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A
SHORT HISTORY
OF THE
ENGLISH PEOPLE

JOHN RICHARD GREEN

HONORARY FELLOW OF JESUS COLLEGE, OXFORD

WITH TABLES
IN FOUR PARTS

PART IV
EPILOGUE, 1815-1914
BY ALICE STOPFORD GREEN

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CHRONOLOGICAL ANNALS
OF
ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHRONOLOGICAL ANNALS

ENGLISH HISTORY

THE ENGLISH KINGDOMS.

449-1016.

- | | | | |
|------------|---|------------|---|
| 449 | English land in Britain. | 642 | Oswald slain at Maserfeld. |
| 457 | Kent conquered by English. | 651 | Oswiu , King of Northumbria, died 670. |
| 477 | Landing of South Saxons. | 655 | —Victory at Winwad. |
| 491 | Siege of Anderida. | 658 | West Saxons conquer as far as the Parret. |
| 495 | Landing of West Saxons. | 659 | Wulfhere King in Mercia. |
| 519 | Cerdic and Cynric , Kings of West Saxons. | 661 | —drives West Saxons over Thames. |
| 520 | British victory at Mount Badon. | 664 | Council of Whitby. |
| 547 | Ida founds kingdom of Bernicia. | | <i>Cadmon at Whitby.</i> |
| 552 | West Saxons, take Old Sarum. | 668 | <i>Theodore made Archbishop of Canterbury.</i> |
| 560 | iSthelberht , King of Kent, died 616. | 670 | Ecgrith , King of Northumbria, died 685. |
| 568 | —driven back by West Saxons. | 675 | Æthelred , King of Mercia, died 704. |
| 571 | West Saxons march into Mid-Britain. | 681 | <i>Wilfrid converts South Saxons.</i> |
| 577 | —conquer at Deorham. | 682 | Centwine of Wessex conquers Mid-Somerset. |
| 584 | —defeated at Faddiley. | 685 | Ecgrith defeated and slain at Nectansmere. |
| 588 | Æthelric creates Kingdom of Northumbria. | 688 | Ine , King of West Saxons, died 726. |
| 593 | Æthelfrith , King of Northumbria, died 617. | 715 | —defeats Ceolred of Mercia at Wanborough. |
| 597 | <i>Aughtstine converts Kent.</i> | 716 | Æthelbald , King of Mercia, died 757. |
| 603 | Battle of Daegsastan. | 733 | Mercian conquest of Wessex. |
| 613 | Battle of Chester. | 735 | <i>Death of Bcda.</i> |
| 617 | Eadwine , King of Northumbria, died 633. | 753 | <i>Death of Boniface.</i> |
| 626 | —overlord of Britain. | 754 | Wessex recovers freedom in battle of Burford. |
| | Penda , King of the Mercians, died 655. | 756 | Eadberht of Northumbria takes Alcluyd. |
| 627 | Eadwine becomes Christian. | 758 | Offa , King of Mercia, died 796. |
| 633 | —slain at Ha'tfield. | 775 | —subdues Kentish men at Otford. |
| 635 | Oswald , King of Bernicia, died 642. | 779 | —defeats West Saxons at Bensington. |
| | —defeats Welsh at Hevenfeld. | 786 | —places Beorhtric on throne of Wessex |
| | <i>Aidan settles at Holy Island.</i> | 787 | —creates Archbishopric at Lichfield. |
| | Conversion of Wessex*. | | First landing of Danes in England. |

CHRONOLOGICAL ANNALS.

- 796** **Cenwulf**, King of Mercia, died 821.
802 **Ecgberrht** becomes King in Wessex, died 839.
803 Cenwulf suppresses Archbishopric of Lichfield.
808 Charles the Great restores Eardwulf in Northumbria.
815 Ecgberrht subdues the West Welsh to the Taniar.
821 Civil war in Mercia.
825 Ecgberrht defeats Mercians at Ellandun.
 ——— overlord of England south of Thames.
 Revolt of East Anglia against Mercia.
827 Defeat of Mercians by East Anglians.
828 Mercia and Northumbria submit to Ecgberrht.
 Ecgberrht overlord of all English kingdoms.
 ——— invades Wales.
837 ———' defeats Danes at Hengestesdun.
839 **iBthelwulf**, King of Wessex, died 858.
837 Alfred born.
851 Danes defeated at Aclea.
853 *Ælfred* sent to Rome.
855 *Æthelwulf* goes to Rome.
857 *ffithelbald*, King of Wessex, died 860.
860 *Æthelberht*, King of Wessex, died 866.
866 *Æthelred*, King of Wessex, died 871.
867 Danes conquer Northumbria.
868 Peace of Nottingham with Danes.
870 Danes conquer and settle in East Anglia.
871 Danes invade Wessex.
Ælfred, King of Wessex, died 901.
874 Danes conquer Mercia.
876 Danes settle in Northumbria.
877 *Ælfred* defeats Danes at Exeter.
878 Danes overrun Wessex.
Ælfred victor at Edington.
 Peace of Wedmore.
883 Alfred sends envoys to Rome and India.
- 886** Alfred takes and refortifies London.
893 Danes reappear in Thames and Kent.
894 Alfred drives Hasting from Wessex.
895 Hasting invades Mercia.
896 *Ælfred* drives Danes from Essex.
897 Hasting quits England.
 Alfred creates a fleet.
901 **Eadward the Elder**, died 925.
912 Northmen settle in Normandy.
913 *Æthelflaed* conquers Danish Mercia.
918 *Eadward* subdues East Anglia and Essex.
921 ——— owned as overlord by Northumbria, Scots, and Strathclyde.
924 **Æthelstan**, died 940.
925 ——— drives Welsh from Exeter.
926 ——— invades Scotland.
934 Victory of Brunanburh.
937 **Eadmund**, died 946.
940 Dunstan made Abbot of Glastonbury.
943 Cumberland granted to Malcolm, King of Scots.
945 *Eadred*, died 955.
946 ——— makes Northumbria an Earldom.
954 *Eadwig*, died 959.
955 Banishment of Dunstan.
956 Revolt of Mercia under *Eadgar*.
957 **Eadgar**, died 975.
958 *Dunstan Archbishop of Canterbury*.
959 **Eadward the Martyr**, died 978.
975 **Æthelred the Unready**, died 1016.
978 Fulc the Black, Count of Anjou.
987 Invasion of Swein.
1040 Massacre of Danes.
994 Swein harries Wessex.
1002 Murder of Archbishop *Ælfheah*.
1003 All England submits to Swein.
1012 Flight of *Æthelred* to Normandy.
1013 **Eadmund Ironside**, King, and dies.
1016

ENGLAND UNDER FOREIGN KINGS.

1016-1204.

- 1016** **Cnut**, King, died 1035.
1020 Godwine made Earl of Wessex.
1027 Cnut goes to Rome.
 Birth of William of Normandy.
1035 Harald and Harthacnut divide England.
1037 **Harald**, King, died 1040.
1040 **Harthacnut**, King, died 1042.
 Geoffrey Martel, Count of Anjou.
1060 **Eadward the Confessor**, died 1066.
1042 *Lanfranc at Bec*.
1045
- 1047** Victory of William at Val-es-dunes.
1051 Banishment of Godwine.
 William of Normandy visits England.
1052 Return of Godwine.
1053 Death of Godwine.
 Harold made Earl of West Saxons.
1054 William's victory at Mortemer.
1055 Harold's first campaign in Wales.
1054 Norman conquest of Southern Italy.
1060 William's victory at the Dive.
1058

- 1060 Normans invade Sicily.
 1063 Harold conquers Wales.
 1066 **Harold**, King.
 —conquers at Stamford Bridge.
 —defeated at Senlac or Hastings.
 William of Normandy, King, died 1087.
 1068 Norman Conquest of England.
 1071
 1070 Reorganization of the Church.
 Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury.
 1075 Rising of Roger Fitz-Osbern.
 1081 William invades Wales.
 1085 Failure of Danish invasion.
 1086 Completion of Domesday Book.
 1087 **William the Red**, **died noo.**
 1093 *Anselm* [^] *Archbishop*.
 1094 Revolt of Wales against the Norman
 Marchers.
 1095 Revolt of Robert de Mowbray.
 1096 Normandy left in pledge to William.
 1097 William invades Wales.
 Anselm leaves England.
 1098 War with France.
 1100 **Henry the First**, **died 1135.**
 > Henry's Charter. .
 1101 Robert of Normandy invades England.
 1106 Settlement of question of investitures.
 English Conquest of Normandy.
 1109\ Fulk of Jerusalem, Count of Anjou.
 1129
 1110 War with France.
 1111 War with Anjou.
 1113 Peace of Gisors.
 1114 Marriage of Matilda with Henry V.
 1120 Wreck of White Ship.
 1121 Henry's campaign in Wales.
 1123 Revolt of Norman baronage.
 1124. France and Anjou support [^] William Clito.
 1128 Matilda married to Geoffrey of Anjou.
 Death of the Clito in Flanders.
 1134 Revolt of Wales.
 1135 **Stephen** of Blois, **died 1154.**
 1138 Normandy repulses me Angevins.
 1138 Revolt of Earl Robert.
 Battle of the Standard.
 1139 Seizure of the Bishops.
 Landing of Matilda.
 Battle of Lincoln.
 1141 *Birth of Gerald of Wales.*
 1147 Matilda withdraws to Normandy.
 1148 Archbishop Theobald driven into exile
 Henry of Anjou in England.
 1149 Henry becomes Duke of Normandy.
 1151 Henry marries Eleanor of Guienne.
 1152 Henry in England. Treaty of Wallingford.
 1153 **Henry the Second**, **died 1189.**
 1154 Expedition against Toulouse.
 1159 The Great Scutage.
 1162 Thomas made Archbishop of Canterbury
 1164 Constitutions of Clarendon.
 Council of Northampton.
 Flight of Archbishop Thomas.
 1166 Assize of Clarendon.
 1170 Strongbow's invasion of Ireland.
 Inquest of Sheriffs.
 Death of Archbishop Thomas.
 Henry's Conquest of Ireland
 1172 Rebellion of Henry's sons.
 1173 Assize of Northampton.
 1174 Reorganization of Curia Regis.
 1176 Assize of Arms.
 1178 Revolt of Richard.
 1181 **Richard the First**, **died 1199.**
 1189 Richard's Crusade.
 1190 War with Philip Augustus.
 1194
 1194 [Llewelyn ap-Jorwerth in North Wales
 1196 Richard builds Chateau Gaillard.
 1194 **John**, dies 1216.
 1246 —recoveis Anjou and Maine.
 1197 *Layamon writes the Brut.*
 1199 Murder of Arthur.
 1200 French conquest of Anjou and Normandy
 1203
 1204

THE GREAT CHARTER.

1204-1295.

- 1205 Barons refuse to fight for recovery of
 Normandy.
 1206 *Steph Langton Archbishop of Cante*-*
 vury.
 1208 Innocent III. puts England under Inter-
 dict.
 John divides Irish Pale into counties.
 1211 John reduces Llewelyn - ap - Jorwerth to
 submission.
 1213 John becomes the Pope's vassal.
 1214 Battle of Bouvines.
 Birth of Roger Bacon.
 1215 The Great Charter.
 1216 Lewis of France called in by the Barons

CHRONOLOGICAL ANNALS.

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| <p>1216 Henry the Third, died 1272.
Confirmation of the Charter.</p> <p>1217 Lewis returns to France.
Charter again confirmed.</p> <p>1219 Hubert de Burgh, Justiciar.</p> <p>1221 <i>Friars land in England.</i></p> <p>1223 Charter again confirmed at London.</p> <p>1224 Revolt of Faukes de Breaute*.</p> <p>1225 Fresh confirmation of Charter.</p> <p>1228 Stephen Langton's death.</p> <p>1229 Papal exactions.</p> <p>1230 Failure of Henry's campaign in Poitou.</p> <p>1231 Conspiracy against the Italian clergy.</p> <p>1232 Fall of Hubert de Burgh.</p> <p>1237 Charter again confirmed.</p> <p>1238 Earl Simon of Leicester marries Henry's sister.</p> <p>1242 Defeat of Henry at Taillebourg.
Barons refuse subsidies.</p> <p>1246 Llewelyn-ap-Gruffydd, Prince in North</p> <p>1283 Wales.</p> <p>1248 Irish refusal of subsidies.
Earl Simon in Gascony.</p> <p>1253 Earl Simon returns to England.</p> <p>1258 Provisions of Oxford.</p> <p>1264 Mise of Amiens.</p> | <p>1264 Battle of Lewes.</p> <p>1265 Commons summoned to Parliament.</p> <p>Battle of Evesham.</p> <p>1267 <i>Roger Bacon writes his "Opus Maj'us."</i>
Llewelyn-ap-Gruffydd owned as Prince of Wales.</p> <p>1270 Edward goes on Crusade.</p> <p>1272 Edward, the First, died 1307.</p> <p>1277 Edward reduces Llewelyn-ap-Gruffydd to submission.</p> <p>1279 Statute of Mortmain.</p> <p>1282 Conquest of Wales.</p> <p>1283 Statute of Merchants.</p> <p>1285 Statute of Winchester.</p> <p>1290 Statute "Quia Emptores."
Expulsion of the Jews.
Marriage Treaty of Brigham.</p> <p>1291 Parliament at Norham concerning Scotch succession.</p> <p>1292 Edward claims appeals from Scotland.
<i>Death of Roger Bacon.</i>
Seizure of Guienne by Philip of France.</p> <p>1294 French fleet attacks Dover.</p> <p>1295 Final organization of the English Parliament</p> |
|---|--|

THE WAR WITH SCOTLAND AND FRANCE.

1296-1485.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1296 Edward conquers Scotland.</p> <p>1299 Victory of Wallace at Stirling.
Outlawry of the Clergy.
Barons refuse to serve in Guienne.</p> <p>1298 Edward conquers Scots at Falkirk.
Truce with France.</p> <p>1301 Barons demand nomination of Ministers by Parliament.
Barons exact fresh Confirmation of the Charters.</p> <p>1304 Submission of Scotland.</p> <p>1305 Parliament of Perth.</p> <p>1306 Rising of Robert Bruce.</p> <p>1307 Parliament of Carlisle.
Edward the Second, died 1327.</p> <p>1308 Gaveston exiled.</p> <p>1310 The Lords Ordainers draw up Articles of Ppform.</p> <p>1312 Death of Gaveston.</p> <p>1314 Battle of Bannockburn.</p> <p>1316 Battle of Athenree.</p> <p>1318 Edward accepts the Ordinances.</p> <p>1322 Death of Earl of Lancaster. Ordinances annulled.</p> <p>1323 Truce with the Scot*,</p> | <p>1324 French attack Aquitaine.</p> <p>1325 The Queen and Prince Edward in France.</p> <p>1326 Queen lands in England.</p> <p>1327 Deposition of Edward I I.
Edward the Third, died 1377.</p> <p>1328 Treaty of Northampton recognizes independence of Scotland.</p> <p>1329 Death of Robert Bruce.</p> <p>1330 Death of Roger Mortimer.</p> <p>1332 Edward Balliol invades Scotland.</p> <p>1333 Battle of Halidon Hill.
Balliol does homage to Edward.</p> <p>1335 Edward invades Scotland.</p> <p>1336 France again declares war.</p> <p>1337 War with France and Scotland.</p> <p>1338 Edward claims crown of France.
Balliol driven from Scotland.
Edward attacks France from Brabant</p> <p>Battle of Sluys.</p> <p>1340</p> <p>1341 War in Britanny and Guienne.</p> <p>1342</p> <p>1346 Battles of Crecy and Neville's Cross</p> |
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CHRONOLOGICAL ANNALS.

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|-------------|--|-------------|---|
| 1347 | Capture of Calais. | 1411 | English force sent to aid Duke of Burgundy in France. |
| | Truce with France. | 1413 | Henry the Fifth, died 1421. |
| 1348 | First appearance of the Black Death. | 1414 | Lollard Conspiracy. |
| 1349 | Statutes of Labourers. | 1415 | Battle of Agincourt. |
| 1351 | First Statute of Provisors. | 1417 | Henry invades Normandy. |
| 1353 | First Statute of Praemunire. | 1419 | Alliance with Duke of Burgundy. |
| 1355 | Renewal of French War. | 1420 | Treaty of Troyes. |
| 1356 | Battle of Poitiers. | 1422 | Henry the Sixth, died 1471 |
| 1366 | Statute of Kilkenny. | 1424 | Battle of Verneuil. |
| 1307 | The Black Prince victorious at Navarete. | 1428 | Siege of Orleans. |
| 1368 | Wyclif's treatise " <i>Jje Dominio</i> ." | 1429 | County Suffrage restricted. |
| 1370 | Storm of Limoges. | 1430 | Death of Joan of Arc. |
| 1372 | Victory of Spanish fleet off Rochello. | 1435 | Congress of Arras. |
| 1374 | Revolt of Aquitaine. | 1445 | Marriage of Margaret of Anjou. |
| 1376 | The Good Parliament. | 1447 | Death of Duke of Gloucester. |
| 1377 | Its work undone by the Duke of Lantaster | 1450 | Impeachment and death of Duke of Suffolk. |
| | Wyclif before the Bishop of London. | | Cade's Insurrection. |
| | Richard the Second , died 1399. | | Loss of Normandy. |
| 1378 | Gregory XI. denounces Wyclif's heresy. | 1451 | Loss of Guienne. |
| 1380 | Longland's " <i>Piers the Ploughman</i> ." | 1454 | Duke of York named Protector. |
| 1381 | Wyclif's declaration against Transubstantiation. | 1455 | First Battle of St. Albans. |
| | The Peasant Revolt. | 1456 | End of York's Protectorate. |
| 1382 | Condemnation of Wyclif at Blackfriar.. | 1459 | Failure of Yorkist revolt. |
| | Suppression of the Poor Preachers. | 1460 | Battle of Northampton. |
| 1384 | Death of Wyclif. | | York acknowledged as successor. |
| 1386 | Barons force Richard to dismiss the Karl of Suffolk. | | Battle of Wakefield. |
| 1389 | Truce with France. | 1461 | Second Battle of St. Albans. |
| 1394 | Richard in Ireland. | | Battle of Mortimer's Cross. |
| 1396 | Richard marries Isabella of France. | | Edward the Fourth, died 1483 |
| | Truce with France prolonged. | | Battle of Towton. |
| 1397 | Murder of the Duke of Gloucester. | 1461 | Warwick the King-maker. |
| 1398 | Richard's plans of tyranny. | 1471 | Edward marries Lady Grey. |
| 1399 | Deposition of Richard. | 1464 | Warwick driven to France. |
| | Henry the Fourth , died 1413. | 1470 | Flight of Edward to Flanders. |
| 1400 | Revolt of Owen Glyndwr in Wales. | | Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury. |
| 1401 | Statute of Heresy. | 1471 | Edward invades France. |
| 1402 | Battle of Homildon Hill. | 1476 | <i>Caxton settles in England.</i> |
| 1403 | Revolt of the Percies. | 1483 | Murder of Edward the Fifth. |
| 1403 | French descents on England. | | Richard the Third , died 1485. |
| 1405 | Revolt of Archbishop Scrope. | | Buckingham's Insurrection. |
| 1407 | French attack Gascony. | 1485 | Battle of Bosworth. |

THE TUDORS.

1485—1603.

- | | | | |
|-------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|---|
| 1485 | Henry the Seventh, died 1509 | 1487 | Sebastian Cabot lands in America. |
| 1487 | Conspiracy of Lambert Simnel. | 1499 | <i>Colet and Erasmus at Oxford.</i> |
| 1490 | Treaty with Ferdinand and Isabella. | 1501 | Arthur Tudor marries Catharine of Aragon. |
| 1488 | Henry invades France. | 1502 | Margaret Tudor marries James the Fourth. |
| 1497 | Cornish rebellion. | 1505 | <i>Colet Dean of S. Paul's.</i> |
| | Perkin Warbeck captured. | 1509 | Henry the Eighth, died 1547 |

- 1509 *Erasmus writes the "Praise of Folly."*
 1512 War with France.
 1513 Battles of the Spurs and of Flodden.
 Wolsey becomes chief Minister.
 1515 *More's "Utopia."*
 1517 Luther denounces Indulgences.
 1520 Field of Cloth of Gold.
 Luther burns the Pope's Bull.
 1521 Quarrel of Luther with Henry the Eighth.
 1522 Renewal of French war.
 1523 Wolsey quarrels with the Commons.
 1525 Exaction of Benevolences defeated.
 Peace with France,
Tyndale translates the New Testament.
 1526 Henry resolves on a Divorce. Persecution
 of Protestants.
 1529 Fall of Wolsey. Ministry of Norfolk and
 More.
 1531 King acknowledged as "Supreme Head of
 the Church of England."
 1532 Statute of Appeals.
 1534 Acts of Supremacy and Succession.
 1535 Cromwell Vicar-General.
Death of More.
 Overthrow of the Geraldines in Ireland.
 1536 Dissolution of lesser Monasteries.
 1537 Pilgrimage of Grace.
 1538 English Bible issued.
 1539 Execution of Lord Exeter.
 Law of Six Articles.
 Suppression of greater Abbeys.
 1542 Completion of the Tudor Conquest of
 Ireland.
 1544 War with France.
 Execution of Earl of Surrey.
 1547 **Edward the Sixth**, died 1553.
 Battle of Pinkie Cleugh.
 Suppression of Chuntries.
 1548 English Book of Common Prayer.
 1549 Western Rebellion. End of Somerset's
 Protectorate.
 1551 Death of Somerset.
 1553 **Mary**, died 1558.
 Chancellor discovers Archangel.
 1554 Mary marries Philip of Spain.
 England absolved by Cardinal Pole.
 1555 Persecution of Protestants begins.
 1556 Burning of Archbishop Cranmer.
 1557 War with France.
 1558 Loss of Calais.
Elizabeth, died 1603.
 1559 —restores Royal Supremacy and
 English Prayer Book.
 1560 War in Scotland.
 1561 Mary Stuart lands in Scotland.
 1562 Rebellion of Shane O'Neill in Ulster.
- 1562 Elizabeth supports French Huguenots.
 Hawkins begins Slave Trade with Africa.
 1563 First penal statute against Catholics.
 English driven out of Havre.
 Thirty-nine Articles imposed on clergy.
 1565 Mary marries Darnley.
 1566 Darnley murders Rizzio.
 Royal Exchange built.
 1567 Murder of Darnley.
 Defeat and death of Shane O'Neill.
 1568 Mary flies to England.
 1569 Revolt of the northern Earls.
 1570 Bull of Deposition published.
 1571 Conspiracy and death of Norfolk.
 1572 Rising of the Low Countries against Alva.
 Cartwright's "Admonition to the Parh
 ment."
 1575 Queen refuses Netherlands.
 1576 *First public Theatre in Blackfriars.*
 Landing of the Seminary Priests.
 1577 Drake sets sail for the Pacific.
 1579 *Lyly's "Euphues."*
Spenser publishes "Shepherd's Calendar."
 1580 Campian and Parsons in England.
 Revolt of the Desmond.
 Massacre of Smerwick.
 1583 Plots to assassinate Elizabeth.
 New powers given to Ecclesiastical Com-
 mission.
 1584 Murder of Piince of Orange.
 Armada gathers in the Tagus.
 Colonization of Virginia.
 1585 English Army sent to Netherlands.
 Drake on the Spanish Coast.
 1586 Battle of Zutphen.
 Babington's Plot.
 1587 *Shakspeare in London.*
 Death of Mary Stuart.
 Drake burns Spanish fleet at Cadiz.
Marlowe's "Tainburtaine."
 1588 Defeat of the Armada.
Martin Marprelate Tracts.
 1589 Drake plunders Corunna.
 1590 *Publication of the "Faerie Queen."*
 1593 *Shakspeare's "Venus and Adonis."*
 1594. Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity."
 1596 *fonson's "Every Man in his Ifuntour."*
 Descent upon Cadiz.
 1597 Ruin of the Second Armada.
Bacon's "Essays."
 1598 Revolt of Hugh O'Neill.
 1599 Expedition of Earl of Essex in Ireland.
 1601 Execution of Essex.
 1603 Mountjoy completes the conquest of Ire-
 land.
 Death of Elizabeth.

CHRONOLOGICAL ANNALS.

THE STUARTS.

1603-1688.

- | | | | |
|--------------|--|-------------|--|
| 1603 | James the First , died 1625.
Millenary Petition. | 1637 | Revolt of Edinburgh.
Trial of Hampden. |
| 1604 | Parliament claims to deal with both
Church and State.
Hampton Court Conference. | 1638 | <i>Milton's " Lycidas.</i>
The Scotch Covenant. |
| 1605 | Gunpowder Plot. | 1639 | Leslie at Dunse Law.
Pacification of Berwick. |
| 1610 | <i>Bacon's "Advancement of Learning."</i>
Parliament's Petition of Grievances.
Plantation of Ulster. | 1640 | The Short Parliament.
The Bishops' War.
Great Council of Peers at York.
Long Parliament meets, <i>Nox</i>
Pym leader of the Commons. |
| 1613 | Marriage of the Elector Palatine. | 1641 | Execution of Strafford, <i>May.</i>
Charles visits Scotland.
Hyde organizes royalist party.
The Irish Massacre, <i>Oct.</i>
The Grand Remonstrance, <i>Nov.</i> |
| 1614. | First quarrels with the Parliament. | 1642 | Impeachment of Five Members, <i>Jan.</i>
Charles before Hull, <i>April.</i>
Royalists withdraw from Parliament.
Charles raises Standard at Nottingham,
<i>August 22.</i>
Battle of Edgehill, <i>Oct. 23.</i>
<i>Hobbes writes the " De Cive. "</i> |
| 1616 | Trial of the Earl and Countess of Somerset.
Dismissal of Chief Justice Coke.
<i>Death of Shakspeare.</i> | | |
| 1617 | Bacon Lord Keeper.
Proposals for the Spanish Marriage.
The Declaration of Sports. | 1643 | Assembly of Divines at Westminster.
Rising of the Cornishmen, <i>May.</i>
Death of Hampden, <i>June.</i>
Battle of Roundway Down, <i>July.</i>
Siege of Gloucester, <i>A ug.</i>
Death of Falkland, <i>Sept.</i>
Charles negotiates with IrUh Catholics
Taking of the Covenant, <i>Sept. 25.</i> |
| 1617 | \ Expedition and death of Raleigh. | | |
| 1618 | Beginning of Thirty Years' War. | 1644 | Fight at Cropredy Bridge, <i>June.</i>
Battle of Marston Moor, <i>July 2.</i>
Surrender of Parliamentary Army in Com
wall, <i>Sept. 2.</i>
Uattle of Tippermuir, <i>Sept. 2.</i>
Battle of Newbury, <i>Oct.</i>
<i>Milton's " A reopagitica. "</i> |
| 1618 | Invasion of the Palatinate. | 1645 | Self-denying Ordinance, <i>April.</i>
New Model raised.
Battle of Naseby, <i>June 14.</i>
Battle of Philipphaugh, <i>Sept.</i>
Charles surrenders to the Scots, <i>May.</i> |
| 1620 | Landing of the Pilgrim-Fathers in New
England. | 1647 | Scots surrender Charles to the Houses,
<i>Jan. 30.</i>
Army elects Agitators, <i>April.</i>
The King seized at Holmby House, <i>June,</i>
" Humble Representation " of the Army,
<i>June.</i>
Expulsion of the Eleven Members.
Army occupies London, <i>Aug.</i>
Flight of the King. <i>Nov.</i> |
| 1621 | <i>Bacon's * Novum Organum."</i>
Impeachment of Bacon.
James tears out the Protestation of the
Commons. | | |
| 1623 | Journey of Prince Charles to Madrid. | | |
| 1624 | Resolve of War against Spain. | | |
| 1625 | Charles the First, died 1649.
First Parliament dissolved.
Failure of expedition against Cadiz. | | |
| 1626 | Buckingham impeached.
Second Parliament dissolved. | | |
| 1627 | Levy of Benevolence and Forced Loan.
Failure of expedition to Rochelle. | | |
| 1628 | The Petition of Right.
Murder of Buckingham.
<i>Laud Bishop of London.</i> | | |
| 1629 | Dissolution of Third Parliament.
Charter granted to Massachusetts.
Wentworth Lord President of the North. | | |
| 1630 | Puritan Emigration to New England. | | |
| 1633 | Wentworth Lord Deputy in Ireland.
<i>Laud Archbishop of Canterbury.</i>
<i>Milton's " A llegro" and " Penseoso."</i>
<i>Prynne's " Histrio-mastix."</i> | | |
| 1634 | <i>Milton's " Comus."</i> | | |
| 1636 | Juxon Lord Treasurer.
Book of Canons and Common Prayer
issued for Scotland.
Hampden refuses to pay Ship-money. | | |

CHRONOLOGICAL ANNALS.

- 1647** Secret Treaty of Charles with the Scots, *Dec.*
1648 Outbreak of the Royalist Revolt, *Feb.*
 Revolt of the Fleet, and of Kent, *May.*
 Fairfax and Cromwell in Essex and Wales, *June—July.*
 Battle of Preston, *Aug. 17.*
 Surrender of Colchester, *Aug. 27.*
 Pride's Purge, *Dec.*
Royal Society begins at Oxford.
1649 Execution of Charles I., *Jan. 30.*
 Scotland proclaims Charles I. King.
 England proclaims itself a Commonwealth.
 Cromwell storms Drogheda, *Sept. 11.*
1650 Cromwell enters Scotland.
 Battle of Dunbar, *Sept. 3.*
1651 Battle of Worcester, *Sept. 3.*
Hobbes's "Leviathan."
1652 Union with Scotland.
 Outbreak of Dutch War, *May.*
 Victory of Tromp, *Nov.*
1653 Victory of Blake, *Feb.*
 Cromwell drives out the Parliament, *April 20.*
 Constituent Convention (Barebones Parliament), *July.*
 Convention dissolves, *Dec.*
 The Instrument of Government.
Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector, died 1658.
1654 Peace concluded with Holland.
 First Protectorate Parliament, *Sept.*
1655 Dissolution of the Parliament, *Jan.*
 The Major-Generals.
 Settlement of Scotland and Ireland.
 Settlement of the Church.
 Blake in the Mediterranean.
 War with Spain and Conquest of Jamaica.
1656 Second Protectorate Parliament, *Sept.*
1657 Blake's victory at Santa Cruz.
 Cromwell refuses title of King.
 Act of Government.
1658 Parliament dissolved, *Feb.*
 Battle of the Dunes.
 Capture of Dunkirk.
 Death of Cromwell, *Sept. 3.*
Richard Cromwell, Lord Protector, died 1712.
1650 Third Protectorate Parliament.
 Parliament dissolved.
 Long Parliament recalled.
 Long Parliament again driven out.
1660 Monk enters London.
 The "Convention" Parliament.
Charles the Second, lands at Dover, *May*, died 1685,
- 1660** Union of Scotland and Ireland undone.
1661 Cavalier Parliament begins.
1662 Act of Uniformity re-enacted.
 Puritan clergy driven out.
Royal Society at London.
1663 Dispensing Bill fails.
1664 Conventicle Act.
1665 Dutch War begins.
 Five Mile Act.
 Plague of London.
Newton's Theory of Fluxions.
1666 Fire of London.
1667 The Dutch in the Medway.
 Dismissal of Clarendon.
 Peace of Breda.
 Lewis attacks Flanders.
Milton's "Paradise Lost."
1668 The Triple Alliance.
 Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
 Ashley shrinks back from toleration to Catholics.
1670 Treaty of Dover.
Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" ivritteti-
1671 *Milton's "Paradise Regained" and*
"Samson Agonistes."
Newton's Theory of Light.
1672 Closing of the Exchequer.
 Declaration of Indulgence.
 War begins with Holland.
 Ashley made Chancellor.
1673 Declaration of Indulgence withdrawn.
 The Test Act.
 Shaftesbury dismissed.
 Shaftesbury takes the lead of the Country Party.
1674. Bill of Protestant Securities fails.
 Charles makes Peace with Holland.
 Danby Lord Treasurer.
1675 Treaty of mutual aid between Charles and Lewis.
1677 Shaftesbury sent to the Tower.
 Bill for Security of the Church fails.
 Address of the Houses for War with France.
 Prince of Orange marries Mary.
1678 Peace of Nimeguen.
 Oates invents the Popish Plot.
1679 New Parliament meets.
 Fall of Danby.
 New Ministry with Shaftesbury at its head.
 Temple's plan for a new Council.
 Habeas Corpus Act passed.
 Exclusion Bill introduced.
 Parliament dissolved.
 Shaftesbury dismissed.
1680 Committee for agitation formed.

CHRONOLOGICAL ANNALS.

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| <p>1680 Monmouth pretends to the throne.
Petitioners and Abhorers.
Exclusion Bill thrown out by the Lords.
Trial of Lord Stafford.</p> <p>1681 Parliament at Oxford.
Treaty with France.
Limitation Bill rejected.
Shaftesbury and Monmouth arrested.</p> <p>1682 Conspiracy and flight of Shaftesbury.
Penn founds Pennsylvania.</p> <p>1683 Death of Shaftesbury.
Rye-house Plot.
Execution of Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney.</p> <p>1684. Town charters quashed.
Army increased.</p> <p>1685 James the Second, d. 1701
Insurrection of Argyll and Monmouth.
Battle of Sedgemoor, <i>July 6</i>.
The Bloody Circuit.
Army raised to 20,000 men.</p> | <p>1685 Revocation of Edict of Nantes.
1686 Test Act dispensed with by royal authority.
Ecclesiastical Commission set up.
<i>Newton's " Principia."</i>
Expulsion of the Fellows of Magdalen.
Dismissal of Lords Rochester and Clarendon.
Declaration of Indulgence.
687 The Boroughs regulated.
William of Orange protests against the Declaration.
Tyrconnell made Lord Deputy in Ireland.
Clergy refuse to read the new Declaration' of Indulgence.</p> <p>• Birth of James's son.
Invitation to William.
Trial of the Seven Bishops.</p> <p>.688 Irish troops brought over to England.
Lewis attacks Germany.
William of Orange lands at Torbay.
Flight of James.</p> |
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MODERN ENGLAND.

1689-1874. .

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| <p>1689 Convention Parliament.
Declaration of Rights.
William and Mary made King and Queen.
William forms the Grand Alliance against Lewis.
Battle of Killiecrankie, <i>July 27</i>.
Siege of Londonderry.
Mutiny Bill.
Toleration Bill.
Bill of Rights.
Secession of the Non-jurors,</p> <p>1690 Abjuration Bill and Act of Grace.
Battle of Beachy Head <i>June 30</i>.
Battle of the Boyne, <i>July 1</i>.
William repulsed from Limerick.</p> <p>1691 Battle of Aughrim, <i>July</i>.
Capitulation and Treaty of Limerick.</p> <p>1692 Massacre of Glencoe.
Battle of La Hogue, <i>May 19</i>.</p> <p>1693 Sunderland's plan of a Ministry.</p> <p>1694. Bank of England set up.
Death of Mary.</p> <p>1696 Currency restored.</p> <p>1697 Peace of Ryswick.</p> <p>1698 First Partition Treaty.</p> <p>1700 Second Partition Treaty.</p> <p>1701 Duke of Anjou becomes King of Spain.
Act of Settlement passed.</p> | <p>1701 Death of James II .</p> <p>1702 Anne, died 1714.</p> <p>1704 Battle of Blenheim, <i>August 13</i>.
Harley and St. John take office
1705 Victories of Peterborough in Spain.
1706 Battle of Ramillies, <i>May 23</i>.
1707 Act of Union with Scotland.
1708 Dismissal of Harley and St. John.
Battle of Oudenarde.
1709 Battle of Malplaquet.
1710 Trial of Sacheverell.
Tory Ministry of Harley and St. John.</p> <p>1712 Dismissal of Marlborough.
1714. Treaty of Utrecht.
George the First, died 1727.
Ministry of Townshend and Walpole.</p> <p>1715 Jacobite Revolt under Lord Mar.
1716 The Septennial Bill.
1717 The Triple Alliance.
Ministry of Lord Stanhope.</p> <p>1718 The Quadruple Alliance.</p> <p>1720 Failure of the Peerage Bill
The South Sea Company.</p> <p>1721 Ministry of Sir Robert Walpole.</p> <p>1723 Exile of Bishop Atterbury.</p> <p>1727 War with Austria and Spain.
George the Second, died 1760.</p> <p>1729 Treaty of Seville.</p> <p>1730 Free exportation of American rice allowed</p> |
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- 1731** Treaty of Vienna.
1733 Walpole's Excise Bill.
 War of the Polish Succession.
 Family compact between France and Spain.
1737 Death of Queen Caroline.
1738 *The Methodists appear in London.*
1739 War declared with Spain.
174-0 War of the Austrian Succession.
174-2 Resignation of Walpole. •
174-3 Battle of Dettingen, *June 27.*
174-5 Ministry of Henry Pelham.
 Battle of Fontenoy, *May 31.*
 Charles Edward lands in Scotland.
 Battle of Prestonpans, *Sept. 21.*
 Charles Edward reaches Derby, *Dec. 4.*
174-6 Battle of Falkirk, *Jan. 23.*
 Battle of Culloden, *April 16.*
174-8 Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1751 Clive's surprise of Arcot.
1754- Death of Henry Pelham.
 Ministry of Duke of Newcastle.
1755 The Seven Years' War.
 Defeat of General Braddock.
1756 Loss of Port Mahon.
 Retreat of Admiral Byng.
1757 Convention of Closter-Seven.
 Ministry of William Pitt.
 Battle of Plassey, *June 23.*
1758 Capture of Louisburg and Cape Breton.
 Capture of Fort Duquesne.
1759 Battle of Minden, *August 1.*
 Capture of Fort Niagara and Ticonderoga.
 Wolfe's victory on Heights of Abraham.
 Battle of Quiberon Bay, *Nov. 20.*
1760 **George the Third**, died 1820.
 Battle of Wandewash.
1761 Pitt resigns office.
 Ministry of Lord Bute.
Brindley's Canal over the Irwell.
1763 Peace of Paris.
 Ministry of George Grenville.
Wedgwood establishes potteries.
1764. First expulsion of Wilkes from House of Commons.
Hargreaves invents Spinning Jenny.
1765 Stamp Act passed.
 Ministry of Lord Rockingham.
 Meeting and Protest of American Congress.
Watt invents Steam Engine.
1766 Repeal of the Stamp Act.
 Ministry of Lord Chatham.
1768 Ministry of the Duke of Grafton
 Second expulsion of Wilkes
Arkwright invents Spinning Machine.
1769 Wilkes three times elected for Middlesex.
 House of Commons seats Col. Luttrell.
 Occupation of Boston by British troops. •
Letters of Junius.
1770 Chatham's proposal of Parliamentary reform.
 Ministry of Lord North.
1771 Last attempt to prevent Parliamentary reporting.
Beginning of the great English Journal.
1773 Hastings appointed Governor-General.
 Boston tea-riots.
1774 Military occupation of Boston.
 Its port closed.
 Massachusetts Charter altered.
 Congress assembles at Philadelphia.
 Rejection of Chatham's plan of conciliation.
1775 Skirmish at Lexington.
 Americans, under Washington, besiege Boston.
 Battle of Bunker's Hill.
 Southern Colonies expel their Governors.
Crompton invents the Mule.
1776 Arnold invades Canada.
 Evacuation of Boston.
 Declaration of Independence, *July 4.*
 Battles of Brooklyn and Trenton.
Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations."
 Battle of Brandywine.
1777 Surrender of Saratoga, *Oct. 17.*
 Chatham proposes Federal Union.
 Washington at Valley Forge.
1778 Alliance of France and Spain with United States.
 Death of Chatham.
1779 Siege of Gibraltar.
 Armed Neutrality of Northern Powers.
 The Irish Volunteers.
1780 Capture of Charlestown.
 Descent of Hyder Ali on the Carnatic.
1781 Defeat of Hyder at Porto Novo.
 Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.
1782 Ministry of Lord Rockingham.
 Victories of Rodney.
 Repeal of Poynings' Act.
 Pitt's Bill for Parliamentary Reform.
 Burke's Bill of Economical Reform.
 Shelburne Ministry.
 Repulse of Allies from Gibraltar.
1783 Treaties of Paris and Versailles.
 Coalition Ministry of Fox and North.
 Fox's India Bill.
 Ministry of Pitt.
1784. Pitt's India Bill.
 Financial Reforms-

CHRONOLOGICAL ANNALS.

- 1785** Parliamentary Reform Bill.
Free Trade Bill between England and Ireland.
- 1786** Trial of Warren Hastings.
- 1787** Treaty of Commerce with France.
- 1788** The Regency Bill.
- 1789** Meeting of States-General at Versailles.
New French Constitution.
Triple Alliance for defence of Turkey.
- 1790** Quarrel over Nootka Sound.
Pitt defends Poland.
Burkes "Reflections on the French Revolution."
- 1791** Representative Government set up in Canada.
Fox's Libel Act.
Burke's "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs."
- 1792** Pitt hinders Holland from joining the Coalition.
France opens the Scheldt. -
Pitt's efforts for peace.
The United Irishmen.
- 1793** France declares War on England.
Part of Whigs join Pitt.
English army lands in Flanders.
English driven from Toulon.
- 1794-** English driven from Holland.
Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act.
Victory of Lord Howe, June 1.
- 1796** *Burke's "Letters on a Regicide Peace."*
- 1797** England alone in the War with France.
Battle of Camperdown.
Battle of Cape St. Vincent.
- 1798** Irish revolt crushed at Vinegar Hill.
Battle of the Nile.
- 1799** Pitt revives the Coalition against France.
Conquest of Mysore.
- 1800** Surrender of Malta to English Fleet.
Armed Neutrality of Northern Powers.
Act of Union with Ireland.
- 1801** George the Third rejects Pitt's Plan of Catholic Emancipation.
Administration of Mr. Addington.
Surrender of French army in Egypt.
Battle of Copenhagen.
- 1802** Peace of Amiens.
Publication of "Edinburgh Review."
- 18 03** War declared against Buonaparte.
Battle of Assaye.
- 1804** Second Ministry of Pitt.
- 1805** Battle of Trafalgar, Oct. 21.
- 1806** Death of Pitt, Jan. 23.
Ministry of Lord Grenville.
Death of Fox.
- 1807** Orders in Council.
- 1807** Abolition of Slave Trade.
Ministry of Duke of Portland.
Seizure of Danish Fleet.
- 1808** Battle of Vimiera, and Convention of Cintra.
- 18 09** America passes Non-Intercourse Act.
Battle of Corunna, Jan. 16.
Wellesley drives Soult from Oporto.
Battle of Talavera, July 28.
Expedition against Walcheren.
Ministry of Spencer Perceval.
Revival of Parliamentary Reform.
- 1810** Battle of Busaco.
Lines of Torres Vedras.
- 1811** Prince of Wales becomes Regent.
Battle of Fuentes d'Onore, May 5.
Luddite Riots.
- 1812** Castlereagh Foreign vSecretary.
Ministry of Lord Liverpool.
Storm of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz.
America declares War against England.
Battle of Salamanca, July 22.
Wellington retreats from Burgos.
Victories of American Frigates.
- 1813** Battle of Vitoria, June 21.
Battles of the Pyrenees.
Wellington enters France, Oct.
Americans attack Canada.
- 1814** Battle of Orthes.
Battle of Toulouse, April 10.
Battle of Chippewa, July.
Raid upon Washington.
British repulses at Plattsburg and New Orleans.
- 1815** Battle of Quatre Bras, June 16.
Battle of Waterloo, June 18.
Treaty of Vienna.
- 1817** Colonization in Australia.
Bentham's doctrine of utility.
- 1818** Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.
- 1819** The Six Acts carried.
Singapore annexed.
- 1820** **George the Fourth, died 1830.**
Cato Street Conspiracy.
Bill for the Queen's Divorce.
Reform of Criminal Law by Mackintosh.
- 1821** Catholic Relief Bill thrown out by the Lords.
- 1822** Congress of Verona.
Canning Foreign Minister.
- 1823** Freedom of South American Republics recognized.
The Monroe Doctrine.
- 18 2 4** Repeal of Combination Laws.
Emigration to South Africa.
- 18 2 6** Annexation of Assam.

- 1826** Riots to destroy power looms.
1827 Ministry of Mr. Canning.
 Ministry of Lord Goderich.
 Battle of Navarino.
1828 Ministry of Duke of Wellington.
 First Co-operative Society.
 First free colony in Australia.
 Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts.
1820 Settlement in Western Australia.
 First Trades Union.
 Catholic Emancipation Bill.
1830 **William the Fourth, died 1837.**
 Ministry of Lord Grey.
 Opening of Liverpool and Manchester
 Railway.
 Belgian independence assured.
1831 Reform Bill introduced, *March* r.
1832 Parliamentary Reform Bill passed, *June* 7.
1833 Coercion Act for Ireland.
 Factory Act.
 State grant for education.
 Suppression of Colonial Slavery.
 East Indian Trade thrown open.
1834 New Poor Law.
 Ministry of Lord Melbourne.
 Trades Union demonstrations.
 Central Criminal Court established.
 Ministry of Sir Robert Peel.
1836 Ministry of Lord Melbourne replaced.
 Municipal Corporation Act.
 Kaffir War.
1836 Newspaper stamp duty reduced.
 The Great Trek in South Africa.
 South Australia colonized.
 Civil Marriages Act.
1837 **Victoria, died 1901.**
 Natal founded by the Dntch.
1838 Formation of Anti-Corn-Law League.
 Lord Durham in Canada.
 The People's Charter adopted.
 Afghan War.
1830 Committee of Privy Council for Educa-
 tion.
 New postage scheme.
 Annexation of Aden.
 New Zealand permanently colonized
 War with China.
1840 Constitution granted to Canada.
 Irish Municipal Act.
 Quadruple Alliance with France, Portu-
 gal, and Spain.
1841 Conference of London.
 Ministry of Sir Robert Peel.
 Hong-Kong ceded to England.
 New Zealand a separate Colony.
1842 Income-tax revived.
 Treaty of Washington.
- 1842** Treaty of Nanking.
 Massacre of English in Afghanistan.
1843 Annexation of Scinde.
1844 Trial of O'Connell.
 Natal declared British Colony.
 The Rochdale Pioneers.
1846 Sikh War.
 Irish potato crop fails.
 Manchester Anti-Corn-Law Meeting.
1846 Repeal of the Corn Laws.
 Ministry of Lord John Russell
1847 Famine in Ireland.
 Coercion Bill for Ireland.
 Cape Colony refuses to admit convicts.
 Suppression of the Chartists.
1848 Treason Felony Act for Ireland.
 Habeas Corpus Act suspended in Ireland.
 First Public Health Act.
1849 Irish Encumbered Estates Act.
 Piraeus blockaded by British Fleet.
 Annexation of the Punjab.
 Gold discoveries in Australia and Cali-
 fornia.
1850 Don Pacifico Debate.
 Australian Colonies Bill passed.
1851 Lord Palmerston's dismissal.
1852 Militia Bill in alarm of Napoleon III.
 Ministry of Lord Derby, *Feb.*
 Death of the Duke of Wellington.
 Ministry of Lord Aberdeen, *Dec.*
 Sand River Convention.
 Constitutions for New Zealand Colonies
1863 Gladstone's first Budget.
 British Kaffraria annexed.
1854 First Cape Parliament.
 Ultimatum to Russia, *Feb.*
 Siege of Sebastopol-begins, *Oct.* 17.
 Corrupt Practices Act carried.
1855 Ministry of Lord Palmerston
 Capture of Sebastopol, *Sept.* 8.
 Surrender of Kars, *Nov.*
1866 Peace of Paris, *March* 30.
 Annexation of Oudh.
 Second Chinese War.
1857 Indian Mutiny.
 Capture of Canton.
1868 Second Ministry of Lord Derby, *Feb.*
 Atlantic Cable laid.
 War with China resumed.
 Treaty of Tientsin.
 Property qualification for Parliament
 abolished.
 Queen proclaimed Sovereign of India.
1860 Second Ministry of Lord Palmerston.
 Support of Italian independence.
 Volunteer Movement.
 Queensland a separate Colony.

CHRONOLOGICAL ANNALS.

- 1860 Commercial Treaty of France and England.
Paper Duty Bill rejected by the Lords.
Burning of Peking Palace.
- 1861 Post Office Savings Banks.
Commissioners seized on the *Trent*.
Death of the Prince Consort, *Dec*.
- 1862 The *Alabama* leaves the Mersey.
Committee of Public Accounts.
- 1863 Ionian Islands ceded to Greece.
- 1864 Intervention refused in Schleswig-Holstein.
- 1866 Ministry of Lord John Russell.
Gladstone's Reform Bill.
- 1866 Habeas Corpus Act suspended in Ireland.
Third Ministry of Lord Derby, *June*.
Reform Demonstrations; Hyde Park Riots.
- 1867 Second Reform Act.
British North America Act creates Dominion of Canada.
- 1868 Ministry of Disraeli, *Feb.* ,
Abyssinian Expedition ; Magdala taken.
Election Petitions transferred to the Judges.
Irish Reform Bill passed.
Scotch Reform Bill.
Ministry of Gladstone, *Dec*.
- 1869 Disestablishment of Church of Ireland
Opening of the Suez Canal.
- 1870 Irish Land Act, *Feb*.
Elementary Education Bill, *Feb*.
Peace Preservation Act, Ireland.
Civil Service open to Competition.
Army Reforms.
Treaty with France and Germany for neutrality of Belgium.
- 1871 Home Rule League founded in Ireland.
Conference of London.
Abolition of Religious Tests in Universities.
Treaty of Washington.
Army Purchase abolished.
Local Government Board established.
- 1872 Ballot Bill passed.
Geneva Arbitration on *Alabama*.
Self-government in Cape Colony.
Unions of agricultural labourers.
- 1878 British Residents appointed to Malay States.
Supreme Court of Judicature Act.
Religious Tests for Dublin University abolished.
- 1874 Second Ministry of Disraeli, *Feb*.
War with Ashanti.
First labour member elected.
- 1876 Marquis of Hartington Liberal Leader.
- 1876 Artisans Dwellings Act.
Peace Preservation Act in Ireland.
Trade Union legislation.
Purchase of Shares in Suez Canal.
Indian Tour of Prince of Wales, *Oct*.
Andrssy Note submitted to the Powers.
Central Government established for New Zealand.
Fiji Islands annexed.
- 1876 The Berlin Note refused by England.
British Fleet in Besika Bay, *May*.
Gladstone's campaign on Bulgarian Atrocities.
Disraeli created Earl of Beaconsfield.
The new imperialism.
Conference at Constantinople.
- 1877 The Queen proclaimed Empress of India.
Gordon Governor-General of the Sudan.
The Protocol of London.
Permissive Federation Act for South Africa.
Transvaal annexed, *April*.
Chamberlain and the caucus.
Parnell opens obstruction in Parliament.
- 1878 Fleet ordered to Constantinople, *Jan*.
Treaty of San Stefano, *March*.
Indian troops ordered to Malta.
Beaconsfield's secret Treaty with Russia, *May* 30.
Beaconsfield's secret Treaty with Turkey, *June* 6.
Congress of Berlin, *June* 13.
- 1879 Zulu War ; Isandhlwana and Rorke's Drift, *Jan*.
Invasion of Afghanistan.
Irish Land League formed by Davitt.
The Midlothian campaign.
- 1880 Ministry of Gladstone, *April*.
Bill to allow arrest on Suspicion in Ireland.
Bradlaugh refused leave to affirm allegiance.
Burials Bill granting relief to Nonconformists.
Ground Game Act to protect farmers.
Employers' Liability Act.
Prosecution of Parnell.
Afghan War.
Boer Revolt in the Transvaal, *Dec*.
New Rules of Procedure.
Death of Lord Beaconsfield.
Second Irish Land Bill.
Parnell imprisoned.
Boer War.
- 1882 Muraer of Lord F. Cavendish and Mr. Burke.
Prevention of Crimes Bill.

- 1882** British Fleet at Alexandria, *June*.
 Battle of Tel-el-Kebir, *Aug*.
 Afrikander Bond in Cape Colony.
 Gladstone's Rules of Procedure.
 Triple Alliance formed.
- 1883** Corrupt Practices Bill.
 Agricultural Holdings Bill.
 Defeat of Hicks Pasha in the Sudan.
- 1884** General Gordon sent to Khartum, *Jan*.
 Third Reform Bill carried.
 Convention of London with the Transvaal.
 Conference of Berlin.
 Great Boer treks in South Africa.
 German and British annexations in New Guinea.
- 1886** Fall of Khartum ; Sudan evacuated.
 Russian forces occupy Pendjeh.
 Redistribution Bill.
 Ministry of Lord Salisbury, *June*.
 Upper Burmah annexed, *Nov*.
 Canadian Pacific Railway completed.
 Annexation of South Bechuanaland.
- 1886** Bradlaugh admitted to Parliament, *Jan*.
 Third Ministry of Gladstone, *Feb*.
 Home Rule Bill lost, *June*.
 Ministry of Lord Salisbury, *July*.
 Gold rush to the Transvaal.
- 1887** New Rules of Procedure.
 Crimes Act, Ireland.
 Land Act, Ireland, *Aug*.
 First Colonial Conference.
 Great Britain and France in New Hebrides.
- 1888** New Rules of Procedure in the House of Commons.
 Local Government Act.
 Irish Land Purchase Bill.
 Part of New Guinea annexed.
- 1889** End of Parnell Commission.
- 1890** Death of Parnell.
 Congested Districts Board, Ireland.
 Heligoland ceded to Germany.
 Protectorate of Zanzibar.
- 1891** Royal Commission on labour conditions.
 Balfour's Land Purchase Act.
 Factory and Workshops Act.
 Free elementary education.
- 1892** Fourth Ministry of Gladstone, *Aug*.
- 1893** Second Home Rule Bill rejected by Lords.
 Matabele War.
 Responsible government in Natal.
- 1894** Parish Councils Bill.
 Ministry of Lord Rostkery, *March*.
 Protectorate of Uganda.
 Election expenses paid.
- 1894** Treaty with Japan.
 Harcourt's Death Duties Budget.
- 1896** Ministry of Lord Salisbury, *June*.
 Jameson Raid, *Dec*.
 Chitral occupied.
- 1896** Franco-British Treaty on Sisun.
 Dongola occupied.
 The five admirals occupy Crete.
 Employers' Liability Act.
 New Rules of Procedure.
 Gladstone's campaign on Armenian Massacres.
- 1897** Second Colonial Conference.
 Workmen's Compensation Bill, *July*.
- 1898** Lease of Wei-hai-wei, *April*.
 Occupation of Omdurman and the Sudan.
 The Fashoda dispute.
- 1899** Irish Local Government Act.
 Peace Conference at The Hague.
 Second Boer War.
 Khartum taken by Kitchener.
- 1900** Boer Republics annexed.
 Australian Commonwealth Act.
 Protectorate of Lagos and Nigeria.
 European forces in Peking, *Aug*.
- 1901** Edward the Seventh, died 1910.
- 1902** Anglo-Japanese Alliance.
 Ministry of Mr. Balfour.
 Peace of Vereeniging.
- 1903** Chamberlain's resignation.
 Irish Land Purchase Act.
- 1904** Treaty of London with France.
- 1906** Premier given official status.
 Tariff Reform agitation.
 March to Lhasa.
 Ministry of Campbell-Bannerman.
- 1906** Self-government given to the Transvaal.
 Trades Disputes Act.
 Algeciras Conference.
- 1907** Dominion of New Zealand established.
 South African Customs Union.
 Second Hague Conference.
 Resolution limiting veto of Lords.
 Ministry of Mr. Asquith.
- 1908** Old-Age Pensions Act.
- 1909** Budget rejected by the Lords.
 South African Constitution, *Sept*.
 George the Fifth.
- 1910** Parliament Act.
- 1911** Renewal of Japanese Alliance.
 Declaration of London.
 The *Panther* at Agadir.
 National Insurance Act.
 Legal Minimum Wage for Coal-miners.
- 1912** Welsh Disestablishment Act.
- 1913** Declaration of War, *Aug*. 4.
- 1914** Home Rule Act.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF CERDIC, FROM ECGBERHT.

ECGBERHT,
r. 802-839.

ÆTHELWULF,
r. 839-857-

ÆTHELBALD,
r. 857-860,

ÆTHELBERHT,
r. 860-866.

ÆTHELRED I.
r. 866-871.

ÆLFRED = *Ealhswitu*
r. 871-901, .

↓
EADWARD,
THE ELDER,
r. 901-925.

ÆTHELSTAN,
r. 925-940.

EADMUND
r. 940-946.

Ælfifu.

EADRED,
r. 946-955.

EADWIG,
r- 955-959-

1. *Æthelflæd* = EADGAR = 2. *Ælfthryth*.
I r- 959-975- I

EADWARD
THE MARTYR,
r. 975-978.

1. Name
uncertain.

ÆTHELRED II. =
r. 978-1016.

2. *Emma of*
Normandy

= 2. *Cnut*,
r. 1016-1035.

↓
EADMUND IRONSIDE,
r. Ap. 23-Nov. 30,
1016,
m. *Ealdgyth*.

↓
Ælfred,
killed 1036. •

↓
EADWARD
THE
CONFESSOR,
r. 1042-1066.

↓
Harthacnut,
r. 1040-1042.

1
Eadmund.

1
Eadward,
d. 1057,
m. *Agatha*.

1
Eadgar,
elected
j. King in
1060,

1
Margaret,
d. 1093,
m. *Malcolm, III.*
King of Scots.

Christina,
a nun.

1
Matilda,
d. 1118,
m. *Henry I*
King of
England.

THE DANISH KINGS.

SWEIN FORKBEARD.

d. 1014.

ⁱ
CNUT = *Emma of Normandy, widow*
r. 1016-1035. , *of King Æthelred //*.

Swegen.

HARALD,
r. 1035-1040.

HARTHACNUT,
r. 1040-1042.

Illegitimate.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

DUKES OF THE NORMANS.

HROLF,
1st Duke of the Normans,
r. 911-927.

WILLIAM
LONGSWOKI),
r. 927-943-

RICHARD
THE FEARLESS,
r- 943-996.

RICHARD
THE GOOD,
r. 996-1026.

Emma,
m. 1. *Æthelred II. of*
England,
m. 2. *Cnut of England*
and Denmark.

RICHARD III.
r. 1026-1028.

ROBERT
THE MAGNIFICENT,
r. 1028-1035.

WILLIAM
THE CONQUEROR,
r. 1035-1087.

|
ROBERT II.
r. 1087-1096
(from 1096 to 1100
the Duchy was
held by his
brother William),
and 1100-1106
(when he was over-
thrown at Tinche-
brai by his
brother Henry).

WILLIAM
RUFUS,
r. 1096-1100.

HENRY I.
■■■
Matilda,
m. GEOFFREY,
COUNT OF ANJOU
AND MAINE
(who won the
Duchy from
Stephen).

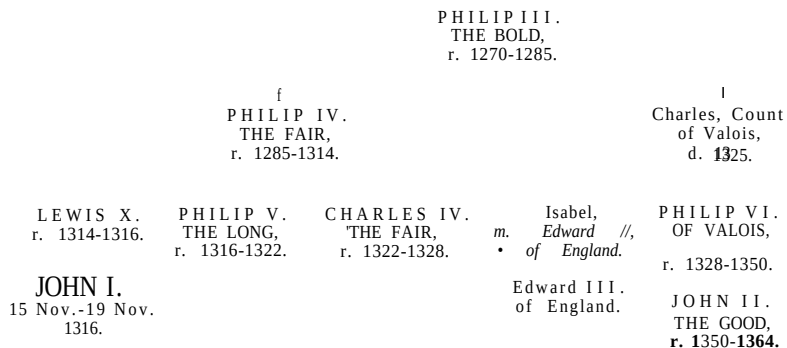
|
HENRY II.
invested with the
Duchy 1151,
d. 1189. •

RICHARD
THE LION HEART,
r. 1189-1199.

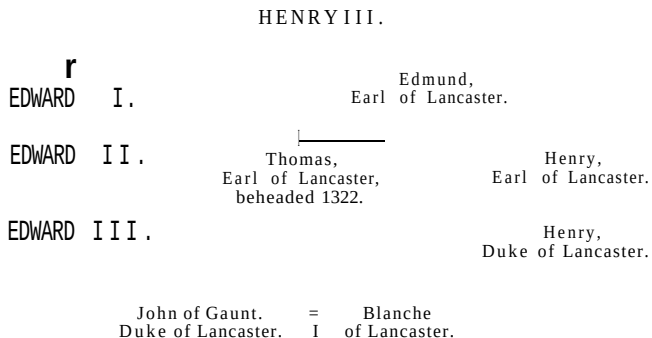
|
Adda,
in. Stephen,
Count of Blois.
|
STEPHEN,
OK BLOIS,
s. 1135.
|
JOHN,
r. 1199-1204
(when Normandy was conquered
by France).

EDWARD III. HENRY IV.

Claim of EDWARD III. to the French Crown.



Descent of HENRY IV.



HENRY IV.

HOUSE OF

YORK

EDWARD

III.

~1

Edmund of
Langley,
Duke of York,

Lionel, Duke
of Clarence.

Philippa,
m. *Edmund*
Mortimer,
Earl of March.

Roger Mortimer,
Earl of March.

Edmund
Mortimer,
Earl of March,
d. 1424.

Anne Mortimer

Richard
Duke of
slain at

ner = Richard,
Earl of Cam-
bridge,
beheaded 1415.
Plantagenet,
York,
» Wakefield, 1460.
|

EDWARD IV.

Edmund,
Earl of Rutland,
slain at Wake-
field, 1460.

George,
Duke of
Clarence,
m. *Isabel Neville*.

|
Edward,
Earl of
Warwick,
beheaded
1499.

1
Margaret,
Countess of
Salisbury,
beheaded

m. *Sir Richard*
Pole.

|
Henry Pole,
Lord
Montacute,
beheaded
1539»

Henry
Courtenay,
Marquis
of Exeter,
beheaded
1539-

Edward
Courtenay,
Earl of Devon,
d. 1556.

RICHARD III.
m. *Anne Neville*.

Elizabeth : • *John de la Pole*,
Duke of Suffolk.

1
Margaret,
m. *Charles, Duke of*
Burgundy.

Edward,
Prince of Wales,
d. 1484.

|
John de la Pole,
Earl of Lincoln,
slain at Stoke, 1487.

Edmund de la Pole,
Earl of Suffolk,
beheaded 1513.

Richard de la Pole,
slain at the battle
of Pavia, 1525.

Reginald Pole,
Archbishop of
Canterbury,
and Cardinal,
d. 1558.

EDWARD
V.

Richard,
Duke of
York.

Elizabeth,
m. *HENRY*
VII.

HOUSE OF LANCASTER.

EDWARD III.

i. *Blanche of Lancaster*, = John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster. 2. *Constance, daughters of Peter the Cruel, King of Castile and Leon*, 3. *Katharine Sivyngford*,

Philippa,
m. *John I. King of Portugal*,

HENRY IV.

Katharine,
m. *Henry III., King of Castile and Leon*,

John Beaufort,
Earl of Somerset and Marquess of Dorset.

Henry Beaufort,
Bishop of Winchester, and Cardinal.

HENRY V.
m. *Katharine of France*, who = 2. Owen Tudor, beheaded after the battle of Mortimer's Cross, 1461.

John Beaufort,
Duke of Somerset.

Edmund Beaufort
Duke of Somerset, slain at St. Albans, 1455-

1
Joan Beaufort,
m. *James I. King of Scots*,

HENRY VI.

Edmund Tudor, = Margaret
Earl of 1 Beaufort.
Richmond.

Henry Beaufort,
Duke of Somerset, beheaded at Hexham, 1464.

1.
Edmund Beaufort,
Duke of Somerset beheaded after the battle of Tewkesbury, 1471.

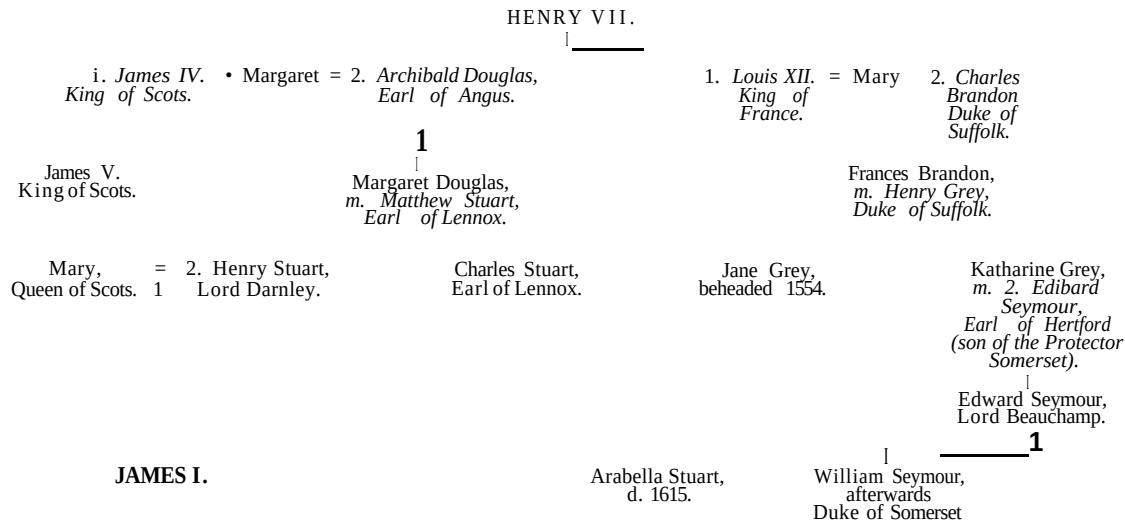
Margaret Beaufort
m. *Huntfrey, Earl of Stafford*.

Edward,
Prince of Wales
slain at **Tewkesbury**,
1471.

HENRY VII.
m. *Elizabeth of York*

Henry Stafford,
Duke of Buckingham,
beheaded 1483.

DESCENDANTS OF THE DAUGHTERS OF HENRY VII.



THE SOVEREIGNS

Since the

WILLIAM I.
m. Matilda

I
Robert,
Duke of Normandy,
b. about 1056,
d. 1134-
William,
Count of Flanders,
b. 1101, d. 1128.

I
WILLIAM III.
b. about 1060,
d. 1100.

I
Henry,
b. 1155, d. 1183.

I
RICHARD I.
b. 1157, d. 1199.

OF ENGLAND.

Norman Conquest.

b. about 1027, d. 1087.
of Flanders.

HENRY I.
b. 1068,
d. 1135-
m. 1. Matilda of Scotland.

Matilda,
d. 1167,
m. 2. Geoffrey, Count of Anjou.

HENRY II.
b. 1133, d. 1189.
m. Eleanor of Aquitaine,

I
Geoffrey,
b. 1158, d. 1186.
in. Constance, heiress of Brittany.

Arthur,
Duke of Brittany,
b. 1187.

I
Adela,
d. 1137.
m. Stephen, Count of Blots.

STEPHEN,
d. 1154.
m. Matilda of Boulogne.

Eustace,
Count of Boulogne,
d. 1153.

William,
Count of Boulogne,
d. 1160.

I
JOHN,
b. 1166, d. 1216.
m. 2. Isabel of Angoulême.

HENRY III.
b. 1206, d. 1272.
m. Eleanor of Provence.

EDWARD I.
b. 1239, d. 1307.
m. Eleanor of Castile.

EDWARD II.
b. 1284.
murdered 1327.
in. Isabel of France.

I
EDWARD III.
b. 1312, d. 1377.
m. Philip/a of Hainault.

[See next page.]

THE SOVEREIGNS

EDWARD

Edward,
Prince of
Wales,
b. 1330,
d. 1376.

Lionel,
Duke of
Clarence,
b. 1318,
d. 1368.

1. *Blanche,*
daughter of
Henry, Duke of
Lancaster.

John of Gaunt, =
Duke of
Lancaster,
b. about 1340.
d. 1399.

3. *Katharine*
Swynford.

RICH. II.
b. 1366,
deposed
1399.

Philippa,
in. Edmund
Mortimer,
Earl of
March.

HENRY IV.
b. 1366, d. 1413.
in. 1. Mary de
Bohun.

John Beaufort,
Earl of Somerset.

Roger
Mortimer, .
Earl of
March.

HENRY V.
b. 1388, d. 1422.
in. Katharine of
, who 2. Owen Tudor.

John Beaufort,
Duke of
Somerset.

Edmund
Mortimer,
Earl of
March,
d. 1424.

Anne
Mortimer,
in. Richard
Earl of Cam-
bridge,
who was
beheaded
1415.

HENRY VI.
b. 1421,
d. 1471.
m. Margaret of
Anjou.

Edmund
Tudor, Earl
of Richmond.

Margaret
Beaufort.

Edward,
Prince of Wales,
b. 1453,
slain at
Tewkesbury,
1471.

HENRY VII.
b. 1456, d. 1509.

Katharine
of Aragon.

HENRY VIII.
b. 1491, d. 1547.

2. *Anne Boleyn.*

= 3. *Jane Seymour.*

MARY,
b. 1516, d. 1558.
in. Philip of Spain.

ELIZABETH,
b. 1533, d. 1603"

EDWARD VI.
b. 1537, d. 1553.

OF ENGLAND—continued.

III.

Edmund of
Langley,
Duke of York,
b. 1341, d. 1402.

Richard,
Earl of Cambridge,
beheaded 1415.
nt. Anne
Mortimer.

Richard Plantagenet,
Duke of York,
slain at
Wakefield, 1460.

EDWARD IV.
b. 1442, d. 1483.
m. Elizabeth
Woodville.

George, Duke of
Clarence D. 1449, d. 1478.

RICHARD III.
b. 1452, d. 1485.
in. Anne Neville.

Elizabeth,
d. 1503.

EDWARD
V.
b. 1470.

Richard,
Duke of
York,
b. 1472.

Edward,
Earl of
Warwick,
beheaded
1499.

Margaret,
Countess of
Salisbury,
beh. 1541,
m. Sir
Richard
Pole.

Edward,
Prince of Wales,
born 1473, d. 1484.

Margaret,
b. 1489, d. 1541.
vt. 1 James I V.,
King of Scots.

James V.
King of Scots,
died 1542.

Mary,
Queen of Scots,
beheaded, 1587.

JAMES I.
born 1566, d. 1625.
vt. Anne of Denmark.

Mary
b. 1498; d. 1533.
M. 2. Charles
Brandon, Duke of
Suffolk.

Fiances Brandon,
in. Henry Grey
Duke of Suffolk.

Jane Grey,
beheaded 1554.
m. Lord Guildford
Dudley.

[See :next page.]

OF ENGLAND-continued.

THE SOVEREIGNS

JAMES

CHARLES I.

b. 1600, beheaded 1649.
m. *Hem ietta Maria of France.*

CHARLES II.
b. 1630, d. 1685.

1. *Anne Hyde* • JAMES II., *Mary of*
b. 1633, *Modena.*
d. 1701. *tn. William*

Mary,
b. 1631, died 1660
tn. William
Prince of Orange.

MARY,
b. 1662,
d. 1694.
tn.
WILLIAM
III.

ANNE,
b. 1665,
d. 1714.

James Francis
Edward Stuart,
the Old
Pretender,
b. i638, d. 1766.

WILLIAM III.
b. 1650, d. 1702.
tn. MARY OF
ENGLAND.

J

Charles **Henry**
Edward Benedict
Stuart, the Stuart,
Young Cardinal
Pretender, York,
b. 1720, b. 1725
d. 1788. d. 1807.

|
Elizabeth,
b. 1596, d. 1662.
tn. Frederick,
Electress Palatine.

|
Sophia,
d. 1714-
tn. Ernest Augustus;
Electress of Hanover.

GEORGE I.
b. 1660, d. 1727.
m. Sophia Dorothea
of Zell.

GEORGE II.
b. 1683, d. 1760.
tn. Caroline of
Brandenburg-
Ansbach.

|
Frederick,
Prince of Wales,
b. 1707, d. 1751.

GEORGE III.
b. 1738, d. 1820.
m. Charlotte of
Mecklenburg-
Strelitz.

GEORGE IV.
b. 1762, d. 1830.
tn. Caroline of
Brunswick-
Wolfenbiittel. |

Charlotte,
b. 1796, d. 1817.

WILLIAM IV.
b. 1765, d. 1837.

Edward,
Duke of Kent,
b. 1767, d. 1820.

Ernest Augustus,
King of Hanover,
b. 1771, d. 1851.

VICTORIA,
b. 1819, d. 1901.
tn. Prince Albert of
Saxe-Coburg and Gotha.

EDWARD VII.
b. 1841, d. 1910.
tn. Alexandra Caroline
of Denmark.

GEORGE V.
b. 1865.
m. Victoria Mary
of Teck.

EPILOGUE.

VSection I.—The Social Revolution, 1815—1914.

IT is impossible to relate here the crowded events of the century that followed the battle of Waterloo. The Napoleonic war itself was not more critical for the fortunes of England, nor more passionate in its conduct, than the desperate struggle of the nation to direct the industrial revolution into the way of freedom, and to unite the whole people in full rights of citizenship. In that hundred years every order and class in the State has been profoundly changed, and with these the State itself transformed in the theory of government, the source of power, and the exercise of authority. The whole body of Statutes has been changed in form or in substance till but few laws on the statute-book in 1804 now remain unaltered. English life had twice before been given a new direction in character through legislation imposed by powerful rulers, Henry, 11. and Henry VIII. ; but this third age of legislative change, this series of reforms unparalleled in English history, was the work of the nation itself. The undiminished force of the old English tradition of self-government and the spirit of freedom have directed the growth of national life at home, the shaping of the colonial empire, and in some degree the foreign policy of the country.

Social reform had all but ceased in an England deeply occupied with the struggle in America and the conflict with France. But throughout the century to come no grave outward danger threatened her. Through the sufferings of the long war, England had asserted her own independence and that of the European peoples. From all sides opened a great prosperity. Left without a rival by the destruction of the navies of France, Spain, Denmark, she absorbed the carrying trade of two continents, and shipped her own wares to be flung broadcast in the United States and in Germany, and as far as India itself, to undersell every competitor. Once more, as after the Armada, a lofty pride stirred the nation. "England," it was said, "seems destined by Providence to lead the moral condition of the world. Year after year we are sending forth thousands and hundreds of thousands of our citizens to people the vast solitudes and islands of another hemisphere ; the Anglo-Saxon race will shortly overspread half the habitable globe. What a mighty and what a rapid addition to the happiness of mankind, if these thousands should carry with them, and plant in those distant regions, Our freedom, our laws, our morality, and our religion } " The hereditary faith of the governing

**The
peace**

SEC. I.
THE SOCIAL
REVOLUTION
1815
TO
1914

classes in the Constitution, built up through long ages of effort, was unabated. "To sustain, to repair, to beautify this noble pile," Blackstone had written in 1765, "is a charge intrusted principally to the nobility, and such gentlemen of the kingdom as are delegated by their country to parliament"; and in 1830 Wellington, in the same spirit, declared that no improvement was needed—if he had to form a legislature for England, he did not mean to assert he could form such a legislature as they possessed now, for the nature of man was incapable of reaching such excellence at once; but he would try to form one that would produce the same results. The only fear of the old aristocracy was a dread of change. The terror of the French revolution had doubled their anxiety to maintain undisturbed the form of government which gave to them unchallenged security of political power and of property. With the fall of the ancient principle of primogeniture, they held, the pillars of the State would crumble—the parliamentary government of the landed magnates, and their command of county administration. With the division of great hereditary estates on which their power rested, the food of the country must perish.

The new
Classes

The ideal of the Tory aristocracy was a world where the rich should guide and protect the poor, who under this guardianship should obediently labour for a modest customary wage, while the welfare of air was secured by a changeless Constitution. They were confronted with new problems when the industrial revolution turned Great Britain from a thinly peopled agricultural land into a crowded workshop, and created a society unknown before—a middle class of prodigious wealth and activity, and a vast working class on the borders of starvation. Neither the leaders of industry nor the factory workers, alike shut out from a voice in the government of the country, saw any grounds of reverence for the "great juggle of the English constitution, a thing of monopolies and churchcraft and sinecures." The new industrial world had the confidence of pre-eminent ability. On the manufacturers depended the restoration of the country's wealth, and the payment of its enormous war debt. The men of science were with them, Davy, Herschell, Watt, Stephenson; religious philanthropists such as Zachary Macaulay, Clarkson, Wilberforce; and secular reformers, James Mill, Sir Samuel Romilly, Mackintosh, Huskisson, Jeremy Bentham, and many more, discussing universal suffrage, the ballot, reform of Parliament, freedom of the Press, just and equal laws. Above all the rest the call of Bentham rang out to free men through the country. Born of the middle classes he shared their ideals, and became at last their prophet. The end of all government, he proclaimed, must be utility, or the good of the governed. "The greatest happiness of the greatest number," such was the generous passion that was to direct his life: "At the sight of it I cried out, as it were in an inward" ecstasy." Before the public need

Bentham
1748-1832

1817

the long apathy of legislative stagnation must end: and reform of the whole law of England must be by act of the people, the guardians of their own welfare, in an omnipotent Parliament—a Parliament holding a real sovereignty. Legislation must henceforth be a science with fixed principles, and a legal procedure that would give to every man a certainty of protection. All laws must be open to free inquiry, and "the principle of utility" the sole test of worth. This principle was to strike at all abuses and selfish interests, at all offices or institutions which brought no benefit to the public. It was to abolish every needless restraint which limited the freedom of human existence. Such was the revolution that Bentham in his ecstasy foresaw, and preached with all the fervour of his original genius and lofty devotion. "Has a man talents?" he wrote; "he owes them to his country in every way in which they can be serviceable."

SEC. I.
THE SOCIAL
REVOLU-
TION
1816
to
1914

"To the Tories," said Bentham, "the principle of utility is a dangerous principle." There were other heralds of revolution. Never before had such misery been known among the English poor. Half a million of men cast adrift at the end of the war wandered through the country, dying by hundreds and thousands of hunger. A more prolonged and universal agony followed the destruction of the old industrial system through the rapid development of machinery driven by steam. Ruin fell on the master craftsman—a manual worker employing his family or a few journeymen and apprentices in his home, owning his plant, and selling for his own profit—as labour was swept into new factories, and the factories gathered into hastily created towns, till by 1826 not a third of the population was left to live on the land. In eighteen years the power-looms increased from 3,000 to 100,000; and the hand-loom weavers, once an aristocracy as it were of labour, sank through extremity of want into the undistinguished mass of hired workers—life-long wage-earners with no economic interest in the product of their labour, and helpless under the autocracy of the all-powerful capitalist of the new industry. The simple local government of older days broke down; with the new doctrines of unlimited competition and every man for himself alone, the ancient protecting customs of the craftsmen disappeared. Economists contemplating the greatest national debt that any country had ever incurred, dazzled by the prospects of England in the world's market, fearful of foreign rivalry, proclaimed the making of wealth and the full use of labour to be the first duty and right of the citizen, and the first necessity for the permanence of the State. The prosperity of the country, the virtue of its people, must depend on the competitive struggle for life, and the freedom of every man in whatever estate to make his own contract as best he could. The profit of a cotton mill, declared one, was obtained out of the work of the last

**Indus-
trial
Revolu-
tion**

1816-1834

*The new
economics*

"SEC. I.
THE SOCIAL
RE VOLU-
TION
1815
TO
1814

*The
Factories*
1802

1819

1825

hour. It was commonly averred that "in the lower orders the deterioration of morals increases with the quantity of unemployed time." On every plea, moral and economical, the day of labour was lengthened and the wage cheapened. There was not a single Act on the statute books to protect the worker in his bargain. While the employer was practically beyond the reach of the law, the worker accused of breaking contract could be sentenced, in a magistrate's private house, and without being allowed to say a word in his own defence, to three months' imprisonment. He had no remedy if he was defrauded of his wretched wage, and paid in food from the master's shop, and at his price ; or was given at cost price some of the goods he had made to sell as best he could for a livelihood. A few sanitary and moral rules were laid down for workers in factories—the washing of the rooms twice a year with quick-lime, the limit of twelve hours' work for child apprentices, separate dormitories for men and women, and the teaching to apprentices for one hour on Sunday the principles of the Christian religion ; but the Act provided no means to carry out this advice. Later Acts forbade children under nine to work in a cotton factory, and under sixteen to work more than twelve hours a day ; and limited young persons under eighteen to sixty-nine hours of labour a week. There was little means of enforcing such rules. Toil went on through day and night. Men were kept in at meal times to clean machinery. They were forbidden to carry watches, lest they should check the factory clock that prolonged the natural hours. There were frequent floggings, distortions from painful disease, accidents from unfenced machinery. Managers urged in defence of the system that thus alone could England defy the foreigner and keep her place in the world. As the growth of machinery for the first time brought in the labour of women and children to supersede that of men, they too were caught into the circle of misery. Their situation was one of unrelieved woe. Women toiled in coal-mines, chained like beasts of burden to carts which they dragged on all fours through the long galleries, traversing from seventeen to thirty miles a day. Children from five years old were sent into the darkness of the mines. In the model mill of David Dale children from five to eight worked from 6 a.m. to 7 p.m., after which they went into school. When a child reached nine the parish cut off relief, as it could then legally earn its own living by work for twelve hours, or often fourteen or sixteen. Children might be seen lying on the factory floors at night to be ready for work in the morning. Orphans and destitute infants were practically bought and sold as apprentices. We hear of blacksmiths kept at work forging fetters for them if they tried to escape, and of horses kept saddled to hunt down those who fled.

*The
Towns*

Nor was there relief for the workers in their homes ; where in the "dolorous chaos" of the new-made towns they were crowded under

the most forlorn conditions, huddled in houses run up by speculators in tiny courts, in alleys like gutters, in lanes where a wheelbarrow could not pass, crammed with dunghills and human beings, the air tainted by perpetual exhalations, the pavement never dry, without "water supply, or drainage, or scavengers' carts. Mounds of filth were sold as manure to the farmers; and as late as 1844 only two towns were known where refuse was removed at the public expense from the quarters of the poor. Fever never left the courts, where the feeble waited for a "slow, mouldering, and putrefying death." Municipal bodies that had taken shape in another age and world were helpless before the new conditions. Each borough had its special customs, its peculiar way of conferring the freedom and the right to vote, its own form of Council. But all were alike in the original tradition carried down from merchant and trade guilds, which taught them to seek first and last the trade interests of their own members, and to exclude "strangers" from every privilege. As for the town property, said one of the Cambridge corporation, he thought it "belonged *bona fide* to the corporation, and they had a right to do what they pleased with their own." Their finance was secret. There was no public control, and no representation on town councils, to protect the incoming multitude of workers—aliens crowded in the courts of death.

SEC. I.
THE SOCIAL
REVOLU-
TION
1816
TO
1814

In 1816 agriculture was at the head of all other industries: while incomes from trade, handicrafts, and manufactures were reckoned at nearly 34½ millions, the rents paid by occupiers of land approached 37 millions. But while agriculture advanced, while vast fields of wheat supplied ninety per cent, of the corn used in England, the rural labourers who formed the greatest industry in the country sank into abject dependence. A secular revolution had slowly transformed country life by the steady increase of great estates worked by landless labourers. After the judges of the seventeenth century yielded to landowners the right of tying up their estates by settlements the numbers of small holdings steadily decreased. There was no land to purchase. The "enclosures" of waste, forest, or common lands cut off the people's last hold on the soil. These changes proceeded rapidly under the rule of a landed aristocracy which from the seventeenth century had absolute control of legislation. Primogeniture with its aggregation of great estates held necessary for the stability of the State, was considered no less necessary for the economic production of food for the country. From the time of Anne when enclosures, once a matter of voluntary assent or arbitrary action, were carried out by private Acts, the anxiety of the legislature was to cheapen and facilitate the process, which was thought to be a national benefit. The need of food supply in war time, the demands of an increasing population, the cost of scientific farming,

Agriculture

- SEC. I. the new teaching of experimental economists—all these influences came to the aid of the powerful landed interest in their struggle to secure greater rapidity in enclosures, to lessen expenses, and overcome opposition. If reasons of State would have preserved a^ peasantry with a hold on the soil, all the reasons of class interest were for dissolving it. After a sharp parliamentary conflict a general Act to simplify and make uniform the working of private Acts granted under it marked the triumph of those who desired to force enclosure in all directions and on all lands, and the crushing defeat of their opponents. Two thousand Acts for fencing in commons followed in swift succession. Under the laws of settlement and of enclosures, the landlords' hole on the soil was secure. Royal Commissioners appointed to report on Real Property declared that "the law of England except in a few unimportant particulars appears to come almost as near perfection as can be expected in any human institution."
- 1800
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- The rural labourer
- No doubt of the public advantage of enclosures, or consideration of the claims of the poor, arose till the middle of the nineteenth century. The great proprietors who made and administered the laws, and could alone bear the costs of parliamentary action and of fencing enclosures, had of necessity the determining voice. Compensation to the old commoners was often given in a form that did not alleviate their suffering: nor could any compensation ultimately atone for entire severance from the soil, and the sinking of the whole rural population into a body of mere wage-earners, owning less land than the labourers of any country in Europe; and by that fact, as we shall see, rendered more incapable of combination and resistance than even the wretched Irish cottiers. The destruction of cottage industries completed the ruin of the country people. Yeomen fanners and peasant proprietors practically ceased to exist: they drifted to the towns, or sank into workers at a daily wage. Not only small holdings but the lesser tenancies gradually vanished in a universal system of large estates and farms. On these the tillers of the soil fell into practical servitude. When with rising prices a wage of five shillings or so could not support life, a custom began of giving allowances of food to eke out the pay, and prevent wages from rising "to a height from which it would be difficult to reduce them"; and these pauperising doles from the parish came to be a part of the industrial system. Every labourer was tied to the place where he was born, and where he could be put on the rates. There, unchecked by any central control, village churchwardens and overseers had opportunity to abuse their power to private advantage; and the peasant had no appeal save to magistrates who were themselves landlords and employers. Fear and hunger were his lot. "I see scores of men," wrote Cobbett, "framed by nature to be rosy-cheeked,
- 1795

athletic, bold. . . I see them as thin as herrings, dragging their feet after them, pale as a ceiling, and sneaking about like beggars." Many "are actually become a sort of skeleton." The workhouse which provided for the last extremity was worse than the prison. The sick and feeble there had no helpers. The children were sold out as apprentices, or given, with 3s. 4d. a week each for food, to a contractor to make what he could of them.

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If no relief was given by statute to the workers severer laws were still invented to repress their discontent. Two hundred offences were accumulated for which a man could be hanged, and it is reckoned that from 1810 to 1845 more than fourteen hundred persons were executed for crimes that are no longer punished with death. Murderers swung in chains on gibbets. For stealing five shillings, or for burning a rick of hay, the bodies of men were left for hours on gallows in the market places as a warning.- The punishment for picking a pocket of a handkerchief was seven years' transportation, and that after a few minutes' undefended trial; for even in 1824 and 1826 the House of Commons still refused to allow prisoners tried for murder or larceny defence by counsel. Perjurers in the pillory slowly revolved before the crowd. Landowners used spring-guns and man-traps, rating the life of a poacher below that of a hare ; and gave sentence of seven years' transportation for stealing a pheasant. In vain Sir Samuel Romilly, known for his "anti-hanging laws," fought to bring some humanity into the code ; at his death all his efforts had only exempted from capital punishment picking pockets and stealing from bleaching grounds. "Neither in private nor in public was there any refuge or kindness for an evangelical man"; nor could "Humanitarians" hope for toleration, even if Dr. Parr "was more shocked as a grammarian at the word than as a divine at the sect."

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Workers so harshly trained from infancy learned often a fathomless resignation : and many were illumined by an impassioned piety nourished in the chapel and the Sunday school where they were consoled by humble ministers who had suffered the same tribulations. In the darkest courts and alleys we find records of a spiritual enthusiasm which, ignored by the Established Church, called men to an amazing heroism and tenderness to suffering. Parliament had constantly rejected bills to provide a system of national education, and not a penny was spent by the State for the instruction of the people. Philanthropic and ecclesiastical efforts were few and perverted in intention. A Friend, Lancaster, with the help of some Quaker philanthropists and Nonconformist ministers, proposed a scheme of "Schools for all"; and this was followed by the "National Society for the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Established Church." Their plan was to obtain some disused workshop which could contain a thousand children ; to give to a sensible master a month's training;

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on opening the school to choose thirty intelligent children, who for half an hour before the rest of the school should be taught the day's lesson ; after which each little monitor should instruct a class of thirty; while the master kept order over the whole. Mrs. Hannah More, a famous writer and philanthropist*of her time, pointed out how an all-wise Providence showed to the poor by times of scarcity the advantages of the Government and Constitution of this country, and of the distinctions of rank and fortune which enabled the rich so liberally to assist the needy placed in their dependence. "We trust," she said, "the poor in general, especially those that are well instructed, have received what has been done for them as a matter of favour, not of right—if so the same kindness will, I doubt not, always be extended to them." In spite of all difficulties never had such a roll of distinguished men risen from the*poor as at this time. Gifford, son of *i.* small tradesman, was to lead Conservatives as editor of the Quarterly Review ; Dalton, a weaver's son, was a famous man of science ; and another weaver's son, White, was professor of Arabic at Oxford. Any real education the poor created for themselves in working-men's clubs, mechanics' institutes, debating societies, industrial classes, Sunday schools, or little libraries where the student paid a shilling a month for books and conferences. They learned to read, and had political tracts and newspapers. "Get knowledge," was the cry of the working-classes for the next fifty years, "for in getting knowlege you get power." They discussed political economy, and the new social order which was to put an end to the calamities and humiliations inflicted by the current system. Ministers sprung from their own class denounced the influence of the State Church, and the aristocracy that upheld it as a political force. Through the dark underworld of toilers, oppressed, miserably poor, feared and despised, there ran a ferment of thought, a passionate idealism, dreams of a new society, a richer education, a larger humanitarianism, and the hopes of a national fellowship of all who laboured. Not a single theory or scheme of reform emerged in the coming century that we do not find in these early years, the full seed-time of the coming harvest. Cartwright, who had spent his life since 1776 for parliamentary reform, opened Hampden clubs to advocate universal suffrage. Thomas Spence, a poor man, once a schoolmaster, preached that the land in every village should belong to all the inhabitants. William Lovett, born in a Cornish fishing village in great poverty, claimed for the poor "bread, knowledge, and liberty"; and with unquenchable courage and*perseverance organised co-operative societies and associations to fight for political equality. Hodgskin argued that all products of labour should be distributed among labourers, manual or mental. Thompson of Cork, the most eminent founder of scientific socialism, urged that the worker should have the value he creates.

Place, a tailor, who in youth had suffered poverty and want, made his shop in Westminster the headquarters of radicals working for universal suffrage, annual parliaments, financial reform, freedom of speech and of assembly. Robert Owen, whose own energy had raised him from an apprentice to a wealthy factory owner, rejected such reforms as these to become the apostle of communism. His "new system of society" was to be an industrial democracy with co-operative ownership and control of industry. It was he who first put forward the idea of a factory act to limit hours of labour, of the "right to work," of a minimum wage, of the housing of the poor by provincial authorities, of a national system of free and compulsory education, of free libraries. He believed with an apostle's ardour that if he could win respite from poverty to give to but one generation of children a true education, they would form a new moral world, and carry out the emancipation of the working classes.

But it was from the country-side that came the greatest tribune the English poor ever possessed, William Cobbett, "born in a farmhouse, bred up at the plough-tail, with a smock-frock on my back." He had for twenty years toiled in vain to get possession of his holding; he had saved from his scanty food farthings to buy candles and paper, and in his hunger had cried like a child at the loss of a half-penny, the price of a red herring for his dinner. Serving as a common soldier he had trained himself by writing out an entire grammar three times, and reciting it once each time he stood sentry. In pity for the poor he abandoned his Tory creed to open a long fight with the possessing and educated classes—"the race that plunder the people." "England," he cried, "now contains the most miserable people that ever trod the earth." Penetrated by passion for the country-side, his indignant alarm was lest the poor should grow accustomed to their dependence and accept their degradation. The poor man must be freed from fear. He ought to have help as his "legal due." The domination of the aristocracy must be destroyed with all that lay behind it—the superstitious reverence for its capacity and public spirit, the habit of supposing that any country could live creditably which left the rich to think and act for the poor. The Duke's word of command, he insisted, had no effect on wheat, nor could his army of a hundred thousand men make it 10s. a bushel. In capital he saw only money taken from the labouring classes. Up and down the country, year after year, with a fury of eloquence, he drove home the lesson so that Englishmen could never again forget it, that for a people who had lost the right of voting taxes, and were denied free assembly and speech and combination, there was no hope save by reform of parliament and universal suffrage. "We must have that first or we shall have nothing good." The working classes as a body must unite in self-

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SEC. I. THE SOCIAL REVOLU- TION 1815 TO 1814 1816	defence against the two great parties in the State. Cobbett formed, it was said, a Fourth Estate in himself; he first gave to the people a journal written by one of themselves, and by his literary' genius taught them the power of the Press. When he reduced "The Weekly Political Register" from a shilling and a halfpenny to two-pence, 50,000 copies were scattered over the country, and everywhere men gathered in clubs to hear the paper read by one of them who had schooling.
The Tory Govern- ment 1818 1821 1815 1817-18	. Thus the old aristocracy found themselves confronted in the middle classes and in the workers alike with a new intelligence, an ardent questioning of the old traditions. It must, said one, "make those in higher regions look about them and be on the alert; every man now feels that warning from the man immediately beneath him, and the stimulus is propagated. What it will come to God knows." "The same impulse of the times that makes one man a reformer will make others revolutionists." No one at that time, neither landlord, nor capitalist, nor economist, could understand the revolution that was overturning the old society and fashioning a new democracy. But already at the close of the Napoleonic war the social problem which was to fill the coming century confronted England. After the peace, government was carried on, under Lord Liverpool, by Wellington victor of Waterloo, and Castlereagh plenipotentiary at the Congress of Vienna. They brought to a country where statecraft and sound finance were needed the habits learned in war of wasteful expenditure, and a dependence on armed force. The French Revolution had bequeathed alike to aristocrats and plutocrats an abiding panic as to the security of property, and a terror of the working classes—"the basest of the populace." To save the State their own power must be maintained. Parliament was surrounded by troops while the landlords, who in the war had ploughed up their fields for tillage, passed a corn-law in their own relief, forbidding corn to be imported till it had reached eighty shillings a quarter. The successful agitation of Brougham against the income-tax, a movement supported by the plutocracy and the industrialists, and the repeal of the malt-tax, left a heavier burden of the national debt on the people. While the rich paid twenty per cent, on their wine, the poor paid two hundred per cent, on their beer; and landed property passed without any charges, when duty was levied on the money and effects of tradesmen and farmers. Agitations of starving men demanding bread at a fixed price or wages to buy food, or assemblies for the suffrage and the ballot, were to the rulers crimes against the State; they encouraged informers; their secret committees of enquiry drew up terrifying reports of Radical schemes for new division of wealth and land. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, meetings forbidden, and Press laws issued against blasphemy and sedition. Five hundred

writers suffered fine and imprisonment between 1800 and 1832. In the hunger riots of 1818 fifteen hundred famishing men marched under a banner "Bread or Blood," demanding that the price of bread should be fixed: twenty-four were condemned to death, and five hanged at Ely. When the most powerful of the popular ^speakers, 'Orator' Hunt, held a meeting at St. Peter's Fields, Manchester, fifty thousand people gathered with banners flying — "Equal Representation or Death," "Liberty or Death" , - in a charge of the yeomanry on the unarmed crowd a man was killed and forty injured. The dark day of "Peterloo" was followed by legislation of sheer panic. The "Six Acts" commonly known as the "Gagging Acts," gave new powers to suppress meetings and freedom of speech or writing. Since Cobbett avoided the stamp of fourpence on newspapers by printing no news in his Political Register, an Act was passed to subject certain publications to the duties on newspapers, so as to ruin the cheap circulation and influence of his "Twopenny Trash." Orator Hunt with other leaders was thrown into prison. Cobbett fled to America. Executions, transportations, military force, silenced the deep indignation of the working classes, and no serious disturbance troubled the rulers for ten years. It was almost safer to be a felon than a reformer, said Sidney Smith. So great was the terror that no Whig would join the Reformers in asserting the-right of public meeting; nor stir a finger nor subscribe a shilling to help reform. No private person without the utmost danger could attempt to remove even the smallest public grievance.

It was the last triumph of the old Tory despotism. In the face of the new England the Habeas Corpus Act was never again suspended there. With the death of George III., and of Castlereagh, came the stirrings of a great change. Steadily the power of the monarch was limited. The peers had given to the Cabinet of 1815 more than three-fourths of its number ; in 1823 nearly half the ministers sat in the House of Commons. Terror of progress no longer ruled among younger men who had forgotten the French Revolution. Even Tories themselves were drifting towards imminent change under ministers of the unavowed and painful transition : Canning, who succeeded Castle-reagh as Foreign Secretary, and Peel the Home Secretary. Although he was a defender of the Six Acts, an enemy of Jacobinism, Canning's glowing imagination saw the coming of a new world : by the force of his lofty genius, his compelling enthusiasm and eloquence, he dominated the House of Commons, and in the five brief years before his death formed, out of Tories and Whigs, a group ready to move in the way of reform. Peel for thirty years stood before England as the tragic figure of the transition. " Leader," as he boasted, " of the gentlemen of England," proud, sensitive, hostile to every proposa¹ for civil and religious equality, he yet by the tact in public affairs that made

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- him " the greatest member of Parliament that ever lived," saw himself compelled to sacrifice tradition to the final authority of the public will, and the necessity of the public good : and more than once used his absolute mastery over the House to drive through it the liberating bills that he had most desperately denounced. Under leaders such as these the first movements towards reform were slow, halting and reluctant. Working-men and masters were allowed a limited right to meet together and agree on rates of wages and terms of work : but beyond these limits any trade combination was punished as " conspiracy," and trade unions were outside the protection of law. In a revision of the disordered State finance and taxation by Peel and Huskisson, who knew the middle classes well, a dim beginning of free trade was made by amending tariffs and navigation laws, and proposing a revision of the Corn Laws. There was a first attempt to check cruelty to animals. Landlords were forbidden to use spring-guns against poachers. 1827 Mackintosh, who had taken up the question of capital punishment, moved Peel to abolish sentence of death for about a hundred felonies, and wholly or partially repealed nearly three hundred Acts relating to the criminal law. He " could almost think that he had lived in two different countries and conversed with people who spoke two different languages," said Mackintosh, remembering his old battle against flogging of women, and death on the gallows for shoplifting to the value of five shillings.
- 1819
1823
- 1828 When Canning died and Wellington became Prime Minister, he was in fact confronted by a new country. All seemed unchanged. The fundamental laws and constitution of England stood in 1828 exactly as they had been in 1800, and the old complacency was undiminished. But within three years the ancient constitution was in fact new-made, and the modern world as we know it had begun.
- Catholic
Emanci-
pation
- The first trial of strength was a demand for the civil equality of all creeds. Catholic emancipation, first proposed in 1778, was passionately refused for fifty years. Since 1805 Parliament had fourteen times rejected bills for Catholic relief; for twenty years the Whigs had fought for it, and Canning had given his life for it in vain. Catholics and Dissenters might die for their country since army and navy had been opened to them ; but no Catholic might serve it in a civil post, and no Dissenter save under the protection of an annual Indemnity bill.
- 1817 The manufacturing classes now procured repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts to free Dissenters from the sacramental test for civil office. Peel, " spokesman of the intolerant faction," vehemently led the opposition to Catholic relief, and Wellington declared it fatal to the best interests of the country. The next year they united to force through Parliament a bill admitting Catholics to Parliament and to nearly all civil and political offices. The first great victory of freedom was won. But no spirit of liberality had moved the govern-
- 1828
- 1829

ment. It was Ireland, long defrauded of the emancipation promised at the Union, that by an immense organization of a whole people compelled a hearing. The Catholic peasantry of Clare broke from the control of their Protestants landlords, and in a solemn national demonstration elected Daniel O'Connell as their member. Wellington was warned by his brother, Wellesley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, that he might expect not only a general rising but a mutiny of the Catholic soldiers, unless the will of the people was heard. The Ministers' resistance broke down. The authority of Wellington and Peel alone could have forced the Tories to accept the bill. But Peel's anger was hot against the independent Irish tenantry. The franchise was to him a weapon of class ascendancy, and that weapon, as he said, "which the landlord has forged with so much care, and has heretofore wielded with such success, had broken short in his hands." In the same bill therefore by which he granted emancipation he abolished the franchise of the forty shilling freeholders, and threw Ireland yet more completely under the political power of the Protestant landlord. The Irish however had shown on their side the power of a national democracy in shaking the very foundations of English tradition in Church and State, and putting to the question its social order, and the power of parliament itself. From this time Irish influence was a potent factor in English politics. The liberalising spirit of the Celtic peoples, nourished in traditions of an old democracy, and in the pains of persecution, was strong in years to come to enfranchise thought and give* a glowing life to social and political agitation in England.

The Catholic Relief Act, if it wrecked the Tory party, showed that after two hundred years the doctrine of philosophers such as Hajes and Chillingworth was passing into common men's thought—"Protestants are inexcusable if they do offer violence to other men's consciences." At the same time the teaching of Hofeferes had sprung • into new life—that the end of all government was the weal of the Commonwealth. For if in the Emancipation Act the old Tories met their first defeat, they found their overthrow in the Reform Act. The control of the legislature by the hereditary landowners of England was by them held to be the only security for a stable government. During two centuries and a half Parliamentary representation* had been untouched. For eighty-five years all protests had been successfully broken down. The urging of reform was judged seditious; five leading men of position and character, pleading "the eternal basis of justice," were tried and transported for this offence: "we were all mad," one of the jurymen said, looking back from thirty-five years later. On the renewal of the struggle a score of attempts for some degree of reform were defeated in twenty-two years. The landowners felt secure in their ancient authority. Supreme in the House of Lords. in the Commons they appointed the county members, and nearly all the

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of the independent class." "By the people," said Brougham, "I mean the middle classes, the wealth and intelligence of the country, the glory of the British name"; and Macaulay urged that such a scheme, safe, moderate, and final, would keep at bay the perils of universal suffrage. "Shufflers and cowards," retorted the workingmen, "mere drawing Whigs." For fifteen years their clubs had taught universal suffrage. They were on the verge of revolution. But in this crisis the artisans showed a sound political instinct, and amid their bitter disappointment loyally supported the middle class rather than lose the beginning of reform. The workers were formidable in the unrepresented towns such as Birmingham, Leeds, or Manchester. In Birmingham where the population had risen from 90,000 in 1815 to 150,000 in 1832—a town denied even a single voice in Parliament, with no powers to preserve order, fight disease, or protect its workers—arose the first "Political Union of the Middle and Lower classes" for household suffrage; which became the model for others up and down the country. A "National Union of the Working Classes" advocated manhood suffrage as the only means for a true division of wealth: when the government ordered a fast to ward off cholera the members marched in procession, carrying a slice of bread and a piece of beef with the inscription "The true remedy against cholera."

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It was at this moment that Wellington, through the speech of the new king William IV. at the opening of Parliament, threatened the seditious and disaffected, and praised the constitution which gave to England more true liberty and social happiness than had fallen to the lot of any country in the world. To the last Wellington protested against tampering with a perfect Constitution: he had to barricade himself in his house behind bullet-proof shutters. The King and ministers dared not drive through the streets to the Lord Mayor's dinner. When the Duke was forced to resign, his place was taken by the Whig leader Lord Grey, a reformer for more than forty years. Lord Palmerston joined him at the head of the Canningites. Lord John Russell introduced into the House of Commons the first Reform Bill, which swept away decayed boroughs, enfranchised the rising towns, and fixed for all a uniform £20 household franchise. Scoffing jeers of the Tories interrupted the reading of a bill which was to renew and repair the constitutional liberties first created by the genius of Earl Simon and Edward I. The second reading was carried by one vote. A month later an amendment was passed in Committee against the bill, and the King hastened to Westminster to dissolve Parliament. At the roaring of the guns that announced to the Commons his hurried approach there broke out an indescribable scene of violence, such a scene as had marked the memorable struggle of 1641—shouts of fury, hats waved aloft, and deep threatenings. The next time the guns

**Reform
Act**
July 1830

Nov. 1830

Mar. 1
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Mar. 21

April 22

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THE SOCIA REVOLU- TION	people swept aside all the old influences of corruption, and sent back the ministers with a majority of over a hundred. At the
1816 TO	reading of the second Reform Bill the majority rose to 109. When
1914	it was rejected by the Lords popular; fury broke out in riots and
Sept. 22	burnings. In Birmingham blacksmiths worked all night preparing
Oct. 8	arms, and balls with steel points to throw under the feet of
1832	cavalry. The third Bill won a majority of 162. The Lords [by
March	nine votes passed the second reading, and threw out the bill in
April	committee. Wellington at the King's orders attempted to form
May	a ministry, which scarcely lasted a week. The people threatened
	barricades and open war. Political clubs and unions ordered their
	members to pay no taxes unless the bill passed. The temper of
	the soldiers was doubtful. To force a failure of the banks placards
	lined the London streets: "To stop the Duke go for gold." Con-
	fronted with a nation in opposition, the King bowed to a final
	and complete submission. Grey was recalled, with power to create
	as many peers as he needed to pass the bill through the House
June	of Lords. The peers sullenly yielded to the threat so far that
	278 absented themselves from the House, while 106 Lords appeared
	to vote for the bill, and 22 against it.
Effects of Reform	"The King has thrown his crown into the gutter," cried the Czar of
	Russia. Englishmen were astounded at the vastness of a scheme
	which destroyed the old monopoly of power. The Tories lamented
	their "falling country": thirty years, they thought, might bring the
	imminent catastrophes of the bill, changes in hereditary estates, over-
	throw of the established Church, destruction of an independent House
	of Lords, or even annihilation of its existence. The working-men no
	less than the Tories foresaw a future that bore in it revolution. They
	knew that by "their manly, steady, and courageous conduct," the
	victory had been won. "This," said Place, "was indeed the first time
	they ever combined of their own free will for a really national purpose,
	and this it is which marks the era as of more importance than any
	former proceeding;" in a few years' time a new race of young men
	would have sprung up, "brought up very generally without reverence
	for authority, and imbued with notions of representative government,"
	and by their moral power a wider Reform would at last satisfy
1834	the expectations of the people. "There must be a decisive quarrel
	with the Lords some day and the Lords will in the end be beaten."

Such hopes and fears gathered indeed round the principle of the Reform Bill rather than its bare facts. The Act abolished fifty-six nomination or rotten boroughs, and left thirty others with only one member. A hundred and forty-three seats were set free for distribution, sixty-five new representatives were thus given to the counties, and the

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*New House
of Commons*

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rest divided among Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and forty other rising towns. A £10 household franchise was established in the boroughs, and the rights of freemen to vote were restricted. In the counties copy-holders and lease-holders for years were added to the forty-shilling freeholders, and tenants-at-will paying, £50 a year. The propertied classes in the House, however, with the design of protecting property and vested interests, and checking revolutionary ideas, had combined to make as little change as possible in the old order. The Act that enfranchised the commercial classes did not add 500,000 voters in the three countries, and the distribution of seats was so arranged that more than half the members were returned by three per cent, of the grown men in the kingdom. Five out of six of the people were still without a vote. The middle class was practically defrauded by a system which left half of them unenfranchised. As for the working-men, by whose aid the bill had been carried, they found themselves roughly and insolently thrown aside. The new Constitution proved to them in fact less democratic than the old. Many had lost the franchise they once possessed, and few indeed could find a place among the new £10 householders. They were utterly exhausted by their immense efforts; their leaders bankrupt, impoverished, or worn out by incessant labour. The House of Commons seemed in fact but little changed. The landed gentry still commanded the House by their numbers. Even half the boroughs were represented by them as before. For the next thirty-six years all ministries, Whig and Tory, were led from the House of Lords (save for five years when Lord John Russell was Prime Minister). But both friends and foes of reform were right in acknowledging the triumph of a revolution. The fetish of the fixed Constitution was gone. All was flung open to criticism and change. The "principle of utility," the reasoned good of the Commonwealth, had replaced the divine right of the ruling classes, and at the day of his death Bentham had reached the height of his success. The balance of power was changed. The last Act ever introduced by the personal will of the sovereign was the Bill demanded by George IV. for his divorce from Queen Caroline: it was almost the first measure which had to be abandoned before the popular fury. After William IV. no sovereign ventured to claim the right to dismiss Ministers. The "King's Ministers," who till then had been practically chosen by royal influence, were transformed into Ministers selected and dismissed by the House of Commons alone. For the first time in the history of England a Ministry was compelled to resign office as the direct result of a general election. The new sense of responsibility was shown when the House of Commons began itself to publish its division lists. Up to this time, as Gladstone noted, the peers by their command of the close boroughs had as it were "cushioned off" conflict between the Houses; but as

SEC. I.	this control vanished and the lower House gained in independence, there appeared a new opposition of the Lords to the Commons unknown before the Reform Act. That Act had, in fact, made of the House of Commons "the ruling and the choosing House"; and the daring principle laid down by Pym two hundred years before was now finally asserted as one of the bases of the Constitution—that in case of obstruction the Commons would "save the kingdom alone."
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The Reform Parlia- ment	Ten years of office save for a few months lay before the Whigs—years of crowded legislation. Their first great Act, the Emancipation of Slaves in all British Colonies, was the triumph of Evangelicals of the older school. In home reforms the early ardour of the Commons was seen in a number of enactments, small in themselves, but each one establishing a principle which was to direct the action of the State for the coming century. The new influence of the middle class was seen in efforts to free Dissenters and Jews from religious restrictions, and to reform administration of the Established Churches in England and Ireland. When the House of Lords refused to open Oxford and Cambridge, the new-made London University was empowered to grant degrees to men of all creeds. Nonconformists for the first time since 1753 were allowed to celebrate marriages in their own churches. The work thus begun, the essential freeing of the spiritual life of the country from the bondage of political service, and the habit of worldly authority, was carried on through the century. No less honourable was the determination to give to every member of the Commonwealth equal justice and protection of law. A series of enactments secured evidence of competent witnesses on behalf of people accused, and gave all prisoners the right to defence by counsel. Before long the shameful pillory was abolished, with the barbarities of gibbets and common floggings; the death punishment still allowed for thirty-seven crimes was finally restricted to murder; public executions forbidden; and wide improvements made in courts of law to bring their remedies within reach of all. In the first year too the Reform Parliament discovered a dim sense that the State would have to answer for the education of its people—a duty long refused, whether from fear of the populace or from deference to employers and economists: "Men in power," wrote Place, "dread the consequences of teaching the people more than they dread the effect of their ignorance." Now for the first time a State grant was given, a sort of subscription of £20,000 divided between two societies representing the established Church and the dissenting bodies. Later a Board of Education was appointed with £30,000 to distribute among all denominations, including those that used the Roman Catholic Bible, and it was ordered that children should be taught for two hours a week. Even if busy districts with hundreds of thousands of people remained for long years without one school for poor children; even if
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<i>Legal reform</i>	
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<i>Education</i>	
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only one half of those that were taught could read when they left school, one in four could write, and two per cent, learned a moderate degree of arithmetic ; still a principle of State obligation had been established which has never been lost. Factory legislation, revived by Michael Sadler, was forced on the House of Commons by a Committee of which he was chairman, and an Act introduced by Lord Ashley was carried which forbade the work of children under nine, and limited to twelve hours the work of all under eighteen. Through the influence of Edwin Chadwick the Act appointed four travelling inspectors from the Home Office for five years ; thus inaugurating the first attempt, regarded as purely experimental and temporary, to establish the new and vital principle of central control. The zeal of the inspectors won for children some effective protection, the beginning of new hope. But this Act is further remembered as the opening of a controversy which was to fill the century. All economists of that day maintained the right of every Englishman to do his own business without any meddling, aid, or hindrance ; so that the manufacturer should suffer from no ominous interference of the State; and that the worker should make his bargain as a free man, looking not to parliament but to his own manhood for success. There were others living closer to the poor, who saw in the "freedom" offered to an enslaved and famishing people a thing of words and delusion. Lord Ashley (better known as Lord Shaftesbury from 1851) in pity for the suffering, and overwhelmed by the magnitude of the despair he witnessed, became the impassioned apostle of the interference of the State. "Let your laws, we say to the Parliament, assume the proper function of law ; protect those for whom neither wealth, nor station, nor age, has raised a bulwark against Tyranny." When the government sought to lower the age of protection, urging that children of twelve should be allowed to judge for themselves like their elders, and that sixty-nine hours of work a week would do them no harm, Ashley scornfully demanded why a Parliament which condemned slave labour and allowed no adult negro to work more than forty-five hours a week, should fling back into slavery children of the British Empire. His Factory Act marked the beginning of the battle between the Individualists taught by Bentham, and the State Socialists who held that every citizen of the State should of right claim the protection of the whole nation through its Government.

This year in fact may be taken as the starting-point of a new age. The Parliament, fresh from the amazing impulse of the country, breathed a spirit of liberty and justice. However timid and insignificant the first measures were, they heralded a time of brave thought and endeavour. The Poor Law of the next year, as it was a more ambitious effort, so it revealed more clearly the virtues and the

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vices of the legislators. Here too, as in the Factory Act, they set up a central control over local officials for the first time since 1640, cautiously proposed in an experiment for five years. They laid down principles of administration both original and beneficent—grouping the small and inadequate parishes into the larger union, and creating a new salaried class of officials wholly occupied in public work instead of the old voluntary guardians and overseers. On the other hand the theory and method of relief, in which the working-classes had no voice, only deepened their sufferings. The views of economists who then ruled opinion were bounded by certain fixed theories which, amid the bewildering changes of their time, they believed themselves to have discovered. They were obsessed with the fear that population would increase beyond the means of subsistence. They averred that wages, if not interfered with, obeyed natural "laws" which would not allow them to sink below the minimum of subsistence, nor to rise beyond what the trade of the country could fairly bear, but would fairly adjust their level according to the price of corn. They could allow no limitation or exception to their doctrine that economic success depended on the personal freedom of action of every individual, and the unaided efforts of his own capacity. On these principles it was held injurious to give poor relief save with the utmost parsimony, in cases of imminent starvation, and under conditions so harsh as to deter all but the despairing and desperate. Outdoor relief was ended, and pauperising doles of corn in aid of low wages. The labourer was thus enabled to move about more freely in search of work. His freedom was but nominal. Wages did not rise because doles were taken away, and when corn was over sixty shillings a quarter the people starved as before for lack of bread. Workhouses were multiplied, more forbidding and terrible than the gaol. It seemed to doctrinaires good business to combine the principles of economy and representation, by giving to those who held rateable property votes for the Board of Guardians in proportion to their rates, with the result that the first care of the Guardians was directed, as was said, not to the poor but to the poor-rates. The labourer met the harsh administration of the Poor Law with savage revolt, and a bitter class hatred which left a long legacy of evil. There was wild-ripping in the country, and repression by authority as cruel as of old.

Municipal Reform
1835

A work less marred by error was the Municipal Reform Act—the great grant of local self-government, which was practically to end the long civic struggle by which the English towns had won their way, with many a failure and backsliding, from serfage to independence and social freedom. The measure was immensely more democratic than the Reform Act of three years before; it doubtless seemed less / formidable to entrust the local concerns of a borough to the people

than to allow them entry into affairs of State. Old outworn privileges and cherished monopolies were swept away, as merchant guilds and trade corporations disappeared before the new incorporated body of the burgesses, the general association of the householders, whose concern was to promote the common interests of all the inhabitants. Both the representative Councils elected by household suffrage—for the common business, and the town officials, were now considered the servants of the ratepayers; so much so that a borough treasurer is legally bound to disregard even an order of the council to appropriate moneys out of the borough fund, unless the appropriation is authorised by the municipal laws and the constitution of the borough. It was many years before the new powers were fully used. We can only view with consternation the long agony of a few brave heroes such as Edwin Chadwick and Lord Shaftesbury struggling with indomitable faith against apathy, prejudice, and administrative difficulties, in their fight with pestilence and mortality, with ignorance and cruelty. A bill for ventilation, drainage, and building in the poor quarters of the towns was refused by Government, and there was scarcely an effort for housing the poor. But hope broadened for workers in the enfranchised towns. Municipalities, vying with one another in local zeal, began from the middle of the century to provide for the citizens water, light, paving, houses, libraries, transit, medical care, and to concentrate under democratic control the means of health and of education.

The impulse and inspiration of reform had so far sustained the Whigs. But their betrayal of the working-men brought its sure consequence, blunting their own sense of justice and honour, and destroying their good fame in the country. In two years the Liberal majority fell from 314 to 107. Meanwhile Sir Robert Peel rallied the moderate Tories under the new name of "Conservatives," first indicated by Canning and gradually coming into use: and led them towards a "middle-class Toryism," with a careful finance, an efficient machinery of government against popular agitation, and proposals for cautious amendment of such abuses as threatened danger to Church or State. In a series of weak Governments Whigs and moderate Tories or Conservatives were scarcely to be distinguished: both alike distrusted popular institutions, and greatly feared Radical agitation. The Reform Act of the upper classes proved to be no settlement, and for the next thirty years every popular association moved with fixed purpose to the one end—the bringing of the people within the constitution of their country. When Cobbett in 1818 roused the poor to the need of the vote there were 57,000 workers in the cotton factories; in 1839 there were 469,000, more crowded than ever, flung aside by the Reform bill. The artisans in fierce discontent and sullen anger drew apart. Henceforth, their leaders cried, they need

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- SEC. I. look for no help save in their own united strength ; and their sense of organised fellowship was seen in a marvellous growth of benefit societies, industrial associations, co-operative societies, trade clubs and unions. Co-operative societies (opened in 1828 by the first " Union shop " with a capital of £5) increased to some hundreds. In 1829 an Irish Roman Catholic, Doherty, had led the first effort to unite the trades into a federation or national association for the protection of workers ; and Robert Owen, a Welshman, followed v/ith his " Society for National Regeneration " and his " Grand National Consolidated Trades Union," a federation of separate lodges of the various trades to secure an eight hours' day, a wage sufficient to keep the worker in comfort, the right to employment, a share in the profit of whatever his hands had been employed on. Within a few weeks half a million members, artisans, and women, and rural labourers in tens of thousands had joined the Union—a gigantic enlistment such as had never before been known either in England or any country of Europe. Ministers, Whig and Tory, spoke of the new Unions as " the most formidable difficulty and danger with which they had to contend." Rules of law were scandalously stretched to compass the ruin of the " Grand National," till the perversion of justice reached its height in the condemnation of six Dorsetshire labourers to seven years' transportation for forming a village lodge of the Union. London was filled with troops when a vast procession of Trade Unionists marched under thirty-three banners to carry to the Government a remonstrance and petition for the labourers—the first of the great demonstrations we now know so well—and were turned back unheard. Undaunted by the failure of the " Grand National " adventure, a " Working Men's Association " developed the scheme of a society where the artisans should shape their own education and produce their own leaders, and thus evolve a true working class policy. It opened the way moreover for the first time to international action, by introducing a system of messages between the workers of all countries. Penny papers for the people were started in various forms, and between 1830 and 1836 there were 728 prosecutions for selling these without the fourpenny government tax—219 of them in the one year of 1835. Though public outcry forced Lord Melbourne to lower the stamp duty to a penny, yet with the charge on advertisements and a duty on paper of £770,000 (or more than half the value of the paper produced by the English makers) the poor man's legal newspaper cost 2½d. for the next twenty-five years, and by strict prosecution he was effectively denied a free I press. We can but wonder at the temerity of the workers' new idealism. But whatever their courage, universal combination was in fact beyond the resources of a working-class still in a state of serfage, without a cheap press, a penny postage, railway communication or convenience of travel and change of employers. A series of State
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trials for sedition, conspiracy, or treason showed the temper of the government, the misery of the people, and the fast-widening separation between the democracy outside Parliament and the Whig ministry within it. By experience the workers had learned how newly-enfranchised classes, busied in redressing their own grievances, could silence the cry of those outside. Henceforth Chartists, Anti-Corn Law Leaguers, Trade Unionists, Co-operators, Factory Reformers—under whatever name the working-classes were grouped—inevitably ranged themselves as so many regiments in the great army that demanded the emancipation of the people.

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In the next decade every one of these associations was drawn into the battle. Lord John Russell, now leader of the House, that ardent reformer to whose incessant work the country owed the Reform Act, the Bill for municipal reform, the repeal of tests, much softening of the penal laws and religious disabilities, and the stirring of education—who in the House of Commons was for more than ten years Peel's chief antagonist, and for more than twenty years the dominant force in the Whig party—held that the Reform of 1832 was final, and the Constitution once more complete. In that same year the Chartists, led by Feargus O'Connor, flung themselves into the political struggle: "we will avenge ourselves on the Whigs," was the cry. The betrayal of Reform, the hated Poor Law, the severity of hunger in a falling trade, united radicals, socialists, trade unionists, and the considerable women's suffrage clubs, in a pledge to put aside all other questions till they had won the vote. When Peel's opposition to Factory Acts robbed the working-classes of all hope from the Conservatives, they saw no remedy for their distress save through the political movement of Chartism. The *Charter* as O'Connell named it, demanded six points—vote by ballot; abolition of property qualification for a member of Parliament; payment of members; manhood suffrage; the division of the country into equal electoral districts; and annual elections. Peaceful meetings, monster petitions to Parliament (whose importance fraudulent signatures could not wholly destroy), a paper to urge their cause, by such means the constitutional Chartists hoped to persuade the Government, while through temperance societies and popular universities the people were to become their own regenerators and win for themselves true liberty. Another section, desperate from excessive poverty, turned to revolution and physical force. The ruling orders simply classed the whole of them together as infidel Communists, bent on destroying the throne, the Church, and the family: "Two great demons in morals and politics, Socialism and Chartism, are stalking through the land," lamented Lord Shaftesbury. Themselves weakened by divided counsels, ill-compacted under doubtful leaders, the Chartists were confronted with a highly developed military administration, with barracks ranged through the industrial districts.

- SEC. I. and with a newly created and well drilled police force. The Government, after all sections of the Chartists had been goaded into violence by the harsh imprisonment of their most pious and high-minded leaders, repressed them with cruel severity.
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- 1848 Their effort crumbled away, to awaken once more in 1848—a recrudescence due to distress at home and to contagion of Continental revolutions. The suffering of the poor had reached its extreme point when the last Chartist convention met in London, and as one after another rose to recount the intolerable misery of the people the Chartists again, after many trials and errors, renewed the passion and ardour of their earlier days. Their procession to carry a petition to Parliament failed before the military precautions of the Duke of Wellington and the London police. Chartism disappeared as the crowd turned hopelessly away. But its work had not been in vain. Ten years of struggle had revealed the growth of a new class, and united the workers as they had never before been united by common effort and endurance. Their word, too, had gone out beyond England, carried by Karl Marx, who had watched the preparations for the last convention: the Chartists of England, he said, were the real democrats, and by winning their six points they would open the way of liberty to the universe.
- Nov. 1847
- The Corn Laws**
1836-46
- The Chartists in fact had been pushed aside by another upheaval of the people in these same years—the resounding conflict of the industrial classes against the landed proprietors and their corn laws. The fields of England could no longer provide bread for the crowded multitudes of the famished cities. Population was increasing by some 2,000,000 in every decade, and the mass of the people were living on barley and potatoes. Cobden declared that more goods were exported to Brazil in one year than were consumed by the whole agricultural peasantry in England. A series of bad seasons from 1837 brought general ruin; while wages were falling the price of food was mounting; and the increase by 1840 was put down at £36,000,000 a year, which was chiefly borne by the poor. Meanwhile the value of exports was less in 1830-34 than it had been in 1816-20, and with the decline of commerce the manufacturers' trade was dying. The Corn Laws, imposed by the landed class in 1815 and 1825, were denounced by the industrial leaders as the cause of the general ruin, of capital without profit and labour without wages. Richard Cobden, son of a farmer who had been ruined in the agricultural disasters of 1814, joined the Anti-Corn-Law League, with John Bright, a Quaker manufacturer of Rochdale. The two missionaries carried far and wide their burning message of Free Trade. They moved in a storm of political controversy. In their campaign organisation was given to classes hitherto unheard in the national councils: the gathering of seven
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hundred representatives of the Nonconformist clergy was to the *Times* a "freak and drollery." Before this time politicians seldom spoke outside the House except on the hustings at elections, and members never appeared outside their own constituencies, but Cobden, who entered Parliament in 1841, and Bright in 1843, gave their finest powers to addressing mass meetings, where the people gathered in multitudes to find a political education which was not less important than the Chartist movement in preparing a new democracy and a new Reform bill. They called employers and employed to unite for the first time in a common interest. "The people of England," Cobden insisted, were "not the country party, but the people who live in towns, and will govern this country." Languishing industries, growing poverty, the needs of the hungry and the dying, the redemption of the labourer, the profit of the manufacturer, the wealth of oversea trade, the lifting of the people from feudal bondage into a free nation, the spread of peace and good will among all countries, arguments of business, aspiration, and philanthropy, met in the rich appeal of the Free Traders. The Chartists retorted that cheap bread would be cheap labour, that over-production brought uncertainty of wage, that the Whigs had already given them the Poor Law, sent their children to death in factories, cast their leaders into prison, and left them still burdened by a debt of £800,000,000, a load of pensions, an established church, hosts of officials and salaries, army and navy, local taxes, and landlordism. The impassioned answer was ready: "That which is the greatest enemy of the remorseless aristocracy of Britain must also of necessity be your greatest friend," cried Bright. A tenth of the people were in fact paupers, with poor relief at £7,000,000 a year. Distress as of old brought riots and a reign of terror; in one gaol alone 500 prisoners were tried by special commissioners.

1842

1841
**Free
Trade**

1841-6

During eight years of power the Whigs, deplorably ignorant of finance and economics, had piled up taxation without revision, only to increase year by year the deficit in their budgets. Sir Robert Peel returning to office once more took up the work he had begun in 1819; strengthened the revenue by relief of taxation, and restored the income tax abolished in 1816. To revive commerce and cheapen living he abated or repealed duties on 769 articles. But the duty on corn, by which the landed gentry had protected agriculture in 1816, was only slightly modified. The landed interest was powerful and party ties were strong. But as proof accumulated that the wages of labour did not vary with the price of corn, and that disorder followed starvation, Peel's opposition weakened. He measured the force and direction of the rising popular gale: and the approach of the Irish Famine became the occasion to overcome the force of old theories and associations. From the Tory benches he proposed a bill to repeal}

SEC. I.	the Corn Laws. After a discussion of furious excitement, the division was called at 4 o'clock on a Saturday morning, and Free Trade in corn was carried. Once more, as in 1829, Peel averted a revolution, but it was his last service to his country. In that "sad fierce session" the vengeance of his party threw him from office on the day the Queen gave her assent to the bill.
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New Commercial conditions	
1815-48	Thus, after a ten years' fury of battle over the Corn Laws, the country party suffered their second great defeat, as significant as their overthrow in the Reform Bill. The exhaustion of the artisan by sheer hunger was lessened when in the next score of years food to the value of nearly ^500,000,000 was brought into the country. New victories awaited them. By the Free Trade triumph, Great Britain was definitely and finally changed from an agricultural country which raised almost all the corn it used into a mainly industrial country fed by foreign wheat. In thirty-three years houses, factories, and warehouses had increased ^26,000,000 in annual value. The revolution was quickened by gold discoveries in California and Australia, which raised the production of the world's gold from 5^ millions to over 30 millions ; by the railways that linked every corner of England with the sea-ports, and the Cunard steamers that opened a new traffic across the Atlantic. Scientific invention had so multiplied man's powers of production that while the number of the people rose between 1811 and 1900 from 10 to 41 millions the average production was perhaps ten times as great. "What a nation is this !" exclaimed Lord Shaftesbury. "What materials for happiness and power!" It seemed, in the unexampled prosperity of some thirty years, that Great Britain was to become the workshop of the world. Old forces must decline, and the power of the artisan increase. Widespread and lasting combinations were encouraged by the new means of travel. The Act to carry mails by* railroad drew together all parts of the country, and made, possible the "nonsensical penny postage scheme," as it was called, which was "forced on an unwilling Liberal ministry by the clamour of a nation," and opened to the people unimagined opportunities of intercourse. Trade Unionists stood at the gates of a new world. The English working-men had already astonished Europe by the magnitude of their organisations and mass-meetings. A vital instinct of self-government, changing with each generation, shaping itself to meet successive difficulties, lifted .Trade Unionism out of every crisis stronger, more highly organised and disciplined, democratic in a larger sense, and more conscious of its power. Two million workers had already united to throw back a reactionary government bill framed to widen the powers of justices in cases where masters had a dispute with *heir servants and artificers. But now was the moment of their great enlargement. From this time the Unions ordered
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themselves after a new plan, no longer directed by the old casual and amateur leaders, but by genuine working-men who were paid a salary and specially trained. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, with 11,000 members, an income of .£500 a week, a reserve fund and an admirable financial and administrative system, remained the model of new societies for the next twenty years. When working-men for whom their societies had gained security and good wages could become £10 householders and electors, artisans for the first time touched political power. Trade Unions began to discuss direct labour representation for winning through Parliament better laws, education, and larger opportunities. Parliament itself no longer despised a population which could begin to make itself felt at elections, and the notion prevailed that at least highly skilled artisans might be safely admitted to the vote. Other working-class organisations stood side by side with the Trade Unions, no less admirable in management—the Co-operative Associations. The Stores of the "Rochdale Pioneers," which according to the law of the time had no legal status, found their sole and sufficient security against fraud and theft in the personal honour of members and officials, and in the spirit of enthusiasm and public service which illuminated the dawning communal life. In a few years hundreds of small, Co-operative Societies were formed. Unlike guilds and trade unions of producers the co-operative associations of consumers had no vested interests to protect, and were open to the whole body of citizens. Every man who paid his shilling shared in the advantages and government of this working-class democracy, with its organised hierarchy of artisan committees elected quarter by quarter at open meetings of all the members, on the basis of one member one vote, men and women, whatever their stake, whatever their time of membership; the committee-men in their turn choosing the departmental managers. Not only did these pioneers of self-dependence reveal an amazing capacity for business, but in days when local self-government was little known they carried a new sense of communal life to remote villages and mining districts where the co-operative store was in effect the only school of citizenship—the school where the commonalty was trained in the use of free and deliberate choice, and the elected officers learned the pride of public service. The power of these trained masses of citizens was before long to be shown in the public affairs of the State.

While Trade Unionists and Co-operators, Chartists and Free Traders, were being driven into the conflict for the franchise, the struggle over the factory laws added to all workers a sharper and more poignant resolution. The artisans had neither voice nor influence in the laws which were to carry to them life or death. A demand for legislation to lessen their suffering had risen among

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**Factory
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Shaftesbury*

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humane men of all creeds and opinions. Michael Sadler, their chief leader before the Reform Act, was a reactionary, opposed to Emancipation and Reform, a forerunner of Tory and Christian Socialists; Southey, a preacher of Tory philanthropy; Oastler, a land-agent, Churchman, Tory, and Protectionist; with them was Edwin Chadwick once secretary to Bentham; Fielden, a Radical member; and Radical manufacturers and artisans, Anglican clergy, Wesleyan ministers, Quakers, Freethinkers, journalists, all stirred by a common pity. "We are just now," grumbled a spectator, "overrun with philanthropy, and God knows where it will stop or whither it will lead us." In Parliament however the workers had for long years one leading advocate, Lord Shaftesbury. A fervent Tory, an Evangelical of the old school, detesting alike Catholicism and infidelity, Republicanism and Socialism, he stood in the Commons till 1851 in daily conflict with capitalists, economists, mill-owners, doctrinaires, haters of "humanity* mongers," "not having in the House even a bulrush to rest upon"; alone to "attack every interest and one half of mankind" on behalf of the helpless who had neither voice nor influence. Liberals, who were willing to aid in protecting children, were united against any suggestions of State interference with the "liberty" to work of young persons and women. John Bright threatened to turn the key on his mills and throw on the legislators the responsibility of "feeding the millions whom they will not allow us to employ with a profit." Cobden maintained that workers should make their own bargains. Pease of Darlington proposed to close his factory if the labour of young persons was shortened to fifty-eight hours. The whole of the aristocracy held aloof: so did the clergy, "cowed by capital and power," and the evangelicals. Peel as Prime Minister put every obstacle in his way—"all Peel's affinities are towards wealth and capital"; the Home Secretary scoffed at "a Jack Cade legislation"; Gladstone, vice-president of the Board of Trade, never attempted to keep the House together for Shaftesbury, nor gave him a vote, nor said a word in his support. "I neither express or feel despair," Shaftesbury wrote in the darkest days. Of very singular distinction of mind, living in the Divine presence, he freely sacrificed ease, power, social ties, a place in the Cabinet, to the cause of the poor. "Should I deceive them, they will never henceforward believe that there exists a single man of station or fortune who is worthy to be trusted." Long effort was needed to get some relief (which Parliament had for forty years refused) for the "climbing" boys and girls, sometimes five years old or less, stolen, sold, or entrapped as sweeps, driven up narrow tortuous chimneys by wisps of lighted straw to put out fires, lying naked on the soot-heap all the night, and perishing of horrible diseases. He gave twenty-two years of labour on behalf of lunatics chained and starved, to carry a very imperfect lunacy bill; seventeen years to **secure laws forbidding**

night work. Partial attention had been awakened in those years, he said, "to the wants and rights of the poor; to the powers and duties of the rich." "The labour of 300,000 persons has been reduced within reasonable limits, and full 40,000 children under thirteen years of age attend school for three hours every day." But twenty years after the first effective Factory Act, Lord Shaftesbury was still pleading for 1,600,000 operatives shut out from any benefit of legislation: "until they are brought under the protection of the law I cannot take office."

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So grudging a progress of Factory Acts, a bitter experience of Poor-law, the complicated strife of conflicting interests, ideals, and opinions, deepened the determination of the workers to redress the wrong done them in 1832. A dozen years of confused strife had brought a strange medley of success and failure: the Individualists had won their chief triumph in Free Trade, and the State Socialists their first success in a Factory Act; while in the Chartist failure the democracy was again thrust back from the polls. But in the same year, with the call of Karl Marx for union among the workers of all countries, Socialism began its modern work. Leaving behind the effort to secure reform by establishing separate societies and colonies, it henceforth aimed at renewing the whole social and industrial order by the power of democratic government. Current economic theories taught that men must inevitably choose either relief by legislation of the suffering poor or the welfare of the State, but could not secure both; since the source of all hope, and cure of social misery, must lie in the freedom of individuals liberated from restrictions and left to take their interests into their own hand. These doctrines were now challenged with increasing energy and passion. If the capitalist enjoyed such freedom through the enormous power given him by the industrial changes, against his autocracy Trade Unionists and Socialists were alike battling, whether by combinations of labour, or by State legislation, to recover in some degree freedom of labour for the hired worker—the life-long wage-earner now wholly cut off from any economic interest in the product of his labour. Amid problems transcending experience there was no certainty of guidance, nor any common consent as to remedies for distress. Groups formed and re-formed as friends and foes found themselves in shifting camps and met in strange alliances. John Stuart Mill, the prophet of the new age, was feeling his way to the conviction that since the struggle of individuals must deepen misery, the Commonwealth should provide for the good of all, restraining the power of the strong and shielding the helplessness of the weak, protecting children, controlling contracts, joint-stock companies, railway monopolies, and the like, aiding associations of people united for common benefit, and giving help to public services such

**Rise of
Socialism**

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*Economic
theories*

*Confusion
of opinions*
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as scientific expeditions and colonisation. Place on the other hand, in his zeal for free bargaining, would even have left the workmen at the mercy of the employer in the truck system. Both Bright and Cobden denounced Trade Unions; "they are founded upon principles of brutal tyranny and monopoly"; but while Cobden resisted household suffrage, Bright thought it essential to healthy national life. Conservatives such as Peel and Gladstone joined with Radicals like Cobden and Bright to oppose the bill of a Tory Lord Shaftesbury delivering women and children from mines and pits: and united with them again to secure free trade. Radicals and "Christian Socialists" supported Trade Unions, which Liberals condemned as bringing in a new despotism no less ominous, perhaps more formidable, than the tyranny of the State. Shaftesbury, friend of the people, resisted Socialism, the vote, and the ballot, gave a humbler place to Nonconformist ministers of the poor below the Anglican clergy, and opposed State aid in education to the most needy schools where the Roman Catholic Bible was allowed. When Gladstone advocated the opening of the Civil Service to free competition, Bright objected. Toleration was in men's minds, but every separate advance in religious equality—a grant to Maynooth, the election of a Rothschild, the allowing of Roman Catholic bishops in England, roused a new storm of excitement, and was denounced as the disintegration of English character and of the British Empire. Only amid harsh controversy were Nonconformists and Catholics freed by 1854 from most of their political disabilities; Jews admitted to municipal office in 1844, and in 1859 to Parliament; and Universities gradually thrown open in 1854 and 1871.

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1851

Trade
and
Wealth
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It was in a world shaken to its depths that the first International Exhibition opened, marking the mid-way of the century. Englishmen hailed it as a pledge that free trade would appease the discord of nations, and endow their country with unbroken prosperity. They recognised with pride that English Liberalism had become the hope and model of the Continent. In England Cavour learnt his political lessons for Italy. From England Karl Marx took his ideas. Prussia recognised the better organisation of English labour by her system of protection, and had adopted for her workers the very factory law which Peel rejected. But the "Great Exhibition," inaugurated with such high hopes, was in fact to mark the end of the long peace, and the close of the legislative work of the reformed Parliament. After battles won and lost, there had come a pause with the passing of the old world, and the waiting for the new. Sir Robert Peel was dead, and Wellington dying—the leader of the old Toryism and the founder of modern Conservatism. The end of the Whig activity was marked by the resignation of the reformer Lord John Russell; since their refusal to lead the democracy against the peers in the free-trade

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campaign, power had passed from the Whigs, and no leader of Cabinets rose out of their decline. For ten years of slow transition the country was ruled by the last representative of the older world. Lord Palmerston had entered Parliament in 1806, and held office under the Tories from 1809 to 1828, when he became leader of the Canningites. He was adored by the mob for his love of sport, his reputation for liberalism, and the position he maintained on the Continent as the advocate of freedom and defender of rising nationalities. But to reformers at home he seemed, with no distinct policy or lofty teaching, a cynical degrader of public life. The young men growing up around him were held back by his "repressive force." No other chief, Bright declared, would again be found to keep as many people quiet as Lord Palmerston had been able to do. His traditions came from an age of immobility when the Parliamentary record was monotonously blank. In later times the statute-book had come to contain more new laws yearly than that of any other country : but under Lord Palmerston's rule the stir of legislation ceased. The House of Lords was known as the "dormitory." It acted as the mere registration office for the decrees of a House of Commons from which it had nothing to fear. Meetings no longer assembled to call for redress of grievances : "there is no worse trade than agitation at this time," said one. Formal Bills to enfranchise a few skilled artisans were from time to time brought in and dismissed with equal indifference. When Bright pleaded for household suffrage he compared his labours to, flogging a dead horse. "We live in anti-reforming times," said Gladstone. No doubt the perils of the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny drew men's attention abroad : but the ten years of political stagnation was perhaps mainly due to the entire absorption of the whole people in commercial and financial questions. With the diffusion of wealth a haste of speculation spread to classes never touched before, and the country was terrified by recurring financial catastrophes—in 1836 from the growing numbers of joint-stock banks unregulated by any public law; in 1847 from a frenzy of railway speculation; in 1857 from reckless overtrading abroad; in 1866 from an outburst of senseless speculation, commercial fraud, and banking incapacity. So great was public alarm that a Select Committee was formed to consider "investments for the savings of the middle and working classes"; another to examine into the law of partnership on a large scale; and a Mercantile Law Commission for smaller associations or business firms. Men now began to demand of the State protection for the thrifty, and laws to prevent wrong doing and not simply patch up the consequences when it has been committed. In the interests of the working-classes co-operative associations were granted legal protection; and after a series of conferences were grouped into general confederations,

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- the English and Scottish Wholesale Societies and the Co-operative Union, into which thousands of citizens were gathered up—an army of organised and intelligent workers. The Co-operative Wholesale Society, Originated by a little group of artisans who met in Manchester over a "sixpenny tea," expanded during the next fifty years into a commercial enterprise exceeding any effort of private capitalism in its continuous success. Beginning with 24,000 members, it was in nine years serving 100,000 families ; had started its own banking department which has now an annual turnover of nearly ^20,000,000, and opened a boot factory with a present annual manufacture of nearly £8,000,000. It now manages five of the largest flour mills, and one of the largest tobacco factories ; owns agricultural land in England and tea plantations in Ceylon : and is said to buy goods—and this for cash—at the rate of something like a thousand pounds in every minute of the working year. A scheme to protect the savings of the poor was inaugurated by Gladstone in the Post-Office Savings Banks, in which a fifth of the whole population now invest their economies : he also made it for the first time possible for the working-classes to acquire small annuities without risk of fraud or bankruptcy. The creation of Limited Liability Companies, instead of the old joint-stock companies and banking associations, was so effectually carried out by a series of Acts that the laid up capital of these Companies under the Act of 1862 increased to 307 millions by 1877, and by the end of the century to over 2,000 millions. The whole Company law was amended. The new notion that law should not only punish fraud but protect the public was seen in the Bankruptcy Act, which for the first time treated the merchant prince who fell into debt on the same terms as the small trader. With these innovations a silent reconstruction of society began. Wealth which had once gone to a score of men was diffused among hundreds of thousands, to the increase of small incomes, and the general rise of moderate comfort. The limiting of liability, which enabled individuals to trade without exposing all*their property to the risk of loss, opened new opportunities for middle class business and investment. Year by year a larger number of men became practically traders, and as shareholders in companies had their part in the profits of the vast industrial and commercial activity of the country. Through the working of the limited liability system large shops replaced the smaller independent tradesmen. An immense army of men passed from a life of competition, risk, and independent private venture, into the new multitude of salaried clerks and officials of large companies and business firms—a class now so vast in numbers (with the addition of those in public employment) as to give a new tone to national character and policy.
- 1861
- 1864
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These years were indeed full of significance. By the genius of

Gladstone the whole of public finance and account-keeping was revised, while the nation was called to a graver concern in the conduct of public business. Opening an attack on the system of political patronage and family influences under which the Civil Service had become a secure asylum for those debarred by incompetence from all other professions, he urged the throwing open of appointments to competition and promotion by merit—a revolution of the first importance for the public welfare, which was slowly carried out against powerful opposition. Reforms of taxation and finance begun by Peel were developed in the astonishing series of budgets which revealed Gladstone as the greatest financier in English history, and which by completing free trade, by lightening the burdens of taxation, and by giving a powerful stimulus to commerce, won for him the devotion of the merchants, of the severely-taxed ten-pound householders who had no power to protect themselves financially, and of the unrepresented working-men. Another searching reform followed. A Bill to rescind the paper duties, and thus make possible a cheap press for the people, was rejected by the Lords. Such a claim to "a revising power over the House of Commons in its most vital function" of finance was to Gladstone a "gigantic innovation on the constitution," a very "quarrel of the Lords with the nation." In spite of Palmerston's strong opposition he asserted the authority of the Commons by a new practice of combining the financial measures of the year in a single Bill; and the paper duties were abolished. But the privileges of the House were from this time to be balanced by its obligations. Till now there had been no exact accounts of expenditure laid before the Commons, no serious examination of them, and no security for the orderly administration of finance. A real control was now established by the creation of a Committee of the House of Commons—the Committee of Public Accounts—and the appointment of a great Parliamentary official independent of the Government—the Comptroller and Auditor-General—who were charged to inspect and report to the House on past expenditure of every State department, to scrutinise the propriety of payments made out of parliamentary grants, and to call to account any official concerned in misappropriation. In this manner an effective power over finance, and the responsibility of Ministers and their officers to the House of Commons, was for the first time demanded and achieved.

"The English are a nation of shopkeepers" was the taunt of Napoleon I. In their intense concentration on business, no dim prevision of the advent of democracy now disturbed the commercial mind. Whigs and Tories were alike satisfied with the constitutional equilibrium which they had set up. "The working classes contribute almost nothing to our corporate public opinion," Bagehot noted. The

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the Com-
mons in
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electors, awed by the great proprietors and capitalists, had proved "deferential. They have deferred to their representatives." The balance of the constitution seemed again fixed, and there was once more a complacent sense of security. "The great ends of freedom," wrote Erskine May, "have been attained, in an enlightened and responsible rule, approved by the judgment of the governed. The constitution, having worked out the aims, and promoted the just interests of society, has gained upon democracy." Suddenly from the gathering clouds fire fell and ran along the ground, consuming the stubble, preparing for a harvest to come. The voice of Gladstone called with its lofty utterance to the newsociety that unnoticed had been slowly taking form over the land. With the death of Palmerston the bands were loosed, and the old system crumbled into dust. "There is not a brick of the Palmerston house standing," men said astonished.

A world in fact had arisen which was not as the old world—a world changed in spirit and outlook. Faith in unlimited competition weakened as one trade after another passed from the management of private persons into that of corporate bodies created and regulated by the Government. The **new** laws of partnership under keeping and control of the State; the recognition of workingmen's associations and co-operative societies for the common advantage; the grant of monopolies to special bodies (as for example railway companies) under vigilant public control; the authority given to municipal corporations to replace the slow and painful efforts of individuals by communal services paid for out of the public property or general taxes, voted by the people themselves, and, aided by State loans—such changes as these turned thought in a new direction. The Benthamite idea of a Government concerned only to abolish restriction sank out of sight, and a new socialistic vision arose of a State actively charged with securing the public good. How rapid was the change we may see in Mill's apology for speaking of the "labouring classes." Deeply influenced in turn by the Utilitarians and Individualists of the first half of the century and by the rising Socialism of its close, holding the Liberal doctrine of the uses of competition to force men to activity and intelligence, with the Socialists he forecast a time when industrial life would take new forms, when there would be no more "labouring classes," since all classes must in the end labour, and the produce of work be divided by consent; when the bitterness of strife between employers and employed parted into hostile camps should no longer endure. Already democracy was at the door. "The poor have come out of leading strings, and cannot any longer be governed or treated like children. To their own qualities must now be commended the care of their destiny." So wrote John Stuart Mill, standing between the old world and the new. Two leaders **stood**

ready for the duel of giants which was to absorb the next generation. "Genius better is than birth," was the refrain of later Tyneside workers when Gladstone came among them in his triumph as leader of the people. For the first time in English history the heads of the two parties were men born outside the old governing caste, William Gladstone, of Scotch descent, the son of a West Indian merchant, Benjamin Disraeli son of a Jewish man of letters. Their rivalry, begun five years after Gladstone's election to the first reformed Parliament, at the entry of Disraeli to the first parliament of Queen Victoria, was pursued when Disraeli as Chancellor of the Exchequer framed his budget, and Gladstone the next year produced his own from the same place; across the contest in successive years of their rival Reform bills; and to the rise within a year of the two leaders to the place of Prime Minister. Each of the new statesmen was destined, forsaking his early allies, to re-organize and lead the opposite party; for now again, as in the days of Canning and Peel, older groups were disintegrating under the rise of a new social force—the organized working-classes—and Tories and Whigs, who at the first Reform bill had united to keep the wage-earners at bay, became as the second reform drew near rivals for popular support. Gladstone, a Conservative follower of Peel, had supported coercion, defended the corn-law, maintained sinecures in army and navy, resisted religious equality, opposed the ballot and every effort to broaden the popular control of Parliament, refused lightening of the window tax, and abolition of flogging in the army. Like his master he was swept from his old bearings by the rising tide of passion in the people, but more than Peel by the ardour of his own nature—a statesman in whom the spirit of improvement was incarnate, said Mill; who did not wait to be pressed or driven, but sought out what might be bettered. A high Anglican, he boasted of Nonconformist ancestors, and drew the Dissenters into the movements of national life; the "old, old Whigs" were induced by his amazing authority of intellect and character to enter with the Radicals into untried paths of reform; business men admired him for his public thrift and his creed of peace and retrenchment as against ostentation of military adventure; by his generous hopes for mankind he stirred deeply the hearts of the multitude, and new life was kindled in minds long arid as with his fervid energy, his glowing intelligence, his voice so rich in cadences, he pictured the spiritual destinies of England, the august spectacle of a nation called to the great and responsible duty of pronouncing a verdict on governments, the consecration of the weak things of the world to war on injustice in high places. Such a strain of moral and religious emotion was entirely distasteful to his rival, Benjamin Disraeli. Of devouring ambition ("We come here for fame," he cried to Bright), a cynical opportunist, his adventurous spirit could have feared no bold

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Gladstone

Disraeli

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THE SOCIAL REVOLU- TION	affairs, were unrivalled in his time, and his Radical criticism of the
1816 TO 1814	state of England and Ireland, so far as words alone went, was
1846	penetrating, vigorous, and detached. But of more than intellectual
1847-8	perception he shewed no sign ; nor did he seek in power to carry the
	reforms he preached in opposition. In the hour of their shattering
	defeat, he rallied for battle the disheartened Protectionists and
	extreme Tories, and bitterly pursued Peel to his ruin in the
	corn-laws controversy. With patient skill, as leader of the Tory
1852	opposition, he created a party out of the wreckage left by Peel, and
	after, some thirty years of discomfiture, in which the Tories had but
	once a fleeting majority of their own, in which at dissolutions of
	Parliament demanded by them (1852, 1859, 1868) they never won a
	victory from the people, he raised them to power and authority. When
	he was forced to abandon a policy of protection, he turned to a vague
	programme of social reform to be controlled by national and historic
	considerations, as opposed to the philosophic and logical reforms of
	the Radicals. The aristocracy he led, anxious to wipe off the
	accusation of being " hostile to the working classes," were ready for a
1872	time to accept the grandiose idea of a disciplined democracy led by
	the Crown and the House of Lords, in which the landed gentry, as
	guardians of the people, should maintain their power against the
	commercial classes : but hereditary alarms of the peers and country
	gentry revived at the risks of socialism and of perilous encroachments
	by the populace. Devoid of any conspicuous power in finance or
	constructive policy, Disraeli finally turned from home affairs to kindle
	the enthusiasm of the country by the dazzling alternative of a new
	" Imperialism."
Second Reform Act	No sooner was Palmerston dead than Gladstone, Chancellor of the
1866	Exchequer under Lord Russell, advanced a Reform bill. "Every
	man," he had already said, " who is not presumably incapacitated by
	some consideration of personal unfitness or of political danger is
	morally entitled to come within the pale of the Constitution" :
	but though the cautious compromise he proposed left out more
	than four millions of working-men, and would have given to the
	wage-earning class, three-fourths of the whole population, only one-
	fourth of the electoral power in the boroughs and scarcely any in
	the counties, yet a timid Liberal parliament rejected even this meagre
1867	bill. A Tory government was formed by Lord Derby with Disraeli
	as his Chancellor of the Exchequer. Now it was that the artizans
	showed the strength they had built up in years of organization. The
1861	cotton famine of the American war had brought its harsh reminder
	of what workers might suffer under a Poor Law imposed by the
	upper classes alone. The importance of the vote for the working-
1867	man was newly demonstrated when a decision in the courts of law

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parlia-
ment

revealed that there was no reality in their legal status and protection for their funds which the Trade Unions supposed to have been won. Mill was teaching them that whatever might be the benevolence of Parliament the views of the working-man himself must be heard there, and must influence legislation. Bright reiterated the cry of Cobbett fifty years before. "If," he told the people, "a class has failed, let us try the nation." "The nation in every country are the dwellers in the cottages." The London Trade Societies marched through the capital. Mass meetings of working-men stirred tremendous agitation in the country and provincial towns; trade unions and co-operative societies paraded in their ordered ranks before Bright—a serried army to win enfranchisement. The failure of the Chartists twenty years before had turned to triumph. Disraeli, bending to necessity, or hoping to secure the working-men for the Tories as against the Benthamites, after many strange shiftings finally passed in a Parliament that showed more surprise than pleasure the most sweeping and radical Reform Bill that had ever been proposed—to add over a million voters from the great body of artisans in the towns. At the next election the new voters lifted Gladstone to power with a passion of personal popularity such as had not been known in England since the time of William Pitt. He stood to them as the finance minister who had tripled trade with France, as the giver of cheap food, the friend and defender of the common people, the minister of peace, the preacher of piety and righteousness. The cynicism of Palmerston was changed to an exaltation of enthusiasm as massed crowds heard the rallying battle-cry of Gladstone to virtue and civil duty, to a high place in the great affairs of nations, to the unbounded hope of the future; as they listened to the wrath of the prophet denouncing injustice; and bent awed before the noble music of his voice, and the commanding power of his gesture. Old antagonisms, he declared, were henceforth submerged in the new revelation of the State, in the latter-day confidence of the working-man in the law, in parliament, even in the executive government. All lovers of freedom in England, Wales, Scotland, or Ireland were to be called into the new fellowship of liberty, in a union of free will instead of the bondage of political subjection.

The story of 1833 was repeated in 1868. "The new voters," men complained, "have returned the old kinds of men," men who could spend vast sums on elections, sons of great families—not a single member of extreme democratic views among them. And yet, as in 1833, all was changed. Both Tories and Whigs stood "exceedingly afraid of the ignorant multitude of the new constituencies," whose combination might make them, supreme in the country—a supremacy of ignorance over instruction and of numbers over knowledge. And

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*Constitu-
tional
changes*

in fact the great Whig families, who had led the Liberals for thirty-four years, saw their reign at an end. For the first time there was an altered social tone in the House, with the election of a troop of able young men not necessarily aristocrats. New boroughs sent Liberal members. The Scotch elected forty-six Liberals to seven Conservatives—a people, said Bright, perfectly instructed on the working man's questions, "the people who should have repeal of the Union, for that if they were separate from England they might have a government wholly popular and intelligent to a degree which, I believe, does not exist in any other country on the face of the earth." "The working classes," Lord Shaftesbury noted, "have become patrons instead of clients, and they both can and do fight their own battles." In 1869 John Bright entered the Cabinet, the first Nonconformist there, and the first nominee of the working-men; in 1870 the first working-man sat on a Royal Commission; in 1874 the first labour member was elected to the House of Commons; in 1875 Trade Union officials were called to sit on School Boards, and working-men were appointed Factory inspectors in 1882. But the pressure of the rising democracy had more profound results than these. Since the first Reform Act ministers had been chosen, not by royal influence, but by the House of Commons; after the second Reform Act, by a new development, the Prime Minister was understood on both sides to be the "elect of the nation." Disraeli admitted the direct verdict of the people when, beaten at the polls, he resigned without meeting Parliament. At the same time, as the power of the Crown lessened and the power of the House increased, the Ministers were bound in a closer discipline than of old. Queen Victoria had been taught to look on the Cabinet as the ministers not of Parliament but of the sovereign, and to regard the defeat of a minister as an "affront to the Crown," and a dissolution as a personal exercise of royal power. Under that older system Earl Grey in 1829 contended that a minister brought in a Bill merely as an ordinary member, and that the failure of such a Bill could not therefore decide the fate of the Government; and there were later cases when the Ministry was changed without any dissolution of Parliament, and when a Prime Minister ruled without a majority in the House. The Premiers however had steadily won the right to claim a dissolution not only against a hostile House of Commons but against an obstructive House of Lords. Through the assertion that Ministers acted, not from the sovereign's permission but by the will of the people, and by the strict enforcing of the authority of the House, the Cabinet was compacted into a body united in responsibility.

Reforms
for
1869

The new reformed Parliament recalled the unfulfilled pledges of 1833. A motion to repeal the Corn Laws had been defeated in 1834; the last remnant of duty, the shilling on every quarter of wheat, was now abolished. England was still behind every other great

country in the world, with two million of her children, two-thirds of the whole, left outside the schools ; under a paid Minister of Education (1st 56), a scheme of national and compulsory education was now set up. Competitive examination for the Civil Service was established by Order in Council. A Local Government Board was set up charged with care of the public health and control of the Poor Law system. The sole influence of the aristocracy in the army was checked by abolishing the purchase of commissions and bringing the military force under the undivided control of the House of Commons. After years of conflict religious tests were abolished for students enjoying the privileges of Oxford and Cambridge ; and for the first time a peerage was given to a Jew, and for the first time in living memory to a Roman Catholic. The Ballot Act finally closed the burning controversy by which throughout the century the people had been vainly demanding protection for those whose daily bread might depend on the secrecy * of their vote : "the desire to conceal votes is a bad sign of the times," was the old answer : "it would destroy their character as Englishmen," and turn them into pitiful figures, ashamed to confess their political creed, "sneaking up to the ballot-box." A long series of reforms to end the extravagance, the inequality, and the delays of the law, were consummated by the Judicature Act, the constitution of a High Court of Justice, and a Supreme Court of Criminal Appeal.

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Reforms
for
Ireland

But amid these changes, carrying out old pledges, two new Acts stood out—the Irish Church Act and the Irish Land Act. They marked a new stage in the controversy of Ireland with England. The disestablishment of the Irish Church, the Church of the minority and the ascendancy, sounded the doom of the old political theory (carefully preserved in 1833) of ecclesiastical authority as a necessary adjunct of the secular government of the State. A struggle with the Upper Chamber, which had already opened with the University Tests bill of 1866, was renewed with more intense animosity. "Never," writes Lord Morley, "was the political system more strained" than in the sharpness of the conflict with the Lords, who only yielded when the danger became acute. The Land Act, by which Gladstone boldly sought to assure to Irish tenants the Ulster tenant right, opened a controversy yet more prolonged and violent. "Tenant-right is landlord-wrong," Palmerston had exclaimed amid the cheers of a House mainly composed of landlords; but the first Irish Land Act was the death-knell of the landlord monopoly not only in Ireland but in England. Since the transportation of the Dorsetshire labourers in 1834 agricultural workers in England had known no change in then? state ; once more, led by Joseph Arch, a labourer and Methodist preacher, they began to form unions, asking sixteen shillings a weekend an eleven hours day, and in a

1856

1870

1872

- SEC. I. year had gathered nearly a hundred thousand members, meeting often by moonlight, facing dangers and sacrifices and universal opposition.
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1874
- 1875 Energy of reform was followed, as in 1835, by quick reaction ; and the Trade Unionists felt their own special claims neglected. The party reconstructed by Disraeli triumphed in the first Parliament of the twelve since the Reform Act that remained Tory from beginning to end. Two years before he had proclaimed the new mission of Toryism: "the maintenance of our institutions, the preservation of our empire, and the improvement of the condition of the people." To use a phrase of the time, "All social questions had now advanced into regions of Imperialism." But his party was not yet one for revolutionary adventure. For Ireland there was the usual Coercion Act.
- 1875 The iniquity of "climbing children" was ended, after an agitation of a hundred and fifteen years. A Factory Bill for the health of women was added to a series of statutes which had gradually brought 2,500,000 workers under the protection of law. To the Trade Unions* who had won his election Disraeli granted two Acts—one of which made the employer and the workman equal parties in a civil contract, while the other gave legal recognition to the function of Trade Unionism and to collective bargaining and peaceful picketing. Thus was ended the long conflict begun in 1824-5 to free Trade Unions from the law of conspiracy and its penalties. For the farmers there was an Act of Compensation for improvements, provided the landlord consented to come under the Act—a perfectly ineffectual measure.
- Imperialism and Democracy
- From social questions Disraeli rapidly turned to measures less contentious for his party—"the preservation of our Empire." He met the fears of manufacturers, alarmed at the competition of other lands which through their arts and arms, enterprise and wealth, skill, industry and freedom, might threaten the pre-eminence of England, by schemes of Imperial consolidation, an imperial tariff, imperial representation, an imperial military code of defence. Through Colonial expansion, and the pressure, not to say ascendancy of England in the councils of Europe, the glory of Elizabethan days was to be revived. A spirited foreign policy was to show the Continent that nothing could be done there without the authority of England. The purchase of the Suez Canal shares for four million pounds indicated a new departure. The next year England was magnified as an "Asiatic Power," and an "Oriental Empire" by giving to the Queen the title of "Empress of India"; and Disraeli as Lord Beaconsfield entered the House of Lords.
- 1875
- 1876
- Parliament and people
- Thus the modern Imperialism, as defined by the Tory Minister's glowing imagination and his dazzling vision of the imperial destiny of the island of Great Britain over the broad earth and in command of every ocean, went out over the country to become a new creed

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1876
1877

1880

1883

*Appeal to
the people*

of popular enthusiasm, and an all-important force in directing the course of English history in our time. Radicals and Socialists on the other hand contended that only by internal reform could England hold a high and secure place among the nations. They demanded that the people, lifted above destitution, should have the independence of free men, knowledge to use their liberty, and power to enforce their will. The whole country rang with the public controversy. "What was outside Parliament," Gladstone observed, "had mounted to an importance far exceeding what was inside." New weapons of war were forged. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the ardent leader of the Radical reformers, found in Birmingham material waiting for his shrewd business capacity. A new town of small masters and unorganized labour, without tradition of wealthy manufacturers, without effective Trade Unions, it was a society which he could exactly "hammer and mould into an electoral instrument at once more pliable and more dependable than any ever controlled by the borough-mongers of the eighteenth century." The Liberals of Birmingham were ranged under a rigid discipline, in which every candidate pledged himself to abide by the decision of the "caucus," as Lord Beaconsfield called it; every symptom of revolt was suppressed, and individual opinion subdued to an ordered plan of conflict. The "Birmingham plan" of Mr. Chamberlain's ingenious and despotic mind was extended to other towns: on his election to Parliament he grouped these associations into a National Liberal Federation with a central Council, and thus stood at the head of a democracy united for battle. While the caucus suppressed individual opinion among the voters, candidates for election were forced by the mere size of the new constituencies to accept submissively the authorized party programme as the only means of gaining a common consent. The Tories, overthrown in a general election by Mr. Chamberlain's driving force, copied in their turn the "Birmingham plan," when Lord Randolph Churchill as leader of the "Tory Democracy" formed a federation of Conservative Associations. In the passion of public debate both agitators called on the voters outside to support them by their drilled organizations in forcing on popular reform against the opposition of slower-moving leaders of their own parties within the House. Interest shifted from the House of Commons to the electors themselves, and the public quickly learned that for a political champion success in the country was more needful than success in the House itself. In former times no minister ever made important announcements outside the House, or laid proposals for legislation before electors devoid of any share in the initiation of laws; and as late as 1886 Queen Victoria objected to a Minister speaking outside his own constituency as tending to popular agitation. But the new classes that had entered political life were no longer to be shepherd |

- SEC I. behind such barriers. Gladstone, who on a public platform had announced to an astonished nation his intention of carrying his Reform bill (1866), and had amazed the country by speeches defining a popular budget (1874) not yet introduced into the House of Commons, now led the first campaign among the masses which had ever been undertaken by any leader of the government. It was in this "Midlothian campaign," "a romance of politics," as Gladstone called it, that in deep winter snow the old man of seventy, preparing for his twelfth election, moved in triumphant progress, and with an unexampled fervour of oratory called on serried masses of weavers, miners, artizans, farmers, to weigh their obligations in foreign affairs and home policy. Tories denounced this passionate pilgrimage of democracy as "an innovation on the constitution," "a positive danger to the commonwealth." But henceforth neither party could live save by direct appeal to the people. The Marquis of Salisbury himself, as Gladstone wrote to the Queen, "established a rule of what may be called popular agitation" by general public meetings. But all other efforts were surpassed by Gladstone's later processional progresses through England and Scotland in his crusade for the Home Rule bill, and his assertion to the Queen of his right to "the use of any means requisite in order to place (what he thinks) the true issue before the country."
- 1880
- 1886
- Third Reform Act**
1880
- The Liberal Parliament elected after the stupendous excitement of the Midlothian campaign, and led by the most intrepid reformer that had ever been Prime Minister, opened wide the road along which modern England, the England that we know, was to advance, and hewed out for Ireland a way of hope. For a dozen years, since 1872, Mr. Trevelyan had year by year vainly proposed the enfranchisement of the multitude of householders who lay outside the Parliamentary boroughs. Obstruction was swept aside as the power of Gladstone drove a new Reform bill through the House. In 1832 less than 500,000 voters had been added to the entire constituency of the three countries; and 1,364,000 in 1867-9: but 2,000,000 new voters were now brought in; and yet more remarkable, by the sheer force of Gladstone's fervour, Parliament was persuaded to raise the number of Irish voters from 200,000 to 500,000. The working classes of Great Britain, after a conflict of fifty years, had won the full citizenship denied them in 1832. As for the mass of the Irish people, it was their first admission to representation in the Parliament of the United Kingdom.
- 1884
- State Socialism**
1880-2
- A sense of imminent change was in the air—the beginning of the effective Socialist movement in England. Henry George had started a new agricultural agitation, and had driven home among tillers of the soil and workers in the towns the Ricardian theory of economic rent and the landlords' appropriation of it in town or country.

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1880-5

Quickened by the teaching of Karl Marx on the industrial revolution, and by the fervour of revivalist leaders, the workers were breaking through years of quiescent Liberalism and moving fast towards a "New Unionism." Trade Unions, once held to be an impenetrable barrier against Socialism, themselves insisted on the power and duty of the State to compel reform. Their Congress accepted Land Nationalisation, and an Eight Hour Day to be enforced by law. Since the first days of factory legislation the world had moved on, and the State was now neither "invoked as a parent nor as a beneficent master ; it is invoked as the agent, aye, as the servant of the people's will." In municipal government the democracy entered on a new range of power. Rapidly gathering into their hands all outlying and scattered remnants of local administration, widening their franchise to the single-room tenant and the independent woman, the towns carried beyond all experience the use of communal property and public taxes for the general benefit. The dream of Robert Owen became a reality. It is calculated that local bodies now administer for the public good, and by the will of the community, property of a capital value not far short of a thousand million sterling ; and that the services organised by the people for themselves and under their own control, whether in voluntary associations of co-operators, or in public bodies of borough and county councils, represent "an annual expenditure of something like two hundred millions sterling, or approximately an eighth of the whole personal expenditure of the United Kingdom." On all sides the principles that had guided the decisions of Parliament for fifty years were discarded. The modern demand was not for the mere abolition of privilege and protection of individual liberty, whether against the State or any form of combination ; it was for the active construction of a new society. Men were shaking themselves free from the old authority of economic doctrine ; Bentham was discredited ; havoc had been made of the teaching of Mill, the autocrat of his own time. But among the contending series of new doctrines sent abroad not one attained a recognised supremacy. Philosophic Liberals, struggling in the midst of economic anarchy, might protest in vain against the growing habit of political experiments, apart from any clear system of thought: "It is futile," wrote Jevons, "to attempt to uphold in regard to social legislation any theory of eternal fixed principles or abstract rights. All is a question of probability and degree." Mr. Chamberlain, then dominated by ideals of a reformed social State, gave to these for the first time the authority of a minister of the Crown, impetuously pouring forth from the Board of Trade one "unauthorized programme" after another—manhood suffrage, no plural voting, payment of members, free education, small holdings, the re-housing of the urban poor, the

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right of the State to take land for public purposes at the lowest market price, a graduated income tax, the breaking-up of great estates, the "ransom" of the landed rich who would "neither toil nor spin." England was no longer to be "the purgatory of the poor." Swiftly the revolution spread beyond social reform, to the very foundations of the English constitution. All statesmen from the middle of the eighteenth century down to Palmerston had been agreed on the necessity of hereditary succession to unbroken masses of landed property, so as to protect by extensive agriculture the food of the country, and to maintain by primogeniture the constitution of the kingdom—in other words the position of the landed aristocracy. Half the land of England was in the possession of fewer than a hundred and fifty men, Bright told the people, and half the land of Scotland was held by ten or twelve. So carefully were the means of tying up property favoured that two-thirds of the land of England were said to be in strict settlement. Soon after the first Reform Act Lord Shaftesbury in a visit to Chatsworth had felt intimations of the end of the old order, and in that ultimate magnificence had seen his vision of "probably the last great effort of hereditary wealth, of aristocratical competition with the splendour of kings" and had known that the acquiring of immense properties by primogeniture "has reached the full and is now upon the wane." But under the second Reform Act even economists began to put in question the agricultural value of great estates, and proposed that land should be as freely sold and dispersed as personal property, and that primogeniture and entail should disappear. Moreover, those who denied that primogeniture was the pillar of agricultural prosperity were ultimately to question whether it was the necessary mainstay of the Constitution.

Lords
and
Commons

Conflict in fact had begun to harden between the two Houses of Parliament. After the Reform Act the Lords, unable to realise the new strength of the Commons, had sought by strategy to secure their old position and exercise their accustomed powers; but there had been gradual accommodation to the altered conditions. Under Lord Palmerston the Commons, in the absence of any serious strife, were accepted without question as "the depository of power." "The peers act as breakwaters and think as such," Lord Shaftesbury had said. "This is their office and they never rise beyond it." Lords and Commons, fearful that if they had a controversy "the great body of ignorant poor" would be called in to decide between them, long maintained a carefully balanced equilibrium through the family groups which till 1867 practically occupied both Houses. But immediately on Palmerston's death the controversy began which was to culminate forty years later. So long as the two Houses were similar in their essence, taken from the same class of the English gentry of ancient descent, no differences arose between them. The abolition of the old

property qualification had made no real change in the Commons ; and the landed gentry had easily come to terms with the plutocracy. But with the entry of new men carrying into the Lower House a spirit and tradition formed outside the old governing classes, strife became inevitable. The growing temper of the democracy, the revolt of the Commons against "our masters in the other House," found voice in the curt warning flung to the Lords by John Bright : "In harmony with the nation they may go on for a long time, but throwing themselves athwart its course they may meet with accidents not pleasant for them to think of." As the contrast between the Upper and Lower Chambers became more marked, the Lords tended to identify themselves with one party in the State. While conflicts with the Liberals increased, the peers only twice in the course of twenty years carried a vote against Conservatives—in defence of Palmerston in the China war, and in the reluctant consent to the Church Act. In spite of Occasions of friction and delay, however, it was of advantage to the country that the House which represented the great body of landed proprietors should, by its separate consent, record their adherence to new measures, and that this powerful interest should thus formally associate itself with the general movement of the people. But the drift of the Lords to a permanent Tory alliance rapidly became a serious constitutional difficulty. At the death of Lord Beaconsfield the leadership of the Tories passed back to an ancient aristocratic house, and their fortunes were for over thirty years shaped by the Marquis of Salisbury and his nephew, Mr. Balfour. The great revising Chamber became, according to Goschen, "a simple Tory club," so that "if the country looks to the peers for their decision, it knows beforehand precisely on the lines of party what that decision will be." When their bitter and prolonged resistance to the Reform Bill was met by Gladstone's ominous threat of "organic changes in the House of Lords," the final conflict of the Houses was clearly shadowed out.

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**Ireland
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With this Act began the modern history of the United Kingdom. The double force of the two new democracies, English and Irish, was the measure of the coming revolution. Since 1815 the democrats had urged their propaganda. Nowhere else in Europe had they moved such masses of men, nor given such a spectacle of gigantic demonstrations and agitations, nor of such resource in practical organization. But in spite of enormous efforts their progress halted. Slow and partial reforms were grudgingly meted out to them only after repression had driven the populace to the utmost limit of patience. Fifty years of conflict trailed on before the town artisans were partially admitted to the vote; seventy years before the country folk were recognised as citizens. Seventy years in fact might be taken as the normal time for carrying any popular reform. Emancipation, free trade, household suffrage, the ballot, were won by violent agitation,

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and conceded only when danger had become extreme. The dominant influence in the country was still the old England of the south, the centre of the court, the aristocracy, the law, the established church, a powerful press, high finance, the military forces of the crown, all the social powers of conservatism. This aristocratic England, severed in interests from the industrial population of the north, stood yet more aloof from Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, which had remained distinct by their social organisation, tradition, and religion. The Reform Act of 1832 not only created a new balance of powers, but brought a force into English politics which was to change, the order of battle and accelerate the advance. The Celtic race, "the Celtic Fringe," as Lord Salisbury termed it, was reckoned an alien and inferior people. It was this despised race that now appeared to reinforce the English democracy. The Irish brought with them a problem already centuries old—the place allotted to Ireland in the Empire. The fall of three governments in a year marked the energy of their onset, and the confusion with which the new order was ushered in. As the conflict widened the fierce vigour of attack and defence recalled, as in 1801, precedents of the Great Rebellion both in violence of* repression and in ardour of liberty.

June 1885
Jan. 1886
July 1886

Ireland
under the
Union

The Union had left the Protestant landowners in unchecked ascendancy. With all the wealth and prestige that the sole possession of land could give, they were backed by the might of England, whose garrison they were; by the House of Lords, in which the Irish people had not a single advocate: by the House of Commons, to which members were sent at the bidding of landlords who at elections locked their tenants in outhouses and marched them under guards of soldiers to the poll; by the military forces of the crown, always at their call; by the press, which their influence controlled; and by the old English tradition of inveterate hostility to the Irish, flavoured with contempt. A wealthy Established Church was at their bidding, long trained in politics, officered by their sons and nominees. Special laws, unknown in England, to make eviction cheap and rapid, and perpetual coercion-acts (over and above sharp severity of the old English law) were administered by the landed class; who, themselves, their sons and their agents, filled all the posts of judges, magistrates, grand juries, sheriffs, bailiffs, police officers, and officials of all public departments. This unexampled power was used to maintain a land system utterly wasteful of human life and labour, under which four millions of peasants, tenants-at-will, lay in a more abject state of poverty than human nature could be supposed able to bear, rented to starvation point, fed on potatoes, housed in dwellings more wretched than any found by travellers among savages of the Arctic circle or the tribes of Asia; while they watched the fruits of their toil transported over-

sea to absentee landlords in England. Peel's corn-law was no remedy for the hunger of a population that never tasted bread. The free corn which gave cheap loaves to the English only doubled to the Irish the labour-rent for his patch of ground. In a land of abundant harvests, among a laborious people, recurring dearths culminated in the Great Famine, long foreseen and foretold. A million of people lay dead, and that in years when abundant harvest of the corn they had grown was being shipped to England under military guard to pay the rent of the absentees. "Monster evictions" cleared another million from the land. From the thousands of houses that were "tumbled" outcasts fled to the bog or ditch, or to the "coffin ships" that carried them to America. Lamentation and mourning filled the air as the shifting of a whole people began—an incredible funeral procession of a nation turning empty away from its holy places, its language and tradition and culture—a transplantation such as the world had not known since the feats of pagan kings of Assyria and consuls of Rome, and the onrush of Attila the Scourge of God. "The Celts are going, and going with a vengeance," said the *Times*. Ruin waited on the landlord as on the tenant, and the English remedy of an Act for the sale of Encumbered Estates completed the misfortunes of the country. The union of the two countries had brought immediate bankruptcy to Irish finances, and the course of taxation, invariably planned at Westminster to relieve the tax-payer of Great Britain, did as invariably increase the burdens of Ireland, where the conditions were wholly different. With the people flying from the stricken land, the Government added £2,500,000 to the permanent taxation of the country, an increase of 40% in ten years; and a Royal Commission recorded that in Great Britain the revenue raised per head on commodities was about half that raised in 1819, while in Ireland it had doubled. Nor were the taxes as in England spent at home. Three millions a year of Irish money remained in the English exchequer over and above what was spent on Ireland, till in ninety-three-years no less than three hundred and twenty-five millions, "an Empire's ransom," had passed over the channel without return. The reign of Queen Victoria, to England a time of vaunted prosperity and progress, was to Ireland an age of unmitigated national disaster only to be compared to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. All forms of popular protest failed in turn. There had been deep religious resignation and fidelity. There were savage outbursts of local violence—cries of maddened suffering and despair which the ruling classes branded as "disloyalty" and "rebellion." Daniel O'Connell, in European opinion the greatest popular orator since Demosthenes, led a political agitation against the infamous system of tithes, the exclusion of Catholics from the vote, the whole method of the Union.

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The Famine

1846-51

1847

1817

*Financial
relations*

1850-60

1896

1823-46

*Irish
protests*

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

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THE SOCIAL REVOLU- TION	
1815 TO 1914	Ireland (1848), tried and failed to arouse attention by an insufficient rising in arms. A League of Tenants in north and south was formed.
1851	The Fenians planned a campaign in Canada and in Ireland, to shake off by open war a dependence made odious by tyranny and insufferable by misery. Isaac Butt led a party of constitutional Home Rule. To all these the English answer was the eighty-six Crimes or Coercion Acts that marked the century after the Union. Englishmen looked back with shame on the black reaction of 1819 under which the Habeas Corpus Act, the proud charter of British liberty, had been suspended in their own island ; through the wide British Empire it had once been set aside for a few weeks in Jamaica : but in Ireland during the hundred years after the Union it was suspended no less than thirteen times. Law became a mere "course of discretion" under packed juries, political judges, partial magistrates, police shadowing, and informers. There was no constitutional remedy. The country people since Peel's legislation in 1829 were wholly unrepresented ; the 30,700 borough electors were increased in 1868, by a reform very different from that of England or Scotland, to no more than 40,000. For nearly seventy years, till death and emigration had reduced the people from eight millions to five, the members allotted to Ireland by the Union were below the number allowed to the same population in England. In a permanent minority at Westminster of one to six, their entire helplessness was demonstrated when Irish Bills supported by all the Irish members for dealing with the land, with municipalities, parliamentary reform, finance, or education, were indifferently thrown out by the English majority. The hours at or after-midnight were all that could be got for Irish Bills nor did that country ever obtain any share in the Government time. Every Irish question as it entered the House of Commons was transformed into a mere matter of English party politics. "Ireland had had no rulers who ruled for Ireland" said Bright. "I have not observed since I have been in Parliament anything on this Irish question that approaches the dignity of statesmanship"—men the most clumsy and brutal might suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, but for real government men of higher temper, genius, and patriotism were needed. Irish affairs always remained remote, unfamiliar, and distasteful to Englishmen, who cherished the constant belief that Home Rule was no more than "a little cauldron simmering."
1851	
1875	
Parnell	"Ireland is a nation," Charles Stewart Parnell declared in his first speech to the Commons. In the name of a dying country, where the
1875	

remnant of the Irish population was still being flung out of their cabins to a "sentence of death"-on the road-side, he demanded a National Parliament and a free people established in security on their own land. Elected President of the Home Rule Confederation, he repudiated the efforts at "conciliation" which had so notoriously failed: "policy must be pushed to extremes" to compel the attention of an indifferent and contemptuous England. By skilled obstruction he paralysed the House of Commons, forced it to shape the first rule for "Order in debate" that limited the ancient freedom of its members, and established a compact Irish Party in the House to threaten the old two-party system. In Ireland meanwhile the Fenian organization and the Land League opened war on the autocracy of the landlords. Evictions were raging as in the Great Famine; in 1880 10,657 persons were ejected, 17,641 in 1881, at the rate of nearly fifty for every day of the year; 7,000 for the first three months of 1882, and 15,000 awaiting eviction in the next quarter. In three days 750 persons were turned out on the bogs and rocks of Connemara. Their state in the west, said General Gordon, was worse than that of any people in the world: along the Atlantic shore gunboats might be seen carrying armed police to evict the inhabitants, and hurrying to the next harbour for charitable food-stuffs to maintain the people in the houses which were already levelled. Home Rule was pronounced by Lord Beaconsfield the issue of the next election: and in the new Parliament Parnell stood leader of 35 out of 103 Irish members. The House of Lords threw out a Compensation for Disturbance Bill passed by the Commons to mitigate the tenants' danger and distress. The peers had called the battle, «. and violence answered violence. Parnell and the Land League stood in the fore-front of an indignant people. The Government suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, and gave the Viceroy a power of random arrest and imprisonment on mere suspicion. For nine weeks Parnell and his followers fought the monstrous scheme with every insolence and violence of obstruction; nor were they defeated till the old liberty of the House was overturned by the "new and exceptional course" of the "closure," and the suspension of the Irish members from the House. In a few months over a thousand men, Parnell himself and many Irish members among them, lay in prison under the Act thus passed to suppress "village ruffians." Thence they issued the "No Rent" manifesto. It was amid this frenzy of popular rage that Gladstone, stirred by a nobler sense of statesmanship, framed a new Land Bill to secure for the Irish tenant fixity of tenure, fair rents, and free sale of his rights in his holding. It was "the single measure of a single man" in that session, none but the Irish shewing the slightest care or interest. He faced the entire apathy and indifference of the House; he met "difficulties such as no other bill of this country has ever encountered"; though

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1882
- his scheme abounded in faults and needed much later repair, yet by his courage and authority Gladstone gave to the Irish tenant "the fundamental charter of his redemption." The gleam of hope was darkened by the murder of a new Chief Secretary, Lord Frederic Cavendish, and the Under Secretary, Burke, by a small group of desperate men; new coercion for Ireland brought fresh coercion of the House of Commons, suspension of Irish members, and more emphatic rules for closure of debate.
- Home Rule**
- Such was the situation when, in a speech that formed a turning-point in English history, Gladstone in the name of justice demanded for the Irish people the same franchise as the English: and in the Reform Act of 1884 gave them for the first time since the Union the chance of making their voice effectively heard at Westminster. Mr. Chamberlain desired to come to terms with the actual Irish members through a scheme of Local Government by National Councils, and a land settlement, but his plan was rejected by the peers in the Cabinet and by Lord Hartington, and at the threat of renewing the Crimes Act the Liberal Government fell. The Tories immediately passed a Land Act with Purchase provisions, and abandoned coercion. To demonstrate to England that the newly enfranchised Irish voters had through these favours lost their pretended desire for Home Rule, seventy-seven Tory candidates stood forward confidently at the election under the new Act, and five Liberals, to win Ireland from the Nationalists. Only a score of seats were left uncontested. Their rout was final and complete. By overwhelming majorities in Munster, Leinster, Connacht, every county, every borough, was carried by Nationalists, and half of Ulster. Nothing was left to the Tories but the north-east corner of Ulster and Dublin University, held by eighteen members. Parnell, "the uncrowned king of Ireland," leu back a party of 85 members out of 103, returned by an almost unanimous vote, pledged not to take office under an English Government till Home Rule was won—a party which has remained unchallenged at elections for thirty years. Since in England the Liberal majority over the Conservatives was 86, Parnell held the balance between the parties; and the fundamental problem supposed to have been settled once for all at the Union again confronted England. The Tory Government, on the same day that it announced a Bill to suppress the National League, fell, as the last Government had fallen, before the Irish vote. In Gladstone's view it was "the office of law and institutions to reflect the wants and wishes of the country." When there was no longer possibility of doubt, when by their votes the people of Ireland had openly given their decision for the national cause, the question of Home Rule was to his mind settled. In a House thronged beyond all example, and stilled by suspense, he proposed his Bill to create anew an Irish Parliament. The willingness
- June 1885
- Nov. 1885
- Jan. 1886
- Jan. 1886
- April

of the public outside to grant Home Rule took everyone by surprise. But other influences dominated Westminster. England saw herself at the beginning of an unexampled prosperity. The new pride of Empire was at the height of its power, and men were intolerant of any apparent rift in the majestic scheme, and confident in the military force of England to compel the obedience of an Ireland depopulated and enfeebled. The maintenance of the Union in its actual form was held essential for the preservation of the Empire. It was believed that Protestant government and control was necessary to hold in check a Catholic population. Fear and anger had been awakened by the land war, the outrages, the revolutionary aspect of the island, the fiery denunciations of English administration there; and old hostilities and contempts of the Celt were intensified in England. Ninety-three Liberals voted against their party and Home Rule was lost by thirty votes. Ireland sifted and winnowed the forces of Liberalism, already divided and terrified in England by the Radical campaign of Mr. Chamberlain and his doctrine of "ransom." The great Whig magnates renounced their old tradition and secular alliance with the Liberal party, and at the Marquis of Harrington's secession they passed out of its counsels: as their power slipped away, and the Whig influence of the Liberal peers was no longer a force to be considered, the "ending or mending" of the House of Lords became inevitable. Plutocrats and commercial men followed, and with them went the tradesmen. The economists joined them, and the intellectual classes. The two external forces which were to mould the course of English history for the next generation, the Empire and Ireland, were sharply confronted in the general election that followed.

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June 1886

*End of the
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July

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Reforms**

1887

For twenty years, with one brief interruption (1892-5), the Conservatives ruled. The significance of the "Celtic Fringe" had been demonstrated in the elections, when Scotland approved the Bill by 3 to 2, Wales by 5 to 1, Ireland by 4½ to 1, while England rejected it by 24 to 1; and from this time Unionists adjudged a different value to the representatives of various parts of the United Kingdom, giving to the English votes a predominant importance. Lord Salisbury's Cabinet, the most aristocratic, of modern times, with its ten members in the House of Lords, was forced into new paths by the pressure of the Liberals and Radicals who had placed it in power, and gave to it the new inclusive name of the "Unionist" party. Lord Halsbury introduced a Land Transfer Bill, left by Lord Cairns, to abolish primogeniture and put real property on the same footing as personal property—a Bill rejected by the peers as "a sop to the Cerberus of Socialism" and "tantamount to a sentence of death and extinction for many ancient families." Parliament, which had once bent its energies to the increase of enclosures,

- SEC. 1. responded slowly to a "new and special feeling" that stirred the public. Forty years earlier the growing idea of central control had led to the appointment of commissioners for enclosures, and a rule to make allotments for recreation and for labourers showed the first recognition of the people's needs. But in practice this Act only served to facilitate enclosures, and in twenty-four years out of 614,800 acres enclosed only some 2,200 had been set apart for the public. A Society formed to protect legal common rights, the public interest, and the needs of the labouring poor against wholesale encroachments, carried on intrepid war in Parliament, in the Law Courts, on the very ground of the Commons themselves; battling against decisions of the judges that the public, not being a person, was incapable of rights and could never assert any claim to customary use of the open lands. The lords of the manors were gradually forced to recognise the new principle that their property in commons was subject to the general interest, so that no enclosure could take place without open proof of benefit to the public. The old system was felt to have become "practically obsolete" when, a hundred years after the Enclosure Act, the last sanction was given to fence in a common as private property. In other matters the influence of the Liberals on the new Conservative Cabinet might be seen. Free Education, so long promised by Mr. Chamberlain, was granted. A Local Government Act, which also had been urged by Mr. Chamberlain for years, transferred rural administration from the county magnates to the people themselves, and the country folk at last entered on the democratic privileges for which Bentham had pleaded, and which the towns had enjoyed since 1835. Inhabitants of a house or room, without restriction or qualification, might henceforth elect by ballot the Council which taxed them and expended the money for the common good. A Liberal government completed later the whole hierarchy of county administration by adding district and parish councils (1894), and the old life of township and vill, which had lingered on as a mere shadow of earlier custom, was given a chance to revive the sense of local pride and responsibility.
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- Irish Government**
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- 1887
- In Ireland Tory rule opened with a third rejection of a Tenants' Relief Bill, though at the bidding of Ulster Lord Salisbury was forced to accept revision of rents and admission of leaseholders, which a few months before he had denounced as dishonest and inexpedient. The tenants' "Plan of Campaign" and the "National League" were met by the remedy of "twenty years resolute government." A perpetual Coercion Act gave the Lord Lieutenant power to "proclaim" any district at his will, and thus at the discretion of the Executive to vary the criminal law in any part of Ireland; to decide what were to be counted crimes; what the legal procedure should be; and whether the prisoner should be allowed a jury. Mr. Balfour's proposal to

carry prisoners in certain cases to London for trial—a proposal invented against "rebels" of the American war of independence—failed; and the Bill was driven through the Commons against Irish opposition by the developed closure nick-named the "guillotine." Its provisions were put to use by Mr. Balfour as Chief Secretary, a post of more unrestrained authority than any other in the Empire. Convictions in land cases rose to 2,805, in more than half of which the rights of the prisoner would in England have been guarded by a jury. The battering ram became notorious. Eighteen counties were "proclaimed," and twenty-five members of parliament imprisoned. A charge of complicity in crime was launched against Parnell by the *Times*, and repeated in the House of Commons by the Government. The accused was denied the constitutional remedy of a select committee of the Commons, and compelled to face a trial before a tribunal constituted and chosen by his bitterest political foes. "Other persons," members of parliament and all sorts of patriots, peaceful and militant, were by the government's decree joined with him in this general compulsory investigation, this unlimited inquisition. Political passion ran high as it had done in the seventeenth century, and Liberals protested that "for the first time in England since the Great Rebellion men were practically put upon their trial on a political charge without giving them the protection of a jury. For the first time in that period judges were to find a verdict on the facts of crime." The proceedings dragged on for a hundred and twenty-eight days, to end with the suicide of the perjured impostor Pigott on whose forgeries the charges had been brought.

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*Second
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1892*

1893~5

Calamity deepened over Ireland when a divorce suit against Parnell was followed by the demand of the Liberals that he should lay down his leadership. A tragic struggle was only ended by his death. But he had lifted Ireland to a place in politics which she was never again to lose. The Liberal Federation at Newcastle announced a policy of Home Rule, with disestablishment of the Welsh Church, electoral reform, payment of members, land reform, temperance and local veto, taxation of land values, and "ending or mending" of the House of Lords. The next year Gladstone, with a majority of forty for Home Rule, took office to plead again the cause of Irish nationality. In his last desperate fight for a people's freedom he stood majestic at the age of eighty-three, with "that white-hot face, stern as a covenanters yet mobile as a comedian's, those restless flashing eyes, that wondrous voice . . . the masterly gestures." With deep indignation the Unionists saw the closure, framed to suppress Irish Nationalists, turned against themselves. The Home Rule Bill, accepted by a majority of 44 in the Commons, was summarily rejected in the Lords by 419 to 41. In the universal and humiliating wreck of all the other Government bills through the Lords' resistance, the Commons

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1896

could find but one point of advantage, and used their supremacy in money matters to introduce high death duties on estates,^ graduated according to wealth. Sir William Harcourt thus for the first time placed land on the same footing as other property, and established the principle that the greater inheritance should pay duty to the State on a higher scale than the smaller. Torn by divisions, disorganized by continuous defeat, without any constructive programme to follow their work of emancipation, the Liberals disappeared from power, their fortunes fallen lower than they had been for the last century. Gladstone had already left in gloom and defeat the House to which his labours had been given for sixty-one years, throwing his last passionate warning to the Lords that a power so recklessly used " will demand a settlement from the highest authority."

During the next ten years of Tory power all questions of reform were adjourned, and there was little legislation for England. In Ireland, after twice rejecting self-government, the Unionists sought by reforms to exorcise the spirit of Home Rule. The last Tory Government had created a Congested Districts Board to improve the lot of the forlorn tenants of bog and rock on the Atlantic shore ; light railways traversed the waste regions of the west to open communications and markets ; a new Land Act was devised to adjust rent, and aid the tenants to purchase ; an Agricultural Board was formed to develop the resources of the country; popular local government was for the first time instituted by the creation of County and District Councils after the English model, with added compensation to the landed classes; technical instruction was encouraged. Irish revenue, after a century of confiscation, was at last directed to Ireland. On the other hand when a Royal Commission reported that Ireland, contrary to the provisions of the Treaty of Union, was overtaxed in proportion to her resources by some two millions a year or more, and that her administration was the most wasteful of any European country, the Report was silently ignored and no remedy proposed. The Irish race was kept in tutelage under an administration which remained wholly in the hands of the Protestant minority, a fourth of the people, and the system of Boards and doles was still directed to serve the political ends of England. In direct succession to the old Whig doctrine of 1843, "to purchase not to prosecute repeal," the Tory policy of " resolute government" balanced by the " killing of Home Rule with kindness " rested on the belief that national fidelity was but a fiction of agitators, and material prosperity the chief end of peoples. The system proved without power to check the flight of the people from their home-land in an emigration which was the wonder and scandal of Christendom: the exiles who sought refuge under the American flag from, 1846 to 1900 cannot have numbered fewer than 5,000,000: and the 30,000 or

more young men and women in their best strength, now sent yearly across the Ocean from a still diminishing population of four and a quarter millions, surpass in numbers the emigration from the whole seventy millions of the German Empire. The very habit of tillage declined in a country which has in little more than the last generation lost 300,000 agricultural labourers. In an Irish phrase the people were "over-boarded and underfed." Nor did the national idea disappear. Fresh coercion opened the century, and under renewed "strong government" the greater part of the country was "proclaimed," and ten Irish members lay in prison. The declaration of Sir Antony MacDonnell, sent as Under Secretary, that "Irish ideas" must guide Irish administration, was resented with a fierce outcry of indignation by the ruling classes; but the Government decided by a great and courageous Act of Land Purchase to close for ever the devastating land war in Ireland. Through that Act the soil of Ireland is rapidly passing to peasant proprietors, and the older race, emerging from the barren uplands and bogs to which they had been driven, are creeping over their ancient plains and pastures. Such a close of the land conflict revealed how far the Irish landlord in his security had fallen behind his class in England in practical instinct. In the developed English system of enclosures and large farms the battle of the labourer, landless and working for a wage, was very different from that of the Irish tenant renting his patch of ground. The labourer could only refuse his labour and starve; the tenant could withhold his rent and live. Thus the Irish landlord, seeking the highest profits with the least responsibility, had himself established by his scheme of competitive rents the power that was to overthrow him.

England meanwhile had marvellously increased in wealth and in national self-confidence. The figures of modern trade, are too prodigious to convey a clear meaning to the mind—the six thousand millions' worth of cheques that passed through the London Bankers' Clearing House in 1886 rising by 1913 to between sixteen and seventeen thousand millions; the capital supplied from the City of London for the opening of four hundred thousand miles of railway in the new countries of the industrial world; the volume of foreign trade increasing in the last eight years by more than forty-four per cent., to reach in 1913 the sum of over fourteen hundred million pounds sterling; the wresting from the earth about two hundred and eighty million tons of coal, over ninety-eight millions of which were carried to foreign lands. In the era of prosperity from 1846 to 1866, the Liberals had been in power, and by their commercial legislation the general wealth was still enabled to advance, in Gladstone's phrase, "by leaps and bounds." In this period presided over by the Tories, a comfort brought to the prosper-

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something under 1,000 trade disputes in each year, in 1913 the number has risen to 1,462; in 1911 nearly a million workers were involved, and in 1912 nearly a million and a half. The main difficulty of the unions lies in fact in the vastness of the problem, and general perplexity as to the true road of constructive „reform. Immersed in laborious detail the working-class lacks thinkers. A system of education accepted from reformers of the middle class has tended, instead of raising the position of the crafts, to draw the more intelligent youths away from productive enterprise, and from the intellectual leadership of their own fellows, and add them to the amorphous middle world of salaried clerks and teachers. New forms of intellectual training may possibly be forced on the workers of this country by the stress of foreign competition. Their political activity has so far outstripped their zeal for education. They were careful to secure the election of working-men on municipal and other local bodies, where they have now a thousand labour members. They demanded a more adequate power in Parliament. A Labour Electoral Association of the trade unions was followed by the drawing together of various socialistic and other organisations in an Independent Labour Party; but neither of these groups gained much authority until a Trade Union Congress and a general Convention of all working-class associations united their common interests in a Labour Representation Committee to secure the election of labour members to Parliament. The influence of the working-class begins even now to reach beyond the borders of Great Britain. Already a Working Men's Association had attempted to establish international communications: and Karl Marx had sent out his appeal for the union of workers in all countries; once more projects were renewed for emancipation of labour through the union of "every trade, skilled and unskilled, of every nationality under the sun," and after twenty-six years of effort, an International Congress in London, and one in Paris, and the establishment at Basel of an International Union for Labour Legislation, to secure a uniform code for the workers in all civilised countries, affirmed a new brotherhood of labour. Such events have given to the people a wider outlook, have led to embassies, as we may say, of working-men from nation to nation, and have for the first time in history offered to the inhabitants of a country a concern in its foreign relations and a share of responsibility for peace or war.

1888

1893

1899

1900

1906

1836

1848

1862

1888-9

Discordance between an advancing democracy and an aristocratic Cabinet became suddenly manifest when the Boer War ended and Mr. Balfour took the place of Lord Salisbury. An Act to reform the educational system raised the yearly cost to the country to nearly £30,000,000: but the provisions which allowed Church schools, while maintained from the rates, to remain outside complete national

**End of
the Boer
War**
1902

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- 1914
- control in management and religious instruction, revived Nonconformist antagonism to a State Church in political relations with the Government; and was only forced through the Commons by the "guillotine" which the Conservatives had so vehemently denounced when used in 1893 to pass the Home Rule Bill. Thus a measure, no longer needed to enforce Irish coercion since the permanent Act of 1887, was revived to suppress English opposition to an English Bill; and for the next seven years the closure, highly developed, appeared in every session, and was used by each Government in turn to carry party legislation. A second struggle followed when Mr. Chamberlain gave to the spirit of Imperialism, then intensified by the South African war, a new direction; sending out his rallying cry of Protection for English manufactures against foreign competition, and an Imperial Tariff to attach the Colonies by a commercial bond to England. All other national concerns were merged in the passionate war of Protection and Free Trade. Legislation ceased in the fury of controversy, and fewer Bills were passed into law than in any other year for a century. Parties were rent asunder by the contest. The shipping industry, the coal industry, the textile industry, the banking industry stood to lose by protection: while the agricultural workers in England, a class not of proprietors but of day labourers, had no advantage in selling corn dear, but a decided concern in buying it cheap. When Mr. Balfour resigned, his challenge was answered by the greatest defeat inflicted on either party since the Reform Bill: in 1833 there were elected 172 Tories, but in 1906 only 158 Unionists entered the House of Commons.
- Problems old and new stood at the door of the Liberal Parliament, imminent, no longer to be denied, diverse and inextricably linked together, grave beyond all former experience. The working-classes, co-operators and trade unionists, had - demonstrated their political strength. The gigantic working-class organization of co-operators, which through its three millions of members represents a fifth of the whole population, had created the largest general supply business in the world, with a trade exceeding a hundred and twenty millions annually. Its fifteen hundred societies administered by 30,000 elected committee-men, and employing 50,000 salaried officials, proved in fact the most successful commercial venture of our time.
- In its factories the Wholesale Society has established a standard of minimum wages and hours of work more liberal than any decreed by law in 1912. The triumph of democratic industry, the training in affairs represented by yearly purchases of £80,000,000, the solidarity of interests, and habit of joint action, made this association of working-men a potent influence in the commercial controversy of parties. They were not only consumers but traders: their fleet bore from over sea the products of ten different countries; their whole-

sale society had sent the largest cheque ever paid in customs duties ; with a keen sense of prices they refused to believe*that import duties were paid by the foreigner,'and their two million voters were powerful in breaking Tariff reform. A Labour Party sat for the first time in the House; thirty three-cornered elections, and the entry of twenty-nine labour representatives into Parliament, gave ominous warning to the settled order of parties and to old established interests. When a Trades Dispute Act (to remedy a decision of the House of Lords in 1901 on the Taff Vale case) was brought forward, the trade unions, throwing their entire force on the side of the Labour Party, rejected the Bill of the Attorney-General, and extorted from the Government a measure which put the unions outside the jurisdiction of the law in so far as to exempt them from being sued for torts, and their funds from claims for damages. Public opinion forced labour questions into the first rank of State affairs. A population which we have seen a hundred years ago hardened by suffering has become distinguished for compassion to misery and aversion from pain, as a new consciousness arose of the commonwealth as a whole, which must-suffer with the weakness of any part. In 1842 it was thought an intolerable drain on the country to spend seven millions in saving the destitute from starvation : the public money now spent for the poorer classes reaches seventy millions a year, and two-thirds of that sum is separated from any association with pauperism or Poor Law relief. Medical inspection was given to children in schools, pensions decreed for the aged, compulsory State-aided insurance for all workers, special aid for the unemployed, sanatoria for the sick, new cottages and allotments for rural labourers. New grants for extended education gave a quarter of the accommodation in 885 secondary schools as "free places" for candidates from elementary schools. Arbitration in trade disputes became a duty of the Government. The old authoritative doctrine that the legislature had no power over wages, implicitly accepted for generations, was thrown over when Parliament accepted the principle of the legal Minimum Wage by establishing Trade Boards for certain trades, and by the Coal Miners' Minimum Wage Act—a principle adumbrated by Robert Owen in 1818 ; discussed since 1874; demanded in the strike and lock-out of 1893, the greatest dispute of modern times ; renewed in the great strike of 1912 ; and enlarged into a claim for a universal minimum wage by the two million co-operative voters in their Congress of 1913. The special difficulties of women as workers and as citizens were insistently urged on' the Government. Economic pressure had driven women increasingly into daily toil. By the industrial changes and commercial legislation of the century they too were pressed into the democracy of hired workers. They too paid their price for. Empire, as .the men poured out to the new colonies or

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*Place of
Women*

- SEC. I. territories and the proportion of single and self-dependent women increased at home, till more than four millions of women over eighteen, almost a third of the whole number, are engaged in money-making occupations, and have become personally concerned in all social, financial, and labour legislation. Their trade unions, begun in the cotton industry, were of slow and difficult growth : but have extended rapidly in the last twenty years, and the number of members almost doubled since 1906. Meanwhile the old civic franchise by which women householders had a right to vote on vestries was extended to the new Boards of Health and Town improvement; and later to the Municipal and County Councils. They were allowed to serve on School Boards, as Poor Law Guardians, as members of District and Parish Councils, and were admitted to the Civil Service. The new consciousness of a class pressing on to a more varied and independent life was shown by a vigorous movement for education and by the foundation of Women's Colleges. An opening to the professions was found by gaining a right to practise medicine. The London University and the Royal University of Ireland conceded to them degrees. An ever increasing body of trained women lavished their labour on public matters, and their influence throughout the range of social and industrial problems was recognised by the appointments of women as Factory Inspectors and on Royal Commissions. The growing importance of this army of workers during the last fifty years may be traced in a series of laws to secure to women their property and their earnings ; and in the reiterated demand for the full rights of citizens. As long ago as 1776 Cartwright brought in a scheme of parliamentary reform which included women ; and their claims were again urged with considerable strength by the Women's Clubs in the Chartist movement, which were however closed lest they should retard the universal suffrage for men. Twenty years later the most ardent advocate of the enfranchisement of women, John Stuart Mill, revived their neglected cause in the House of Commons itself: and in these last years the repeated Bills introduced into the House have shown the urgency of the problem. The hundred thousand pounds a year spent by the suffrage societies is an outlay far greater than that of any public movement of the time. Factory workers, women employed in a host of minor occupations, and practically all the brain-workers in responsible posts and professions, have been united in the suffrage agitation, and as the struggle for enfranchisement draws this mass of active and intelligent women for the first time into alliance with the Socialists and the Labour Party, a new force is being added to the revolutionary movement of our day.
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1854
- 1847-8
- 1869-80
- 1876
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- 1857-1893
- 1867
- Constitutional Changes
- The pressure of social movements had meanwhile forced on grave constitutional changes. Party strife was intensified, and in a sense justified, by the growing subjection of the House of Commons to the

Government in office. Each Ministry in turn awakened by its absolutism new fears, and by its social legislation new resentments. In stress of battle all questions were treated as a test of confidence in the Cabinet. "The time and strength of the House of Commons came to be more and more regarded as the time and strength of the Government"; and the liberty of members, so scrupulously preserved by the old rules of the House, was gradually limited—by the "Rule of Progress" applied first to the Committee stage of Bills and later to Supply; by disuse of certain forms of motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair; by rejection of proposals that redress of grievances should precede Supply as no longer in consonance with constitutional conditions, "inasmuch as the Government were now the servants of the House"; and by restrictions in debates. The accumulation of party funds, the defraying of election expenses of favoured candidates, the power of the Whips in selection of speakers, the necessity of obedience in every detail to secure the strategy of the whole campaign, even the newly decreed payment of members—all combined to force all parties alike under a military discipline. Further strength was added to the Cabinet by the ever widening powers of the State departments. Foreign affairs were practically withdrawn by Lord Salisbury from the House of Commons, and the naval and military defence of the country: and government by departments generally established. We have seen in 1834-5 the first cautious and tentative efforts to establish a new principle of State control in factory and Poor Law, and how the experiment for five years became a lasting rule, and widened out to cover the whole of urban and county administration, till in the course of two generations every local authority was brought under direct control of the Government. The highly centralised administration of home affairs was recognised by Parliament when it placed the heads of the Board of Trade and the Local Government Board on financial equality with the Secretaries of State. When the sums allotted to local bodies from the national exchequer and parliamentary grants in aid rose in fifty years from less than a million to twenty millions (in addition to the forty millions raised by local rates), the central authorities gained further rights of inspection, advice, and control. With this increase of statutory duties, the departments acquired also large and arbitrary powers, both judicial and legislative, which were extended in turn to every Government office. To the bureaucracy has been given the whole administration of all social reforms inaugurated in the last years, from which local bodies have been excluded. Former checks imposed on officials by courts of law or by Parliament in important questions both of law and policy have been overcome or evaded, and the State departments, with power themselves to interpret and judge what the law	SEC. I.
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	1878-1912
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TION

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is, and to make their own statutory rules and orders, have been enabled to exercise authority over property and rights till now almost exclusively reserved for Parliament. With the practical introduction of "administrative law" into this country various encroachments have been made on the rights of subjects and the control of the House of Commons. The Treasury refusal to admit supervision by the Auditor-General or the Public Accounts Committee in administration of the Old Age Pensions (where in two years fifteen thousand disputed claims have arisen), was received with silent acquiescence. Every influence combined to depress the in-

The Cabinet

dependence of the members and to elevate the Ministers as the sole source of authority and the only spring of legislation. In the complexity of modern affairs the drafting of Bills became too intricate a business for any but official experts, and the Commons, who had practically lost all opportunity of initiating laws, presently lost control even over the form of new Acts. As new authority was pressed on him from every side, the Prime Minister became the most powerful Minister of any modern State. He found profit even in the democratic movement to lessen the power of the Crown : for, if jealousy of Royal interference had through the reign of Queen Victoria constantly curtailed the personal action of the sovereign, the people had welcomed Royal privilege when it passed from the Crown to the Minister to be held in trust for the nation. With the growth of democracy the actual power of the Crown was increased, but its exercise was altered. Old prerogatives were revived, and new were granted, till the English executive has now become legally the most powerful Government in the world. Sovereignty, Sir William Anson has said, now lies in the Cabinet. Through the nineteenth century the head of the Cabinet had no formal recognition as such among his fellow-citizens, and in the case of Gladstone, for example, stood in the social order as a commoner with the sole rank of a privy councillor. For the first time the Prime Minister was given a status by royal proclamation of Edward VII., that he should henceforth share the dignity, as ancient as the British Constitution, of the two Archbishops and the Lord Chancellor, in taking precedence, after the Royal Family, of the officers of the Household and the whole peerage.

1905

*The new
House of
Lords*

Meanwhile the conflict of Lords and Commons was accelerated by new disputes. The Tories, who throughout the century had stood as a bulwark to guard the ancient constitution from change—a break-water to check too violent an inrush of new thought—had turned to an active policy of innovation, advocating a new fiscal system, and even beginning to move in the direction of a modified Constitution. As the sense of tradition and its ancient authority declined, the term Conservative gave place to the word Unionist, the

aristocratic conduct of the party weakened, and the most powerful influences tended to fall back from the landed to the commercial classes—a transformation typified by the choice of Mr. Bonar Law, Canadian by birth, Presbyterian by religion, and manufacturer by profession, as leader in the place of Mr. Balfour. At the same time the House of Lords, radically transformed by the frequent creation of peers from another class, and by the militant energy which followed the alliance of the Tory magnates with the Whig aristocracy and the mercantile plutocracy, had become completely identified with the new Unionist policy. Abandoning their constitutional attitude of impartial revision, the peers for the first time in their history cast their whole force invariably on the side of one political party. The old defence of the House of Lords, in which Whigs and Tories had agreed, that its function was to maintain a check on democracy, was set aside for a new theory: that the office of the Lords was to give effect to the considered will of the people, even against their parliamentary representatives. Burke had reckoned the House of Lords in his time as "by itself the feeblest part of the Constitution." "The Lower House is the ruling and the choosing House . . . the Government that can rest on it has nine-tenths of what it needs . . . the support of the Lords is an aid and a luxury": so Bagehot had recorded in 1872. Now, however, the peers claimed to be not merely a constitutional revising chamber, but as it were a political Court of Appeal; asserting the right, as guardians of the democracy, to judge of the representative value of the popular verdict at the polls, and to refuse any important alteration in the law without compelling a dissolution from which they themselves would return unchanged. Thus to all the other crowding controversies of the time there was added the menacing conflict between the two Houses of Parliament, foreseen at the Reform Act, and steadily drawing nearer for the last forty years.

"The parts of our Constitution," said Burke, "whilst they are balanced as opposing interests, are also connected as friends: otherwise nothing but confusion could be the result of such a complex Constitution." This confusion had now arisen, full of peril and disturbance to the State. The doctrine that the government held its authority from the direct will of the people had been carried beyond all precedent by Mr. Balfour's sudden resignation during the recess after hostile bye-elections. There remained the question of how the will of the people was to be discovered, and how enforced. During the last ten years no government bill passed by a Conservative House of Commons was rejected by the Lords, nor was any amendment pressed which Conservative ministers disliked. But a Liberal Government, fresh from the greatest Liberal victory since the Reform Act, found itself in four years of "rebuffs and humiliations" unable

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with
the Com-
mons

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SEC. I. to pass a single measure, even if carried by majorities of from one to two hundred, which the Conservative minority opposed. By the alliance between the peers and the Tory party, it was possible for the Tory leader in the Commons, in or out of office, to decide in consultation with the Lords the fate of any contested bill. The claim of the peers put in jeopardy the dignity of the House of Commons and the authority of representative government. The Liberal Cabinet made proposals to strengthen representative institutions by electoral reforms and short Parliaments, but their Bills, passed by enormous majorities, were uniformly rejected. The answer of the Commons, under Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, was a Resolution that the veto of the Lords must be so curtailed that the final decision of the Commons should prevail within the limits of a single Parliament. Under the new Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, the unwelcome conflict was still delayed. There were sharper retaliations, aggressions, and the stretching of privileges on both sides beyond all precedent. A government which was refused legislation in the customary way was tempted to increase, as we have seen, the legislative and judicial functions of the departments it controlled outside the House. Within the House it introduced Bills in which political matters were inextricably interwoven with financial questions. Revision of any Bill became a farce on the part of either Chamber. The rights of the subject and the rights of members of the House were crushed aside in the confusion of strife. Battle was finally joined on a question of finance. The Unionist proposal to benefit the working-classes by a protective system which, they alleged, would tax the foreigner on his manufactured goods and provide full employment for British workers, was met by the Liberal budget, which offered to find money for social reforms by a fresh incidence of taxation to fall on the unearned increment of building-land values—a value unexpectedly created by the rise of towns after the industrial revolution. Mr. Chamberlain from his sick-bed protested that the passing of this financial scheme, the Free Trade answer to Protection, must indefinitely postpone the triumph of Tariff Reform; and the Lords, claiming an impregnable position behind the ancient constitution, rejected by 350 votes to 75 the Budget which the Commons after a session of extraordinary length had passed by a majority of 230. Never in English history had such a power been exercised or even claimed. It had moreover been supposed that Gladstone in 1860 had asserted once for all the power to impose and remit taxes in such manner "that the right of the Commons as to the matter, manner, measure, and time, might be maintained inviolate." In the public excitement two elections were held within the year. The first Parliament met to repudiate any right in the Lords to throw the finance of the year into confusion, bring the administration of the country to a

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TION

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June 1907

Rejection
of the
budget

1909

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Standstill, and force a dissolution. A Bill was introduced that the House of Lords should henceforth be disabled by law from, rejecting or amending a money bill, and that for all other bills their right of veto should be restricted to a single Parliament: while the preamble stated that in due time the Upper Chamber should be reconstituted on a popular and not an hereditary basis. The Budget once more sent up was passed by the peers. The second Parliament was required to express the national consent to the Parliament Bill. As the battle developed the Lords, by a series of bills and resolutions, sought too late to meet attack by hurried schemes of reform. Renouncing the principle of primogeniture, once held as of the very essence of the Constitution, the assurance of its existence, and the basis of the English land system, they introduced a scheme of combined birth and public service, of election and nomination. They urged a right to reject or amend such financial bills as were "bills producing social and political effects," a claim which would have given them equal control with the Commons over finance. They proposed to decide contested questions by joint sittings of Lords and Commons. They desired to call for a "referendum" whenever the Lords, or a combination of malcontents in the two Houses, required the special verdict of the people on any point—a grave innovation and full of menace to the whole system of representative government. But the time for such proposals had passed. The exasperation of feeling over the rejection of the Budget had left no room for discussion or compromise. The Parliament Act was sent up to the Lords with the threat, as in 1832, that if necessary sufficient new peers would be created to overwhelm opposition. In a House packed to the doors, fevered with excitement, the result was doubtful even at the very last moment. Out of six hundred and thirty-six Peers seventy-eight Liberals voted for the Bill, and a hundred and fourteen extreme Tories against it: some fifty moderate Tories gave their votes on the Liberal side, as many as were necessary to avert the swamping of their order by the creation of five hundred new Lords. The Act was passed amid shouts of reproach and indignation such as had never been heard within that Chamber. As the clamour penetrated into the House of Commons new vociferations rang beyond the walls of Parliament, to acclaim this final proof that the supreme prerogative of forcing the Lords to yield to the will of the Commons remained in the hands of the people, and was held in trust for them by the Prime Minister, the "elect of the nation."

The House of Lords, the oldest assembly in the world, saw at once the loss of its independent power, and the doom of its ancient hereditary tradition. The full circle of change had come. Men were at last confronted with the issues foretold by opponents of the first Reform Act, that it must bring large and organic changes, and destroy

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the independence of the House of Lords, if not altogether annihilate its existence. At the second Reform Act Bagehot had warned the peers that the storm which should destroy the House of Lords would carry away with it both hereditary estates and great aggregations of property and social power : " the whole body of the Lords have an incalculably greater influence over society while there is still a House of Lords than they would have if the House of Lords were abolished." Like prophecies had attended the third Reform—"a measure which will affect the tenure and transmission of property in every form, as the other measures have affected the principle and action of political institutions."

Ireland
and the
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1910

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A change so prodigious might even at the last moment have been still deferred if the decision had been left to England alone. The difficulty of getting from the country a separate sanction for any single act of legislation was shown in the confused result of the elections of 1910, when the voters divided their interest between the Second Chamber, Tariff Reform, the Union, and a Budget raising the whole question of social legislation. In England parties stood balanced between the industrial districts and the rural counties—274 Liberals and 272 Tories, with an outlying group of 41 Labour members. Scotland and Wales supported the Government, but on different grounds. Various interpretations* were given of the verdict of the people. In this confusion of interest and balance of forces, Ireland accelerated and determined the conflict. Before they would give consent to passing the Budget, now a year delayed, the Nationalists joined the extreme Radicals in demanding that abolition of the veto should precede all other business, and that the Government should pledge itself irrevocably to carry through the Parliament Bill and leave the way open for Home Rule. By one of the revenges of history, a people cut off from self-government at home had long held power to direct and confound English politics across the sea. From 1801 to 1886 ten British Ministries fell on the Irish question. After the enactment of a Union designed in the darkest period of political reaction and panic, Irishmen had wandered among the English working-classes as missionaries of democratic liberty, had given them models of popular organization, had provided leaders to plan the first "National Trades Union," and to inspire a Chartist agitation. It was the Irish who in the Emancipation Act struck the first tremendous blow at the dominance of the Established Church, in the Tithe war at its extravagant claims to property, and in the Disestablishment Act at its political importance. In the Land question the Irish had forced the order of battle. They gave to English fanners and labourers a new motive and impetus by the spectacle in Ireland of an unrestrained landlordism, of its political and social bankruptcy, and of the power of a national movement; while they

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compelled the English aristocracy to enter the lists crippled by their alliance with an agrarian system in Ireland developed under penal laws and maintained by coercion. In fourteen years the power of the landed gentry in Ireland was shattered, and the reverberations of the battle were felt in England. The first Irish Land Act was followed by the first agitation among English rural labourers since 1834, and by a first vain attempt to give English farmers compensation for disturbance. The second Act was followed by the first lightening of the game-laws under which, Bright had told the country-people in 1845, five thousand of them were yearly fined, imprisoned, or transported; and by a more effectual compensation for farmers—with no voice now raised for "the sacred right of freedom of contract." Into the chasm that yawned between England and Ireland England had thrown, said Mr. Goschen, "concession after concession. . . . We have toppled into it great boulders of principle: we have made gigantic Parliamentary sacrifices." It was not eternal principles that had gone; it was but the form of constitution which England had established for herself before the Union, and thought to maintain unchanged after it. A century of Irish coercion obscured in the governing country Bentham's teaching of a scientific procedure and regular method of law as the subject's best protection, and allowed to creep into popular opinion a notion of legal administration as a course of discretion, and of resistance to law as carrying with it no crime. Ireland cost the Commons loss of old liberties through the "rules of debate" to carry coercion, the closure to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and the guillotine to enact a perpetual Crimes Act, and to force the Commission for the Parnell trial. The system of two-party government, which England had evolved to suit her own conditions, was overturned in the more complex State created by the Union, when the Irish Party, representing separate interests, became the model for new groups. Irish passion was enlisted against their old antagonist the House of Lords, to which their people had ever appealed in vain, and within a generation the hereditary authority of the aristocracy was broken and the dominant power of their House. Before the union of the Irish people with the working classes of Great Britain fell the ascendancy of primogeniture and the power of great estates, shaking to its foundations the old English Constitution. Ireland had not ceased to put in question her relations under the Union with Great Britain, and to rend English parties by her reiterated demand of Home Rule. A fourth attempt in the course of twelve years was made to solve the problem, by a scheme of Devolution embodied in an Irish Councils Bill; and when this was overthrown as inadequate, it was followed by a new Bill to restore an Irish Parliament and Executive responsible to it, which now stands before Parliament. Such a project of Home Rule has opened discussion,

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not only of a new government for Ireland, but of a Federal Constitution for all the members of the United Kingdom. The great Earl of Chatham in the eighteenth century had repeatedly refused to entertain the idea of a Union which must deluge the British legislature by an addition of Irish peers and commoners. It would not be easy for modern observers to say which class ultimately proved the most dangerous to the old balance of the State.

Thus the Irish/flinging into England their separate problems and their imported energies, might accelerate or even deflect its progress, and confuse the grave political issues of the United Kingdom and the Empire. But, as we have seen, the steady movement of the English people towards the full accomplishment of democratic self-government had pressed on through the century by its own resistless force. The main achievement of that hundred years on the people's side had not been the lessening of suffering (however great that was), but rather the lifting of every rank into the dignity of full citizenship, till the people of Great Britain stood forth as the foremost pioneers in the world of popular government. The instinct of self-government, fostered and trained among the voluntary associations of the working-classes, developed in the middle-classes through local administration in town and country, and reaching on to the control of Parliament and Cabinets, has been far beyond the power of Ministries to check or to direct. While governments and parliaments hovered on the edge of the future in an uncertain opportunism, unable to foresee their destination, the revolution of the last century pursued its unchanging course, whatever might be the ignorances, perplexities, or projects of men. Among English leaders in that age, of change Gladstone alone may be said by his personal energy to have compelled the events of his time and left on them the mark of his dominating will; forcing England into the centre of the torrent, to learn the full power and velocity of the popular and national demand. The efforts of political parties indeed have not turned aside the current; it has broken them. It turned the Tories into Conservatives, and the Conservatives into Unionists, while they seek a more permanent name. It turned Whigs into Liberals, and Liberals into Radicals, about to fall into new groups. Labour has offered to all in turn its formidable alliance. All classes, overwhelmed by changes unprecedented in English history, have been moving among issues hidden and unknown. The landlords of a hundred years ago, engrossed in their scientific cultivation and their enclosures, felt no warning that a system which broke down among the rural labourers the old hereditary attachment to the ancestral cottage and the village common, and turned the yeoman into a hired labourer, was to end in the doom of their ancient House of Lords. If the political Economy of the day was justified, the Tory principle of heredity

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and the pride of ancient rights was severed at its deepest roots in the national life. So also the plutocrat saw no omens in the future from the huge accession of personal power brought to him by the industrial revolution. Wealth indeed might accumulate while the master-craftsman and the journeyman were alike joined to the undistinguished mass of hired workers ; but the solidarity of these life-long wage-earners in their multiplied necessity, "and in the effort to recover power over their own lives, has created a new House of Commons, the end of whose present transformation we cannot foretell. If the Upper Chamber has to discover a power of impartial revision, the Lower Chamber has still to find safeguards for the free and independent expression of the will of the people through freely chosen representatives. The past offers no guidance in such problems of the future. Never perhaps in English history has the reverence for tradition fallen so low, nor has pride in the ancient State been abandoned with so little questioning. Conservative classes who a century ago upheld the English Constitution as a well-nigh perfect creation of man are now eager advocates of revolutionary change. The labour world, refusing to accept the tradition of those who claim their title of rights from the past, asserts a power of the people based on the foundations of the present, and declares the millions of the nameless and obscure to be the true and veritable framers of the new world. Dangers that shadow the advance into the future are contemplated with the unquestioning confidence of men who have behind them a long tale of difficulties surmounted : they count on the discipline of their trained organizations, on the habit of public work, on the enlargement of the corporate sense of common interests and responsibilities, to carry democratic government through the perilous tests that lie before it. It may be by a virile self-confidence, or it may be by the new-bred habit of change, that men find emancipation from the concentrated devotion and anxious fears which swayed an older House of Commons when it was threatened with a breach of its privileges : "there were a hundred weeping eyes, many who offered to speak being interrupted and silenced by their own passions."

1628

A hundred years ago when the call of great principles was sounding, and insurgent masses were storming the gates of freedom, there were impassioned poets to inaugurate the passing of darkness and triumph of a new age. As the century advanced, the militant note disappeared amid the general prosperity, and the satisfaction of the middle-class in the liberty and progress they had achieved for themselves was reflected in a gentler poetry, where the tone of revolt was no longer heard. In later years when the idea of equal liberty and opportunity for all citizens was secured in theory by the common consent, the national task became one of elaborate detail, of mechanical

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adjustment so as to give effect to accepted doctrines. The aspect of life took on a duller hue. Material considerations filled the foreground, and the very mass of detail blotted out from view the enthusiasms and passions of the earlier fight for glowing ideals of freedom. Literature was not concerned with such details of humdrum toil. But if inspiring motives of action shine with a lesser brilliance in the material business of to-day, the range of moral ardour and conviction has gained with the ever-increasing number of devoted workers in the public cause, and with the incessant effort and vigilance demanded in these years of preparation for the next scene in the great transition. At no time in the history of England were the issues of constitutional changes so momentous, or the claims so great on the wisdom and mutual allegiance of the English people. The defection of any class may ensure failure. If it is left to the working population alone to supply the higher impulse and the driving power for progress, if the demand for a larger measure of material comfort and ease is pursued without intellectual insight and direction, if it is met only by distrust and reaction on the part of the wealthy and leisured classes, if these fail to infuse into modern civilization a finer intelligence of social interests, all alike will have had their share in the triumph of materialism. We are approaching dangers foreseen by a great ruler of a free people, President Lincoln : " It has long been a grave question whether any government, not too strong for the liberties of the people, can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies." The world has yet to see how many trials, catastrophes, and rebirths lie before the peoples who are determined to discover the ultimate secret of human liberty.

Section XX.—Foreign and Colonial Policy, 1815 to 1914.

The new
age

After Waterloo the social and political progress of Britain was no longer carried on under the old national conditions, and the influences that were shaping the new England were profoundly changed. As at the end of the war she took her way over the great oceans, and detached herself from European affairs, interest in continental thought also declined, and its higher literature had perhaps less effect on the English mind than in any former century ; till with the passage of a hundred years it was revealed how deep were the ignorances of the country as to the vital forces which were about to transform the European scene. Two conflicting streams of political influence

meanwhile were perpetually beating on the island from the farthest places of the world, as the empire extended over a fifth of the globe. The ever-increasing number of administrators from distant dependencies, trained on lines of paternal government by a higher race, carried back an experience and a habit of mind opposed to the democratic tendencies at home. On the other hand was the unceasing pressure from the colonial democracies, where the great wind of freedom swept with violence, overturning old conventions—a pressure whose vigour England now begins to understand. With the congress of Vienna in fact England entered on an age vast and crowded beyond any that had gone before, incomparable in its tangled complexity ; and to meet new emergencies her whole foreign and colonial policy was recast.

There ended in 1815 an era of war and revolution which had lasted for nearly thirty years. The nineteenth century opened amid unwonted disorder; boundaries had shifted like the sands ; there were thrones without sovereigns, and sovereigns without thrones. Faced by this aftermath of a desperate conflict, statesmen had to effect the reconstruction of a continent where the people were powerless, bewildered, and inert. The time proved unpropitious for the conclusion of a lasting peace. Passion burned fiercely, distrust was rife ; questions of boundaries, indemnities, and safeguards absorbed attention. Calm consideration was prevented by the return of Napoleon from Elba. The Congress of Vienna concluded its work in haphazard fashion, and a series of treaties were hurriedly sealed. Kant had propounded a project for perpetual peace, and the Emperor of Russia, Alexander I., had suggested the establishment of a general system of public law, but with the renewal of strife which ended at Waterloo all such schemes were brushed aside. Our representative, Lord Castlereagh, who had hoped for a permanent Concert, rejected an international police ; he foresaw that it must be mainly Russian, and feared lest Alexander should prove a second Napoleon. Statesmen were divided in interests ; though a declaration of the congress announced the abolition of the slave-trade, " the affair of the negroes," as Talleyrand called it, was postponed through the jealousy entertained of our sea-power and the distrust of our claims to a right of search. Talleyrand, the most experienced and subtle diplomatist of the time, took advantage of the general mistrust to press his definition of a "legitimate" government as one whose possessions had an historic basis ; by this means the Bourbons were restored in France, in Spain, and in Naples, and the "people were penned like so many cattle." The doctrine ignored nationality and destroyed the hopes of smaller nations, who, having helped to overthrow the common tyrant, were made once again the victims of dynastic ambitions. The dreaded national unity of Germany was set back by forming a loose Confederation of thirty-1

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nine German states under the leadership of Austria, who was to hold the perpetual presidency in the federal Diet of Frankfort, closing the way to national union or to a strong central government ; thus the Catholic south and Protestant north were thrown into antagonism, and Prussia was driven into her fifty years' contest with Austria for the headship of the German people. Finns were handed over to Russia, Norwegians to Sweden, Belgians to Holland ; Italians were left subject to Austria, or to the temporal power of the Pope, and the Poles remained the victims of an iniquitous partition. The fire of revolt was stamped out, though some small sparks escaped the trampling of the feet.

**England
and
Europe**

Under Castlereagh's guidance England was connected more closely with the continent than ever before or since. In the wars with the French Republic she had frankly allied herself with the principle of reaction ; but the later struggle of Napoleon was of a more complex character, when side by side with the insistence of despotism had arisen movements of national life in Germany and Spain, bringing elements of Liberalism into the new conflict. After Waterloo, however, the triumph of reaction was complete. England at the Congress of Vienna raised no protest on behalf of the subject nationalities, she helped to restore the Pope to temporal power, allowed the worst forms of clerical reaction in Italy and Spain, and admitted the petty despotism of the German settlement decreed by Prince Metternich, the Austrian Chancellor. She was pledged to the Bourbon monarchy; for Louis XVIII., smuggled back to the throne "in the baggage of the Allies," was imposed on the French by British soldiers, and ruled on the lines of our constitution. But in spite of failures, the Congress had accustomed men to talk of a Concert of Europe, and thus set a precedent for later hopes. For seven years the effort persisted to direct the relations of the European peoples and the fortunes of the various states by common action of the great powers. But two imminent dangers threatened the Concert. The passion for liberty, the ceaseless protest of peoples condemned to servitude, which had been the motive force of the revolution, was ready to break forth anew, intensified by faith in national rights. But this danger was less feared by European governments than the menace of England herself—an England lying outside the continental circle, individualistic and self-dependent, with her outlook far beyond the bounds of Europe. Great Britain was indeed the first to break from the European circle; she was the strong forerunner of a new imperialism which in the following century was to spread among the nations, shattering the European concert and overthrowing the balance of European powers by the ambition of world-empire.

**Empire
and Sea-
power**

From the Napoleonic wars England had emerged with so gigantic a reputation for sea-power that for a hundred years no country

ventured to challenge her navy. To her older possessions the wars of the Revolution had added Heligoland in the North Sea ; in the Mediterranean a new footing at Malta ; in the Indian Ocean the Cape Colony, the island of Mauritius, and Ceylon, with its land-locked harbour of Trincomalee; while Trinidad and Demerara gave her valuable stations in South America. After the peace Singapore was annexed, and a series of wars added Lower Burmah and Assam. While conquest was pushed forward in the East to establish secure frontiers, to quell border tribes, or to protect missionaries and traders, a second empire was being created by the colonization of new territories hitherto untouched by white traders, as in Australasia, or by peopling vacant lands in Canada and South Africa, where French and Dutch had already led the way. Five thousand colonists were sent to South Africa, and with the annulling of old restrictions imposed when soldiers were needed at home, a long line of emigrants escaped from poverty and tyranny to the lands overseas. Cobbett noted that already under George IV. the word " empire " began to replace " kingdom," and the title " sovereign " that of " king " : and papers which had once been " submitted to the King " were now " laid at His Majesty's feet." On the seas England alone owned as many trading vessels as all other ' nations together, while her harbours were the international market for the produce of the outer world. Every bale of Australian and South African wool passed through London : all Europe took its cotton from Liverpool: manufactures from Lancashire looms were poured out over India. The tea of China, the tropical produce of the East and West Indies, the riches of South America, were carried in English ships. For the protection of these world-wide interests every route was guarded, every point of vantage watched. At the outlet of the North Sea Belgium, the old " counterscarp of England," was no less jealously observed than the coast of Ireland ; it was the same in every country on the European seaboard. Lisbon was a naval base of the first importance, for the routes to Brazil and to the Cape and the defence of Gibraltar ; Spain had traditional rights in Morocco, commanding the entry to the Mediterranean ; Naples held the passage of the narrow seas ; Austria controlled the commerce of the Levant; Turkey, as lord of Egypt and Syria, commanded the routes to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, by which the sea-borne trade of India poured into the Mediterranean. But no power was feared like Russia, as she advanced towards the passes of Afghanistan or, pressing southwards over the Caucasus, threatened to intercept the trade of the Persian Gulf, where for three hundred years English ships had policed, for a distance greater than that from Plymouth to Gibraltar, those distant waters lying between fiery stretches of desert gaunt and sun-scorched, had put down pirates, set buoys and beacons, and guarded the lines

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of her old commerce with Persia and the direct way to the harbour of Karrachi and Bombay. England was forced to recognize that her existence depended on the sea. The industrial revolution which had transformed a nation of farmers into a manufacturing people made new markets necessary for their produce and for the supply of raw material and food; and the European seas became the passage of England to the world beyond. Her vast territories, her command of the oceans, the scarcity of food for her industrial workers at home and their tumultuous discontent, all causes combined to the same end; and in the next hundred years led to the building up of the greatest dominion which it has yet come within the power of man to accomplish, and the development of a government which in its originality and variety has no example.

Castlereagh

1814-1822

In the European settlement meanwhile Castlereagh, architect of peace, was resolved that no accident should destroy the fabric. At the Congress of Vienna his just and sober attitude made a considerable impression, and he was admired for his dignity of manner and simplicity of dress. Though some foreign statesmen accused him of fear of parliamentary criticism and of British disregard and misunderstanding of continental affairs, he was in fact, as conciliator and arbiter, the most effective guardian of the peace of Europe. He furnished the Congress with a plan of action, and enforced on Europe the Grand Alliance of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. In Castlereagh's view peace, the first necessity of Europe, was to be secured by a just equilibrium of states, by the support of those powers whose exertions had "saved Europe," and by indulgence even to the offending peoples. It was his desire to bind together the great powers with a more enduring sanction than a treaty, and pledge them by a general accord and guarantee to unite their arms against any mutineer or disturber of the continental settlement. His hopes were thwarted when Austria, Russia, and Prussia joined in a pact of Christian sovereigns designed by the visionary Alexander I. In the "sublime mysticism" of the Holy Alliance the dogmas of religion were mingled with the elements of Rousseau's Social Contract; the princes were to be as brothers, their peoples as their children, and their acts founded on the principles of the Gospel of Christ. At periodical meetings they were to consider salutary measures for the repose and prosperity of the nations and for the peace of Europe. The grandiose intentions of the Alliance were soon perverted. Despotism was provided with the garment of religion, and under the cloak of Christianity Metternich attacked constitutional and national aspirations. He stifled Alexander's Liberal sympathies by playing on his fears; the conversion of the Tsars was rendered more easy by acts of violence—a riot of students at the Wartburg, the murder of a Russian agent in Saxe-Weimar, the assassination of the Due de Berri, and the Cato Street conspiracy.

1815

1817

1818

1820

At each successive outbreak Metternich strengthened the system by which he strangled Liberalism in its cradle ; he suppressed the gatherings and dissolved the societies of students, forbade their songs and the wearing of their colours, and sent his secret police to invade the lecture-rooms of the Universities. Castlereagh, convinced that our constitution satisfied every need, was determined not "to let his country burn for the sake of a few poets." But while England exercised at home the utmost rigour, she used, as Metternich said, "two weights and two measures," and where her interests were involved condemned extreme repression abroad. The Holy Alliance had agreed that in case of a revolution a German State could invoke help from the armed forces of the whole confederation—a measure which caused a speaker in Parliament to picture the day when Hyde Park would be crowded with Cossacks to prevent the agitation for reform. But when the lesser German states were threatened, Castlereagh's protests were precise ; he could not allow his sovereign to connive at the overthrow of Liberal constitutions in Germany, since George IV. was also king of Hanover, the gate through which the German markets were supplied with English goods. On the other hand he declined to defend the constitutional hopes of the Neapolitans against the special interest claimed by Austria in Italian affairs. His attitude to the Alliance was one of deprecation rather than protest, and there were Whigs who grumbled that England was reduced to the position of a second-rate power.

Castlereagh's first concern in fact was for the British Empire, whose power had excited enemies and rivals on every side. He had inherited from Pitt a lively jealousy of Russia, and his suspicions were quickened by reports of her designs on Asiatic Turkey and her intrigues at Madrid, threatening two main centres of English influence in the Mediterranean ; in every maritime and colonial question Russia raised her hostile challenge. France was equally suspect for her relations to Spain and Portugal, and her colonial aspirations. The central powers seemed to offer an alliance against both dangers. To Prussia, the point of contact of Hanover with Europe, England looked to guard the Rhine and protect Holland, to hold the Baltic ports and the Polish frontier, and on east and west to raise an impenetrable barrier against French and Russian aggression. In hope of German support Castlereagh gave to Austria Lombardy and Venetia, and desired to give Saxony to Prussia if she would have allowed the restoration of the Polish kingdom in agreement with Austria. He would even have ceded Hanover in order to check France and Russia. Thwarted in his schemes by Russian influence over Prussia, he drew closer to Austria and France—an uncertain alliance with two powers whose interests conflicted with those of England—Austria in Naples and France in Spain. For it was Castlereagh's aim to establish English

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influence as supreme in all the peninsulas of southern Europe—a policy which he handed down to Canning and Palmerston. To safeguard the Balkans he had attempted at Vienna, though in vain, to bring the Porte into the circle of the Allied powers ; and when the Greeks revolted against Turkey he held that the only interest of England lay in maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. As regarded Italy he refused, amid much obloquy, to join the Holy Alliance in their proposed coercion of Piedmont. In the case of Spain he was prepared to defy Europe. During the wars an enfeebled Spain had lost the greater part of her possessions in South America ; one by one Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, and Peru asserted their independence, with support from the United States, who proposed to exclude Europeans from the new continent and themselves secure its wealthy commerce. Castlereagh was at all times willing to mediate between Spain and her revolted colonies, on the terms that no force should be used, that an amnesty should be granted to the people of South America, and their commerce opened to all nations, with moderate duties and a reasonable preference for Spain. The colonial empire of Spain had been an old offence to England, and her determination was fixed to secure against all rivals her own trading pre-eminence. Russia and France were vehemently hostile, and Spain sought her profit in dividing the European powers. With all the continental statesmen Castlereagh dreaded that the United States, propelled by the more ardent revolutionists, would foster new republics. He staved off American recognition of the colonies by skilfully concealing from Washington the dissensions of the powers, while he hoped that the persuasion of the Tories might win the revolted provinces for the principles of monarchy. But in his anxiety not to leave to the United States the credit and influence of first recognizing the aspirations of the colonies, Castlereagh was gradually forced along the new road of Liberalism, till he contemplated not only admitting the independence of the new nations, but even assisting constitutional revolutionists, if in no other way he could safeguard British interests. By what right, he wrote, could an English government force a population freed from an oppressive government to replace itself under the domination of that same government? When the Holy Alliance assembled at Verona to discuss the disorders in Greece, Italy, and Spain, Castlereagh protested against interference in the internal affairs of Spain, and resolved to break with the Alliance over the South American Republics. Before his death he knew that the European system which he had endeavoured to uphold was perverted and outworn.

His successor, George Canning, breaking away from the reactionary bonds of the last thirty years of English history, burst upon Europe, in Metternich's words, "like a malevolent meteor." Like Castlereagh, he was of the planters of Ireland, but to his English stock was added

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the blood of an ancient Irish race. In his defiance of despotic courts on behalf of constitutional liberty, he "inspired foreign powers with respect, domestic Tories with hatred." His brilliant personality of body and mind won to him many of the younger Whigs ; but when Canning raised his toast in the Whig Club : "The cause of civil and religious liberty all over the world," he was no mere knight-errant of freedom. If liberty was his guiding intention, he never failed to regard England's commercial interests, and followed Castlereagh in his imperial policy. Foreign statesmen distrusted the growing isolation of the English temper, a habit of thought more insular than European. "Every nation for itself and God for us all," said Canning. In a brief four years he defined the independent policy of England, and admitted the principle of national revolt. When Spain refused to admit trade with her colonies, or abate a rigid protection, Canning, who had no panic about revolution and cared little whether South American states were republican or not, decided that the commerce and maritime power of his country would gain by their complete[^] emancipation. The crisis came when the Holy Alliance, acting through Louis XVIII., restored to Spain the exiled Bourbon king, Ferdinand VII. ; and Ferdinand proposed that the powers who had made him king should call a congress to recover his American colonies. English merchants and shipowners petitioned Canning for aid, and the Whigs demanded war. He refused intervention in the Peninsula. "We had disappointed the hopes and excited the indignation of every man who loved freedom and independence throughout Europe," complained Russell. But Canning struck hard for English interests in another hemisphere. "We will trade," he said, "with the late Spanish American colonies, whether France likes it or not." He made a meeting of the Holy Alliance impossible by refusing to share or take part in it ; and he boldly accepted the policy of the United States. His open rupture of the solidarity of Europe alone made possible the declaration of the new American departure. President Monroe in his famous message to Congress recognized the southern republics, denied the continent of America to the colonization of European powers, and renounced interference of the United States in European affairs. The Monroe doctrine, vague as it was, asserted the right of South America to a deliberately chosen form of government, and certain Tories looked askance at the encouragement thus given "to every disaffected Irishman by recognizing rebellion in the New World." Canning had no such fears. First among European statesmen he accepted the independence of the South American peoples, and signed commercial treaties with the new sovereign states. "I resolved," he said, "that if France had Spain it should not be Spain with the Indies ; I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." Nor did he favour any extension of a Portuguese empire in America. When Dom Miguel was driven

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from his country it was arranged that Dom Pedro, son of John VI., should have the remote heritage of an independent Brazil, while his young daughter, Dona Maria, was maintained as queen in her unstable inheritance at home. Portugal was thus at once guarded from foreign adventure and protected in her dependent state of tutelage; and the naval base of Lisbon, so necessary for Canning's Mediterranean policy, was secured against France.

The revolution thus openly begun gave its character to English foreign policy for the coming century. The might which Nelson and the Tories had, carried to its culmination, and invested with the monopoly of sea power, was under Liberal influence mainly turned to support the cause of constitutional freedom. Englishmen recalled the promise of the Allies: "The object of the war, and of the peace, is to secure the rights, the freedom, and the independence of all nations." The Congress of Vienna left two great problems, constitutional and national, which overlap at times; and Englishmen, while they failed to appreciate or understand the new ideal of nationality, were deeply interested in political freedom. The Whigs attacked systems of government which suppressed popular liberty and checked reform. England had saved herself by her exertions, and they would now have her save Europe by her example; the words of the younger Pitt were transfused with a constitutional meaning. From 1815 England provided the political pattern for reforming states who battled for free institutions and sought to enlist her sympathy. The word Liberal crept into party politics—at first as a term of reproach, hurled at those who denied that it was the business of the smaller nations to wear "one universal grin," and who preferred a balance of power to a uniform agreement for suppression. The true Liberal, such as Brougham, saw in England and her legislature the succour and solace of the oppressed wherever tyranny was rampant. The word stood for a principle of foreign policy, identified with the struggle for self-government. At times their intervention appeared aggressive—the help proffered by a nation confident of its own security and mindful of its own importance; to continental statesmen our posture seemed capricious, while the antagonistic aims of Whig and Tory, and the ruthless coercion of Ireland, gave force to the taunt of "perfidious Albion," and to the continental comment that English doctrines of liberty were "for export." But the Whig was consistent in supporting a policy of freedom which accorded with the political spirit of the English people.

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This new spirit of sympathy with suffering peoples was lifted to a height of romantic passion in the cause of Greece. The Balkan States had long been inspired by the dream of emancipation from Turkey and of a new Byzantine Empire. Serbia was first in revolt

and, unaided by the powers, had won a measure of freedom. But as the other states were severally defeated Greece alone remained to fight, not for an empire but for a nation. She fought single-handed, for Metternich, in the name of the Holy Alliance, persuaded the Tsar Alexander to support the doctrine of legitimacy rather than that of the Cross against the Crescent. In the first war of independence Castlereagh regarded the insurrection as a matter to be left to the Turkish government. But the struggle against the Mohammedan tyrant caught the popular imagination and volunteers streamed from every country in Europe. On all sides lovers of democracy and freedom hoped that Greece would renew her ancient glories, and saw visions of an ideal republic taking shape under her clear skies. Shelley extolled the cause of the Greeks in impassioned lyrics; Byron set aside his detestation of their intrigues and jealousies, raised a considerable loan, enrolled volunteers, and sailed to Greece only to die at Missolonghi. Lord Erskine, a lover of liberty, appealed to England's honour in an eloquent pamphlet. The advanced Liberals demanded immediate intervention and accused the ministry of lowering the lofty and independent character of this country in pursuing a neutral policy which was a disgrace to Christianity and a discredit to their manhood. But Turkey had her defenders; men of the older school regarded her as an "ancient and faithful ally," and a Tory told the House that he had always found the Turks "very honest fellows, although they had a way of governing people by taking off their heads." Canning had no wish to embark on a "wild crusade," but when, to protect English commerce from lawless piracy in the Levant, he recognized the Greek flag and the Greeks as belligerents, he took the first step towards the recognition of a new nation. In the darkest hour of the Greek fortunes he sought by untiring negotiations to win Russia to the cause of her liberation, determined, as he said, to avoid war and "to save Greece through the agency of the Russian name." Such a policy foreshadowed later projects for the Balkans. It was in part the outcome of a hope that in an independent Greece, which aspired to restore the empire not of Athens but of Byzantium, there would be found an Orthodox power able to counteract Russian influence in the Turkish Empire. But Wellington, whom Canning chose as envoy to the new Tsar Nicholas I., belonged to Castlereagh's day, and carried on the tradition that the menace of Russia must be met by maintaining unbroken the integrity and strength of the Ottoman empire. The protocol he signed gave self-government to Greece, but left Turkey as suzerain. Metternich characterized the document as a "feeble and ridiculous production," but was bound to admit that it had dissolved the Holy Alliance. Austria and Prussia withdrew from such a crazy scheme: "the thicker the darkness," said a statesman, "the sooner will the meddlers in it

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break their heads." Russia, France, and England alone met at a conference in London to convert the protocol into a treaty. In the protracted anxieties of this arduous settlement Canning gave his last services to the cause of "liberty all over the world." His death came a week before the treaty was presented to the Porte, and with it ended the hope of peace and of a permanent settlement. Turks and Greeks alike refused to lay down arms, and when the ships of Russia, France, and England followed the Turkish fleet, commanded by Ibrahim Pasha, into the bay of Navarino to demand securities for peace, the aggressive movements of a Turkish fireship brought about a desultory cannonade, which developed into a naval engagement. In a few hours the Turkish fleet was sunk. The disastrous news raised a bitter conflict in England. Liberals claimed Navarino as an honest victory, a necessary consequence of the treaty of London, and a manifestation of the brilliant success which had attended the introduction of a Liberal system into foreign affairs. But the Tory government under Wellington was aghast at the tidings, and urged that such an "untoward event" should not disturb the traditional relations between Great Britain and the Porte. Canning's work was undone by the withdrawal of the English fleet. Political troubles hampered France, and Russia alone remained the guardian of the Greeks. Enraged by the disaster of Navarino, Turkey declared war upon the Tsar. After two years of desperate fighting she was forced to accept the treaty of Adrianople, through which Greece obtained her independence under the guarantee of England, France, and Russia. But the Greece for which the Bavarian prince Otto, a lad of seventeen, was provided as king, was a Greece disappointed through Wellington's determined support of Turkey of her richest province, Thessaly—a Greece but half delivered, and purposely left at the mercy of the Porte. Russia regained all her influence, and England found herself driven to the old policy from which Canning had attempted to escape. English sympathy however remained true to Greece, and thirty years later, when Otto's incompetence and errors led to his deposition, and a prince of the House of Denmark was elected as King George I., England voluntarily ceded the Ionian Islands to Greece, on condition that constitutional government should be preserved.

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Canning's work indeed could not be wholly destroyed. He stood forth as the statesman who had broken the despotism of the Holy Alliance, and supported the first national revolution against the settlement of the Congress. The task that lay before England was the endeavour to work out new principles of public action to take the place of those which had guided her regrettable alliance with the reactionary monarchs; and from the stubborn situations as they arose to hew out some sort of purpose and method for the defence and the advance of freedom in Europe. A second rising of a small nation for

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independence renewed the controversy among English statesmen as to the true direction of their continental policy. The grant of Belgium to Holland as compensation for some of her lost colonies had been designed at Vienna as a barrier to France. But the union had already broken down before inherent differences of race, religion, and language, aggravated by unequal administration. The freedom of the Scheldt and the prosperity due to expanding colonial markets failed to reconcile the Belgians, while the revolution by which the French cast out the Bourbons and installed their "citizen king" raised excitement in Brussels to the highest point. An opera teeming with revolutionary sentiment was staged amid frenzied applause, and the next day the standard of Brabant was raised. Nobles and merchants joined the popular rising and threw back the Dutch troops. Bitter disappointment awaited the king of Holland when he appealed to the five great Powers to defend the "stability of all thrones and powers" and maintain the "political system" of the Congress. The principles of the Holy Alliance failed before the revolution that blazed across Europe. Russia was faced by a national rising in Poland. Outbreaks in Brunswick, Hanover, Hesse Cassel, and Saxony, and a threat of war from France, checked Prussian aid to the Dutch. Before the end of the year Austria had to meet a revolt in Italy. France, the exemplar of the Belgian revolution, was wholly sympathetic; and England, having broken with the Holy Alliance, found herself the ally, hesitating and mistrustful, of a liberal France which had escaped from the servitude imposed on her at Vienna. Both countries felt the gravest preoccupation at the Russian protectorate of Turkey, and each desired the others help. Both needed peace, whether to secure Liberal reforms in England or to establish the new monarchy in France, and Talleyrand was determined on alliance with England whether under Whig or Tory. A common wave of thought had drawn the two peoples together, for the study of our economic conditions formed a bond between the Liberals, and Guizot, statesman and historian, had expounded our constitutional history at the Sorbonne. The "July revolution" which set Louis Philippe on the throne was a compromise not unlike that which England had framed in the Bill of Rights. By many influences the minds of the two countries had been prepared for their first partnership in the cause of liberty.

Thus secure from interference Belgium in a national congress proclaimed its independence. The question aroused in England sharp party conflict. The Tories, who had gained repose for Europe, deplored any sign of change; their prime minister, Wellington, regarded the recurrence of revolution as a "devilish bad business," and when William IV. met his first parliament, the speech from the throne threatened all disturbers of the peace. The Belgians were described

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as "revolted subjects"; the Whigs resented the phrase and ardently adopted their cause. Constitutional aspirations and foreign policy were linked together; the reform bill and the independence of Belgium became a single purpose. Hume declared that the greater portion of the people rejoiced over the revolution; Cobbett, unsympathetic to Greece, was loudly in favour of the union of Belgium with the great democracy of France; Brougham resisted interference on behalf of tyrants—"the people of England," he said, "are enamoured of their own liberties and they are friends to the liberty of others." O'Connell famous throughout Europe as orator and champion of nationality, protested that, excepting the union of Great Britain and Ireland, there was no fouler blot in the page of history than the annexation of Belgium by Holland. The Tories replied that England was bound to uphold the treaty of Vienna; a country, they said, which had so often been the arena on which the great powers of Europe decided their quarrels, "should have learned by the sad experience of former calamities to seek all other means of redress before turning to the power of arms." Had Wellington remained in office, Belgium would have found neither help nor sympathy; but within two months

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the Tories were defeated, and scarcely had the Belgian Congress met when the friends of the Reform Bill returned to power. The foreign minister, Lord Palmerston, had learned much from Canning, if he was without his passion or his genius, and under his influence the conference of the powers which had assembled in London for the settlement of the Greek question proclaimed the dissolution of the United Kingdom of Holland and Belgium. The triumph of the Anglo-French alliance was marred by jealousies and fears. Palmerston's main dread was the absorption or occupation of Belgium by France and the possibility that the accession of the Orleanist dynasty might be celebrated by a revision of the French frontier. When

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the Belgians elected as king a son of Louis Philippe, he refused to admit so close a family bond; at his warning that "our desire for peace would never lead us to submit to an affront either in language or in act," Louis Philippe withdrew his son's candidature, and a German prince, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, reigned in Belgium. Indignant at the liberal terms granted to the new king by the London conference—contrary, they said, to the "irrevocable" promises of the powers—the Dutch sent an army which in ten days overwhelmed the Belgians and occupied Liege and Louvain. French troops hastened to drive them out; but the moment the French stepped upon Belgian soil England was up in arms. No accusation was too extravagant for the Tories. They suggested that Belgian disturbances were used to prepare a way for the freedom of Ireland: "the centre of the bigoted army was in Paris," said one, "the right wing was in Brussels, while the left wing was looking on in Dublin." They demanded that all

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correspondence should be laid upon the table of the House so that Parliament might have its part in matters of peace and war. Peel protested against secrecy, though he offered to sacrifice his desire for information "in the public interest." During an angry debate Palmerston stated the constitutional functions of his office ; maintaining that decisions on war and peace belonged solely to the royal prerogative, and that any power to conduct negotiations was vested in the Crown. He therefore refused papers until the matter was settled. In this sharp conflict the cabinet, and with it the Reform Bill, were saved from defeat by Talleyrand, who dreaded the downfall of the Whigs and persuaded his unwilling government to withdraw the French troops. Belgium was established under the guarantee of the Powers as an independent and perpetually neutral State, its neutrality being made a foremost clause in the constitution. But harder terms than before were dealt out to a defeated people, stripped of part of Luxemburg and Limburg, and forced to pay dues to Holland on the Scheldt; while the Dutch refused to give up the citadel of Antwerp. Palmerston dared not let France alone drive them out, nor dared to join with her against the will of the merchants, who opposed war with Holland. William IV. meanwhile, with his "Jack Tar animosity," deplored a tendency to subscribe to democratic theories current in Paris and cursed his advisers for taking the hand of France. Only when the desperate struggle at home ended in the triumph of the Reform Bill was Palmerston strong enough to take his own way in foreign affairs. A French army at Antwerp and an English fleet in the Scheldt scourged the Dutch back "to their phlegmatic swamps," declaimed an Irish patriot, "knocked their flag and sceptre, their laws and bayonets into the sluggish waters of the Scheldt," and "on the ramparts of Antwerp" taught "the right of a nation to govern itself." But as with Greece the settlement was marred. The king of Holland long refused to recognize a free Belgium. Six years later, seizing his opportunity when its only supporters France and England had quarrelled, he persuaded the powers to enforce the harsh terms of 1831. Palmerston, who was then negotiating with Metternich, demanded immediate submission of the Belgians, and only through the mediation of France was some alleviation granted. By the treaty of London the neutrality and independence of Belgium were again placed under the guarantee of the five great powers.

The settlement of Vienna had within seven years begun to crumble under the pressure of national revolts and of rivalry for overseas commerce. In a single generation every problem which now confronts the nations had taken form. Decrees which fixed a few proprietary dynasties for Europe, and artificial boundaries for their peoples, were challenged. The Prussian Zollverein slowly broadened into a commercial agreement which included some thirty-eight

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- German States and foreshadowed the national union of Germany under Prussian leadership. At the same moment Mazzini inspired the "Young Italy" movement, and raised the banner of "Unity and Independence"; and Charles Albert came to the throne of Sardinia with a mission to end the rule of Austria. The kingdom of Russian Poland, reconstituted at Vienna from the old Duchy of Warsaw, and given by Alexander a brief hope of life, was thrust into subjection by Nicholas ; and thousands of Poles, the remnants of a nation, were dispersed through Europe to preach revolution. Magyar nationalists in the fight with Metternich turned back to their history and the memory of their heroes : "an independent nation we mean to live with our own language." In their revival of literature and tradition the Slavs were moved by a common impulse, and each isolated group of their scattered peoples felt itself to be part of a mighty race. Bohemia pointed to the example of Ireland and O'Connell as a call to national liberty. The Croatians and Southern Slavs dreamed of the "Illyria" planned by Napoleon, the home of a liberated race. In the Balkans after the Serbian example Bulgaria and the Danubian States demanded from Turkey, and in part secured, some form of autonomy and national privilege. Roumania already aimed at the union of all her peoples of Bessarabia, Transylvania, and Bukovina.
- 1826-1833 During the wars of liberation Russia made her formal entry into the Balkans as the protector of the Slavonic races as well as the head of the Orthodox Church ; with Russian influence established on the lower Danube, the monopoly of Austria disappeared, and the conflict opened between the Teutons and the Slavs for leadership of the peninsula. The "mouldering empire" of the Ottomans, shorn of a province by the Greek rising, entered on its long period of slow dismemberment and political dependence; and the threat of an independent Egypt, and the closing of the Dardanelles to foreign warships, brought Europe to the verge of war. Prussia took up her part of military instructor to the Sultan by sending to his army von Moltke with other officers, who first proposed the exploitation by Germany of Asia Minor. Beyond Europe, meanwhile, another struggle had begun, to some extent in emulation of the British Empire, for race dominion in the world. Russia had entered on her Asiatic empire : she had crossed the Caucasus, contested Armenia, and fortified the Caspian; her wares reached Lahore ; she excited suspicion and apprehension by her trade rivalry, her exclusion of British vessels from the Circassian coast, her opposition to efforts for a mail route to India by steamers on the Euphrates, her intrigues in Persia. A few years later she had pushed to the Pacific coast in Kamschatka and on the Amur. France, meanwhile, turned to Africa and the Pacific for the creation of a new colonial empire. She celebrated her resurrection from a long abasement when Louis Philippe opened
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the Arc de Triomphe and consecrated Versailles to the glorious deeds of France. Enthusiasts believed that the winning of Algeria would be to her what India was to England, and when Lord Grey demanded its evacuation, colonization was carried on half secretly to avoid hostility. The new-made "Government of French Possessions in North Africa" penetrated from the littoral to the interior, and presently menaced Morocco. "I desire the French to restore Roman Africa," said Marshal Valee; "wherever at my bidding France sets her foot, I shall form lasting stations." Since Napoleon's time she had kept watch on the gate of the East; her officers had trained the army and the navy of Mehemet Ali, viceroy of Egypt, and England feared her growing influence in this richest province of the Ottoman empire. In the Pacific her patrols, protectorates, and schemes of settlement startled England into the colonization of New Zealand. Already in Asia, Africa, and the Pacific, the European powers learned the risks of colonial rivalry, which henceforth gave to alliances a suspicious, temporary, and uncertain character; for the relations of the home governments were at best insecure while a dispute on the other side of the globe could threaten to wreck their understanding.

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In this world of universal agitation and revolution Palmerston, equally ready to make British power felt and to profit by the quarrels of other peoples, opened his vigorous policy of intervention on behalf of English interests. For thirty-five years, with but one considerable interval, he guided our foreign policy; admired by the trader, for whose glory or fortune he was prepared to throw down the gage of battle; by the sportsman, who followed his colours at Epsom or gazed on the fine horses that champed their bits outside the Foreign Office; by the democrat, who forgave a want of interest in reform to such a doughty assailant of despotism. Abroad he was looked on as a dictator—brusque, violent, and fearless. Not to count upon the foreigner, but to make the foreigner count upon England; such was said to be the programme he designed for a great industrial people protected by its isolation. Regardless of the name of "Jacobin," and of his opponents' charge that he made us "generally detested by the nations of Europe," he constituted his country the champion of the smaller states. His partnership with France in the liberation of Belgium was felt as an outrage by the Tsar, who renewed at Munchengratz with Austria and Prussia a Holy Alliance in support of "divine right" against the two powers which had "the courage to profess aloud rebellion and the overthrow of all stability." But Palmerston, pupil of Canning and Castlereagh, followed a single guiding line of policy—the imperial interests of England. He viewed with suspicion French advance in Algeria and French influence beyond the Pyrenees; incessantly on guard lest Spain should become a satellite of France and draw Portugal into her orbit, thus shutting English ships out

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of their strategic position in the Tagus. Each country had the same dynastic misfortunes—child queens crowned at the ages of three and seven and supported by Liberals, while Absolutists and Clericals rallied round the two Pretenders. In Portugal they favoured Dom Miguel; in Spain Don Carlos. After ten years of reaction, in which Spanish Liberals had suffered the vengeance of the "Society of the Exterminating Angel," followed the "seven years' war" of factions. Talleyrand thought of intervention; but Palmerston's "great stroke" was a treaty of alliance with the Liberals of Portugal and Spain which he suddenly presented to the Cabinet. With the later adhesion of France it became the Quadruple Alliance. The moral effect of the treaty, in Palmerston's boast, intimidated the pretenders. On the other hand, France saw in it a definite purpose to fetter French policy, to forbid her assertion of any authority beyond the Pyrenees, and to turn the Spanish troubles to the exclusive advantage of English power. Louis Philippe deserted his headstrong partner, while Palmerston went forward alone. Without committing his government to intervention he suspended the Foreign Enlistment Act, and a legion was raised in aid of the Liberals. Tempted by high but precarious pay, the adventurers fought with great gallantry until, destitute of stores and ill-supported by the Spaniards, they were with difficulty extricated. Exhaustion alone brought about the downfall of the Carlists and the close of the civil war. Against critics of his intervention in a domestic affair, Palmerston contended that commercial and political interests would profit by constitutional government, and claimed that he had prevented the dictation of other powers. "Spain for the Spaniards is the maxim upon which we proceed," said he, "and we considered that the independence of Spain was more likely to be secured by a government controlled by a representative and national assembly than by a government purely arbitrary." His arguments could not conceal the danger of his policy, and how gravely he had prejudiced the relations of England and France.

A new conflict intensified the French view of Palmerston as an enemy bent on checking their country at every outlet. In the east the French had long been patrons of the famous Mehemet AIL He had served with the English against Napoleon; but as Pasha of Egypt he defeated an English force that attacked Alexandria, and exhibited in Cairo an avenue of posts bearing the heads of a thousand British slain; while by the advice of the French consul the prisoners were returned without ransom. With the aid of French officers he created a navy and an army and built up a dominion from Crete to Khartoum. His powerful help alone enabled the Sultan to hold out against the Greek revolt. To exact his promised reward—the Pashalics of Damascus and Syria—he sent his son Ibrahim to conquer the whole of Syria and advance over

Asia Minor. The English envoy to the Porte, Sir Stratford Canning, a believer in the possible reform of Turkey and in a nascent Young Turk party, desired help from England; but the English fleet was occupied on the Dutch coast in defence of Belgium, nor could the French interfere, since their troops were besieging Antwerp. Mehemet might have ruled in Constantinople, but for a Russian army which landed at the Bosphorus. From the grateful Sultan the Tsar wrested the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, by which in effect the warships of every nation but his own were excluded from the Black Sea. England and France protested in vain against handing over the keys of the Black Sea to a rival power, while Turkey remained little better than "vassal to the Russian Government." On the other hand the Tsar, deeply incensed at the two revolutionary countries of the West, whom he considered outside the Concert of Europe, refused to allay their fears by communicating to England the decision of Miinchengratz which bound him to maintain the integrity of Turkey. Mehemet, meanwhile, proposing to set up his independent rule from Egypt over Syria and Arabia, stood across the two routes to India, the Red Sea, and the Euphrates valley to which the invention of steamers had given increased commercial importance. Copying Western methods, he had trifled with the idea of a parliament, but to prevent inconvenience he selected both the government and the opposition. As an industrial and commercial reformer he set up huge cotton mills, whose expensive machinery fell to pieces through want of care; and bound down every profitable industry from silk to vegetable gardens under his government monopolies. To defeat his system of protection Palmerston won from the Sultan a commercial treaty of free trade throughout the Ottoman empire, and to enforce it required the cession of Aden—a sun-scorched fort which from the crater of an extinct volcano dominated the entrance to the Red Sea—the first new territory of Queen Victoria's reign and the forecast of a greater harvest to come. The commercial treaty was the turning point of the struggle. Mehemet threatened to declare himself independent and the Sultan answered by war. A vast army (with von Moltke among other Prussian officers) hurled against Ibrahim, was annihilated in the battle of Nezib. Within six days the Sultan* was dead, and his fleet had sailed from the Dardanelles to join Mehemet AIL A year of embittered controversy followed. Palmerston had a single purpose—so to restore the old boundaries of the Turkish empire that it should remain in occupation of the roads to India. The French, on the other hand, whose influence was powerful in the eastern Mediterranean, and throughout Greece, Egypt, and Mesopotamia, saw in Mehemet an invincible bulwark against English power; believing that the Turkish empire must inevitably be dismembered, they advocated the independence of its detached provinces

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of London*

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and the union of Egypt and Syria. Casting France aside, Palmerston entered into mysterious dealings not only with Austria and Prussia but with Russia, and received the Tsarevitch in England. In the Convention of London the four powers pledged themselves to secure the integrity of Turkey by maintaining the neutrality of the Dardanelles, and required Mehemet to renounce Crete, northern Syria, and the holy cities of Arabia; if his answer was delayed for twenty days, all his other possessions might be withdrawn. As six years before Palmerston had sprung on the country a Quadruple Alliance to secure its hold on the west Mediterranean, so to protect her place in the east he now threw England into a Quadrilateral arrangement with the despotic powers under Metternich's influence. France was neither informed of the treaty nor invited to sign; she had now to choose between the desertion of her old ally Mehemet and a conflict with all Europe. The Tsar detested the government of Louis Philippe. Throughout Germany passions of hatred and vengeance sprang to life with the revival of the Napoleonic legend in Prussia, the second landing of Louis Napoleon in the moment of the most intense exasperation at the affronts of the London conference, and the bringing of the great Emperor's bones to Paris from St. Helena amid the tears and acclamations of a people. Prussia professed a fear of French revenge for 1815. The anniversary of the battle of Leipsic was in its ardent celebration like the birth of a new nation. The isolation of France gave Palmerston his opportunity. "If Mehemet Ali would not yield he must be chucked into the Nile," he declared: it was "to England's interest" that the Sultan should retake Syria and Egypt. He had already in June prepared a rising in Syria. Now, before it was possible to have an answer from Mehemet to the terms offered, he sent a fleet, aided by Austria and Turkey, to bombard Beirut. The excitement in Paris was extreme, and inflammatory denunciations of England were shouted at every street corner. "I know your king better than you," said Palmerston to a Frenchman; "he will never make war." He spoke truly. In an outburst of national rage Louis Philippe was christened "the Napoleon of Peace." Thiers was forced to resign. The fall of Acre, till then held impregnable, cut Mehemet off from Syria, and Napier sailed to bombard Alexandria. But Palmerston's pertinacity was at last checked by the intervention of France and the other powers. In a new conference of Five Powers at London Mehemet's hereditary possession of Egypt was asserted, and in spite of Palmerston's prolonged resistance and many intrigues was established; while he was presently given for his life the basin of the Nile into the far Sudan. France in vain proposed the freedom or the neutrality of the Suez and Euphrates routes, or pleaded the wretched case of the Syrian Christians thrown back under the savage rule of Turkey.

England was now the leading power in the Levant, having thrown back France and Russia and secured her way to India. In the capitals of Europe and throughout the East the fame of Palmerston resounded for his alert diplomacy and the vigour of his blow, while Englishmen in general agreed that the foiling of French policy and a naval victory had raised the honour of the country higher than it had been since Waterloo. He had, however, to meet strong opposition in Parliament. The Radicals condemned a policy which caused the "signal calamity" of a rupture with France and made England an accomplice of the "sinister motives" of Russia. Monckton Milnes cried out against "an armed people, a peace without its profits, a war without its stimulants, and without any of those circumstances which could make war tolerable." Disraeli, insisting on the value of alliance with France, declared that since 1830 England had witnessed her foreign system changed and reconstructed, while Parliament, absorbed in domestic affairs, had not a single debate to discuss the principles of her action abroad. But Palmerston never trimmed his foreign policy to the pattern of the House of Commons; his support was outside its walls. He could rely on the traditional hatred of France. He caught the ear of the people, and flattered them by his assertions of the power of Great Britain. They loved his racy speeches and the boasts of his least scrupulous intrigues. "How was it we did drive him out of Syria?" he told his constituents. "Merely by giving a few muskets to the people of the country; by sending a few hundred marines on shore to aid them and saying, 'Go it, my boys; if you want to get rid of Mehemet Ali, here we are to back you; if you intend to act, now's your time.' They took us at our word; they kicked him out neck and crop, and his army too; they hailed us as their deliverers." Later years were to show the cost of Palmerston's success. The Ottoman empire was now under the joint protection of all the great powers; henceforth it would be the battlefield of them all. Mehemet Ali ruled in Egypt by the will of Europe—a new diplomatic situation. The case of the Syrian Christians held already the menace of a great war. An attempt by the Porte at internal reform succeeded at least in organizing a powerful military force against the Christian subjects. As for the neutrality of the Dardanelles, in a dozen years the fleets of France and England, whatever the protocol might say, were to pass into the Black Sea. Russia, fully sensible that it was through England she had lost the position won in 1833, was determined to regain her predominant influence at Constantinople, even if she had to break with her dangerous ally. Another sinister change appeared in Europe from the moment when France, betrayed by England, turned to Austria; for Prussia, threatened on her western and southern frontiers by the alliance she most feared, prepared her weapon for self-defence by closer

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union of the German states. All Europe was convulsed with fears and ambitions, and a settlement of the "Eastern question" in which each power, with narrow and short-sighted outlook, was bent on its sole interests, regardless of the ultimate peace of the continent—such a settlement could only be the prelude of new wars to come.

There was a change in foreign policy when the Liberals fell, defeated on a budget which attempted some concessions to free-traders. Since Wellington the Tory policy was that of peace and friendliness to the autocratic sovereigns of the Continent. Sir Robert Peel, the new premier, inculcated on his ministers "strong aversion to extension of territorial responsibilities, and a frank admission of the equal rights of foreign countries." Reversing the system of Palmerston, which he abhorred, he introduced relations with foreign powers more sedate and conciliatory. A series of disputes into which Palmerston had entered with the United States were settled so as to secure American friendship. Since 1812 relations had been courteous; the two countries had joined hands over the Monroe doctrine; the Ashburton-Webster treaty solved an old dispute dating from 1783 over the frontier of Maine and New Brunswick, and other misunderstandings, and Peel's proposals stilled the cry for war over the boundary of Oregon. In Europe the Queen's favourite minister, Lord Aberdeen, had but a lukewarm sympathy with oppressed nationalities, and saw no bulwark against war save the treaties of Vienna; under him England drew to a better understanding with Austria and Prussia. Intent on resuming good relations with France, he refused to regard the clamour of rage when a French admiral, exceeding his instructions, annexed Tahiti, or when the French war in Algiers widened into Morocco and threatened the transport trade between Tangier and Gibraltar. Louis Philippe, uneasy about the security of his throne, welcomed the renewal of English friendship, marked by two meetings with Queen Victoria in France, and a visit to Windsor. An attempt was made towards a joint settlement of the perennial problem of the Spanish succession; the young Queen Isabella was allotted to a Bourbon prince, and her sister to the youngest son of Louis Philippe, provided that an heir to the throne was previously born*. But the chosen Bourbon was so depraved and effete that the accidents of revolution or lack of issue might have given the throne to the grandson of Louis Philippe. Three years of sordid intrigue came to a sudden end when Palmerston returned to power, with his known determination to prevent the Orleanist alliance. Spain and France—alike alienated by his dictatorial dispatch on the marriages, which directed the Spanish government to abandon at once arbitrary rule and return to the ways of the constitution—agreed to have the two marriages **celebrated on the same day.**

Once more Palmerston had severed the understanding between England and France. Alarmed at the growth of a republican party, Guizot restricted the freedom of the press and of meetings; while, as if by contrast, Palmerston extended his patronage broadcast to Liberal ideas. He sent a mission of sympathy to Italian States struggling for reform, hoping in fact to counsel prudence and to check the wearing of the red cap of liberty—"to teach diplomacy," scoffed Disraeli, "to the country where Machiavelli was born." His action led to an alliance between Metternich and Guizot when the people of Switzerland broke into revolution. Seven Catholic cantons threw off their allegiance to the Federation, formed the Sonderbund, and appealed to arms; on their defeat by the Federal Diet in a brisk campaign, Guizot endeavoured by means of a European Conference to bring about intervention in favour of the Catholics. But Palmerston, upholding the right of the Swiss nation to control its own affairs, did little to further the Conference until the war was at an end. The powers were soon engaged with greater issues, for in a few months the example of Switzerland was universal. "Liberty," said Bright, "is on the march." Nationalists and democrats asserted their claims throughout Europe. The risings began in Sicily, and every post brought news of a revolution or a dethronement. Radicals and republicans expelled the house of Orleans, and Louis Philippe fled to our shores; Metternich escaped to London in fear of his life; the Emperor Ferdinand abdicated, and was succeeded by Francis Joseph who links the revolution of 1848 with the war of 1914. Encouraged by this turmoil the Magyars revolted, and within a year Louis Kossuth had proclaimed the independence of Hungary. The Czechs rallied the "South Slavonic nations," and the Slav congress at Prague, and the Croats at Agram, demanded their constitutional rights; Rome ejected the Pope, and Mazzini and Garibaldi set up a Roman Republic. Sardinia endeavoured to drive the Austrians from the north of Italy; Prussia demanded a constitution. Of the great powers England alone, confident in such political and economic freedom as she had won, afforded a shelter to the refugees, king, statesman, and revolutionist alike. Beyond this Palmerston remained a "passive spectator"; intervention would have had no limit, and common action was impossible. At length authority gained the upper hand, and rebellion was slowly crushed. The Socialists of France tried a series of experiments, which led to disastrous conflicts, and paved the way for the rule of Louis Bonaparte. Austria defeated Sardinia at Novara; with the help of Russia, she drove Kossuth from the plains of Hungary, and forced him to take refuge in Turkey. The Republicans were thrust out of Rome. For nearly two years panic and violence possessed every court in Europe and reigned

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*Don
Pacifico
debate*

in every mob. Though Great Britain sternly held down a famine-stricken Ireland, and suppressed the Chartist, Palmerston was not indifferent to the Liberals of other nations; he supplied arms to the Sicilians, protested against Russia's intervention in Hungary, and denounced the atrocities of Austria. No answer was sent when the Austrian minister, in a pungent retort to Palmerston's admonitions, reminded him of "unhappy Ireland" and of the empire throughout whose vast extent England was accustomed to maintain "the authority of law, were it even at the price of torrents of blood. It is not for us to blame her." From advice Palmerston proceeded to action. When the despots tried to force the Sultan to expel Kossuth and the Hungarian refugees, the British fleet was sent to demonstrate in support of Turkey. To admonish King Otto for his hostility to Turkey and friendship for France and Russia, he diverted the fleet to the Piræus and exacted exorbitant compensations for a strip of land taken from Finlay, the historian, and for the depredations of a mob in the house of Don Pacifico, a Jew born in Gibraltar. The protests of France and Russia, our co-guarantors of the kingdom of Greece, were alike neglected, and war appeared possible. A violence so overbearing was repudiated by the Lords, and their censure compelled Lord John Russell to discard his foreign minister, to justify his policy, or to resign. A motion was brought forward expressing confidence in the spirit and principle upon which our affairs were conducted; "its defeat," said Russell, "would inspire joy in the hearts of all the lovers of despotism, and all the haters of liberty throughout Europe." Palmerston's work for the past twenty years was reviewed in all its phases. The Conservatives abjured "the alluring and dangerous doctrine" of intervention, and affirmed that Palmerston's interference was capricious; they attacked his provocative language, declaring that by encouraging "what were called Liberal principles," he "paved the way for Jacobinism and anarchy, which eventually led to reaction." England's mission, said Gladstone, was not that of a "universal schoolmaster": he denied to any one country a position of peculiar privilege, and raised the debate to a higher plane when he associated all Europe with the obligations of Christendom. Peel, unconscious that he was addressing the House for the last time, denounced aggressive diplomacy as costly and mischievous, and asserted that constitutional liberty was best ensured by the efforts of those who aspired to freedom. Russell in reply defended intervention: "Besides the general interest of mankind," he said, "it is our particular interest with regard to Europe that freedom should be extended." A display of enthusiasm beyond example in that generation burst forth at the premier's closing words: "So long as we continue the government of this country, I can answer for my noble friend that he will act not as the minister of Austria, or as the minister of Russia, or of France, or of any other country,

but as the minister of England." But the most vigorous defence came from Palmerston himself, who appealed confidently to the principles of justice and freedom which had actuated his general policy. Denying that the Greek affair was a matter of intervention, he claimed that the Briton abroad, "whether his house be a palace or a cabin," should have the protection of the flag, rather than submit to the indifferent justice of foreign tribunals. He invoked the remembrance of Roman citizenship, and affirmed that "a British subject, in whatever land he may be, shall feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect him against injustice and wrong." The cheers which greeted his bold peroration echoed throughout the land ; the vote of confidence was carried and Palmerston's popularity assured.

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It was in this debate that Richard Cobden appeared as pioneer of that school of thought which embodied the doctrines of Kant and the aims of the Congress of Vienna. Cobden possessed a considerable, though biassed, knowledge of foreign affairs ; he had studied the Egyptian question while Mehemet Ali was still a power ; had visited America and Prussia ; had discussed the state of Ireland with Metternich, and economics with Bastiat ; he was an active member of the peace conferences held in Paris and Frankfort ; and was an advocate of arbitration. In the Greek debate he displayed a "sovereign contempt for diplomacy" with its superfine distinctions of terms ; had the people, he said, been fully acquainted with the contents of the blue-books, they would have subscribed the money necessary to compensate British subjects in Greece, rather than coerce a small country. "If I have one conviction stronger than another," he declared, "it is in favour of the principle of non-intervention in the domestic concerns of other nations." His hopes were centred in international law ; since it was seldom easy to be sure of the rights of a quarrel in foreign countries, and the heat of contention, and the platforms of "ignorant and excitable constituencies," were the worst time and place in which to arrive at a correct judgment. The keystone of his political arch was free trade. On that he based his confidence, and regarded the exchange of goods as an object-lesson in the benefits and practice of peace. He brought the aspirations of the Abbd de St. Pierre into the House of Commons, and though he reluctantly admitted war in defence of honour and interests, he looked forward to a day when it should become as obsolete as the duel. Towards this consummation the English people were to lead the way. "It is precisely because Great Britain is strong in resources, in courage, in institutions, in geographical position," he wrote, "that she can before all other Powers afford to be moral, and to set the example of a mighty nation walking in the paths of justice and peace." But peace had to contend with many enemies ;

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and Cobden lived to see slavery abolished by force of arms in the country which next to his own he regarded as a pattern to the world. While he was at the height of his power, Italy was still a "geographical expression," and the German empire was a medley of races preparing for unity through a policy of "blood and iron." Cobden ignored the danger of being unarmed in a world of armaments. His theories were stoutly assailed. "Whatever can be called principle in the Manchester school," said a politician,* "depends upon the price of cotton"; and Tennyson ridiculed "the huckster" who would put down war. More cogent was Disraeli's criticism that it was madness to think of universal peace because America and England were rich and prosperous, since "wars are made not by the powers which are contented and satisfied, but by the race or prince who agitates for a position." But a peace party steadily grew, educated either on economic lines by Cobden, or by a friend of humanity like the Quaker John Bright; and foreign policy had henceforth to reckon with criticism from the standpoint of ethics. The Liberals held fast their right of interference for Liberal ideas, the Conservatives advocated peace with security, but the Radicals unfurled a new banner, inscribed with a message of goodwill between nations, and endeavoured to give effect to international law.

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The Manchester school built vain hopes of peace on the success of the Great Exhibition, and on the sudden downfall of Palmerston from the height of his triumph. For the last four years he had been in conflict with the court, where the Queen asserted a new authority in the direction of foreign affairs, and where all influences were German in character and reactionary in sentiment. Palmerston's neglect to submit to the sovereign the final drafts of his dispatches; his high-handed rebuffs to Austrian, Greek, and Prussian ambassadors; his open sympathy with Louis Kossuth, had already offended the Queen, the Prince Consort, and the Premier. At length, without the consent of his colleagues, he gave official approval to Louis Napoleon, whose *coup d'état* had made him President of the French Republic. Palmerston believed the new ruler to be no despot, but willing to restore constitutional government. He foresaw in him one of the dominant forces of the next generation, and in face of dangers threatening England's policy in the East a power whose support she would need. From the court and the cabinet came angry demands for a foreign minister who could act "without offering the right hand to rampant despotism, and the left to democratic conspirators," and Palmerston was dismissed. His downfall was regarded throughout Europe as equally grateful to despots and dangerous to liberalism. Russell's government survived his resignation for a few weeks only, and his successor Lord Derby fell a few months later. As the panic spread that France under the new despotism would become once

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more a powerful military state, a war-fever swept through the country, and Wellington's last speech in the Lords, in support of the Militia Bill to arm England against a new Napoleon, marked the height of the agitation. Before the year was out however Queen and ministers were obliged to reverse their policy, and to give public recognition to Napoleon III. as Emperor of the French. The court soon found that the fallen minister had not lost his influence. Palmerston had left a tradition which criticism could not destroy, and the lapse of time cannot wholly obscure. Since England was to him the champion of justice he interpreted intervention as a right, and was always on the side of the people when democracy and despotism fought out their battles abroad. When a mob of draymen at a brewery assaulted Haynau, "the butcher of Hungary," Palmerston laughed at the outrage, and prepared so haughty an explanation for the Austrian Ambassador that Russell was forced to tone it down. The Radicals, who presented addresses to Louis Kossuth, with "too much gunpowder" for Cobden and too much "knight-errantry" for Bright, knew that Palmerston had dismayed the government by proposing to receive Kossuth, and had allowed a deputation at the Foreign Office to denounce the emperors of Russia and Austria as odious assassins. So complete were the admiration and trust won from the Radicals by his democratic sympathies, that his colleagues as a whole preferred to cling to the coach rather than dispense with a reckless driver. The middle class saw in "Pam" a statesman prepared at all hazards to defend their country's rights; and the merchant repaid the minister by earning a reputation for commercial integrity. Though the Queen was convinced that he exposed the court to constant risk of alarming complications, there came a time when she realized that her later advisers obliged her to take the military measures which Palmerston refused to threaten. He accorded well with an age in which violent action and humanitarian sentiment contrived an odd companionship: they met in what he looked upon as his "greatest achievement," the forcing of the Brazilians to give up their slave-trade. Though at times opposing arbitration, as contrary to our honour, he suggested a treaty with the United States by which, if a quarrel arose, the two nations should have recourse to the mediation of some friendly Power. At the same time he saw that our navy and our colonies excited such jealousy that it would be difficult to discover impartial arbiters. Even as a staunch free-trader, he had no delusions as to perpetual peace in a world untuned to its reception. Unlike Cobden he would arm first and talk afterwards; he exhorted his country to remember that England, unarmed and unprepared, betrayed her friends, proved unjust to herself, and was unworthy of her mission. The flag was in his eyes an emblem of freedom, and a guarantee of protection. "I look only to the honour and advantage

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of England," said Palmerston frankly, "and to what offers the fairest prospect of extending her commercial relations, and the system of her influence and power."

Since the great peace the foreign policy of England had been guided according to principles of party, Whig or Tory. But in the confusion and general disruption which followed Peel's acceptance of free trade, the breaking of all ties of party allegiance, and the failure of traditional rules left Russell's ministry without solid support—"a government on sufferance." After its fall the Conservatives lingered a few months in office, till they in their turn were displaced by a coalition of Whigs and Peelites under Lord Aberdeen. Palmerston was relegated to the Home Office, while Russell, and after him Clarendon, conducted foreign affairs. With opposing ideals, and distracted by dissensions, the ill-assorted Cabinet made a sincere effort for the next two years to guide the country through an uneasy period of transition. Within a year the ministry had involved England in a great war, and broken the forty years' peace. The problem of the Ottoman empire, half buried ten years before, was rising in a more ominous form. The Tsar Nicholas believed that the time had now come to recover the predominant position in Turkey which he had won at Unkiar Skelessi and lost at the Conference of London. • An excuse for acting was at hand. Since 1774 Russia had claimed the right to protect the Orthodox Faith within the Turkish Empire ; dignitaries of the Greek Church guarded the tombs of the Christian kings, appointed the door-keeper for the Holy Sepulchre, or tended the roof of the Chapel of the Nativity. France, on behalf of Latin Christians in Palestine, had a claim of over twelve hundred years to similar privileges, which had been practically lost in the Napoleonic wars. Louis Napoleon, as President or Emperor, was determined to abandon none of these historic rights : and the duel between France and Russia begun at Constantinople was urged on by the clerical party, and embittered by Napoleon's anger at the Tsar's contempt for his imperial title. To give the Latin monks a key to the Shrine of the Sacred Manger, a cupboard and a lamp in the Virgin's tomb, three great powers were dragged into war. Nothing seemed more remote than the participation of Great Britain. But the government was undecided ; to support Turkey was an article of political faith, and the fear of Russian menace to the British position in India was now the dominating influence in foreign policy. The Tsar was misled by the reports of his ambassador and by the speeches of public men as to the will of England to go to war on behalf of a moribund empire ; while he himself had long been under the illusion that a permanent conciliation between Russia and England might be effected by a division of power in the east, which would allow to Russia an issue for her ships from the Black Sea, and to

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England control of the Red Sea route to India. His proposals to divide the inheritance of the Turk, the "sick man of Europe," were practically the same as he had urged on Aberdeen in his visit nine years before. For a free hand in the Danubian provinces, he offered to England Crete and Egypt. His prevision was remarkable, but we mistrusted the giver. An effort to stave off war by urging moderation on France, and on the Porte reform, was vitiated by the Choice of a mediator. Russell, before giving up the Foreign Office to Clarendon, appointed as ambassador to the Porte Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the Stratford Canning of earlier times. Clarendon distrusted Stratford, but could not recall him; Stratford had a grievance against the Tsar, and had no faith in Russia. Menschikoff, Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, assumed that Russia and Turkey were alone concerned in the dispute, and demanded a protectorate over all Greek Christians which would have given his country a pretext for interference in any part of the Turkish Empire. At Stratford's instigation, the Porte resisted a proposal which left it but a fragment of sovereignty. Russia retorted with an ultimatum, withdrew her ambassador, and occupied Moldavia and Wallachia. British and French ships were dispatched at once to the Dardanelles, and warlike preparations, which tended to inflame rather than allay the crisis, were hurried on. In a last attempt to avert disaster the representatives of Austria, France, Prussia, and Great Britain met at Vienna, and drew up a note for presentation at St. Petersburg and Constantinople; but the diplomats failed at their own trade, for the note was couched in such ambiguous terms as to be of little value. Russia accepted an arrangement which could be interpreted in her favour; Turkey suggested amendments, and had the secret support of Stratford. Feeling assured of English help, an assurance strengthened by the presence of the fleet, she demanded the withdrawal of the Russian forces from the Danubian provinces, and sent troops to enforce the demands. Tentative engagements took place, while the diplomats worked for a settlement. But Napoleon had determined to defy Russia, and we had as much to apprehend from our ally as from our enemy. Aberdeen and Clarendon desired peace, though they saw England "drifting towards war." No resolute word was spoken, but the British fleet was ordered, in spite of the treaty of 1841, to pass through the Bosphorus for "defensive operations" in any part of the Black Sea. Measures vacillating yet provocative failed, as they failed at the time of Navarino. Another "untoward event" confounded diplomacy. In reply to an attack upon their army near Bucharest the Russian fleet sank a Turkish squadron in the bay of Sinope. At the news all hope of peace was destroyed. Troops were moved to Malta, and the British and French fleets sailed into the Black Sea. Diplomacy made its final effort, but on Russia's refusal to evacuate the

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provinces war was declared. Such was the effect of divided counsels ; Aberdeen was irresolute while Palmerston was determined, and an aggressive and uncontrolled Liberalism hastened a conflict with the champion of autocracy—a contest not for the Holy Places, but against the remnants of the Holy Alliance, and the despotic principle which had triumphed in 1849. Russia's attack upon Hungary, her treatment of Poland were counts in a long indictment; but above all these was jealousy at her steady approach towards India and her designs upon the Dardanelles.

War was opened with a light heart. Immense crowds cheered the soldiers and hardly gave them room to pass ; the navy left Spithead escorted by the royal yacht. It was soon seen that the Foreign Office and the War Office had failed to work together. The navy was well over the two-power standard, but the army was scarcely larger than that of Belgium. With ill-timed zeal the government separated the departments of Colonies and War. The Duke of Newcastle began work with an entirely new staff; mobilization was a farce ; there were no reserves ; arms and clothing were insufficient, and no preparation was made for a winter campaign. In four months 11,000 men were landed in Turkey, to fight side by side with the Turks and the French. There was jealousy in the chief command; the active and brilliant St. Arnaud did not see eye to eye with Raglan, whose experience dated back to the Peninsular war, and who was close on seventy. To threaten the communications of the Russian army and force it to fall back, troops were landed at Varna. The next step was to secure a base for operations in Russia and to destroy her naval power by the capture of Sebastopol. At the opening of the war its fall was a daily rumour, but the Allies were far from success. The first engagement took place at the river Alma, north of the fortress. The Russians were posted upon the heights above the stream, and were dislodged after a tremendous struggle. They retreated in good order and were unpursued. In the time gained Menschikoff rendered an attack from the north almost impossible, blocked the harbour by sinking his own ships, and brought up reinforcements. Taking the offensive, he endeavoured to break up the British position at Balaclava. The resistance of our infantry was clinched by a dauntless charge of the heavy cavalry, who routed many times their number. To crown the day by a further success, Raglan sent the Light Cavalry Brigade into action. His orders were misunderstood, and six hundred and seventy-three troopers dashed through a valley towards the Russian batteries. One hundred and ninety-five survived the famous charge. The officers and men were magnificent in daring, and in the next engagement they displayed astounding valour. A sortie was made against the British lines at Inkerman, a position held by the Guards. Masses of Russians

came on in the grey dawn, only to be driven back ; when ammunition failed our men clubbed their rifles or used the bayonet, and some even fought with their fists. Yet owing to the numbers of the enemy no assault could be made upon Sebastopol, and the soldiers' battle remained a pointless sacrifice. A winter of arctic severity found the troops totally unprepared. The picturesque uniforms were in rags ; there was neither food nor forage, no shelter, no succour for the wounded ; disease and death were everywhere. A terrific storm tore up the tents, destroyed vast quantities of provisions, and caused incredible suffering.' The state of the men leaked out through the correspondent of the *Times* newspaper : " Sharp misery has worn them to the 'bone' ; they have lost all the bravery of war. They are ragged, shoeless, besmeared with mud, infested by vermin, and tortured by scorbutic disease. Their life has been one long troubled miserable dream." Florence Nightingale, by her labours to alleviate their sufferings, became the heroine of the soldiers. The unflinching gallantry of the troops was recognized by the Victoria Cross with its motto " For Valour." But the country, appalled by the revelations of incompetence and mismanagement, called for an inquiry into the conduct of the war. The ministry, involved in disputes and recriminations with the military and naval leaders, at length resigned, and after some hesitation the Queen was compelled by public opinion to send for Palmerston. From the pitch of expectation to which it had been led, the country fell into a corresponding gloom. Peace seemed impossible until some of the disgrace was wiped away, and the pacifists, Cobden and Bright, were burned in effigy. Negotiations opened at Vienna broke down upon the neutrality of the Black Sea, but the prolongation of the war called out no protest from the public. The command of the sea enabled a steady stream of men and supplies to reach headquarters, and the Allies were reinforced by fifteen thousand troops from Piedmont. The chief officers were changed, there were gallant attacks on the various redoubts by French and Sardinians : and while the English troops were repulsed in an assault on the Redan, military pride was saved by the heroic defence of Kars under General Fenwick Williams. He had held the town from the beginning of the war, and the flag was still flying when Sebastopol fell, after a year's siege, though he was forced at last to surrender. From the destruction of Russia's naval base on the Black Sea England would have proceeded to destroy Cronstadt, bombard St. Petersburg, restore Finland to Sweden in return for her alliance, and utterly break the power of Russia in the Baltic. But Napoleon refused to hear of a diversion of the war from its first purpose, and insisted on ceasing hostilities.

The popular war produced an unpopular peace : " There was no indication," said a Frenchman, " as to which was the victor and which the vanquished." Reviews and illuminations could not obscure the

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truth ; Britain had sacrificed lives and treasure and obtained little in return, while France secretly concerted with Austria the terms of peace which with slight changes were accepted at the treaty of Paris. For the first time in the nineteenth century the Sultan signed a treaty which did not diminish his territory or authority ; on his mere promise to grant to his Christian subjects equality with the Mussulmans, they were left absolutely at his mercy ; the neutrality of the Straits and the Black Sea was guaranteed by the great powers. Turkey, secured within and without from European interference, or from Russian attack at sea, obtained what Castlereagh would have given her at Vienna, a place in the concert of the Powers and in the public law of Europe. By the forbidding of all vessels of war and arsenals on the Black Sea, England secured the abolition of a Russian navy which might some day have passed into the Mediterranean. Austria gained the withdrawal of a Russian protectorate in Wallachia and Moldavia, and their independence under Turkish suzerainty ; by her insistence a strip of Bessarabia was added to Moldavia. Little did Austria know, commented the Russian ambassador, how many tears and how much blood this altered frontier would cost her. In twenty years the treaty was a dead letter. Turkish reform died. Russia sailed her ships on the Black Sea, fortified its shores, and took back Bessarabia. Guarantees of integrity for Turkey were forgotten. England accepted, not Crete but Cyprus, and occupied Egypt. The only relic of the Conference was the Declaration of Paris, which laid down laws for maritime warfare. England had always asserted, contrary to the general opinion, a right to confiscate enemy goods in neutral vessels. On the invitation of France an attempt was made at an international system. It was agreed that privateering should be abolished ; that the neutral flag covers the enemy's goods, except contraband of war ; that neutral goods, except contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemy's flags ; that a blockade, to be binding, must be maintained by a force sufficient to prevent access to the enemy's coastline. Such a code chiefly affected Great Britain, whose islands form the heart of a diffuse empire, and whose only safeguard is a navy which in time of war should have the fullest scope. With other nations it was different ; each had an interest in the diminution of British sea power, and welcomed a code which effected it. Clarendon signed the Declaration without consulting the government, and though it was never formally ratified by Great Britain nor by the United States, its principles were accepted. The omission to define contraband left us entangled in a net of "juridical niceties." Naval experts deplored a step which made our position insecure, and journals announced the news with their pages in mourning.

**Results of
the War**

The results as well as the motives of the Crimean war were in many respects a gain for liberal principles. The profits of the war had

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indeed fallen to Napoleon III. From his place at the head of the Congress of Paris he might look back proudly to the Congress of Vienna. After the struggle, in which England had helped him to win military prestige, largely at the expense of her own, he stood forth as a brilliant leader in European politics, inspired by romantic visions of knightly deeds from Circassia to Mexico, and by his imperial obligation to renew for his country an age of glory. The dread of France, which corresponded to the dread of Russia in the next generation, and to that of Germany to-day, reached its height after the Crimean war. Fear of Napoleon's aggrandizement, which was shared alike by Liberal and Tory, by the court and the whole nation, culminated in the universal panic at the increase of the French fleet, and in the Volunteer movement to avert a dreaded invasion. But France under Napoleon's rule was in the main a liberal power with regard to lesser nationalities. And not the least result of the Crimean war was his success in breaking the alliance of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, and thus preparing the way for the liberation of Italy. In Russia, meanwhile, the corrupt and reactionary system gave way before the anger of the people, who believed it to be the cause of their failure in the war. Moved by the popular impulse, the new Tsar Alexander proceeded to free the serfs and gradually to liberalize the government. Deeply angered at the "ingratitude" of Austria in standing aloof during the Crimean war, Russia denied to her in 1859 the aid to crush Italy which she had given in 1849. With Great Britain a long and embittered hostility had begun. Arbitrator of Europe in 1849, Russia now saw her power decrease; against England her bitterness remained. The Tsar resented English friendship with a Mohammedan potentate, and distrusted her obstinate blindness towards the corruptions of Turkish rule. Checked in her march towards Constantinople, Russia bided her time until the Black Sea could be reopened, and turned with the steady pressure of a glacier towards India and the Persian Gulf.

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**The
Indian
Govern-
ment**

The reverberation of the Crimean war was first felt in India. In that strangely isolated country, cut off by the desert and high lands of Baluchistan, by the Himalayas, and the forested hills of Burmah, the only external attack that could threaten English dominion was from Russia. Afghanistan was the sole road by land to India, and behind its mountains and valleys the steppes and deserts and hills of Turkestan, Khorassan, and north-east Persia were themselves a formidable barrier. At the first advance of Russia towards the deep passages of the north-west England had sent a small army and a few civilians to occupy Kabul, and having expelled the Amir, Dost Mohammed, the friend of Russia, restored his rival to the throne. An insurrection of the Afghans drove out the foreigners, and in that terrible retreat a single survivor escaped through the snow-covered

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- SEC. II. passes to carry the news to the nearest English post. After a few months the tragedy was partially avenged ; and an ostentatious triumph was announced with "prancing" proclamations. But Dost Mohammed returned in peace to his throne in Kabul; and the practical defeat of British policy and action lessened British prestige in India. It was somewhat restored by the military successes which followed on Sir Charles Napier's unprovoked aggression on Sind ; and by the victories over *the* Mahratta chief of Gwalior. A more important matter was the Sikh war. Ranjit Sing, the ruler of Lahore, had died, and his Sikh generals were anxious to measure their strength against the British. They crossed the Sutlej into English territory; but within a brief period their military power was broken at the pitched battles of Moodke, Ferozeshah, Aliwal, and Sabraon, and Lahore was occupied. Peace was made at the cost of Sikh territory and a limitation of their military forces. The arrival of Lord Dalhousie as Governor-General was the turning point of Anglo-Indian history. Well-intentioned and masterful, he believed that the extension of British rule was the true remedy for all the ills of India. His annexation of the Punjab was forced on him by the Sikh soldiery, who again challenged the British power at Chilianwala and Goojerat; his annexation of Lower Burmah was the consequence of the ill-treatment of British merchants and insults offered to the captain of a frigate sent to remonstrate ; but the annexation of Oudh and of the State of Satara as an escheat to the British Crown was in pursuance of his policy of expansion. Dalhousie improved the administration, adjusted the finances, and organized irrigation ; but shocked the native princes by forbidding the immemorial custom of adoption where a ruler had no son to inherit his principality and perform the religious rites for the dead father. His successor, a son of George Canning, responding to a demand by the more advanced Indians, offended the feelings of the orthodox by permitting the marriage of widows. In the coast fringe Indians sought western education as the surest passport to government employment and professional success, but throughout native society the effervescence of the new learning produced doubt, suspicion, and dissension ; men were shaken by the clash of eastern and western knowledge. In the isolation of India her people had preserved ancient rites and their own peculiar- life, differing in tradition and domestic organization from any other community in Asia. They were attached to their civilization, which, though gradually overlaid with gross superstition and monstrous practice, was distinguished by its sacred writings and philosophy, and had a, noble tradition of architecture, painting, and skilled crafts. In the foreigner's reforms the orthodox Indian was less pleased by material comfort than displeased by the shocks to his strong conservative instinct which many of the administrative improvements entailed. The people were
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ignorant, and found continued regulation irksome. These and other causes of dissatisfaction, more recondite gathered force with the conviction that an old Asiatic civilization could find no appeal to European rulers but by the sword.

While India was shaken by this contest of ideals and interests the events of the Crimean war furnished insidious gossip for the bazaars and diminished the dread of English power. Hostility to alien rule was intensified by the humiliating sense that the will of the foreigner was enforced by an insignificant army, which had been depleted by the troops withdrawn to the Crimea and China till the English soldiers were outnumbered by eight to one. In the native army religious excitement had been roused by the distribution of a new rifle with cartridges, part of which had to be bitten off before use; the story spread that in their manufacture the grease of cattle or of swine was used, the touching of which was an abomination to Hindus and Mohammedans respectively. The Indian government at once issued new cartridges for the troops, but suspicion still haunted the soldiers. Rumours and prophecies were spread abroad, and mysterious messages passed from hand to hand. Local mutinies began with the outbreak in Meerut and spread to the cantonments in Hindustan. The mutineers made for Delhi, where the last of the Moghuls kept a precarious state—a city which in their hopes was again to be the glorious centre of a Moghul empire. From Delhi the insurrection swept down the valley of the Jumna by Agra, over Central India and Bundelkhand, and reached its greatest force in Oudh, annexed only a year before, and along the valley of the sacred Ganges by Cawnpore and Benares. Traditions of old dynasties, the ambitions of local chieftains, and religious fanaticism, were united against the foreigner. A few instances alone can be given of the peril and heroism of those tragic days. In Cawnpore 800 Europeans were shut in a temporary fortification with a garrison of 210; after a fatal siege in the summer heat, almost starving, they surrendered on the promise of a safe conduct by the Rajah of Bithoor, commonly known as Nana Sahib, and claiming to be the adopted heir of the last Mahratta Peishwa, whose adoption had been disallowed under Dalhousie's edict; but the fugitives had hardly embarked upon the Ganges when the mutineers opened fire, killed a large number, and hacked most of the survivors in pieces. The women and children were massacred in cold blood and their bodies thrown into a well, only just before forces arrived for their relief. British troops supported by Sikhs were sent to relieve Delhi, but were themselves besieged on the awful ridge they held, and for three months suffered every horror of exposure to the Indian sun, of cholera and disease, of assaults day and night, and a deluge of fire from the fortifications, till reinforcements arrived, and the city and palace were occupied. Havelock and Outram hastened on to the

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help of Lucknow, the second city after Calcutta, filled with mutinous soldiers, where almost a thousand Europeans, men, women, and children, and the bulk of the 32nd Regiment, with some loyal native troops, were gathered in the Residency and a group of houses in a small park below it—buildings never intended for defence. On the second day of the siege Sir Henry Lawrence, Governor of Oudh, had been killed, but in their absolute isolation the garrison held out for three months under General Inglis until aid came, and a month later the city was retaken by Colin Campbell. The government hurriedly diverted troops from the China war, from Persia, from Madras, and Ceylon; and by the end of the year the danger to England had passed away. The revolt had been mostly limited to the army and the troops of native princes. India was preserved to the Empire by the gallantry of the British army, the fidelity of most of the native princes and of the Sikh soldiers, and the assistance lent by the Maharajah of Nepal, from whose hill state came the hardy Gurkha soldiers.

India
under the
Crown

For a time the terror and rage kindled by the revolt broke out in deeds of vengeance, and extreme excesses were indulged in on both sides. The Governor, dreading the dangers of an embittered conflict, sought to mitigate these passions, and by his courage and magnanimity earned the honourable nickname of "Clemency Canning." While the mutiny still raged, he issued a proclamation exhorting the East India Company to refrain from unreasoning vengeance. "We have had bloody enmities with every tribe and race in India," he wrote, "but we have never yet treated them when vanquished with sweeping contempt and hatred. It will be a bad day for us when that word becomes naturalized in India." His attitude was condemned by those who demanded "Saxon domination," stringent laws for the natives, and the exclusion of the Indian from all places of trust and authority. If that is "Saxon domination," said Canning, "the less we have of it the better. Justice, and that as stern and inflexible as law and might can make it, I will deal out. But I will never allow an angry or discriminating act or word to proceed from the Government of India so long as I am responsible for it." His own policy of confiscating to the State the soil of the entire province of Oudh was vehemently impugned in England, but he justified himself by re-granting it to the proprietors on condition of payment of the revenue and of loyalty to the British Crown. These grants are now prized by the proprietors, or Talukdars, as their indefeasible title deeds, and Canning's policy would have been admirable if it had only been accompanied by adequate provision for the cultivators of the soil. This omission was not rectified till very recent times. Not only the dangers of the mutiny, but the rapid accessions of territory, and the new problems of government, forced Englishmen to feel their grave responsibility

for so vast a dependency. The whole extent of subject India, with two or three hundred millions of inhabitants, forty-three separate races, and twenty-one languages in common use, was still governed by Pitt's India Bill, and her trade by the directors of the East India Company. Palmerston brought in a Bill for the better government of India, and at his temporary fall from power the Conservatives assured Canning of their support. They framed the final bill by which the Court of Directors and the Board of Control were abolished, and the powers and territory of the East India Company were at length vested in the Crown. The Queen was proclaimed Sovereign of India. Her first Viceroy ruled in Calcutta, and at Westminster a Secretary of State was made responsible to Parliament. In the later development of this great dependency the officials of Irish and Scottish origin played a prominent part in the work of peaceful and humane government, winning for themselves a high position as administrators, nearer in comprehension to the subject peoples, and intelligent in softening the more rigid lines of rule imposed by conquest.

Scarcely was the mutiny ended when Indian troops were hurried to the China coast, where England had lately made Hong-Kong her farthest station in the east. One of Palmerston's earliest acts had been to admit English merchants to the China trade, until then a monopoly of the East India Company. Stripped of its old prudent regulations, the new trade was carried on with grave disorders and complications. The Chinese, resentful of intrusion, forbade the import of opium, "the foreign curse," amid protests of the Indian government at their loss of revenue, and angry outcries from the merchants, nine-tenths of them engaged in the opium trade, who declared that the Chinese only closed their harbours to opium as a crafty excuse to bar out all trade with foreigners. An opium war became in the popular view a war for the "open door" to commerce. Confused and unequal conflicts followed of coast-guards and smugglers, Chinese officials and British agents. Palmerston, with his brisk methods of coercion, demanded of China a commercial treaty, or the cession of one or more islands from which Great Britain could trade, and sent a naval force to blockade the rivers and secure the necessary islands; with such success in assault and capture that the treaty of Nanking ceded to England Hong-Kong, opened five other ports to her trade, and granted rich indemnities. Britain required only such trading rights as should be extended to other nations. America hastened to make a treaty, and to stipulate that if ministers of European peoples were allowed at Peking her envoy too should be received. France with a powerful squadron obtained her commercial treaty and a protectorate of Roman Catholic converts. The whole world, Shaftesbury said, "was intoxicated with the

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- SEC. II. prospect of the China trade." One war led to another. The Chinese, regarding the English as the source of all trouble, imprisoned their seamen and murdered their missionaries. A Chinese lorcha, the *Arrow*, flying the British flag, was seized by Chinese authorities who declared the crew to be pirates. The English representative, Sir John Bowring, required the release of the men and ordered the bombardment of Canton. France joined with England; the United States and Russia 'helped to keep the ring. In Parliament Cobden condemned the course of action as violent and arbitrary, and the Government was defeated—"a discussion," said Gladstone, "doing more honour to the House of Commons than any I can remember." But Palmerston appealed to the country in defence of Bowring, whose life, he said, "an insolent barbarian" had attempted. The merchants once more rallied to the cry of British interests, and with such alacrity that Palmerston for the first time in his life stood at the head of a compact majority in the new Parliament. A Sepoy army crossed the seas to the assault and capture of Canton; and the British envoy,
- 1857 Lord Elgin, in the treaty of Tientsin, forced on the Chinese a legalized trade in opium, with other terms yet more obnoxious—the admission of foreign legations to Peking, toleration of native Christians, and their uncontrolled protection by foreign powers. The resistance of China, as fierce and cruel as it was patriotic, was broken by the pillage and burning of the palace at Peking and the levying of a huge indemnity. In the rebellions that followed the American Ward was as famous an officer of Chinese Government as the English Gordon; an Irishman, Sir Robert Hart, organized the new customs in faithful service to China. All European nations hastened to profit by like treaties,
- 1858 1860 1861-1869 Prussia the first, then Denmark, Spain, Holland, Belgium, Italy, and Austria. China, in the words of her greatest statesman, seemed about to be sliced like a water-melon. At the same time foreign trade was forced on Japan by the powers that had imposed it on China—England, France, and Russia following the United States—with a corresponding tale of outrages, revolts, wars, and compensations to the invaders.' The competing powers had now laid their several claims to the wealth of the Pacific shores.
- Euro-
pean
wars** The conflict for world-empire however was delayed for twenty years by a series of five great wars within Europe itself. The congress of Vienna had left some ten peoples, or groups of peoples, without national life or security, and of these only two small powers, Greece and Belgium, had as yet won independence. The Crimean war, which ended the long peace, and the imperfect settlement of the treaty of Paris, let loose the fears and jealousies of Europe, and opened a new era of conflict and reconstruction. England stood aloof; but as the determination to accomplish the national ideal passed from country to country, the boundaries of peoples were
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remade, their ambitions recast, and in the overturning of the old balance of power the European concert was swept aside.

"All the territorial arrangements on this side of the Alps are complete," wrote Castlereagh in 1815. Beyond the mountains Italy was still struggling for unity. The "cry of woe" which echoed throughout Europe was due to mediaeval forms of misgovernment in the Papal states, the hard hand of Austria in Lombardy, and the scandalous rule of the Bourbon kings in Sicily and Naples. The aspirations of Italy centred round the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia, with its liberal institutions and its small but gallant army. The republicanism of Mazzini, and the work of the secret societies, had been discredited by the failure of forlorn revolts. On the other hand Cavour, the prime minister of Sardinia, was a statesman of the first rank. Some of his most impressionable years were spent in England; he had written upon the Irish question, and studied English methods of agriculture. He saw in the power of industry and science the source of political freedom; "railways," said he, "were to stitch up the boot." Eager to cultivate English support, he sent Italian goods, to the Great Exhibition, lured the Liberals with a promise of free trade, and furthered his cause by supplying our writers with material, our press with facilities. King Victor Emmanuel visited Windsor and impressed the Court by his courage and honesty. Panizzi, librarian of the British Museum, laboured to create a public opinion favourable to "that most interesting and unfortunate country." Piedmont was made an example; her leaders were neither republicans nor advocates of assassination, but Liberals, who paid their debts and conducted the government upon a sound financial basis. Such a combination of ideals and efficiency won English sympathy. Palmerston and Russell were pronounced adherents, and the minister at Turin, Sir James Hudson, was "more Italian than the Italians themselves." Gladstone had witnessed political trials in Naples, and proclaimed Neapolitan misrule, with all its horrors, as "the negation of God erected into a system of government." The English Whig recalled his contests for Belgium and Greece; the Radical supported a small state which in the name of freedom attacked the outworks of clerical privilege; Protestant zeal approved a movement which challenged the Pope, and even Lord Shaftesbury "the Huguenot," though no radical, welcomed, an anti-papal rising. Cavour in return encouraged the Bible Society, provided its agents did not excite disorder in ardent endeavours to convert the Piedmontese. Step by step the cause of the "noble little country" gained ground. The utmost enthusiasm was aroused when, at the invitation of Napoleon, Cavour sent an army to the Crimea, and by this courageous act allied himself with the democratic powers and established his position in the councils of Europe. He obtained at the congress of

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Paris a discussion on the affairs of Italy. Our envoy, Lord Clarendon, spoke with warmth and indignation, but when on his return Lord Lyndhurst, a true friend to Italy, moved to condemn the Austrian occupation the motion was withdrawn at Clarendon's request, as though, said a statesman, we had barked and then not ventured to bite. Cavour indeed, by revealing his desire for war against Austria, had alarmed Clarendon, who hoped that the pressure of France and England could provide a peaceful solution of the Italian question. "If our Allies desert us," said Cavour, in an outburst of disappointment, "the triumph of Austria and the Pope will be complete."

England
and Italy

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This danger was increased by the fall of the Whigs. Frequent shelter given to political refugees, from Kossuth and Mazzini to lesser fugitives, had made London in the eyes of foreign sovereigns "a den of conspirators." An Italian exile, Orsini, well known in society, attempted to assassinate Napoleon by bombs made in Birmingham; the indignation of France forced Palmerston to frame a Bill which, preserving the right of asylum, converted conspiracy from misdemeanour to a felony; but public resentment at any alteration of the law on the behest of a foreign power drove the Whigs from office. The Tory government and the Court, clinging to their tradition of "peace and order," dreaded the tearing up of the treaties of 1815 in Italy or elsewhere, as certain to lead to war and to another period of Napoleonic ambitions,—fears which were realized in the wars of 1859, 1866, and 1870, though these did not end in Napoleonic aggrandizement. Lord Derby, like Castlereagh, hoped by agreement with the central states of Prussia and Austria to maintain a balance of power against danger. But this renewal, in a more peaceful way, of Pitt's policy involved leaving Austria mistress of Italy, and compelled English opposition to the Italian liberal movement. Queen Victoria supported the view of Lord Malmesbury, the foreign secretary, that Austria's title to Lombardy was as good as that of England to Ireland, "quivering in our grasp," and that the Neapolitan government had a right to deal with revolutionaries in its own manner. Dreading the consequences of Cavour's "diabolic energy," the Conservatives sought rather to palliate the grievances of Italy than to aid her by arms or diplomacy. Cavour turned to Napoleon, who dramatically pledged his support. While preparations for war were accelerated, Malmesbury urged a conference to enforce disarmament. France wavered, and Cavour in despair accepted the proposal. But Austria, confident of victory, played into his hands; the Emperor hurled an ultimatum at Piedmont and declared war upon the combined forces of France and Sardinia. One province after another rallied to the cause of Italian unity. The rapid success of the allies amazed and disconcerted the whole of Europe. Prussia, restless upon the Rhine, threatened to take up arms in defence of a German state. Not only

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was Napoleon fearful for France, but he saw that his retainer might fast become an independent colleague. The French reproached him with raising a possible rival in the Mediterranean. After the victories of Magenta and Solferino he deserted his ally, and concluded a truce with Francis Joseph at Villafranca. Lombardy alone was freed. The great betrayal forced Cavour to resign; and Italy, confronted with Austria and France, could not hope to achieve alone her unity and independence. In her extreme peril she found help in England. When the downfall of Derby's ministry was announced the representative of Sardinia, waiting in the lobby, threw up his hat with joy. The papers which might have justified their foreign policy were withheld from the House in inscrutable fashion by Disraeli. In June, at the very crisis of Italy's fate, Palmerston barely scraped back into power with a majority of only thirteen votes. Instantly his foreign minister Russell rejected the proposal of a European conference, proclaimed the Italians to be the best judges of their own affairs, and asserted that the British government viewed with sympathy the prospect of a people building up the edifice of their independence amid the good wishes of Europe. "You are blessed night and morning," said his nephew, "by twenty millions of Italians."

It was England's view that the various provinces should confirm their union by a popular vote, and Napoleon, whose power rested on universal suffrage, could not well resist. He was paid for his help by the cession of Savoy and Nice, a sacrifice so great that only the timely return of Cavour rendered it possible. Bologna and Parma, Tuscany and Emilia voted with scarce a dissentient voice for union with Piedmont. But the south was yet to be won, and Russell supported Cavour in frustrating the intervention of the Powers. It had been Napoleon's object to establish in north Italy a weak liberal state dependent on himself against Austria, and to reform the governments of the Pope and the Neapolitan Bourbons under French influence. Palmerston and Russell, on the other hand, proposed to check the dreaded power of Napoleon III. by raising up a liberal kingdom strong enough to drive both France and Austria beyond its frontiers. They accepted Hudson's view that a united Italy would gravitate to alliance with Austria and Prussia against France—a prophecy fulfilled later in the Triple Alliance. Sicily and Naples were liberated by Garibaldi and his thousand volunteers, part of the papal territory was annexed, and Victor Emmanuel was hailed king of Italy. The British fleet, which under Nelson had aided the excesses of the Neapolitan court, now as a friendly neutral at Naples gave moral support to the King and to Garibaldi: when Napoleon threatened to retain the Bourbons in Sicily, a strong remonstrance from England compelled the French admiral to withdraw his squadron from Gaeta. The success of Palmerston and Russell in defeating the schemes of

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- SEC II. Napoleon III., and establishing a united Italy able to stand alone, remains the greatest achievement of English diplomacy in the century. Within a month the Parliament elected by various states met at Turin, and England was the first power which accorded recognition to the monarchy. The death of Cavour called forth a tribute in Parliament such as is rarely given to a foreign statesman, and cries of applause greeted the eulogies spoken by Palmerston and Russell. Robert and Elizabeth Browning and George Meredith gave noble expression to the feeling of the country. No sovereign could have met with a more royal reception than did Garibaldi when he came to our shores. He was accorded a gala night at the opera and given the freedom of the City of London. But the most striking tribute came from the English people. Trade unions and benefit societies escorted him through London ; miles of human beings lined the streets and flags decorated every window. "I like to be called the brother of the working-man," said their guest, "in every part of the world." So striking was the evidence of democratic feeling that when his visit terminated abruptly there were politicians who said that he was hurried out of the country. Thousands of those who welcomed the "pure patriot" lived to see the fulfilment of his dreams. During the struggle between Prussia and Austria, Italy, though defeated on land and sea, obtained Venetia, and it was only the greater issue of the Franco-Prussian war which obscured the importance of the silent conquest of Rome and the withdrawal of the French troops. "The people of England," said Victor Emmanuel, "that home of liberty, nobly affirmed our right to be the arbiters of our own fate, and they were liberal to us in their good offices, the memory of which will endure for ever."
- The union of Italy quickened the imagination and hopes of the German nation, as the Napoleonic empire in France had already deeply stirred national rivalries. Prussia, inspired by the memory of Frederick the Great, resolved to revoke the dual confederation made at Vienna and to challenge Austria for the leadership of the German race. Her great future had already been predicted. "The Allies," said Talleyrand at the Congress, "have pledged themselves to leave Prussia with ten millions of her people. If she be so left she will soon have twenty millions, and all Germany will be subject to her." Heeren, a Gottingen professor, apprehended that a united German monarchy seeking to attain that preponderance which her central situation demanded would dig the grave of European liberty. Prussia steadily pursued her aims ; her Zollverein gradually drew into its sphere all the states north of Austria, blending commercial interests with national ideals. Aspirations for a united Germany resounded in the triumphant songs, "Die Wacht am Rhein" and "Deutschland iiber Alles." England thought of her as a homely and peaceful nation nurtured

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on music and philosophy, a misconception fostered by the German influence so powerful at Court. Cobden regarded the mild form of absolutism practised in Prussia as the best government in Europe for the mass of the people ; and Russell, in spite of Disraeli's scoff at his "mystical hallucination of German nationality," was convinced that she would "establish representative institutions." But Prussia had not forgiven Castlereagh for thwarting her aims at the Congress, she had been angered by the Monroe doctrine which hampered her growing trade with South America, and she was attacking the liberal constitution granted by William IV. to Hanover at the time when his death severed it from the English crown. English diplomatists were suspicious of her bearing; Stratford Canning resented the fictitious interviews which the Prussian minister at the Porte put into his mouth, "a scheme of treachery almost unparalleled even in diplomacy" ; and Malmesbury declared that the Prussian government circulated false reports of his conversations over Schleswig-Holstein. The necessity of understanding her aims was urged by Robert Morier, a diplomatist who was in Germany when a trivial incident aroused bitter feeling. An English officer, equally ignorant of Prussian law and the German language, became involved in a dispute about a seat in a railway carriage. Neither side would tender an apology, and the affair assumed an international importance justifying the publication of a blue-book. An indignant speech of the Prime Minister led to recriminations in the Prussian Parliament. "Has the devil a son?" said a German rhymester, "he is assuredly Palmerston." The press did "enormous and wanton mischief" by a series of attacks upon everything Prussian. A quarrel so easily misunderstood and exaggerated had far-reaching effects. The Crown Prince had in 1858 married our Princess Royal; and England's reputation for arrogance was increased, and her influence at Berlin lessened, at the very moment when Prussian Liberalism was making a last struggle for power, and a strong party favoured an Anglo-Prussian alliance. But all hopes of constitutional government were extinguished by the army bill which Otto von Bismarck forced on the nation ; the state of Prussia, he affirmed, was too critical to venture a constitution ; great questions were not decided by speeches and votes, but by "blood and iron." His single purpose was to beat back the dangers that threatened every German frontier. To protect the east, and secure his country against France on the west, he gained the alliance of Russia by a signal service. The constitution granted to the Poles at the Congress of Vienna was revoked in 1832, and their hopes now rested on the liberal policy which the Tsar had inaugurated after the Crimean War. "Enemies from abroad" procured their ruin ; a new and harsh system of conscription in Poland for the Russian army led to a desperate revolt, encouraged from Prussia. Confidential correspondence lately discovered at Cracow

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has revealed the mistrust and jealousy which prevented common action by the powers. Napoleon suggested a congress. "If the congress had been a house of Babel," said the Queen of Holland, "at least it would have taught to lurking democracy the sincere desire of the governments to do something to settle claims and wrongs which are growing daily more clamorous." English sympathy was largely with the Poles; but intervention was impossible without the support of France, and Napoleon was engaged in a fantastic attempt to create a Catholic Empire in Mexico. Austria feared the revolution as an example to her own possessions. Bismarck, in spite of the liberals, threw his country on the side of the Tsar and secured the triumph of Russia. His eastern frontier safe, he turned to make Prussia a maritime power commanding, and linking together, ports on the Baltic and the North Sea. The duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were united to Denmark by a vague personal tie, and when in 1848 they revolted against a threat of incorporation they were assisted by Prussian troops. Disraeli alone in England protested against this attempt to convert the "dreamy and dangerous nonsense" of nationality into an excuse for Prussia to take the Baltic ports and the mouth of the Elbe. Before long Prussia was forced by Austria to withdraw her army from Schleswig-Holstein, whose relations with Denmark, and whose complications of succession, were regulated by the Protocol of London. But Bismarck still regarded the "liberation of the Duchies" as a means for Prussian aggrandizement. The quarrel burst out again with the accession of a new king of Denmark. In return for his support to the dynasty Bismarck demanded a marine station at Kiel, and the right to construct a Prussian canal between the two seas. The aggressions of Denmark on the liberties of the provinces, and its dynastic disputes, enabled him to lure Austria into a scheme for a united invasion of the duchies. Fired by their success in Italy, Palmerston and Russell desired intervention, and in their speeches pledged the government to maintain, even by arms, the integrity of Denmark. But Napoleon, who had proposed a congress, refused to join, and Russia held to her new ally. The navy alone could not affect the issue, and the army was inadequate. While the country sympathized with a small nation, the Queen supported Prussia, and asserted that "any encouragement to Denmark would be fatal." A conference was unsuccessful, for the Danes trusting to English help refused compromise, and England had to stand aside while the duchies were overrun by the joint armies of Austria and Prussia. The government had pledged her good name in foreshadowing, engagements she was compelled to disown. Had England been impartial she might have acted as mediator, but as a partisan she was out of court. Disraeli lamented the harm which was done, and taunted the government with its want of system in foreign affairs.

Even Cobden, who welcomed the blow given to intervention, condemned our policy. After fifty-eight years of public life, in which only nine had been spent out of office, Palmerston was now by his death spared the spectacle of an advancing rival whose great destiny he had not foreseen. His system of foreign policy died with him, and the helplessness of England in the matter of the duchies made Bismarck regard her as a nation negligible in continental affairs. "The theory of the balance of power," said Bright, "is pretty nearly dead and buried." For two years Europe was entangled in intrigues. Bismarck pacified Austria by proposing to divide the duchies; he bribed Italy to neutrality by promising possession of Venetia, drawing her towards the German alliance foreseen by Hudson; he secured the acquiescence of France by deceptive offers to Napoleon of illusory frontiers on the Rhine and Belgium. When his plans were completed he suddenly denounced the action of Austria in the duchies, demanded of the Frankfort Diet reform of the federal constitution of Germany, ordered his troops to occupy Holstein, and finally declared the German federation dissolved. A war of seven weeks ended with the triumph of Sadowa. Austria ceded Venetia to Italy, and withdrew from Germany. Prussia gained her coveted position on the sea, and took her place as head of a newly created "North German Confederation"—henceforth the greatest military power in Europe. The stupendous revolution was little observed in England by a people wholly occupied in Hyde Park riots, in a reconstruction of public finance, and in projects for a wider reform bill. Tories and Whigs saw in a greater Prussia increased security against Russia and France, while to the Court it gave added brilliance to a royal alliance.

Bismarck and Napoleon now remained the chief figures on the European stage. France represented the last menace to a Prussian frontier, and the menace increased after the expulsion of Austria from the German Confederation, when the South German Catholic states, in their hatred of the hegemony of Protestant Prussia, turned to Napoleon III. in secret negotiations. Bismarck saw his opportunity to consolidate German unity, and define a military frontier to the west. The failure of Napoleon's romantic adventure to set up a Catholic and Latin empire in Mexico had diminished his prestige; he had alienated the sympathies of Italy and England; the weakness of Austria had deprived him of a possible ally; and he was lured to a fatal step over the old question of the Spanish succession. When he resented the candidature of a prince of the House of Hohenzollern it was withdrawn, but in a rash attempt to obtain further assurances a French envoy was dispatched to Ems, and the account of his interview with the king of Prussia was distorted by Bismarck and sent to the press. At a moment when Europe appeared supremely tranquil the telegram was answered by a declaration of war. Ten days later Bismarck announced through

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the *Times* that Napoleon had recently plotted to annex Belgium ; the English government, deeply concerned by the revelation, decided that if either combatant crossed the Belgian frontier, Great Britain would assist the other in defending neutral territory, but would not engage in further operations. Important declarations were appended. Gladstone affirmed that our action was voluntary, that a guarantor might weigh the circumstances of a case before honouring his security, but he considered that England was not forced to stand aside because neither Austria nor Russia chose to intervene. A vote increasing the army and navy showed Belgium that England' was in earnest, but to the bitter disappointment of the French her sympathies leaned at first in favour of Prussia from the belief that France had provoked the conflict expecting an easy invasion of Germany. The course of the war soon showed that one combatant was prepared and united, the other unprepared and the victim of her dynasty. Within six weeks Sedan was fought and France defeated. After the fall of Napoleon Gladstone and Lord Granville refused the appeal made by Thiers to England first among the powers, for mediation on behalf of the French in their extremity; and in spite of his remonstrances against their abdication of any part in continental affairs, they left France to deal alone with Germany.* The severity of her punishment, the cession of Alsace-Lorraine, the ruthlessness of the Prussian troops, combined to react on public opinion. " England had maintained her neutrality amid the indignation of both sides—"too holy to fight," wrote Morier, "but rubbing our hands at the roaring trade we are driving in cartridges and ammunition. We are heaping up to ourselves the undying hatred of this German race that will henceforth rule the world." The proximity of France enabled her to buy from us coal, munitions, and horses. Prussians reproached our government, and recalled the day when Wellington and Blucher joined hands at Waterloo; we allowed free trade, they said, in instruments of slaughter, though we could always prevent the sale of arms to the Fenians. "The English are more hated at this moment than the French," wrote the Crown Princess, and the warning was repeated by countless diplomats and correspondents. A further danger was disclosed in the discovery that Bismarck had ensured Russia's neutrality by a promise to refrain from protest when his ally violated the treaty of Paris and reopened the Black Sea to her warships. Palmerston had seen, as Gladstone saw, that the restriction could hardly be permanent, but the deliberate breach of a treaty without the consent of the signatories was of evil omen. Menaced as England was by disputes with the United States, and hampered by the helplessness of France, she found herself in a dangerous position, but a threat of war won for her a conference in London. Though Russia's action received formal sanction, the

principle was affirmed that no power could alter a treaty or liberate itself from an engagement without the consent of the European concert.

The elevation at Versailles of the king of Prussia to the place of German Emperor, and the Treaty of Frankfort dismembering and humiliating France, changed the course of European history. The rise of an overpowering military nation, prophesied by every continental statesman since Talleyrand, was accepted in England with satisfaction. "A strong Germany under Prussian leadership," said an observer, "had been the life-long dream of Baron Stockmar, under whose influence Queen Victoria and Prince Albert had placed this fundamental idea as their chief hope for the new Europe which was to arise from the ashes of 1848." "So if Sadowa and Sedan had gone amiss," wrote Lord Morley later, "the resplendent orb of German radiance and intellectual power would never have broken through the nebulous skies of a disunited fatherland and diffused its beams over the civilized world." The English in general watched almost as disinterested spectators the fall and rise of continental empires. England, in fact, stood apart from the European conflicts that followed the Crimean war. Her concern lay beyond the European border. From 1856 onwards there was scarcely a year in which Great Britain was not at war in some far region of the globe, pushing out her frontiers over ever-increasing territories, or defending her settlements. An empire had arisen from the sea, the first island empire in the world's history. If its swift expansion, and the complicated administration of subject peoples, exceeded in extent and degree all former records, those did not constitute its original character or its ultimate strength. They were of less significance than the steady movement of self-government by which England was establishing a power wholly new in the tale of empires ancient or modern. The development of the German state and of the British dominions moved forward step by step during the same years. Europe watched the deliberate creation of a typical military empire, of single design and marvellous organization, an empire inspired by traditions from the past of Charlemagne, and of Barbarossa. The work of England lay in half-consciously moulding her own scattered colonies on the other side of the world along peaceful and democratic lines into a confederation of common consent—a bold advance into the future, where the past could give neither pattern nor experience, and where the design and organization of statesmen were subordinated to the living spirit of free peoples. Twenty years before the Crimean war she had begun to convert the colonies of English race into the "five free nations" of an empire planted in the great oceans. While Palmerston busied himself with China or Spain, the colonists were preparing the way for the independence to which the bolder

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spirits aspired. "Emancipate your colonies," wrote Bentham in 1793, and pointed the way to a new policy. The mercantile system had been discredited by the loss of America, and a new empire slowly took shape, rising from the ruins of the old. The terror of the American revolt and of the Napoleonic wars had imposed strict military discipline and command; and during the first half of the nineteenth century imperialism stood for rigid and centralized control. As a measure of greater security Parliament took the place of the Crown as supreme authority. No new territory was granted a local legislature: in all the governor was absolute, subject only to the minister at home. The colonies, in complete commercial and financial subjection, suffered at times considerable loss and inconvenience. Ministers who encouraged a tentative growth of democratic principles in England were fearful lest colonial democracy might become a menace to the Mother country. Whigs and Tories alike opposed the doctrine of freedom; even Russell held that extended self-government was outside the pale of practical politics, and Wellington persisted that "responsible government and the sovereignty of Great Britain were completely incompatible." But the same spirit of freedom which by the Reform bill had captured the outworks of responsible government in England against all obstacles and prejudices was also astir in colonial life.

A small band of men endowed with imagination determined to show the truth of Bentham's prophecy that empire was not inconsistent with self-government. Charles Buller and Edward Gibbon Wakefield—"a democratic man in all fibres of him," said Carlyle—were the apostles of a new age and a noble future. They foresaw the opportunities which the colonies would give to the wealth of England, to her industries and shipping, and to the vigour and daring of her people. They deplored the slowness of politicians to grasp the importance of the new lands, and decried the rigidity and lack of sympathy shown by "Mr. Mothercountry," the embodiment of Downing Street rule; their remedy was to train the colonies themselves by control of municipal affairs to wider duties. They soon had occasion to test their creed. "You have got another Ireland growing up in every colony you possess," said Peel, and the issue bore witness to the truth of his warning. Canada had in her representative assemblies a shadow of self-government; but the reality of power lay with a Governor and an administrative Council responsible only to Downing Street. To the jealousy between the council and the assemblies was added the racial strife of English and French Canadians, and a conflict between the democracy and the local oligarchy, or "family compact" of the church, magistracy, and banks. At length the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada broke into open revolt, and for two years political passion drove insurgents

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to resist the law, while the ruling class perverted justice in the name of order. Refugees crossed the frontier and mingled with the wild and lawless men who lived near the Great Lakes. America justly complained of disturbance so near her borders. At the same time the strong ties of the frontier colonists with their neighbours in the United States foreshadowed a powerful agitation for the absorption of Canada. Loyalists, suspicious of every mark of sympathy as an attempt to seduce Canada, cried for vengeance on the French Canadians, and for war with the United States. Both countries threatened a campaign of plunder and reprisal. In this tragic and disastrous confusion Lord Durham was sent to Canada as High Commissioner, and with him went Buller and Wakefield. "Never, I believe," wrote Buller, "did men embark in any public undertaking with more singleness and honesty of purpose." Durham's first step was daring and conciliatory; he proclaimed an amnesty and released the prisoners. The effect in the United States was instantaneous, and for a time jealousy was forgotten in admiration for his boldness. He had rallied Canada to the Crown. But at home Melbourne's ministry was divided; it failed to support him in the amnesty; and within six months of his departure Durham returned to England baffled and heartbroken. In his passion of imperial patriotism he sent to the press, as a matter of "grave urgency," his report drawn up by Buller and Wakefield. "It needs no change in the principles of government," ran the report, "no invention of a new constitutional theory. . . . It needs but to follow out consistently the principles of the British constitution." Many detailed reforms were insisted on, but above all was the principle of responsible government as the Magna Charta of the colonies, coupled with "a good system of municipal institutions." The Crown should "henceforth consult the wishes of the people in the choice of its servants"; the executive Council should no longer retain office when they lost the confidence of the representative Assembly. Lord Durham and his helpers left their mark on imperial affairs by their bold spirit of constitutional liberty. They foretold the future greatness of the dominions, the pride of nationality within the colonies, and the need of giving to the new peoples a country of their own, a country whose course they would themselves direct, and whose free existence they would defend against all enemies. Though Durham's mind was concentrated on Canada and its dangers, he laid down principles which made his report "the text-book of every advocate of colonial freedom." Russell accepted his advice, and Canada received representative government, with a single Parliament and a legislative Council.

"British America is lost!" was the cry of the Tories, and in this "rank and infectious report" they saw only an excuse for future

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rebellions : at any sacrifice England was bound, in their view, to keep complete command over the colonies "as an integral part of the Empire." The Whigs, in their fervour for free trade, insisted on commercial control while allowing political liberty. The Radicals believed that complete freedom and the growth of common interests would alone secure imperial union. But, as the colonies complained, the general indifference of English people "abandoned them entirely to Downing Street." Save when a party vote was involved, imperial questions were discussed in an empty and inattentive House. An endeavour to educate the country was made by the Society for Colonial Reform, founded by William Molesworth. He recognized that a Colonial Office which undertook the care of forty communities had set itself an impossible task. England had to meet the "vast expenditure" of their internal administration, the protection of their interests in a world-wide diplomacy, and the military defence of a hundred frontiers, mountain ranges lost in snow, parched deserts of sand, rivers, seas, or a bare line of latitude ruled across the prairie. The colonies paid but a tenth of their expenses ; they yielded no tribute ; it was doubted whether they offered any important commercial advantages; and there was a common opinion that the adoption of free trade had destroyed the only motive for retaining them under control. As responsibility grew enthusiasm declined. Carlyle's satire broke forth : "' If you want to go from us, go ; we by no means want you to stay: you cost us money, which is scarce ; desperate quantities of trouble too : why not go if you wish it ?' Such is the humour of British statesmen at this time." Molesworth for his part urged faith in the colonists : and showed that with the expansion of self-government they would gradually shoulder their own burdens. While politicians argued, Canada was leading the colonies towards a new position in the Empire. She owed much to the guidance of Lord Elgin, who launched responsible government. Though mobbed by a minority, who burned down the Parliament House at Montreal, he insisted on giving his assent to an unpopular Bill, and urged Canada to grip her own administration. When her farmers were faced with ruin by the repeal of the Corn Laws he struck off the shackles of the Navigation Act, thus preparing a reciprocal treaty with the United States ; and five years later Canada established her own protective tariff and founded the fiscal independence of the colonies. Her statesmen foresaw the day when the inhabited plots should be pieced together and a greater Canada should stretch, like the States, in unbroken political unity from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. They desired a boundless expanse of territory to provide for the needs of a fast increasing population, which the certainty of freedom and the hopes of fortune attracted from Europe. Above all they feared the activity of a powerful and aggressive neighbour ; for Polk, President

of the United States, after annexing Texas, had attempted to push his claims across the vulnerable Canadian border, where the advent of alien traders or the raids of alien armies might intercept the road to the Pacific, and wreck not only their hopes but their very independence. Moreover the progress of the Civil War in the United States involved them in the grave risks which threatened England. Dangerous questions had arisen as to the definition of belligerents and of rebels, of blockade, contraband, "continuous voyage." Two envoys from the southern states who sailed for London in a British steamer, the *Trent*, were arrested by an officer of the Northern navy. Palmerston sent a force to be held ready in Canada, and demanded instant apology for a violation of international law. For some weeks peace hung in the balance; the press was violent; prayers for war were said in the States Senate, and a resolution was passed in favour of a navy sufficient to "defend the seas from the sway of an arbitrary trident." By wise counsel war was averted; but scarcely had the envoys been given up than a new peril arose. The Confederates having, bought a British vessel fitted her as a privateer, and while the government was inquiring into the rights of the enterprise the *Alabama* slipped out of the Mersey, and delivered a series of attacks upon Northern commerce. In the height of excitement at her extraordinary success, Gladstone made his famous declaration as to the Confederates of the South: their leaders had made an army, they are making a navy, and what is more than either, he said, "they have made a nation." Thousands of Englishmen echoed his words, for they regarded the South as fighting for its constitutional life. But there was a sudden revulsion of feeling with President Lincoln's proclamation of freedom to the slaves. All other matters forgotten, Englishmen refused to recognize a State "based on the foundation of human bondage." They came to think as Manchester had thought for many months. The mills had long been deprived of raw material, but even in face of starvation the cotton-workers refused to take a single bale from slave-owning states. Rich and poor, Whig and Tory, hastened to subscribe for the relief of Lancashire. President Lincoln sent cargoes of flour for the workers whose attitude had helped to maintain peace between the countries. A section of opinion in the Northern States indeed was eager for war with Great Britain, and the hotheads urged an attack on Canada or on English commerce, while English merchants on their side proposed to break the irregular blockade of the Southern States, and two ironclads were built in English yards for the Confederates. The government however checked every breach of neutrality, detained the ships, and resisted Napoleon's project for joint mediation. The close of the war brought new difficulties. Hundreds of thousands of Irish fugitives from famine and eviction had sought in the States, beyond the British

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Empire, liberty, home, and opportunity. They lay outside the current theories of "Anglo-Saxon kinship." Many thousands had joined the American army. A Fenian rising was planned on both sides of the Atlantic ; at the peace soldiers of Irish birth, set free from the army, were joined in a raid across the Canadian frontier by American comrades eager for war with England. A member suggested in Congress that Ireland should be recognized as a belligerent; rumours of political dissensions in Canada and doubts of its loyalty gained some credence; while even in England fear of entanglement in war with the States led to a talk of separation. A flood of pamphlets showed the popular excitement. Meanwhile the States denounced the reciprocal treaty of 1854 in the hope that commercial pressure would force Canada into the Union, an end desired by her own republicans. But the covert threat stimulated the Canadian spirit of nationality. Already the approaching victory of the Federals under President Lincoln had quickened the demand for Federal union of the provinces, and at a meeting in Quebec the delegates mapped out a Constitution. On the threat of coercion or of war a deputation of Ministers carried their scheme to London and triumphantly concluded their Treaty. The British North America Act created a Parliament for the Dominion of Canada, with a Governor and a Ministry supreme over the provincial legislatures. Without realizing the greatness of her deed, England had overturned her old colonial system ; and while many hailed a step towards " amicable separation " she had forged the stoutest link in the chain of empire. When " Dominion Day " witnessed the opening of the first Parliament at Ottawa a mighty nation sprang into life. As the remoter parts, one by one, came into the Union, the Dominion was extended to the Rocky Mountains and to the Arctic Ocean. By the accession of British Columbia, a province twice the size of France, Canada bordered on the Pacific. Seven states and several territories were united under its rule. A railway built with British capital soon spanned the Dominion from sea to sea, and opened a route from England to Hong-Kong half as long as the journey by the Suez Canal. The vast distances which by dividing the eastern and western provinces formed a bar to federation, were conquered by railway development without parallel. With the means of transport her trade in wheat and cattle, furs and fruit, increased a thousandfold; her products were turned to the English markets, and her prosperity encouraged a rapid extension of settlements beyond all example. The word colony has long been proudly rejected by this first of nations within the Empire.

Australia

1787

Newfoundland, refusing to enter the Canadian Union, maintained the constitution given it in 1855 ; but the example of Canada inspired the settlers of the Pacific. When the United States were lost, England

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turned to colonize Australia. With the coming of the earliest convicts and their guards the first plough was driven into Australian soil at Parramatta ; and John Macarthur soon planted the first vineyard and imported merino sheep. From that time the squatter began to feed our woollen industries with abundant raw material. The first free colony was established as a warning to French explorers. A vast continent equal in size to Europe was dotted with tiny settlements, and separate bands of colonists pressed from the sea to the heated and parched interior. Searching for pasture-land, explorers rowed up the broad rivers or toiled across illimitable deserts which yielded neither water, shade, nor sustenance. For fifty years the squatters composed Australia's chief population, but the discovery of gold brought new problems ; shepherds and labourers rushed to the gold-fields, and crowds of immigrants flooded the land. Hitherto each colony, ruled by autocratic governors and councils, fought for its own hand ; there was no racial question, no indefensible boundary, no powerful neighbour to emphasize the need for union. Contests for irrigation or the control of navigable rivers, for tariffs or boundaries, were embittered by animosities between colonies formed by emigration and those whose origin lay in convict settlements where men were drilled and brutalized under penal discipline. Amid the dangers of the wilderness and the sufferings of frequent years of drought, settlers were hardened in mind and body ; they endured the evils of alternate hoarding or waste and instability, due to speculation in land or metals ; their opportunities for worship or education were scant. Australia, like Canada, owed a debt to Edward Gibbon Wakefield. While imprisoned for elopement with a ward in Chancery he talked in Newgate with felons condemned to Botany Bay, bought books, and emerged from confinement a colonial reformer, indignant at the scandal of transporting convicts, the iniquity of simply "shovelling out paupers," the numbing effect of the want of schools and the dearth of religion. Though his schemes for the disposal of land were a failure, he stimulated thought upon the whole range of the problem, and it was largely due to him that an end was put to transportation. Its firmest opponent was Henry Parkes ; a farm labourer from Warwickshire, he set out with his wife "to unlock a door," and landed in Sydney without a friend to meet him, to become at first keeper of a toy shop, then journalist, and later a dominating parliamentary leader. The passionate energy of the new settlers made Australia. Ignorance j was stamped out, political life lost much of its factiousness, a "constituted anarchy" lost its power, the brutality and violence of the press were mitigated. The slow evolution of order forms one of the **finest tributes** to the virtue of self-government. But under the **guidance of self-made men each colony preserved a strong sense of its** |

- ' SEC. II. own importance. Varieties of climate and products led to conflicting problems of labour and development. New South Wales was inclined to free trade, Victoria was wholly for protection, South Australia was mainly pastoral, Queensland had abundance of gold, while Western Australia imported convicts until compelled to desist by the anger of its rivals. Isolated by vast tracts of waste and desert, each State was content with its separate constitution, and though the British Government urged Federal Union the question was pushed aside. Its most powerful advocate was an Irish emigrant, Gavan Duffy, who had barely escaped a rebel's doom in the cause of "Ireland a nation," and now worked ardently for the national idea in his adopted country : "In the eyes of Europe and America what was a few years ago known to them only as an obscure penal settlement in some uncertain position in the Southern Ocean begins to be recognized as a fraternity of wealthy and important States capable of immense development." But in vain he warned the colonists that "neighbouring States of the second rank inevitably become confederates or enemies." The first proposal for federation. was received with shouts of laughter. His great effort failed* A later conference and Bill for a Federal Council came to nothing. The strong pressure of external danger could alone put a check on internecine war and fratricidal struggles. There had been occasional alarm when the French patrolled the Pacific, annexing Tahiti and other stations, or seized New Caledonia ; and the Australian demand for possession of the Oceanic archipelago against all other European Powers was met by Disraeli in his annexation of the Fiji Islands. But the first effective shock towards union was given when France planted a penal settlement in one of the islands, and Germany entered on New Guinea and the "Bismarck Archipelago." In their remote and isolated position the colonies consented to a general conference for defence ; and asserted an Australian Monroe doctrine, that no foreign power should establish itself in their western waters. But the Act to create a federal council for the protection of their interests was a scanty and imperfect sketch of union for definite effort; and when a wider scheme was supported by Sir Henry Parkes, a national convention at Sydney still failed to construct a constitution.
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- 1882
- 1883-1885
- 1889
- 1891
- New Zealand** New Zealand, in the very centre of the water hemisphere, 1,200 miles from Australia, had taken form as a British colony under the same sense of jealous independence. From 1814 English subjects had settled there, but the British Government, i,000 miles away, had disavowed sovereignty, till French activity in the Pacific and their efforts to establish a colony in New Zealand and make it a dependency of France hastened our annexation of the islands. Six provinces were united under a Governor and Parliament, and the provincial governments presently sank into County Councils. After.
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ten years' fighting with the Maoris, English troops were withdrawn, and the country was left to its own resources. In the planting of the islands Wakefield's intense hostility to Ireland had left New Zealand the most purely English and Scotch in blood of all the colonies. The little community of half a million white people were confident of their own vigour, proud of the wonders of their country, with its snow-clad mountains fuming with volcanic heat, its glaciers and abundant rivers, its ice-cold lakes towards the Antarctic zone, and towards the tropics sheets' of water heated to boiling-point by hidden geysers. A people ambitious and self-dependent refused to merge their colony by federation in the Commonwealth of Australia; the two countries in fact find their market on the other side of the world, and have no need to look to each other for raw material. The aim of New Zealand was to become a sister State in an Imperial Confederation, and trust for the protection of its isolated settlement to the central government, under whose guardianship the colony worked out her experiments in social reform.

It was by no road of peaceful development that South Africa entered into the circle of the free States of the Empire, but by a way of sorrow, violence, and storm. When Cape Town was taken from the Dutch in 1806, South Africa was mainly regarded as a stepping-stone to the East, and the Cape as a half-way house on the route to India. At first a mere outpost of empire, this harbour of call soon became the chief town of a new and expanding settlement. When finally the Cape became a Crown Colony immigrants poured in from Great Britain, and the Dutchman saw himself gradually ousted from a land he had marked for his own by a race equally insistent upon expansion, with whose language and law he was unfamiliar, and with whose methods of dealing he was justly dissatisfied. The Dutch courts of *Landroost* and *Heemraden* were abolished, their places being taken by resident magistrates; judicial proceedings were to be in English; equality of rights between the white and the coloured population was established. But a predominating grievance in connexion with the emancipation of the slaves determined the Dutchmen to cast off for ever English law and government. They considered the compensation to be inadequate; the order that it should be paid in London alone threw the Dutch slave-proprietors into the hands of English agents who basely defrauded them. Indignation at the treatment to which they were subjected drove them to the Great Trek. Northwards lay the unbounded veldt; harnessing their oxen to cumbersome wagons, some seven thousand, Paul Kruger among them, set out for new soil, and founded the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. By continued wars against fierce tribes of Zulus and Matabele, they maintained a precarious independence. But each move was countered by the British, who by the annexation of Natal cut off the Dutchmen

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from the sea. At length the home government, reluctant to bear for an obstinate and disaffected neighbour the cost and risk of defence[^] signed the Sand River Convention, by which the Boers were allowed to assume their independence. Two years later the Orange Free State obtained a like agreement at Bloemfontein. Thus, with the consent of the home government, South Africa had been divided into provinces of different allegiance. The rivalry of the old Dutch and French settlers with the incoming and dominating English was aggravated by feuds both within and without the borders of the several states. The Boer Republics saw in the province* under English dominion a perpetual threat. Cape Colony, practically partitioned between Dutch and English, was divided against itself, contemptuous of the Boers beyond its borders, and opposed to Natal, which was intensely British. In one danger South Africa stood alone. No other colony had to face the problem of a native race which did not disappear before the European advance, and where the existence of the scanty white population was continually menaced by powerful military tribes. Besides recurrent wars with Kaffirs and Basutos, the settlers were confronted with the even more ominous problems of a community dependent on native labour, and the relations of a white race to a subject population of Africans within their borders. To meet the danger of the encompassing tribes Sir George Grey urged a system of common defence by a federal union of the various states, united under British rule, but so as to leave great individual freedom of action to each province. His scheme was wrecked by the home government; and a new proposal sent out from London was refused in South Africa on the question of the native vote. From •Canada the colonies had learned that the question of their federal union must be a purely colonial question to be decided among themselves.

**Umpire
and De-
mocracy**

While the colonies acquired political self-consciousness England was gradually awakening to the range and importance of her vast heritage. Ocean steamers were now carrying out emigrants from every class in the country; and travellers such as Sir Charles Dilke, a statesman of unrivalled knowledge and sympathy with the rising fortunes of the colonies, endeavoured to inform public ignorance and compel the attention of Parliament. A new world had arisen where our language, laws, and customs were now supreme, and whose people were justly proud of their achievements. Literature, art, and music had in towns toned down the roughness of the earlier settler. The countryman bred in toil, in adventure, in daily conflict with nature, had gained an astonishing physical vigour and endurance, and skill in every sport. Confident in his freedom and strength, rapid in resource, stern and even ruthless in purpose, he was little disposed to subject either himself or his country to discipline or control. When Canada

imposed her first protective tariff the protest of the Colonial Office was met by a curt answer : " Self-government would be utterly annihilated if the views of the Imperial Government were to be preferred to those of the people of Canada." Thus at a blow ended the old theory of Empire. With the development of colonial institutions a stalwart independence grew up side by side with imperial sentiment. Pioneers of freedom, encouraged by some small successes, boldly questioned the right of Great Britain to dictate fiscal treaties and decide foreign relations ; it was suggested that the colonies should become like Hanover, an apanage of the Crown, but not necessarily involved in her wars. But colonials in the main extolled "the crimson thread of kinship," and claimed the right to maintain their position and privileges as Englishmen ; like Queensland they refused to be " thrust out of the Empire." In England itself all parties had abandoned "the hated name" of force and coercion, exercised by us." Sir Charles Dilke proposed through Imperial Councils to admit the colonies to a share in the common defence. Disraeli had in fact preceded him with a scheme of colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament, and for over a quarter of a century advocated a customs union. But politicians shirked a problem perplexed and tangled, until pressing needs of imperial defence forced them to take a wider outlook. The Maori wars in New Zealand, a futile invasion of Canada by Fenians, the Red River rebellion led by the half-caste Louis Riel, the native troubles in Natal, illustrated the expediency of leaving to the colonies their own defence. Liberals regarded the withdrawal of imperial troops as a pursuance of their general "principle of freedom," and claimed that self-government was the cure for disturbance and unrest. The system, in fact, of throwing on the colonies that managed their own affairs the entire cost of their own support enabled Britain to maintain an empire ten times as large as that of France at a third of the expense. To Conservatives the measure seemed a signal of dissolution—the final slackening of the old imperial bond. Their only alternative to separation was federation of the Empire, and extremists sought in premature fashion to introduce " in black and white " a definite federal tie, alien and abhorrent to the traditions of English political life. Ardent imperialists regarded the day of small nationalities as past, and pointed to the German empire and Italy as examples of the strength which federation produced. But neither England nor the colonies were as yet prepared for the administrative difficulties of such a union. In the main all sides accepted the actual situation. Separation might come, colonials admitted, but the general feeling was that the colonies themselves were moving in the other direction. They predicted a day when Great Britain would define her wishes and duties and the colonies, would accept their obligations.

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Not only in colonial questions, but in foreign affairs, the country was torn by rival policies. After Falmeston's death English Liberals shunned intervention in Europe ; Gladstone, schooled by Peel and supported by Granville, a foreign minister who loved peace, reverted to an un-aggressive and conciliatory attitude. He had carried out the cession of the Ionian Islands to Greece, and had made the Treaty of Washington, to adjust many old and long-drawn-out disputes with America. Six months later he accepted arbitration to end the five years' dangerous quarrel over the *Alabama* question. The award was given by a composite tribunal sitting at Geneva. American statesmen assessed English liabilities, not at the damage that the *Alabama* had done, but at all she had cost by prolonging the war; the "indirect claims," said Disraeli, were like a tribute levied on a conquered nation. At length America reduced her terms to nine millions, and obtained three. Great Britain expressed regret for the damage done ; and certain conditions were laid down governing the conduct of neutrals. The enthronement of "public right as the governing idea of European policy," together with peace and economy, were Gladstone's guiding principles. England, he wrote, could never be unfaithful to her great tradition, nor forswear her interest in the common transactions and general interests of Europe. "But her credit and her power form a fund, which in order that they may be made the most of should be thriftily used." He urged the country not to encourage the weak by expectation, but to deter the strong from aggression. Disraeli, on the other hand, represented the change of outlook in England, the distrust of a cosmopolitan view, a jealous imperialism, and the superseding of home affairs by an imaginative and striking eastern policy. In his earlier spell of power he had made war in Abyssinia and reduced Magdala. His return to office on the fall of Gladstone was marked by the annexation of the Fiji Islands, and he appealed to the pride of the country by a dramatic purchase of the Suez Canal shares that had been allotted to Egypt at its opening six years before. The magnitude of English trade through the Canal, which exceeded tenfold that of any other nation, had made a revolution in ship-building, and the excitement in Liverpool as the new model vessels arrived to load up in the Mersey gave force to his imperial ideas. At the same moment the brilliant tour planned for the Prince of Wales to India brought home to the general public the importance of the highways to the east, and the interest of England in the Ottoman Empire, whose "dominion is recognized at the head of the Persian Gulf, on the shores of the Levant, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the Suez Canal." Disraeli's Asiatic policy caught the imagination and satisfied the ambitions of the country, and invested the empire with a new glamour. Under his guidance **the peaceful Tory tradition was transformed into an ostentatious and aggressive**

imperialism, marked on distant frontiers by a new "forward policy." The expansion of British dominions was at all times pushed on with equal energy and success by both parties, and in the winning of new territories neither side had the slightest pre-eminence. The causes of difference lay deeper. All the nations now stood at the outset of a new age of conquest unparalleled in the world, for the first time made possible by the exaltation of man's power through scientific and mechanical discoveries. England with her coal-fields and her iron, her fleets of steamers and her ocean cables, was inevitably in the forefront of the struggle; and her leaders in enterprise, looking at past efforts and future endeavour, saw no limits to her material triumph if her spirit rose to the great occasion. On the other side were men deeply impressed by difficulties of a different order—men who saw as yet no certain solution to the grave problems of colonial government, and who questioned whether the resources of a small island were sufficient for the responsibilities it was assuming to administer, control, and defend a quarter of the earth's surface. The democracy on its part justly demanded that imperialism should mean not only foreign undertakings but a home policy, that before English resources were lavished on the outermost regions of the empire slums should be cleared from England, health given to her people, and a fitting education to her children—a policy which, if the ruling classes had understood the great issues involved, would indeed have made their country the first in the world and impregnable to all attack. The instinct of the English people, very nobly reinforced in this controversy by the Celtic races, remained true to the spirit of liberty. To Liberals the name of imperialism was justly suspect. It was the denial of a generous tradition handed down since Canning, that in Britain small and oppressed nationalities ought to find a liberal support. The word carried the implications of reactionary oppression in Russia, of government by massacre in Turkey, of the vast pretensions and corruptions of the fallen empire of Napoleon, and the military rule of that which was rising in Germany. Before the title of imperial could be accepted by a free people it had to receive after long effort a new British interpretation, as yet hidden from the Tory party of that day, and almost beyond the hopes of the Liberals themselves.

The policies represented by the two mighty antagonists, Disraeli and Gladstone, were brought into the sharpest contrast, and invested with intense popular emotion during a new crisis of the eastern danger. The problem of the Ottoman Empire after every supposed settlement reappeared more threatening than before. It took its most ominous form after the defeat of France. Alarmed at the French power of recovery, and fearful of her alliance with Russia, Bismarck almost precipitated a second War, which was only averted by the personal

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- SEC. II. efforts of the Tsar and Queen Victoria. To prevent any union between Russia and France, he pressed the Tsar to push his conquests round the Black Sea ; while he encouraged Austria, now barred out from Germany, and expelled from Italy, to repair her fortunes by a Balkan empire. The old duel between Russia seeking an outlet to the sea, and England guarding the way to India, became a conflict among the leading European powers for dominance in the East. England was isolated by the fall of France. The Sultan on the other hand gained strength by the check given to the influence of French thought, which had penetrated the Ottoman Empire, stimulating among its peoples, and even among the Moslems, aspirations of nationality; and he was now prepared to assert his mastery with a powerful army, reorganized on western lines. Turkish bankruptcy added an argument for extortion from the subject Christians. Their misery was extreme ; and a rising in Herzegovina and Bosnia, planned or encouraged by Prussia, set the whole peninsula in a blaze of revolt. Three years followed of massacre and war within, and ceaseless intrigue without. Europe was divided by rival policies. The powers Remanded a system of local reforms suited to the needs of the various provinces and guaranteed by Europe; England advocated the integrity of Turkey and her absolute rule, admitting no local autonomy, but giving to the Christians the protection of the European concert to prevent Russia from claiming their guardianship in the Balkans and Armenia, and France in Syria and Egypt. When therefore Austria offered the mediation of the three imperial courts, the Sultan threw aside the proposal by an announcement that he was considering a universal reform in the Ottoman Empire—a proposal in great part inspired by Disraeli and the English government. To this Austria answered by the famous " Andrassy Note," which presented terms of immediate and definite relief for the special Balkan provinces, agreed upon by the three Emperors, by France and Italy, and half accepted by England. Since there was no hint of real pressure Turkey might acquiesce in reforms which she could " accept with reluctance and neglect with impunity." But a new outbreak of Mohammedan fanaticism, and the murder of the French and German consuls at Salonica, forced from the three Emperors the " Berlin Note," shorter and more decisive than the last, and threatening " efficacious measures." Though France and Italy signed, Disraeli—who had sent a fleet to Besika Bay to protect British interests—refused joint action, offered no alternative policy, and broke up the last hope of peace enforced by the will of a united Europe. For Disraeli the day of small nations was over, while his foreign minister, Lord Derby, held that Turkey had as much right to deal in her own fashion with rebellion in the Balkans as England in Ireland, then shaken by Parnell's demands for "Ireland a nation." The Sultan mocked at powers in discord,
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From Bulgaria came news of a month of massacre, when 10,000 bashibazouks were let loose to slaughter and burn—in Batak not 2,000 left from a population of 7,000, in the Philippopolis district alone some 12,000 hideously tortured and massacred—"horror which turns one's blood to flame," said Lord Carnarvon. In their fury Serbians and Montenegrins declared war. Overrun by Turkish forces, Serbia appealed to Europe. Disraeli scoffed at his own consul's reports as "coffee-house babble"; he professed his faith in a Young Turk constitution; which, after two Sultans had disappeared in a few weeks, finally vanished under the notorious Abd-ul-Hamid, nominee of the Old Turks. Gladstone's indignation glowed with a white heat. He made the question one of humanity and the Christian faith. Russell, now at eighty one of the last links between the old and the new Whigs, declared that, like Canning, he was for making friends with Russia and Greece and turning the Turk out of Europe; it was Gladstone's policy—joint intervention, and the expulsion of the Turk from Europe "bag and baggage." "The unspeakable Turk," wrote Carlyle, "should be immediately struck out of the question, and the country left to honest European guidance." Meetings of protest were supported by Browning and Burne Jones, Froude and Freeman, Ruskin and Morris. In the height of this public excitement Disraeli was given the title of Lord Beaconsfield by the Queen, who six months before had become at his advice Empress of India. Lord Derby appealed to the Turks to make peace with the Serbians as an "urgent necessity," but knowing that his government would apply no force they pressed on the war. Meanwhile Russia had completed her preparations. At Reichstadt the Tsar and the Austrian emperor made a compact that Russia should have a free hand in the Danubian provinces, and that in case of war with Turkey Austria should remain neutral, and for her reward should occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus fortified, and moved by the approaching extinction of the Serbian people, Russia sent an ultimatum to the Porte, obtained an armistice for Serbia, and saved the country. Her ambassador Ignatieff had restored even more than the prestige of Menschikoff. Beaconsfield retorted by instantly ordering the English fleet to Besika Bay, and by a menacing speech at the Lord Mayor's banquet; and his threat of war was repeated in every music-hall by the "Jingoes" in the blatant rhyme that gave them their name. To support "our traditional policy" appeals were made to the hatreds and prejudices of the Crimean war. England proposed a conference at Constantinople, where Lord Salisbury, "with no Disraelite prejudice," was sent as representative; but immediately before the first formal meeting a telegram from the Cabinet assured the Porte that it would never countenance coercive measures against Turkey. As the full conference opened, salvoes of artillery rang out

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to announce "the promulgation of an Ottoman constitution" by Abd-ul-Hamid. The audacious renewal of an old device for exploiting the dissensions of the Powers could deceive no one ; but it enabled the Sultan, confident of English support, to refuse the terms offered him, and to reject the later proposals which the baffled diplomats drew up in the Protocol of London. Russia, tired of delays, ordered her troops across the frontier. Osman Pasha's brilliant defence of Plevna long delayed their advance, but at length Roumania came to the rescue, and Russia obtained her terms almost at the gates of Constantinople. The treaty of San Stefano recognized the independence of Serbia, Montenegro, and Roumania, and created a new Bulgaria—a Christian state which stretched from the Archipelago to the Black Sea, dividing in two the empire left to the Sultan. It restored to Russia the strip of Bessarabia taken from her in 1856, and gave her the mountain land of Armenia, commanding the descent to Mesopotamia, with a part of the caravan road from Trebizond to the heart of Persia. As alarm at Russia's success spread through Tory and Liberal ranks the storm of passion at Turkish atrocities died down. Early in the war, in spite of Gladstone's prophetic denunciations, Parliament had given to Beaconsfield full freedom to conduct affairs as he saw best. His cabinet was hesitating. Twice the fleet had been ordered to pass the Dardanelles, and twice recalled on threats of resignations. But when a misleading telegram from the British Minister at the Porte announced a menacing Russian advance on Constantinople, English ships were hurried to the Bosphorus and off the island of Prinkipo confronted the Russian army at San Stefano. War seemed imminent. Liberals wavered in the House of Commons and joined in passing a vote of credit. Gladstone's windows were broken by a "Jingo" mob. The impression was false, but panic remained. Beaconsfield seized the opportunity, called out the reserves, and on Lord Derby's resignation made Lord Salisbury his* foreign minister. In a famous dispatch he struck the alarm of a shattered Turkey, a Canal in danger, and an omnipotent Russia in command of "the unrivalled situation and resources which Europe had entrusted to the Porte." He carried with him the stockbrokers and soldiers, and by a dramatic stroke announced an order, unknown to Parliament, to bring 7,000 Indian troops to Malta. Finally, supported by Austria, he refused to recognize the treaty of San Stefano, and forced Russia to submit to a general congress, on the ground that the eastern question was one for Europe, not for Russia alone.

**Congress
of Berlin***June 13*

The Congress of Berlin assembled under the presidency of Bismarck, who offered himself as the "honest broker," to revise the treaty of San Stefano. It met only to find itself already superfluous. Beaconsfield came, as he said, not to partition a worn-out state, but to strengthen an ancient empire. But an evening paper published the

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terms, revealed by a temporary clerk, of a secret agreement already concluded between Salisbury and Shuvaloff. Russia was promised the lands she had won, renouncing only the caravan route from the Black Sea towards Persia ; and Austria received the protectorate of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where she stood as " sentinel of the Balkans." The boundaries of the proposed "greater Bulgaria" were redrawn, dividing it into three states, Bulgaria, Eastern Rumelia, and Macedonia, the diplomatists supposing that the danger of reunion would be averted by lack of a common name : thus Beaconsfield sought to avert the danger he feared, of a Bulgaria whose gratitude might yield to Russia a harbour on the *Ægean* from which she could threaten the Suez Canal. The frontiers of these states, like those of Serbia and Montenegro, were so amended as to weaken the power of each, and the Slav peoples were broken into groups between which Austria held the ways of communication. At the last moment Shuvaloff found himself outwitted. For by a secret treaty of " defensive alliance " with Turkey a week before the congress, Beaconsfield had secured possession of Cyprus in payment for his pledge to defend Asia Minor against any further advance by Russia. The Congress had little to do but register these secret agreements. The two great powers who had not struck a blow nor sacrificed a man in the war seized their prize of territory. France was confidentially assured that Great Britain would accept her occupation of Tunis. Bismarck suggested that England should acquire Egypt. Italy alone went away empty-handed, and alarmed at the advance of Austria over Bosnia : like France, she saw beyond the Mediterranean "the last door open " for compensation and expansion, and was ultimately to receive the offer of Tripoli. The integrity of Turkey had disappeared. Few treaties indeed have been more cynical in spirit or more cruel in its provisions than the treaty of Berlin. Excepting Russia, the one supporter of the Orthodox Slavs, the powers had repudiated belief in the solidarity of Christian nations. Great Britain, whose people could not, as in the Crimean war, plead ignorance of Turkish atrocities, had taken a culpable part in forcing Macedonians and Armenians, whom Russia proposed to emancipate, under the Porte, with cynical advice, to trust in the Sultan's reforms. On the other hand Russia, whose enthusiastic crusade, heavy sufferings, and sweeping victory had begun the redemption of the Slavs, saw her work destroyed. For sixty years Europe had been occupied in undoing the settlement of Vienna: the Berlin Congress turned back all aid to subject nationalities for a generation to come. Beaconsfield's policy shattered the hopes of liberty, not only in the Balkans, but in Russia. The diplomatic defeat inflicted on the country by England—the darkest page, said Gortschakoff, in his career—threw disgrace on the new Liberalism, and a long reaction, strengthened by the assassination of

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the Liberal Tsar, settled down upon Russia, a reaction which lasted to our own day. The powers bequeathed to later generations problems which their contempt of national life and unscrupulous diplomacy had aggravated and embittered.

In England an exultant enthusiasm swept over the country at the triumphal return of Beaconsfield from Berlin, with his defiant cry of "peace with honour." All opposition was silenced as the Tory imperialism sprang to its full strength, ready for every enterprise, brave in expansion, confident of English force of dominion, sceptical of Liberal traditions as to "free" peoples or of the virtue of small nationalities, and contemptuous of the "parish pump politics of a democratic nation." Societies and institutes took the title of "Imperial"; and "Liberal Imperialists" disputed with the Tories the glory of empire and the pride of conquest. Lord Salisbury indeed lived to confess that in Turkey we had "put our money on the wrong horse"; while Lord Beaconsfield in a few months recanted his sensational description of the Russian advance. One result of his work remained. He had called in Bismarck to arbitrate in the Balkans, and after the congress Germany, arbiter of Europe, stood at the height of her diplomatic power, assured at once of the friendship of England and the gratitude of Austria. The initials of the Emperor Francis Joseph on the hill-side at Plevlye marked the advance of Austria, backed by Germany, in the "corridor" leading to Salonica. Russia, who had pledged herself not to enter Constantinople, saw Austria advanced nearer to the Mediterranean than herself, while her own communications with the sea were barred by a string of small states at the mercy of surrounding intrigues. Ambitions and disappointments ranged the European powers in a new order. The informal "League of the Three Emperors," Teuton and Slav, was broken up as Russia, duped at Berlin, slowly fell away, and in consequence of the Tsar's alienation the alliance of the "Two Emperors" was made. With subtle diplomacy Bismarck drew Italy into the Teutonic system, and by her union with her hereditary Austrian enemy the "Triple Alliance" was formed, which for over thirty years set its barrier from sea to sea between eastern and western Europe. France and Russia approached each other, and by gradual steps a "Dual Alliance" of east and west was established. Instead of the concert of Europe, there arose a system of opposing groups of nations, from which there could scarcely be any final issue but war. Meanwhile the new grouping of the powers, the suspension of national struggles in Europe, and the fresh direction given to political ambitions, foreshadowed an age of military dangers, of imperial contempt of national claims, and of a stupendous race conflict for dominion of the world. The Congress of Berlin was followed by the most astounding scheme that history has known for dividing up

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an entire continent among the powers of Europe—the partition of Africa.

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So far European settlements had but touched the fringe of the "dark continent," a land of mystery and terror, untraversed and unmapped. Explorers from every country were seeking the sources of the Nile, or tracking the Niger basin. Britain had sent Burton and Speke, and above all the Highlander Mc Leay, known as David Livingstone, explorer, philanthropist, scholar, and missionary, true representative after a thousand years of the old Celtic wanderers. His noble and tragic story fired the imagination of Englishmen, and concentrated the attention of the world upon the possibilities of Africa. A vast continent rich in untilled tracts promised for Europe supplies of cotton and food : the abundant yield of rubber and ivory attracted the merchant, while the missionary was stirred by the horrors of slavery and by the heathen masses yet to be won for 'Christianity.' A Conference of statesmen and merchants, missionaries and scientists, assembled at Brussels under Leopold II. and founded an International Association to conduct "a crusade worthy of this century of progress." Committees were formed and expeditions sent out from France, Germany, and Belgium. Suddenly there came news that Henry Stanley had traversed the continent, fighting against man and nature, and for the first time revealed the majestic course of the Congo through the vast basin left by some ancient sea. Messengers from King Leopold met him as he landed at Marseilles, and secured his services. As envoy of the King he was sent out to guide a "great philanthropic enterprise," later known as the International Association of the Congo. Those who foresaw the dreary future were misrepresented and attacked. Amid projects of unknown wealth to be exploited "the scramble for Africa" began. From her western colonies, France endeavoured to control the basin of the Congo ; but her noblest African explorer, de Brazza, was by Stanley's enterprise held back to the northern bank of the river. Portugal, established for centuries near the mouth of the river, put in her claim for the territories that stretched across the continent to her dominions on the east coast, and signed with Great Britain a convention which secured to her Angola and cut off Leopold's. Association from the sea. For the first time Germany, from her place as arbiter of Europe, formally interfered in colonial affairs. She led a protest of France and the United States against the check by England to the "friends of humanity," and called a Conference of the Powers at Berlin.

It was not the ownership of the Congo basin alone that was now put in question, but the fate of the entire continent. Along the outer borders of Africa the European powers had already marked claims and seized positions for further advance. England had led the way alike in north and south. The semi-independence of Egypt won

English
in Egypt

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- by Mehemet Ali, and the opening of the Suez Canal, had magnified the importance of the Nile valley to English commerce. "We want to trade with Egypt," wrote Palmerston in 1857, "but we do not want the burden of governing Egypt." That burden was now undertaken. Egypt had won a sudden prosperity by supplying English mills with cotton during the American war, but her newly won wealth was squandered by the Khedive Ismail with oriental extravagance. The national debt mounted rapidly; loans were floated in England and France, but the interest remained unpaid until the two powers established a dual control of administration and finance—an unworkable arrangement, as events speedily proved. The extravagance of a decadent Khedive had ruined the peasant and bade fair to ruin the bond-holder. False accounts were issued, sources of revenue suppressed. Beaconsfield distrusted Bismarck's offer at the Congress of Berlin to connive at England's annexation of Egypt; and the suzerainty of the Sultan, a mere name since the days of Mehemet Ali, was called into use to depose the Khedive. Tewfik Pasha succeeded to an impoverished State with half his revenue pledged to creditors, a people oppressed and discontented, and an army unpaid. A nationalist movement, directed in part against Turkey, in part against the numerous officials and stock-jobbers who served the Dual Control, was led by Arabi Bey, who had risen from lowly position to be minister of war and Pasha. With the malcontents of the army behind him he helped to establish a Chamber of Notables and advanced schemes for a democracy; but when he claimed to touch the Budget, and the debt was in danger, the bond-holder called for action. The Sultan was persuaded to send a tardy mission to Egypt, and English and French warships anchored off the coast, while the other Powers proposed a Congress. But Arabi had prepared batteries, and popular resentment against the foreigner broke out in an attack on Europeans in Alexandria. The Sultan would neither decide to restore order, nor give a free hand to the representatives of the Powers assembled at Constantinople. Gladstone yielded to the cry of protection for British subjects, and the British admiral, seeing his warships threatened, demanded the surrender of the forts, and bombarded Alexandria. The premier was severely criticized, and to his great grief Bright left the Cabinet. But criticism was silenced when Arabi's troops fired the town, and a mob completed the work of rapine and plunder. England acted alone, for the French withdrew, willing to aid in protecting the Canal, but refusing to share in intervention. The remaining Powers protested. An expedition under Wolseley (who to the chagrin of the Powers used the Suez Canal as his base) routed the Egyptian army at Tel-el-kebir; when it occupied Cairo Arabi surrendered. His trial and banishment left England in sole command. The dual control was abolished, and France refused an offer that

she should appoint a financial adviser. A circular dispatch to explain the English position was sent to the Powers. The occupation, said Granville in the Lords, was to last until "a stable, a permanent, and a beneficial government" could be established. But Gladstone had prophesied that our first site in Egypt would be "the almost certain egg of a North African Empire," and fate forced his steps in the direction which he feared. The Sudan, a tributary state of Egypt misruled by bashi-bazouks and renegade Pashas, stretched southward, a land half rich, half barren, a home of the slave trade. There a Mohammedan leader calling himself the Mahdi proclaimed a holy war of liberation, and was joined by discontented troops who had fought with Arabi. An inadequate force under an Englishman, Hicks Pasha, was sent by the Khedive to defend the outposts of Egypt. Hicks Pasha hoped for help from home, but Granville, who would not prevent the expedition, denied our responsibility for the inevitable disaster. After other reverses under other leaders it was decided to abandon a "useless possession," and to withdraw from the Sudan the Egyptian garrisons surrounded by fanatical hordes. For this arduous task the choice fell upon General Gordon, who had previously governed the province on behalf of the Khedive and had zealously attacked the slave-trade. He was a strange combination of saint and hero. Misgivings as to the appointment of a man whose devout Christianity might alienate the friendly tribes were overruled by the Cabinet. "Are you sure," said Granville next day, "that we did not commit a gigantic folly?" On his way to Khartoum Gordon received incoherent instructions from the Khedive, who cherished thoughts of retaining the Sudan and appointed him Governor-General "for the time necessary." His impulsive nature led Gordon astray; remote from authority, he changed his mind. He had first told the Sudanese of the intended evacuation; he now began to talk of "smashing the Mahdi"; he dreamed of reconquest, and selected a governor to succeed him—an able ruler, but a notorious slave-trader. The Cabinet were sharply divided, some desiring Gordon's recall, others approving of his plan. Suddenly came news that hordes of Arabs had surrounded Gordon and his garrison in Khartoum. The Cabinet began to discuss whether he should be relieved, while their military advisers were unable to agree on the time, the force, or the route. Never were ministers more ill at ease, and never was a decision upon foreign policy made the object of so many barbed shafts. Late in the year Wolseley was dispatched with an army of rescue, but gallantry and determination availed them little in face of tropical heat, lack of water, and difficulties of transport. They were harassed by dervishes, delayed by accidents. And in Khartoum, among hundreds starving or dead and hundreds ready to desert, the means of defence were

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exhausted. The city was taken by assault and Gordon slain. Few events have so stirred the heart of the English people as the last isolation and mysterious death of this singular leader, whose impassioned sympathy had made him a romantic hero both of the Egyptians and of his own countrymen. Throughout the Empire there rose a bitter cry of anger and humiliation. For many years advance southwards failed before the triumphant hosts of the Mahdi and his successor. But England kept firm control of the government of Egypt, even when at the news that Gladstone had replaced Lord Salisbury as prime minister the popular cry was raised of "Egypt for the Egyptians," with the encouragement of the Sultan, nominal suzerain of the country.

In South Africa, as in the north, Gladstone was the unwilling heir to an imperial policy which embarrassed the Liberal party. The English had already pushed their eastern sea-board from Cape Colony to Natal, and beyond the Orange River had absorbed the diamond mines of Griqualand West: while the arrival of Cecil Rhodes heralded new schemes of conquest. A proposed federation of the provinces, English and Dutch, was hindered by the jealousy of Cape Colony in the pride of its newly won responsible government, and by the commercial independence of the Transvaal; in 1868 it had annexed Delagoa Bay, and when by arbitration of the President of the French Republic Delagoa was allotted to the Portuguese, the Boers still enjoyed by treaty with Portugal an outlet to the sea that lay outside British rule. But the Transvaal was weakly defended, factiously governed, and financially in disorder, and when the federation of South Africa seemed imminent a minority of Boers appeared favourable to union. Their voice was eagerly accepted as the voice of the republic, and in accordance with the imperial policy of Beaconsfield, his government annexed the Transvaal, and the responsibility for its defence again fell on the empire. The Dutch, however, had not abated their hostility to British rule, nor their distrust of English interference with the native question. The Boer resented the counsels of the English missionary and the philanthropist. In his lonely farm he knew the menace of the surrounding tribes, and ruled his servant with the sjambok. It was only immediate danger from the Zulus under King Cetewayo, who threatened alike Natal and the Transvaal, that wrung a partial and sullen assent to annexation. Sir Bartle Frere, Governor of the Cape, demanded from Cetewayo the disbandment of his savage hordes, to whom marriage was not allowed until their assegais were washed in blood. The Zulu chief did not deign to reply. Immediately the British troops invaded Zululand, but no adequate reinforcements were sent from home, and many of the Boers who were half-hearted hung back. The general, Lord Chelmsford, was new to South African warfare;

he divided his army: his scouting was defective, his camps undefended. One of his forces was annihilated at Isandhlwana, and Natal was only saved by the gallant defence of Rorke's Drift, where two lieutenants, Bromhead and Chard, with eighty men behind a barricade of sandbags and empty cans, held the Zulu host at bay. But before Sir Garnet Wolseley arrived from England with reinforcements Chelmsford had already defeated the Zulus at Ulundi. Their j territory was divided ; and at Pretoria, Wolseley as victor proclaimed the Transvaal a Crown Colony, denied any form of representative institutions to this vigorous and independent democracy, and installed an English government, announcing that British sovereignty would endure there as long as the sun shone or the rivers flowed into the sea. Already however during the Zulu War the Dutch had appealed to the Sand River Convention and demanded their independence. They awaited the return of Gladstone to office, regarding him as pledged to their freedom by his denunciations in the Midlothian campaign of Beaconsfield's annexation of the Transvaal, But they grew impatient as the Liberals dallied with a scheme of federation, and hesitated over the treatment of the natives. Hoisting the flag of the republic they proclaimed their independence and called their commandos to arms. The Cabinet renounced their pledge and postponed self-government till they had vindicated the Queen's authority. Once again a peace party drifted into war. The power of the Boers had been under-estimated; Sir George Colley's army was inadequate, and his gallantry alone could not stave off disaster. Parties of Boers besieged our garrisons, the rest invaded Natal and repulsed a relieving force at Laing's Nek. A month later in the surprise of Majuba Hill, Colley was killed and his men defeated by a band of two hundred. The disaster, slight as it was from a military point of view, had great political consequences. Peace was made by a government which had first encouraged the Boers and then declared for a fight. Gladstone had been as vacillating in action as he was magnanimous in speech. The British were angered and the Boers encouraged by an apparent surrender to force. After heated discussion, both in the Cabinet and in the Transvaal, self-government was granted ; but the control of foreign policy was retained for the Crown, and a British resident was placed at Pretoria. Three years later the Convention of London restored the title of " South African Republic," and the word " suzerainty " was omitted. With new confidence the Boers held out against projects of federation put forward by the Dutch of Cape Colony in their Afrikaner Bond ; in face of all imperial schemes they clung desperately to the little country they had defended, and continued to wring their living from its ungenerous soil.

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French
Colonies

Meanwhile a rival power had approached the English borders. For the last ten years Germany had been sending out her pioneers to

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Africa, and the growth of a colonial party forced Bismarck, who had till now opposed foreign adventure, and "wished only for coaling stations acquired by treaty," to a change of policy. Traders entered Damaraland, which the British had looked on as their-own sphere of influence while they had done nothing to make the occupation effective. Alarmed at last by the growth of German settlements and intrigues for union with the Boers, Cape Colony which had just won self-government occupied Walfisch Bay; but Downing Street was indifferent, and left the inland district to German penetration. Their traders crept still nearer and acquired the bay of Angra Pequena with a strip of hinterland, confining Cape Colony to the south of the Orange River. A new and delicate imperial problem was created. The colonies could only protest through the colonial office, and Bismarck refused communication with any department except the foreign office which had made the concessions. "England," he said, "establishes a sort of Monroe doctrine in Africa against the vicinage of other nations." The problem raised a grave warning as to the dangers of international agreements on colonial questions made in London by the cabinet and the foreign office. Gladstone hailed Germany as a colonizing power, "our ally and partner in the execution of the great purposes of Providence." Granville, occupied with the critical question of the Sudan, had not "the slightest jealousy of the Germans acquiring colonial possessions." A barren strip of coast seemed a small price to pay for their goodwill and the peaceful tenure of Egypt. But the Cape Colony took another view. They saw that as the Germans advanced they could almost join hands with the Boers who were pushing westwards over the Harts river; at the rumour of a German occupation of the bay of St. Lucia on the Zulu coast a cruiser was dispatched to unfurl the British flag. Their alarms were excited by reports of skilled German agents on their borders, active and tortuous in their methods, alike with native chiefs and with the British consuls who gave them hospitality. On the west coast the Germans wedged themselves between France and England in the Cameroons and Togoland; following a proposal of 1867 they entered the east coast at Zanzibar to establish a colony. Within a few years they could boast that "the large pudding of Africa was dotted with German peppercorns." The French, pushing from Senegal to the Niger and over the Sahara, had taken north-west Africa for their dominion. From Lake Chad their way lay open to the Sudan and to the English colonies of the west coast; and by the Ubanghi into the Congo basin.

Such was the clash of conflicting interests when Bismarck summoned the Conference of Berlin. The powers agreed to define their claims, and laid down rules for "lawful and valid annexation," with other new doctrines of the "hinterland," and of "spheres of influence"

where annexation was not required ; and of free trade and free navigation of the great rivers. The International Association of the Congo was formally allotted the vast domain it demanded in central Africa, on condition of the forbidding of trade monopolies and suppression of slavery. Scarcely had the act of Berlin been signed when King Leopold announced his personal proprietorship of the lands Stanley had annexed, and his sole sovereignty over the Congo Free State. Maxims of the conference were cast aside in the haste of ruthless exploitation, and the "great philanthropic enterprise" ended in a poramble for possession. The nations flung themselves into Africa ; explorers were turned into conquerors, and in twenty years Europe by hurried strokes had carved up an entire continent, pushing vague frontiers into the unknown, till at last there was nothing left to divide save at the cost of the weakest of the conquerors. Germany emerged from the conference a colonial power, owner of the Cameroons and Togoland, with the Emperor's charter of protection for a colony in East Africa, and with South-West Africa already secured. France gained dominion over a homogeneous block of territory nearly a million square miles larger than the area of the United States—from Algeria and Tunis to the Congo, and from Senegal to Bahr-el-Ghazal. Portugal, with the consent of Germany and France, claimed the whole course of the Zambesi, to establish her empire across South Africa from Mozambique to Angola—a claim disallowed by the English. Italy extended her influence along the Red Sea coast. England revived her lapsed system of trading Companies ; the Niger Company disputed the progress of the French in the west ; an East African Company blocked German advance across the lakes and to the Nile valley ; while Cecil Rhodes, defying all rivals with his loud-sounding formula " From the Cape to Cairo "—a watchword already ringing through the imperialist ranks—founded the South African, or Chartered, Company, to seize the Zambesi. Bechuanaland was annexed, the great tract known as Rhodesia was seized ; and holding the whole of the rich central territory from Cape Colony to the Congo State, the British cut off all hope of expansion for Boer, German, or Portuguese. The European powers proceeded to regulate their respective boundaries by a series of agreements. Secret treaties with England and the Chartered Company gave to Germany rights of purchase in case Portugal should ever be forced to sell her colonies. In return for possession of Zanzibar and Uganda, she admitted a French protectorate over Madagascar, and ceded to Germany Heligoland—a post long desired by Bismarck, who proposed to crown his annexation of Kiel by opening the Baltic Canal, and threw out the bait of advantage to England from an easier route to Russia, and of the strengthening of good feeling by the cession. Granville dryly replied that the cession of Gibraltar would strengthen |

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our good relations with Spain. He was willing to give "friendly consideration" to the question, but the transfer was left to Lord Salisbury. The War Office saw no advantage in its retention, the Admiralty insisted upon its strategical importance, and Parliament after long debate veered suddenly from strong opposition to consent. By the same treaty England secured a right of free transit over German land to connect her territories from the Cape to Cairo; and established the frontiers of the Sudan on the Congo State, and the watershed of the Nile. It was by this treaty that she claimed the right to repel, almost at the cost of war with France, a French force led by Marchand to Fashoda, in the very month of the English reconquest of the Sudan. A railway had been pushed from cataract to cataract towards Khartoum, and British troops were joined by Egyptian in the battles of Atbara and of Omdurman. There the Dervishes, clad in mediaeval armour or in linen, charged with the utmost bravery again and again, to be mown down by the deadly Maxim. Two days later the British and Egyptian flags were unfurled over the place where Gordon died. Protests of the powers against occupation were met by the promise of free trade, and payment of interest on the debt, and the Sudan became a protectorate of England. The northern littoral alone remained for partition, and in a series of negotiations Morocco was allotted to France by England in 1904 and by Germany in 1911 : while Lord Salisbury's unofficial offer of Tripoli to Italy in 1880 was ratified by France in 1900. Nothing was left of Africa but the mountain fastness of Abyssinia. In some dozen years the vast continent had been scored by European nations with the boundaries of their foreign sovereignty. Henceforth its interests were intermingled and confounded with the chances of European politics, and Africa lay at the peril of every war which the conflicts of Europe might fling on its remote and unconscious peoples.

**England
and
foreign
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The race for conquest, the secret treaties, the successive threats of war which were only revealed after the danger was passed, alarmed thoughtful men in England. "We should have a manlier and plainer way of dealing with foreign policy," wrote Bagehot, "if ministers were obliged to explain clearly their foreign contracts before they were valid, just as they have to explain their domestic problems before they can become laws." He saw that foreigners were often puzzled by our institutions, vexed at our statesmen, and angry with our newspapers, and that ambiguities might be avoided by open discussion between nations. But apart from the evident difficulty of dealing in the open between parliamentary governments and despotic courts where discussion is not practised, there was a further problem in the temper of England herself. The high tide of imperialism had lifted her people above the sense of national risk, and left them generally indifferent to European developments. Their eyes were upon the ends of the earth.

At the third Reform bill the ruling classes had apprehended some disturbing influence of the new democracy on the conduct or continuity of foreign affairs, and had come to a tacit compact that foreign policy should be removed from party strife, and decided by agreement between the two front benches. Foreign ministers since Palmerston had been mostly members of the House of Lords, and this custom was continued until 1905. The conduct of external affairs was in fact practically withdrawn from Parliament. The matter passed unobserved among a people confident in their insular security : the system had the practical convenience of allowing them to choose and dismiss their ministers on questions of home policy alone, without interference of foreign questions. This lack of responsibility in its turn increased the popular detachment from foreign affairs. When a private member moved that " it is not just or expedient to embark in war, contract engagements involving grave responsibilities for the nation, and add territories to the Empire without the consent of Parliament," Gladstone as prime minister declined to settle so far-reaching a change on a single vote of the House : delicate negotiations could not be carried on in the face of the whole world, and since a secret committee would be necessary, matters of foreign policy must be trusted to the executive. As to annexation he was decided : enlargement of the empire was fraught with danger, even if the risk was not immediate. But there had been no agreement to withdraw imperial, like foreign, affairs from public contention, and problems of the empire were presently to cleave the Liberal party in two. In controversies between aggressive Imperialists or "Jingoes," and Liberals or " Little Englanders," the few Radicals who adhered to Cobden's tenets were overborne ; and a Liberal Imperialist party arose under the guidance of Lord Rosebery, and the dominating influence of Joseph Chamberlain, whose exhortations to " think imperially " rang through the country. The divisions of the Liberals left Lord Salisbury dictator. Though he suggested a committee on foreign affairs, he emphasized the need of unanimity so that England could speak with a decisive voice. A strong imperialist, Lord Salisbury's view of our foreign policy was subordinated to the empire ; when a disagreement with the United States over the boundaries of British Guiana and Venezuela led to a sharp assertion of the Monroe doctrine by President Cleveland, good sense on both sides made war impossible, and the dispute was committed to arbitration. Amid the vast obligations now borne by the British islands peace became the first of British interests, and both parties were agreed on abstention from continental politics. Without a single ally Great Britain stood in a so-called " splendid isolation."

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The Imperial system had been laid down in years of British security and peace. It was to be tested in a world of war in which the whole balance of power was changed. The Conference of Berlin

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of Asia**

- SEC. II. had opened the gigantic conflict for the division of world-dominion. While Africa was still being parcelled out the battle for position and for new markets swung eastward to Asia. France had under Napoleon III. begun imperial expansion in the East, and closed thirty years of war by securing Cochin China, Cambodia, Annam, and Tonkin. She was feeling her way to a footing in Upper Burma when the Viceroy of India answered by annexing that country. The "intoxication of the nations at the China trade" inflamed them with schemes of ambition more immense than any that had been projected since the great Napoleon. The Chino-Japanese war gave to* Japan Formosa and the Pescadores. The union of France, Russia, and Germany to force her to give back to China the peninsula of Liao-Tung, was the beginning of vast European encroachments. In payment for the murder of two missionaries Germany extracted a lease of the district of Kiao-Chou, fortified a harbour at Tsing-Chou, and developed her naval and military "sphere of influence. Russia followed with a lease of Port Arthur and Talien-wan, winning at last an ice-free port on a temperate sea. As a make-weight Great Britain acquired the lease of Wei-hai-wei and Kowloon, together with the extension of the Shanghai settlement, the opening of new treaty ports inland, and recognition of her interests in the Yang-tsze valley. France in her turn demanded a lease of Kwang Chow Wan, and "a zone of influence" as far as the Yang-tsze, with railway, mining, and postal privileges. The resentment of China led to the Boxer risings and attacks on the foreign legations, and the spirit of the European troops sent to exact vengeance against "a barbarous foe" was illustrated by the charge of the German emperor to his troops: "Wield your weapons to such effect that for a thousand years no Chinaman shall ever again dare to look askance at a German." The United States signalized their new position in the Pacific as masters of the Philippines by joining the other Powers in the retributive march on Peking. "We are in desperate straits indeed," wrote the greatest of Chinese statesmen, Li Hung Chang. He judged that the division of China was only averted because the European nations could not agree upon their respective shares.
- 1895-1898
- 1900
- Central In central Asia meanwhile Russia and Great Britain waged their perennial conflict. Checked in the Balkans, Russia turned again with sullen mien towards expansion in Asia. For twenty years India had been undisturbed, while relays of civilians wrestled with frequent famine, built roads and railways, grappled with the complications of finance or the problems of justice, and returned to an England which was little curious and little informed on the gravest problems of the empire. Beaconsfield had travelled in the East and its blood was in his veins; he determined to emphasize the grandeur of our administration, to revive the Empire of the Great Moghul, and
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enhance the setting of the "most costly jewel" in the Crown. The Queen was acclaimed as Empress amid the pomp of a Durbar at Delhi; while the strong opposition aroused at home was only overcome by a pledge that the title should never be used in England. For the last three years Lord Salisbury, Secretary for India, had been seeking a "scientific frontier" to bar the Russian advance. Lonely outposts guarded each pass which threaded the hills of the north-west. Beyond was the scene of conflict, where Afghanistan lay "like an earthen pipkin between two iron pots." When the Amir, Shere Ali, desired closer relations with Great Britain Granville, preferring a "masterly inactivity," had refused his advances, and made an agreement with Russia. Still the shifting policy of the East saw Russia entangle the Amir in a diplomatic net as she wove protectorates closer to our frontier. Under Lord Salisbury a "forward policy" was adopted and carried out by Lord Lytton. The first sign was the occupation of Quetta, the second a request that the Amir would receive British officers as residents in his chief cities. Shere Ali, fearful and suspicious, "slipped out of our hands." No sooner had England denounced the treaty of San Stefano than the Russians sent a mission to Afghanistan; and on the refusal of Shere Ali to receive a British mission, Lytton closed twenty years of peace by a declaration of war. In Parliament a fierce conflict arose. When the Indian estimates were presented, Beaconsfield declaimed against the deleterious and mischievous doctrine of peace at any price, which occasioned wars and destroyed political equilibrium. Gladstone attacked the government's policy: it was Russia, he averred, and not Afghanistan, which should be called to account. But Shere Ali had already paid. His army had been defeated, and he died a fugitive. His crafty son, Yakub Khan, signed a treaty by which, in return for a subsidy, he pretended to cede the Khyber Pass and accepted a British envoy in Kabul. Six weeks later Sir Lewis Cavagnari and his staff were massacred. An army of occupation entered Kandahar, a punitive expedition advanced to Kabul, and the Amir was dethroned. In England the "forward policy" of the Tories was shattered with Beaconsfield's defeat at a general election; but Gladstone had to meet the difficulties bequeathed to him. The succession of Abdur Rahman, grandson of Dost Mohammed, was disputed by Ayub Khan. At Maiwand he inflicted a bloody defeat upon British and Indian troops, only half of whom returned to Kandahar and were there surrounded by hordes of Afghans. Sir Frederick Roberts' set out from Kabul to their relief, following the road which had been cleared shortly before by his companion in arms, Sir Donald Stewart, in his famous march from Kandahar to Kabul. After three weeks of burning heat by day and icy cold by night Roberts's force emerged at Kandahar and routed the

- SEC. II. enemy. So brilliant a victory enabled the evacuation of Afghanistan to be carried through by the Liberal government without loss of dignity. But Russia had now to seek compensation not only for her diplomatic reverse in the Balkans but for England's occupation of Egypt. From a railhead at Merv the Russians marched upon the outlying stronghold of Pendjeh. Using every form of tortuous delay to arrest the decisions of a boundary commission, they routed at Pendjeh the Afghans who had resisted their advance.
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- 1885 A challenge so direct united every party in the House, and Gladstone was able to carry a vote of eleven millions. The unanimity of Parliament impressed the Russians, and the Pendjeh incident was ended by the delimitation of the Russian boundary. For the next twenty years of Russian progress over central Asia, England stood at guard, and was involved in conflicts with frontier tribes, in the barren territory of the Wakkan valley, in unknown Thibet to the gates of the sacred city of Lhasa, among the mountains of Chitral, in Persia and the passages to the Persian Gulf. Not till the Russo-Japanese war for possession of the Far East was the rivalry with England definitely postponed, and a mutual agreement defined the relations of the two countries in Afghanistan, Thibet, and Persia.
- 1907
- The Pacific Not only in Africa and Asia, but in the Pacific also, "spheres of influence" were mapped out for the colonizing Powers. France after sixty years' effort gained Tahiti and a position in the New Hebrides.
- 1899 Germany established her position in the Polynesian Sea by buying the remaining possessions of Spain, while her earlier settlements in New Guinea and the Solomon and Marshall Islands were assured by a treaty with England, who retired from Samoa during the Boer war. The United States also had entered into the world-policy. When war had given them the outlying remnants of the Spanish empire, the American line of naval bases reached from New York to Peking. By Cuba, Puerto Rico, and other islands, she was established in the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico; the Philippines lay on the trade route from Europe to China; stations in the Pacific were secured by treaties—Hawaii with the impregnable base of Honolulu, "the Gibraltar of the Pacific," the islands of Wake and Guam, and a post in the Samoan group. Finally Japan, conqueror of Korea and Formosa, took her place as the greatest military and naval force in the Pacific. Her coming was a new challenge. In 1885 Victoria had forbidden Asiatic immigration—a law which was adopted later by all the Australian colonies, by New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa. But if at the outset Japan consented to a treaty which excluded her immigrants from British dominions, ten years later she refused even to consider the idea, and demanded for her citizens the same terms as the members of white communities. Her subsidized schooners, carrying
- The Japanese advance
- 1896
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highly skilled shipowners and fishermen, explorers and traders, all trained to war, penetrated among the islands, and left thousands of skilled workers in naval stations such as Hawaii, or Naumea in New Caledonia, whose harbour could hold half a dozen Japanese fleets, with one of the finest coalfields in the world close at hand. In the storm-centre of the future Australia and New Zealand lay as isolated outposts of Great Britain, among Asiatic peoples whose multitudes were breaking through old boundaries. Here less than five millions of the British race (and their numbers do not increase) held territory almost as large as Europe. The lands of the colonies were still unfilled : they had not been finally won for England nor for the white race while their shores remained unprotected and their scanty population might be submerged by a more numerous people. Moreover while Great Britain was no longer unchallenged on the far seas, a change had come too in the balance of imperial commerce. Once the whole produce of the colonies had been distributed from English ports, and external colonial trade rested upon London as its financial base. But while England still held the first place in international trade, foreign competitors were attacking the markets of the empire : Germany had risen to the second place, while American trusts pushed a world-wide activity. A new element of distrust had been added to this competition. For fifty years the British empire had held an open door to the world, and the peoples who had free access to its markets felt the less alarm at its huge expansion. There was a quick revulsion of feeling when, under pressure from Canada, England denounced her old free trade treaties with Germany and Belgium, and a preferential tariff with Canada was established, amid rumours of an imperial customs union to extend all over the colonies—a new "isolation" for the British Empire. Each self-governing Colony hastened to set up its own protective tariff. The Tory party, backed by traders eager to monopolize the colonial markets, declared for commercial "preference" throughout the empire as against the outside world. France and the United States had already hedged round their possessions by tariff and Shipping restrictions ; and Germany, the chief international trader after Britain, had no guarantee that England, possessing territory nearly five times the size of Europe, and half the sea-borne trade of the world, might not at last shut the door in all her dependencies, and that German trade would find itself banished from a quarter of the earth's surface. Hence the efforts made by Germany to maintain free trade in England. Men foresaw a world divided into spheres of influence, where neutral markets would dwindle and disappear, where each nation would be denied free entry and competition except in dominions under its own sway, and the entire globe would be dominated by great powers as jealous for their trading monopoly as for their territorial rights. An economic world-struggle had begun for the possession of

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land and the appropriation of neutral markets. Instead of the old trade wars of cities, states, and countries, the threat hung over the nations of the monstrous clash of empires; and the problem of Europe—the balance of power among half a dozen states—broadened into the wider problem of equilibrium among the world-empires, and the complex alliances and counter-alliances needed to buttress an unstable and precarious peace.

Amid these conditions the imperialism propounded by Disraeli was before long to exhibit in its foreign policy the gravest elements of danger. At home his view of colonial empire was received with enthusiasm by his party, and his early impatient outbreak at the burden of the colonies was forgotten. He was the first prime minister to extol Canada in a speech. Self-government he accepted, but contended that all grants of liberty should have been limited by provisions for a customs union or imperial tariff, by a military code imposing the duties of common defence, and by a representative council in London. Chamberlain followed him as prophet of a united Empire with its ruling centre, its brain and its heart, in London. The majestic scheme was inaugurated by Lord Salisbury when, with a pomp beyond example, he celebrated the Queen's Jubilee at the Foreign Office by the first assemblage of representatives of the free nations from overseas. But even the first Colonial Conference demonstrated that the imperial idea as conceived in England—the scheme of an empire under strict central control—was not easily reconciled with the temper of the dominions. These had now more than doubled in population. Each boasted of its own history, more original than that of many independent states. The supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, so cautiously established to ward off revolt, had vanished, and a new nationalism, distrustful and half mutinous, might even threaten to disrupt the empire. The "free nations" made their own laws, controlled at will citizenship, immigration, and trade; and asserted their national duty to allow no sacrifice of their prospects or privileges for any advantage to England or the Empire. Divergent interests led them to political isolation and to their own "Monroe doctrine," the doctrine of non-commitment to imperial responsibilities. Lord Salisbury justly warned the country of difficulties that must emerge from a state of things perfectly new to the world, the slow rise of an empire out of the sea, without territorial contiguity, held together merely by the necessities of naval defence, and resting on the feelings and affections of some of the most vehement races upon the face of the earth. If in conference the colonies admitted the principle of common obligation for defence, they rejected the idea of an imperial army as derogatory to their independence, and very doubtfully allowed an imperial navy. Australia's consent to contribute to an imperial squadron was

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denounced by Canada as a poor-spirited and non-national "hiring of defence." Seddon, the popular Minister of Defence in New Zealand, told a country audience, "What does a man hunting the country with a swag upon his back want with armed cruisers and a torpedo corps?" In a like spirit the Colonies resisted Chamberlain's proposal for a customs union after the German example: "if there is no fiscal autonomy," they insisted, "there cannot for long be an empire of free nations." Led by Canada, the dominions questioned the authority of the Foreign Office to conclude any treaty drawn up without their consent, on the ground that English interests must be protected by the free will of free nations, and that each dominion must have the right to choose its part in the shifting diplomacy of England and of Europe. At the second Conference the Prime Ministers of the dominions were for the first time assembled; but behind the triumphant display of imperial might in honour of the Queen's second Jubilee rose more urgently the problem of defence. The Triple Alliance, hitherto regarded as a land power, was now threatening a formidable rivalry on the sea. For the first time advancing Asiatic immigration, even as far as African shores, forced discussion; if Indian emigrants could raise the claim of Imperial citizenship, the Japanese might justify, their expansion by the force of fifty million people. But when Chamberlain, as Colonial Secretary, asked their aid in bearing the burden of empire—"The weary Titan staggers under the too vast orb of his fate"—the colonies showed no alacrity for a joint organization of defence; they gave their voice rather for commercial union by preferential duties, and asserted their financial independence by repealing the provisions for imperial free trade, and by making among themselves such fiscal treaties as they chose. At the third conference, after fifteen years of controversy, the Colonial Office scheme of federation under London control disappeared. The Boer War had proved its destruction.

The discovery of the richest gold mines in the world had drawn to the Transvaal adventurers from all countries, crowding to Johannesburg. There a medley of races found themselves under a primitive form of government originally framed for a pastoral and united people. Heavily taxed, vexed by partial laws and monopolies, and hampered by inexperienced and hostile officials, they demanded a share in government through the vote. The Boer refused it, and went his way. His one desire was to be left alone, and not to be disturbed by interlopers. Petitions and protests were unheeded. "You have not got the guns," said President Kruger, "and I have." It was at first supposed that the exhaustion of the mines might lead to the dispersion of the Uitlanders from a land so arid and ungrateful; but when the discovery of new deposits revealed that the gold of the Transvaal was equal to that of the British Empire or of the United States, it was

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plain that the foreigners had come to stay. The strife took fresh intensity. By annexing the coast the British took from the Boers all hope of securing a sea-port. The Uitlanders renewed their agitation for political rights. Rhodes, Premier of Cape Colony, secretly offered them assistance for an armed raid on the Transvaal under Dr. Jameson, the Administrator of Rhodesia—a treacherous and discreditable conspiracy. At the last moment divisions between the English and foreign Uitlanders disturbed the plan of attack and the raid ended with the capture of Jameson and his six hundred horsemen at Doornkop. No serious censure of Rhodes, the prime mover, came from the Tory government, who were believed to fear inquiry and even graver implications. Henceforth all hope of voluntary reform and conciliation disappeared in the tumult of race hostility and suspicion that were to throw the country into war. The Boers, convinced that future violence was intended, hurried on their preparation of armaments, while the Orange Free State, hitherto a faithful friend of England, joined their cause. All Europe was indignant and hostile. Arms were smuggled from Germany and France, and volunteers from every country streamed into the Transvaal. Kruger offered a form of franchise with conditions that diminished its value, and claimed for his Republic, in whose founding he had shared at the Great Trek, the status of a sovereign state. The High Commissioner, Sir Alfred Milner, insisted upon suzerainty, and the conference broke up. "The co-existence of ideas so repugnant," reported a Commission, "might at any time lead to an armed collision." The Afrikaner Bond, a powerful union of the Gape Dutch, urged the Republic to carry a franchise bill; but the reactionary clauses of the draft made it of little value. England proposed arbitration, but included outstanding questions which the Boer regarded as an increase of the original demands. On the suzerainty neither side would yield. Repeated and emphatic warnings by Sir William Butler, the experienced general in command at the Cape, both as to the aggressive policy of the Uitlanders, and the inadequacy of the military forces for active operations, were met by his removal. Alarmed at the military preparations in Cape Colony and Natal, at the landing of troops from India, the surrounding of the Transvaal by armed forces—but above all at the calling out of the reserves in England—President Kruger demanded the withdrawal of British troops and the turning back of reinforcements. It was a demand "such as Her Majesty's Government deem it impossible to discuss." Three days later the Boers invaded Natal. "Before the diplomat proceeds to an ultimatum," said General Buller, "the military should be in a position to enforce it." But with a fatal contempt of the enemy there was neither plan of campaign nor any reliable maps, while the Boer knew every stream and kopje; and due provision of stores, hygiene, and sanitation were

alike neglected. The Boers surrounded Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Mafeking, and annexed Bechuanaland ; and three separate lines of advance were ordered. The British troops, inferior in numbers to the Boers, had to meet marvellous marksmen, men trained on the veldt to peril, to hardship, to all craft and self-reliance of the fighter. Lord Methuen's way to Kimberley was barred by Boer commandos. Cronje, a veteran of former wars, defended the Modder River, and an attempt to surprise him at Magersfontein failed with heavy loss ; on that day there was a disaster at Stormberg ; and in the same week Buller on his march to Ladysmith was checked at the Tugela River, where the enemy under Louis Botha waited at Colenso, and the English lost eleven hundred killed and wounded. Since the loss of the American colonies no such week of humiliation had confounded England. Immense reinforcements were hurried out under Lord Roberts, with Lord Kitchener as chief of the staff. A storm of enthusiasm swept over the " free nations " of the Empire, and the astonishing sight was seen of troops landing in South Africa from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand to support the English armies. Lord Roberts's new host overtook the army of Cronje at Paardeberg and forced it to surrender. General French relieved Kimberley, the long siege of Ladysmith was raised by General Buller, and two months later a Rhodesian force went to the relief of Mafeking. Lord Roberts was advancing by rapid marches on Bloemfontein when a message from Kruger asked for peace with independence. The Boers, Lord Salisbury answered, must take the consequences of the war they had made ; they had invaded our lands, and while success seemed possible had given no sign of conciliation. The Orange Free State was annexed, and once more a general at the head of an English army at Pretoria formally annexed the Transvaal. President Kruger fled to Holland to die in exile. But the Boers, led by Botha, Delarey, and de Wet, being now rid of every general over fifty years of age, maintained the war for two years, and even invaded Cape Colony. In Lord Kitchener's new campaign block-houses lined the railways and wire entanglements spread over the country, while women and children were collected in concentration camps, and Boer prisoners removed by thousands oversea. The method of conducting the campaign was vigorously condemned by the Liberal party in England. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman denounced warfare carried on by " methods of barbarism ": " The whole country outside the mining towns is a howling wilderness. The farms are burned, the country is wasted. The flocks and herds are either butchered or driven off ; the mills are destroyed, furniture and implements of agriculture are smashed." The conflict had become as deplorable as civil war. A strong feeling grew up for conciliation, and the Unionists were urged to revert to those generous traditions which had so often

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brought colonial peace. "My function," said Sir Alfred Milner, "is to destroy the domination of Afrikandefism." The Boers on their side fought with desperation. Whole districts were swept clear by overwhelming force before the peace of Vereeniging put an end to the misery. England undertook to restore to the country representative institutions, and the prisoners and women returned to their farms. Chamberlain as Minister of the Colonies travelled over the ravaged land to urge imperial federation, but the Tory Government was tottering, and the Boers waited for the promise of the Liberals.

Little as it was understood in England at the time, the Colonial troops that landed in Africa had changed the outlook of the Empire. Elated with the sudden sense of the forces at their command and the services they could render, the dominions looked forward to winning a status no lower than that of England herself. The policy of imperial concentration under the colonial and foreign office fell into the background, and a new scheme took its place, that of co-operation and equal alliance, and of defence founded on the principle of "future Dominion Navies." The Boer war had started nationalism on its victorious way, and the dominions entered on a new stage of their history. By a strange irony, unexpected and almost unperceived in England, the forces that had poured into South Africa to assert imperial rule over the Boers established for the whole Colonial world a measure of independence which English imperialists had not foreseen. The third Conference, which followed the war, was the first to obtain absolute recognition from England of "national" aspirations. The occasion was favourable to their claims, for after the Jameson raid England was left without a friend, and exposed to extraordinary rancour from the governments and the press of Europe. "We are in bitter need of a strong German navy," said the Kaiser. The South African campaign, as well as the voyage of his squadrons to China, had afforded him a lesson in the resources of sea-power and the chain of coaling stations which linked the British Empire, and a new navy bill presented to the Reichstag was accompanied by the Kaiser's ringing words: "Our future lies upon the water." The challenge of the bill was made more definite by the Emperor's stirring visions of the "trident in our fist," and of the new division of the oceans, with "Germany to be Admiral of the Atlantic," even as "Russia of the Pacific." Nothing in English history has so suddenly changed the outlook of the people. Chamberlain apprehended the new issues of the future, and after his failure to bring about a Teutonic alliance between England, Germany, and the United States, he turned to the nations of the Empire: "More important than the goodwill of foreign nations was the confidence and affection of our kinsmen beyond the seas." Meanwhile the colonies were being forced into closer internal union. Within ten years three federated nations

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were formed after the example of Canada. Australia, watching the entry of one foreign power after another into the Pacific, cast off her hesitations of fifty years, and called a convention to frame a federal constitution. Every sentence of the new scheme was scrutinized in assemblies of the leading men of every profession and party. Approved in a meeting of prime ministers, and accepted in a referendum to the people, the Bill was carried to England. They rejected the term colony or dominion, and proclaimed a Commonwealth. A proposal of the Colonial Office to allow appeals to the Privy Council in constitutional disputes between the Commonwealth and the States after the example of Canada was refused. The first great act of the new nation was to assert a "white" Australia and exclude coloured immigration; the next was to take over the national defence. New Zealand stood apart, still aiming at the hegemony of the Southern Pacific and the island groups of Polynesia, which Sir George Grey had long before (1830) sought to establish by a customs union after the German example. (Refusing to federate with Australia, she preferred to become a sister State in an Imperial system ; and various islands were annexed to the Dominion. The latest entry into the "five nations," and the most stormy, was the Union of South Africa. Here the Liberals vindicated their principles of freedom when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman took office. The South African Customs Union was the first step towards a new federation. Prodigious difficulties lay in the way. Since the nearest outlet for the Transvaal mines was through a Portuguese port, and their chief supply of labour from Portuguese territory, many questions concerning the internal relations of the States must be dealt with by the Foreign Office. Commercial quarrels aggravated racial hostilities. The Transvaal by its railway to Delagoa had the traffic interests of South Africa at its mercy, and could threaten Cape Colony with ruin. The railways that connected the several states cut across frontiers arbitrarily ruled on the map corresponding to no political or physical lines of division ; and communities that owned competing sections were in chronic hostility. Memories of the Raid and the concentration camps had united the Boer of the veldt with the French Huguenot of Cape Colony ; while the English feared the betrayal of their interests or of their ascendancy. Above all rose the unsolved problem of the coloured races. From the Transvaal to Cape Colony the various states had pursued their separate policies, inconsistent and uncontrolled, towards the native Africans. Natal for her part had imported indentured labour of Indian coolies till in some twenty years she had nearly as many Indian as white men, and the black race outnumbered the European by ten to one ; but after she became responsible for her own government and defence, she shut out Indian immigrants by law, and raised a formidable imperial problem.

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Chinese labour in the gold mines added a later difficulty. **The** Liberal government determined to relieve a situation so desperate by the grant of Home Rule to the broken provinces and a place among the free nations of the Empire. Denounced as a "reckless experiment," the project, which might have failed in the House of Lords, was courageously launched by an Order in Council. By a scheme of self-government for the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony the way was prepared for a South African constitution. While the new Union was still in the making the Prime Minister welcomed the delegates of South Africa at a Colonial Conference in London. "I can assure you," he said, "the feeling of affectionate interest and pride entertained within the shores of the Old Country is not to be surpassed even by your warmest sentiments." A convention of members of the South African Government met to frame a constitution, which was amended and accepted by the four Colonies, and passed into law by the Imperial Parliament. The two races stood on equal terms, with both languages recognized, and with Pretoria as the centre of administration, and Cape Town as the seat of Parliament.

**Problems
of federa-
tion**

The constitutional experiments of the new Empire were as varied as the Colonies themselves. In Canada the federating provinces had suffered a complete loss of status, and had been re-created by the instrument which united them; a careful distribution of legislative power was made between the provinces and the new Dominion Parliament, which exercised all powers not expressly reserved to the local legislatures. Lieutenant-governors of the provinces are appointed by the Governor-General in Council, who can thereby exercise a veto in the name of the Dominion Cabinet upon all provincial legislatures, and who is given special powers to protect in regard to education the interests of religious minorities. Even the members of the Senate, supposed to represent the provinces, are the life-nominees of the Governor-General; this grave defect lowered their prestige, which was further diminished by their refusal of the commons' proposals to admit the western provinces to equality of representation in the Senate. The predominance of the central government in Canada is in striking contrast to the Australian commonwealth. Here the States, which had developed a strong provincial character, proudly refused to surrender their independence at federation, and continued under governors appointed by the Crown and responsible to it alone. It was not only by rejecting the interference of the Privy Council that Australia broke away from the Canadian precedent; another notable departure was the power to amend the constitution by a referendum to the Australian people themselves, whereas in British North America the constitution can only be altered through the imperial parliament. In both these respects the Australian Commonwealth Act is the high-water mark of colonial "nationalism," and approaches nearer to the

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United States constitution than that of any other Dominion. There are other points of likeness, in the insistence on equality of State rights as represented in the Senate ; and in the restriction, contrary to the Canadian system,, of the Federal legislature within carefully defined limits, the residuary powers falling to the States. In South Africa all these conditions were reversed. The relics of past errors in allowing provinces of different allegiance to grow up, the sudden changes by which the wealth of gold and diamonds had turned old pastoral communities into new towns, the consequent revolution in local government, the presence across the frontier of the greatest military power of Europe—these were considerations that led South African statesmen to exclude the federation adopted elsewhere. More far-reaching than all these was the world-problem of the future, the relation between the white and coloured races. Its presence, more acute here than in any other country, is the clue to the history of South Africa, where a million and a quarter white men were intermingled with an African and coloured, population of nearly five times their number, and two white nations looked upon the natives from two entirely different standpoints, and Downing Street and Exeter Hall from a third. In face of these complicated difficulties unity was preferred to federal union and the constituent colonies were required to surrender their legislative powers and to sink to the level of administrative councils for the conduct of local government, under one single and supreme parliament—a system by which highly centralized government has been, it is thought, carried too far. In the various Dominions every variety of political theory has thus been given a trial, and to them falls the task of adapting their several constitutions to their actual needs. South Africa may yet find means to reach her full national life by developing under the Union more liberal scope for local interests, and greater freedom of activity in her states. In Canada, notwithstanding the power of the central government, the balance in the distribution of legislative power has been carefully maintained by the judicial decisions of the Privy Council, even if it is only secured at the cost of an enormous amount of litigation and not a little friction. Australia, with its larger democratic independence, is in perpetual oscillation between the party of "State rights" and the party in favour of enlarging the Federal power—a party chiefly recruited from the ranks of labour, who desire to exercise effective control over the far-reaching industrial questions which by the terms of the Constitution are confided to the States. So far the weight of judicial decisions has been against any disturbance in the Actual decision of power ; and the States party have not succeeded in winning their victory through the referendum. The end is not yet, and the question remains in acute controversy. Federation in fact is no mechanical scheme. In no dominion have all adjustments yet been

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completed between local vigour and central uniformity, and still less has the final solution been found for the Empire. It was necessary for the dominions first to solve their own internal problem.

The absorbing question henceforth was how to strengthen the imperial organization. Bentham's plan of allowing the colonies to find their own way to national independence, and the attempt of Disraeli and Chamberlain to unite the forces of the Empire in a scheme of Imperial concentration, had been set aside. To divert trade by a British tariff-league or commercial bond in supposed imperial interests was felt to be but a milder form of the old colonial system. The colonies, suspicious of general trade preference to the Mother Country, declared that "their fiscal policy is a matter on which the Dominions will never surrender their autonomy. Preferences must be purely voluntary." They especially resented the control of foreign policy from London. In the early days of Imperialism the English government, in the name of foreign policy, could forbid Queensland to enforce her law against Chinese immigrants. But, led by Canada, the Dominions denied that any foreign treaty, whether as to trade or immigration, made by Britain without their consent, could be forced on them, and claimed both the right of making their own treaties and a controlling diplomatic influence in treaties made by England. Mr. Asquith emphatically warned the third Colonial Conference that the conduct of foreign policy must rest absolutely with the Foreign Office. But the pressure of imminent danger allowed a significant precedent; and the third Japanese treaty (which safeguarded the Empire from the possibility of being drawn by Japan into war with America) was the first occasion on which all the Prime Ministers in Council approved of a solemn international agreement. On the question of defence the Dominions were equally rigid. After the scare of the German navy bill controversy was carried on through* a dozen years of growing perils. While the colonies discussed their future national navies, and the Japanese fleet asserted its strength in the Pacific, England was forced to withdraw her effective battleships to meet threatened dangers in the North Sea. Intensely occupied with their own social and industrial affairs the Dominions but dimly perceived the gravity of foreign problems, till these were forced on them by the threat of a European war on the question of Bosnia, by a third German navy bill, and by Sir Edward Grey's statement to the House of Commons that to meet the new dangers the British fleet must be rebuilt on *Dreadnought* lines. The Conference of 1909 hastened to give contributions to the imperial navies, and to increase greatly their own military burdens. As to naval defence the Dominions were divided between two schools-of thought. The New Zealand government and one of the great parties in Canada, now led by Sir Robert Borden, support the principle of a contribution of ships and men

which shall at all times form an integral part of a homogeneous Imperial navy. Australia, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier's followers in Canada, preferred the system of national navies to be stationed in local waters, and to be subject to the Admiralty only in time of war. This agreement was the boldest recognition yet given by any Conference in London to national sentiment as one of the sure foundations of the Empire. But the scheme broke down before a menace of war such as had not threatened England since 1815. In the crises of Algeciras and Agadir the Dominions read the warning that the very existence was at stake ; and felt the approach of peril at a rumour that France would cede Tahiti to Germany. By a hurried compromise they consented to unity of control and concentration of the fleet in the place of danger, while Britain agreed to maintain a squadron in the east. Excitement was increased by a fifth German navy bill. England, which in 1902 had 147 ships in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Mediterranean, had now but thirty-six. Without imperial help, "our seas are defenceless and our trade routes unprotected," said the Australians. "The dangers which face Australia are unique : they affect no other nation in the world in the same degree." The more ardent looked forward to ultimate control of the Pacific fleet by the Dominions' navies. "We are asking for a trust in us and for privileges which no Empire in history has yet accorded to its constituents." They needed "a great fighting navy" in what might "yet become the battle-ground of the nations." The building of their own ships was begun.

The Australian peoples, more than all others, are concerned with problems completely of the modern world. The most democratic part of the empire, carrying no burdens from a long past, they have made Australia and New Zealand the ground of experiments in social legislation more advanced and daring than any in the world. Except in Tasmania, church and state are absolutely separated ; labour is everywhere powerful in parliaments, and labour governments hold office in Commonwealth and states ; the public departments exceed those of European countries ; and the statute-books teem with laws to assure material well-being and social equality. Nowhere in any land have the workers fewer hours, or more pay and holidays. In New Zealand the average wealth of the people is the highest in the world, and here the rule of radical and labour governments has been longer than in any other colony. The influence of Sir George Grey, governor first and then leader of the Liberal revolt and prime minister, may be seen in the fearless democratic legislation of the colony. New Zealand was first in adult suffrage, which included even Maori women ; it led the advance in factory and shipping laws, in laws to subdivide great estates and establish the principle of state-ownership of the soil, in industrial arbitration, in life insurance, and in the

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admirable care of the citizens' interests by a public trustee. It has shared indeed with other new countries the dangerous effects of interests narrowed to material development and local problems, and subjected to the enormous influence of the borrowing and spending of money, and the doling out of grants for industrial and sectional purposes. But in the least of the free dominions as in the greatest, the peoples have shown how a virile race, with the certain assurance of genuine and honourable self-government under the protection of an imperial peace, and with "habits equal to their birth," can justify the spirit of democratic responsibility. By a strange destiny the proof of the new Empire, slowly working out its problem of equal rights and free consent, was swift and sudden. Its casual conferences of delegates had but just begun to foreshadow a Council of the Empire. The South African Union had only existed long enough to take part in one Conference. Australia had scarcely prepared her first manifest signs of national union—the inauguration of railway connection for all the provinces, a postage stamp for the whole Commonwealth, and agreement for a federal capital in the desolate locality of Yass Canberra. Canada of east and west had not long been connected by three trans-continental railways over lonely prairies and lofty and unexplored mountain ranges. The Dominions in general, absorbed in rapid internal development, had but newly proclaimed their national consciousness, discussion on imperial organization had hardly begun, a plan of defence was still in hot debate, when the catastrophe of universal war fell on the world. Never was there a test of Empire so sudden in its blow, so fierce in its trial of a system still in the eyes of critics almost in chaos, haphazard and unscientific. But in the gathering of scattered colonists into self-governing nations, and of these again into an Imperial Commonwealth based on free consent, Englishmen proudly recognize the most gigantic experiment in government and the most stirring effort after human liberty that the world has known.

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**Government
of the
Empire**

If the English settlers of the empire look back to Bentham^ the races of other blood may look back to Wilberforce and Clarkson as their apostles of freedom. Beyond the fifty-six million subjects of the British crown who are of European descent lie the three hundred or more millions of other races whose administration Great Britain has taken in charge. This vast enterprise, without parallel in the world, is rather a study in governments than in the development of the English people. Every form of rule is represented, from the free colonial system at one end to the "political despotism" of the "protectorates" at the other, in which the Crown, without claiming ownership, can exercise absolute authority and set up whatever jurisdiction it pleases. In spite of deviations, failures, and human errors, there has been a growing purpose to protect the interests

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of each state or territory as against the old notion of exploiting the inhabitants for profit. And with this has gone a series of experiments in broadening the share of the various peoples in their own government. During the last thirty years liberties have been enlarged in the empire of India. Not only is there a tendency to lessen the checks upon the power of the Princes in their own states, but in territories under British rule the attempt has been made throughout the whole administration to advance representative government: first by municipalities and district boards, then by a reform of provincial councils so that the majority shall be elected by the lower representative bodies, and finally by admitting to the imperial legislative council members largely elected by the provincial councils. The demand for fiscal and financial liberty has been recognized in the powers given to discuss the annual budget, and to interpellate officials, foreshadowing some ultimate abatement of a control from England which is essentially financial. It is the pride of Great Britain that she has won her way in Asia and Africa to a higher general standard of humanity and justice than any other rulers of alien peoples. Her advance may perhaps be best measured in the protectorate of northern Nigeria, where a company of devoted officials have illustrated how far the guardianship of native civilization can be made the purpose and the triumph of imperial rule. Everywhere, save in Canada and Australia, Englishmen have come into contact with the problem of governing and judging men of a lower or a different civilization from their own. It is evident that if their rule has meant the carrying of Indian troops to China, Somaliland, Crete, Persia, and at last to France, if it involves the planting of Indians and Chinese coolies in South America, of Indians in Africa, and of Chinese in islands of the Pacific, the problems of the future must be yet more intricate than in the past. For Englishmen, with their world-wide engagements, it is not possible to aspire to a Monroe doctrine of setting a boundary round any region of the earth within which they shall perfect their own civilization, and limit their obligations to external peoples. The duty of Great Britain and her fate are linked with the world universal. Within her empire her work has been to establish a wide peace, under one overshadowing authority, among peoples of every diversity of climate and conditions, of speech, tradition, and religion. By a just instinct she has seen in the free interchange of commerce the first means of intercourse and mutual comprehension among men of all nations and races, and has rejected the manipulation of tariffs on any plea whatever as "a fertile, frequent, and almost inexhaustible source of friction." Her policy has been justified, for England still carries half the produce of the whole world, and moreover provides for it the capital; and transacts in London half its business. It was in the midst of a development so engrossing that the English were called

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back into the circle of European conflicts which since Waterloo they had sought to avoid or to forget.

The lingering authority of the Concert of Europe had presided over the colonial expansion of the nations. While the powers were occupied in partitioning the world they ceased to arouse old quarrels at-home, and more or less amicably adjusted their new boundaries in Asia, Africa, and the Pacific. But the failure of the most stupendous project yet imagined—the dividing of China into spheres of influence—checked foreign adventure. Europe was thrown back on herself. Her governments, entangled in confused disputes and indiscriminate ententes, endeavoured by means of independent and secret agreements to gain their several advantages, pushing back general perils and responsibilities to some later time : and the peoples, at the mercy of a secret diplomacy, became involved in engagements, responsibilities, and dangers of which they knew nothing, though they must ultimately assume the burden. While France, England, and Russia pursued their separate and uncertain paths, Germany steadily strengthened the Triple Alliance and determined her own policy. Soon after 1888 William II. received the imperial crown, not, as he claimed, conferred by parliament or popular decisions but by the grace of God only, 1890 Bismarck was dismissed, and the young emperor's romantic, vehement, and versatile nature had full scope. "Germany," said Bismarck, "as a unit is only a new nation ; but the time will come when the German empire will dominate Europe." The Kaiser looked beyond Europe. In emulation of the vastness of British power he resolved that Germany should be not only first among military nations on land, but powerful enough at sea to command a great colonial future. On 1896 the twenty-fifth anniversary of the inaugural ceremony at Versailles he proclaimed that the German empire was now a world-empire : world power and influence, he told his people, were theirs by the will of Providence. "Nothing must henceforth be settled in the world without the intervention of Germany and the German emperor." "My cause is the right one, and I shall follow it." "Those who oppose me I shall dash in pieces." The colonial party determined to outvie the splendours of India. The whole people were united in the sense of their mission, by the supremacy of German thought and German organization, to lead and benefit the nations of the earth. Endowed with energy, resources, and government, trained to the virtues of labour and thrift, educated to fulfil their allotted parts in the great scheme, they followed leaders who never lost sight of a fixed plan of aggrandizement. To the German accepting the rigorous training necessary for his gigantic task the impression of England was one of indiscipline, disorder, and ignorance. "A thing that is wholly a sham," said Treitschke, "cannot in this universe of ours endure for ever." The British empire, some five times as great

as Europe, scattered through the oceans, was a standing outrage to the Prussian sense of organization ; there was no conscript army for its defence, no fiscal agreement, and no unquestioned control, and in a hundred weak points Bismarck foresaw the undoing of the "boastful Englishers, even though German blood rules from the throne." Germany had in view a more compact and scientific dominion. The year after his accession the young emperor William II. visited the Sultan at Constantinople. There he looked out on a new world. In western Asia were lands rich in metals, with oil-wells more abundant than those of Russia and North America, vast forests, and fertile soil which could produce cotton, wool, and wheat. The exploitation of Babylonia and the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris had been suggested by an English general, Francis Chesney, who surveyed the country for a railway, but English capitalists were diffident, and the project was abandoned. Von Moltke while training the Turkish army advocated the foundation of a protectorate in Palestine, and the day was predicted when German statesmen would be as powerful in the east as Palmerston, Thiers, or Menschikoff. German economists, had urged for fifty years the scheme which was to be taken up finally by William II.—a scheme of reclamation equal to any in the British empire. A great railway contract between the Porte and France ended with the defeat of Sedan. The congress of Berlin opened new chances. Confronted with the Christian kingdoms sliced from his territory, Abd-ul-Hamid called in Prussian generals to make him an army. German interests in the Balkans were further advanced when Rumelia and Bulgaria came together in a single principality under Alexander of Battenberg, France and England consenting, and Lord Salisbury's ambassador at Constantinople now deprecating needless references to the treaty of Berlin. The Tsar however in his anger forced Alexander to resign ; and German influence persuaded Bulgaria to elect in his stead prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, officer in the Austro-Hungarian army. Friendship with Turkey was confirmed ; Abd-ul-Hamid, the first Sultan to realize the value of Pan-Islamism as a political weapon, and to exploit the spiritual sovereignty of the Caliphate, had led a Mohammedan revival which spread as far as the tribes of the Indian border. Feuds and local disturbances in Armenia were suppressed by massacres exceeding anything registered in the past: some 150,000 Christians perished. Gladstone with a last effort denounced to an indignant England the "Great Assassin": to the French he was the "Red Assassin." Lord Salisbury, returning to power, threatened the Ottoman empire with extinction under the fiat of divine justice; English vessels lay in wait at Salonica, Russian at Sebastopol, French at Smyrna, while in words that seemed to threaten war he demanded expiation for public crime. For the first time the

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Sultan could do as he chose unharmed in presence of six great powers so hampered by pledges, by distrust, or by ambitions that no common action was possible. After a new Armenian massacre in Constantinople he turned to forbid the withdrawal from the Turkish empire of Crete—the last relic of Ottoman sea-power since the overthrow of Navarino, the only link with Tripoli and the Mohammedans of North Africa, the chief naval base between Malta and Suez. The powers were called in to prevent the union of Crete with Greece : and when the Greeks declared war, the overwhelming victory of Turkey asserted Mohammedan strength. The memory of Armenian massacres was still fresh when the Kaiser, detaching himself from the universal condemnation of Europe, visited the "Red Assassin" at Constantinople. In Syria he proclaimed himself the protector of Moslem peoples, the immense majority of whom were citizens of the British and French empires, while there was not one under German rule. "May the Sultan and the three hundred million Mussulmans scattered over the earth," he said at Damascus, "be assured that the German emperor will always be their friend." It was the beginning of a momentous alliance. Germany foresaw with her entry into Asia Minor "a German Suez Canal," and German culture in the Orient dominant over the whole Mohammedan world. Prince Ferdinand of Coburg readily gave permission for direct communication through Bulgaria from Berlin to Constantinople, while the Sultan granted a concession to a German company for a railway from Konieh to Koweit, one of the most important routes of his empire. Thus opened the scheme which strategic and commercial experts in Germany had prepared—a scheme as grandiose and more solidly based on fact than the "Cape to Cairo" catchword of Rhodes ; they looked forward to a Bremen, Byzantium, and Bagdad line, an overland route to India, trains for a thousand miles to coal a German fleet in the Persian Gulf, a railway from Damascus to Cairo, another from Angora to Erzerum and Tiflis. Branch lines were to link Constantinople with the Holy Cities of Islam. Russia was threatened on her Caucasian frontier, and Italy in her trade from Brindisi; while French traders were ousted from Syria, and the traffic from Marseilles endangered. It was intended to emigrate thousands of Prussian peasants to Mesopotamia, and a scientific survey prepared for the irrigation of enormous tracts of land. "If one can speak of boundless prospects anywhere," said von Bulow, "it is in Mesopotamia." Throughout the nineteenth century the Ottoman empire had suffered from every incitement to war, international, national, racial, and religious, but a final passion was now added—the competition of the colonizing empires for possession of Asia Minor and Egypt, the lands in which all conquerors, from Alexander to Napoleon, have seen the keys of the world.

England, emerging from the Boer war into a changed world, was led to reverse her attitude to the European powers. France and Russia had been of old the enemy. Extreme bitterness had followed the Fashoda quarrel, and Chamberlain had rudely warned France to mend her manners. "Who sups with the devil must have a long spoon," he had exclaimed when Russia took Port Arthur. Both court and nation had been favourable to Germany; in the seizure of New Guinea Chamberlain saw "an unconsidered trifle of territory," and believed the cession of Heligoland outweighed by "vast advantages"; after the agreement over Samoa he suggested an alliance between Great Britain, Germany, and the United States, as a "potent influence in the future of the world." There began friendly discussions over colonial concessions. The English socialists admired and trusted their German brethren. But there was no real understanding. Germany held back from English advances, lest she should become "the sword of England on the continent." Chamberlain was made to see that he was "biting granite." His programme of fiscal reform and an imperial customs union, and Canada's preferential tariff, roused the suspicion of Germany and brought a threat of reprisals; and a second navy bill practically doubled her fleet. Her hostility was increased when England refused assistance for the Bagdad railway. At this moment the accession of Edward VII. gave the court a wholly new outlook on foreign affairs, and facilitated a reversal of English policy. So long as Lord Salisbury guided English affairs he maintained her "isolation." The Bagdad line was to him primarily a German-Russian matter. One startling innovation he admitted. England still controlled commerce by her carrying trade, her wealth, and her prestige, but France, who before 1870 had been second, sank to the fourth rank, while the United States and Germany stood second and third; it was no longer possible to maintain against all rivals a preponderant English navy on every ocean, and the government secured peace for Australasia by an alliance with Japan, the leading power in the Pacific. Under Mr. Balfour as premier, with Lord Lansdowne as foreign secretary, a revolution in policy was inaugurated, to meet the formidable menaces and the universal fears arising in Europe. Since Waterloo England had held her separate place, aloof from the alliances and disputes of European states; and her naval and military forces had been adjusted to that understanding. With Edward VII. there came a change. By a series of agreements the cabinet gradually reverted to the balance of power in the hope of preserving the European peace. The advances of French ministers to secure English support were no longer **treated** with reserve, and the first official visit of the new king to Paris led to an understanding with France closer than Palmerston **had** ever admitted. England, abandoning the system of Castlereagh

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and Canning, closed her seventy years' opposition to the spread of French power in Morocco ; and Lord Rosebery alone denounced the new convention as carrying a grave military danger. By the bargain the English gained trading privileges and the neutralization of Tangier, a free course in Egypt, control of the Newfoundland fisheries, and settlement of disputes in Siam and West Africa, New Hebrides and Madagascar. Tripoli was left to Italy. This treaty was accepted by Germany as "very natural and perfectly justified." But while France and Spain had openly guaranteed the integrity of Morocco they had made a secret treaty, only revealed seven years later, for a division of the country which was to leave to Spain the extreme northern seaboard, including Tangier. When France proceeded to impose on the Sultan a radical scheme of reforms to be carried out by French loans, she was met by a dramatic German challenge. Suddenly landing in his yacht at Tangier, the Kaiser accentuated his new position as protector of the Moslems, announcing that no power should come between him and the free sovereign of a free country. Germany claimed the right to be consulted in the affairs of Morocco, where she had commercial interests affirmed by treaty, lest she should suffer "detriment in other questions, perhaps more important." The emperor's denunciations of a slight to the "world-wide dominion of the Hohenzollerns" rang out. "Powder dry, sword keen, eyes on the goal, muscles taut," he said to his army. The great controversy had begun whose issue is still unknown. From that time Germany believed, with intensity of apprehension and anger, that a plan existed to "hem her in." France and England on their side were convinced of a deliberate German intention to shatter the Anglo-French agreement, and make a trial of strength in an affair "under which lurked the deepest and most difficult problems of power." The Emperor had landed at Tangier at the moment when Russia, the only ally of France, was falling back before the Japanese after her crushing defeat at Mukden; and it was four days after the Russian fleet had been broken at Tsushima that he demanded an international conference on the Moroccan question. Delcassé, the foreign minister who had carried the Anglo-French entente, would have taken up the abrupt challenge to French claims, but he stood alone in a cabinet which refused to risk war without an ally, and was forced to resign. Germany triumphed in his fall, and in the calling of the Algeiras conference. There the powers (the United States among them) arranged a compromise, confirming the integrity of Morocco, but authorizing France and Spain to police the coast towns. The blow against the entente had failed ; but neither side could claim success, and bitter passions remained. Delcassé's threats of the power of the entente for war on Germany, and of England's willingness for a formidable naval attack, roused intense German excitement.

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Wild rumours were dictated by anger and suspicion, and lay in men's minds. It was not till over eight years after, on the outbreak of the European war, that it was made known to England how far her honour had been engaged by secret negotiations. When the French asked for an assurance of armed support in case of war Sir Edward Grey had refused a promise, but had admitted the possibility that if war were forced on France the British would rally to its material support: and had authorized secret naval and military "conversations" to prepare for such a contingency, on the condition that these discussions should not pledge or restrict either government.

There could be no doubt that the first and absorbing object of the Liberal government under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, with Sir Edward Grey as foreign minister, was peace. The traditional free-trade policy of the Liberals removed a dangerous source of friction with foreign states, and schemes for imperial preference were buried. The grant of self-government to the Transvaal won admiration and sympathy. An agreement with Russia in Central Asia tended to assuage the jealousy which for seventy years had prevented any loyal understanding between the two greatest Asiatic empires. It seemed that with the close of England's isolation the balance of power might again hang fairly equal, and the European concert have its resurrection; and in an exuberance of prosperity and of self-confidence difficulties were overlooked. On the one side was the Triple Alliance of the central states, compacted by thirty years of discipline, with an overpowering military force and a definite policy. On the other side were countries till lately hostile and suspicious, now drawn together by separate and local understandings concerning Africa and Asia, but without any common policy in Europe. The prime minister pointed to the parting of the roads—the broad and easy way to protection, military service, and the degradation of England's liberal institutions; and the path of free trade and larger liberties, leading to peace, retrenchment, and reform. His followers, burning with a long-restrained zeal, and autocratic by virtue of their huge majority, determined to push through their long-deferred schemes of social reform at home, outreaching the projects of any European country. A fervent energy pervaded the incongruous elements of the party—the preponderant body of lawyers in Parliament confident in the power of international law, the liberals believing in open and faithful agreements of the nations but maintaining an avowed distrust of reactionary Russia, the labour party in strong sympathy with German socialists and the international ideal of a "new brotherhood of labour," by whom war would be brought to an end, and whose messages of goodwill carried from country to country would reveal the power of the democracy to purge foreign policy and banish secret diplomacy. But their work for peace was hampered by narrowness of

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outlook and ignorance of foreign history and politics, the flagrant defect of England during this century. Cobbett had once regarded English interest in Greek independence as little but a manoeuvre to obtain the advantages of a loan. Cobden and Bright often spoiled their case through overstatement, and Liberals who inherited their tradition were liable to misinterpret both their faults and their merits. Bright, an ardent pacifist, thought that the cause of liberty justified the American Civil war. Cobden was an advocate of naval supremacy, and offered to vote a hundred million pounds rather than see another navy on a level with that of England, since "any attempt of that sort would argue some sinister design upon this country." Mill desired a strong navy, and deplored the Declaration of Paris : "We have put away the natural weapon of a maritime nation," he said, "because we have abandoned the right of warring against the commerce of our enemies." When England proposed retrenchment of armaments, and set the hazardous example of cutting down her shipbuilding, Germany, recalling her struggle with Austria in 1850, replied that an agreement to limit her navy would be another Convention of Olmutz, and the reply was no mere rhetoric : "to ask from an independent power that it should limit its force is to assail its rights of sovereignty on its own territory"—so spoke Bright in 1855. Germany increased the number of her battleships, condemned academic discussions, and made it a condition of joining a Peace Conference at The Hague that there should be no proposal for disarmament. This second Conference, following that called by Nicholas II. in 1899 to mitigate the barbarity of war, accepted the rules of the Geneva Convention of 1864 for relief of wounded and prisoners ; sought to protect neutral trade, and neutral lands under an occupying army; and attempted to frame rules for naval war, to form an international prize court, and to create a permanent judicial court of arbitration. Difficulties arose in defining the position of neutrals, in drawing up an accepted code of arbitration and of prize; even in the dubious authority of the Hague conference itself with its forty-four represented states. The South American continent had been taken into the European circle as professing the same civilization ; but the great powers who refused to recognize the equality of small nations in debate, still less admitted that their ancient interests could be decided by a casting vote of Ecuador. The New World could not yet, a century after Canning's dream, redress the balance of the Old.

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danger

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The prime minister, a dying man, made his last effort for peace by a new reduction of shipbuilding, and by an open letter to the world urging disarmament in the interests of humanity and civilization. Mr. Asquith took his place, and with Sir Edward Grey consistently laboured for peace amid fresh threats of war. The controversy which opened at Tangier passed to the Balkans, and the menace of

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European war swung from the western to the eastern Mediterranean. If Morocco, commanding the double routes of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, seemed twice in the next five years the point of danger, the true centre of peril remained in the Ottoman empire. Austria extolled the mission of the future to open up Asia Minor as a worthy exploit of the German spirit, and received from Berlin help (in spite of engagements with Russia ten years before) to secure a railway through Novi-bazar opening on the valley of the Vardar towards Salonica, the true commercial outlet from the Danube for the whole German world. Serbia, supported by Russia, demanded a compensating railway to the Adriatic. The Novi-bazar project was suddenly replaced by a proposal formally to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a suitable Jubilee offering to Francis Joseph in the sixtieth year of his reign—a conception of kings and peoples worthy of Metternich of a hundred years before. Already Austria and Hungary, alarmed at the growing unity of the Southern Slavs, were looking forward to a punitive expedition and the annexation of Serbia—the Piedmont of the Balkan states, the country which had been the first in revolt against tyranny in 1804, and had won its freedom with less help than any other people of the Balkans. Finally came rumours that at King Edward's visit to the Tsar at Reval England and Russia had proposed the administration of Macedonia by the six powers. The answer to these predatory schemes was the revolution of the Young Turks at Salonica. Reviving Midhat Pasha's famous constitution of 1876, they once more confronted Europe with "the integrity of the Ottoman empire." The German powers, checked for a moment, adopted the policy that Bismarck had pointed out—a Balkan confederation under Austrian leadership. There was a rapid "entente" with Bulgaria, and secret understandings with Roumania and Greece. The Protestant prince Ferdinand had in 1895 made his astute bargain for a possible entry some day into Constantinople by having his son baptized in the Orthodox Greek church; and now throwing off Ottoman lordship, he significantly proclaimed himself Tsar of Bulgaria. Austria formally annexed the provinces she had for thirty years administered. In the general excitement sinister rumours embittered every nation, and extraordinary unrest troubled men's minds. The Kaiser sowed distrust by a statement that in the Boer war France and Russia had proposed to him an alliance against England and had been repulsed. There was a war panic over the arrest of German deserters by the French at Casablanca, until the question was referred to arbitration at The Hague. As the Germans watched the agreements on African questions among the Latin powers of the Mediterranean, and the new cordiality between the Russian and English governments, they recalled the French phrase of "encirclement." The idea of the "circle" closing around

SEC. II.	them became a fixed and fanatical prepossession. Competition for sea-power grew more intense. The German programme for thirty-three Dreadnoughts was hastened in the North Sea, while Austria and Italy
FOREIGN AND COLONIAL POLICY	and France prepared to launch battleships in the Mediterranean. Already the supremacy of the great Armada that had gathered at
1815	Portsmouth for the Jubilee of 1897 was passing, and Sir Edward Grey
TO	announced that the fleet must be rebuilt and eight Dreadnoughts
1914	laid down that year. The astounding naval and military preparations
1909	of Germany, the vast increase of workmen in Krupp's factory, with new
	engines of war, gave the Triple Alliance a more aggressive character.
	German pressure tightened on Italy. When Austria hesitated to defy
	Russia to war on the question of annexation, the Kaiser proposed to
	garrison Bohemia and Galicia while Bosnia and Herzegovina were
	taken over ; and on Austria's refusal he sent an ultimatum to Russia,
	forestalled her capitulation to Austria alone, and announced to the
	world that it was he in "shining armour" who had made the great
	success. Since the other powers were too much divided to insist on
	a conference, the annexation was carried through without protest.
1910	The same month Abd-ul-Hamid was deposed and the Young Turks
	opened their ill-starred rule. German influence overspread the
	Balkans, and Prussian officers reconstructed the Turkish army. A
	Turkish loan was raised in Germany and Austria. The Bagdad
	railway was pushed on rapidly." The Kaiser met the Tsar at Potsdam,
	when Nicholas agreed to withdraw his army to a fixed distance behind
	the Russo-German frontier, recognized the control of the German
	government over the Bagdad line, and consented to build a railway
	which would have opened the markets of Persia to German goods.
England and peace	The grief of England for the death of Edward "the peacemaker/"
	as he was called, intensified the desire for general conciliation. A
	convention had already met in London to continue the work of the
1911	Hague Conference ; and the Declaration of London, which elaborated
	the Declaration of Paris, was an attempt to define the high-water
	mark of common agreement in a code of maritime war. The govern-
	ment, faithful to the cause of international right, passed the Decla-
	ration through the House of Commons. It was rejected by the Lords;
	the Colonial conference was doubtful of its provisions ; the United
	States, with their enormous coast-line and interests on two oceans,
	refused their signature. Ten years of effort at The Hague had borne
	little fruit. Meanwhile the press and the pulpit were pouring out
	promises of a speedy disarmament and universal peace. A new
	Japanese treaty provided against the possibility of England being
	involved in any dispute between Japan and America. The warm
	reception to the German Emperor on his visit to England; the
	amicable arrangement that the Bagdad railway should be given an
	opening on the Mediterranean and not carried to the Persian Gulf;

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the large colonial concessions to Germany adumbrated in friendly discussions ; the settlement of outstanding disputes in Persia and the Mediterranean—all these encouraged high hopes. Germany, it is true, rejected proposals put forward by President Taft to discuss a system of general arbitration, observing that if a country would not spend enough on armaments to make its way in the world it would sink to the role of super on the world's stage. And in England a powerful imperialist opposition challenged the peace party in office, and Lord Roberts declared that "its armed force should be the measure of the nation's devotion to whatever end it pursued" ; called England to recognize in war the road by which, sword in hand, she had climbed to her unmatched eminence, the road by which had gone "all nations and cities that have ever added the lustre of their name to human annals" ; and desired his countrymen to admit the maxims of German statesmen and of General Bernhardi. But in his scheme of a voluntary army, with compulsory training for home defence, no sufficient thought had been given to the problem of the military necessities of England across the seas, nor had there been any effort to meet the practical question of how to adapt the soldier's training to the conditions of the industrial workers at home, to whom the leaders of the movement had no access either by knowledge or by experience. The system was not endorsed by a single responsible statesman on either side, nor by the War Office, who saw in it grave danger to the English army in India and the dependencies. Englishmen meanwhile still concentrated their attention on internal problems, and left European concerns to a foreign office which, in spite of the democratic inrush, had for a generation neither sought to inform the people nor to win their support. When a threat of war sounded once more from Morocco the country was distracted by an internal revolution which astonished Europe with the range and audacity of its movement, national, social, constitutional, and financial, and by an intense preoccupation with home problems, which ministers charged with the European policy had left undisturbed. The French, in spite of their twofold guarantee of the "integrity of Morocco," occupied Fez on the pretext of danger to European residents ; and the answer was a German gunboat, the *Panther*, at Agadir, Germany demanded a full understanding with France on the Moroccan question; her share in the scheme of compensations arranged in 1904, when the northern littoral of Africa had been divided between France, Spain, Italy, and England ; and a close to the long and discreditable disputes on the Franco-German border in the Congo basin. England entered the lists with the declaration that she must take part in any discussion on Morocco, that she would not stand aside if the cession of the French Congo were asked, nor submit to any German proposal to make Agadir a naval base. The*

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fleet, with sealed orders, lay prepared to put to sea; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lloyd George, announced that at all hazards Great Britain would maintain her place and her commerce among the great powers of the world. The speech exasperated German feeling beyond measure, but once more, as in 1905, war was averted by leaving all direct negotiations to France and Germany. Germany recognized the protectorate of France over Morocco, and in the name of "African equilibrium" obtained in the Congo basin a substantial part of the lands which had been won by de Brazza, the noble champion who had once represented the French ideals of liberty and chivalry. The dispute, sordid in its history and in its close, threw a gloomy light on the course of the partition of Africa which for thirty years had embittered the relations of the European powers. But Africa was no longer the real question between the continental states; and Europe turned from the problems left by the Berlin conference to those which had been bequeathed by the leaders of the Berlin congress, the Prussian Bismarck, the Magyar Andrassy, and the Jew Beaconsfield. National passions were again concentrated on the fate of the Balkans, the blood-stained battle-ground of the rising nationalities and the surrounding empire-builders. There remained the question of Serbia.

The
Balkan
wars

Since Bismarck and Andrassy in 1879 had laid the foundations of an alliance by which Germany could use Austria-Hungary as her outpost in the Balkans, the Magyars held the leadership in the Dual Monarchy. Their publicists and politicians claimed that no national culture of Serbs, Roumanians, or Slovaks did or could exist on Hungarian soil, while their men of business were assured of support in breaking every economic effort of the Slavs. Count Aehrenthal, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, seeking a convenient justification for the annexation of Bosnia, connived at and encouraged the notorious high-treason trial at Agram, which dragged on for seven months. Its sequel was the even more scandalous trial of Aehrenthal's publicist Dr. Friedjung, which established the fact of an extensive traffic in documents forged in the Austro-Hungarian embassy at Belgrade to discredit the Serbian government, with the complicity of the Legation, and indirectly of its chiefs in the Austrian foreign office. The Croatian constitution was abolished, the charter of the Serb Orthodox Church suspended, the "preventive" censorship imposed, among other harsh measures. Meanwhile in Macedonia the Christian races united to throw off the Ottoman yoke. Caught between Austro-Magyar oppression and the violence and disorder of Young Turk rule, and encouraged by Russia, they banded together in a Balkan League against the Turks—an ill-assorted group in which Montenegro and Serbia hated above all Austria, while Greece and Bulgaria never forgot their mutual distrust and hatred even in their joint assault on

1909

1912

Turkey. The campaign confounded the prophecies of the military theorists. While the Bulgarians were threatening Constantinople, the Greeks entered Salonica, and the Serbs recovered the capital of their mediaeval empire. The German powers, whose future plans depended on the destruction of the Balkan League and the military reform of the Ottoman empire under Prussian officers, now saw a Turkey weakened and defeated, and a barrier of Slav states lying across their road. The belief that Russia was marshalling the peoples to drive Austria from the sea embittered the conflict of Teuton and Slav. And in the Balkans national consciousness was excited beyond measure. "The Bulgarian nation has need of three seas," it was said. Greece aimed at Salonica and Kavalla. Young enthusiasts of the "Greater Serbia" read of the Italian war of liberation and took the name of the "Piedmontese Party." But when the Serb army, cut off from the Ægean, entered Albania to win a port on the Adriatic, Austria mobilized to forbid her access to the coast. In the name of peace the powers interfered: Sir Edward Grey presided over a congress in London, and by his spirit of conciliation terms were arranged which Serbia was persuaded to accept. Amid the intrigues of rival empires the Balkan peoples were incited to a second war. The quarrel between Serbia and Bulgaria, envenomed by Austria, broke out in a midnight raid - by the Bulgarians. From Vienna, Budapest, Constantinople, and St. Petersburg strife was actively encouraged. Serbians fought in greatcoats supplied by Russians for the last conflict, and had help from French banks; munitions poured from Austria-Hungary into Bulgaria, where the Tsar Ferdinand (who obtained from his parliament in 1912 sole control of foreign policy) had kept up secret relations with Vienna and Budapest in the fond hope of aid to establish his dominion from the Black Sea to the Ægean and the Adriatic. There was a second surprise for the powers. Serbia and Greece, with help of Roumania, stood stronger than before, while Bulgaria was left with an inadequate opening to the sea, and saw the greater part of Macedonia partitioned among her rivals. In this crisis Austria invited Italy to join her in a "defensive" war against the Serbians, and on Italy's refusal the German emperor came to the help of Francis Joseph in drawing up the treaty of Bucharest. Once more a settlement was planned under which no future agreement of the Balkan States was possible. The powers of the entente weakly allowed the treaty of London to be torn up. Adrianople was left once more in the hands of the Turks; Serbia and Greece retained the lion's share of Macedonia; but by the creation of an autonomous Albania under the German prince William of Wied, Serbia was excluded from the Adriatic.

A time of dark confusion followed, massacre, violence, and vengeance. The Tsar Ferdinand rejected the principle of "the Balkans

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for the Balkan people " and the solidarity of the Slavs ; if he could gain Salonica, and amicably ensure Austria's road to the sea, he believed Austria would aid him to crush their common enemy Serbia. His cynical *Realpolitik* ended any hope of reconstructing the Balkan League, and small states, all but one ruled by foreign dynasties and all divided by unnatural and fratricidal wars, lay at the mercy of surrounding empires. Out of the thickening gloom, a young fanatic of Bosnia stood forth at Serajevo to murder the heir of the Austrian empire, the archduke Francis Ferdinand. Never did guilt precipitate such vengeance and such ruin. The emperor Francis Joseph, with the strong support of Germany, answered by an ultimatum and manifesto to Serbia singularly alike in its charges and in its very terms to the ultimatum he had hurled against Piedmont fifty-five years before. Serbia was given forty-eight hours to accept demands that menaced her existence as an independent state. No time was allowed for diplomacy or mediation of the other European nations. On the declaration of war all the great powers of Europe one after another were swept into the prodigious conflict—driven by powerful ambitions, by patriotism, by panic of final destruction, entangled in the web of old diplomacies, or blinded by the swift uprising of a primeval instinct that machines of death could subjugate the spirit of freedom, or could vindicate honour, chivalry, and justice, notwithstanding that every nation, so long as it had life, would refuse to accept against it as authoritative any decision of war. The incalculable forces which had been revealed in the modern world transcended the measure of statesmen and the inherited traditions of the chancelleries.

Demo-
cracy and
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ality

Thus the hundred years, which began with the loftiest expectations from a European congress, ended with the hopes of peace utterly wrecked under a balance of powers so hazardous that a chance bomb could overthrow the whole crazy equilibrium and plunge three continents into war. This century too had seen the disappearance of the old belief in Christendom as a commonwealth charged with the highest mission of civilization. A new ideal had in its turn caught the heart of the peoples—the doctrine of nationality—and had fired men with an exalted resolve that, delivered from the abasement of servitude, the nations should be free to carry on the spiritual tradition of their fathers, in religion, in literature, in the shaping of their social life, even in the conduct of their trade for the advantage and uplifting of their own lands. The most democratic call yet heard, it summoned men of every class and degree to give their service to the land and people of their birth, and as it bound the whole community in one purpose of large emancipation, it opened to them wider issues than any industrial struggle to win material advantage for a single class. By reverent memory of ancient human conflicts, by the sense of obligations to an unknown future, imagination was lifted beyond the

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bonds of the present. Democracy as the spiritual union of an entire people was exalted in noble devotion and courage, and in a revelation of intellectual energy ; and through the western half of Europe the cause of freedom had its triumphs and public acclamations. The English people had in the main been the upholders of popular government and the refuge of those under constraint, and in alliance with France had vindicated national liberties. A more disastrous epoch opened after the defeat of France, when nationality became identified less with liberty than with aggression and power. Conditions were greatly altered. Mechanical and scientific discovery had from the middle of the century prodigiously increased the range of the power, and with it the expanding ambition, of man. The material strength of the proprietary dynasties was raised to such a height by the development of military weapons, and by the State control of vast mechanical resources, that no subject people could stand against them in rebellion, nor any small nationality in war. The rights of emperors claiming world-dominion superseded those of European kings, and old ideals lost their value in the mirage of new immensities. Even in England the subtle effect of empire might be seen in accustoming men's minds to the idea of law less as the protection of the subject than as the means of repressing the unruly. Above all, the dynasties were trebly secured in power when the new territorial ambitions passed from rulers to peoples, and nations themselves, intoxicated like the kings with the passion of aggrandizement, abandoned the ideal of liberation for that of dominion, and repeated the violences of the old despots under the plea of national life. The problems of the new age assumed a magnitude and a complexity beyond the skill of statesmen to compass ; the bureaucracies with all their conventional resources failed in their tasks. There followed an age of excitement beyond what Europe had ever seen—the greater States fevered by rivalry and dread, the lesser buffeted between their powerful neighbours. In the passion of the time imperialism and nationalism were set in sharpest conflict. Under the fatal sense of advancing doom the generous ardours of freedom were overlaid by the selfishness of panic and of ambition, and nationalism became the plea for violence, treachery, and hate. So times of war and danger confuse human virtues, and install the instincts of primitive man as the leading forces in human action. To some it seemed that nationalism had "spent its force," and that the lesser peoples disheartened and exhausted would now learn "the larger patriotism" of empire. But national life, though it has been turned out of its course, will not fail, so deep does it lie in the nature of man. A time of peace and sufficient security is needed for the higher law to assert its power, and for men to find assurance that in the virtue of freedom, and not in the glory of dominion, lies the way of human progress. It may well be that the majesty of empires will

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not foster the highest developments of genius, when men gifted with intellect and energy recognize the discouragement of strength dissipated in boundless extension of space, or broken against the stupendous machinery of government on the imperial scale. Even though the several nations, without experience, knowledge, or habit of affairs, have to hew out their way against old traditions and diplomacies, and may too easily fall on this side or on that, their faith is steadfast Liberty, and along with it a spirit of international solidarity, or greater still of human fraternity—these together can alone save and develop civilization; and a new concert of Europe will one day establish the principles of Royalty to the nation and "allegiance to humanity." A hundred years have passed since England at the congress of Vienna ignored the rights of nations. Through a century she has been slowly learning, in a sense that the old Whigs and Radicals but dimly felt after, the power of national freedom as something greater than constitutional reform. For long ages the English people have been winning their own privileges under the protection of an assured national security such as was granted to no other people in Europe. Their history will have its justification when in confident faith of freedom they desire to extend the benefits they have themselves enjoyed; and when with resolution worthy of tried matchless opportunities conferred on them, and with knowledge equal to their power, they set the high example of ordered liberty, of national emancipation, and of loyalty to mankind.

"The sympathies of peoples with peoples, the sense of a common humanity between nations, the aspirations of nationalities after freedom and independence, are real political forces."

Feb., 1877.

"The great force which has transformed Europe, which has been the secret of its history ever since 1815, is a political 'sentiment'—that of Nationality."

April, 1880.

{*Letters of J. R. Green, pp. 447, 480*}

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