that that pattern has been fixed and immovable. Our old friend "the intelligent school-boy," if he were asked to define the commencement and the composition of Parliament, would doubtless reply that it was called into existence in the thirteenth century by Simon de Montfort, and that it has always consisted of two Houses, with the Sovereign at the head. That is a widespread but curiously inaccurate

impression, for Parliaments existed in this country long before De Montfort, and originally were composed of a single Chamber. "At the first," Speaker Coke—known to legal fame as "Coke upon Littleton"—told the House of Commons exactly four centuries since, "we were all one House, and sat together, by a precedent which I have of a Parliament before the Conquest by Edward the Son of Etheldred, for there were



SIR JOHN ELIOT, KNT.
(From a contemporary painting.)

Parliaments before the Conquest. . . . But the Commons, sitting in presence of the King and amongst the Nobles, disliked it, and found fault that they had not free liberty to speak. And upon this reason that they might speak more freely, being out of the Royal sight of the King, and not amongst the great Lords so far their betters, the House was divided, and came to sit asunder. A bold and worthy Knight at the time when this was sought (the King desiring a reason of this their request, and why they would remove themselves from their betters) answered the King, "That his Majesty and the Nobles being every one a great person, represented but themselves; but his Commons, though they were but inferior men, yet every one of them represented a thousand of men." And this answer was well allowed of." How far this story has substantial basis is a question for the constitutional historian, but it is a charming legend, worth remembering.

There is this to be said for the English Parliament—that at a time when every other free assembly of the kind had been destroyed it vigorously upheld its manifold rights. "Strangers," once wrote that

illustrious confessor of liberty, Sir John Eliot, "have observed the felicities of England by her Parliaments." And well they might, for this country kept the lamp of representative government alight when it was extinguished in all parts, elsewhere. Constitutional historians boast that the pedigree of our Parliament can be traced straight back to the Britons, who, even before Julius Cæsar faced the chalk cliffs of Kent, had a "Commune Concilium" of their own—a title which, though now restricted to a portion of the governing body of the City of London, was, as lately as the reign of Elizabeth, applied to the House of Commons itself, the Speaker admonishing the members that they ought not to talk outside of the debates in which they had been engaged, and "showing unto them that they are the Common Council of the Realm." From the British "Commune Concilium," which is supposed to have given sovereign authority to Cassivelaunus, the historian passes to the Saxon Witenagemot, or Meeting of the Wise—for our forefathers occasionally proved their skill in the framing of complimentary epithet; thence to the Great Council of the Norman Kings; and onwards to the English Parliament. The pedigree is better attested than some of those which figure in Bernard Burke and strut through the pages of Debrett; but it has its gaps. From the days of De Montfort, however, every gap is to be explained; but it is not to be imagined that the assembly the great baron was the most potent agent in summoning was precisely like that which sedately sits at Westminster to-day. It was still, and it remained for long, mainly the Great Council of the King, and it moved with the Court. It wandered at the Sovereign will from Westminster to Winchester, from Oxford to Northampton, from Bristol to Gloucester, from Coventry to Cambridge, and from York to Carlisle. Only a little over two centuries since it moved out of London, though then for the last time, and lived one whole famous but stormy week at Oxford. Yet, so identified has Parliament become with its most accustomed site, that when the Palace of Westminster was destroyed by fire in the autumn of 1834, the then Prime Minister wrote to William IV., who had offered to place Buckingham Palace at the disposal of the Legislature: "Viscount Melbourne cannot conceal from your Majesty that he would be unwilling to be the Minister who should advise your Majesty, upon his responsibility, to remove the Houses of Parliament from their ancient and established place of assembly at Westminster."

The idea that a Parliament should assemble wherever the monarch kept his Court was not confined to England, for it accounted for the holding at Versailles of the fateful gathering of the States-General, which formed the prelude to the French Revolution. The pages of Carlyle, with their whirl of epithet, and those of Taine, with their embarrassing wealth of fact, have familiarised the reading world with the tumultuous proceedings of that epoch-making conclave—a conclave that developed into a Constituent Assembly, which, in its turn, passed into a National Convention, and which placed representative government in France upon a basis not to be destroyed even by Terrors, Red or

White, by *coup d'état* or Communist insurrection. In these times Parliaments sit not at the temporary resting-place of the Court, but in the national capital; and the framers of the United States Constitution, recognising the jealousies that this modern conception might arouse if it singled out any existing town for the meeting of Congress, created for the purpose that "city of magnificent distances," Washington, and placed it in a territorial District of its own, apart from the original Thirteen States, so that New York, Boston, and Philadelphia alike would have no occasion of envying or crowing over the other. When the Southern States seceded, some thirty years ago, the fact that the Confederate Congress assembled at Richmond made the Virginian city the capital of the Confederacy, though a more politic choice might have been Charleston, in "the Palmetto State," known to books of geography as South Carolina. "Where Parliament sits, there is the capital" is to-day the rule; and the fact that for a few weeks in 1871, because the German troops still surrounded Paris, the French Assembly sat at Bordeaux, and for another eight years, owing to the troubled state of Paris, met at Versailles, simply indicates the extreme state of duress which is needed to create an exception.

This is one of the practical sides of Parliaments, but the picturesqueness of the older assemblies has gone for ever. The time, of course, may again come when ladies shall sit—as ladies once sat—in Britain's Meeting of the Wise. Abbesses are recorded to have deliberated in Saxon times in company with bishops and nobles; and, even when the presence of a feminine element in debate was found by the presumably chivalrous Norman to be embarrassing, they were for awhile permitted to send their deputies to Parliament. But even after the picturesque element of the presence of ladies was eliminated from our greatest Common Council, the attendance of a number of mitred abbots gave colour to the gatherings at Westminster. When abbots had gone, the armed men remained; but although their appearance may have been striking, their accoutrements were to their neighbours a nuisance. "Monition was this day given by Mr. Speaker unto the Members of this House," wrote an Elizabethan chronicler, "that they would forbear from henceforth to come into this House with their Spurs on, in regard it is very offensive to many others of the residue of them. Others also (although nothing was done therein) moved to have Boots and Rapiers taken away." But those were the days when the House of Commons was not simply composed, as it now is commonly considered to be, of mere "Members of Parliament," but of four orders: Knights of Shires, Citizens of Cities, Burgesses of Boroughs, and Barons

of Ports, these last being the Cinque Ports. Happily for the Constitution, such distinctions, which were at first very real, never broke the House into sections, and gradually died away. Sir John Eliot left it on record that in the House of Commons "the meanest burgess has as much favour as the best knight or councillor; all sitting in one capacity of commoners, and in the like relation to their countries." And so, although a member might occasionally feel it necessary to plead for indulgence for being "but a Rural and a Countryman," the nominal difference between Knight, Citizen, Burgess, and Baron faded steadily out.

The wearing away of these distinctions has lessened the picturesqueness of Parliaments, while increasing their effectiveness. Because, however, we have no longer senators in curule chairs, it is not necessary to consider that these assemblies of the people's representatives are as unromantic as the loves of the triangles. They are, of course, intensely practical bodies—though, perhaps, not quite so commercially-minded as Beaumont and Fletcher imagined, when they made one of their characters exclaim—

"I am going to Parliament;
You understand this bag; if you have any business
Depending there, be short, and let me hear it—
And pay your fees."

They exist for a very definite purpose; and, as Francis Bacon once told the House of Commons, "The Cause of Assembling all Parliaments hath been hitherto over Laws or Moneys: the one being the Sinews of Peace, the other of War." There, in a nutshell, lies the reason why Parliaments are worth the study. Little more than a century ago there was only one true specimen of such in the world, and that sat at Westminster. The second in these modern times assembled at Washington; and now they are spread the wide world through. To-day, whether as French *Assemblée Nationale* or German *Reichstag*, Swedish Diet or Spanish Cortes, Bulgarian *Sobranje* or Servian *Skupshtina*, *Volksraad* of the South African Republic or Congress of the United States, Parliaments are to be met at every turn. Time was when those who thought themselves philosophers could airily dismiss such assemblies with a recommendation to some fortunate soldier to lock the door of St. Stephen's, and put the key in his pocket. But, apart from recollection of the historic warning that none have gone about to break Parliaments, but Parliaments have broken them, Westminster is now far from the only Parliament to be considered. There is to-day, indeed, not one of the five continents which has not a representative legislative body in active work.



THE PARLIAMENTS OF THE WORLD.

BY ALFRED F. ROBBINS.

II.—OF THE FRENCH AND GERMAN PARLIAMENTS.



ENTRANCE GATEWAY TO THE SENATE, PARIS.

(From a photograph by L. Mercier, Rue Ponthieu, Paris.)



It is manifest," said a constitutional writer in the time of George II., "That Parliaments have been the Basis of all the Gothic Governments, from remotest Antiquity; That hitherto no other Expedient hath been so effectual to keep the Rage of Prerogative within due Bounds, and that they are to be traced by their Ruins, in *Germany, France, Spain*, etc., at this Day." Powerful, indeed, as the French National Assembly and the German Reichstag at this moment are, the decrepitude of Parliaments in those lands was accustomed, up to the time of the French Revolution, to be the pitiful scorn of the English

politician. James Howel, in his quaint "Londinopolis," published while Oliver Cromwell was Lord Protector, could complacently observe that, although all the best-policied countries of Europe had a Parliament, and France its Assembly of the Three Estates, the latter had been for many years discontinued. But Algernon Sidney not so many years later could put the point much more bluntly. "The *German Diet* is still on Foot, rather encumbered, and clogged, and puzzled, than destroyed. The Parliament of *France* seems quite antiquated and subdued; the Ghost and Shadow of the defunct has appeared three or four Times since *Levi's* the XIth; but to revive that Assembly in its full and perfect Vigour, requires a Miracle like the Resurrection. It is in *England* only, that the antient, generous, manly

Government of *Europe* survives, and continues in its original Lustre and Perfection."

Happily for the peace and liberties of the world, not



M. DUPUY, PRIME MINISTER OF FRANCE.
(From a photograph by Ch. Ogerau, Paris.)

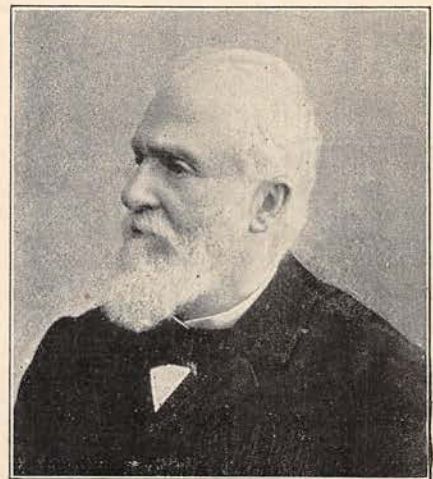
even the most patriotic Briton would repeat that last reflection now. This is not the place to detail the history of the miracle which, more than a century after the head of Sidney had fallen in the cause of freedom on Tower Hill, revived, and expanded, and strengthened the Parliament of France, and which assisted the resurrection and even the creation of Parliamentary Government throughout the world. But it is useful to recall the fact that, while this country can show an almost unbroken succession of Parliaments for over six hundred years, our great-grandfathers could survey Europe and not find a single truly representative national assembly outside these islands.

The old Law Parliaments of France—the meeting of which could be dismissed with a crack of the hunting-whip, and the declaration of Louis XIV. that the State was himself—had faded into practical insignificance by the time the Assembly of Notables was convoked in 1787 for the first time for 160 years. Hard upon the heels of that luckless gathering came the portentous assembling of the States-General. This was early in May, 1789; on the 17th of the next month the Third Estate declared itself to be the National Assembly; three days later, excluded by the Court officials from the Salle des Ménus at Versailles, their original meeting-place, the members repaired to the Tennis Court and swore never to separate until they had made the Constitution. This was the beginning of the modern system of Parliamentary government in France. It would require a volume to tell how the Constituent Assembly passed into the Convention, and to describe the ramifications of the Council of Five Hundred after the Terror and the Senate and Assembly of Napoleon Bonaparte. Another would be needed for the development of the Chambers of Peers and Deputies under the Restoration and the Orleans monarchy; the Con-

stituent and National Assemblies of the Second Republic; the Senate and the Legislative Body of Louis Napoleon; the National Assembly which legalised the Third Republic, and the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies which have continued its existence. All that can here be done is to tell something of these last.

The French Parliament as it is to-day was constituted by a law of February, 1875, which established the Republic upon its present basis. It was not, however, until the following December and January that the Senate was first elected, or until February and March that the Chamber of Deputies was chosen; and March 8th, 1876, was the date upon which the two bodies first assembled, their original meeting-place being Versailles. There the National Assembly of 1871, and subsequently the Senate of 1876, sat in the theatre of the Palace, while the Chamber of Deputies of the latter year gathered in a wing hard by; and it was not until November, 1879, that the two Houses of the French Legislature returned to the national capital, though, by an oversight in the Constitution, they still go to Versailles to vote as one body in choice of a new President, as in the cases of Grévy, Carnot, and Casimir-Périer.

In Paris, unlike the British custom, the two Houses sit in separate buildings, and these at some distance from each other. The Senate is located in the Palace of the Luxembourg, built for the widow of Henri Quatre, the white-plumed Knight of Navarre, whom Macaulay taught every schoolboy to know. Like all the older buildings of Paris, it is saturated with a grim collection of historical memories. A royal residence until the Revolution, it was a state prison under the Convention, through which Danton and Camille Desmoulins, Hébert and Robespierre passed on their way to the guillotine, and Josephine Beauharnais on hers to a throne. Occupied in turn by the Directory and the Consulate, it was successively the home of the imperial Senate and the monarchical Chamber of Peers. Then it became the meeting-place of the



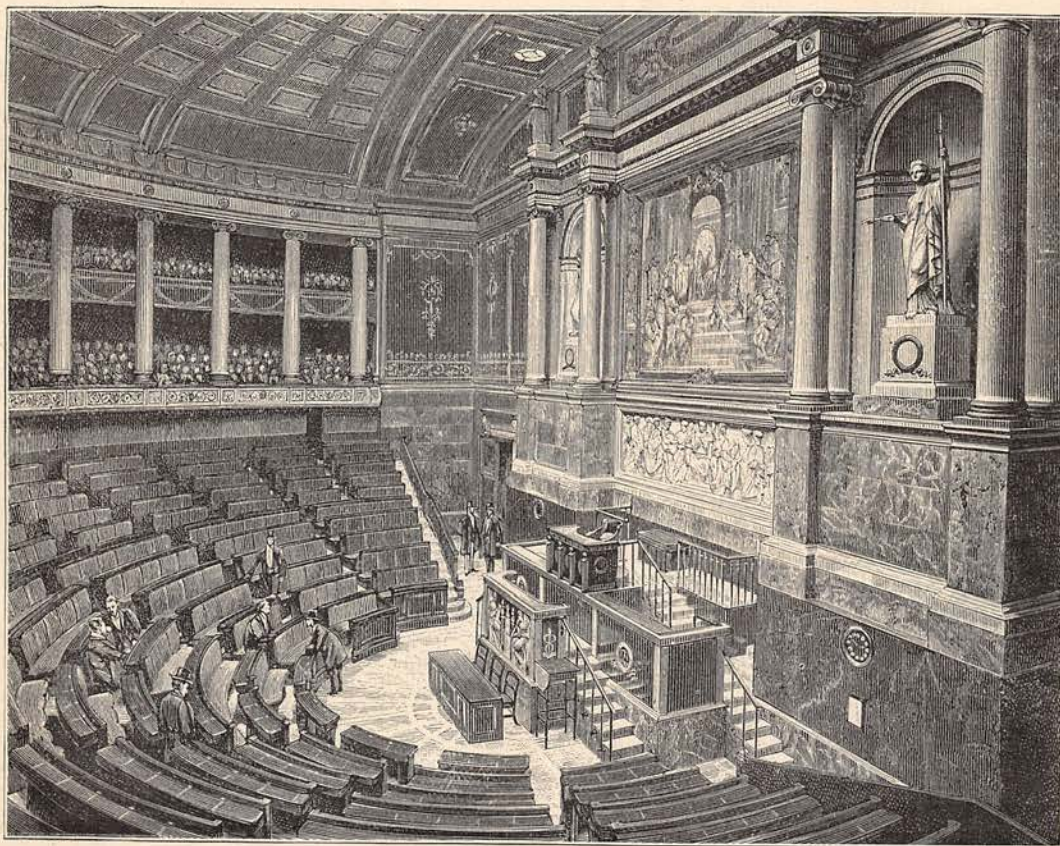
M. CHALLEMEIL-LACOUR, PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH SENATE.

(From a photograph by Ch. Ogerau, Paris.)

Socialist experimenters of 1848 and the Second Republic, and of the scarcely more successful Senators of 1852 and the Second Empire. Spared by the Communists, it was the office of the Prefecture of the Seine from 1871 to 1879, and then once more it was made to serve as a Senate-house.

Here, amid pictures glorifying with a certain

From the Palais du Luxembourg, it is a good walk to the Palais du Corps Législatif, which looks across the Seine and the Place de la Concorde to the fine façade of the Madeleine, which closes the view. It is here that the Chamber of Deputies sits; but, just as one finds in a handful of silver change in Paris, coins of king, and emperor, and republic, or sees upon an



INTERIOR OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, PARIS.

(From a photograph by Neurdein Bros., Paris.)

impartiality Merovingian and Carolingian, Capet and Valois, Bourbon and Bonaparte, the French Senate of to-day, under the presidency of M. Challemel-Lacour, meets and deliberates. It consists of three hundred members, all of whom must be forty years old. The term for which a member sits is nine years, and one-third of the total retire annually, to be elected by a special body, which is composed of the deputies, councillors-general, and district councillors of the several departments, sitting with delegates chosen by the municipal council of each commune in proportion to the population. When the Senate was created, it was enacted that a quarter of the whole number should be chosen for life by the two Houses acting together; but that system lasted only nine years, and the Senate is now a purely elective body, though, as has been indicated, constituted by a system of indirect election.

official placard in a railway station the decrees of Louis Philippe and Louis Napoleon mingled with those of Grévy and Carnot, so "the Palais Bourbon" is the name most commonly given to the building in which the directly representative assembly of the Republic sits. The Council of Five Hundred was the first legislative body to occupy it, after it had taken a turn of revolutionary service by being made a storehouse for ammunition wagons. Bonaparte continued its better use by allotting it for the meeting of the Chamber of Deputies; and this continued under the Restoration, though only upon payment of a rent to the Prince de Condé, from whose family the Palais Bourbon had been taken at the Revolution.

Then came two changes in its history which the superstitious might consider significant. Not long before the final fall of the Bourbons in 1830, the

chamber in which the deputies sat was found to be falling into decay. While it was being renovated, they moved into a temporary room erected in the garden; before they could return, Charles X. had fled and Louis Philippe was on the throne. In his turn, and in 1848, the "Citizen-king" had to take a journey to which the later French monarchs had become accustomed. Then it was found that even the new chamber was too small to accommodate the nine hundred deputies summoned to the Constituent Assembly of the Second Republic. Once more the use of a temporary structure was invoked; and, ere the deputies went back to their accustomed chamber, the Second Republic had gone the way of the Monarchy of July, and "the pasteboard room," as it was contemptuously called, was destroyed after the *coup d'état* of 1851. Then for eighteen years the Chamber of Deputies sat in the old place, until on September 4th, 1870, the Napoleonic dynasty was overturned in the national uprising after Sedan; and not for another nine years did its walls echo to the sounds of political passion, it remaining empty until the return of the Republic's Chamber of Deputies from Versailles.

But these are not all the memories of the Palais Bourbon, which possesses many more dramatic associations than the Luxembourg. Outside the latter, it is true, Marshal Ney—the bravest of the brave—was shot by the restored Bourbons as a traitor; but it was to a deputation from the former that Napoleon Bonaparte presented the banners taken at Austerlitz. The military glories of the First Empire and the shame in which they closed were thus typified, but it has been in connection with revolutionary outbursts that the Chamber of Deputies has witnessed its most noteworthy scenes.

It was on the morning of February 24th, 1848, when Louis Philippe was preparing for that flight in a cab which Thackeray immediately immortalised in scathing satire, that the king's daughter-in-law, the Duchess of Orleans, entered the Chamber of Deputies with her young children, the Comte de Paris and the Duc de

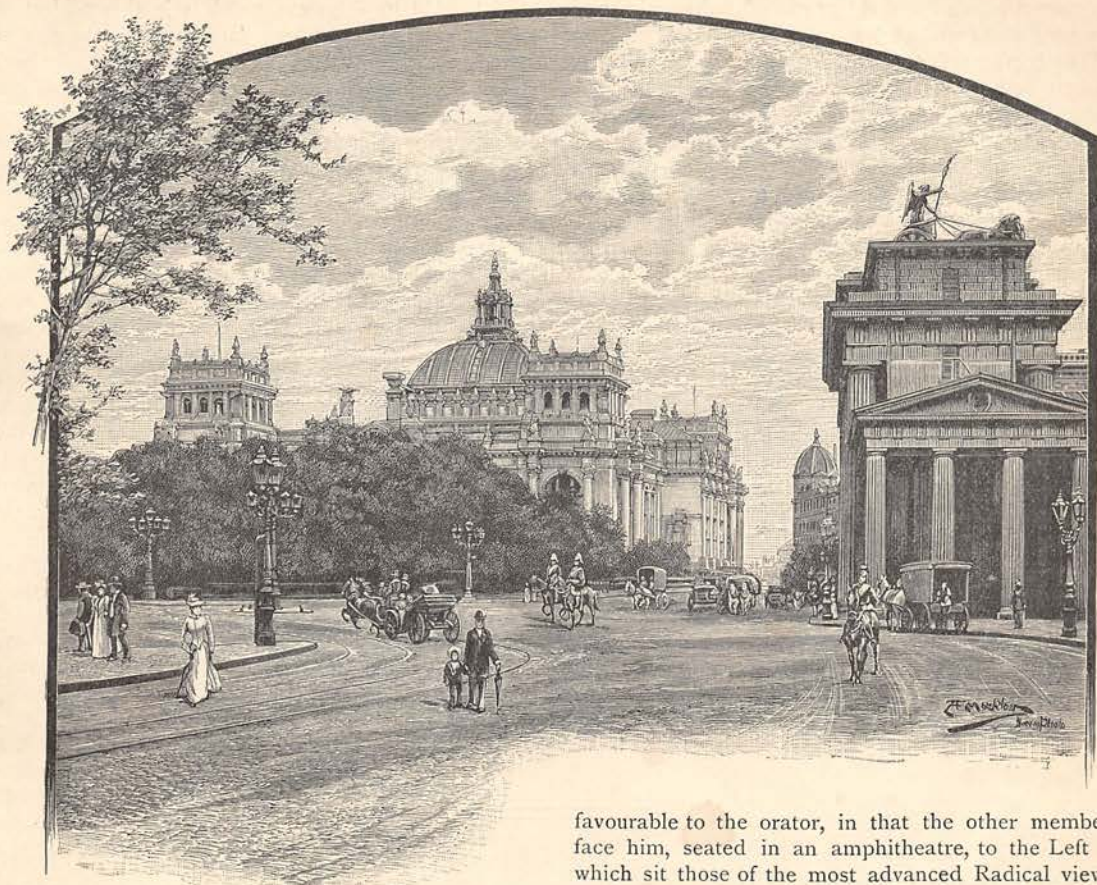
Chartres, both of whom still live. In favour of the former the old king had abdicated, and, standing near the tribune, she came for confirmation of the deed which made the Comte de Paris King and herself Regent. Alarmed at the increasing tumult, her friends besought her to go. "If I leave this Assembly," she prophesied, with an accuracy she little guessed, "my son will never enter it again." Proceeding to the upper benches, she essayed to address the turbulent crowd of deputies and spectators; but her efforts were without avail; and although she preserved a magnificent courage to the last, scarcely faltering even when muskets were levelled at her little ones and herself, she had to leave, never with either of her sons to see the Chamber of Deputies more. And while the Chamber of Peers was sitting at the Luxembourg, specially preparing to receive her, she recognised that the Palais Bourbon had spoken the irrevocable word, with the consequence that she left Paris the same evening, and the present result that the Comte de Paris remains to this day an uncrowned king.

Not three months elapsed before the Chamber of Deputies witnessed another violent scene, but it was not then the representatives of the people declining to give effect to a deed of abdication—it was a turbulent mob endeavouring to expel the legislators. For a few hours the mob triumphed. Out went the Deputies and in came the Communists, whose spokesmen, amid shrieks of delight from their friends, declaimed from the tribune, and proposed and carried revolutionary resolutions to their hearts' content. But the National Guard, which had proved a broken reed to Louis Philippe, stood loyally for this moment by the Assembly. They ejected the mob, arrested the leaders, and reinstated the deputies, who were later to be expelled, imprisoned, and even massacred when Louis Napoleon had fashioned his *coup d'état*.

By what can only be considered a dramatic fate, the Chamber of Deputies was the scene of the deposition of that last Napoleon. A sitting had been summoned for the midnight which closed the fateful Saturday in September, 1870, when the news of the crowning disaster of Sedan was gradually becoming known in Paris. In the earliest hours of the morning the Imperialist Ministry asked for time to think, and Jules Favre announced that at the next assembling he would demand the Emperor's deposition. On the Sunday afternoon the end came. The galleries of the chamber were crowded and noisy, while the chamber itself was nearly empty and wholly excited. Deliberation was impossible, but Gambetta proceeded to the steps of the Palais Bourbon, and there proclaimed the dethronement of the Emperor and the establishment of the Republic. And the next day the Senate was abolished, and the Corps Législatif dissolved. There has been no such scene since then; but neither Paris nor history is likely to forget December 9th, 1893, when the Anarchist, Vaillant, threw a bomb among the assembled Deputies, whose courage in face of murderous outrage was equalled by the calmness of their then president, M. Dupuy, who had occupied the



HERR VON LEVETZOW, PRESIDENT OF THE REICHSTAG.
(From a photograph by Jul. Braatz, Berlin.)



SIDE VIEW OF THE NEW BUILDING FOR THE GERMAN REICHSTAG, FROM THE BRANDENBURG GATE.

chair only a few days, but who proved himself a worthy successor in that position of Grévy, Gambetta, Brisson, and Casimir-Périer.

The membership of the Chamber of Deputies is nearly double that of the Senate, being 584 as against 300. While a Senator must be forty years of age, a Deputy needs to be no older than twenty-five, qualifications which are more in fashion in Continental countries than our own, where twenty-one suffices for entrance to both Lords and Commons. Candidates are elected by universal suffrage for a term of four years, but they must secure an actual majority of those voting, and, within a fortnight before the poll, must make a declaration that they are contesting only one constituency. Members of the Chamber receive a salary of 9,000 francs (£360), the Senators having 15,000 francs (£600), and all possessing certain privileges of free travel on the State railways. In both Senate and Chamber the speaker of the moment addresses his colleagues not from his place, as with us, but from the tribune, which is placed immediately under the President's chair, and overlooking the official secretaries, or clerks-at-the-table, as they might be called at Westminster. And this position is the more

favourable to the orator, in that the other members face him, seated in an amphitheatre, to the Left of which sit those of the most advanced Radical views, to the Right those of extreme Conservative opinions, and those shading into moderation towards the Left Centre and the Right Centre respectively.

The cry "À Berlin" so heedlessly uttered by the Parisian crowd in July, 1870, can be echoed at this point to denote the transition from a view of the French to one of the German Parliament. But there is a double discrimination to be made. In France there are simply the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies; in Germany exist not only the Bundesrath and the Reichstag for imperial purposes, but various Parliaments and Councils for the separate kingdoms, grand duchies, duchies, principalities, and free towns which form the Empire. That is not all. French parliamentary history is filled with stirring changes and picturesque events, but that of Germany has been largely exempt from both.

It was amid derision on the part of its enemies, and disappointment on that of its friends, that the first German Parliament expired. Called into existence early in 1848, "the year of revolutions," it was elected by universal suffrage, and was recognised by the Bündeastag or Confederate Diet of the day. But its meetings at Frankfort-on-the-Main proved abortive, and it passed out of sight. Not until the spring of 1871 was the idea of a German Parliament revived, and then it was the outcome of that pledge among the several states, under the leadership of Prussia, to "form

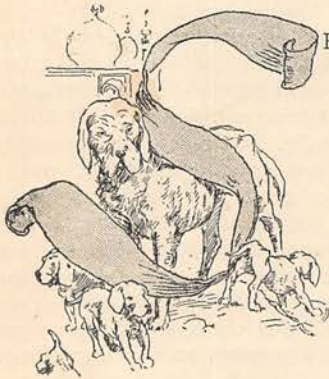
an eternal union for the protection of the realm and the care of the welfare of the German people."

The B \ddot{u} ndesrath, or Federal Council, consists of fifty-eight members appointed by the Governments of the individual states, and allotted proportionately among them, according to population. Its members, who are unpaid but are allowed travelling expenses, may take a seat in the Reichstag and claim to speak in support of the views of their Government; and while the Reichstag cannot be convoked without the B \ddot{u} ndesrath, the latter can assemble while the former is out of session. It is presided over by the Reichskanzler or Imperial Chancellor, formerly Prince Bismarck, and now Count Caprivi; and it has special powers of its own, clearly laid down in the Constitution of the Empire. The Reichstag has 397 members, whose personal privileges are the same as in the B \ddot{u} ndesrath, and who are elected by universal suffrage for five years, unless there intervenes a dissolution, which can be voted by the B \ddot{u} ndesrath, with the consent of its President.

The Reichstag meets at present in a temporary Reichstags-Gebäude or Hall of the Imperial Diet, hastily erected in 1871 on the site of an old porcelain manufactory; but it is not in its own home that it is addressed by the Emperor at the opening of each session. Then the members proceed to the White Saloon of the Royal Palace in which the old United Diet of Prussia

used to hold its debates; and it is in this noblest of all rooms in the palace, and surrounded by the marble statues of the twelve Prince-Electors of Brandenburg and eight colossal figures representing the provinces of the Prussian monarchy, that the representative embodiment of Germany yearly assembles to greet its Emperor. The permanent home of the Reichstag, which has been in course of erection for some years on a site formerly occupied by the Reczynski Palace, promises to be the most striking building in Berlin. Its splendid main entrance facing the K \ddot{o} nigs Platz will be surmounted by a colossal equestrian group, representing Germania, from the chisel of Professor Begas, the nation's foremost sculptor and a great favourite with the Emperor. The legislative chamber is to be arranged on the French semicircular plan, each member being provided with a seat, while the representatives of the Press will be placed immediately under the President's chair, a splendid position for both seeing and hearing. The external effect, however, is not likely to be at all as imposing as had been hoped. The building stands low; it has for neighbours some ugly tenements, and the patriotic German will admire it the less because it has already earned the unconcealed dislike of the Emperor. It is, however, as a symbol of the national unity that the new German Parliament-house will chiefly be remarked.

HANOUUM : A MONGREL OF STAMBOUL.



HE lay in the middle of the Galata Road, surrounded by half-a-dozen sprawling, mouthing, blind things, which had come to light an hour previously. It was dusk, and I stumbled over her, giving her huge body an acute shock, and causing her to raise herself feebly

on her haunches, as if to ward off further ill-usage. She was about the size of a mastiff, and belonged to the multitudinous Constantinople dog-waifs that live out their strange life in her streets and waste places, away from the human protection and love their fellows know so well how to win and appreciate. She was sandy-coloured, but her upturned face was pure white, and reminded me in the twilight of the visages of the women of the harem I had just quitted. The Sultana and her companions would have no lamps lit in the enshrined and carpeted hall. They declared that

they preferred chatting in the penumbra with their European visitor, and I was obliged to be content with a very unsatisfactory glimpse of their charms. The Turkish colloquialism for a mistress of the house is "hanouum," and I straightway adopted the name for the pale-muzzled down-trodden creature whom I had stepped upon unthinkingly. The dog did not seem particularly shy, but rolled her head in my skirt, as if to assure me that she was fully aware of any kindly sentiments I might entertain towards her, and would be glad of some practical proof of this good feeling. My house happened to be situated very near to the spot, and I was able to wheedle my new acquaintance into squatting on the grass-plot at the back, together with her brood of speckled pups. For about a fortnight Hanouum did me the honour of remaining within sight of the house. The young dogs thrived on succulent beef-bones and kitchen scraps, and were soon as vigorous as their mother.

But one morning I was very disappointed not to see the big fawn-hued shape, with its "awkward squad" of pups, on my grass-plot. I walked all round Galata, but though I met very many dogs, I saw nothing of my tawny friend or her family. She came back, however, three days later in a deplorable