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A
HUNDRED & SIXTY
YEARS OF
BRITISH HISTORY
1763-1922

BY

R. B. MOWAT

FELLOW AND ASSISTANT TUTOR OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD

CONTAINING TEN MAPS

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1923

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
BILLING AND SONS, LTD, GUILDFORD AND ESHER

PREFACE

THE great difficulty of all who study the past is to feel that it really happened. The people who move through history, when they are read about in a book, have less appearance of actuality than actors on a stage. Not merely is this true of books about remote centuries : even the last Great War has become a thing of vague outline—at least to those who were children at the time. To those born after the War, it will scarcely appear more vivid than the struggles with Napoleon or Louis XIV.

An effort has been made in this work, by bringing the narrative down to the present day, and so linking it to things which pupils may actually see or know about through their own experience, to treat British history as a living stream, still in progress. The year 1763 has been chosen as a starting-point, because the Empire, on something like its present scale, was established then; and because our relations with America were (though in a different way) as vital, as pressing, as they are now. The continuity of the life of this country is what it is hoped chiefly to impress upon readers : the continuity of institutions, of policy, of civic habits and behaviour. Perhaps those who read this book will be helped to realise that they are living in a *present* which is just a continuation of a magnificent *past*, and which is making the *future*.

The study of history should be a means of acquiring knowledge, of training the mind, of forming habits of duty, and of cultivating admiration for all that is noble in British people as they were and as they are.

R. B. MO WAT.

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE,
OXFORD.

1923.

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A HUNDRED AND SIXTY YEARS OF BRITISH HISTORY

1763—1922

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

BY the end of the year 1763, Britain had, though few recognized the fact, ceased to be merely an island, and had become a large State—a Commonwealth it is now called—with its component territories separated from each other by wide distances, but connected by the ocean. Since that time the State has been faced by one historic crisis after another, each crisis leaving the whole more loosely knit together, yet apparently indissoluble. The first crisis—an almost fatal blow, as it seemed, at the time—occurred only a few years after this period opened.

The Seven Years* War had been waged on three continents from the year 1756, and had been terminated by the Treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763. At the making of this treaty the British Government was faced with a great choice—whether it should expand its power over the temperate continent of North America or the tropical islands of the West Indies. In the one case it would get Canada, in the other Martinique and Guadaloupe. The Government, partly, it is said, owing to the urging of Pitt (although he was no longer a Minister), decided to keep Canada, and to restore Guadaloupe and Martinique to the French.

Yet just when the Commonwealth had attained its

greatest extent, and was embarked on a sound policy, it was to receive its greatest blow. The Treaty of Paris (which brought to us Canada and a large part of India) was followed by the War of American Independence.

The acquisition of Canada and the revolt of the other American Colonies were not altogether unconnected. The heroic Montcalm, the defender of French Canada in the Seven Years' War, had written: "They [the American Colonies] would long ago have thrown off the control of England if they had not been restrained by the fear of France." But the real reason for the revolt was the fact that the British Government not merely retained but increased the degree of control which it had previously exercised.

The old Colonial System before 1763 was based on a vague but accepted understanding that the Mother Country should give protection and that the Colonies should *give* obedience. Under this system the British Government had always controlled colonial trade, particularly by the Navigation Acts, which prohibited foreign nations from trading by ship with the Colonies; and also by certain Acts of Parliament enumerating a considerable number of articles, produced in the Colonies, which could only be sent to Great Britain for sale. Tobacco and cotton were "enumerated articles." If the French wanted Virginian tobacco, it had to be shipped first to England and be charged for Customs duty there. Moreover, wrought-iron goods must not be manufactured in the Colonies, but had to be bought from England. "On the other hand, the British consumer was prevented from obtaining foreign products, and was forced to smoke colonial tobacco, to eat colonial sugar, and to use colonial tar, all of which enjoyed a monopoly of the home market. Furthermore, the British and the Irish farmers were prohibited from growing tobacco. There is no doubt that this prohibition entailed far greater sacrifice than did the British restrictions on colonial manufactur-

ing."¹ So the old Colonial System was by no means an entirely one-sided affair.

The real trouble began almost immediately after the conclusion of the Treaty of Paris. There were two causes of friction: one was that the old Colonial System was now being more strictly enforced; the other was that a new charge for cost of defence was being laid on the colonists.

Had the old Colonial System always been strictly enforced there would have been trouble earlier than 1765; and, indeed, there had been trouble. The French West Indian Colonies grew practically no grain, and so could not feed themselves. The New England Colonies had more grain than they required, and so readily exported this commodity to the French West Indies, and received sugar and rum in return. The southern British Colonies of America on their part wished to export cotton and tobacco to the French West Indies. Cotton and tobacco, however, were enumerated articles, and if they were exported it was in defiance of the law, and under a system of smuggling. As a matter of fact, before 1756 there was a good deal of smuggling, and so a vent was found for the surplus products of the Colonies.

During the war of 1756-1763, however, drastic steps were taken by the British Government to stop all trade between the American Colonies and the French islands. Many colonial traders tried to evade those efforts, but the Government, by using the resources of the navy, was able practically to stop all trading with the enemy. When the war was over, the Government used the experience which it had gained during hostilities to stop all illicit trading with the French colonies during peace-time. In 1764 a Sugar Act was passed, prohibiting the importation of rum from the French West Indies, and laying extra heavy duties on imported molasses and sugar. This was the first step by the Home Government which called forth widespread opposition on the part of the Colonies. The provisions of the

¹ Beer, *British Colonial Policy*, p. 196.

Sugar Act and other restrictive laws were being efficiently enforced.

The second step was to impose a charge for defence. Hitherto the Home Government had paid most, though not all, of the cost of protection during time of peace, maintaining small garrisons where they were required, while the Colonies usually found the provisions for the troops. During war it was a recognized principle that the Colonies should help with such forces as they could raise; in the Austrian Succession and Seven Years' Wars the help rendered by the colonists had been considerable. When the Seven Years' War was over, it was found, curiously enough, that, instead of less garrisons being required than formerly, actually more were needed. For although the French were no longer in Canada, they were only too likely to renew the struggle to regain their lost colonial empire; and, moreover, the Indian tribes, now that the British dominion was extended, were becoming more hostile than ever. Just after the acquisition of Canada there was a serious war between the British and Canadian Indians, headed by the Chief Pontiac.

It was therefore felt in the British Cabinet that a larger number of troops should be maintained. The total number was to be fixed at 12,000. The estimated cost of these was something over £300,000, and the proportion which the colonists were expected to pay was £100,000. This was partly to be raised by the Sugar Act of 1764; the rest was to be produced by the Stamp Act of 1765, by which a duty was to be levied on legal documents, cards, and dice.

The Prime Minister, George Grenville, did not rashly pass this Bill through Parliament. If all the Colonies would have agreed to raise what was necessary, each in their own way, the British Government would have been only too happy. But attempts to *get* the separate Colonies to agree to make such a proportionate contribution failed. So the Stamp Act was passed. It started opposition in the

Colonies which lasted till the outbreak of hostilities in 1775, and this in spite of the fact that Grenville's successor as Premier, Lord Rockingham, had the Act repealed in 1766.

The unfortunate quarrel was not due to sheer obstinacy and folly, but arose in a perfectly intelligible way. There was a good deal of right on both sides. The most judicious historian of the dispute—himself an American—concludes his work with the words :

It is too early, at this day, to decide dogmatically whether the movement spelt progress or reaction, or merely a temporary regression necessary to a further step in advance. It is easily conceivable, and not at all improbable, that the political evolution of the next centuries may take such a course that the American Revolution will lose the significance that is now attached to it, and will appear merely as the temporary separation of two kindred peoples whose inherent similarity was obscured by superficial differences, resulting from dissimilar economic and social conditions.¹

CHAPTER II

THE WHIG CONFEDERACY : THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

WHEN George III came to the throne in October, 1760, a war with France had been going on for four years. It was really a contest for overseas dominion in North America and in India, although it was fought, not merely in these countries, but also in Europe, where England had Frederick II of Prussia as an ally, while France had Austria. By the year 1760, the statesmanship of Pitt and the military genius of Wolfe and Clive had won Canada and Bengal; the British Navy under Hawke and Boscawen held the seas.

By 1760 the war was won, although not finished. Pitt,

¹ G. L. Beer, *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765*, p. 316.

who was Secretary of State, while the Duke of Newcastle was Premier, wished to fight on further, to break the alliance of France and Spain, to take Cuba and the Philippines. But George was for peace. Pitt resigned from office in 1761, Newcastle in 1762. Newcastle's place as First Lord of the Treasury (that is, as Premier) was filled by John Stuart, third Earl of Bute, an amiable and studious Scottish nobleman, who had been a friend of George III.'s father and of George himself. Bute, a Tory, led the House of Lords; Henry Fox, a Whig politician, led the House of Commons; and together they engineered, through John Russell, fourth Duke of Bedford, the Ambassador in France, the Treaty of Paris in February, 1763. Britain gained Canada and much power in India; but she gave up Havana and Manila to Spain, Guadaloupe and Martinique to France.

The negotiations for the Treaty of Paris broke up the party system for exactly twenty years. Till the accession of George III. the Whig and Tory parties had been clearly marked off from each other. The Whigs had supported the " Revolution Settlement" of 1688—that is to say, **constitutional government, toleration**, and the Hanoverian Succession. **The Tories had stood for Church and King, an English but not a tolerant Church, a King with large prerogatives, and perhaps even a Stuart.** But since the failure of the Rebellion of 1745, and more especially since Frederick, Prince of Wales (father of George III.), had adhered to the Tories, this party lost all trace of Jacobitism, and, as regards the Hanoverian Succession, became indistinguishable from the Whigs. They were more favourable to the Royal prerogative than were the Whigs, but this only made them attractive to George III. And now a Tory leader of the Lords and a Whig leader of the Commons had ended the war. So the Whig and Tory foreign policies were the same.

It has often been said, but unjustly, that George III. was

a Tory, His aim was, as he had read in Bolingbroke's *Patriot King*, "to espouse no party, but to govern as the common father of his people." But a number of Whig families had got such a grip upon Parliament and the Government that they shut the King off from the people, and strictly circumscribed his power. So George, in order to re-establish what he considered to be the due position of the Crown in politics, had to break the "Whig Confederacy." This he began to do by making the Tory Lord Bute Premier, and by getting Henry Fox, a minor Whig, who did not belong to the inner circle of ruling families, to act as leader of the Commons.

The "Whig Confederacy" consisted of a number of families, very rich in land, owners of numerous parliamentary boroughs, and endowed with traditions of government which marked them out as leaders. From such families came the first Duke of Newcastle, the second Marquis of Rockingham, the third Duke of Grafton, the third Duke of Devonshire—all of whom attained the office of Prime Minister. Such a man was also Earl Temple, head of the house of Grenville. If Walpole and the elder Pitt did not belong to these ruling houses, they at least were allied to them, either by blood or political connection. Pitt's wife was Hester Grenville, sister of George Grenville, **who** became Prime Minister in 1763. These Whig families did not rule badly. They controlled parliamentary votes, they put themselves in office, they arranged policies **in their** town houses or in their vast country mansions, **like Stowe** or Wentworth, but they knew how to govern. **The first sixty years of the eighteenth century were not a bad period for England. But the great Whig families were an oligarchy, and George III. was determined to break it. The process occupied him seven years.**

Bute's Ministry did not last long. **The people liked Pitt's policy, and therefore disapproved of the Peace of Paris. Bute became bitterly hated in the country. He**

resigned office, and George III. had no alternative but to go back to the Whigs. He chose George Grenville, the younger brother of Earl Temple, as Premier.

George Grenville was fifty-one years old when he became Prime Minister; a careful and exact man, he would have been an excellent Speaker of the House; his mind was compacted of precedents. Till this time he had been a friend and follower of his famous brother-in-law Pitt; but now their paths began to diverge. When Grenville, looking around for new sources of revenue, proposed to impose a cider tax, and—in answer to opponents in the House—reiterated, "Where else could a tax be raised, I ask you, where?" Pitt called down laughter upon the stiff and starchy Premier by a mocking quotation: "'Gentle Shepherd, tell me where?'" Grenville was not a Premier to the King's liking; in his unfortunate term of office he had the Stamp Act passed through Parliament (1765); and had John Wilkes arrested under a general warrant (specifying no names) for writing an article against the King's Speech of 1763 in No. 45 of the *North Briton*. During the years that remained to him (he died in 1770) he must have grown sick of the names Stamp Act and John Wilkes.

In July, 1765, George III. found that Grenville had little hold upon the country, and dismissed him. By this time the Whig party had broken into at least two groups: the Bedford Whigs, with their centre at either Woburn (the seat of the Duke of Bedford) or Stowe (the seat of Earl Temple); and the Rockingham Whigs, whose country centre was Wentworth Woodhouse in Yorkshire. Pitt was something of a free-lance, with an inclination towards the Bedford Whigs. First George III., to his credit, tried to induce Pitt to resume office; but the Great Commoner would not act without Earl Temple, and Earl Temple would not act without his brother, George Grenville, which was impossible. So the King turned to the wealthy Lord of Wentworth Woodhouse. This young man (*he* was only

thirty-five in 1765) controlled nearly all the political interest of the North, just as the Duke of Newcastle (who took his title from Newcastle-under-Lyme) controlled most of the Midlands. The Duke and the Marquis now acted together; Rockingham became First Lord of the Treasury, Newcastle became Lord Privy Seal. None of the Cabinet was very distinguished, although Rockingham had a remarkable private secretary, Edmund Burke. The Government repealed the Stamp Act, and carried a resolution in the House declaring general warrants to be illegal (1766). Then it resigned; and this time the King was able to call upon the obvious choice of the people, Pitt. The Great Commoner, at the age of sixty-eight, had lost, except at especial moments, all his fire; he was gouty, moody, nervous. He knew that his strength had gone, and asked that he might go to the Upper House. The King consented, and created him Earl of Chatham: he was the Great Commoner no more.

Chatham was intended to be the virtual, though not the nominal, Prime Minister; for some of his Ministers would not easily have served under him. Actually the Duke of Grafton, a sensible and public-spirited young Whig, aged thirty-two, was First Lord of the Treasury; Chatham was Privy Seal; Charles Townshend, son of the third Marquis Townshend, the best orator in the House of Commons, was Chancellor of the Exchequer. Chatham had great plans: he meant to reform the government of Ireland, the administration of the territories of the East India Company, and the franchise for Parliament. But he was now chronically ill; he came up from his Somersetshire estate (Pynsent) and took a house at Hampstead. But it is doubtful if he ever attended a Cabinet meeting during the whole of this Ministry. He is said to have sat at his table all day, with his head in his hands, starting nervously at any mention of politics. Unknown to him, Charles Townshend had a Bill passed for imposing certain small Customs duties on imports (tin and glass) into the American Colonies, calcu-

lated to raise £40,000 (1767). The Bill was greeted in the Colonies as if it were another Stamp Act. In 1768 John Wilkes was elected Member of Parliament for Middlesex, but the House rejected him as an outlaw (he had been outlawed for publishing blasphemous libels in 1764). In the same year Chatham resigned office. The Duke of Grafton carried on the Ministry for another year, during which time the mob voted for "Wilkes and Liberty." All this time the Ministry was being bitterly attacked in the *Public Advertiser* by the "Letters of Junius." Four times the demagogue Wilkes was elected for Middlesex; and four times rejected. Then Grafton resigned office (January, 1770), and the King called upon Lord North, a Tory, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Grafton Ministry after the sudden death of Charles Townshend in 1767.

Lord North was a favourable instance of the governing class of that day. Like Chatham, he was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Oxford. It is curious that at this time practically all the high politicians had been at school at Eton or Westminster. Eton had the greater number; of Westminster, the chief political products were the Marquis of Rockingham and the Duke of Grafton.

Lord North became Prime Minister in response to an urgent invitation of the King. He was a judicious, good-tempered, conciliatory man, a Tory, but no partisan. He never courted popularity; he bore the burden of office for nearly twelve years, and, when forced to resign, left it as serene as he had entered it.

For a time Wilkes continued to trouble the political waters. In 1771 he was an Alderman of the City of London. The House of Commons, in trying to stop the printing of debates, sent a messenger to arrest the printer, Miller. A struggle ensued, which ended by a constable carrying off the messenger; the messenger was brought before Brass Crosby, the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen

Wilkes and Oliver, who committed him to prison. After this the right to publish debates was practically secure.

At home the condition of England was satisfactory, although Burke, in *Thoughts on the Present Discontents* (1770), inveighed against the power of the King and the King's friends in Parliament. There is reason to suppose that Burke's description of a sort of unofficial Cabinet of King's friends behind the real Cabinet is exaggerated. Overseas affairs absorbed most of public attention, and if the Government had not been so much occupied with America and India, they might have had something to say regarding the Partition of Poland, which was carried out by Austria, Russia, and Prussia, in 1772. But in any case England could have done nothing for Poland without France; and the French Ministers were thinking only of revenge for the loss of Canada.

The American Colonies were fairly quiet, except Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Off Rhode Island some rioters burned the revenue schooner *Gaspee*, as a protest against the imposition of Customs duties. In 1773 Lord North was much occupied with the affairs of the East India Company, which was practically bankrupt. The Government could not allow such an important national institution to fail, so they lent it one and a half million pounds sterling, but under strict guarantees, which were comprehended in a Regulating Act. This Act gave to the East India Company's administration a regular constitution; there was to be a Supreme Court at Calcutta, and a Governor-General and Council, appointed by the Crown. The same Act empowered the Company to import tea directly to the Colonies, without taking it through an English port, and paying only the small colonial duty of threepence in the pound. But the people of Massachusetts would not be bribed even by cheap tea into paying duty. In 1773 some fiery spirits boarded the teaships in Boston Harbour and flung the chests overboard. Measures of retaliation by the Home

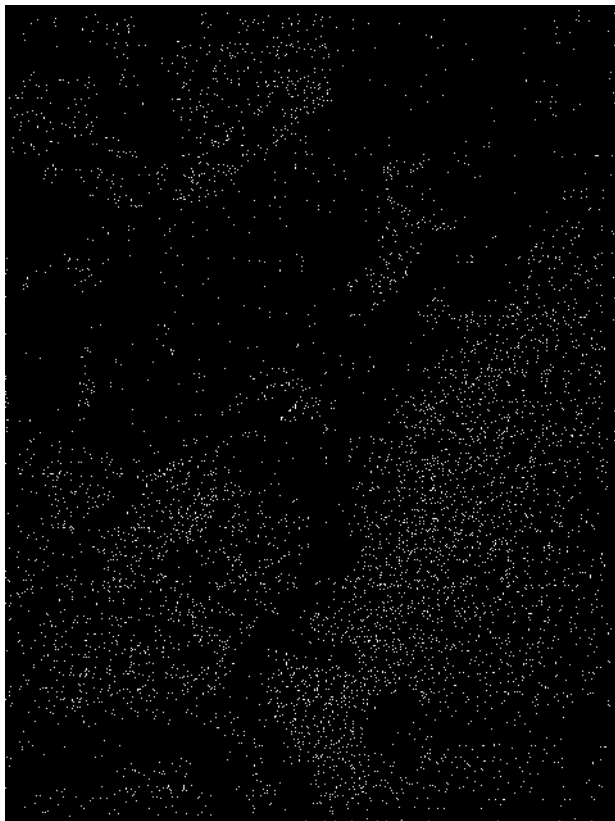
Government were met with more rioting, which spread, and in 1775 became open warfare between the North American colonists and the regular forces of the Crown.

The War of American Independence dragged on without intensity for seven years. The best English General, Eyre Coote, was in India, holding the Company's possessions against the French, the Mahrattas, and Mysore. Another famous Indian General, Lord Clive, had died in 1774; and Stringer Lawrence, the "Father of the Indian Army," died in England in 1775. Yet the war in America was carried on by good men: Sir William Howe, who had led the forlorn hope up the Heights of Abraham in 1759; Sir Henry Clinton, who had been born in Newfoundland, and trained in the New York militia before he entered the Coldstream Guards; Lord Cornwallis and Lord Rawdon, both of whom were to be famous as Governors-General of India; and Sir John Burgoyne, a man of fashion, writer of plays, soldier, certainly an able man, though unlucky in war. Against these the Americans had no regular soldiers till the French came; but they had undoubtedly a great leader in George Washington, a landed gentleman of Virginia, who had fought in the Seven Years' War.

The war falls into two distinct parts—the first from the skirmish at Lexington, in April, 1775, till the battle of Saratoga in October, 1777; the second from 1778 till the Treaty of Versailles, which was concluded in 1783.

During the first part of the war England was fighting against the American Colonies, only; during the second part she had to face not merely the rebel Americans, but also France, Spain, and Holland.

This first part of the war was badly conducted. At home it was the worst period of the eighteenth century in England; foppery in social life and corruption in politics had obscured the good qualities of the governing classes. The ablest men—Chatham, Burke, Charles James Fox—were in opposition, and grievously hampered the efforts of



MAP OF NORTH AMERICA, TO ILLUSTRATE THE SEVEN YEARS'
WAR AND THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

the Government in the war, in which none of the English had much heart. All the fighting was so far off, so desultory, so unreal (as it appeared to those at home), though the hard-working generals and the dauntless unknown privates, in their pipeclayed gaiters, their tight tunics, and their stiff high stock-collars, would have a different tale to tell. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, who had charge at home of the war, was Lord George Sackville Germaine, an amiable but lazy aristocrat, who had lost his military honour at the battle of Minden in 1759, and now did nothing to regain it, for he is said not even to have read the dispatches from America.

From 1775 to 1778 there were only two battles of any size, and even then there were not more than 5,000 to 6,000 men engaged on either side. The first battle (June 17, 1775) was at Bunker's Hill, which the British General Gates captured at immense cost of life from the colonists, who were penning him into Boston. This important town was saved, but only for a time, for the English. Gates was recalled to England; General Sir William Howe took over the command. But Howe had lost all vigour; he had no clear instructions from home; there was an idea among the politicians that the rebellion might be pacified if the war were not pushed forward too vigorously. The idea was fatal; a halfway course between war and peace never produces quiet.

Howe, having supinely let General Washington occupy Dorchester Heights, had to evacuate Boston in March, 1776. The Americans gained the city. On July 4 the Central Congress which the rebel colonists had formed at Philadelphia issued the now famous Declaration of Independence, the forerunner of the Declaration of the Rights of Man which fifteen years later heralded the French Revolution. Yet the war was really only beginning; Britain still had the sea, and the use of army and navy together enabled Sir William Howe to capture New York (July 26, 1776). He then, with something like his old energy, went on and

took Philadelphia—Congress having to flee to Baltimore. But then again he took to marking time; and so on December 25 Washington, with a quick dash at Trenton, was able to annihilate two regiments (many of the men were hired German mercenaries), and so to win New Jersey. In the next year (summer, 1777) Howe acted with praiseworthy skill and determination, and when autumn came Washington was at his wits' end how to keep his ragged little army together in Valley Forge (winter, 1777). But General Burgoyne's British army of about 5,000 men, marching from Canada by the Hudson Valley, had to surrender to the American General Schuyler at Saratoga Springs on October 17, 1777. This was the second really great fight—great in its results, at least. After Saratoga the war ceased to be local and colonial: it became, like the Seven Years' War, a war in two hemispheres.

The French had been brooding for fifteen years on the loss of the great colonial empire which had been theirs till the victories of the British in the Seven Years' War. Now the skilful Vergennes, the French Foreign Minister, saw his chance. For some time Benjamin Franklin, an able American statesman, had been in Paris, trying to get help; Saratoga turned the scale in his favour, and in February, 1778, France and the American Colonies made an alliance, on condition that peace should not be made with England till the independence of the United States had been secured.

England now became involved in something more than a struggle for the American Colonies; it was a struggle for existence as a Great Power in face of France. Had a great statesman been at the head of British affairs, he would have made peace, even at the price of American independence, with the colonists, and would then have concentrated all resources on the task of defeating the French; and at the end of a successful contest he would have compensated England for the loss of the American Colonies by annexing the French West Indies. But George III. would not hear of

peace in America. So a double contest ensued; soon it became triple, for Spain joined in the war in 1779, and the Dutch followed in 1780. Moreover, the Armed Neutrality of the North (a union for maritime affairs of Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Prussia, and the Empire) hampered the English on the sea by insisting that the "neutral flag covered enemy goods," so that the American ports could not be blockaded.

Nevertheless, George III. held on grimly, and his admirals and generals, all his soldiers and sailors, few in number though they were, did their duty nobly. The only thing that was seriously at fault was the *policy* of the Admiralty. During the Seven Years' War, although there had necessarily been actions at sea in American and Indian waters, the bulk—and the most decisive part—of the naval fighting had been done in "home waters"—in the Channel, the Bay of Biscay, or off the coast of Portugal. The French naval ports of Brest and Toulon were carefully watched, and if the enemy fleets came out they were quickly found and attacked. This was the "Pitt system," and the system of Admiral Anson, who was chief in the Admiralty Department. It was the policy that resulted in the naval victories of Lagos and Quiberon Bay, and, with the help of Wolfe and Clive, gave us Canada and Bengal. But now in the war against France and America the policy was reversed. In spite of the strong urgings of Admiral Lord Richard Howe, the bulk of the British navy was kept in American waters, attempting to blockade an incredible length of coast and innumerable islands. The result was that once or twice the British lost the French fleet altogether, and the mistake cost us at least one army—at Yorktown.

The French navy was probably at its best in this period. Admiral d'Estaing captured the islands of St. Vincent and Grenada (1780), and Admiral de Grasse took Tobago (1781). About 10,000 French troops were safely shipped across the Atlantic, to turn the scale on the mainland of America

against the English. Meanwhile the Spanish army was besieging Gibraltar, which was splendidly defended by the Governor, General Eliott, a very warworn hero of sixty-three, who had been in every fight since the Polish Succession War of 1733 (where he had fought as a volunteer in the Prussian army). The best British Admiral? at the time was Rodney; he had been through both the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' Wars, and knew the West Indian Station well. His actions in the American War raised him to the height of fame. In 1780 he broke up the Spanish fleet of Admiral Juan de Langara at Cape St. Vincent (Prince William, afterwards William IV., was a midshipman in this battle), and gave the longed-for, though temporary, relief to Gibraltar. Then he went to the West Indian Station, and defeated Admiral de Guichen off Dominica. In 1781 (February) he captured the Dutch island of St. Eustachius, where any amount of valuable stores had been collected for sale to the American and French forces. But the climate and the hard life were telling upon the Admiral, and he returned to England to recuperate (August, 1781). Thus, Admiral de Grasse was able to bring another fleet over to American waters; and now the French ships were superior in number to the English : Britain no longer commanded the sea.

The loss of the sea soon brought the war to an end on the land. General Clinton still held New York, and could not be dislodged; nevertheless, the Northern Colonies were as good as lost to the English. In the Southern Colonies, where there were many "loyalists," we were doing better. Lord Cornwallis had defeated General Greene at Guildford Courthouse (1781); Lord Rawdon gained the day (not very decisively) over the same active Quaker General at Hobkirk's Hill; at Eutaw Springs the fight was drawn. Still the South was Britain's; and General Cornwallis determined to march northwards and join with Clinton's army of New York. But space and time and the sea were all

against him. French ships kept Clinton penned up in New York; in Virginia the American forces, though for a time inferior in number to the British, were being gradually increased. In September (1781) Clinton sent orders to Cornwallis to fall back on Yorktown, on the estuary of the James River, where he should have been in touch with the British fleet. Unfortunately, the French fleet held the sea in those parts, while Generals Washington, Rochambeau, and Lafayette were soon investing his little army. Admiral Graves, who brought the British squadron down from New York, was unable to break up the French blockade; and so Cornwallis, after making every effort to get away by land, capitulated on October 18, 1781. Admiral de Grasse thought to go forth and capture the British West Indies, but the French command of the sea was short-lived. Admiral Rodney was back in the West Indian Station in 1782, and de Grasse's design to conquer Jamaica was foiled at the great battle of Les Saintes, off the island of St. Lucia.

There was now not much more to fight for. Although we held certain points on the coast of the American Colonies, we had as good as lost the land. Our strength, however, was fully restored on the sea. Canada was perfectly safe. In the first year of the war it had repelled an American invasion; neither the old French nor the English colonists showed the slightest desire to reject the British Crown. And if the French had no chance of regaining Canada, they were not much better off as regards India. Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General under Lord North's Regulating Act, had remodelled the local administration of the East India Company, settled the revenue system in Bengal, sustained a war against the Mahrattas and another against the powerful Hyder Ali of Mysore; while Admiral Sir Edward Hughes had at any rate held his own in five naval actions against the French Bailli de Suffren in the Bay of Bengal. So the game was stalemate for the French in two continents; and in home waters neither they nor the Dutch

nor the Spanish could make headway. The policy of revenge for the Seven Years' War had done nothing for the French, except to bankrupt their Government and so help to bring on the Revolution; it had, on the other hand, made for the freedom of the American Colonies. Lord North had at last gained the consent of George III. to his resignation from the premiership (March, 1782); Lord Rockingham followed with a peace Ministry which death cut short in the same year. The terms of peace were finally arranged by Lord Shelburne, the ablest Whig (since Chatham's death in 1778), and were signed at Versailles on September 3, 1783. The United States were recognized as independent; the French made one gain in the West Indies—Tobago—and another—Senegal—in Africa; while Spain got back Minorca, and also Florida, which England had acquired in 1763, at the end of the Seven Years' War.

CHAPTER III

THE END OF A PERIOD AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

WHEN the Treaty of Versailles was made, the eighteenth century had seventeen years to run. It had been a self-satisfied century, unruffled by the fierce intellectual cravings and questionings which were to trouble the nineteenth. In England it was a sort of golden age: the land supported the inhabitants; the towns were not overgrown; the old apprentice system had not yet broken down; the gentry knew how to administer public affairs; in spite of a swollen pension and sinecure list, government was cheap and efficient.

It is often said, however, that England in the eighteenth century was all but dead; that she had no spiritual life; that society was smug, self-centred, and decadent. That

statement is false. The eighteenth century, for all its trimness, all its cynicism, was an age of revivals, from the time of the evangelical clergy of the reign of Queen Anne to the Wesleys in the reign of George II and George III. One of the earliest—and, in his outlook, one of the most modest—of social reformers was James Edward Oglethorpe, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford (1696-1785). He took poor men across the Atlantic, founded a Colony (Georgia, in 1732), prohibited slavery there, served as a Member of Parliament for thirty-two years, and belonged to Dr. Johnson's coterie, one of the most brilliant, and certainly one of the most sane, literary circles of any age. In active affairs the age of Chatham and the younger Pitt, Wolfe and Clive, Benbow, Rodney and Boscawen, cannot be called dead: the pure flame of patriotism never burned more brightly, and at the end of the century reached its supreme brilliance in the soul of Nelson.

Yet there was a time when some thoughtful citizens were inclined to "despair of the State." This was about the year 1783, when we had lost America; when the loss of Minorca and the capitulation of Yorktown overshadowed the defence of Gibraltar and the victory of Les Saintes. Edward Gibbon was writing at Lausanne the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, of which three volumes had already been published by the year 1783. People may have thought that the book had something of a moral for the present age.

We had lost the American Colonies, and it looked as if Ireland might leave the community of the British peoples too. During the American War the English forces had to be largely withdrawn from Ireland. Ireland therefore provided for its own defence through a volunteer movement, which soon placed 50,000 men under arms. To this public demonstration of political and military ability Lord Rockingham's Cabinet replied in 1782 with a grant of what is now called representative (though not responsible)

government. Poynings' Act (1494) and the Declaratory Act of George I. (1719) were repealed, and the Irish Parliament could now pass whatever Bills it chose, subject only to such rights of veto as the Crown still retained. The Irish Ministers, however, were not to be responsible to the Dublin Parliament; they were appointed by the Cabinet in London. Nevertheless, the political gain to Ireland was great; their old Parliament, which had been tied by Poynings' Law and the Declaratory Act, was now free; the new state of affairs was largely due to the patriotism, statesmanship, moderation, and eloquence of two men, Henry Grattan and Viscount Charlemont, who lived to see the dissolution of their work eighteen years later, in the Union of 1800.

Lord Shelburne, who had been Secretary of State in the Ministry of Lord Rockingham, became Premier on the death of that amiable nobleman, at the age of fifty-two, in July, 1782. Shelburne's ability was unquestioned; his sincerity, however, was doubted; his manners—polite beyond anything which society recognizes as befitting an Englishman—gained him the nickname of "the Jesuit of Berkeley Square." Fox and Burke, although Whigs, would not serve under the Whig Shelburne, while William Pitt, who was a Tory, took office as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The party system, indeed, owing to the numerous personal antagonisms between politicians of these years, scarcely existed. Pitt was only twenty-three years old, and had not long left college. Shelburne as Prime Minister did two things, one good and one bad : he made the Peace of Versailles, but he allowed a Bill promoted by Thomas Gilbert, Member of Parliament for Lichfield, for altering the Poor Law, to pass. Gilbert's Act ordered the Poor Law authorities to find work for unemployed persons, and to levy rates for increasing the wages of people whose employers did not pay them enough (1782). The Act was not put fully into operation till 1795, when it

bore fruit in a gigantic system of doles which nearly ruined the country.

Early in 1783 Shelburne found that he was powerless in Parliament owing to an amazing coalition of Whigs led by Fox and Tories led by Lord North. He accordingly resigned; and George III., after trying for nearly six weeks to get more suitable Ministers, was compelled to let Fox and North form a coalition under the nominal premiership of the Duke of Portland. But two such ill-mated yoke-fellows—the dissolute, sentimental, "radical" philanthropist and the sagacious old Tory—could not for long work together. When Fox introduced an India Bill to give the Ministry control of all high appointments in the East India Company, George III. made one of his big efforts. He asked Earl Temple (not Chatham's brother-in-law, the first Earl, who died in 1779, but the second Earl, son of George Grenville) to let members of the House of Lords know that anyone who voted for the Bill would not be considered a friend of the King. This can scarcely have been an appeal to fear, for a peer in those days was rich, influential, and independent; it may have *been* an appeal to loyalty. Anyhow, it was sufficient to procure the rejection of Fox's India Bill (December 17, 1783). Next day the King dismissed his Ministers, and asked William Pitt to form a Government. The young man—cold, confident, conscientious as always—accepted. He became Prime Minister at the age of twenty-four, in a House of Commons where his opponents had a majority of a hundred and fifty against him.

The situation would be almost, although not quite, impossible at the present day; for even now a firm statesman might stand out against the electorate for a period, until either the funds of Government were exhausted, or until he brought the people round to his views. In the eighteenth century the situation was more possible: a Minister might have the bulk of the House of Commons against him,

but that House of Commons, under the " pocket-borough " system, might really not represent the feelings of the constituencies. George III., as a matter of fact, knew something about the people : though he did not go much into the North, he was a well-known figure in the South, and he spent much of his time driving, and also talking, out of doors. He was kindly, conversational, and highly respectable—the sort of man who likes and understands the English people, and who is liked and understood by them. He saw that the people either believed in the young Pitt now, or would believe in him soon. The King's judgment was correct; Pitt carried on the Government from December 23, 1783, till March 25, 1784. During this time he failed to carry a single measure through Parliament, except the annual Mutiny Bill for maintaining discipline in the army. But when the King dissolved Parliament, the opinion of the country was entirely in favour of the Premier : the supporters of Fox and North were defeated in one hundred and sixty constituencies. Those who lost their seats were nicknamed " Fox's Martyrs."^M Pitt had now an ample majority—a proof that, even under the " un-informed system " of parliamentary representation, the will of the people could prevail.

It is not often that an infant prodigy surpasses the expectations even of his fond parents and tutors. But so it happened with two geniuses who were living at the same time—Mozart, who composed operas at the age of ten, and Pitt, who as a boy discussed problems of State with Cabinet Ministers. He had great ideas about government, and he was capable of carrying them all into effect; his judgment was as sound as his aspirations were lofty. Many of his colleagues in the Cabinet, in later days at least, were able men—Dundas, Castlereagh, Windham, Canning—but Pitt towered above them all.

If England appeared to be decadent in 1783, she was soon to show, under the cold flame of Pitt's genius, how

much life there was in her still. The years from 1784 to 1791 were years of re-creation at home, of progress in the Empire overseas, and of peaceful rise to eminence in foreign affairs.

The prospect in front of Pitt might have staggered even an experienced old statesman. The National Debt had risen to the sum of £224,000,000, a far larger burden, in proportion to the wealth of the country, than Great Britain has now to bear. The revenue of the Government was about twelve million sterling below the annual expenditure. Clearly, finance was the first thing to be taken in hand. Pitt had studied Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, and knew that Free Trade promoted the production and exchange of wealth. Therefore he boldly had some of the enormous duties taken off staple commodities. The duty on tea, for instance, was reduced from 119 to 12½ per centum. Thus the cost of living was decreased, there was therefore more money for trade, while at the same time the Government's revenue was not diminished; for although the rate of duty had been lowered, the total amount of goods which were bought and on which duty was paid was much greater than before. A similar reform carried through by Pitt was to simplify the whole intricate and cumbrous system of duties, even where he did not lower the average rates. About 3,000 different rates on various articles were abolished, and one and the same charge was imposed upon the whole number. The amount of useless labour which this reform saved to the Customs Department was simply enormous. Until this time smuggling had caused great annual loss to the revenue; but now, with lower duties, smuggling ceased to be so profitable; and in order that the hand of the law might be extended to deal with such smugglers as were left, the Hovering Act was passed, increasing the area in which revenue cutters could operate to four leagues from land.

These reforms, simple and obvious though they seem,

were not prepared without a great deal of hard work and hard thought. In 1784 the *Consolidated Fund* was created; all Government moneys were paid into the same account, so that an accurate national balance-sheet of revenue and expenditure could be made. Before this time many taxes had each their own account or fund at the Bank of England, and the contents of the fund were "ear-marked" for paying the interest of a particular loan, or the expenses of some particular service of State. Since 1784 all Government money has come into and gone out of the Consolidated Fund. Thus, on many grounds Pitt's Budget of 1784 is one of the epoch-making Budgets of English history, like that of Peel in 1845 or of Gladstone in 1859. The *Sinking Fund*, which was started by Pitt also in 1784, was a good device which has been unjustly criticized. Pitt's scheme was to set aside one million pounds sterling per annum out of surplus revenue, and to let the money accumulate at compound interest until the fund was large enough to pay off the National Debt. The success of the scheme obviously depended upon two things: first, on the Sinking Fund being built up out of Government revenue (it would be no use if the Government had to borrow in order to create the Fund, if borrowing would only create as much debt as the Fund could pay off); second, on the rate of interest which the Fund could earn while it was lying at the credit of the Government account in the Bank of England. The best plan would have been to use the annual million to pay off so much debt each year; thus debt would be cancelled, and the interest which the Government had to pay each year would be diminished. In later years, during the war with France, Pitt borrowed money at 6 and 7 per cent, to pay into the Sinking Fund—a policy which, though unjustifiable on financial grounds, might be quite proper for political reasons, if by this means people were induced to lend their money more readily during the war. In the same way the "sinking fund" payments in

connection with the War Loan of 1916 were for the next two years made by Mr. Lloyd George's Government out of borrowed money.

Pitt intended to apply his principles of Free Trade to the relations of England and Ireland, but, finding that the opposition of the English merchants was too much for him to overcome, he withdrew his scheme (1785). He was more successful with regard to the commercial relations of England and France : the Commercial Treaty of 1786 was a sort of *intercursus magnus* providing for a lowering of duties on both sides; it was an anticipation of the " Cobden Treaty " made seventy-four years later (1860). Unfortunately, the advance which trade made after the Treaty of 1786 was checked by the French Revolution.

Hitherto the overseas empire of Britain had been merely a sort of appendage to the national affairs; its concerns had scarcely formed a normal part of English politics. Pitt took the Empire into his daily work; and even if all his colonial measures were not wise, this alone would be enough to immortalize him. His India Act of 1784 placed the political (but not the commercial) affairs of the East India Company under a President and Board of Control (appointed by the King on the advice of the Ministry), and these still go on under the name of Secretary of State and Council of India. The first Governor-General under the Act of 1784 was Lord Cornwallis, than whom no better choice could have been made. But to allow Burke and Fox to impeach before the House of Lords the previous Governor-General was a bad mistake, which, however difficult it would have been to prevent, must still be laid to Pitt's charge. Warren Hastings had saved British India from the French and from Hyder Ali, and he had given to Bengal a good system of administration and justice, which had been lacking since the death of Aurungzebe in 1707. He had worked literally day and night, labouring without respite, not merely for the good of the British, but, as his

private letters clearly show, for the good of the Indians. Burke, Fox, and Sir Philip Francis, his chief accusers at home, undoubtedly had a passion for justice, which could have been satisfied in a Parliamentary Committee of Enquiry; and if the enquiry had found anything against Hastings he could have been drastically dealt with. The long, costly, venomous impeachment caused needless pain to a great man who had committed no crime, and against whom nothing more than errors of judgment could be proved. Macaulay, in his famous essay, has said the worst that could be said, and it comes to little. It is time that India should cease to hear from stay-at-home Englishmen of the faults of their more active and worthy brethren.

The Canada Act of 1791 was a step in the formation of a great Dominion. Since 1763 Canada had been administered by a Governor assisted by a Council which was nominated by himself. The Quebec Act of 1774 secured freedom of worship to the Catholic French Canadians, and till the War of American Independence all went smoothly. During the war Canada went through a trying time, but all the dangers came from the outside. The Governor, Guy Carleton, Viscount Dorchester, mainly with local militia troops, repelled the invaders. When the United States had gained independence, a considerable number—about 40,000—of Americans prepared to stay under the British flag; they were therefore given land in Canada, chiefly in the unsettled part to the west of Montreal, by the British Government. These "United Empire Loyalists" and other settlers who came from England grew to be a distinct community in the country west of the Ottawa River. They were English-speaking, Quebec was French; the distances were enormous. Pitt therefore had Canada divided into two provinces; the eastern province, Lower Canada, was made out of the old French Canada, with Quebec as its capital, and Montreal as its second city. The more westerly province was Upper Canada,

with its capital at York (now called Toronto), on Lake Ontario. Upper and Lower Canada had each, under the Act, a Lieutenant-Governor and an elected Council; each thus had government which was Representative, though not Responsible. The constituencies elected the members of the provincial Assemblies, but the provincial Assemblies had no voice in the choice of the Ministers.

These fruitful years from 1784 to 1791 are influencing our history potently to-day. While the Dominion of Canada was growing, the foundations of Australia were being laid. This vast continent, although not absolutely unknown to the famous Dutch navigators of the seventeenth century, had been little considered by them. They had been, for the most part, content for a century and a half to ply their steady trade from the Cape to the Spice Islands. But Australia became something more than a vague notion when Captain James Cook, R.N., was sent in H.M.S. *Endeavour*, at the request of the Royal Society of London, to Tahiti, to make observations of a "transit" of the planet Venus in 1768. The liberally minded Admiralty gave Cook instructions to pursue the task of discovery "in the South Pacific Ocean," after he had finished his observations at Tahiti. Cook sailed south-west from Tahiti and discovered New Zealand, and thence to the east coast of Australia. With Cook was Joseph Banks, a member of Christ Church, Oxford, aged twenty-five, a good botanist, and already a Fellow of the Royal Society. When the *Endeavour* returned to England in 1771, and Cook showed his carefully made maps and charts, his fame as a discoverer was assured, but none realized that a new world—a British world, too—had been born in the Southern Hemisphere. Meanwhile the Old World, unconscious of the springs of fresh life within it, went on in the old way; England lost the American States, and everyone seemed to acquiesce in the French Minister Turgot's description of colonies as fruits which drop from the parent

tree when they are ripe. But Sir Joseph Banks had a larger vision, and pressed the Government to establish British sovereignty where Cook had led the way, and so it was that just when Great Britain lost the American Colonies she acquired the majestic continent of Australia. Cold, practical, yet deeply idealistic as he was, Pitt treated the question of Australia in a way all his own. After the Treaty of Versailles of 1783 English prisons were crowded, having to find accommodation annually for the thousands of prisoners who in former times would have been shipped to Virginia and the southern plantations to serve the colonists there. By the year 1787 the inadequate gaols must have been overflowing; the investigations of John Howard (1726-1790), the philanthropist, had called public attention to the condition of prisons at home and abroad; and so Pitt, in 1787, sent a ship full of convicts under Captain Arthur Phillips, properly supplied with stores, food, and agricultural implements, to the still almost unknown continent. Did Pitt know that he was calling a new Dominion into existence? Captain Phillips sailed to Botany Bay, where Cook had found the climate so delightful, and where Banks had noted the fine variety of flowers; he named his new settlement Port Jackson, after Sir George Jackson, who had been secretary to the Navy Board; the name of the settlement was subsequently altered to Sydney, after Thomas Townshend, Viscount Sydney, who was Home Secretary in Pitt's Ministry. It was in this same fruitful period that the Colony of Sierra Leone was founded, under the influence of William Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson—both friends of the Prime Minister—as a home for freed slaves (1787).

In the previous year a brilliant step had been taken by the East India Company when it purchased the island of Penang from the Sultan of Kedah.

It is difficult to take much interest in foreign policy during the years 1784 to 1792, for it belonged to the system

of the eighteenth century which the French Revolution engulfed. But in truth the engulfment was only temporary; the French Revolution is not a chasm across European history. The States system of Europe which the Revolution destroyed was fought for in twenty-two years of war (1793-1815), and was then restored, and it is under a development of this system that the States of Europe still live. The questions in foreign affairs with which Pitt had to deal in that short period before the Revolution are questions of to-day.

The first was the question of the Netherlands. Holland (the "United Provinces") was a federal republic under a Stadholder—practically a hereditary President—of the House of Orange. Belgium was a possession of the House of Austria. In 1787 a party, which was in close touch with the French Government, rose against the Stadholder. Pitt was as clear in his mind as any British statesman that the Netherlands should not become an instrument in the hands of a Great Power. Unfortunately, England had no friends: since 1763 she had been isolated in Europe. The old Frederick the Great, however, who had been so unfriendly to us since the end of the Seven Years' War, had died (1786); and Sir James Harris, whom Pitt had chosen as British Minister at The Hague, was able to arrange with the new King, Frederick William II, an Anglo-Prussian alliance, to save the Dutch from France. The entry of a Prussian army into Holland was sufficient to restore quiet to the country, and to allow the Orange Stadholder to resume his rule. A Triple Alliance of Great Britain, Holland, and Prussia for mutual defence re-established the place of the Dutch in the European States system (1788). At the same time the existing system in the Baltic lands was threatened with disruption by a war between Sweden on the one hand and Russia and Denmark on the other. After Sweden had suffered considerable losses, Great Britain and Prussia were able to mediate and **bring about**

the Peace of Werela (1790), on the basis of the *status quo ante helium*. It was to the interest of Europe that Sweden should retain her position in the Baltic as compared with Russia.

After the questions of the Netherlands and of the Baltic comes that of Austria. When the Emperor Joseph II died on February 20, 1790, the Austrian dominion was threatened with collapse through revolts in Hungary, Bohemia, and the Netherlands. The King of Prussia aspired to take advantage of the Austrian difficulties by annexing Dantzic and Thorn, and making certain other territorial arrangements. . But Pitt refused to associate himself with this scheme, and used the Anglo-Prussian alliance as a restraining bond. So Prussia held her hand, and the Austrian troubles were pacified at a European Conference held at Reichenbach (1790), the beginning of that Concert of Europe which was to preserve the States system in the nineteenth century. The members of the Conference were Leopold II of Austria and William Pitt. Great Britain was no longer isolated; her influence had been restored from the insignificance of 1783 to be a means of peace and prosperity for Europe. One more question—the Near Eastern—now comes on the scene, and Pitt tries to solve it too. Catherine II of Russia advanced her armies along the northern Black Sea coast to the Dniester, and detached a province from the Turkish Empire (1791). Pitt spoke up for the integrity of Turkey as one of the planks of the European structure. He was opposed in Parliament by the eloquence of Burke and Fox, using the arguments which sixty or seventy years later were regularly employed by anti-Turkish Liberals. On this question Pitt could not carry the Parliament with him. He might have resigned office; he preferred to cancel the ultimatum which had actually been sent to the Tsarina, Catherine II. The Dniester became the frontier of Russia. The policy of partitioning and the policy of maintaining Turkey had been

publicly defined. But while Pitt was engaging in European questions with a sound, old-fashioned statesmanship, the crowds of Paris and the fervid enthusiasts of the French Assembly were engaged in smashing up the Old World.

The French Revolution has a twofold aspect—internal and external. Internally *it* brought about, after several years and at great cost of life, a simplification of French political institutions and of French society—a simplification which has made France one of the most free and at the same time one of the most orderly and efficient countries in Europe. Externally the Revolution had a disturbing effect; it resulted in a propagandist movement which provoked insurrections against the Governments of France's neighbours, and it affected the maintenance of treaties and the stability of frontiers. Thus it provoked a war of France's neighbours against her; the war became general, and (although life was less disturbed in many parts of Europe than might be imagined) lasted with brief intervals for over twenty years. In what condition was England when she had to face this storm ?

Until near the end of the eighteenth century England was a self-supporting country. The population was not large for the size of the land; at the time of the Norman Conquest there appear to have been about two million people; in the late eighteenth century there were about six million. In the Middle Ages the population scarcely increased at all. In later times improvements in agriculture had easily kept pace with the slow increase. In the eighteenth century the use of roots had made a good system of rotation of crops possible; while the consolidation (by numerous Enclosure Acts) of the scattered strips, hitherto cultivated by the villagers, into larger farms had immensely increased the productiveness of the soil. The animals on the farm became bigger too; they were better fed (especially in winter); and scientific breeding, developed by men like Robert Bakewell, the Leicestershire grazier (1725-1795),

resulted in a kind of sheep and oxen of hitherto unknown weight. Thus during the greater part of the eighteenth century increase in the product of agriculture easily kept pace with any increase in the population, and left something over. The English, in economic as in intellectual affairs, were self-sufficient, self-satisfied, complete, untroubled by "the weariness, the fever and the fret" of later days. It was a frame of mind possible for a quiet island, but in times of crisis only a great prophet—a Chatham, a Wesley, a Pitt—could rouse its conscience to a sense of duty. To a real prophet, however, the response was ready enough.

The curiosity, the infinite inventiveness and adaptability of the human mind, can never be for long suspended. Sooner or later some individuals were bound to make experiments in using, for man's advantage, the mighty power of Nature. The wonder is that the inventions of the eighteenth century did not happen sooner. When they came, they got their best chance in England, a country of internal peace and quiet, with a considerable fund of surplus capital, as all agricultural communities have. The Industrial Revolution made England a country of large towns, towns of whirring machinery and masses of people. Though the change had only begun when the French revolutionary wars started, it was sufficient: England had the foundations of manufacturing industries to supply the men and munitions for the great struggle. Nor need it be for a moment thought that the Industrial Revolution only supplied food for cannon; it was sufficient to save England from being conquered in a great war; and when the war was over, it made possible the solid achievement of the Victorian Age.

No revolution is absolutely sudden and spontaneous. The Industrial Revolution had many precursors, like Jack of Newbury, who was a veritable captain of the woollen industry in the early years of the sixteenth century. The

" heavy " manufactures had their pioneers too. Abraham Darby (1677-1717) was making cast-iron on a large scale at Bristol in the early years of the century; in 1709 he moved to Coalbrookdale in Shropshire. His son, Abraham II. (1711-1763), used coke-ovens in the smelting-works, and the grandson, Abraham III., extended the Coalbrookdale operations by spanning the Severn with a great iron bridge there (1779), the first iron bridge in England. Surface coal is known (from a Saxon charter of " boc-land") to have been *used* in the country as early as the year 843; and by the year 1754 a Whitehaven coalmine had a shaft 800 feet deep. It was fortunate for England that she had the coal to fall back on, for a thousand years of smelting iron with charcoal had resulted in almost complete destruction of all the big woods. The textile industry was enormously advanced by a number of technical devices, beginning with Kay's " flying shuttle" (1733), Hargreaves' " spinning jenny" (1764), Arkwright's " water-frame" (1767) (so called because the power was supplied by a water-wheel), Crompton's " mule " (1779) (a combination of the water-frame and the spinning jenny), and Cartwright's " power loom " (1785). At first this was driven by water, but meanwhile the steam-engine was being rapidly developed, and in 1790 *it* was used to drive the power loom. All these inventions could be applied to the making of either woollen or cotton goods. Thus, when the great wars started, the apparatus of the Industrial Revolution was all but complete.

The great pottery industry arose about the same time. The Portuguese, in the late sixteenth century, brought from China the secret of making porcelain in place of the crude earthenware products of Europe. The French took up the manufacture of porcelain at St. Cloud and Sevres, the Saxons at Dresden, and the English, last of all, at Chelsea, Bow, Bristol, Worcester, and Stoke-on-Trent. In 1773 Josiah Wedgwood, from the Etruria Works at Stoke, with the designs of the great artist Flaxman (then at the begin-

ning of his career), was producing chinaware which is still unsurpassed.

The heart of the Industrial Revolution was the steam-engine. About 1698 a steam pump invented by Thomas Newcomen, an ironmonger, and Thomas Savery, an officer of the military Engineers, was being used to "raise water from mines. In 1764 James Watt, a maker of mathematical instruments in Glasgow, was given a Newcomen engine to repair; the improvement which he effected in this article is the real beginning of all the great things which the engineering industry has done since; perhaps the first result on a big scale was the Soho Engineering Works of Watt and Boulton, the precursor of those mighty "plants " upon which to-day Great Britain so largely depends.

But great industries cannot live without communications, any more than the human body can live without the arteries of circulation. The mediaeval " roads " were really grass tracks for horsemen; the seventeenth and eighteenth century roads were mainly lanes, without ballast of any kind, but broad enough for a coach to deviate, if necessary, from a more muddy to a less muddy side. In the latter half of the eighteenth century—largely because the rebellion of 1745 enabled the military authorities to press Parliament for good roads—much was done to repair highways with flat stones and wattles; and between 1790 and 1800 the " macadam " system of hard surface roads of crushed stone was being gradually established by John Loudon Macadam, who may be said to have lifted the communications of England from the slough of despond.

Roads allowed people to move themselves readily and rapidly; they enabled commercial transactions to be made from end to end of the land; but they were not much good for the transport of heavy goods. **For** this—where time is not an all-important factor—there has **been found nothing superior to water-carriage.** A ship or a barge can contain and move vast bulks of goods at a small cost. **Thus towards**

the end of the eighteenth century canals were made to do the work which, in the more hurried times of to-day, the " heavy " railway companies do. The great English promoter of canals—which had long been used in Europe—was Francis Egerton, the third and last Duke of Bridgewater. In 1760 he employed James Brindley (who had a machinery-repair shop at Leek) to make a canal from Worsley to Manchester to carry coal from the Duke's coalmines; in 1762 he began the extension of the canal from Manchester to Liverpool, and thus made possible the development of the trade in cotton goods. Brindley carried on the canal idea, and by connecting the Trent and Mersey (Grand Trunk) and constructing a system of auxiliary waterways enabled Birmingham and the Potteries, the coalfields of Yorkshire, and the docks of London and Bristol, to co-operate in productive labour.

Thus it was that when the French Revolution began—a period of storm and stress which strained the contemporary social and political system to breaking-point—Great Britain alone in Western Europe was able to hold fast.

CHAPTER IV

THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY AND FIRST NAPOLEONIC WAR

HISTORY is an account of what has been, not of what might have been. What, indeed, would have been the condition of society if the Powers had not opposed the French Revolution, and if they had allowed Napoleon, with his passion for symmetry and order, to straighten out the complications and crookedness of old Europe, no one can say with the remotest degree of accuracy. The instinct of statesmen and of peoples to oppose any sort of world authority is deep-seated, and *is* probably sound. This instinct is the source of that determination, so difficult for sensitive persons to

understand, to carry the most sanguinary and costly struggle through to the end—the determination of Pitt and Castlereagh against Napoleon, and of their successors in the European War with Germany.

The strength and reputation of the French Monarchy had greatly declined in France itself since the disastrous Seven Years' War. The administration was in a condition of disorganization: there were too many officials, too many *bureaux*, too much centralization. The public debt was enormous, and every year saw a growing deficit in the national accounts. As a last resource, King Louis XVI. was advised by his Minister Necker to summon the National Assembly, which had not met for 175 years.

At this time, the French Monarchy, though ancient and splendid, had little hold upon the people. The Court and most of the Departments of State were kept at Versailles, out of touch with the large population of Paris. The success of the Royal Government in taking part in the War of American Independence against Britain in the years 1779-1783 had only increased the Public Debt, and had imbued a number of the soldiers with Republican sentiment. The check inflicted on the Government's Dutch policy by the Triple Alliance of 1788 was a blow to the Monarchy's prestige. When the Estates-General met in May, 1789, the Royal Power was faced with a series of attacks that destroyed its authority, and within three years brought a Republican Government into existence.

With the internal affairs of France, Great Britain had no concern; and even the other Powers of Europe, fearful though they were of the effect of revolutionary example, could scarcely have interfered with France's domestic affairs. Unfortunately, the French Republicans made no secret of their desire to see other people rise and cast away their monarchs.

For two years after the fateful assembling of the Estates-General in May, 1789, the French Monarchy was kept in being by the Revolutionaries, although with steadily

decreasing power. But in June, 1791, King Louis X V I . tried to fly with his family, was stopped at Varennes before he could reach the eastern frontier, was brought back to Paris, and placed in captivity. The obvious danger to the King's life aroused the fellow-feeling of the monarchs of Prussia and Germany. At the end of 1791 they made an offensive and defensive alliance, which the bellicose " Girondin " Ministry in France was only too ready to meet with war. In April, 1792, the French Government declared war on the Empire (which included Austria, Prussia, and all the other German States). The Prussian army, commanded by the Duke of Brunswick (who had commanded the British army at Minden in 1759), invaded France, captured Longwy and Verdun, but was checked by the " cannonade of Valmy " (September 20, 1792), which is now justly reckoned to be one of the decisive battles of the world. The presence of foreign armies on French soil roused the magnificent patriotism of the French. On the morning after Valmy, the Republic was declared. The King, no longer either ruling or reigning, was a prisoner. The Republican armies, fired with their own' ardour and led with splendid skill, thrust the invaders out of the land, and reached the Rhine and the Alps, the natural frontiers of France. The neighbouring States were in danger of being conquered. Finally, as a last gage of irrevocable hostility to the monarchical system both inside and outside the country, the Republicans executed Louis X V I . on January 21, 1793.

At first neither the British people nor Government were hostile to the Revolution. " How much the greatest event that has happened in the world and how much the best !" cried Fox, when he heard that the Bastille had been stormed on July 14, 1789. The Revolution had its poet, too:

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very heaven ! Oh 1 times,
In which the meagre, stale, forbidding ways
Of custom, law, and statute, took at once
The attraction of a country in romance.

Such was Wordsworth's view as a young man. Burke, however, was never under any illusions with regard to the destructive tendencies of the Republicans; he not merely criticized them in his speeches in Parliament, but in November, 1790, he published *Reflections on the French Revolution*, which contained both a powerful indictment of the Revolution and also an unerring prophecy of the course which it would take, ending with a military dictatorship.

Pitt was a peace Minister. For eight laborious years he had striven—and striven successfully—to restore the nearly bankrupt finances of Britain to a sound condition, and to revive our commerce. The revenue was now showing a modest surplus over expenditure, and the operation of the Sinking Fund was slowly reducing the National Debt. Five years of peace was what Pitt wanted, and then he could have retired from office with a quiet mind. But war, even just one year of war, would engulf all the hard-won gains of the past. In 1792 Pitt had still no thought of war, for he reduced the numbers of the navy by 16,000 men.

It was just at this time that the French Revolutionary armies were gathering themselves for their amazing *riposte* to the attacks of the European monarchs. After Dumouriez's victory at Jemappes (November, 1792), the French forces occupied the Austrian Netherlands and menaced the safety of the Dutch. On November 16 they declared the Scheldt open to commerce to and from the sea. On the 19th a decree of the Republic called on all oppressed peoples to rise, and promised them aid.

The propaganda of the French Republican Government against the institutions of its neighbours, reprehensible and dishonourable as such a policy was, would not by itself have brought England into the war. But the British Government, by the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 and the Triple Alliance of 1788, had guaranteed the closure of the Scheldt in the interests (or supposed interests) of Dutch commerce. Great Britain denied the right of the French to

annul European treaties; and a correspondence on this subject, conducted with great stiffness on the part of Lord Grenville (youngest son of George Grenville), the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, took place between the two Governments. After the execution of Louis XVI., Chauvelin, the French Ambassador (who had never been recognized as Ambassador by England), was ordered by the British Government to leave the country. The French Government were not slow in replying to this act. On February 1, 1793, they declared war against Great Britain and Holland. So Britain was now in the European War, in defence of treaties—the Treaty of Utrecht and the Triple Alliance of 1788. Public opinion was overwhelmingly on the side of Pitt; except for Fox and some fifty followers, all the Whigs in Parliament gave their votes to the Tory Minister.

As most of the European States were at war with France, it was a policy of commonsense for them to co-operate with each other. Therefore the First Coalition was formed by a number of treaties of alliance between England on the one hand and the Empire, Prussia, Russia, Spain, Sardinia, and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies on the other. The treaties stated that the war should be prosecuted in common and concluded in common. The real object of the Coalition was to restore the Bourbon Monarchy to France. This was considered to be necessary for the stability of the European system. Great Britain engaged to pay financial subsidies throughout the war to the Coalition States.

The first great effort made was to throw back the invader from the Low Countries. Although the French all through these wars had a powerful and intrepid navy, the British navy was always stronger, and was never seriously hampered by the French when it was moving troops. In the summer of 1793 the Duke of York (second son of George III.), a good though not brilliant soldier of the

school of Frederick the Great, was shipped with the British expeditionary force to Flanders, where there was already an Austrian army under Prince Coburg. It was a war of sieges. In Alsace the Allies had 120,000 Prussians and Austrians under Marshals Brunswick and Wurmser; in Flanders 160,000 British, Hanoverians, and • Austrians under York and Coburg. The frontier was pierced in three places, by the capture of Conde, Valenciennes, and Mayence. General Jomini, the greatest of the writers of this time on the art of war, says that a double advance from Mayence and Valenciennes would have won Paris for the Allies. But the Allies preferred to stay on the frontier and reduce some more fortresses—"playing for safety" or for spoil. The delay was fatal. While York was besieging Dunkirk and the Austrians Maubeuge, the French armies, organized by Carnot, burning with the zeal of the *leve'e en masse*, led by Houchard and Jourdain (Dumouriez had turned traitor and gone over to the Austrians), won the battles of Hondschoote (September), and Wattignies (October), and raised the siege of Dunkirk and Maubeuge. Hoche's success at the lines of Wissembourg (December) resulted in the reconquest of Alsace by the French. The foreigner was thus *boute hors du royaume* (kicked out of the kingdom). In the north the British and Prussian forces were driven back to the Ems. Not merely the Austrian Netherlands, but Holland, fell to the French. One year (1794) more of desultory fighting did not change the military situation. In April, 1795, the last of the British troops were shipped back to England from Bremen.

The command of the sea was badly employed by the British Government. Instead of finding out the French navy and destroying it, the efforts of the British navy were spent in a large number of isolated expeditions, thus using up about 150,000 troops which ought to have been invading France. After Flanders the most suitable place of entry for the British was Toulon, which was held by a loyalist

force against the Republic in 1793. Admiral Hood was sent there, but with insufficient forces; and in August, after an investment in which Lieutenant Bonaparte first distinguished himself, the Republican army captured the city and port. For the rest, the navy and a good part of the army were engaged in sporadic expeditions to the French coast—"breaking windows with guineas" (Fox)—or in capturing the French West Indies, which Fox called "filching sugar islands." In home waters the only big battle of those early years of the war was Lord Howe's victory off Ushant on "The Glorious First of June" (1794); but this did not destroy Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse's French fleet, nor did it prevent the grain ships which he was convoying from America from getting safe into Brest.

Gradually the Coalition fell to pieces. Naturally the weaker States dropped out first—Tuscany and Spain. Then Prussia made the ignominious Peace of Basle, by which she surrendered to France all her territories on the left bank of the Rhine (1795). In Britain "war-weariness" became apparent, although Pitt never wavered in the determination, which he reiterated in every rousing speech, to fight on to the end. He was supported by the other most far-sighted statesman of the day, Edmund Burke, who consecrated the last months of his life to writing *Letters on a Regicide Peace* (1796). The Austrians and Sardinians continued the struggle in North Italy till General Bonaparte burst into the country in 1796; at Montenotte the Sardinians were beaten and forced to make peace; at Lodi, Areola, and Rivoli, he drove the Austrians back till they retired into the Tyrol, and made the Peace of Campo Formio (1797). By this France gained the Austrian Netherlands; from the Venetian Republic she took the Ionian Islands, and gave the rest of the Republic in compensation to Austria—

Venice, the eldest Child of Liberty.¹

¹ Wordsworth.

Thus the first act of the French Republic, after it had gained its freedom from European dictation, was to suppress the liberties of a sister republic and hand it over to the autocracy of the Habsburgs.

The last of the continental States to abandon the Coalition was Portugal. Then Britain fought on alone.. Twice, indeed, Pitt had offered peace, in 1796 and in 1797, when he sent Lord Malmesbury (the negotiator of the Triple Alliance of 1788) to Lille, to treat with the Directory (as the French Government was now called). But now the Directory looked like winning the war, and their attitude as negotiators was stiff, or, indeed, high-handed. The negotiations came to nothing. Meanwhile England went through a bad time. In 1797 the Bank of England had to stop making cash payments. In February Sir John Jervis and Nelson won a grand victory over the French Atlantic fleet off Cape St. Vincent.

Nobly, nobly Cape Saint Vincent to the north-west died away ;
 Sunset ran, one glorious blood-red, reeking into Cadiz Bay.
 Bluish 'mid the burning water, full in face Trafalgar lay ;
 In the dimmest north-east distance dawned Gibraltar grand and
 grey;
 " Here and here did England help me : how can I help England ?"
 —say.¹

But the battle of Cape St. Vincent was only a gleam of light in the dark. In April the fleet at Spithead mutinied, although it soon came to reason when Admiral Howe went down to hear their grievances. In May the fleet at the Nore mutinied, led by a red revolutionary called Parker; and for weeks England was open to invasion from the Franco-Dutch fleet in the Texel.

For some weeks Admiral Duncan, the commander-in-chief in the North Sea, had only two ships with which to maintain the " blockade " of the Dutch coast. The mutiny of the Nore was suppressed, and the revolutionaries, to the

¹ Browning.

number of nineteen, hanged. When the Dutch came out—too late—from the Texel, Duncan had sixteen battleships, and in a daring fight among the shallows destroyed the enemy fleet off Camperdown.

It was now no longer a war of defence on the part of the French Republic. The Directory was on the offensive now, and hoped either to invade England, or to smash the British Empire in another quarter. Several attempts were made to invade Ireland. In 1798 a rebellion actually broke out, which kept two of the best British generals—Lord Lake and Sir John Moore—occupied there when they were needed to fight the French. The rebellion collapsed after Lake's victory at Vinegar Hill, and Cornwallis's (the viceroy's) success in capturing all General Humbert's French soldiers at Ballinasloe. But if the French could not gain the British Isles, they could strike at India. A fleet and army under General Bonaparte sailed from Toulon in July, 1798, evaded Nelson's fleet, and landed at Alexandria. But Nelson, divining that they had gone to Egypt, followed post haste, found the French fleet at anchor in the Bay of Aboukir, and destroyed it in a brilliant action on the night of August 1. After that Bonaparte's conquest of Egypt from the Turks *did* him little good. He took his troops up to Syria, intending to march to Constantinople, where he would certainly have had his finger on one of the pulses of the world's life. But the Turks held Acre, while Captain Sidney Smith of the Royal Navy kept it open to the sea, and *landed* men and guns (1799). "That man spoiled my destiny," said Bonaparte. The siege had to be abandoned, and Bonaparte returned to France to become First Consul and subsequently Emperor. The army which he left behind under Kleber was annihilated, after the heroic soldier's assassination, by a British army under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, at Alexandria (1801).

There is some reason to believe that Nelson's; victory of "the Nile" (Aboukir Bay) was the turning-point of the

long wars with France. Till August 1, 1798, everything in the war had gone almost uniformly badly for England and the Allies. The First Coalition, built up with so much pains and labour by Pitt, broke up before the impetus of the Revolutionary armies, and was given the *coup de grace* by Bonaparte's marvellous campaign of 1796 in Italy. After this Britain went on fighting alone, but fighting now not to defeat France, but to preserve herself from invasion. The navy, it is true, still kept England free from the enemy, but with Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt the invasion of the British Empire had definitely begun. Nelson's victory at the Nile was the real defeat of this invasion; it not merely saved India (and through saving India, the rest of the Empire), but it made the former Allies of England take heart of grace, and enabled the indomitable Pitt to form the Second Coalition. Thus France found herself once more fighting against Europe, and although she won again in this, which may be called the First Napoleonic War (for Bonaparte became First Consul in 1799), she could not in the long-run hold out against all Europe.

The Second Coalition was really an affair of Britain and of Austria, who were the two consistent opponents of France; the Kingdom of Sardinia must also be honourably mentioned. The King, Charles Emmanuel IV., joined the Coalition, and although the French armies speedily overran his continental dominion Piedmont (Savoy he had long ago lost in 1793), he withdrew to his island of Sardinia and kept his flag flying.

In 1799 the Austrian armies invaded Piedmont from Venetia. A Russian army under Korsakov and Suvorov was brought by way of Galicia and Tyrol to invade Switzerland, which had become a French client State; and the Duke of York with a force of British and Russians was sent to the Helder to regain the "Batavian Republic"—that is, Holland—another of France's satellite States. All failed; the Duke had to make the Convention of Alkmaar

with France (October 18, 1799), and to retire from Holland, not altogether unsuccessfully, for we kept the Dutch fleet; the Russians were driven out of Switzerland by Massina; Bonaparte, in another swift and brilliant campaign, which recalls that of 1796, defeated the Austrians at Marengo (June, *iSbo*) and drove them out of Piedmont; while Moreau crushed another Austrian army amid the snows of the high Iser Valley at Hohenlinden (December)—

Where furious Frank and fiery Hun
Shout in their sulphurous canopy.¹

Against those failures the Allies could only set the capture of Malta by the British fleet (1800), and the defeat and death of Tippoo Sultan of Mysore (a strong ally of France) in his capital of Seringapatam, through Richard Wellesley (Lord Mornington), the Governor-General of India. And these successes (which could not be called decisive in what was essentially a European and continental struggle) mainly benefited just one Ally, Great Britain, the inevitable result of Britain's being a naval Power.

Britain, indeed, at this time had need of being a naval Power, for the Coalition was not merely falling to pieces, but part of it was actually becoming hostile. The Tsar Paul really admired Bonaparte, although at war with him. On the other hand, as Grand Master of the Knights of St. John, he disliked the British retention of Malta, the modern home of that Order. So he withdrew from the Coalition, and with Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark, formed the Armed Neutrality of the North, making the same claim as did the Armed Neutrality of 1780—namely, that a⁴⁴ neutral flag makes neutral goods." Now, Britain's strength and safety depend not merely upon being able to defeat an enemy's fleet, but on being able to stop traffic with the enemy; therefore the claim of the Armed Neutrality of the North was a blow both at Britain's safety and at her power

¹ Camobell

to help her Allies. Pitt did not hesitate) the only fleet of the Neutrality Powers that counted for anything was Denmark's : so he sent Admiral Hyde Parker and Nelson to the Baltic; these, after a sharp contest with the forts of Copenhagen, obtained the surrender of the whole Danish fleet (January, 1801). The Danes fought magnificently, and the victory was due to the dash of Captain Riou, who led the " detached " squadron against the forts, as well as to the famous " Nelson touch " when that genius saw fit to disregard Parker's order to retire. Nelson was spared to give his life in a greater contest. Riou and many of his men were killed:

Brave hearts to Britain's pride
Once so faithful and so true
On the deck of fame that died
With the gallant, good Riou—
Soft sigh the winds of heaven o'er their grave I¹

The First Napoleonic War was now all but over. After the defeats of Marengo and Hohenlinden, Austria had to give in, and make the Treaty of Luneville (February 9, 1801), ceding all her possessions west of the Rhine to France. Thus Britain was again alone in a struggle which had become " stalemate " : the navy kept the British Isles and Empire safe; but without Continental Allies the British army could not get at France. France's only chance of forcing the war to a definite conclusion was through Ireland; but the rebellion of Irish Catholics in 1798 had been defeated, and to prevent the two islands drifting further apart the Act of Union was passed through the Irish and British Parliaments in 1800. This Act abolished the Legislature at Dublin, and instead gave the Irish representation by one hundred members in the House of Commons and thirty-two members in the House of Lords, at Westminster. It was Pitt's intention to have a Consequential Act passed, granting complete political freedom to Roman Catholics,

¹ Campbell

and it was the confident expectation of this which had (along with bribery of the more venal) induced the Irish to agree to the Union Bill. But when Pitt began to prepare a Catholic Emancipation Bill, King George III. declared that he would never give his consent to it. The excitement of this dispute with the Prime Minister unhinged the King's mind for the third time. Pitt, therefore, unable to carry out his plans, except at the risk of a contest which might cause a revolution in the Constitution, resigned. The Irish Catholics were baulked of their hope of freedom, and the Union began under an atmosphere of prejudice and distrust. When Pitt, failing to carry his Emancipation Bill, resigned office, his mantle fell on his friend Henry Addington, who had been Speaker of the House of Commons since 1789. Addington sent Lord Cornwallis to Amiens to negotiate with Bonaparte's brother Joseph; and on March 27, 1802, the Treaty of Amiens was signed. The terms were that peace should be made; that Great Britain should keep the former Dutch islands of Ceylon and Trinidad (Holland was on the French side, and now practically part of France), and should restore Malta to the Knights of the Order of St. John; France was to evacuate the States of the Church. All other conquests on both sides were to be restored. Thus, after ten years of European and almost world-wide war, the Temple of Janus was closed.

CHAPTER V

THE SECOND NAPOLEONIC WAR, 1803-1815

WHEN the Treaty of Amiens was made in 1802, Europe, for the first time in ten years, had peace. Bonaparte, now First Consul and soon to be Emperor, had the opportunity of giving to France a stable, free Government, contenting himself with the territorial gains—the "natural frontiers"

of France—which had already been made. He could not, however, stop at this point: inside the country he did indeed establish "order and grandeur,*" but not free institutions. Outside the country he still sought to extend his influence in Europe, and it was this that caused the renewal of the European War.

The Treaty of Amiens, unfortunately, was from the first looked upon as little better than a breathing-space. Yet, such as it was it gave to France the most brilliant moments of the Napoleonic period. The wars had not yet exhausted the country. The splendid military successes had stimulated the genius of the French people, whose ideas, as Joseph de Maistre said, are all "national and passionate." Paris became more and more a centre of all that was brightest in European civilization; there were the finest generals, the most beautiful ladies, the most dazzling court, the most splendid theatre. The fourteen months from the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens till the reopening of hostilities in May, 1803, form the Golden Age of the period covered by the Consulate and the Empire.

The causes of the renewal of the war are not difficult to find. It was not merely that the French were in possession of Antwerp and the rest of the Austrian Netherlands, as they had a right to be by the Treaty of Luneville of 1801. But they were also practically in possession of the "Batavian Republic" of Holland, and their troops garrisoned Utrecht. In India French officers, such as Colonel Perron, were drilling Mahratta troops for war against the British. Finally, on January 30, 1803, there was published in the *Moniteur*, the official journal of the Consulate, a report of General Sebastiani on the condition of Egypt, which was occupied by British troops. Egypt, wrote Sebastiani, could be reconquered by 6,000 French troops.

All these things made Great Britain prepare for war. Bonaparte, on his side, had a grievance. The British Government, in view of the obviously coming war, had not

evacuated Malta, according to, the terms of the Treaty of Amiens. They demanded that Bonaparte should evacuate Switzerland, which was a neutral State. Both France and England had grounds of complaint against each other, and before these complaints could be settled the war had broken out again.'

The state of friction between the French and the British Government was greatly intensified in the spring of 1803, after Sebastiani's report had been published. On May 12 the British Ambassador, Lord Whitworth, withdrew from Paris, and a week later the war began. One of Bonaparte's first military measures was to seize and intern all the British tourists who, to the number of about 10,000, had flocked over to France during the interval of peace.

In Great Britain the war at first had little popular support, but gradually the nation came to see that it was a struggle which would settle the fate of England. It was no longer a question of opposing French Revolutionary doctrine (as in the first war): it was a question of maintaining England* against the powerful military French Emperor, who meant to ship his armies over the Channel and to reduce the British Isles to the same passive condition as he had reduced Holland, Switzerland, and Naples.

In this struggle Great Britain began absolutely alone. The British navy, on the whole, commanded the sea, so that Bonaparte could not get at us. But the navy cannot win wars; it cannot sail over the land and reduce hostile States. For this large armies were required, and military resources which Great Britain did not command. Therefore, till the British Government could find continental allies, and piece together a coalition against Napoleon, the war went on in a desultory fashion.

Only in India were there military events of first-class importance. There, since the Governor-Generalship of Lord Cornwallis from 1786 to 1794, the power of the East India Company had grown steadily. Cornwallis had been followed

by the peaceful Sir John Shore, but in 1798 the vigorous administration of Richard Colley Wellesley, Earl Mornington, began. The First Napoleonic War was in progress. Mysore, under Sultan Tippoo, was again acting in the French interest; hostilities ensued, and the capital, Seringapatam, was taken by Mornington's brother, Colonel Arthur Wellesley. Tippoo was killed fighting bravely at the city gate (see above, p. 46). A Treaty of Peace and Alliance was made with Mysore, and the old Hindoo dynasty, which Tippoo's father had displaced, was put back upon the throne.

The Mysore difficulty was thus settled, but the Mahrattas remained a great danger. Of these there were four chief States, the ** Peshwa's " territory, of which Poona was the capital, Sindia's State at Gwalior, Holkar's at Indore, and that of the " Bhonsla " at Nagpur. Mornington's policy was, if possible, to have peace with the powerful native States of India, by entering into a " subsidiary alliance " with each of them—that is, an alliance by which the British Power guarantees the independence of the State, while the State receives into its territory, and pays for, a body of British or British-Indian troops. The Peshwa of Poona, Baji Rao I., finding that his independence was seriously threatened by Holkar, entered into such a subsidiary alliance with England, by the celebrated Treaty of Bassein, December 31, 1802, a treaty which marks the definite establishment of a British empire in India. Shortly after this, the second Napoleonic War began; French officers became busier than ever in India, and Earl Mornington had to meet fresh dangers from Sindia and Holkar. In the ensuing Mahratta War, Arthur Wellesley defeated Sindia's forces in the Deccan campaign at Assye (September 23, 1803) and Argaum (November 29). This was followed by the storming of Gawilgarh, one of those magnificent Indian fortresses whose majestic remains still impress the onlooker.

Further north General Lake captured Aligarh and Delhi, which Sindia had occupied. The possession of this last

city gave to the British the control of the Mogul, the titular Emperor of Hindustan. Outside Delhi Lake scattered Sindia's troops, which were commanded by a French officer, Louis Bourquin. After this, another victory of Lake over Sindia's troops at Laswaree brought that chief to the end of his resources, and constrained him to enter into a treaty of subsidiary alliance with the British Power.

It was just when Sindia was being put out of action that the other great Mahratta chief, Holkar, came into the field. At first the British managed the campaign badly, and Colonel Monson was defeated at the Muckundra Pass. This blow to the British prestige encouraged another chief, the Raja of Bhurtpore—not a Mahratta, but a Jat—to come into the field. General Lake pressed forward the campaign energetically and defeated Holkar at Deeg; but when, without waiting for his siege train, he tried to storm the Bhurtpore, he received a humiliating check. The Raja had the good sense to use his success, not for further warfare, which would have ended in his ruin, but for making a good peace. The Marquis Wellesley (as Lord Mornington now was) was recalled by the Directors of the East India Company, and peace was made with Holkar. Although the conduct and results of the war in India were not wholly satisfactory to the British, they constituted a complete and final check to all chances of a revival of French power there.

In April, 1804, Addington's somewhat languid Ministry came to an end, and Pitt, demanded by the whole nation, returned as Prime Minister. The Whigs would have joined with him to make a national Ministry in this great crisis of Britain's history, but King George III. would not consent to having Fox in the Cabinet. So, except for the great lawyer, Lord Eldon, there was no very striking personality in the Cabinet except the Premier. It was said to be a Ministry of "William and Pitt."

England needed a determined Government: Bonaparte (or the Emperor Napoleon, as he made himself in May)

was preparing a great army at Boulogne for the invasion of England. One hundred thousand of the best troops in Europe were encamped almost within sight of the English coast, and the Emperor asked his admirals to ensure to him command of the Channel for just one day; that would be enough. But Nelson in the Mediterranean was closely watching the Toulon fleet, while Admiral Sir William Cornwallis (a brother of the Marquis Cornwallis of Yorktown and of Indian fame) blockaded Brest. Meanwhile Pitt, while organizing volunteer forces at home and building "martello towers" around the coast, was labouring to piece together a European Coalition which would bring the war home to military continental France. His diplomacy was crowned with success; in April, 1805, treaties were signed with Russia, Austria, and Sweden, constituting as a whole the Third Coalition. Its object was not aggressive; but France was to be driven out of the neighbouring States which she now dominated—out of Holland, Switzerland, and Piedmont. It was to be a long time, however, before such a result would ensue. Napoleon's *riposte* to the Third Coalition was to attack Russia and Spain, and ultimately to extend his empire to the Elbe.

His plan of invading England came to nothing. In May, 1805, Admiral Villeneuve did succeed in getting his fleet out of Toulon. Nelson followed him to the West Indies, and back again. Off Cape Finisterre Admiral Calder, acting on information which the Admiralty had received by fast cruiser from Nelson, met Villeneuve's returning ships, and forced them to take refuge in Corunna (July 22). Spain was now an ally of Napoleon's, and Villeneuve was able to reinforce his fleet with fourteen Spanish ships. From Corunna he went to Cadiz, where Admiral CoUingwood soon took up a station to watch him. Meanwhile Cornwallis was still keeping Admiral Ganteaume's fleet sealed up in Brest. Napoleon saw that he would never get that one day's command of the Channel which he needed. Just before the

end of August he broke up the camp at Boulogne, and in September his armies crossed the Rhine, *en route* for the Austrian theatre of war. Yet, although he had given up hope of invading England, Napoleon still, needlessly, chose this moment to contest with the British navy the command of the sea. On September 1 he wrote a sharp letter to Villeneuve, ordering him to get his fleet ready and to sally forth and meet the enemy. The result of this came, less than two months later, when Villeneuve, with the Franco-Spanish navy, met Nelson near Cape Trafalgar. On the morning of October 21, at 11 o'clock, Nelson hoisted the flags of the message he had prepared: "England expects that every man will do his duty." Enthusiasm, which had been glowing in the fleet ever since Nelson joined Collingwood off Cadiz on September 29, spread through the ships like a flame. The hostile fleets drew together. The Admiral's last order was, "Engage more closely." With bands playing, the ships passed on to battle. At 12.30 p.m. the *Victory* broke through the French line. At 1 o'clock a French ship struck her colours; by 2 o'clock the furious battle was all but finished. But the glorious hero, who then, as now, typified for all England the spirit of his race, was mortally wounded. He died, amid the tears of his officers and men, about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. "Kiss me, Hardy," he said to his captain; and then: "Thank God, I have done my duty." His body was brought home, and is buried in St. Paul's.

Trafalgar was a defeat which no spectacular gains of Napoleon in Central Europe could obscure. On October 20, the day before the battle of Trafalgar, the Emperor captured Ulm and a whole Austrian army. The Austrian capital, Vienna, was the next place to open its gates; and on December 2 he routed a great Austro-Russian army at Austerlitz. On December 26 Austria made the Treaty of Pressburg (ceding Venetia and Dalmatia) and went out of the war.

The Third Coalition, so grand in outline, so solid in

appearance, constructed with so much care, was destroyed. The appalling news depressed, though it could not break, the heroic spirit of Pitt. "Roll up the map of Europe," he said; "it will not be wanted these ten years." His health had for long been ailing, and when the news of Austerlitz came he was already dying, though none of his friends or attendants knew it. He died on January 23, 1806, in his house at Putney, breathing faintly to Lord Stanhope, who was with him; "My country—oh, my country!" The sky indeed was black; and although England, as Pitt had said in his last speech, had "saved herself by her exertions," there was no sign that she would ever "save Europe by her example." It was not for two more years that the tide was at last to turn.

When Pitt was dead, the Tories could no longer sustain the burden of the war, and George III. had at last to acquiesce in a coalition with the Whigs. The social head of the Whig party was William Wyndham Grenville (Lord Grenville), youngest son of the Prime Minister who had passed the Stamp Act, brother of the Earl Temple who had helped to defeat Fox's India Bill, and first cousin of Pitt. Lord Grenville became Premier; Fox, who had given up his opposition to the war, now that it was fought for, not against, freedom (as he at first thought), became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Erskine, the greatest barrister of the age, became Lord Chancellor; Lord Moira (afterwards Marquis of Hastings), Sheridan the dramatist, Grey (who later made the Reform Act), and other distinguished men, were in the Government; it was a "Ministry of All the Talents." These Ministers, enlightened men, of noble, lofty ideas, did not, however, prove themselves to be the most suited for carrying on a desperate war. Fox, always ready to believe the best about Napoleon, thought that he and the Emperor might make a reasonable* peace. Napoleon left Talleyrand negotiating with the English

to the campaign in Germany. Prussia had at last entered the lists against France—too late, for the battle of Austerlitz had by now laid Central Europe at Napoleon's feet. The battles of Jena and Auerstadt (October, 1806) and the occupation of Berlin by the French army settled Prussia's fate for some years. The British forces on their part accomplished little. The Cape of Good Hope had been taken from the Batavian Republic (which was under France) on January 16, 1806, before the death of Pitt. When the expedition was extended from South Africa into an attempt to occupy the Spanish South American ports of Montevideo and Buenos Ayres, it ended in disastrous failure. The defeat of General Whitelock by the local colonial forces of the province of Buenos Ayres in February, 1807, is regarded by the historians of the Argentine as the real beginning of their national history. Meanwhile Napoleon had completely unmasked his intentions, and showed that the French Empire was, in effect, to be the whole of Western and Central Europe. In June, 1806, the Batavian Republic was done away with, and his brother Louis Bonaparte became King of Holland. Another brother, Joseph, had become King of Naples two months earlier; in the same period the smaller and middle-sized German States, Baden, Frankfort, Bavaria, Saxony, and others, became the Confederation of the Rhine, practically feudatory to the French Empire. The Holy Roman Emperor Francis II. dissolved his old empire, which had now no meaning, and became Emperor Francis I. of Austria (August, 1806). Next month Fox *died*. He had done no good as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, but he and his colleagues had accomplished one act: they carried resolutions in Parliament to abolish the trade in slaves throughout the British Empire. The resolutions became law in 1807; and slaves were no longer bought and sold in British Colonies, although the race of slaves was not emancipated. After Fox's death the Grenville Ministry lasted for some ineffective months, and then

gave place (1807) to a Tory Government under the Duke of Portland, who had been a nominal Prime Minister twenty-four years earlier, in the famous Coalition of Fox and North.

Portland's Cabinet included Spencer Perceval, an able lawyer and a determined supporter of the war, who made an admirable Chancellor of the Exchequer; George Canning, the most brilliant of Pitt's political pupils, was Foreign Secretary; the sagacious and strong-willed Castlereagh was Secretary of State for War and the Colonies; Lord Hawkesbury (later known as Earl of Liverpool, and Prime Minister for nearly fifteen years) was Home Secretary; Lord Eldon was Lord Chancellor; Sir Arthur Wellesley (later Duke of Wellington) was Chief Secretary for Ireland; and William Huskisson, one of the best economists of the age, was Secretary to the Treasury. No one called this a "Ministry of All the Talents," but it had plenty of ability and imagination and will-power.

The war gradually began to wear a better appearance for Great Britain. Not at once, however, for Napoleon was bent on smashing what was left of the Coalition, and he succeeded. Unsuccessful at Eylau against the Russian forces (February, 1807), he routed them at Friedland (June), and on July 7 forced the Tsar Alexander I. to sign the now famous Treaty of Tilsit. Russia went out of the war. Poland, defunct since the last partition of 1795, was revived; it was called the Duchy of Warsaw, and placed under the King of Saxony, to be a French client State. Prussia was included in the peace, losing all her provinces west of the Elbe, which were formed into a new State, the Kingdom of Westphalia, for Napoleon's younger brother Jerome. Secret articles of the Treaty of Tilsit bound the Tsar to close his ports against English trade, and to help Napoleon to force Denmark to do the same. Through some agent whose name has never been disclosed, Canning received some information about these articles; he promptly obtained

the consent of the Cabinet to send the British fleet to obtain the Danish warships before Napoleon could get a hold of them. The British offer was to hire the ships from the Danish Government. When the Danes refused, Copenhagen was bombarded and the surrender of the ships obtained.' Canning's brilliant stroke, which must have been largely the result of guess-work on his part, prevented Napoleon from getting the one thing which he needed—namely, ships.

The situation was still dark for England, but little rays of light were appearing. Napoleon's decrees issued at Berlin (November, 1806) and Milan (December, 1807) had declared Britain to be in blockade. No neutral ships were to be permitted to trade with her. In reply, the British Government, by a series of Orders in Council (1807-8), imposed a system of restriction on seaborne commerce which, under the unrelaxing pressure of the British navy, practically strangled the maritime trade of the French Empire, and of any neutral States which obeyed Napoleon. Nevertheless, Napoleon's "Continental System" might have in the long-run depleted England's commercial resources, had not a great gap been made in the system by the risings in the Iberian Peninsula.

In 1807 Napoleon had sent an army through Spain into Portugal. A British escort of ships saved the Royal Portuguese House of Braganza, but Lisbon was occupied by French troops. Next year the all-powerful autocrat induced Charles IV. of Spain to abdicate from the throne (March, 1808). Joseph Bonaparte (leaving Naples, where Marshal Murat succeeded to his throne) came to be King at Madrid in his stead. To the astonishment of all Europe, the Spaniards rose to defend their luckless, feeble ex-King, and on the very day that Joseph Bonaparte came to Madrid to take up his new crown, 8,000 French soldiery were forced to lay down their arms at Baylen (July, 1808). In the darkest days of the war Pitt had prophesied that Napoleon

would in the end be undone by "national insurrections." The moment had now come, and Canning and Castlereagh were inspired to seize it.

There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune.

The command of the sea enabled the British Government to send 9,000 men under Wellesley to Portugal to support the risings. The Peninsular War had begun, and Napoleon's empire, though he knew it not, was doomed.

Yet people in England had a very poor idea of the Peninsular War, and for years it dragged on without achieving any result. Not till the year 1812 did it show success, and unfold its possibilities for defeating Napoleon.

The first expedition to the Peninsula, led by General Wellesley, landed at the Mondego River in Portugal, advanced south towards Lisbon, and defeated the French, first at Roli^a and next at Vimiero (August, 1808). While this battle was in progress a superior officer arrived on the scene, and took over the command from Wellesley. The success was not followed up; and, instead, the Convention of Cintra was made with the French. General Junot evacuated Lisbon, and was permitted to take his troops back to France. Wellesley returned to England.

In the autumn Sir John Moore was appointed to the chief command in the Peninsula. Napoleon himself now came to Spain to put an end to this troublesome war. The Spanish levies were soon routed; Madrid, which had been evacuated by the French after the battle of Baylen, was reoccupied by the Emperor. Then Moore conceived a brilliant plan. He marched his troops from Central Portugal into Spain; on November 4 he was at Salamanca, on the 23rd he was at Sahagun. He meant to go still further eastwards, to cut Napoleon's communications between Madrid and France. But the Emperor was able to concentrate too much strength against him; from every side the French

troops were brought in, and their whole weight was directed in one gigantic effort to crush the daring invader. Moore now, to save his army, had to retreat through the frost and snow, by the roadless plateaus and over the swollen rivers of Northern Spain. On January 12 (1809) his hard-driven men turned to fight, Soult's following army outside the port of Corunna. Moore's last battle snatched victory from the French and saved his shattered army; but the heroic General himself lay dead on the field :

We buried him darkly at dead of night,
The sods with our bayonets turning ;
By the struggling moonbeam's misty light
And the lantern dimly burning.¹

Next summer Wellesley was back in Portugal, and once more an advance into Spain was attempted, but the battle of Talavera (July, 1809), though it resulted in the defeat of King Joseph, brought no fruits to the British. Menaced in his communications by Marshal Soult, Wellesley was glad to make his way back to Portugal by a southerly route. Yet the war in the Peninsula, where the French had at last ceased to carry the winged victory with them, had this result: it had heartened the Austrian Government to renew the struggle. Napoleon, however, swiftly transferred the scene of his activities to Austria, and the battle of Wagram broke the heroic armies of the Habsburgs (July, 1809). The great expedition sent by the British Government about the same time to co-operate in Flanders was ruined by ill-luck and mismanagement. Instead of capturing Antwerp, the army wasted away, from August to December, on the island of Walcheren.

While the soldiers were dying on Walcheren, another disastrous episode was occurring. Canning and Castlereagh quarrelled, largely through the fault of the Prime Minister, Portland, who did not communicate the views of the two men to each other. In those days personal quarrels

led to a duel. The Foreign Secretary and the Secretary for War met, and Canning received a pistol shot in the arm (September, 1809). Both Ministers had already resigned their offices, and the nation lost the services of its two most able statesmen, Castlereagh remaining outside the Government till 1812, and Canning practically till 1822. For Canning personally the loss must have proved terribly keen, for he, one of the most brilliant and imaginative of Foreign Secretaries, would, but for this party quarrel, have had, five years later, the settlement of the great war and the making of the Vienna Congress Act.

Shortly after the duel of his two chief Ministers the Duke of Portland resigned, and, within a few weeks, died. Mr. Perceval took his place as Prime Minister. The Marquis of Wellesley (Lord Mornington) became Foreign Secretary, and Lord Liverpool went to the War Office. Against the protests of most of the Whigs (who thought that the whole effort was sheer waste), the Government determinedly carried on the Peninsular War. Early in 1811 George **III.** went blind and his mind became permanently deranged; from this year till his accession in 1820 the Prince of Wales was Regent.

1810 was the critical year in the Peninsula. Napoleon sent his best Marshal, Massena, into Portugal, with 70,000 men. Wellesley (or Wellington, as he may now be called, from the ducal title which he was to gain in 1814) had only 30,000 soldiers, but he had prepared the " lines " of Torres Vedras in front of Lisbon. Wellington fought one " checking " battle at Busaco (September, 1810) and then retired behind the lines. With the sea open behind him, the Anglo-Portuguese army could not be starved. It was Massena encamped at Santarem who suffered the most privations; at the end of four months he departed (March 5, 1811). On the same day the French were driven out of the extreme south of Spain by the battle of Barrosa, won by the Anglo-Spanish army under General Graham (**Lord Lyne-**

doch), a sporting Scottish laird whose military talents were one of the discoveries of the great war. Before the fighting season of 1811 was over, Wellington, pushing forward to the Spanish-Portuguese frontier, had won the battle of Fuentes d'Onoro (just inside Spain), and had taken from the French the fortress of Almeida (just inside Portugal). Further south Beresford's Anglo-Portuguese army had met and overcome the foe at Albuera, the most stubbornly contested battle of the whole war. When October came all troops went into winter quarters, but Wellington never let matters wholly rest. On January 9, 1812, he suddenly stormed Ciudad Rodrigo, before the French field armies could be got into movement; and in March, after a terrible assault (which, nevertheless, by its swiftness saved the far greater losses of a battle with Marmont's relieving army), he took Badajoz. The summer saw the victor now in full career. In July Wellington practically destroyed Marmont's army at Salamanca, and in August he was in Madrid. Although unable to remain here, he had shattered the best French forces in the Peninsula. Europe had been stirred from its deep depression; and now, elsewhere than in the Peninsula, Napoleon was being faced by an intense popular resistance. In March (1812) the Emperor had staked his all by taking the Grand Army of 600,000 men against the Tsar of Russia, who had long ago repented of the Peace of Tilsit. The occupation of Moscow by the French (September) was a vain piece of glory, being only the prelude to a terrible retreat, in which the Cossacks and the snow and ice destroyed about 125,000 men, while nearly 200,000 prisoners were taken. Napoleon's empire, an artificial creation, however well organised, could scarcely bear such a shock.

The retreat from Moscow and the French defeats in the Peninsula roused the continental States to rise and attempt once more to throw off the domination of Napoleon. The British Government, still ceaselessly working to piece



MAP OF SPAIN, TO ILLUSTRATE THE PENINSULAR WAR.

together another Coalition, seized the occasion to renew its offers of financial support; and thus, fortified by large subsidies, Russia and Sweden, Prussia, Austria and Bavaria, one by one joined themselves with Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal in a Grand Alliance. Napoleon, with an army of <200,000 absorbed in the Peninsular War, could now only muster another 200,000 raw soldiers for the defence of his empire in the east. He defeated the Russians and Prussians in two tremendous battles at Lutzen and Bautzen (May, 1813); but these were only Pyrrhic victories. It was after this that Austria joined the Alliance: In August he won another battle against Austrians, Russians, and Prussians at Dresden, but in October, in a terrific struggle which endured for three days near Leipzig, the French army was practically destroyed. Napoleon had to fall back to the old French frontier behind the Rhine.

Meanwhile Wellington was pressing onwards to drive the French from the Peninsula; and Marshal Soult was heroically fighting a losing campaign to save the south-west from invasion. The battle of Vittoria (June, 1813) was the last big fight of Wellington in Spain; after that he stormed San Sebastian and followed hard upon Soult's army. The Bidassoa, separating France and Spain, was crossed on October 8. The French line behind the River Nivelle was forced. In another four days' fight their next line behind the Nive was broken (October). At Orthez the unconquerable Soult again met the invader and was defeated (February, 1814); still retreating but facing the foe, he met Wellington outside Toulouse, and was driven to retire (April 10, 1814). This last effort, costly to both sides, was needless, for Napoleon, after a brilliant but ineffective campaign in Champagne, had retired with the shattered remnants of his army—30,000 men—and with his faithful marshals to Fontainebleau, while the Allied Army of Austrians, Russians, Prussians, and Swedes marched onwards to the capital. Paris was entered on March 30, and on

April 8, two days before the battle of Toulouse, Napoleon abdicated from his throne. The old Bourbon, Louis XVIII., was restored to the throne of his fathers; and Napoleon, who might have received worse terms, agreed to retire to the island of Elba, all that was left to him of the grand empire which he had carved out of Europe. France was most generously treated by the victors; only a moderate indemnity—25,000,000 francs—was imposed upon her, and she was left with territory actually greater than that which she possessed when the great war started in 1792; nor was any Allied army of occupation quartered upon French soil. The peace settlement, the First Treaty of Paris (May 30, 1814), left France a free and powerful country, able to take almost a leading part in the European Congress which was shortly to meet at Vienna.

The First Treaty of Paris had made peace between France and the Allies, and had thus ended the war. But it left unsettled the question of disposing of all the territories, outside France proper, which had been part of the Napoleonic Empire. There were the great provinces and cities of the Rhineland, formerly belonging to ecclesiastical princes whom Napoleon had suppressed, and whom practically no one now thought of restoring. Again, all the old States of Italy had been swept away by Napoleon; was anything now to be done for them? Poland had been pieced together and made into the "Duchy of Warsaw"; what was to be done with this? These and many other questions awaited settlement at the Vienna Congress.

The Congress assembled in September, 1814. Representatives (including many sovereigns) of all the States of Europe came to Vienna, but although they danced and feasted, and talked and intrigued, they were not admitted to the Congress. Only the statesmen of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia conferred together; and to these meetings Talleyrand, representing France, was also admitted in the later and most momentous sessions. Aided

by a small number of able Civil Servants, the chief statesmen of the Congress (Castlereagh, Metternich, Alexander I., Harden berg, and Talleyrand) accomplished their task, on the whole, fairly rapidly. While they were at work, on December 24, 1814, a piece of good news came to the Congress : peace had on that day been concluded at Ghent by the commissioners of Great Britain and America.

It is sad to reflect that Great Britain, while wrestling so desperately for herself and for other nations against Napoleon, had also since 1812 been engaged in war with America. The quarrel had arisen over an old—and a still unsettled—affair, the claim of Britain when at war to regulate the sea-borne commerce of neutrals with our enemy. Napoleon was frankly trying to starve out Britain, and the British" Government could scarcely be expected to hold its hand when it was able to make this policy react upon France. The United States, which had a growing commercial marine, naturally disliked our restrictions upon trade with the French Empire. The practice of the British Government went further than mere restrictions upon trade : the Navy was empowered to stop and search American ships—even American war-ships—to look for deserters from the British navy. Yet, if the dispute had been tactfully handled on both sides, there would have been no war.

The hostilities between the two countries lasted two years. The long, open land frontier between Canada and the United States could easily be crossed. An American army invaded Canada and burned York (or Toronto), the capital of the Upper Province. Nearly all the British regular troops were righting in Spain; but the Canadian militia under Major-General Isaac Brock, the regular officer who commanded at Quebec, gave a splendid account of themselves, and ultimately countered the invasion, driving the Americans back to the frontier, although the heroic Brock lost his life. A semi-maritime war took place between flotillas on the Great Lakes, and in this the Ameri-

cans had the advantage. On the sea, too, their war-ships were more successful than the British, although they lost the famous fight between the U.S.A. frigate *Chesapeake* and H.M.S. *Shannon*, outside Boston (1813). In August, 1814, a British regular force (released from service in the Peninsular War, now finished) landed under Major-General Ross in Chesapeake Bay, marched to Washington, and burned the Capitol. Actually the war was settling nothing, and negotiations tardily begun at Ghent soon finished it. Yet before the news of the peace could reach America, the British army had made another stroke, and been defeated. A force under Major-General Pakenham, one of the great school of divisional officers whom Wellington had trained in the Peninsula, sailed up the mouth of the Mississippi to attack New Orleans. Just below the city, among the live oaks and magnolias of that luxuriant country, Pakenham's troops threw themselves in vain against the entrenchments of Andrew Johnson, losing their General in the action and 2,000 men (January 8, 1815). The Peace of Ghent itself settled nothing about the maritime question; it made no mention of the '• right of search/' but simply declared that hostilities between the two countries were ended.

Meanwhile at Vienna the statesmen were arranging the map of Europe according to their ideas of justice. "Legitimacy"—the restoration, as far as possible, of the pre-Napoleonic owners and rulers—was the watchword of the Congress, just as "self-determination" was that of the Conference of Paris 105 years later. Suddenly, in March (1815), they were electrified by the news that Napoleon had come back from Elba, and had been received with acclamation by almost all France. Louis XVIII. fled from Paris to Brussels. The Bourbon restoration was over, and bankrupt Europe must face a tremendous Napoleonic War again.

The Allied Governments did not flinch. On March 25 they declared Napoleon to be a public enemy, and bound themselves not to cease from fighting till he had been abso-

lutely put down. The difficulties might have made any but the firmest statesmen despair. Austria had paid off the bulk of her troops; Great Britain's only veteran army—Wellington's famous Peninsular troops—was in America now; even the bulk of the Prussian army was not at first available. Yet preparations were pushed forward with the utmost rapidity and determination. About 80,000 troops, of whom half were largely raw British recruits and half were Dutch, Hanoverian, and other German contingents, were collected under Wellington in Belgium, the nearest available point both to Britain and to the French capital. The Prussian Government with great zeal collected 100,000 troops under Field-Marshal Bliicher and sent them to the scene of action. Napoleon, on his side, had the whole army which Louis XVIII. had been permitted by the Allies to retain; and now the Emperor was bringing that army to Belgium, with the single object of destroying the Anglo-Prussian forces there: then the war would be ended, and the sacrifices of the Allies from 1793 to 1814 would have been in vain.

It was amid these circumstances, with Europe, just restored from a death struggle, again tottering to ruin, that the diplomatists still left at Vienna finished their work, and signed in faith, or at least in hope, that it would not be thrown away, the great Treaty. The Final Act, summarizing all the work of the Congress, was signed in haste at Vienna on June 9, 1815, while Napoleon's army was on the point of passing from France into Belgium.

The Final Act of Vienna aimed at replacing Europe in the condition of stability which had existed before the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. Therefore the old sovereigns were restored in Italy—the Pope to the States of the Church, the Bourbons to Naples and Sicily, the Habsburgs to Tuscany; Austria received back Lombardy (which she had held from 1714 till 1797), and in addition was given Venice and nearly all the Venetian possessions in the

Adriatic. Thus the ancient Venetian Republic was *not* restored, nor was Genoa, which was given to the Kingdom of Sardinia. Poland was left partitioned among Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Prussia, in addition, was given a great part of the Rhineland; Belgium and Holland were made one kingdom; Norway was taken from Denmark (the Danes had supported Napoleon) and was* joined to Sweden.

Two measures of first-class importance for the good of Europe and of the whole world were—(1) the opening of all "international" rivers (all rivers passing through more than one country) to trade; and (2) the declaration of the Powers against the slave trade—a trade which those Powers agreed that they would endeavour to abolish.

Within a week after the signing of the Final Act, the military operations which were to decide whether that Act were waste-paper or not had begun. On June 15 Napoleon's army crossed the Belgian frontier and drove back the Prussians from Charleroi. Wellington, at Brussels, did not know which of the two roads Napoleon would take—the road by Mons to Brussels, or the road by Charleroi. Thus, unable to concentrate his troops at one point, he was to some extent taken by surprise when Napoleon rapidly advanced towards the capital from Charleroi. By the evening of the 15th the Duke had definite information of the French movements. He made the requisite dispositions for his troops, and then went to the Duchess of Richmond's ball; for with almost incredible rashness the aristocratic families of England had come with the army to Brussels, to be near the scene of action where so many of their members would *fight* and die. At dawn on the 16th Wellington set out for Quatre Bras.

At Ligny on this day Napoleon, with about three-quarters of his great army, hurled himself upon the Prussians, who, led by Blücher in person, resisted with the most admirable determination. It was not till night was falling that the French carried the village, which had been many times

won and lost. Meanwhile, about eight miles to the east, Marshal Ney, with the remaining quarter of Napoleon's army, had tried desperately to drive back Wellington from Quatre Bras, and had failed. In the night the Duke resolved to withdraw eight miles along the road towards Brussels, and to stand fast on the little hills at Waterloo. He sent word to Bliicher to join him with the Prussians there.

At eleven in the morning of Sunday, June 18, Napoleon began the fateful battle against Wellington's army. The two great antagonists were not evenly matched: Wellington had 67,000 men, of whom 24,000 were British troops, but not seasoned soldiers. Napoleon's 74,000 men were nearly all veterans, who had learned their work on some of the most famous battlefields of Europe. Napoleon, doubtless, was the greater genius, but Wellington had the advantage of still being in the prime of life. In years both were comparatively young men, Wellington being aged forty-six and two months, and Napoleon being just fourteen days short of forty-six. But the Emperor already felt the internal disease which was to carry him off six years later at St. Helena while still under the age of fifty-two.

Throughout the forenoon and afternoon the battle raged intensely, and Wellington's position was frequently critical, though always saved by heroic measures. But about 3 o'clock the Prussian army, marching eagerly from Wavre to support the British, could be dimly seen. At 4 o'clock the Prussians came in touch with the French troops whom the Emperor had sent to keep them back from the field. Then for three hours Napoleon spent all his best soldiers, first the cavalry, finally the magnificent infantry of the Old Guard, in furious, desperate, heroic efforts to break the British squares. When, after 7 o'clock, the last great assault of the Old Guard led by Ney had failed, and when Wellington, with the swift decision which always marked his generalship, countered the attack with all the reserve troops whom he had retained till this moment, the battle

was all but over. The French army was routed, broken up by the Prussian cavalry, and chased throughout the night. No longer an army, but just scattered bodies of disorganized fugitives, it made its precarious way back to France. The Emperor himself fled to Paris, then abdicated and went to Malmaison. The Allies marched on; they were»joined by Louis XVIII. at Ghent; on July 7 they all entered Paris. Meanwhile Napoleon had escaped to Rochefort, which he found to be blockaded by a British squadron. He surrendered himself to Captain Maitland, of H.M.S. *Bellerophon*, was taken to Plymouth, but was not allowed to land in England. He was transferred to H.M.S. *Northumberland*, and on August 8 sailed for St. Helena, where he remained a prisoner till his death in 1821. In 1840 his body was removed by the French Government to its present splendid tomb in Les Invalides in Paris.

France, having been lightly treated in 1814, could scarcely expect to be so generously dealt with after having risen again at Napoleon's bidding in 1815, and having imposed upon Europe another and wholly needless war. Therefore, the Second Treaty of Paris, November 20, 1815, was stricter than the first. It took back some of the small but valuable territorial increases of the First Treaty of Paris, such as ChambeVy and Landau; it imposed an indemnity of 700,000,000 francs, and an army of occupation which remained in the north-east districts of France till 1818; and it compelled France to restore the objects of art—the spoils of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars—which she had been allowed to retain in 1814. On the same day as the Second Treaty of Paris was signed the four great Allies—Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia—signed another treaty, pledging themselves to meet together from time to time when international affairs required attention. This treaty is the origin of the Concert of Europe, which was the contribution of nineteenth-century diplomacy to the agelong efforts for peace.

CHAPTER VI

ENGLAND AFTER THE WAR

GEORGE ELIOT, in the novel *Felix Holt the Radical*, gives a lifelike description of English country in the years which followed the great war. She imagines a traveller going by stage coach over the central plain that stretches from the Bristol Avon to the Trent. At first he goes through a pastoral and agricultural country, of fields divided from each other by great hedgerows, beautiful, but wasteful of the ground.

It was worth the journey only to see those hedgerows, the liberal homes of unmarketable beauty—of the purple-blossomed ruby-berried nightshade, of the wild convolvulus climbing and spreading in tendrilled strength till it made a great curtain of pale green hearts and white trumpets, of the many-tubed honeysuckle, which, in its most delicate fragrance, hid a charm more subtle and penetrating than beauty.

Gradually, however, as the traveller went north, the country of pasture and tilth, of homesteads, trim villages, and clean little market towns, gives place to a land that is being blackened with coalpits, and where in hamlets and villages is heard the rattle of handlooms, and in the towns the din of factory machinery. Here was to be seen the work of the Industrial Revolution, a movement not then completed, but in process of transforming England into an industrial country, of thickly populated cities. This Industrial Revolution caused nearly all the great movements in domestic politics for the next hundred years.

While the population of England was becoming more industrial, it was also becoming morally and intellectually more intense. This intensity was due largely to the war,

which stirred people's minds; it was also partly due to the work of John Wesley.

The long life of this great reviver of religious life began in 1703. His father was Rector of Epworth in Lincolnshire; he was educated at Charterhouse, became a scholar of Christ Church, and was elected to a Fellowship at Lincoln College in 1726. At Oxford Wesley founded a society of "Methodists" to study the Gospel and to minister to the poor; and when he left the University a few years later, he devoted himself to the same work throughout the whole country. It was scarcely too much to say that by the time of his death in 1791, John Wesley had restored the spiritual life of Britain. Himself anxious always to remain a member of the Church of England, he had gradually felt compelled to ordain clergymen by his own authority, so that a sufficient number of ministers might be obtained to serve the great new industrial centres of the country. Although all the bodies which call themselves Methodist do not conform to the ideas of Wesley, it is the inspiration of the movement which he started which has carried them onwards. The spiritual enthusiasm which John Wesley, with his incessant journeying and preaching, excited has been to some extent perpetuated by the hymns of his brother Charles, such as "Jesu, Lover of my Soul," and "Love Divine, all Loves excelling."

The great war, when it was ended in 1815, bequeathed to the period of peace which followed it difficulties which everyone now understands. The cessation of war manufactures, the cutting down of Government expenditure, caused much temporary unemployment. The burden of the National Debt was enormous—over £709,000,000, as compared with £227,000,000 when the war started. Taxation necessarily remained high, although in 1816 the Government abolished the income-tax of 2s. in the £1, which had only been a war measure.

Distress was widely spread through the country.

Workers, in their misery, thought that the machinery which had caused the Industrial Revolution was now the cause of their unemployment, and, urged on by agitators, they frequently made riots and smashed machinery, especially in the textile areas of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. Some of the riots were political, the agitators, if not the mob, aiming at attacking the Government. The police came into frequent collision with the strikers; and the magistrates, in many places, did not hesitate to use the soldiers. On December 2, 1816, a serious disturbance took place at Spa Fields, in the City of London, but it was quelled without bloodshed by the soldiery. In February, 1817, Prince George, who was Regent for his blind and insane father, had his carriage window broken by a hostile crowd when he was returning home after opening Parliament. The Government became highly alarmed, fearing the outbreak of a revolution; so the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for a whole year (till March, 1818). In August, 1819, a mass meeting, numbering perhaps 50,000 people, and claiming to stand for "Liberty or Death/" was dispersed by a charge of the yeomanry, at the cost of one civilian killed and forty wounded (but another contemporary estimate gives eleven killed and four hundred injured): this was the so-called Manchester Massacre, or Battle of Peterloo, named from St. Peter's Field, Manchester. The Government felt impelled to have Six Acts passed through Parliament authorizing magistrates to seize arms, to prevent the publication of seditious libels, to forbid public meetings, and in other ways to forestall or suppress movements which were held to be dangerous to the State. The Acts were Tory Acts, passed through Parliament by the Tory Government and party; but most of the Whigs voted for them; only the Radicals—the advanced Whigs, who almost formed a sort of "Labour Party"—opposed the measures (1819). But the Government and their Supporters thought that they were justified in their

caution and severity when they discovered the "Cato Street Conspiracy" a plot to blow up the whole Cabinet of Ministers when they were dining at the house of Lord Harrowby, Lord President of the Council (February, 1820).

Just before the Cato Street Conspiracy occurred, George III. had died (January 29, 1820), at the age of eighty-two. If his son had been a good man, the Government would have had less reason to fear that revolution was imminent. George IV. had some good qualities, but his bad qualities were more obvious to the public, and he became exceedingly unpopular. He was a bad husband, and could not live with his wife, Queen Caroline (born Princess of Brunswick-Wolfenbiittel). After travelling abroad for some years, Queen Caroline, hearing of the death of George III., returned to England. George IV. induced the Government to introduce into Parliament a Bill for the divorce of the Queen; but the measure made little progress, and had to be dropped (1820). Later the Queen, who had been staying privately with her friend Sir Mathew Wood, a former Lord Mayor, tried to force her way into Westminster Abbey when George IV. was being crowned (1821). She was refused admittance. The rebuff broke her heart; she died in the same year in London; her body was taken over to Brunswick and buried with her ancestors. The English people were touched with pity at her tragic life and death. Meanwhile George IV., though he could and did show some popular gifts when he appeared in public, often shut himself up, for weeks at a time, in his house at Virginia Water, and gave way to drink. People almost lost all respect for the throne.

Yet the good sense of the British people was against revolution, and concentrated instead on the reform of the parliamentary system. The anomalies of this system were obvious to everyone: the counties, great and small, had each precisely the same number of representatives—namely, two—in the House of Commons; and even these repre-

sentatives were not elected by the men of the county, but only by those men who possessed land in freehold to the value of forty shillings a year; thus all the labourers, all the small "copy holders,*" all the tenant-farmers, were excluded from the franchise, which depended upon an ancient Act of the year £430.

In the boroughs the system of representation was still more curious. Any town which possessed a charter given by the King was called a borough, and had the right of sending two representatives to the House of Commons. Some of these chartered towns were large, some were small, some were not towns at all, but simply villages or hamlets. Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth had "chartered" many little places in Cornwall, each of which had at most only a few score inhabitants. In most boroughs the right to elect the parliamentary representatives lay with the freemen (a hereditary distinction in the borough), or with the owners of freehold property, but there were many other systems of election; and in all the small boroughs the elections were usually something of a sham, for the landlord or chief landlord could generally induce the small number of voters to return *his* candidate. The period of election was a fortnight, and votes were taken in public, so that men could be intimidated or bribed into complying with the landlord's wishes. Naturally it was worth while for an ambitious man to be the landlord of one of these "pocket" or "rotten" boroughs, for he could either himself nominate the members to Parliament or he could sell his ability to do so: such a sale, in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, generally realized £12,000 to £15,000. The Eatanswill Election in Dickens's *Pickwick Papers* is an imaginary but perhaps not overdrawn description of the affairs of a rotten borough; Anthony Trollope's *Doctor Thorne* contains a more moderate, but not less significant description.

All this shows the worst side of the unreformed parliamentary system. It must be remembered, however, that

there was a good side too. The system quickly brought forward young men, and gave them an opportunity to make their influence felt in politics before they had passed the prime of life. The Tory and Whig parties were always on the lookout for talent with which to strengthen their body, so that any young man who had made his mark at the University, or who was favourably known in society, was usually invited to join one of the parties, with the offer of a seat for a pocket borough. It was in this way that the younger Pitt, George Canning, Peel, and Palmerston all stepped into Parliament when just fresh from the University, and were able to become Cabinet Ministers at an age which would be almost impossible now. Moreover, once in Parliament, a man's place there was secure; his little constituency was easily managed; he was almost as independent as a peer. He *might* have to obey and truckle to his party chiefs, but he had no need to truckle to his constituency, or to pander to their wishes; he could lead and not be led.

Undoubtedly the worst part in the unreformed system was not that a large number of safe seats were always open to the "governing class," but that a number of large and important places had no representatives in Parliament at all. During the Industrial Revolution the population had both shifted itself and had increased; and what had formerly been mere villages or little towns, with no parliamentary representatives, were, when the Napoleonic Wars ended, large and flourishing cities. Such places were Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester, with populations of from 80,000 to 100,000. Yet, except in so far as they shared in their two-member county representation, they were disfranchised. This was obviously unfair; the Government, from time to time, ought to have advised the King to give charters to such towns when they grew large and wealthy; while the most obsolete of the rotten boroughs should, when they became decayed, have been disfranchised. Thus the

old system would have gradually been reformed and adjusted to the progress of English life, while preserving its old virtues. But this course was not followed, with the result that before reform did at last come there was a long course of agitation and, what was worse, of public violence.

Chatham and the younger Pitt had each planned a reform of Parliament; the French Revolutionary Wars, however, had ended or postponed all schemes. Yet there were men in Parliament who never lost their faith in Liberalism, and who pressed year by year for reform. Among such men were Sir Francis Burdett, one of the few Englishmen who, having actually witnessed part of the French Revolution in Paris, was not turned into a Conservative. He was more than a Whig; though wealthy, and educated as a member of the governing classes at Westminster and Oxford, he was in his time one of the most advanced Radicals. From 1807 to 1837 he was one of the members for Westminster, the most democratic Parliamentary borough of that time. Every year till 1832 he pressed for parliamentary reform, although when at last the Reform Act was passed, he thought that things had advanced far enough; and so he became in his latter days something of a Conservative. In this he was not unlike the two greatest Reformers of this period: Earl Grey, the austere Whig, who after nearly forty years of labour for the cause, became Prime Minister in 1830 and carried the Reform Bill through Parliament. The other statesman was Lord John Russell, third son of the sixth Duke of Bedford: Lord John in the House of Commons did the same work which Grey strove for in the House of Lords; but when once the Reform Bill was passed he became "Finality Jack," and, almost till the end of his career, maintained that reform should go no further.

That the Reform Bill was proposed and carried in a Parliament where almost everyone either sat for or else possessed a pocket borough proves that the members were not

wholly illiberal, nor wholly out of touch with the nation. In the country opinion had been powerfully aroused; the labourers, now congregated in towns, and working side by side in factories, stimulated each other to think about politics and to demand changes. And now a new feature began to show itself in Britain—the existence of men who would think and speak for the labouring classes, and stir them up to demand political or economic changes. This class of men, when they are self-seeking or fanatical, are called agitators, a word which has been used with this meaning since the time of the Civil War; when they are disinterested and moderate, they are merely called leaders. Men of this stamp, sincere, moderate-minded men, were William Cobbett (1762-1835), the son of a Surrey labourer. Cobbett had taught himself to read and write, had served in the army, and emigrated to America; came back to England and farmed land in Surrey; became a journalist and (in 1802) the editor of the first really cheap newspaper—*The Weekly Political Register*—which sold for twopence. Even more influential among "leaders" outside Parliament was Francis Place (1771-1854), tailor and trade-union secretary, whose rooms in Charing Cross were a sort of centre for all the political discussions and organization of the vigorous electorate of Westminster.

Grey, Russell, and Burdett in Parliament, Cobbett and Place out of Parliament, with many others in England and Scotland, pressed on for reform year after year, from the close of the Napoleonic Wars. It was from Ireland, however, that the first marked advance was made. Since 1801 Ireland, like Great Britain, under the Act of Union, had been sending members to Parliament in London; but the franchise was not quite the same in Ireland as on the other side of St. George's Channel. For while Roman Catholics were legally debarred from sitting in Parliament, they could (under an Act of the Irish Parliament, before the Union), if resident and otherwise qualified to possess the franchise,

vote in Ireland, although not in England or Scotland. It was thus that Daniel O'Connell, an Irish Roman Catholic barrister, was able in 1828 to be a candidate for the constituency of County Clare, and to be duly elected by an overwhelming majority of Roman Catholic votes. Yet, although he was clearly the choice of the lawful Clare voters, he could not, as a Catholic, be in Parliament; he could be elected, but could not take his seat. This was an unexpected and curious situation; in Ireland it was considered flagrantly unjust, and civil war appeared imminent; so the Duke of Wellington, who was Prime Minister from 1828 to 1830, assisted by Sir Robert Peel, who was then Home Secretary, induced Parliament to pass the Roman Catholic Relief Act, so that O'Connell and others of the same religion could, if otherwise qualified, take their seats in Parliament (1829).

After this a complete measure of parliamentary reform came fairly quickly. George IV. died in June, 1830. His brother, William IV., who looked like "a respectable old Admiral" (as the diarist Greville wrote), succeeded to the throne at the age of sixty-five. George IV. had been wholly against reform; William IV. was, if anything, rather in favour of it; besides, he was inclined to the position of constitutional monarch (which George III. and George IV. had to some extent departed from), and to follow the advice of his Ministers, unless he thought such advice to be clearly against the wishes of the country. Just after the accession of William IV. a peaceful revolution occurred in Paris; the absolutist King, Charles X., was put off the throne, and a distant cousin, Louis Philippe, who was more constitutionally minded, was made King. The middle classes of Britain, who had hitherto been afraid that reform might cause revolution, and that revolution would cause anarchy, were reassured by the peaceful outcome of the French *coup d'etat*. So the Duke of Wellington lost the support of the country, and in November (1830) he resigned. William IV.

offered the premiership to Earl Grey, who accepted it; thus the chance for the reformers had come at last.

In March, 1831, the Reform Bill was introduced in the House of Commons by Lord John Russell, who (although not a member of the Cabinet) was given this honourable duty on account of his long devotion to the cause. The debates on the measure were long and animated: on March 21 it was carried in a House of almost unprecedented attendance by one vote—302 to 301. A bare majority of one vote was too little for the Government to work with; so, on the advice of the Ministers, the King dissolved Parliament, and at the General Election the Whigs obtained a large majority. The Reform Bill was then introduced in the Commons and carried on the second and third readings by majorities of over one hundred (September 22); but when the Bill went to the Second Chamber, the Lords rejected it by 199 votes to 158. Riots followed on this; Nottingham Castle (the seat of the Duke of Newcastle) was burned down; at Bristol the Mansion House and the common gaol were set on fire, and troops had to be called in to quell the mob. In December the Bill (it was really the third Bill, somewhat different in detail from the two which had already been rejected) was introduced, and by March, 1832, it had passed through the House of Commons. In the House of Lords it was carried on the second reading by nine votes (184 to 175). So precarious were its chances of finally passing that Lord Grey advised the King to create a sufficient number of new peers to carry the measure, which it was now obvious that the people as a whole had set their hearts on. William IV. consented, but at the same time asked the Duke of Wellington to spare him from the necessity of flooding the House of Lords with new men. Loyal to every command or wish of the Sovereign, the Duke caused all his followers to abstain from the final voting; and so on June 4 the Bill passed its final reading in a small House by 106 to 22. Three days later the Royal Assent was given.

Thus the great struggle was over; and the passing into law of the Bill from which so much was hoped was hailed with peals of joybells all over the land. The Reform Act, though it left the administrative system and the House of Lords untouched, gave an entirely new constitution to the House of Commons. The total number of members in the House was kept the same at 658, but 56 pocket boroughs which formerly returned in members were entirely disfranchised, and 30 others lost one member each. The seats thus set free in the House of Commons were then distributed among the important towns which had grown so large during the Industrial Revolution—Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and the rest—and among the counties; county representation was increased by no less than sixty-five members. Besides redistributing seats, the Reform Act altered the franchise in the counties; copyholders and leaseholders (in addition to freeholders) obtained the right to vote, as did also tenants-at-will if they paid $\text{^}50$ a year rent. In the towns householders paying £10 a year were enfranchised. The Act was scarcely democratic : the object of the Whigs was far from being to establish anything like universal manhood suffrage. They believed in a mixed, balanced constitution. By abolishing the pocket boroughs, and by giving men of middling wealth and position the vote, they destroyed the aristocracy's *monopoly* of power by sharing it with the middle and lower middle classes. The poorer classes could get the vote by rising in life to the moderate position of a £10 householder. Britain was to be what Polybius called a " mixed polity," or what Aristotle might have called a limited democracy.

After the passing into law of the Bill, Parliament was dissolved and a General Election was held. The result of the new franchise system showed itself in an overwhelming majority for the Whigs. The Tories could only muster 172 members in the new Parliament; the Whigs had 486. Every now and then a cataclysm of this kind overtakes the

Tory or Conservative party, and the Whigs or Liberals (or it may be the Labour party) remain practically unchallenged. Yet Conservatism appears to be a constant element in British politics, and revives quickly if it has a man of genius to cherish it. There was no Canning in 1832 to infuse Toryism with his brilliant policy; but Sir Robert Peel, aged forty-four, in the prime of life, had the firm mind, the solid gifts, the courage and the hopefulness to build up the Tory party again. In his address or manifesto to the voters of Tamworth (issued in 1834), he proclaimed wisely his acceptance of the Reform Act as a "final and irrevocable settlement"; but, starting from that basis, he was going to make a new Conservative policy, "reforming every institution that really required reform, but gradually, dispassionately, deliberately, that reform might be lasting."

Meanwhile the Whigs had the ball at their feet, and they entered upon a course of legislation which left its mark forever on English social and political affairs. First some minor but quite important Bills were passed, like the Bill to allow Quakers to sit in Parliament without taking an oath (as they objected to doing this); then a great step was taken to complete the humanitarian measure which in 1806 had abolished the traffic in slaves; now by statute (August, 1833) all the slaves in the British Empire were made free. Twenty million pounds sterling was granted in compensation to the planters who lost their property in slaves.

The next Bill in the series was Lord Ashley's Factory Act. This was not the first of its kind. For years Lord Ashley (ever since he was a boy at Harrow) had been using all his influence to make factory labour better, especially for the children and women engaged in it. The plight of the children in factories was especially sad. With no schooling, they were kept long hours, standing at their work in the factories, with little food, without time to get sufficient sleep, till their bodies grew stunted, their lives blighted.

The position of the men was often as bad or worse, for many of them were not employed at all, but were dependent on the earnings of their women and children. There is no doubt that from 1815 to 1846 the condition of the labouring classes was sad; wages were low, employment scarce, the cost of living—with the loaf at a shilling—so high as to make even bare existence difficult. The reason was not selfishness or cruelty on the part of the employers and owners, many of whom, like Robert Owen, Richard Oastler, and Cobden were doing their utmost for the welfare of their men. The fundamental cause of the miserable plight of the labourers was the lack of Free Trade. The Corn Laws prevented the import of foreign grain; this made the price of bread high in England; and as no grain was imported, no manufactured goods were exported to pay for it. Thus employment at home was diminished, the manufacturers *could* not pay good wages, and yet the cost of living was high. Public opinion, however, was not ready for the repeal of the Corn Laws and for the establishing of Free Trade.

Yet something was done by legislation (which, indeed, could do very little if trade itself was not good) to help the miserable lot of the working women and children. The first Acts dealt only with cotton mills: in 1819 an Act of Parliament prohibited children under nine years of age from working in these mills. In 1831 another Act abolished night work in the cotton mills for persons of either sex between nine and twenty-one years of age. In 1833 the Act which is particularly associated with the name of Lord Ashley (perhaps better known by his title—inherited later—of Earl of Shaftesbury) extended the benefit of the Act of 1831 to woollen and, indeed, all sorts of factories; and the work of children between nine and thirteen years of age was limited to forty-eight hours a week. In 1847 by Act of Parliament a maximum ten-hour day was made law for women and children, and was, in fact, adopted in all factories for the men workers too.

While Parliament was taking steps to ensure that children in factories should not be grievously overworked, something was also done for their education. The National Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society had for years been establishing and maintaining schools in towns and also in large villages. In 1833 the State, without itself trying to undertake education, began to give annually the sum of £20,000 to be divided between these two Societies to enable them to continue their good work. This sum was for the education of the labourers' children. About the same time Public School education began to assume a greater influence than ever before, through the labours of Dr. Arnold. Thomas Arnold, Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Fellow of Oriel, and subsequently a private tutor at Laleham, near Staines, was from 1828 to 1842 Headmaster of Rugby. To him we owe the modern system of discipline—the prefect system—the improved manners, the earnest, responsible outlook, which are now the salient features of our Public Schools.

In 1834 came the epoch-making Poor Law Amendment Act. Bad trade and a deplorable system of poor relief had, since 1782, been demoralizing the British labourer. In 1782 Gilbert's Act (proposed in Parliament by a philanthropist of that name) had allowed justices of the peace to dispense with the "workhouse test"; people in need could thereafter be relieved without going into the workhouse. But little use was made of the permission until 1795, when Berkshire justices decided to make up labourers' wages, where they were too low for the cost of living, to a living wage. A regular "make-up scale" was established; low wages were supplemented out of the rates, with so much for a man, so much for his wife and for each of the children. The result was striking and disastrous. Wherever there was an unscrupulous employer, he paid the lowest possible wages, and threw the burden of maintaining the labourer on the rates, and the good employers, to save themselves

from being undersold, were soon pulled down to the scale of the bad. The cost to the country was gigantic; by the year 1833 the poor rate alone amounted to over eight and a half million pounds sterling, and cost annually to many a landlord a sum greater than he obtained as rent for his land. Villages began to decay, land to go out of cultivation, the labourer to become idle and discontented (how could it be otherwise?), manners declined, immorality increased, public order became endangered. The terrible and rapidly deteriorating condition of the people caused Lord Grey, as Prime Minister, to have a Royal Commission of able public men to be appointed to investigate the Poor Law and to suggest remedies (1832). The Commission, after a prolonged and thorough investigation of the social condition of England, made its Report in 1834. In unimpassioned language the Report contains a description of the progressive impoverishment of the people, and more than this, of their demoralization—their loss of honour, conscience, self-control or affection—largely through the influence of a bad Poor Law. Acting on this information, the Government had a new *Poor Law Amendment Act* passed through Parliament; official Poor Law Commissioners were appointed to serve as a central supervising body, while local Poor Law Guardians, to be elected by Unions of Parishes, were established to administer outdoor and indoor relief to the destitute. These Commissioners and Guardians at once proceeded to put into effect the recommendations contained in the Report of 1834—namely, that the lot of the able-bodied pauper should "not be made really or apparently so eligible as the situation of the independent labourer of the lowest class." The man who could work and support himself was to be encouraged, and people were not to be tempted by doles into doing nothing, and into learning to live miserably and discontentedly on the community. Therefore the "workhouse test" was enforced; an able-bodied person applying for Poor Law Relief had to become an

inmate of a workhouse, thus submitting to discipline, and also performing a stated amount of work every day. " Out-door relief " was reserved for the aged and infirm. Under this policy the workhouses have never been popular institutions ; a working-man or his family entering a workhouse have " lost caste," and this fact has been a real incentive to people to put forth every exertion to maintain themselves, and to prevent themselves from becoming chargeable to the rates. It is only since the " workhouse test " has been relaxed and since people have been able to obtain relief from the rates while remaining at home that a tendency to accept public help rather than work has to some extent become apparent.

The last Act of especial influence passed by the first Reformed Parliament was the Municipal Reform Act. Although the Parliamentary Reform Act had taken from the old municipal bodies their monopoly of the right to elect Members of Parliament for their towns, it had left these municipal bodies in other respects unchanged. The governing bodies of the towns were a quaint assortment of authorities coming down from the Middle Ages; and the shifting of the population (through the Industrial Revolution) left these authorities in many places almost wholly out of touch with the people whose interests they represented. After a Royal Commission had taken evidence throughout the country, and had published a long and careful Report, the Government had the Municipal Reform Bill passed through Parliament. The old governing bodies of the towns were done away with; and the modern type of town councils, elected by all the ratepayers, was established in their place (1835).

The Reform Act of 1832 and the Acts of the first Reformed Parliament cleared away certain obvious defects in the English social and political system, and so paved the way for the Victorian period, which must now be looked upon as a sort of Golden Age; before it were the heroic and

troubled times of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars and the period of reconstruction; after it came the Great War of the early twentieth century.

CHAPTER VII

THE VICTORIAN AGE : TO THE END OF THE INDIAN MUTINY

THE Victorian Age may be divided into three parts—(1) from 1837 to the end of the Crimean War, (2) from this point to the end of Lord Beaconsfield's premiership in 1880, and (3) to the end of the Boer War in 1902, although the Queen herself died in the previous year. During this long period of sixty-five years the main interest of the Government and people was, naturally, concentrated on domestic affairs; foreign affairs received, on the whole, comparatively little attention, with the result that prosperity at home was secured, but to some extent at the expense of the future. But if foreign affairs tended to be neglected, the affairs of India and the Colonies, in the last half of the century, absorbed a great amount of public attention; thus the political horizon of the average educated Englishman, if it only vaguely included the Continent of Europe, was at any rate extended from the British Isles to the Indian Ocean, the Atlantic, and the Pacific.

When Queen Victoria, at the age of eighteen, came to the throne on the death of her uncle, King William IV. (June 20, 1837), public interest had for years been largely centred on parliamentary and social reform; and for about fifteen years after her accession, owing to the low condition of commerce and industry, attention was again largely centred on domestic questions, chiefly on the question of economic reform. Nevertheless, Queen Victoria inherited a foreign policy from the two preceding reigns.

When the Napoleonic Wars came to an end with the

Second Peace of Paris, November 20, 1815, one of the treaties concluded on that day contained a stipulation that the signing Powers—Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia—should meet together from time to time " to consolidate the connections which at the present moment so closely unite the Four Sovereigns for the happiness of the world " (Hertslet, *Map of Europe by Treaty*, vol. i., p. 375). From this stipulation there grew up that understanding between the Great Powers which was called the Concert of Europe.

In the seven years following upon Waterloo, the Concert met four times—at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, at Troppau and Laibach in 1820, and at Verona in 1822. A period of unrest and of social disturbance follows every great war. The meetings of the European Concert in the period 1816-1822 were intended to provide opportunities to the statesmen of Europe for the discussion of post-war problems. Among other things that were accomplished by the Concert was the evacuation of the French territory by the Allied Army of Occupation (1818), on the early payment by France of the indemnity for the war of 1815 ; France was herself admitted to the Concert, and showed herself to be a valuable and on the whole peaceful member of the European system.

Castlereagh, who was the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from 1812 to 1822, was a firm supporter of the Concert, but he would not follow the " Holy Alliance " of the sovereigns of Russia, Prussia, and Austria. This Holy Alliance aimed at the suppression of all revolutionary movements in the dominions of these sovereigns or in neighbouring States. It was Castlereagh's view, and the view of the whole British Government, that each State should be left free to settle its own affairs as it pleased. After Castlereagh's death (he committed suicide in 1822), his policy of non-interference was adopted, with some modifications, by his brilliant successor at the Foreign Office, George Canning.

Canning had figured only occasionally in public life since his celebrated and unfortunate duel with Castlereagh in 1809. In 1822 his chance came at last, when Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister, offered him the Foreign Office. Canning had a wide knowledge of foreign affairs, and (as his divining the secret Tilsit Agreement of Napoleon and Alexander I. in 1807 shows) he had a capacity for swift and brilliant action. But, alas ! his time was now short: he had only five more years to live.

In 1821 the Greeks had risen in insurrection against the Turks, and had begun the War of Independence, which was to last for eight years before it could be brought to a successful close. Canning was a " Hellenist,*" a fine classical scholar, and as such his sympathy for the Greek cause was ardent. But he was also a " non-interventionist," and (as his master in politics, William Pitt, had been) something of a believer in the policy of supporting the Turks in their position in Europe. So at first he took no action, and British help to the Greek cause was left to private enterprise, like that of Lord Byron and others, who gave their lives for Greece. In the later stage of the war Canning took diplomatic action; sending the Duke of Wellington to negotiate at St. Petersburg, he arranged with Nicholas I. of Russia that the Greeks should have, if not independence, at least autonomy; they should govern themselves, paying, however, an annual tribute to the Turks (Protocol of St. Petersburg, April 4, 1826). What military or naval action Canning might have taken to enforce this policy is unknown, for he died next year (August, 1827), having succeeded Lord Liverpool as Prime Minister for only four months (April to August 8). However, the Greek cause received a considerable piece of assistance when two months later the combined naval squadrons of England, France, and Russia, sailing into Navarino Bay to induce the Turks to grant a truce to the Greeks, came into collision with the Egyptian fleet (flying the Turkish flag)

and destroyed it. Still, the British Government took no further action; but the Tsar Nicholas, full of sympathy for his Greek co-religionists, sent his army into the Balkan Peninsula and forced the Turks, by the Treaty of Adrianople, September 14, 1829, to give the Greeks their freedom. The arrangements for defining the frontier of the Greek State were settled at a Conference of Powers at London, which established a younger son of the King of Bavaria as the first King of Greece.

While one long and drawn-out revolt was going on in Greece, another was happening in Portugal. Here Canning, although a "non-interventionist" thought something more than mere sympathy was justified, owing to the services which Portugal had rendered to the Allied cause in the Peninsular War. He sent a few troops to help the young Queen Maria of Portugal to keep the throne against her usurping uncle, Don Pedro (1826). After Canning's death the Duke of Wellington (who was Prime Minister from 1828 to 1830) maintained a strictly neutral policy; but the next Prime Minister, Earl Grey, gave his Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, a free hand, and the Portuguese difficulty was settled, largely by diplomatic means, in 1834. Don Pedro retired from the Peninsula.

Trouble in Spain proved more obstinate. In 1820 a revolution had occurred in Spain, in order to compel King Ferdinand VII. to put in force the "Constitution" which he had long ago promised to establish. The King gave in to the revolutionaries; but in 1823 the French Government, afraid that the revolution would spread to France, sent an army across the Pyrenees; Madrid was occupied, the "Constitution" was suppressed, and Ferdinand VII. was restored to his autocratic position. It was commonly believed that the French forces would be transported to South America, to suppress the revolts in the Spanish colonies and to restore the autocratic regime. At this point Canning intervened; in his eyes it was bad enough that France should become

dominant at Madrid; he was not going to sit still and see her power extend itself over the rest of the Spanish Empire. "I resolved that if France had Spain," he said in the House of Commons, "it should not be Spain with the Indies: I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." In 1824 he practically recognized the independence of the rebel colonies by appointing British consuls in their ports; this display of British sympathy came just after the vigorous message of President Monroe of the United States, warning European Powers not to interfere with the American Continent, North or South (December, 1823). England and the United States were acting in concert. So the French Government left South America alone, and thus the Spanish colonies were able to defeat the small Royalist armies and to establish their freedom. The last battle in these colonial wars of independence was fought at Ayacucho, in Peru, in 1826. Many British—English, Irish, and Scottish—fought on the side of the Spanish colonists; many, fighting thus, for others, not for themselves, lost their lives. A survivor collected all the names of the British who served, and the touching roll is given in Sir Clement Markham's *History of Peru*.

The establishment of the independent Republics of South America did not end the British Government's difficulties with regard to Spain. For in 1833 Ferdinand VII. died and left the throne to his elder daughter, Isabella. Her position as Sovereign was at once challenged by her uncle, Don Carlos, who claimed under the "Salic" Law or Custom that a woman could not reign. A long and cruelly conducted Civil War ensued. The British Government always acknowledged Isabella as Queen, and even sent to her large quantities of warlike stores. Men the British Government would not send; Palmerston, who was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, did not wish to go to war, but he induced Parliament to suspend the Foreign Enlistment Act, so that Englishmen might enlist in England **for**

service in the Spanish army. Thus was formed the "English Legion," 10,000 men, raised and paid for by the Spanish Government, which for two years (1835-1837) did splendid service against the Carlists. This and the diplomatic support of Lord Clarendon, the British Minister at Madrid, contributed greatly to bring an end to the Carlist Wars by the year 1840. It was one of the earliest successes in Queen Victoria's reign.

Another success in foreign affairs was the British Government's handling of the Belgian Question. In 1815, at the Congress of Vienna, Holland and Belgium had been joined into one kingdom (under the Dutch King), so as to form an effective "buffer State" between France and Prussia. In 1830 the Belgians raised a revolution in order to separate themselves from the Dutch, towards whom they were entirely unsympathetic. France, Prussia, and England all intervened diplomatically to try and settle the trouble; France even intervened with arms, but soon withdrew. Palmerston greatly feared that France's intervention would lead to her gaining control of Belgium. In 1831 a Conference of Powers at London recognized by treaty the independence of Belgium, and Victoria's uncle, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, became King of the new State. Holland, however, refused to agree to this, and it took years more of patient effort on the part of Palmerston before, in another Conference of London, in 1839, ^{ne} could induce the Dutch to come into line with the rest of the Powers, and to leave the Belgian kingdom quite free and independent. The Treaty of London, April 19, 1839, was signed by Great Britain, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Holland; it contained, among other things, the now celebrated article which recognized Belgium as a neutral State, whose neutrality each and all of the signing Powers bound themselves to respect.

The Spanish and Belgian questions being thus satisfactorily settled in the first three years of Queen Victoria's reign, she had next to deal with the Eastern Question.

This, for the time being at any rate, Palmerston satisfactorily settled too. Mehemet Ali, the Pasha or Governor of Egypt, had revolted against his nominal master, the Sultan of Turkey, had conquered Syria, and had advanced nearly as far as Constantinople. The British Government supported the Sultan, while the French Government had leanings towards the side of Mehemet Ali. For a few months in 1840 the friction between France and England as nearly as anything produced a war, and Palmerston wrote to the British Ambassador at Paris: "If France throws down the gauntlet, we shall not hesitate to pick it up." But King Louis Philippe of France was really a peaceful man, and Palmerston, though somewhat bellicose in speech, was on the whole pacific *in* action. After months of negotiations in Paris and London the two Governments came to terms, and pressure was put both on the Sultan of Turkey and Mehemet Ali to make them sign peace with each other. The incident was closed with a Conference and Treaty of London. The Treaty, signed by Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Turkey, on July 13, 1841, regulated one of the danger spots of Europe, the Straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. These Straits were to be closed to the ships of war of all Powers (except Turkey) as long as the Porte was at peace. Mehemet Ali was left as Pasha of Egypt, where his descendants reign to-day.

If foreign affairs presented difficulties in the early years of Queen Victoria's reign, domestic problems were no less urgent. During the twenty years which followed the Napoleonic Wars, the condition of trade and industry was bad; wages, on the whole, were low, employment not easily obtained. The philanthropic labours of Lord Ashley (he did not become Lord Shaftesbury till 1851) did something to ameliorate conditions of work; but no amount of factory legislation could increase trade and industry; this could only come with the expansion of our foreign commerce, and

foreign commerce—importing and exporting—could only be carried on if a large measure of Free Trade was established. Richard Cobden (1804-1865) and John Bright (1811-1889) were the great exponents of this policy; they urged that the Corn Laws, which practically prohibited the import of wheat, should be suppressed, so that grain could be freely imported, while in exchange for this grain British manufactured goods could be exported. To educate public opinion on this subject, Cobden founded the Anti-Corn Law League in 1839; meetings were held in all the great industrial centres, and economic principles were debated and explained from public platforms.

The working men, however, still pinned their faith to politics rather than economics. They believed that their position would be greatly improved if political power were more widely distributed. Much had been hoped from the passing into law of the Reform Bill in 1832, but the result had been the sharing out of political power with the middle classes, not with the agricultural or industrial workers. So after 1832 there was a renewed agitation among the workers, who began to formulate demands for a greater extension of political power. Their demands were embodied in 1838 in the *People's Charter*, which asked for (1) Universal Suffrage, (2) Voting by Ballot, (3) Annual Parliaments, (4) Payment of Members of Parliament, (5) Abolition of the Property Qualification for M.P.'s, and (6) Equal Electoral Districts. All the demands except "annual Parliaments" (which means a fresh General Election every year) and "equal electoral districts" (or equal constituencies) have since been made law.

The demands, however, had to wait many years for their satisfaction; they did not become law through the agitation of the "Chartists." In 1839 the Charter was presented as a petition to Parliament, but was rejected by the House of Commons. This was followed by rioting, especially in the Midlands and South Wales. Among others, John Frost,

who had held the position of Mayor of Newport, was convicted of leading an armed mob into Newport, and was transported to Van Diemen's Land. The Chartist agitation went on for another ten years, led chiefly by an Irish barrister called Feargus O'Connor. Their last effort was made under the inspiration of the Revolution which broke out in France in February, 1848, a Revolution which dethroned King Louis Philippe, and led at first to a system of State Socialism, until this was replaced by the Conservative Government of Louis Napoleon. In April, 1849, the Chartists held a monster meeting on Kennington Common, and something like civil war appeared to be imminent. The Government took every necessary precaution, and swore-in 170,000 special constables. The meeting, however, dispersed. The Charter, when again presented to the House of Commons, was supported by nearly two million signatures; this number, however, turned out to include numerous and very obvious forgeries. The combination of violence and deceit in the Chartist Movement ruined its chances, and little more was now heard of it. Meanwhile a simple economic reform was having far more effect on the good of the people than all the political "points" of the Charter, if made law, would have done. This simple economic reform was the repeal of the Corn Laws.

The Corn Law of 1815 had been passed in Parliament, by overwhelming majorities, in order to enable farmers who, during the great war, had extended their area of cultivation, to keep their new fields under crop. The Corn Law prohibited the import of wheat unless the price for home-grown wheat stood as high as 80s. per quarter. This law kept the price of bread high, and by preventing the import of wheat it also prevented us from establishing markets abroad to which we might export our manufactured goods. Thus the Corn Law not merely made bread dear, but it also made for unemployment in industry at home.

In 1828 the policy of the Government was modified. **The**

Prime Minister (the Duke of Wellington) and the Colonial Secretary (William Huskisson) advocated and carried a measure providing that imported grain should pay a duty of 20s. per quarter when the price of home-grown grain was 64s. a quarter; then, as the price in Britain rose, the duty on imported grain fell; when the British price reached 73s. the duty on imported grain was to be only 10s. This "sliding scale" was, however, in its results more harmful than good. It kept foreign corn out of the country when harvests were good, and only admitted it when harvests were bad, and when, consequently, it was not easy to import grain at all; for if the harvest is bad in the British Isles, it is generally bad in the rest of Europe.

The campaign of the Anti-Corn Law League gradually educated public opinion, especially in Manchester and other industrial cities in favour of repeal, but it did not convert all the governing classes. In 1845, however, the Irish potato crop failed; thus the bulk of the Irish people were reduced almost to starvation, and yet it was difficult to relieve them with grain, for there was no free trade in corn. A Tory Government was at this time in office, under the premiership of Sir Robert Peel, a man of great knowledge, ability, and an open mind. Years before, while still a young man, he had shown his economic judgment when in 1819 he had helped to bring about the resumption of cash payments, instead of payments only in notes, by the Bank of England. In 1826 he had amended the Criminal Law, abolishing the old exaggerated punishments for small offences, and had created the modern police force—the "peelers"; and in 1829 he had supported the Duke of Wellington in the passage of the Catholic Relief Bill. He remained a strong Tory and was against the Reform Bill in 1831-32; but once it had passed into law he accepted it as irrevocable, and set himself to rebuild the edifice of the Tory (or Conservative) party on this basis. His great chance came at last when the Whig Premier, Lord Melbourne, resigned in

1841, on the defeat of the Whigs at the General Election. As Prime Minister Peel showed all his best qualities of conscientiousness, industry, and open-mindedness. When the results of the potato famine in Ireland convinced him at last that the Corn Laws were really a hindrance to the welfare of the people, he determined to have them repealed or to resign from office. Supported by Queen Victoria, he carried his reluctant colleagues (or most of them) with him; and in January, 1846, the Corn Laws were repealed by Parliament. The duties were to diminish annually till, by the end of three years, they stood at *is. per quarter*. Even this nominal duty only lasted till 1869, when it was abolished by Gladstone. After the Repeal the price of bread came down only slowly, but the decline was steady, and in time the sixpenny 4-pound loaf became a fact. Meanwhile exports of manufactured goods were enormously increased, and consequently employment greatly increased too.

In the period after the Reform Bill and in the early years of Queen Victoria the Government found great difficulty in governing Ireland; indeed, this difficulty beset British Cabinets all through the nineteenth and part of the twentieth centuries. Between 1833 and 1838 the chief grievance of the Irish peasantry, most of whom were Roman Catholics, was the obligation to pay a tenth part of the produce of their land to the clergy of the Church of Ireland, which was a Protestant Church. The discontent produced a state of affairs almost like civil war—it was called the "Tithe War." The peasantry were hard hit by having to give up a tithe of their produce, paid in kind; the parson was equally hard hit when he could not collect his tithe. At last, after many attempts made in Parliament to settle the question, the Irish Tithe- Commutation Act was passed (1838), drafted on the same lines as the English Tithe Commutation Act of 1836. Thus in Ireland tithe was converted to a charge paid in money, not in kind, and fixed in value over a period of years, instead of varying with the current

price of grain. The practical effect of the Act was to make tithe a sort of extra rent paid by the peasant from his land.

No sooner was one grievance dealt with than another took up the attention of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. O'Connell, since the Catholic Emancipation Act, had felt himself encouraged to demand the repeal of the Union. In 1841 O'Connell became the first Catholic Mayor of Dublin, and the agitation for Repeal became stronger; what was later called the "Home Rule Movement" now definitely started. Ireland has always been a land of men with keen wits and quick enthusiasm; and now a number of such men, including Charles Gavan Duffy and John Dillon, founded a party called the "Young Ireland party," with a newspaper, the *Nation*, to arouse all Irishmen, Protestant as well as Catholic, to a sense of their common nationality. When O'Connell told a vast crowd at Tara (1843) that within a year they would see an Irish Parliament restored on College Green, Sir Robert Peel thought that things had gone far enough. In February, 1844, he had O'Connell arrested on a charge of conspiracy; but though the "Liberator" was condemned in the High Court, the House of Lords reversed the decision. O'Connell died three years later at Genoa, when he was going on pilgrimage to Rome.

Peel set his powerful mind to overcome the troubles of Ireland. In 1844 he appointed a Royal Commission, under the Earl of Devon, to investigate the land system of Ireland. The Commission made a thorough investigation and published a valuable Report, which became the basis of all the great land reforms later carried out in Ireland by the British Government. Peel also established three University Colleges in Belfast, Galway, and Cork, and increased the grant to the priest's seminary at Maynooth from £9,000 to £26,000.

When in 1845-46 the potato blight ruined the chief Irish crop, the Government did all it could to alleviate the lot of the Irish. It gave £10,000,000 for immediate relief, and it

had the Corn Laws repealed. Yet in 1848, inspired by the example of the Revolution in France, Smith O'Brien, one of the Young Ireland party, raised rebellion. It was a futile affair; O'Brien was captured, convicted, and sent to Tasmania. He received a pardon in 1854, but was not allowed to enter the United Kingdom. In 1849 the Government made a step in land reform by having the Encumbered Estates Bill passed into law. This enabled the landlords of heavily mortgaged lands, which they could not develop properly, to sell their land. Thus a free market in land was established.

The early years of Queen Victoria were much stirred by movements in the Church. In 1833 two Fellows of Oriel College, Oxford, John Henry Newman and Richard Hurrell Froude, had gone on a visit to Rome. They were moved by the beauty of the religious services at which they were able to be present; they were impressed with the dignity of the Roman Church, with its long history, with its widespread boundaries; and they returned to England with the idea of restoring the English Church to a similar consciousness, to a realization of its ancient tradition, and its position as part of the Universal Catholic Church. After he returned to Oxford, Newman and his friends began writing a series of tracts to explain their views about the English Church. They pointed out particularly that in the essentials of true religion, in its doctrine and in its ritual, the English Church was not an isolated national Church, but part of the Church Universal.¹

The result of this Oxford Movement (or Tractarian Movement, as it was often called) was to increase the sense of devotion and reverence among the English Church clergy, and also among the laity. Saintliness, which had always been the clerical ideal, became, perhaps, more con-

¹ See especially Tract No. 90, written by Newman and published in 1841.

sciously aimed at by the average clergyman. The outward manifestations of the Church, its music and its architecture, became more devotional than in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. "High Churchmanship" became an established fact. At the same time, some of the people most influenced by the Oxford Movement felt drawn to pass over, as did Newman himself in 1845, to the Roman Catholic Church. Thus the first twenty years of Queen Victoria's reign were marked not merely by the Oxford Movement, but by some revival of the Roman Catholic Church itself in Great Britain. In 1850 Pope Pius IX. took the step of re-establishing Roman Catholic Bishops for England. This act caused great excitement in the country, and in 1851 Lord John Russell, who was Prime Minister at the time, thought it well to have a Bill passed through Parliament, to be called the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, declaring the Bull of 1850 to be null and void in England, and thus making the use of the Roman Catholic Bishops¹ titles illegal. This Act, however, although in the Statute Book, was never put into effect, and was ultimately repealed in 1871. Newman became a Cardinal and lived, much venerated for his personal saintliness and admired for his historical and theological writings, until 1890. Another English Church clergyman who went over to Rome (in 1851) was Henry Edward Manning (1808-1892). Manning's influence was as great socially as it was in ecclesiastical affairs. He succeeded Cardinal Wiseman as Archbishop of Westminster in 1865, and wielded a great influence among the poor of London, among his best-known public acts being his attempts to settle in favour of the workmen the great Dockers' Strike of 1889.

It was perhaps this revived energy of Roman Catholicism in England (and also in Scotland) in the early years of Queen Victoria's reign, coinciding as it did with the Oxford Movement, which contributed to stimulate the Protestants outside the Church of England to keep their lamps lit **and**

their loins girded. But in truth the Protestant bodies had never lost the renewed religious impulse which had been given to them by John Wesley and the Wesleyan Movement. The vigour of the Nonconformist Churches in England was shown, among other ways, in their contributions to education, like the establishment of the University of London in 1835, just as the Oxford Movement bore fruit, among other ways, in the establishment of Public Schools, such as Marlborough (1845) and Radley (1847). It was in this period too, that, acting under the influence of Dr. Thomas Chalmers, Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh, a large section of the members of the Church of Scotland (which is Presbyterian) brought about the "Disruption" by seceding and establishing the Free Church of Scotland (1843).

The splendour of the first part of the reign of Queen Victoria may be judged from some of the peaceful masterpieces which it produced, like Carlyle's *French Revolution* and Dickens's *Pickwick Papers* in 1837, Darwin's *Voyage of the Beagle*, and Turner's *Fighting Temeraire* in 1839, Browning's *Pippa Passes* in 1841, Macaulay's *Essay on Addison* and Mill's *System of Logic* in 1843, Disraeli's *Coningsby* and Stanley's *Life of Arnold* in 1844, Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* and Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* in 1847, Macaulay's *History of England* and Mill's *Political Economy* in 1848, Tennyson's *In Memoriam* in 1850, Herbert Spencer's *Social Statics* in 1851, Millais's *Huguenot* and *Ophelia* in 1852. The Great Exhibition, to illustrate the work of all the world, was held in Hyde Park in 1851; it was an idea of the Prince Consort's, with the object of bringing men of all races together and preparing peace for the world. Few people dreamed that in two years a great European War was to break forth.

The Crimean War is one of the outstanding incidents in the Eastern Question—that question or problem which has

caused so many convulsions in Europe. The aim of Great Britain and France in engaging in the war was to prevent Turkey from becoming a protectorate of, or from being absorbed by, Russia. Between 1830 and 1840, in the time of the greatness of Mehemet Ali of Egypt, the Tsar Nicholas I. had nearly made a sort of protectorate of Turkey, but had been checked, without a war, chiefly by Great Britain. But by the year 1853 he was ready to make another bid for Constantinople, or at least for some direct political control in Turkey.

The first cloud on the political horizon in the East came with a dispute between monks of the Greek Church on the one hand and of the Latin (or Roman Catholic) Church on the other, at Bethlehem. The monks of the Greek Church were in possession of the church at Bethlehem which was built over the spot where our Lord was born; but the Latin monks claimed the right to have their own keys to the church. Syria and Palestine were in the Turkish Empire, and the dispute about the "Holy Places"^M had to be carried on under the somewhat puzzled authority of the Turkish Government. Eventually the French gained what they claimed; the Latin monks received a key to the church at Bethlehem and to the Grotto of the Sacred Manger (May, 1853).

The Tsar Nicholas I. was a proud man, and he could not tolerate this rebuff in the Holy Land. So he put forward a counter-claim—namely, that the Sultan should recognize the Tsar as the Protector of all the followers of the Greek Church within the Turkish Empire. It was very difficult for the Sultan to admit such a claim, for the members of the Greek Church within his Empire formed almost a distinct nation, or even several nations; so that if the Tsar was their protector he would have the right of interfering between the Sultan and a large number of his subjects. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the Christian population of Turkey needed some form of protection from their

Moslem masters. The Sultan, however, felt that he could not give away to Russia his right to manage his own Empire; and in this view he was supported by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the influential British Ambassador at Constantinople, who believed that it was necessary for Europe that the Turk should be maintained, free and independent, at Constantinople. Thus the Crimean War began; for when the Tsar Nicholas received the Porte's refusal to his demand for a protectorate over the Greek Church in Turkey, he sent his army into Moldavia and Wallachia, two self-governing Principalities which were under Turkish suzerainty (July, 1853). Although this action did not amount to war, for there were no Turkish troops in the Principalities, it added fuel to the fire which was already kindled in the excitable breasts of the Turks. A regular *'war-fever '* began to rage at Constantinople. The idea of a "Holy War" of Islam against Russia was in the air. The British and French Governments, by sending their fleets to Constantinople, plainly offered support to the Turks in their resistance to the Russian demands. The match was put to the magazine of war when some Turkish transports taking troops over the Black Sea to Batoum were met by a Russian squadron off Sinope and sunk. The British Cabinet, under the premiership of Lord Aberdeen, and the French Government of Louis Napoleon (who had got himself made Emperor of the French in December, 1852), ordered their fleets to enter the Black Sea (January, 1854). An ultimatum was sent to St. Petersburg, demanding that the Tsar should withdraw his troops from the Principalities. When the time allowed by the ultimatum expired without any answer of the Russian Government, the two Western Powers and the mighty Russian Empire went to war (March, 1854).

After the war had started the British Government, in order to justify themselves in the eyes of their own people and of Europe, published the Reports sent by Sir Hamilton Seymour, their Ambassador at St. Petersburg, in 1853. On

various occasions, at grand official receptions and in private interviews, the Tsar had confidentially proposed that Turkey—"the Sick Man," as he called him—should be partitioned between Great Britain and Russia; the share of Great Britain was, among other things, to be Egypt. The British Government had made no response to these overtures, which really amounted to a conspiracy against the peace of Europe. Thus, when the war started they were able to show that Russia had all along been aiming, not merely at protecting the interests of the Greek Church subjects of the Porte, but at carving up the Empire of Turkey and wiping it, like Poland, off the map of Europe.

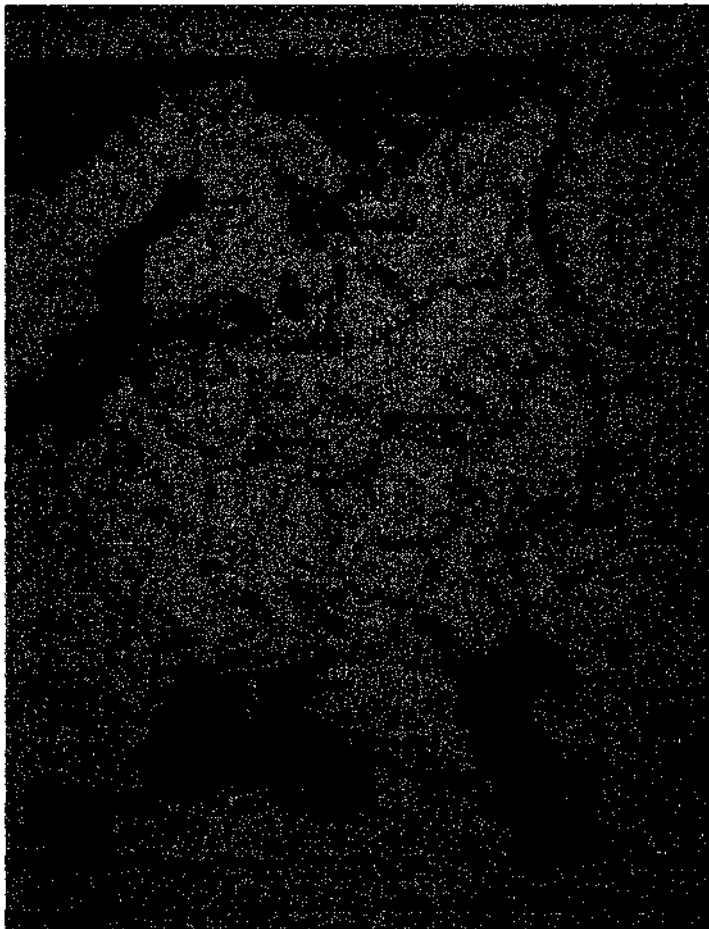
Although the war had begun in 1853, and by the spring of 1854 Great Britain and France were involved in it, nevertheless the two Allies did no fighting until six months later. It was the Turks that had to bear the brunt of the Russian attack, but they were greatly helped by a few British volunteers who, without any authority from the British Government, went early to the scene of action. It was largely through the leadership of three Englishmen, Captain Charles Nasmith and Lieutenants Butler and Ballard, that the Turkish garrison of Silistria held out for weeks and finally beat off the Russian army, which had crossed the Danube and invaded Bulgaria (June, 1854). When the Russian army went back over the Danube into the Principalities of Wallachia, the Turks followed, and won the battle of Giurgevo (July 7). After this the Russian army withdrew altogether from the Principalities.

Meanwhile the British and French troops had been disembarking from their transports at Varna, on the Bulgarian coast, and getting ready for the campaign. But now the campaign in Bulgaria and the Principalities was over. Could the war stop? Hardly yet, because a final decision had not been reached. The Russian strength had scarcely been touched; she had still great masses of troops slowly coming to their appointed places; she had no idea of owning

defeat; and if peace were patched up now, she could choose any favourable moment for renewing her demands on Turkey.

It was reasoning like this that induced Lord Palmerston, who was Home Secretary in Lord Aberdeen's Government, to propose that the war should be completed, and Russia forced to abandon outright her claims on Turkey, by an Allied invasion of the Crimea, with the object of seizing and destroying Sebastopol, the great Russian naval arsenal. The design was approved by the British and French Governments, and in September the Allied fleets, with the troop transports, left Varna. The British commander was Lord Raglan; the French, Marechal St. Arnaud.

The Russian navy made no attempt to stop the Allied fleets sailing over the Black Sea, and on September 14 about 25,000 British, 25,000 French, and between 5,000 and 10,000 Turkish troops were landed at Eupatoria, in the Crimea. After resting and preparing themselves for a day or two, the armies started their march towards Sebastopol. On September 20 they attacked and drove back in disorder the army of the Russian commander-in-chief, Prince Menschikoff, which was aligned along the low hills behind the River Alma. The battle of the Alma laid Sebastopol open to the Allies, if they had pressed swiftly forward (as Lord Raglan proposed; but Marechal St. Arnaud felt that he must rest his fatigued troops. When the Allied armies did appear before Sebastopol, the defences of the fortress had been strengthened; the opportunity of seizing Sebastopol by a quick invasion (as Palmerston originally planned) had been lost, and no prospect remained but that of a long and costly siege. To this the Allies now settled down. They must bring the war to a finish; and this they had to do in a strange country, ill-supplied with food or equipment (for they had never meant to stay long), and in hourly danger of being themselves captured or driven headlong into the sea. It was a heroic episode.



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE CRIMEAN WAR.

The siege of Sebastopol occupied nearly a year. The fortress was splendidly defended by its commander, General Gortchakoff (the brother of the more famous Russian Chancellor); its system of trenches was designed and organized by a great military engineer, Colonel Todleben; the Russian fleet was sunk in order to block up the harbour, and its men, under Admiral Kornilov, were brought into the fortress to increase the garrison. Outside, towards the centre of the Crimea, Prince Menschikoff had the army which he had withdrawn thither after the battle of the Alma; and every week added to the size and strength of his forces, as reinforcements came in steadily, though slowly (Russia had no railways then), from the centre of the Tsar's Empire. Thus the Allied armies, penned-in between the beleaguered fortress and Menschikoff's army without, was both besieging and besieged. Only the command of the sea and the secure communications with home maintained by the Allied fleets made the task of Lord Raglan and his French colleague possible.

Repeated efforts were made by Prince Menschikoff to destroy, or at least to break through, the Allied lines. The first great assault was delivered against the British army, which held the ground on the south of Sebastopol, with its base at the inlet of Balaclava (October 25, 1854). In a desperate battle, heroically fought on both sides, the Russians were beaten, though they were several times within an inch of success. The battle is deservedly famous for the stand made by the "thin red line" of the 93rd Foot under General Colin Campbell, and for the magnificent charges of the "Heavy Brigade" under General Scarlett and the "Light Brigade" under Lord Cardigan.

After the battle of Balaclava came that of the Heights of Inkerman (November 5). The assault was delivered mainly against the British, but the French also came into action, with great credit and at the cost of heavy losses. Again the Russians failed to break through.

After the battle of Inkerman, the bitterly cold and wet Crimean winter made any further warfare or movement for the time being impossible. The soldiers, French, British, and Turkish, bore the prolonged miseries of trench warfare with splendid courage and cheerfulness, but day by day sickness laid numbers of them low. When the New Year came about half were ill and incapable of remaining at their posts; some could be treated behind the British lines, but most of the sick had to be evacuated from the Crimea and taken in ships to Scutari (opposite Constantinople), where hospitals were improvised for them. Unprepared for war on a great scale, the War Office had neither the men nor the material to meet the enormous demands made upon it; but Miss Florence Nightingale went out (November, 1854), with other ladies, to Scutari, and soon the British hospitals became models of their kind. Meanwhile reinforcements, which were obtained with the greatest difficulty under the voluntary system, were steadily being landed in the Crimea, to make good the losses caused by the soldiers' deaths in action and by disease.

In January, 1855, Lord Aberdeen's Government (a coalition of Whigs and "Peelite" Tories) fell, owing to the criticism which Parliament directed against its management (or mismanagement) of the war. Lord Palmerston assumed office as Prime Minister; there was no one else but this cheerful and brave old statesman (he was now seventy years old) who could face the disastrous war and carry it to a successful conclusion. His energy soon made itself felt, and before the summer came round the British army in the Crimea was equipped and fed in a way which aroused the admiration and envy of the French; but for this Palmerston must share the credit with Sidney Herbert, the "soldiers' friend," who in Lord Aberdeen's Government had laboured so whole-heartedly (losing his health in the labour) to make better the lot of the soldiers in the Crimea.

The summer of 1855 was to see the end of the war. In May the kingdom of Sardinia joined the Allies, and General La Marmora brought 15,000 Piedmontese to the Crimea. The grip of the Allies tightened on the fortress. A last great effort of the Russian field armies to break through the French and Italian lines at the River Tchernaya ended in failure, and Sebastopol was doomed. On September 8 the grand assault was made; the French carried off the chief honours of the day, for they captured the Malakoff, the great redoubt of the Sebastopol defences. During the night General Gortchakoff evacuated the fortress and took his men safely away by land. The Allied troops had never been numerous enough completely to enclose the fortress.

The war was now practically at an end. About 20,000 British troops had been killed or died of disease; the French losses were still greater; the Russian dead numbered over 100,000 men. The Tsar Nicholas I. had died in March (1855); his successor, Alexander II., was inclined to make peace. Moreover, Napoleon III. could not afford to go on with a war which was not proving to be brilliantly successful for the arms of France and her Allies. The British Government, on the other hand, had only just reached the acme of her military strength; always a slow starter, Great Britain only gradually puts forth her real might from the depths of her enormous reserves. But Palmerston, "full of fight" as he was, had to be content with a war won, but incompletely won; for Napoleon would not go further with him. A Congress of Powers (which included the belligerents and also Austria and, later, Prussia) was convened at Paris. It met in February, 1856, and by March 30 it had completed the treaties which ended the war. The main Treaty of Paris decided the questions on which the war had started against Russia. The Tsar (and all the other signing Powers) renounced any claim to interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey, and engaged to respect that country's territorial integrity. In return the Sultan promised generous

treatment to his Christian subjects. The Straits of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus were closed to the ships of war of all Powers except Turkey, so long as Turkey remained at peace. The River Danube was opened to the commerce of all nations, and a European Commission (which lasted till 1920) was established to make it navigable. Turkey was solemnly declared to be a member of the Concert of Europe.

The first twenty years of the reign of Queen Victoria thus ended with a war, or rather with two wars, for scarcely had hostilities ceased in the Crimea when the Sepoy Mutiny in India cast its red trail over a large portion of that country.

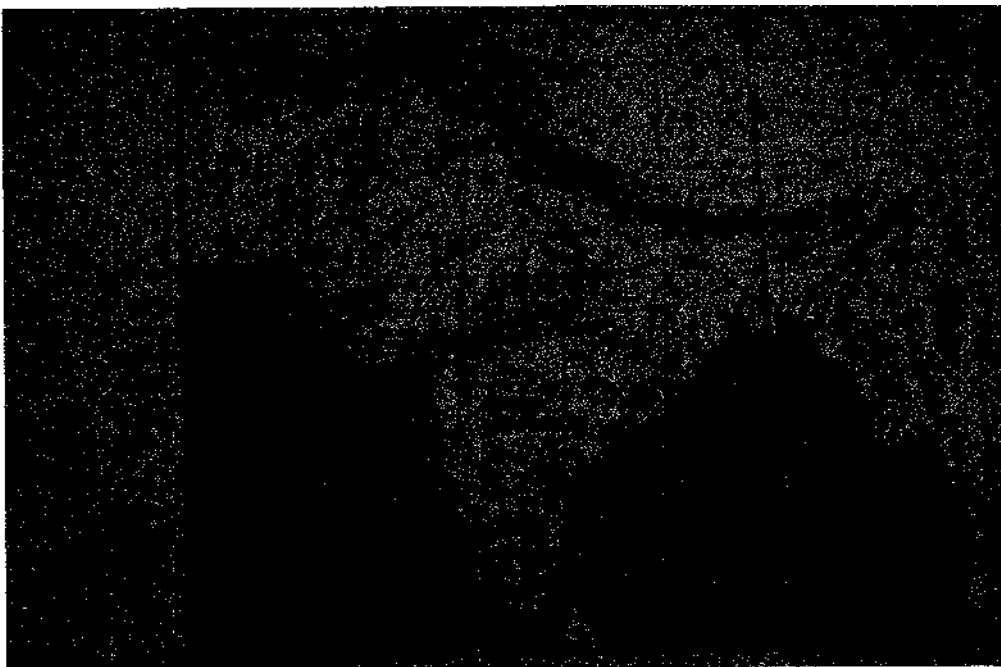
The record of the British in India, whatever be the ultimate result, cannot fail to arouse feelings of justifiable pride throughout the whole Empire. Beginning with a small trading factory towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the influence of the British had grown steadily, but still very slowly, till the time of Clive. When that ardent but melancholy genius came to India, the East India Company was still almost wholly a trading concern. But everywhere in India, outside the small settlements of the English and French Companies, the fabric of Indian society was falling to pieces. The Mogul Empire had been disrupted; ambitious swordsmen were striving to carve out new realms for themselves; property had become wholly unsafe; and the people, rich or poor, knew not where to look for help.

In this general disintegration of Indian political and economic life, the English and French "factories," with their practical, resolute business officials, were islands of peace and prosperity. Order and anarchy cannot exist side by side; they are bound to react on each other, and in their mutual impact one or other must give way. Thus it was that, sometimes by hostilities and sometimes by alliances and friendships, the British, after the advent of Clive, quickly extended their spheres of influence. The French Company was faced with the same dangers and opportuni-

ties, but the genius of Dupleix was not equal to the genius of Clive; and while in Europe France and England were righting the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War, in India the contemporary struggle was, by the year? 1760, decided in favour of the British.

After the period of battles, after Plassey (1757) and Wandiwash (1760), came the period of organization. The first man seriously to take in hand the task of combining British and Indian administration in the territories which the Company had won was Clive himself, when he became Governor of Bengal in 1765. In 1772 a Governor-Generalship of all the Company's territories was created, and Warren Hastings, an Anglo-Indian official of proved experience, was appointed. Under him the Civil Service, was further developed, and a High Court of Justice and a judicial code were established. The Mahratta and Mysore Wars, fought under Hastings, Cornwallis (Governor-General, 1786-1793), and Wellesley (Governor-General, 1798-1805), only resulted in further extensions of the Company's territories, so that when the Napoleonic Wars ended in Europe, Great Britain was undoubtedly supreme in India.

In the forty years after the great wars, British India still went on growing. In 1825-26 the first Burmese War, when Lord Amherst was Governor-General, ended with the annexation of Aracan and Tenasserim. The next Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, an earnest reforming Whig, built schools and colleges and abolished suttee. Towards the end of this time, in 1834, Macaulay came out and carried forward Bentinck's plans for education. From 1837 to 1842 the East India Company was engaged in the First Afghan War, marked by the complete destruction of General Elphinstone's army in the Jagddalak Pass in January, 1842. The magnificent defence of Jellalabad by General Sale, from November, 1841, to April, 1842, somewhat restored the reputation of the British; and before the war ended Kabul had been occupied by Generals Nott and



OF INDIA, 1763-1858, TO ILLUSTRATE THE GROWTH OF BRITISH INDIA, AND THE INDIAN

Pollock. But the policy of maintaining a British military force in Afghanistan was abandoned.

In 1843 the Sind War resulted in General Napier's conquest of that land at the battle of Meanee, a terrific contest, fought with great valour on both sides. In 1845 one of the most serious of all Britain's Indian wars occurred. The great Sikh leader Ran jit Singh (born 1780), who had always been friendly with the British, died in 1839. Those who followed him—an aristocracy of Sikh chiefs—did not adhere to his policy; and in 1845 the Sikhs came out of the Punjaub, across the Sutlej. Hard-fought battles, in which the British just managed to gain the victory at Moodkee and Ferozeshah (both in December, 1845) and Aliwal (January, 1846), resulted in the Sikhs having to go back across the Sutlej. One more tremendous contest at Sobraon, also on the Sutlej, completed the campaign. The Punjaub was made into a protectorate of the East India Company.

There was to be yet another Sikh war (or rebellion, as the Sikhs were now under British authority) in 1848, during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Dalhousie. As in the first war, the British General in command was Lord Gough, a veteran of the Peninsular War. Gough won a pyrrhic victory at Chillianwallah (January, 1849); but at Guzerat in February the magnificent fighting forces of the Sikhs were at last definitely broken. The Punjaub was then incorporated in British India; the military traditions and the loyalty of the Sikh regiments, which were subsequently formed for service in the Indian army, show that their ancient spirit is not dead.

In 1852 a short war (the Second Burmese War), provoked by the King of Ava, ended with the annexation of Pegu (of which the chief town is Rangoon) to the East India Company's possessions.

The record of all these wars must not blind us to the fact that the true history of British India is not wholly or mainly one of fighting, but of peaceful development and organiza-

tion, of the irrigation of waterless country, the building of roads and railways, the dealing out of pure justice, the advancement of education. Even the wars have their peaceful aspect, for without them India would never have become one State, but would have remained a welter of jarring dynasties. The greatest organizer of all the Governors-General was Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General from 1848 to 1856. It was he who built the first railway and laid the first telegraph in India. It was he who extended the schools, introduced the *anna* post, and reformed abuses in the Indian Native States. But the pace of reform was too fast, and Dalhousie had scarcely retired when the appalling tragedy of the Mutiny occurred.

The Mutiny was not a rising among the peoples of India; it was a movement thought out by clever agitators, and carried out entirely within the army. During the Crimean War the bazaars of India had been excited by rumours of British defeats; the destruction of Elphinstone's army by the Afghans had even before this led the Sepoys to suspect that the British were not invincible. Added to this were social troubles in the East India Company's army. Many of the native troops had got deeply into debt. The religious scruples of the infantry were violated by the issue of a cartridge which, in order that it might work in the grooved barrel of the new-pattern rifle, was greased with cow's or pig's fat. Moreover, a general feeling of unrest had been engendered by some of Dalhousie's reforms, particularly, it appears, by the railway, where men of all castes were necessarily, to some extent, mingled together. The incorporation into British India of Oude, Jhansi, and other Native States, had caused discontent and anger among people who thus lost their independence. And, finally, the Sepoys outnumbered the British soldiers by about five to one, so that, according to the promptings of the persuasive agitators, they had an easy task if they rose in mutiny. The **moment**

chosen for the outbreak was opportune for the mutineers, inasmuch as Great Britain was at war with the Chinese Government (1856-1860), and so British troops which would have been available as reinforcements in India were being diverted to China.

The Mutiny started among the Indian troops at Barrackpur, sixteen miles from Calcutta, in March, 1857. Like a flame it spread from cantonment to cantonment, As rapidly as possible the European men and women were concentrated with the British troops and such native troops as remained loyal at safe places. Calcutta remained the seat of the Government, but Delhi, the splendid great city, once the capital of the Moguls, was soon in the hands of the mutineers. The rising was mainly confined to Bengal and the Deccan, where the Mahrattas had not forgotten their former wars against the British. But the Sikhs, the most martial race of all India and the latest conquered by Britain, remained staunch to their new fidelity.

The strong men in the country of the Sikhs were John Nicholson and Herbert Edwards, young soldiers, and John Lawrence, a civil official, Chief Commissioner of the Punjab. These men trusted the Sikhs, whose love they had won, and organized a column for the recovery of Delhi. A long siege followed, when about 5,000 troops, mainly Indian, led by British officers, attempted for four months to take a city of 150,000 inhabitants, garrisoned by 20,000 mutinous but well-trained Sepoys. The incessant strain, the climate, as much as the enemy, caused the death of many, of whom none was more lamented than John Nicholson, the soul of the attack, cut off in the prime of his ardent genius in the great storming of Delhi on September 14, 1857.

Delhi lies on the Jumna, one of the huge tributaries of the Ganges. Away to the south and east, on the Ganges itself, lies Cawnpore. Here, instigated by the Nana Sahib, a Mahratta prince, the native soldiery mutinied, besieged the few men and their women and children, and, when these

capitulated on terms, massacred them—about 800 in all (June 27 and July 15, 1857).

In Lucknow, the capital of Oude, about forty-two miles north-east of Cawnpore, the British, under Sir Henry Lawrence, held out in the Residency for three months against the mutineers. Henry Lawrence himself died from a wound during the siege. Lucknow was relieved for the first time in September by General Henry Havelock, who marched 120 miles and fought four battles in nine days. But the relieving force and the inmates of the Residency were again besieged until General Sir Colin Campbell, a veteran who had fought in practically all the wars since 1807, again relieved the heroic garrison, after, with less than 5,000 troops, he had fought his way through the lines of 60,000 rebels (November, 1857).

The last serious fighting was in the Central Provinces, where, although the rulers Sindia and Holkar were loyal, many native troops rose in revolt. The rising here, especially dangerous because the mutineers had gained possession of Gwalior and other strong places, was suppressed in a magnificently conducted campaign by General Sir Hugh Rose (afterwards Lord Strathnairne).

The horrors perpetrated on European men, women, and children shocked the people of Great Britain, and seemed to bring India closer to their hearts. It was resolved by the Government, and approved by Parliament, on August 2, 1858, to do away with the East India Company, and to make the British Government directly responsible for India. The trading rights of the Company had been abolished in 1833; since then it had been merely a governing corporation. Its long career now came to an end, and a Secretary of State for India (with a seat in the Cabinet) took its place. Yet some people regretted the passing away of the Company, with its long experience and its heroic traditions; and John Stuart Mill, himself an official of the Company, and one of the profoundest philosophers of that or any age, wrote strongly in favour of retaining it.

CHAPTER VIII

THE VICTORIAN AGE : TO THE EDUCATION ACT OF 1870

THE period from the end of the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny until the retirement of Lord Beaconsfield in 1880 was, on the whole, one of quiet progress in many directions. The Chinese War (which began with the seizure of a British schooner, or *lorcha*—the *Arrow*—in 1856) was finished by 1860. The French and British forces, which were acting together, entered Peking, and China was made open to foreign trade (1860). After this, with the exception of a successful war in Afghanistan, there were no serious hostilities in the British Empire till the period had ended.

Unfortunately, Queen Victoria was to lose her chief counsellor, Prince Albert, her husband. This prince, the second son of Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, was married to Queen Victoria in 1840. A man of refined tastes and of wide knowledge, he exercised an influence in Britain that was all for good. The position which he occupied was difficult to fill with dignity; for although the husband of the Queen of England, he was not King. He had no share in the Government, had no prerogatives, no constitutional powers. Nevertheless, he played a great part in public life, as a patron of the arts, a promoter of education, a leader in charitable enterprises. As adviser and confidential secretary to the Queen, he exercised a strong influence upon the policy of the country. When Queen Victoria came to the throne the power of the Crown in politics was considerable, and under the judicious impulse of the Prince Consort it steadily increased. But it is a quite unwarranted exaggeration to say, as has been suggested, that had he lived longer the English Crown would have become as autocratic as the Prussian.

Throughout the year 1860 a crisis had existed in the United States over the question of " State Rights " and of slavery. The States of the North and Middle West did not permit slavery within their borders, but those in the South still did. Accordingly, after prolonged controversy on this subject, the Southern States announced their determination to leave the Union (that is, the United States of America) and to form a Confederacy of their own (April, 1861). The Northern States, under the Presidency of Abraham Lincoln, denied that any State had the right to secede from the Union, and the Civil War took place to prevent a disruption.

The sympathy of the British people was divided, although, perhaps, on the whole, in favour of the South. Officially the country was strictly neutral, although the Cabinet recognized the people of the South as " belligerents " not as rebels. On November 8, 1861, the British mail steamer *Trent*, sailing from Havana to England, was stopped by a Northern warship, and from it were forcibly taken Messrs. Mason and Slidell, two envoys of the Southern States who were among the *Trent's* passengers. This violation of a British neutral ship, which was carrying no contraband of any kind, all but produced a war between Great Britain and the Northern States. The Guards were sent to Canada; the Government of the Northern States refused to apologize or to release the two deputies. A dispatch was drafted by Lord John Russell, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, which amounted practically to an ultimatum. Yet there were influences in Washington working for peace with Britain, and peace might still be preserved if an attitude of calmness and reasonableness was encouraged, and if due allowances were made for the sensitiveness of the American Government. Before it was sent from London the dispatch was submitted, in accordance with the custom of the Constitution, to the Queen, who showed it to Prince Albert for his approval. The Prince advised that

the most severely worded paragraph should be redrafted, and he suggested a form of words which would allow the Americans to recede from their position without loss of dignity. Thus, in the guise of an olive-branch the dispatch reached Washington, where its terms were approved by the President and his Cabinet. Thus a war, which would have estranged Britain and America for generations, and which would also have enabled the secession of the Southern States to become permanent, was averted. A week or two later Prince Albert died of typhoid fever (December 14, 1861), at the age of forty-two.

The "Trent Affair" was not the only incident which troubled the relations of Britain with the United States during the Civil War. A steamer built at Messrs. Laird's yard at Birkenhead was, owing to a mistake of Lord John Russell, allowed to sail from England without giving a guarantee that it would not be used in the war. This ship, the *Alabama*, was, when at sea, converted into an armed privateer of the Southern States of America. For nearly two years (1862-1864) it preyed upon the shipping of its enemies before it was sunk by a warship of the Northern States. The Washington Government protested that Great Britain, as a neutral Power, was responsible for the beligerent acts committed by the *Alabama*. The affair was ultimately submitted to a court of arbitration at Geneva, where the United States Government was awarded compensation, to be paid by Great Britain, to the extent of three and a quarter million pounds sterling (1871). The decision, although unfavourably received in Great Britain, was undoubtedly just.

Long before this decision was given the American Civil War had come to an end*, The superior resources of the North gradually wore down the resistance of the South; the campaigns of General Sherman and General Grant in 1864-65 left nothing more for the heroic Southern General, Lee, to do but surrender with all the troops that he had left—

there were only 28,000 of them—to Grant at Appomattox on April 9, 1865. Less than a week later, on the evening of April 14, President Lincoln was assassinated by a Southern " rebel " in the theatre at Washington, when he was seeing a performance of *Our American Cousin*,

All this time stirring events were going on in Europe, although Great Britain was only an onlooker. The two old Empires, Russia and Austria, were quiescent; Russia was recovering from the Crimean War, while Austria had not yet got over the effects of the Revolution of 1848-49. There were three other States that were filling ambitious roles; one, was France (an old State, but a young Empire); the second was Prussia (a kingdom since the beginning of the eighteenth century, and soon to become the head of a great Empire); the third was Italy, a kingdom which was still in the making, and was known in 1859-60 as the Kingdom of Sardinia.

It was in 1848 that the star of Louis Napoleon, nephew of the great Napoleon I., began to brighten. In that year occurred a Revolution in Paris which had for its first result the establishment of the Second French Republic. After a disastrous experiment in Socialism, the Provisional Government gave place to the Presidency of Louis Napoleon [December, 1848]. On the night of December 2, 1851, the now celebrated *coup d'etat* occurred, when all the most prominent Republicans were seized by the President's police, and the Republic was practically converted into a despotism. Lord Palmerston, who was at this time Foreign Secretary in Lord John Russell's Cabinet, on his own authority informed the French Ambassador in London that the new Government in Paris would be recognized by Great Britain. This was a breach of the custom of the Constitution,, for the whole Cabinet is responsible for policy, and its consent must be asked before a Minister takes any decisive step. For breaking this rule Lord Palmerston had to

resign his place in the Cabinet. He was succeeded by Lord Granville as Foreign Secretary.

This dismissal of Lord Palmerston did no harm to Louis Napoleon, who went steadily onwards from strength to strength. On December 2, 1852, he became Napoleon III., Emperor of the French. Under the skilful and prudent diplomacy of his cousin, Count Walewski, who was Minister for Foreign Affairs of the new Empire, a cordial understanding was established with England; so that when the Eastern Question became threatening, and then gave rise to the Crimean War, France and Britain stood together, side by side. After the Crimean War the *entente* between the two countries subsisted for some time, and then gradually faded away, perhaps because the cautious, conservative Walewski was removed from the French Foreign Office at the beginning of the year 1860 by Napoleon III., who henceforth dictated foreign policy himself. The Emperor's attention was at this time absorbed by Italy.

This country had, according to the treaties of 1815 (which ended the Napoleonic Wars), remained divided into the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily in the south of the Peninsula, the States of the Church in the centre and north-east, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in the middle west, and in the north the Duchies of Parma and Modena and the Kingdom of Sardinia (which included Piedmont and Savoy). Besides these independent States, the great provinces of Lombardy and Venetia belonged to the alien Empire of Austria.

The Italians, though thus divided into separate States, had a common feeling of nationality; they were conscious that they were one people, united in race, language, history, literature, religion, and geography. Attempts had been made by Italians to throw off the rule of their sovereigns, with the object of making one republican State of Italy; but, failing in these attempts, the " patriots " had become convinced that Italian nationalism must centre its hopes round the strong Kingdom of Sardinia. Sardinia was ruled by a

vigorous military King, Victor Emmanuel I I L , whose Minister, Count Cavour, had probably the most ingenious mind of all European statesmen. In 1858 (Pact of Plombieres, July 22), Cavour had received the promise of the support of the Emperor Napoleon I I I . , who dreamed of following in what he held to be the footsteps of the First Napoleon, and of making Italy free.

Napoleon I I I . had had this on his mind for years, but had delayed until (as it seems) his conscience was stirred by an Italian " patriot," Orsini, who flung a bomb under the Emperor's carriage, but luckily failed to injure him (January, 1858). Orsini's plot had been devised in London, which was at this time the home of foreign political refugees and exiles. The French Government protested against this abuse of England's sanctuary, and to satisfy the French Emperor, Palmerston, who wished to be friendly with him, introduced into Parliament a Bill to make anyone who *conspired* to bring about a murder punishable as a criminal. This Bill, generally known as " The Conspiracy to Murder Bill," proved to be so unpopular (as being the result of the demands, almost of the threats, of a foreign Government) that Palmerston was actually defeated in the House of Commons, and had to resign office. Thus when the war of Sardinia and France against Austria opened at the beginning of the summer of 1859, the Whigs were no longer in office in Great Britain, but Lord Derby's Tory Ministry directed British affairs. This was, however, only a brief Tory interval: Lord Derby thought that it was now time to extend the provisions of the old Reform Act of 1832; so he introduced a new Reform Bill, and was defeated. Palmerston who, although a Whig, was against any further reform, again became Prime Minister. •

Conservative (although belonging to the Whig and Liberal party) at home, Palmerston was very Liberal abroad. " Nationalism " was the predominant sentiment in Europe during the nineteenth century. Palmerston as Prime

Minister, and Lord John Russell as Foreign Secretary, from 1859 to 1865 supported (as far as they could, without going to war) the national movement in Italy. The diplomatic support of Britain ensured a free hand to Sardinia and France^ Austria was isolated; she had no friends. The Franco-Sardinian armies in 1859 defeated the Austrians at Magenta (June 4) and Solferino (June 24); and in July the Emperor Napoleon III. concluded with the Emperor Francis Joseph the Preliminary Treaty of Villafranca (near Verona); Austria ceded Lombardy to Napoleon, who handed it over to Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia. Victor Emmanuel's realm (which he now called the Kingdom of Italy) extended over the whole of North Italy, except Venice. Venice still remained in Austrian hands. Moreover, although the Italian Kingdom now included Piedmont and Lombardy, it lost Savoy and Nice, which were ceded to Napoleon, in return for his support. On the other hand, stimulated by the success of Piedmont, the Italians of Central Italy—the Duchies of Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and the Papal Romagna—immediately rose in peaceful revolutions, and joined themselves to Victor Emmanuel's realm (1860). Thus the new Kingdom of Italy had all the great places of Italy—Turin, Milan, Bologna, Florence—except Venice, Rome, Naples, and Palermo.

Suddenly, in the summer of 1860, Giuseppe Garibaldi, the most popular of Italian soldiers, acting as a free-lance, took 1,000 of his volunteer red-shirted followers in two hired passenger steamers to Sicily, conquered the whole island from its Bourbon King, crossed to the mainland and conquered the King's Neapolitan dominions, and then handed the whole over to Victor Emmanuel. The transaction was against all the known rules of international law, for Garibaldi, as a private person, had attacked the Kingdom of Naples-Sicily in times of peace. But once done, the affair could not be undone; and the diplomatic support of England enabled King Victor Emmanuel to take over Garibaldi's

conquest and to put it under regular government, without further friction occurring. Francis II. of Naples-Sicily had to go, like the exiled ducal families of Modena, Parma, and Tuscany, to make a new home in Austria, the refuge of monarchs without thrones. Only the States of the Church—chiefly Umbria and Rome—now remained outside Victor Emmanuel's Kingdom; and the fateful year 1870 was to see the incorporation of the States of the Church, too, in the Kingdom of Italy.

Although pleased at the growing union of Italy, Palmerston was not equally pleased with the annexation of Nice and Savoy to France. Since the Crimean War the relations between the British and French Governments had been excellent, and at the beginning of 1860 a commercial treaty (negotiated by Cobden) between the two countries had bound them further together by a moderate amount of Free Trade. The French acquisition of Nice and Savoy, however, somewhat startled the British public; people asked themselves how much Napoleon III. might be aiming at; and the Government thought fit to restart the Volunteer force (such as had been temporarily raised during the Napoleonic and Crimean Wars), and to make it a permanent part of our military system.

On the whole, Europe had reason to congratulate itself on the successful progress of the movement for Italian unity, which, until it was concluded, was a highly disturbing thing in international affairs. But the other union-movement which was going on in Europe—the German movement—did not, when completed, have a similar quieting effect. This was because the success of the movement in Germany was only achieved at the cost of three of her neighbours—Denmark, Austria, and France—who naturally resented their being sacrificed in this way.

The Danes were the first to suffer. For over twenty years a constitutional dispute had been going on between the Central Danish Government in Copenhagen and the local

Governments of Schleswig and Holstein, two Duchies inside the Danish monarchy. There is no doubt that the central Government was acting wrongly in restricting the powers of local self-government which long ago the Danish kings had guaranteed to the Duchies. On the other hand, the right of the Germans to interfere in the dispute was doubtful. It may be argued, however, that Prussia and Austria were justified in interfering with force of arms (as they did in 1864) on behalf of the two Duchies; but this certainly gave them no right to annex Schleswig and Holstein, as they actually did, when with their immensely superior resources they had defeated the Danes in war. During this short struggle the British Government played a sorry part. Palmerston and Lord John Russell had spoken loudly in favour of the Danes, although counselling them to make concessions to the Duchies; a treaty, signed by Great Britain (as well as Prussia, Austria, Russia, and other Powers) in 1852, guaranteed the territorial "integrity" of the Danish monarchy; and almost on the eve of the war Palmerston, in a great speech in Parliament, had practically promised the Danes our support. But when the Austro-Prussian armies invaded Denmark, Great Britain did nothing—partly, perhaps, because we were not now on such friendly terms with France as previously, and so could not count on Napoleon III.'s help. The result was that the Danes were beaten, and that the Prussian army (hitherto rather disliked by the Prussian Liberals) leapt into universal popularity in its own country. But the cynical seizure of the Duchies by the victors inflicted a wound on the territorial system of Europe; and German unity (a good thing in itself) began to be founded, not upon internal growth, but upon a policy of conquest and of domination over neighbours.

The Danish War of 1864 was Bismarck's first notable success in his design for the unity of Germany under Prussian leadership. The next step was made in 1866. By this time Palmerston was dead (he died in 1865, at the age of

eighty-one), and the reins of government were held by the irresolute hands of Lord John Russell. The Empire of Austria stood in the way of the headship of Prussia; for, under the treaties of 1815, the whole of Germany was a Confederation of States, with Austria as President of that Confederation. The joint annexation of Schleswig and Holstein by Austria and Prussia—the establishment of a combined Austro-Prussian "condominium" over the Duchies—gave rise to incessant friction, which soon produced an atmosphere productive of fresh war. The friction and irritation actually led to hostilities in 1866; the Prussian arms, directed by the scientific genius of Moltke, overthrew the Austrians at Koniggratz (or Sadowa), in Bohemia (July, 1866); and the ensuing Treaty of Prague registered the exit of Austria from the German Confederation and the establishment of a new "North German Confederation," under the presidency of Prussia. Both Napoleon III. and the British Government looked on helplessly at this struggle, which, perhaps, they could have done something to regulate had they acted in accord. The only powerful voice raised in England for the cause of intervention (and this was necessarily in private) was the voice of Queen Victoria, but Lord Russell would not listen.

Prussia now had only one more neighbour to settle with before she could become supreme in Germany. This neighbour was France, for Great Britain, under the premiership of Lord Russell from 1865 to 1866, and of Gladstone from 1868 to 1874, practically washed her hands of Europe. In 1870 Bismarck took France at a disadvantage: the failing health and the unstable throne of Napoleon III. had robbed the French of their powers of decision and efficiency. The incautious diplomacy of the Due de Gramont put the French policy in a bad light, and allowed Napoleon's Government to blunder into declaring war against Prussia. The Franco-German War of 1870-71 followed. After the defeat of Sedan, the French Empire fell (September 4,

1870); and the Republican Government which followed, after a heroic war of defence, had to make terms with King William of Prussia and Bismarck, ceding Alsace and most of Lorraine to the new Empire which Bismarck designed. This Empire was established and proclaimed at Versailles at the same time as the peace terms were concluded.

During the years 1860 to 1870 Great Britain suffered, and Europe suffered, through our lack of interest. It is pleasing, however, to remember that if futile in the Old World we were statesmanlike in the New : the Dominion of Canada was being established.

Canada had come to be British in 1763 as the result of the Seven Years' War; but at that time it had only been a narrow strip along the St. Lawrence River, stretching for a few hundred miles westwards. It had a population of about 65,000 people who spoke French. From 1763 onwards the inflow of men of British birth was slow but steady. At the end of the War of American Independence a welcome accession of 40,000 " Loyalists " (Americans who had fought on the English side and preferred to stay with England) came and settled on the land in Canada. In 1774 the Quebec Act, which was passed in the British Parliament, had secured freedom of worship for the Roman Catholic French as well as for the Protestant British. In 1791, as the total population and area of settlement had greatly increased, Pitt, by the Canada Act, divided the huge country into two provinces, and endowed each with self-government. Of the two provinces, Lower Canada, with its capital at Quebec, stretched from the Gulf of the St. Lawrence to the Ottawa River; while Upper Canada, with its capital at Toronto (at that time called York), stretched from the Ottawa River westward to beyond Lake Superior. The huge area from the Great Lakes to the Pacific was still unsettled.

Upper and Lower Canada pursued their own courses **till**

1837. Although differing in race (the Lower Canadians were mainly French, while the Upper Canadians were entirely British), their political histories resembled each other. Local politics were very disturbed. The two provincial legislatures were the scene of violent party struggles, and the lieutenant-governors at the head of each province had the greatest difficulty in maintaining normal relations with the provincial politicians. In spite of the patriotism and loyalty shown by Canada in the American Wars of 1775 and 1812, discontent and controversy became so acute that in 1837^a rebellion broke out in Lower Canada under Papineau, and another in Upper Canada under a Scottish journalist, William Lyon Mackenzie. The rebellions, which, though they fortunately cost little blood, were marked by some heroic and romantic incidents, led to the appointment by Lord Melbourne of the able Whig statesman, Lord Durham, as High Commissioner. Durham went out to Canada in 1838, and although he only stayed five months (for he was recalled by the Home Government for dealing too severely with some former rebels), he gained the information and experience on which his now celebrated Report was founded. In this long and elaborate treatise on Canadian Government (and, indeed, on Colonial Government generally), Durham advocated (among other things) that the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada should be joined together, and that the whole should be endowed, not merely with self-government (such as they had been given in 1791), but with Responsible Government. Under self-government a colony has its own Assembly or Legislature, but it does not control the Ministers; these are responsible only to the Governor. Under Responsible Government the Legislature controls the Ministers, whom the Governor must appoint out of whatever party has the majority of members in the Legislature. This system ensures that the whole Government—Ministers and Legislature—shall be in accord; and the Governor maintains

towards it the same constitutional attitude as the King in England maintains towards the Cabinet in Parliament.

According to the recommendations of the Durham Report, a Union Act was passed through the British Parliament in 1840. The whole of Canada became one, with one Governor-General, Ministry, and Legislature; and the principles of Responsible Government were put into practice in 1847 by Lord Elgin, the first Governor-General, who was son-in-law of Lord Durham. From this time Canadian Government has worked smoothly.

There were, however, still a number of North American Colonies left outside the political area of Canada; these were the Maritime Colonies of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, and the Western Colonies of Vancouver and British Columbia. In 1867, when Lord Derby was Prime Minister in England, and Lord Monck was Governor-General in Canada, the British North America Act established the Dominion of Canada. The moving spirit in promoting the union of all the Canadian territories was Sir John Macdonald (1815-1891), who became the first Prime Minister of the Dominion. The Hudson Bay Company, which was founded in 1670, and which ruled over vast territories in the North and West, surrendered these in 1869; under the names of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, they were incorporated in the Dominion. Canada, under the Act of 1867, is a confederation of separate provinces; each province, while remaining part of the whole Dominion, is self-governing for all local matters, such as education, and has a Prime Minister and Legislature of its own.

Domestic affairs in the year 1860-1870 centred chiefly round the movements for Free Trade, Parliamentary Reform, Education, and Ireland.

The question of Free Trade had been practically settled with the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. This, at least,

established the principle that food should not be taxed. Long before this time, William Huskisson, who was Tory President of the Board of Trade from 1823 to 1827, had to a large extent put in practice the policy that raw materials, such as silk, which could be worked into finished goods in Britain, should be imported free of duty. Yet in 1860 there were still numerous classes of goods on which duty was levied when they were imported into the country. This fact limited the amount of our imports, increased prices inside the country, and checked our exports. Accordingly Mr. Gladstone, a very fine economist, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet in 1853, framed his Budget for that year on Free Trade principles : many of the duties which were still being levied on imported raw materials were suppressed, the soap duty was also completely abolished, and the duty on tea greatly reduced. In all, reductions were made in 133 different duties. The income tax, which Peel had established in 1842, was retained, and stood at the same figure—namely, sevenpence in the pound sterling. Gladstone hoped to suppress this too, and would have done so in 1854 had not the Crimean War intervened.

In 1860, the year when the Cobden Treaty with France was made, Gladstone, who was again Chancellor of the Exchequer (in Lord Palmerston's Cabinet), introduced and carried in the House of Commons a Bill to abolish the tax which was levied on paper made in Britain. The House of Lords, which had no power to amend a Money Bill, could reject such a Bill, and did so now. So Gladstone next year incorporated the principle of the Paper Duty Repeal Bill in his annual Budget; and the House of Lords, rather than reject the whole financial scheme of the year, passed the Budget, paper-duty repeal clause and all. Since this date the financial proposals of the Government for each year are nearly always combined in the Budget Finance Bill. Gladstone's Budgets of 1859 and 1860 practically completed the

progress of the British Fiscal System towards Free Trade. Henceforth duties were only levied on imports, such as wine, tobacco, tea and cocoa, in order to gain revenue. Home-produced commodities were not protected from foreign competition; they were to depend on the efficiency of their producers, the employers and employees, and on the supply of capital subscribed from the citizens' savings.

Although the Whigs of 1832 had considered the Reform Act to be a final settlement of the franchise, by the year 1860 both parties, Whigs and Tories, felt that with the increase of wealth and population, and with the spread of education, the time was ripe for a further extension of the right to vote. Palmerston, however, was against this; and, unable to bend the will of the old Prime Minister, even his own party—the Whigs or Liberals, as they were now being called—held their hands. On Palmerston's death in 1865, Lord Russell became Liberal Prime Minister, with Gladstone as leader in the House of Commons. Gladstone, who was becoming almost Radical as time went on, introduced a Reform Bill which, largely owing to the opposition of Robert Lowe, failed to pass (1866). Lowe, although a Liberal, was strongly opposed to democratic government: he preferred the old Whig system of a mixed constitution, compounded of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. After their defeat in Parliament, the Liberal Government naturally resigned. The Conservatives, with Lord Derby as Prime Minister and Disraeli as Chancellor of the Exchequer, formed a precarious Ministry. It lasted from 1866 till November, 1868, and during this time Disraeli "dished the Whigs," as he said, by getting a Reform Bill passed through Parliament. This Reform Act of 1867 gave the vote to every householder¹ in towns, and also to lodgers who paid £10 a year in rent; while in the counties anyone who occupied a house valued at £12 a year also received the vote. The Act of 1867 remained unaltered till 1884, when another

Act, passed during Mr. Gladstone's second Ministry, made the conditions for obtaining the franchise the same in town and country.

The troubles of Ireland had not by any means wholly disappeared since Sir Robert Peel repealed the Corn Laws in 1846, and Lord John Russell passed the Encumbered Estates Act in 1849. But conditions had undoubtedly been improved in the island. The population, which in 1846 had been too large for the resources of the country, had been reduced by emigration (chiefly to the United States) from eight million to six and a half million (in 1851), and to five and a half million in 1869.

The grievances of the Irish people at this time were chiefly with regard to the Established Church (which was part of the Church of England) and the land. The Church included only a small part of the whole population, for most of the Irish outside Ulster were Roman Catholic. Although the Established Church oppressed nobody, and had long ago been purged of its abuses, Mr. Gladstone, in spite of his strong devotion to the English Church, thought that the demand of the Roman Catholic Irish for disestablishment was not unreasonable. So he introduced and had a Bill passed to disestablish the Church in Ireland, and to put it on the same footing as all other religious denominations there. Under the Bill the Church, hereafter to be independent, under the name of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Ireland, was to have no Bishops in the British House of Lords, and it had to give up all property acquired since the year 1660. This property was devoted by the Government to education and other purposes. At the same time, in order to be fair all round, Mr. Gladstone's Bill deprived Maynooth of the subsidy which the Government had given to it since 1845.

The Disestablishment of the Irish Church in 1869 was followed by the First Land Act in 1870. Until this time, except in Ulster, tenants in Ireland on leaving their land

were given nothing for their "goodwill," nor for the improvements which they had made at their own expense. Mr. Gladstone's Act of 1870, the First Land Act as it is called, established the law that when a tenant was evicted otherwise than for not paying his rent, the landlord should compensate him for "disturbance"—that is, for making him leave the land and give up his work; and that the incoming tenant should pay the outgoing tenant on account of any improvements which the latter had made.

In the same year Mr. Gladstone directed some of his immense energy to the subject of education. England had never had an educational "system" in the sense in which France or Prussia had. In France, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Jesuit Order had established schools in every town, each school offering the same kind of education as the others and conducted in the same efficient way. After the Revolution the nineteenth-century French Governments had built their system of secular *lycées* upon the foundations which the Jesuits had laid down. The French system, which is still substantially the same to-day, is splendidly described in Matthew Arnold's *A French Eton* (1864). Prussia, too, had its uniform system of *Gymnasiums*—large public day-schools—which Jahn, Humbolt and others had thought out and established in the great days of reconstruction after the battle of Jena (1806). Both in France and in Prussia, parents had to pay fees for the education of their children.

In England, and, indeed, in Great Britain and Ireland generally, things were different. The training of young people had been left to private enterprise; the result was that examples of every*sort of school could be found. Many schools for the children of the working classes were maintained by the National Society, which consisted of members of the Church of England. Other religious denominations had established schools; the Wesleyans had a

school at Kingswood, Bath (founded by John Wesley), while the Congregationalists started Mill Hill School at Hendon in 1807; numerous smaller schools, charging very low fees (only a few pence a week), were maintained by religious bodies. In addition to these there were private schools, owned and conducted by persons of various degrees of capacity; some by fairly learned Doctors of Theology, some by old ladies, some by men who took to schoolmastering as their profession with or without any real calling for it. The old endowed schools like Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, and Shrewsbury, gave a fine classical education; there the "commoners" paid large fees, while those boys who were elected to scholarships paid little or nothing. The two ancient Universities of Oxford and Cambridge offered higher education, with a large number of valuable scholarships, to all who subscribed to the doctrines of the Church of England (it was not till 1871 that the Universities Test Act was repealed). In 1835 the University of London had been established to give higher education to those people who could not, on account of the religious test, go to Oxford or Cambridge. There were as yet in 1870 no technical colleges for training people in the arts and crafts and industries.

In 1870 the Elementary Education Act made the first step towards a uniform system of education. England and Wales (similar Acts were passed for Scotland and Ireland) were divided into school districts; in each of these, school boards, consisting of local people, were to be elected. The boards were to levy a rate upon the locality, and to provide a school and teachers, unless there already was a Church school (or similar institution) providing good education at low charges. The Board Schools were to be paid for, as to one-third of their expenses, out of the proceeds of the school-board rate, as to one-third by the Government, and as to the remaining third by the parents of the pupils. This education, which was only for children of six to twelve

years of age, was not compulsory; but in 1876, when Disraeli was Prime Minister, the law was amended so that every child had to go to school. Fees went on being paid in the Board Schools until 1891.

The *Act* of 1870 did nothing for " Secondary Education " for boys and girls between the ages of thirteen and seventeen. Secondary education was left to the old endowed schools—the Grammar Schools (largely established in the reign of Edward VI.), of which nearly every town or large village has an example. Many new secondary schools of the " Public School " type had started in Great Britain since 1850, like Wellington College in 1853, Clifton in 1862, and Fettes in 1886. These (except for the fairly numerous scholars) were, and are, all expensive schools. So in 1902, in order to extend secondary education, the County and Borough Councils were empowered to conduct schools for boys or girls above the elementary school age. At the same time the School Boards were abolished and their control of elementary education was also taken over by the County Councils. These Councils were, in addition, empowered by the Act of 1902 to maintain technical schools and colleges. The magnificent secondary schools and technical institutions of the large cities and towns are the result of this Act.

CHAPTER IX

DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE

BETWEEN the Reform Act of 1832 and the first Home Rule Bill of 1880, the Conservative party spent very little time in office. But at the General Election of 1874 the Conservatives did at last gain a commanding majority. Disraeli became Prime Minister.

Almost as soon as the new Government came into office, mutterings of war were heard from the South-East of

Europe; but Disraeli, keenly interested as he was in the Eastern Question, found time to engage vigorously in domestic questions, so that the period from 1874 to 1880 is regarded by Conservatives as the Golden Age of Tory Democracy.

Houses, the Land, Ships, Factories and Trade Unions, may be regarded as the heads of Disraeli's code of domestic legislation. The Artisans' Dwellings Act (1875) gave town Corporations power to buy out the owners of insanitary houses, and to rebuild those houses as municipal dwellings which would be let to working-class families. Thus a beginning at least was made with the task of abolishing "slum" property. But it would have been madness if the municipalities had tried to buy all the slums; the bulk of the work was left to public opinion and to private enterprise. In London between 1880 and 1910 a society organized by Miss Octavia Hill acquired, by purely voluntary means, large areas of London slum property, and made it sound and wholesome, while charging the tenants an adequate rent.

The land question in England was only partially dealt with by the Agricultural Holdings Act (1875), which ensured to English tenants the compensation for improvements which Irish tenants had been guaranteed in their Land Act of 1870. Nothing substantial, however, was done to help the smallholder—the small class which represented the once numerous yeomen of England. In point of fact, legislation can do little for smallholders. The only way in which they can compete in efficiency with the large-scale farmers is by joining together in co-operative bodies, which can buy and sell in "bulk," and which can command a ready supply of capital. Such cooperative bodies were not established till towards the end of the nineteenth century in Ireland and in England.

In shipping Parliament could intervene to prevent the good owner from being undersold by the bad owner who

carried goods in an unseaworthy or overloaded ship. It was to prevent this that the Merchant Shipping Act (1876) established the Plimsoll loading-mark for all sea-going ships. The untiring advocate of protection for seamen was Mr. Samuel Plimsoll, Liberal M.P. for Derby.

The conditions of health and safety in factories were dealt with, in a comprehensive consolidating Act, called the Factories and Workshops Act (1878). While containing no new regulations, this Act codified and made consistent the various Factory Acts of the nineteenth century.

The subject of trade unions was brought into public prominence by the big strike of agricultural labourers in 1874. Not being concentrated in large masses, as factory workers are, agricultural labourers had never been able to form a union—probably had never thought of it—until Joseph Arch (himself a working-man) organized both a union and a strike at the same time; the strike failed and the union soon came to an end.

Trade unions have no connection with the merchant guild or craft guild of the Middle Ages, except that both guilds and unions have within them the common idea of association and combination. Trade unions began to appear in England among the northern factory workers about the year 1795. So far as they were a species of benefit club, to ensure certain payments to their members during sickness or unemployment, the law did not restrict them in any way. But when a union used the power given by combination to force an employer to concede the workmen's demands for more remuneration or easier employment, the members of the union were punishable under the law of conspiracy. In 1824, however, an Act promoted by Mr. Huskisson, President of the Board of Trade, repealed the Combination Acts, which prohibited combinations of either masters or workmen. The position of trade unions as regards the common law of conspiracy was, however, still ambiguous until 1875, when the Employers' and Workmen's Act

allowed a combination of persons to do anything which could legally be done by one person. The same act permitted "picketing"; picketing during strikes is the practice of stationing strikers at all the approaches to a factory, to warn and persuade workers not to go and offer their labour to the employers. Such picketing, however, must according to the law be peaceful.

Trade unions by their "insurance benefits" have undoubtedly helped the working classes, for union in this sense means co-operation and self-help. The benefit of the "strike weapon" is, however, more disputable, for whether the strike succeeds or fails in its immediate object, it always restricts trade. Other bad results are clear; while the strike is going on, passions are inflamed; class hatred, which is the poison of society, is spread about; and meanwhile wages are lost. And when the strike is over, it is certain that everyone really has lost or will lose something; for while the strike has been going on trade has been restrained, contracts have been lost, and the total business of the country, on which everybody lives, has been retarded. A strike is really a conspiracy in restraint of trade, although the object of the strike may be perfectly just; everyone must now recognize that there are other ways of settling trade disputes, without inflicting the steadily increasing losses which strikes cause, particularly to the working classes.

During Disraeli's premiership from 1874 to 1880 European affairs were very complicated. France was beginning to recover from the war of 1870, and from the destructive "communard" rising which came at the end of that war in 1871. In 1875 the Constitution of the Third Republic was completed, and adopted as the law of the land; and France showed a degree of stability which considerably surprised her neighbours. Indeed, so apprehensive did Bismarck become concerning the growing strength of his lately vanquished adversary that in 1875 he made a regular

war scare, and had every appearance of preparing once more to launch the big battalions of the Empire against France. The courteous but firm warnings of the British and Russian Governments, who for once acted in strict concert, held back Bismarck from his reckless design. In a little while the Eastern Question absorbed all attention.

The trouble arose with a rebellion in 1875 in Herzegovina *against the* wasteful and severe methods by which the Turkish taxes were collected. From Herzegovina the rising spread to Bosnia and to Bulgaria, territories which were directly ruled by the Sultan, and also to Serbia and to Montenegro, Principalities which had their own Government and their own soldiers, although under the nominal suzerainty of Turkey. The grievances of the Bosnians, the Serbs, Bulgars, and the rest were not new; they were the same grievances—religious, judicial, financial—for which the Porte had promised remedies at the Congress of Paris in 1856. As these promises had not been kept, all the signing Powers of Paris were deeply interested in the risings of 1875-76, and none more than Russia, whose fellow-religionists of the Greek Church formed so large a portion of the Sultan's oppressed subjects. More reforms were proposed to the Porte, and more delays followed, until the Tsar Alexander II, believing that nothing but force would convince the Turks, sent his armies through Roumania and over the Danube into Bulgaria (May, 1877).

Before this happened, the interest of Great Britain had been keenly aroused, but mainly against the Turks. In 1876 terrible atrocities had been committed by Turkish irregular troops called Bashi-Bazouks, who were engaged in suppressing the rising in Bulgaria. The atrocities were first made known to the British public by a Constantinople correspondent of the *Daily News*. Mr. Gladstone, who had taken little or no part in politics since the Conservative Ministry came into office, was greatly affected by the account of the massacres, and was moved to write his passion-

ate indictment of the Turks in a pamphlet called *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*. Public meetings were held to protest against the Turks being any longer permitted to rule over Christian subjects.

The Prime Minister, on the other hand, was anxious that Russia should not be allowed to sweep away Turkish power from Europe, and in 1876 he was labouring to prevent war, or, if that were impossible, to limit the war between Russia and Turkey to certain definite objects. The vigorous propaganda of Mr. Gladstone against the Turks hampered Disraeli's diplomacy.

Meanwhile, once war did begin, the Russian armies went ahead, and met no prolonged check except at the siege of Plevna. By January, 1878, they had reached Adrianople and had concluded an armistice, and on March 3, 1878, the Treaty of San Stefano was made between the Russian and Turkish Governments. By the terms of the San Stefano Treaty, Turkey was to lose all the land inhabited by Bulgars between the Danube and the Ægean Sea, and as far west as the Albanian Mountains, and the area thus liberated was to be erected into a self-governing State, to be called Bulgaria. Serbia and Montenegro were also to get large increases of territory.

The Treaty of San Stefano was just the sort of end to the Russo-Turkish War which Disraeli (who had been created Earl of Beaconsfield in August, 1876) had all along dreaded. It was a peace dictated by the victorious Russians almost at the very gates of Constantinople, and it seemed likely to establish for ever the Russians as supreme Power in the Balkans; for the Big' Bulgaria would have been made by Russia, and would probably be managed by the Tsar's officials.

To prevent this, Beaconsfield, old and ill as he was, was ready to face a European war. It must be borne in mind that by a treaty concluded at the end of the Crimean War, Great Britain, along with France and Austria, had solemnly

guaranteed the territorial integrity of Turkey. Therefore, even before the Treaty of San Stefano had been made, he had sent the British fleet through the Dardanelles to Constantinople (January, 1878). Now the army reserves were mobilized, and (in order to liberate the regular garrison for active service) Indian troops were sent to Malta (April). In spite of Mr. Gladstone's protests, the war would have been popular among the British people, from the highest to the lowest. Indeed, there was no more resolute opponent of the Russians at this time than Queen Victoria herself. Her private letters to Beaconsfield (now published in *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli*) show her indignation at the Muscovite military domination, and the ardour with which she would have thrown herself into a war. But Beaconsfield was proceeding cautiously; his military and naval preparations had shown the Russian Government in good time that England would fight. In this crisis the open determination of the British Government to fight averted a war. The Tsar's Government was able to cast up its account, and to conclude that such a war was not worth fighting. Count Schouvaloff, the statesmanlike Russian Ambassador at London, was empowered to tell Disraeli that the Russian Government would consent to modify the Treaty of San Stefano. So the two statesmen put their heads together and soon came to a reasonable arrangement.

This arrangement was embodied in a secret Convention, concluded between Great Britain and Russia on May 30, 1878, in which the Russian Government abandoned its "San Stefano" plan for the Balkans; it was agreed that the new State of Bulgaria should be only half the size which was originally contemplated. Having thus settled with the Russian Government, Lord Beaconsfield turned to the Turks, and concluded a treaty with them (June 4, 1878), by which Great Britain guaranteed the integrity of Turkish territory in Asia Minor in the event of Russia retaining Batoum, Kars, and Ardahan.

The Turks on their side undertook to redress the grievances of their Christian subjects there; and in order to see that this was no vain promise, Beaconsfield appointed a British military vice-consul in all the chief districts of Asia Minor. These men protected the interests of the Christian subjects of the Porte, until Mr. Gladstone suppressed the vice-consulates in his second premiership. Under the Treaty of June 4, Great Britain also gained the right to administer the island of Cyprus.

There is no doubt that these treaties prevented a great war between Great Britain and Russia; but they only settled the general principle on which the Russo-Turkish dispute was to be concluded. To make the complete settlement, all the Powers who had taken part in the last Congress concerning Turkey—the Congress of Paris in 1856—met at Berlin from June 13 to July 13, 1878. In this brilliant assembly, Bismarck, the German Chancellor, and Beaconsfield, the British Prime Minister, played the chief parts. With Beaconsfield was Lord Salisbury, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who had for his private secretary his nephew, a brilliant member of Trinity, Cambridge, Mr. A. J. Balfour (Earl of Balfour).

At Berlin the difficult territorial problems concerning the necessary rearrangement of Turkey-in-Europe were carefully and, considering the difficulties of the times, successfully treated. A self-governing Principality of Bulgaria was created, extending from the Danube to the Balkans, with its capital at Sofia. The Turkish province south of the Balkans was also made "autonomous" or self-governing, but it was kept separate from Bulgaria, under a Christian governor of its own. The other two Turkish provinces in which the war had originated, Bosnia and Herzegovina, were given into the charge of the Austrian Government, which, without owning them, was to administer them in the civilized way in which Turkey had failed to do. The other Balkan States—Serbia and Montenegro—obtained increases

of territory at the expense of Turkey-in-Europe. Greece was promised an increase, and got it three years later, when she peacefully acquired Thessaly.

All these arrangements were registered in the Treaty of Berlin, July 13, 1878. Turkey-in-Europe, reduced in size> had been saved, for the second time, by Great Britain from extinction, and had been given the opportunity of becoming one of the Powers. In his dispatch announcing the signing of the treaty, Lord Salisbury wrote from Berlin that this was Turkey's last chance. She had been saved from Russia: she had been left with a still large territory in Europe, and had been given a clear warning that she must set her house in order. If the Turks could not justify their place in Europe within the next twenty years, they might have to leave altogether.

Lord Beaconsfield returned to England from Berlin the greatest man in the country. The Queen offered him a dukedom, but he was old, a widower and childless, and he had no ambition now for worldly honours. He had done his work; even the people to whom he was so familiar a figure appear to have thought so too, for at the General Election of 1880 they returned the Liberal party to the House of Commons with a large majority. Beaconsfield accepted the defeat tranquilly. He continued his attendance in the House of Lords and took part in the debates during the span of life which was left to him. He died on April 19, 1881, at the age of 76.

Mr. Gladstone, his strength revived by six years out of office, and his mind replenished by his literary studies, took up the burden of the premiership. A whole legacy of troubles had been left him by Lord Beaconsfield for settlement; one was in India—a war with Afghanistan; two were in Africa—troubles with the Zulus and with the Boers; the others were in Egypt.

The Second Afghan War of 1879-80 was in many respects curiously like the First Afghan War of 1839-40. At both

periods the British public, as well as the Government at home and in India, were apprehensive of Russian designs on Afghanistan.

During Lord Beaconsfield's time as Prime Minister, India and Great Britain seemed to come very near to each other; Beaconsfield was a consummate exponent of the "Imperial sentiment." He arranged a tour for the Prince of Wales (afterwards Edward VII.) in India—a tour which was carried out, amid splendid displays of loyalty on the part of the peoples of India, in the year 1875-76. Shortly afterwards, on January 1, 1877, the Queen was proclaimed Empress of India.

Meanwhile the Russian colossus was bestriding Central Asia. Between 1860 and 1877, when the Russo-Turkish War broke out, the Tsar's intrepid soldier administrators had passed from the borders of the Caspian Sea to Tashkent, Samarcand, and Khiva. Khiva, which Russia occupied in 1875, was only 400 miles from the Afghan border. This may seem to be a long way, but it shrank to almost nothing in the minds of people when they heard, in 1878, that the Amir of Afghanistan had received a "Mission" of Russian officials at Kabul. Lord Lytton, who was then Governor-General of India, thereupon sent a British Mission to represent the Government of India, but the Afghans turned the Mission back from the frontier.

This repulse convinced the British Government that the Afghans had given themselves over to the Russians; so an invasion of Afghanistan was ordered. The invasion, which was undertaken by three separate forces under Generals Stewart, Browne, and Roberts respectively, was completely successful, and cost little blood on either side (November-December, 1878). The Treaty of Gandamak was concluded (May, 1879); the Amir of Afghanistan agreed to receive a British Mission, and to have no dealings with Russia. But when, in the summer of 1879, the British Mission under Major Cavagnari had gone up to Kabul it

was massacred, to a man, by the Afghans (September 3, 1879).

Such defiance and such treachery could not be allowed to pass unnoticed; so the whole war had to be gone over again. General Roberts occupied Kabul in October; Sir Donald Stewart, who had taken Kandahar, defeated a mass of Afghans at Ahmedkhel (April, 1880), and joined Roberts at Kabul. This was the time when the Beaconsfield Ministry had fallen, and when Mr. Gladstone was taking over the direction of the affairs of the Empire. General Burrows, who was left behind in charge of Kandahar, sallied forth to meet the enemy, was defeated and put to flight at Maiwand (July, 1880). All that Burrows now could do was to shut himself up with his men in Kandahar and to hold out to the last.

But the British Government could not leave General Burrows to be captured by the victorious Afghans. Had this happened, the flame of race hatred would have spread throughout Asia; a Holy War of Islam would have been proclaimed against the British; and India, if not lost, would only have been retained by the British at a tremendous cost of blood and effort. Fortunately, however, the right men were on the scene of critical action. General Roberts was at Kabul. He was ordered to march direct to Kandahar. Perfectly trained, perfectly equipped, grandly led, the Kabul Field Force, numbering just under 10,000 soldiers and 8,000 native followers, set out on its 300-mile march (August 11, 1880). On August 31 it marched into Kandahar. Next day Roberts sallied forth, met the main Afghan forces, and overthrew them, retaking the guns which had been captured by the tribesmen at Maiwand.

British prestige was saved, and the Afghans acknowledged defeat. A new Amir, the strong Abdurrahman Khan, was put on the throne at Kabul, where he successfully maintained himself for over thirty-five years. The terms of the Treaty of Gandamak were reconfirmed; any

foreign relations of the Afghan Government were to be conducted through the Government of India. Thus Russian influence disappeared from Kabul.

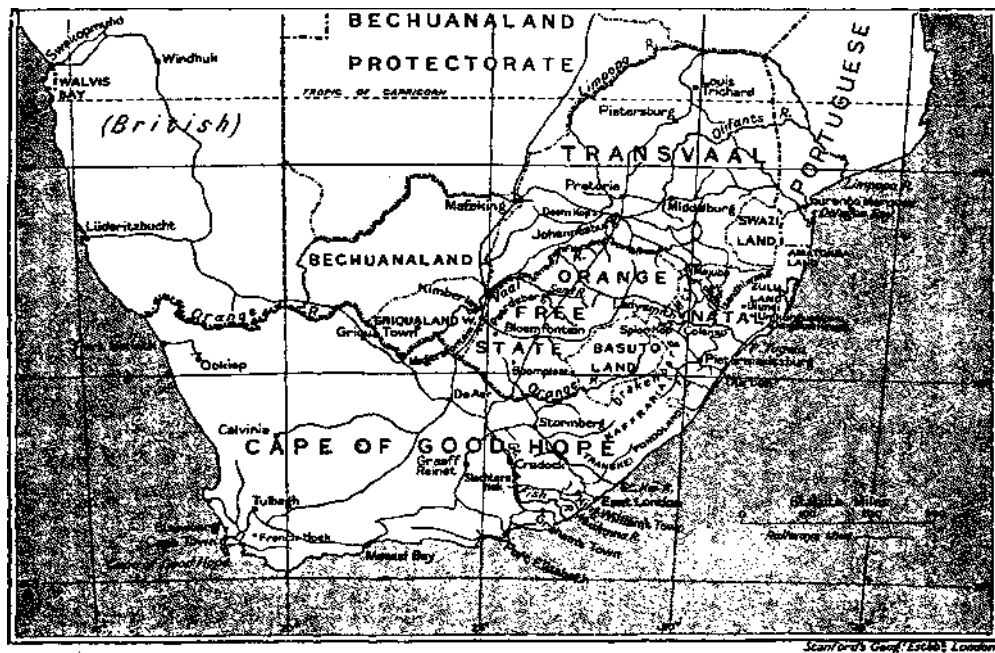
The history of the British in South Africa began in 1795, when one of Great Britain's overseas expeditions occupied the Cape of Good Hope. This was a Dutch colony, nearly 150 years old, under the management of the Netherlands East India Company. It was because Holland had become associated with France that the British Government, following its usual practice in a continental war, now took possession of enemy colonies. At the end of the French wars in 1814 the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon were (by the First Peace of Paris) retained by Great Britain.

In the spacious lands of the Cape Colony the British (who were only a few thousands in number) lived peaceably with the Dutch. The chief incidents in the history of these times were the Kaffir wars, which were raids made by the native inhabitants (the Bantu tribes, popularly called Kaffir) and repelled by the colonists, who seldom had any regular soldiers to help them.

In 1833 the Act of the First Reformed Parliament, emancipating all slaves throughout the British Empire, caused serious discontent among the Dutch, and numbers of them, to escape what they felt to be an alien and unsympathetic Government, "trekked" across the Orange River to lands outside the Colony (1836). The first province thus settled as the result of the "Great Trek" was Natal, between the Drakenberg Mountains and the Indian Ocean; the British Government, however, claimed it and took it over in 1842. In the meantime another region had been occupied by the Trekkers, to the west of the Drakenberg Mountains, between the Orange and Vaal Rivers. But the British Government held that these people were still British subjects, wherever they trekked, and that their land was therefore British. So Sir Harry Smith, the Governor of Cape

Town, occupied the Orange River Colony in 1848; but in 1854 the British Government withdrew its troops and conceded independence to the Colony, which was now to be called the Orange Free State. This was done when Lord Aberdeen, a very liberally minded and gentle man, was Prime Minister in England. North of the Vaal River the Trekkers had been permitted to form another State, the Transvaal, which the British Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, recognized as independent by the Sand River Convention in 1852. Thus in South Africa there were three separate sovereignties : that of the British Government in Cape Colony, of the Orange Free State, and of the Transvaal. A movement for the Federation of all three into a Union was started in the Orange Free State and adopted in its Volksraad, or Parliament, in 1858. The Federation plan was ardently supported by Sir George Grey, Governor of Cape Colony from 1854^{to} 1861. But the British Government at home did not approve of this; therefore South Africa had to wait for another fifty years, and to undergo many troubles before the Union was achieved.

The Orange Free State, which had neither gold-mines nor diamond-mines, remained independent, prosperous, and, on the whole, quiet till 1899, when it joined the Transvaal in war against the British. Meanwhile the history of the Boers of the Transvaal was much more troubled. It was a huge territory (as large as France) with only about 8,000 white inhabitants, who could not keep themselves safe from the warlike Zulus on the frontier. Moreover, the Transvaal Government, unable to collect taxes, was practically bankrupt. Finally it appears that some of the Boers had been breaking that part of the Sand River Convention which prohibited any form of slavery. These grounds induced the British Government in 1877, when Beaconsfield was Prime Minister and Lord Carnarvon was Colonial Secretary, to annex the Transvaal. This act might have had good results if Lord Carnarvon's other proposal for a



MAP OF SOUTH AFRICA TO ILLUSTRATE THE ZULU WAR OF 1879 AND THE BOER WARS OF 1881 AND 1899.

Federation of the Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal, had been carried into effect. The historian James Anthony Froude was sent out from England to help in the cause of Federation, but the predominant feeling of South Africa was now against it. So for the second time the Federation plan came to nothing.

It was just after this that the Zulu War occurred. The Zulus inhabited the country on the borders of Natal, north of the Tugela River. Their King, Cetewayo, kept all the young men in regiments which were drilled into a high state of efficiency in their methods of savage warfare. The existence of this standing army of savages was an intolerable menace to civilization. In 1877 Sir Bartle Frere, a noted Anglo-Indian official, who was at this time High Commissioner in South Africa, demanded of Cetewayo that he should disband his regiments and allow all his warriors to settle down and marry. When Cetewayo refused, British troops marched into Zululand.

The Zulu War produced one of those terrible incidents • which every few years marked British colonial history in the nineteenth century. Operating on far-distant frontiers, the British commanders were always being given immense tasks to perform with a handful of men. For the invasion of Zululand the General, Lord Chelmsford, had under 2,000 soldiers. Moreover, he divided his force, and went off himself with one half to march to Ulundi, the chief kraal or village of Cetewayo. While he was away, the Zulus in full force attacked the other half of the British forces at Isandlwana, and slew 760 men out of a total of 800 (January 22, 1879). Pressing on to the border of Natal, the Zulus were heroically met and stopped by the small detachment of ninety-eight soldiers who had been left at Rorke's Drift on the Tugela. Lord Chelmsford gradually retrieved the fortunes of war at Ghingelovo, Eshwowe and Ulundi. In the course of this short and unfortunate campaign, the Prince Imperial, only son of Napoleon III., serving with

the British, met his death (June 1, 1879). He was only twenty-three years old.

After this war Zululand was annexed to Natal. The Boers of the Transvaal were thus relieved from all danger from the Zulus, and therefore had no further need of British protection. They had never liked being annexed by Great Britain, and their discontent had been further increased by the Home Governments delaying the grant, which had been promised, of self-government. At this crisis (April, 1880) Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry gave place in England to that of Mr. Gladstone, who found himself faced with a regular Boer rebellion; for in December, led by Paul Kruger and Piet Joubert, the Transvaal Boers proclaimed their independence.

Again, as in the Zulu War, an insignificant force, about 1,400 men, was sent, under an able officer, General Colley, to invade a country, sparsely populated indeed, yet as large as France. Colley was met at the Natal Transvaal border by Joubert and the Burghers, and fought three small actions at Laing's Nek, Ingogo, and Majuba Hill (January 28, February 7 and 26, 1881). In the last action Colley was killed, and all his men killed or taken prisoners.

The Majuba incident was of no military importance. There were ample forces in Natal to deal with the Boers, and a powerful expeditionary force from India, under General Roberts, was due shortly to arrive at Capetown. But Mr. Gladstone had decided that the Boer claim for independence was just; and this being so, he did not see why more British and Boer blood and treasure should be spent when both sides were *in* agreement about the final settlement. So in March, 1881, he negotiated a Convention with the Transvaal Boers acknowledging them to be an independent Republic under British suzerainty. In a Convention concluded later, in 1884, ^{also} by Mr. Gladstone, the condition of suzerainty was omitted.

The affairs of Afghanistan and of the Transvaal were

thus liquidated by Mr. Gladstone by a means which, though much criticized, may yet be defended—the means of non-intervention. That the same statesman should deal with the Egyptian affair by intervention (when his natural inclinations were all the other way) proves how strong must have been the reasons which impelled him to this course.

Egypt, nominally a province of Turkey, had been actually an independent State since the time of Mehemet Ali, who had been recognized as hereditary Governor or Khedive in 1841. Under Mehemet, Egypt was carefully governed and prosperous; but under his grandson Ismail, who ruled from 1863 to 1879, oppression and misery went hand in hand. Finally the Egyptian Government, which had borrowed large sums of money in Europe, became bankrupt.

Being unable to pay its debts, the Egyptian Government agreed to accept financial control by two foreign officials, one to be an Englishman and the other to be French (1876).

Great Britain had already a large interest in the affairs of Egypt owing to the Suez Canal. This had been constructed in 1866 and the following years by the International Suez Canal Company, in which French capitalists and the Khedive himself were the chief shareholders. In 1875 the Khedive Ismail, always in straits for money, sold his shares (which amounted to nearly half of the Canal Company's capital) to the British Government for £3,976,582. It was Lord Beaconsfield who heard that the Khedive wanted to sell, and who bought the shares for the Government on his own responsibility, getting the money in the first instance from the banking firms of Rothschild and Erlanger.

In 1880, when Mr. Gladstone took over the premiership, affairs in Egypt were quiet; but in 1882 Arabi Pasha, a colonel in the Egyptian army, raised an insurrection, chiefly owing to discontent with the influence exercised by foreigners in the country. On June 11 a terrible massacre of Europeans was perpetrated in Alexandria. Thereupon a British naval squadron bombarded Arabi's positions and

occupied the city. European intervention was needed to stop the anarchy and the murder of Europeans elsewhere in the country; Mr. Gladstone's Government invited France and Italy to join with Great Britain in taking action. As these two Powers (much to their regret in later days) felt unable to agree to this, Mr. Gladstone sent a British force under General Sir Garnet Wolseley to act alone. Wolseley, who was a very efficient soldier, quelled Arabi's rising at Kassassin and El-Teb, and restored the authority of the Khedive Tewfik (August-September, 1882). This was the beginning of the British occupation of Egypt. The Khedive accepted British officials as advisers to his Government. British troops remained to protect the country, externally and internally; and under the guidance of Lord Cromer (British Agent from 1884 to 1909) and Lord Kitchener (Agent from 1909 to 1914), Egypt attained to a high degree of order and prosperity. Travellers of all nations have borne witness to the excellence of the administration of the country in the period of Occupation.

To the south of Egypt is the vast region of the Sudan, through which flows the Upper Nile. This was a province of Egypt, though only loosely held by a few small garrisons and by some foreign administrators employed by the Egyptian Government. The best known of these administrators were Sir Samuel Baker, a great traveller, who was made Egyptian Governor of Equatorial Africa in 1871, and General Gordon, who was Governor from 1876 to 1879. The Province extended far south into Central Africa, to the region where David Livingstone (1813-1873) was carrying on his missionary and his geographical undertakings.

Charles George Gordon was one of the heroes of the Victorian Age. He was a Royal Engineer, fought through the Crimean War (when he was wounded), served on the Boundary Commission which delimited the Turco-Russian frontiers after the Peace of Paris (1856), fought in the Chinese War (1860), explored the Great Wall of China, and

accepted high command in the Chinese Army and suppressed the Tai-ping rebellion (1864). He refused all the rewards which the grateful Chinese Government wanted to heap upon him, went and served on the European Commission which was clearing a channel in the dreary mudflats of the Danube Delta (1871), and became Governor of Egyptian Equatorial Africa (1876), where for two years he lived a solitary, strenuous life, engaged, among other things, in suppressing the slave trade. Later he served in India, Mauritius, South Africa, Palestine, and in 1884^{was} back again in the Sudan, where he had been sent by Mr. Gladstone's Government. Mr. Gladstone told him that the wish of the Government was that he should arrange for the evacuation of the Province. For fanatical tribesmen under a new prophet, the "Mahdi/" were pressing upon the isolated Egyptian garrisons in the Sudan, and making the Province quite untenable.

On arriving at Khartoum, Gordon did not at once proceed to evacuate the Sudan, preferring, with the assent and encouragement of the Egyptian Government, to try and hold the Province. Gradually the Egyptian garrisons were cut off; at last Khartoum itself was hemmed in by the Mahdi (March, 1884). The two British officers who were with him were killed, and Gordon was left alone with a small garrison of untrustworthy natives to face the hordes of the Mahdi. In England a vehement demand arose for a relief expedition, which Gladstone was unwilling to send; for he did not see why England should engage in a war to save one obstinate Royal Engineer. At last he yielded to the pressure; and in September, 1884, General Wolseley with a British Expeditionary Force began to advance from Cairo up the Nile. In January, 1885, General Herbert Stewart's victories of Abu Klea and Metemmeh (where Stewart himself was killed) gave one of the British columns almost a clear road to Khartoum; but by the time it gained touch with the beleaguered town Gordon was dead. He was killed

on January 26, whether through treachery on the part of his own men or by the enemy from without is uncertain. The British column was about two days too late. After this, the Egyptian administration was wholly withdrawn to Wady Haifa, at the Second Cataract, which thus became the boundary, for the following thirteen years, between Egypt and the Sudan.

During the period of Mr. Gladstone's Second Ministry, from 1880 to 1885, the social condition of Ireland, except in Ulster, seemed to be as bad as it ever had been. Discontent with the British Government, and particularly with the land laws (although these were even more favourable to the Irish peasants than the laws of England were to English farmers), had broken forth in acts of mutilation and murder. The owners of estates and their stewards were frequently shot at, and some were killed. Intimidation and even murder were practised against farmers who took over the land of peasants evicted for not paying their rent. In its efforts to preserve order and to deal out justice, the Government was fearfully hampered by the absence of any general law-abiding feeling among the Irish people. The ordinary Irish peasant, or shopkeeper, or lawyer, appeared to have no horror of murder, or of the maiming of cattle, or of the seizure of other people's landed property, or of the burning of their houses. Law is only really effective when it is directed against the *exceptions* among the population, and when it is supported by a general habit of obedience, and by the desire to see the law obeyed, among the bulk of the people. This habit and desire were absent in the greater part of Ireland under British rule. The most notorious murders were those of the Chief Secretary, Lord Frederick Cavendish, and Thomas Henry Burke, the Under-Secretary. On May 6, 1882, they were set upon by four men in Phoenix Park, Dublin, and stabbed to death. Months later the assassins were caught by the police, tried at Dublin, con-

victed, and hanged, all except one who turned " Queen's Evidence."

In dealing with this most difficult condition of affairs, Mr. Gladstone and the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. W. E-Forster, were as strenuous as any statesmen could be. The ordinary law was amended to enable the Government to deal more quickly and drastically with breaches of the peace; and a Liberal nobleman was found for Viceroy whose courage, will-power, and sense of justice were of the supreme kind. This man was Earl Spencer, Viceroy from 1882 to 1885. By years of patient, inflexible effort, and by his perfect fairness and his transparent honesty of purpose, Lord Spencer reduced the forces of disorder to quiescence.

But something more dynamic was needed for Ireland than mere repression, although this—the vindication of the law—was the primary need. Mr. Gladstone's proposal for a dynamic reform, which should ease the tension in Irish social life, was another Land Act. A Commission, appointed by Lord Beaconsfield in 1879, under the chairmanship of the Earl of Bessborough, to investigate the land question, had reported in favour of the three " F's "—Fixity of Tenure, Fair Rent, and Free Sale. To meet these points Mr. Gladstone had the Second Irish Land Act passed (1881). This Act established a Land Commission with power to decide what rent was " fair " for a farm or smallholding, and to fix this rent for fifteen years at a time. " Free Sale " was also encouraged by the provisions in the Act allowing a tenant, who by agreement with his landlord wished to purchase his farm, to borrow three-quarters of the required sum from Government and to pay a low rate of interest.

The Second Land Act was not a great success. Ireland had to wait fifteen years more for the establishing of a large class of peasant proprietors. Meanwhile the Irish had a fairly large and very solid party in Parliament, pledged to work for Home Rule, for self-government for Ireland, and for nothing less. This party (the Irish Nationalists) was

led by Mr. Charles Stewart Parnell, a man of great will-power and mental capacity. Dissatisfied with Mr. Gladstone, the Irish Nationalists co-operated with the Conservatives in the House of Commons for a moment, and brought about the fall of the Liberal Government (June, 1885). Mr. Gladstone, whose mind was above pettiness, reflected on this event during the next few months when he was out of office, and came to the conclusion that he must try to settle the Irish Question by something more comprehensive than a Land Bill.

CHAPTER X

THE GREAT DIVISION

MR. GLADSTONE retired after his defeat in the House of Commons to his Cheshire estate of Hawarden, where he refreshed himself, as was his habit, by reading voraciously in the Greek classics and in English theology, and by hacking down trees in the park. The Conservative Cabinet which had succeeded him, that of Lord Salisbury, did not last long, because, without the support of the Irish Nationalists, it had not a majority in the House. Still, it existed for six months; at the end of this time Parliament was dissolved and a General Election reinstated the Liberals in power, with a majority over the Conservatives of eighty-five seats in the House of Commons. But the Irish Nationalists by themselves had eighty-four seats; and by casting these votes in one solid block to either side as they chose, they could dominate the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone's plan for solving the difficulties of this political situation was to get the Irish Nationalists out of the British Parliament altogether, and to give them a Parliament of their own in Ireland. The First Home Rule Bill represented a big effort on Mr. Gladstone's part to solve the Irish Question : it failed, and in its failure it left a poison

behind it which envenomed not merely politics in Ireland, but also politics in Great Britain. Indeed, its effect was much more noticeable in Great Britain than in Ireland.

The Home Rule Bill was the work of Mr. Gladstone, the Prime Minister, and Mr. John Morley, the Chief Secretary for Ireland; Parnell, the leader of the Irish Nationalists, although not a member of the Government, was, naturally, consulted. The measure was thus approved by the bulk of the Irish; apparently even the people of Ulster, although cordially disliking the Bill, would at this time have acquiesced in it if it had passed through Parliament.

The Bill was introduced by Mr. Gladstone himself in the House of Commons on April 8, 1886. It provided for an Irish Parliament, consisting of two Chambers (or "Orders," as they were to be called). The First Order was to be composed of twenty-eight elected Irish peers, with seventy-five members elected from the rest of the people who possessed property worth £200 a year; the Second Order was to be composed of 206 members elected without property qualification. This Parliament was to have power to legislate for Ireland on every subject, except the army and navy, foreign and colonial affairs, trade and navigation, or religion. No Irish Members were to sit in the British House of Lords or House of Commons. Ireland would have a Cabinet Government of its own; but the Lord Lieutenant, under the Bill, would be appointed by the Crown—that is, by the King acting on the advice of the British Cabinet.

For weeks the question of Home Rule for Ireland was discussed with the greatest care and skill in the House of Commons, amid growing excitement, yet with dignity and restraint. The Conservative Members were all against the Bill; so, too, were a considerable number of the Liberal Members, among others Lord Hartington (later Duke of Devonshire), who represented the old Whig tradition and was one of the most powerful influences in English political

life. Another Liberal who parted from Mr. Gladstone at this crisis was Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, not a Whig like Lord Hartington, but a man in some ways of advanced Radical views, and a great reformer in his native town of Birmingham. John Bright the Quaker, Free Trader, and social reformer, John Stuart Mill the philosopher, Lecky and Froude the historians, Tennyson and Browning, were other men of highest type who were against the grant of Home Rule to Ireland. Mr. Gladstone kept the bulk of his followers together, but even with the unswerving support of the Irish Nationalists they were not sufficient. On June 8, 1886, the Bill was rejected in the House of Commons by 343 votes against 313. Ninety-three Liberals had voted with the Conservatives.

The effect in Ireland of the rejection was to cause increased embitterment, owing to the raising of high hopes and then the dashing of these hopes to the ground. In Great Britain the effect was to split the Liberal party, and to diminish its strength so that, although a powerful body, it could not command political power by itself, but relied upon outside allies, either on the Irish Nationalists or, later, on the Labour party.

CHAPTER XI

THE AFTERNOON OF QUEEN VICTORIA'S REIGN

THE introduction and rejection of the First Home Rule Bill is a momentous fact in British nineteenth-century history. For one thing, it divided the great political parties more sharply from each other, and made their relations almost bitter. In order that there may be a good two-party system two things are necessary : first, that the parties should differ from each other sufficiently to make them compete seriously—to make one an effective critic and

antagonist of the other. The second thing that is necessary is that the two parties should not differ from each other so seriously that they will not accept each other's measures, when once these measures have been passed into law. Government would become ridiculous if the Opposition party, as soon as it got into office, immediately reversed the chief measures of its predecessor.

Until the First Home Rule Bill the Whigs and Tories (or Liberals and Conservatives, as they latterly came to be called) had differed from each other, and had vigorously and usefully criticized each other; but they had not differed so far as to refuse to accept each others Acts. Even the Reform Bill of 1832, when it was passed into an Act, had been accepted by the Tories (as Peel said in his Tamworth Manifesto of 1834) as a *final and irrevocable* settlement. The Whigs and Tories aimed equally at the public good, the Tories rather emphasizing the necessity of preserving the gains of the past, the Whigs emphasizing the need for improving on these gains. Nevertheless, the Whigs also believed in conserving things, and the Tories in improving things. But over the First Home Rule Bill the two parties became for thirty years irreconcilably divided. The Liberals became pledged to a measure of self-government for Ireland; the Conservatives were absolutely pledged to oppose this. Perhaps Mr. Gladstone, when he made up his mind on the question of Home Rule, did not realize how deep a chasm he was creating in the party system. If he did realize this, he ought not to have taken the risk; he should have proceeded more slowly, and have tried first to secure some sort of agreement with the Conservatives. Ireland ought not to have been made a party question, but should have been treated like any other great national crisis—such as a war or general strike—as a national question, to be dealt with by the united brains and energy of both parties. But Mr. Gladstone's commanding will and magnificent energy impelled him to go on without delay, thus justifying Lord

Randolph Churchill's description of him as "an old man in a hurry."

With the beginning of this bitter cleavage between the two great historic parties, the solid progress of Queen Victoria's reign seems to end. In 1887 she held her Jubilee amid universal rejoicing. She had long ago emerged from the gloom and retirement into which the Prince Consort's death in 1861 had thrown her. The unfeigned joy of the Jubilee celebrations testified to the Queen's place in the hearts of her subjects, just as the grand processions, the display of troops from every part of the Empire, proved the substantial strength of her realm.

The Jubilee was the end, not the climax, of the *grand days* of Victoria's reign : the years of her life which were to come were only an aftermath, an afternoon, on the whole quiet and serene, to a glorious day. By the year of the Jubilee all the great writers and artists of the Victorian Age were either dead or past work. Thackeray died in 1863, while *Denis Duval* was still running, an unfinished serial, in the *Cornhill Magazine*. Charles Dickens died in 1870, having done nothing really worthy of his genius since *Great Expectations* (published in 1861). There was no one who could wear the mantle of Sir Walter Scott. Novels were becoming less like stories and more like essays or dramas about contemporary life. Of such kind were the novels of George Meredith, who had published *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* (about education) in 1859, and *Diana of the Crossways* (about well-to-do middle-class life) in 1880. Equally psychological, though more dramatic in force, are the novels of Thomas Hardy, who at the time of the Jubilee was writing *Wessex Tales*.

The poets had almost ceased to sing. Robert Browning had done his best work by the year 1860, when *The Ring and the Book* came out. His last work, '*Asolando*', was published on the same day as he died, in 1889. Tennyson lived only a few years longer. *In Memoriam* had been published

in 1850, the same year as he succeeded Wordsworth as Poet Laureate. *The Idylls of the King* had been finished by 1872, and in the "eighties" Tennyson was engaging his muse in the composition of dramas—*Queen Mary*, *Harold*, *Becket*—which few people now read. He died in 1892.

The Victorian School of painters—grand for its draughtsmanship and colour—had done most of its work by the time the Jubilee came. J. M. W. Turner, the greatest of water-colour painters, died in 1851; of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood—D. G. Rossetti, Millais, Holman Hunt, and J. Collinson—only Millais and Holman Hunt were still alive. The grandest writer among art critics—John Ruskin—was still lecturing at Oxford and writing occasional essays; his best work, *Modern Painters*, had come out in 1843, when he was twenty-four years old.

It may be said, too, that the big industries of Britain had, by the time of the Jubilee, reached the maximum development which they were to attain during the nineteenth century. The splendid railway system had begun in quite a small way, about the year 1823, with the building of the Stockton and Darlington Railway by Robert Stephenson. Once they started to run, railway-trains soon displaced the stage-coaches, except in parts remote from the big towns. By the year 1850 all the great "trunk lines" had been constructed; by the year 1887 practically every part of the country was served by a main or branch line. After this time the problem of the railway companies was not to extend their lines, but to maintain or increase their efficiency. So, too, with the industries of coal-mining and weaving; they had reached a high state of development, which in the later years of the nineteenth century—the "nineties"—could only be further improved with difficulty owing to the number of strikes which then became frequent. The biggest strike of the nineteenth century—that of the Dockers on the Thames—occurred in 1889. **Strikes, increasing in number as the years went on, showed that the**

workmen were now beginning to *think* much more concerning their work than they used to do. The century closed without any other means being found to absorb this interest of the workman in the industries; yet it is clear that there must be other and better ways of doing this than by frequent strikes.

Although it may truly be said that the Victorian Age reached its climax in the Jubilee year of 1887, yet there remained a very serene aftermath in the years that followed, until the outbreak of the Boer War in 1899. The Government—Conservative for six years, then Liberal for three years, after that again Conservative—was, on the whole, not very ambitious. There was no great number of new laws passed through Parliament; the Government devoting its time chiefly to administration, not legislation. Under careful and increasingly sympathetic administration, Ireland, which had been frightfully disturbed until 1886 and for about three years later, gradually became quiet and undeniably prosperous. The prosperity of Great Britain was proved by the steady lowering of interest at which money could be borrowed: this showed that there was abundance of money seeking investment, and that the lenders had confidence in the country: it proved that commercial panic and civil disturbance were in nobody's minds. In the "nineties" the National Debt—the "Funds"—carried only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, of interest.

In the prevailing quietness of domestic affairs (for even industrial strikes, although becoming more frequent, were not yet a normal feature of English life) the attention of people became more and more directed to foreign and, even more particularly, to colonial affairs. Australia, hitherto a very distant and vaguely apprehended continent, now became much closer to English eyes: Botany Bay had been discovered by Captain Cook, of the Royal Navy, in 1770, and then in 1788 the town known later as Sydney had

been founded. At first only a convict station, New South Wales had gradually attracted "free settlers." Other Colonies were founded: Victoria, Queensland, South and West Australia, and the island Colony of Tasmania. But for the first fifty years of the nineteenth century only the fringes of Australia were touched, although many thrilling journeys of exploration were made into the interior. In 1851, however, gold was discovered inland, near Bathurst, in New South Wales. Then the "rush" began, which can be read about in the novels of an eyewitness, Henry Kingsley, who wrote *The Hillyars and the Burtons* and *Geoffrey Hamlyn*.

One by one the Australian Colonies all were granted "responsible Government" by the British Parliament: the last to receive its Constitution was Western Australia in 1890. This was when Lord Salisbury's Conservative Government was in office in England (from 1886 to 1892), and when Stanhope was Secretary of State for the Colonies. In 1891 a meeting of delegates for all the Australian Colonies, held at Sydney, approved of a scheme for federating the whole into one Commonwealth; but difficulties arose, and the scheme had to wait until 1900 for its successful completion, when the "Commonwealth of Australia Act" was passed. The other great Pacific Colony, New Zealand, was, between 1840 and 1899, being developed on very English lines, and producing a very vigorous type of citizen. Its chief statesman was Sir George Grey, whose work there began in 1840, when he became Governor, and whose life ended in 1898.

Canada, since it was made into a Dominion (or Federation) by the British North America Act of 1867, had progressed steadily in wealth, and population. Consisting at first only of the four provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, the Dominion had grown with the opening of the great West. The Hudson Bay Company surrendered its sovereign rights over what are now the pro-

vinces of Manitoba and Alberta in 1869 5 British Columbia, then only a sparsely inhabited Crown Colony, joined the Dominion in 1871; the eastern colony of Prince Edward Island came in in 1873, so that now the Dominion was complete from east to west (for Newfoundland remained outside, and is a Dominion of itself).

Railways are the arteries of a new country. Canada was able to communicate across its entire breadth when the Canadian Pacific Railroad was finished : it was begun in 1878; in 1886 the last spike was driven, completing the steel band from sea to sea. Along the line towns sprang up, and the prairies became covered with corn. In 1891 the great Conservative Prime Minister, Sir John Macdonald, under whom the Dominion had been established and the West opened to settlement, died. By this time normal political life according to the two-party system had become rooted in the habits of the Canadian people. The Conservative Ministry of Sir John Macdonald was followed by the Liberal Ministry of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a French Canadian, whose eloquence, equally splendid in French and English, typified the unity of the Empire amid differences of race and language. In 1897 the Laurier Government passed the customs law which gave to British goods a preference (or rebate) of 33 per centum in the import duties as compared with the duties levied on the goods of other nations.

With Germany the Conservative Government in England cultivated the friendliest relations. When the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy was made in 1882, Lord Salisbury said it was glad tidings of great joy. After the various States of Germany had been joined together into one Empire in 1871, the Imperial Government, which was still conducted by the powerful Chancellor Bismarck, began to look out for colonies. In 1884 they had taken over Damaraland, later known as German South-West Africa;

and in 1885 they began the settlement of German East Africa.

Neither the Conservative Government of Lord Beaconsfield nor the Liberal Government of Mr. Gladstone had taken much notice of what had been called, rather sensationally and unjustly, the "scramble for Africa." Besides the Germans, able French explorers and administrators were active on the west and north-west; Italians were trying to penetrate into Abyssinia from the east. Lord Salisbury, a massive, patient, and prudent man, saw that something really like a scramble might occur, probably leading to a world-war; so during his first brief premiership in 1885 he arranged a European Conference, which was held at Berlin, and which drew up rules for the "partition of Africa." Thus international friction in Africa was diminished, if not avoided.

British colonizing effort in Africa was mainly supplied by Chartered Companies—traders who were authorized by charter from the Crown to form themselves into corporations with power not merely to trade in, but also to occupy and administer certain areas. Such were the British East Africa Company (1887), which was directed by William Mackinnon, who carried trade and the knowledge of the Bible wherever he went, and gave a sympathetic and enlightened rule to the natives. Another was the Royal Niger Company, directed by Mr. George Goldie from 1886 to 1900. A third was the British South Africa Company, which, under the impetus of Cecil Rhodes, added a vast province to the British Empire towards the south of Africa. In 1890 British and German interests were clashing together in debated territory on both sides of the British East Africa Company's domain; so Lord Salisbury offered a scheme of mutual give and take. Germany was to have Heligoland (the island in the North Sea which Britain had gained from Denmark in 1814), while Britain should have a Protectorate over Zanzibar and the possession of Uganda. At the time the

Germans thought that they had got, on the whole, the worst of the bargain, although their young Emperor, William I, who had succeeded to the Imperial throne in 1888, seemed pleased.

In domestic affairs the chief—indeed, the only—difficulty of the Government was the unrest and sedition *in* Ireland, where conditions had grown more disturbed at the time of the First Home Rule Bill. To give the Administration power to deal with obstacles, the Crimes Act of 1887 was passed. By this the Lord-Lieutenant had authority to "proclaim" any particularly disturbed district, and in parts thus proclaimed the Resident Magistrates could try offenders without a jury; for juries were becoming worse than useless, either because of their political prejudices or because they were intimidated by the peace-breakers.

Crimes Acts (or Coercion, as it was called) could not form a permanent policy for the government of Ireland. This is why Mr. Gladstone in 1886 proposed Home Rule. Lord Salisbury, on his side, and the rest of the Conservatives, with their Liberal Unionist supporters, did not simply oppose a blind *no* to this proposal; they had an alternative policy to offer.

My alternative policy (said Lord Salisbury on May 15, 1886) is that Parliament should enable the Government of England to govern Ireland; apply that recipe honestly, consistently, and resolutely for twenty years, and at the end of that time you will find that Ireland will be fit to accept any gifts in the way of local government or repeal of Coercion laws that you may wish to give her. What she wants is government—government that does not flinch, that does not vary; government that she cannot hope to beat down by agitators at Westminster.

The man who had the task of putting this policy into practice was Mr. Arthur Balfour. Mr. Balfour was a nephew of Lord Salisbury. He was born in 1848, and was

educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1878 he was private secretary to Lord Salisbury at the Congress of Berlin. In 1879 he published an interesting volume of philosophy, under the title of *A Defence of Philosophic Doubt*. Mr. Balfour was a man of lovable character; his manners were simple and unaffected; his voice was rich and melodious; he spoke readily, but not a great deal. In appearance he was tall and dignified, without any self-consciousness; he was always plainly though well dressed; and although possessed of considerable wealth, he lived without ostentation. It was a severe test for this amiable student to be given the Irish Office to administer; but Mr. Balfour soon showed that beneath his pleasant laugh and charm of manner were a will and determination that nothing could bend.

It is said that the whole administrative system of Ireland reacted to Mr. Balfour's method immediately. The natural tendency of every magistrate, official, and policeman, is to be swift and resolute in the administration of the law; but this natural attitude is reduced to one of vacillation if the agents of the Government are not sure that they will be supported from above. But Mr. Balfour never left any doubt in the minds of his subordinates; he accepted responsibility for their acts, and supported them with all his authority, in Parliament and outside. Administration in Ireland became firm, resolute, and therefore fair—for injustice only occurs, in a civilized country, where there is vacillation, or where for political reasons the operation of justice is interfered with, so that while some people are punished, others, equally guilty, are not disturbed.

In the meantime, while law and order were being restored, a Land Act (called Lord Ashbourne's Act, after the Lord Chancellor of Ireland) was passed in 1887. This extended to leaseholders the benefits of the Land Act of 1881, and made provision for adjusting rent to the variation of price in agricultural produce.

Thus the Conservative-Unionist plan for Ireland may be said to have been (a) inflexible administration of justice, (b) improvements in the land system, so as to foster the growth of a population of prosperous peasant proprietors ; but the Irish people were to participate in self-government only in the same way as the English, Welsh, or Scottish did—that is to say, through the British Parliament at Westminster. Whether this policy could have permanently satisfied the aspirations of Ireland is doubtful. It was pursued (with a break in 1892-93) until 1906—a year which found Ireland enjoying unexampled prosperity.

Lord Salisbury's Cabinet pursued its equable course till August, 1892, when Mr. H. H. Asquith, a prominent barrister and Liberal politician, carried in the House of Commons a vote of want of confidence against the Government. Everything was in good order when the old Cabinet went out of office. The traditions of Gladstonian finance had been well maintained at the Treasury by Lord Randolph Churchill, Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1886-87, and by Mr. Goschen, who held this office from 1887 to 1892. Taxation was low; the income tax was 8d. in the £1 ; the tax on tea was 4d. per lb. Wages were not high, but the price of living was low and employment was plentiful.

Mr. Gladstone was now eighty-three years old, and he was not anxious to be Prime Minister again. He accepted office in 1892 merely in order to settle the Irish Question, for he felt that the Conservative-Unionist policy of " order and prosperity " was not a final settlement, but only the preliminary to one which would satisfy the aspirations of the Irish people.

It so happened that at this time the Irish Nationalist party was under something of a cloud, owing to their late leader, Mr. Parnell. In 1887 *The Times* had published a letter, purporting to have been written by Parnell in 1882, in favour

of the Phoenix Park murders. More letters were made public in 1888, and finally the Government appointed a Commission to investigate them. The Commission issued its Report in 1890, having proved that the letters were forgeries which a clever swindler had palmed off on *The Times*, Parnell and his associates were cleared of complicity in crime; but the evidence brought before the Commission also proved that Irish Nationalist members had done nothing to help to keep peace and to discourage political crime in Ireland. Mr. Parnell had always been rather a mysterious figure. Lucid, cold, inflexible, he was undoubtedly a man of great power, but he had no friends, and people did not even know where he lived. Letters came addressed to him at the House of Commons. The Report of the Commission cleared him of complicity in crime, but it left a bad impression in people's minds; and this was suddenly intensified when in November, 1890, an action in the Divorce Court showed Parnell to have been guilty of adultery. The Irish Nationalist party immediately compelled him to resign the leadership; under the leadership of Justin McCarthy, and subsequently of John Redmond, men of an unblemished character and of wide outlook, they gradually recovered their reputation.

There was really no chance, however, of the British people in 1893 acquiescing in Mr. Gladstone's proposal of Home Rule for Ireland. The feeling of the country had been tested at a General Election in July, 1892, and as a result there were in the House of Commons 315 Conservatives and Liberal Unionists against Home Rule, and only 274 Liberal Members for it. It was only with the help of eighty Irish Nationalists that Mr. Gladstone had a majority at all.

The Second Home Rule Bill was introduced in Parliament in February, 1893. "It was resolutely opposed by the Conservatives, who were now led in the HOUSE of Commons by Mr. Balfour. The Government majorities were very small—only thirty-four at the Third Reading. How-

ever, the Bill passed the House of Commons, but the Lords rejected it by 419 votes to 41. The only way to persuade the Lords to pass the Bill would have been to appeal to the country and to obtain a "mandate" from the British people. But the General Election in July had shown that the British people outside Ireland were against Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy. The aged Premier now felt that there was nothing more for him to do. He asked leave to resign in 1894; the Queen appointed Lord Rosebery to succeed him. Lord Rosebery's tenure of office aroused little public interest, and is only remembered now because it began the large-scale taxation of legacies—the modern "death duties." Troubles were looming abroad, for the Turks suddenly began massacring Armenians as badly as ever before; and a short war took place between China and Japan, which was the beginning of great movements in the East. But the British people were feeling fairly serene. Abroad a certain *malaise* might be noticeable, but at home all seemed well.

CHAPTER XII

THE END OF QUEEN VICTORIA'S REIGN, AND EUROPE IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

THE Liberals who had separated themselves from Mr. Gladstone at the time of the Home Rule Bill of 1886 had hitherto remained apart also from the Conservatives. They had co-operated with the Conservatives in Parliament, but had refused to accept office. In 1895, however, their chiefs accepted office under Lord Salisbury: these were the Duke of Devonshire (formerly Lord Hartington), who became Lord President of the Council; the Marquis of Lansdowne, Secretary of State for War; and Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies. Lord Salisbury was Premier and Foreign Secretary, while the post which is

usually held by the Premier—the post of First Lord of the Treasury—was held by Mr. Balfour. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach was Chancellor of the Exchequer. As the years went on, the Liberal Unionists became gradually absorbed into the Conservative party, in opposition to the old Liberals; thus the historic tendency of British political life to be centred in two broad parties, rather than into a number of groups, was once more vindicated.

The Conservative Government now had a clear run of more than ten years—from June, 1895, till 1906. The criticism that has since been directed against it is that during this long period, with a large majority of members of the House of Commons and an overwhelming majority of the House of Lords, the Conservative Government was responsible for so little of new legislation. The critics who speak in this way have been misled by the idea that *to govern* means *to legislate*. It does not. To govern means to administer the affairs of the country, and to add from time to time just as much new legislation as is necessary. But the main and most necessary task of Government is administration. An old country, especially one like England, with its magnificent and constantly growing inheritance of the Common Law, does not need constant legislation, though from time to time certain important new adjustments are necessary.

The new Secretary of State for the Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain, was a man of great energy and of lively ideas; so that from 1895 till 1903, when he went out of office, the Colonies were in everybody's mind. There were plenty of men of power and imagination in politics overseas as well as at home—Cecil Rhodes in South Africa, Laurier in Canada, Deakin in Australia, Sedclon in New Zealand, and, after 1903, Curzon in India. Among these none was more talked of than Rhodes, a man of forty-two years of age (in 1895), whose career is one of the most romantic in English history.

Born at Bishop Stortford, one of the large family of the local clergyman, he had shown signs of a weak lung and had gone to South Africa for his health. There he worked on his brother's farm, made a little money, went to the University of Oxford, and returned in the Long Vacations to South Africa. He passed the University examinations at Oxford, took his degree, went back to South Africa, made more money (masses of it this time) in the Kimberley Diamond Field, and in 1890 became Prime Minister of South Africa. He died in 1902 at the age of forty-nine, saying, " So little done, so much to do " ; yet he is universally recognized as one of the makers of South Africa, while his influence, working through the Rhodes Trust, is still potent throughout the whole Empire.

Rhodes' dream was for a United South Africa under the British Flag. In 1889 he had the British South Africa Company formed, and in 1890 a Pioneer Column—about 900 men—was sent into Matabeleland. This is the beginning of the vast British Colony of Rhodesia. Rhodesia has an English population in addition to the Matabele, and, owing to its splendid natural resources, both for farming and for mining, has, under the economical administration of the Company, become strong and flourishing, although the shareholders have received no dividends. When the Company was formed Rhodes held out the inducement, " patriotism at 5 per cent. " ; but although the shareholders have had to be content with the feeling of patriotism alone, they have none of them complained.

In Cape Colony, where Rhodes was Premier from 1890 to 1896, a *rapprochement* became apparent between the old Dutch and the newer British settlers; for Rhodes inspired enthusiasm among the British and at least respect among the Dutch. Outside Cape Colony, in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal (or South African Republic), there was a good deal of enmity to the British, partly owing, it appears, to a number of private Germans—lawyers, traders,

and general adventurers—who had got into the councils of the Republican Governments.

There is little to be said in favour of the Government of the Orange Free State. It had no quarrel with the British : the Free State was a quiet pastoral country, with few British settlers, and the British Government had never interfered with it since the recognition of Free State independence in 1854. Unfortunately for itself, the Orange Free State had made a treaty of alliance with the South African Republic in 1897, so when war began it was dragged at the heels of its neighbour.

Affairs in the Transvaal were very different from those in the Free State. The Transvaal had been merely a pastoral country till 1886, when gold had been discovered on the Witwatersrand Reef. Then people, mainly British, flocked in; the city of Johannesburg sprang up, and Pretoria, the seat of the old Boer Government, appeared, by comparison with the great mining town, almost an insignificant village.-

The newcomers, the Uitlanders, soon began to demand that they should have full rights of citizenship in the country ; the Boer Government, not wishing that the Boer population should be outvoted by the Uitlanders, refused. The Uitlanders became restless, and finally attempted to rise in rebellion. A conspiracy was arranged between a Committee in Johannesburg and a number of British in Cape Colony. Among these was Dr. Leander Starr Jameson, an honest, impetuous Scotsman, and a close **friend of Rhodes**. **Jameson** was Administrator **of Rhodesia under the Chartered Company, and he used this position to get 450 of the Company's Mounted Police and to lead them in a dashing raid from Pitsani, on the Bechuanaland frontier, towards Johannesburg, where, on his arrival, the revolution was to break out. The Raiders never arrived: as they rode into the half-moon of kills near Doornkop they were met with a scattering fire from the Boer Government's militia; after a desperate attempt to ride through the pass, the Raiders sur-**

rendered (December 29, 1895). President Kruger, acting with great moderation, handed over Jameson and his men, who, although acting piratically, were nevertheless something of heroes, to the British Government. They were tried and sent to prison for sentence of about eighteen months. It is now known that the Kaiser's famous telegram of congratulation to President Kruger on the defeat of the Raid was not an impulsive act of the Sovereign, but was a calculated *d-marche* of the German Foreign Office, which was then directed by Baron Marschal von Bieberstein.

There can scarcely be any doubt that the Raid powerfully contributed to bring on the Second Boer War. It stiffened the back of the Boer Government. On the other hand, it brought vividly before the British Government the grievances of the Uitlanders. Long negotiations ensued, in which the British Government pressed for the concession of political rights to the Uitlanders; but the Boer Government was still unwilling. Yet it is difficult to see why President Kruger should have broken off the negotiations by sending an ultimatum to the British Government on October 9, 1899. It is probable that since the Raid he completely distrusted the British, and thought that war must come anyhow; and so he naturally chose that it should come at a time when there were still comparatively few British forces in South Africa. It is practically certain that his foreign advisers persuaded him that the European situation was favourable. When the ultimatum expired on **October 12, 1899**, **Boer** forces crossed into Cape Colony.

The Second Boer War was expected to be short; actually it turned out to be a very long affair. It was the first time that war on a big scale had occurred in South Africa. The British Government soon recognized its seriousness and handled the task in a large way. The forces in South Africa were continually increased, until they numbered

about 200,000 men—more than Great Britain had ever put in the field in any previous war. The organization, food, and equipment of the army were splendid; the skilled officers of European Powers who were sent by their Governments to follow the operations in South Africa bore tribute to the efficiency of the British army. When the Colonies were invited to contribute forces, the response was enthusiastic. It was the first time that people realized the solidarity of the Empire: the first time that English and Colonial troops really came to know each other:

There isn't much we 'aven't shared since Kruger cut and run—
The same old work, the same old skoff, the same old dust and sun;
The same old chance that laid us out, or winked an* let us through;
The same old Life, the same old Death, good-bye—good luck to
you !¹

The Boer forces were never more than 20,000 men; but in the vast spaces in which they operated, moving about with rapidity on their horses, they were able to make a very effective use of their numbers. They had no regular troops; every "burgher" was considered to have the duty of serving for his country, although the Boer law did not allow compulsion to be put upon him. There was a military tradition among the Boers, extending over a hundred years of irregular warfare against the native races and, occasionally, against the English. After war started in 1899 they soon developed a very efficient school of "veld" generals; Joubert was already proved—he had commanded at Majuba; Cronje had been responsible for the capture of the Jameson Raiders; but the others were new men—Louis Botha, a landowner and experienced farmer; Jan Christiaan Smuts, who was just beginning to make a career as a brilliant advocate in the Law Courts at Pretoria; Christian de Wet, Delarey, and others.

The Boers had to leave their families. The British forces swept together the women and children and put them into

¹ Kipling.

camps. A legend has grown up about the miseries of these concentration camps. Unfortunately, women and children died, but many more would have died had they been left out in the veld to look after themselves amid the chances of war. The Boer fathers and brothers fighting in the forces were relieved of the burden of supporting their families. The British policy of having concentration camps was humane; it did not help the British operations—it lengthened the war.

The Boer forces assumed the offensive, invading Natal from the Transvaal and Cape Colony from the Orange Free State. In Natal they made for Ladysmith, on the railway that runs from Johannesburg to Durban. They met British regular troops at Talana Hill, where General Penn Symons was killed when riding along the line in front of his men; and a few days later they again encountered the British at Elandslaagte, when the 5th Lancers got in among the Boers—the only occasion in the war where the cavalry came hand to hand with the enemy (October 30, 1899). These two actions delayed the Boer advance, but they were soon in front of Ladysmith, which they invested during the next four months.

The rest of the operations *in* Natal form the story of General Buller's great efforts to relieve Ladysmith, and General Botha's efforts to prevent him, by holding the line of the Tugela River, which runs from west to east, well to the south of Ladysmith. On or near the Tugela there took place the battles of Colenso (December 15, 1899), Spion Kop (January 23, 1900), Vaalkranz (February 5), and Pieter's Hill (February 22). The operations were costly, for the 5,000 men whom Buller lost were one-fourth of his whole army. But they brought about the relief of Ladysmith on February 27, 1900.

On the other side of the Transvaal and Orange Free State, *in* British Bechuanaland and Cape Colony, fighting also took place, where Mafeking and Kimberley, on the **long**

railway-line that runs from Buluwayo to Cape Town, were also invested by the Boers. The relief operations in Cape Colony were entrusted to General Lord Methuen, who had an army of about 8,000 men. Methuen advanced northwards from Orange River Station along the railway-line, and fought successful actions against Generals Cronje and Delarey at Belmont, Graspan, and Modder River (all in November, 1899), but at Magersfontein he received a severe check; the 42nd Highlanders suffered heavily, and their leader, General Wauchope, was killed (December 11). It was after this that Lord Roberts was sent out from England as Commander-in-Chief, with Sir Herbert Kitchener as Chief of Staff; and it was at this juncture that overseas Dominions were asked to supply troops. Roberts and Kitchener, bringing with them immensely increased resources in men and guns, soon changed the whole aspect of the war. Kimberley was relieved on February 15, 1900 (by Generals French and Haig), and General Cronje was surrounded and compelled to surrender with 4,000 men at Paardeberg on February 27. The FVee State was invaded; its capital, Bloemfontein, was occupied on March 13, and the State itself was annexed. General Plumer relieved Mafeking about a month later; the Transvaal was invaded, Pretoria occupied, and the whole State annexed in September. If the war was not finished, at any rate the end was in sight. President Kruger fled to the Portuguese colony of Laurencio Marques, and from there went to Holland (October, 1900). On January 22, 1901, Queen Victoria died.

Actually, military operations went on for another year and a half, although the Boer cause was hopeless, and their commanders were merely playing a brilliant game of hide-and-seek on the almost limitless spaces of the veld. This last part of the war undoubtedly raised the prestige of the B\$ers, whose *morale* remained unbroken to the end. It was not very costly in human blood, and the patience and re-

source shown on both sides increased the mutual respect of the adversaries. The war came to an end on May 31, 1902, when the terms of Vereeniging were signed by the British High Commissioner for South Africa, Sir Alfred Milner, and General Kitchener, on the one hand, and by Generals Botha and Smuts on the other. All belligerents were allowed to return to their homes, without loss of political rights or of property. It was a peace on the basis of letting bygones be bygones.

During Lord Salisbury's last period as Prime Minister, from 1895 to 1902, the troubles which had afflicted Egypt and the Sudan in 1884 were "liquidated." Under Lord Cromer's guidance, Egypt had made wonderful strides along the path of prosperity, and by the year 1898 it was ready to take up again, in conjunction with Great Britain, the task of recovering the Sudan from the barbaric Dervishes of the Khalifa, the successor of the Mahdi. A well-led and well-equipped Anglo-Egyptian army under Sir Herbert Kitchener marched from Egypt, routed the Dervishes at Omdurman on September 2, 1898, and took Khartoum, which thenceforth became the capital of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

Thus one piece of work was completed in the north of Africa just before the Boer War began. In another continent a long process of development was also successfully concluded when, in 1900, the Commonwealth of Australia Bill, passed into law by the British Parliament after being approved by the Australian States, provided a common Federal Constitution for New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, Western Australia, and Tasmania.

Lord Salisbury resigned office in 1902. Mr. Balfour became Prime Minister in his stead. In that year he proposed and passed through Parliament a new Education Bill. One of the difficulties in English local government was that it was carried on by a number of different bodies in the

same districts; Poor Law Guardians looked after the destitute, School Boards looked after education, the County Council looked after the police, the Quarter Sessions looked after criminals, and so forth. The Education Act of 1902 made one step towards simplifying this condition of affairs ; it abolished the School Boards, and transferred their powers to the County Councils in the counties, and to the Borough Councils in towns. It also placed the Church schools under these Councils, and ensured that they should have a certain amount of support from the rates; and, finally, it gave the Councils authority to establish or to support secondary schools, in addition to the elementary schools, which were already maintained out of rates. Thus England at last obtained a sufficient number of secondary schools—and very fine schools, too—well equipped and well staffed, such as Matthew Arnold had dreamed of when he was investigating the " Lycees " of France and writing *A French Eton*.

The Wyndham Act of 1903 was the other notable contribution of Mr. Balfour's Government to the solution of a domestic problem. It completed the series of Irish Land Acts which may be said to have begun with the Encumbered Estates Act of 1849. Previous Acts had ensured low rents to the Irish peasants, and had given them limited opportunities to purchase the land which they were cultivating. The Act of 1903 was largely the work of the Chief Secretary, Mr. George Wyndham, a scholar and a statesman. It provided the sum of £100,000,000 to be lent to peasants who wished to purchase their holdings. The interest charged was $3\frac{1}{4}$ per centum, and the time over which repayment of the principal sum could be spread was sixty-eight years. Practically all the Irish landlords were willing to sell at the agreed prices which the Act permitted, so that nearly every peasant who wished to buy land did so. Within five years Ireland had become a land of peasant owners, every one of whom was making a good living, and

paying off the instalments of his purchase-money without any difficulty. Agrarian crime, " moon-lighting," and " gun-running " had completely ceased.

Its foreign policy is the Balfour Government's chief claim to the gratitude of posterity. As long as a nation has to live among powerfully armed neighbours, it must pay attention to its friends and foes. It is not known who thought out the foreign policy of Great Britain between 1902 and 1906; doubtless King Edward VII., Mr. Balfour, and the Marquis of Lansdowne, who was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, all contributed to it. Probably the Foreign Office knew that during the Boer War Germany had contemplated an attack upon Great Britain, and that she had only held her hand because France would not join her.

Great Britain had not made an alliance since the Crimean War. Now she was to enter upon a period of alliances which was to last for twenty crowded years. This " Alliance period " opened with the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1902. The object of the treaty was to maintain the existing balance of power in the East—a good object, for alterations in a balance of power always make war upon war inevitable, until the balance is readjusted. At this time Russia, having advanced from the Amur, on the confines of Siberia, to Vladivostok, on the Pacific, had, owing to the political feebleness of China, overturned the equilibrium of power in the East. The clash of Russian and Japanese in the Pacific produced a war which was fought largely on Chinese soil in Manchuria. Shortly after the war had started, the British Government made a treaty with Japan, promising to engage in hostilities on the side of the Japanese if any European Power joined the Russian side. The effect of this treaty was to limit the conflict to the two original combatants, for, with England ready to intervene, Russia forbore to call upon her ally, France. The war ended in 1905 with the Peace of Portsmouth (in the United States of

America), Russia thereby agreeing to evacuate Manchuria **and** to cede Port Arthur to Japan. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was renewed in 1905, and lasted until 1922, when it was dissolved by mutual consent at the Washington Conference.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance stabilized the political situation in the East, and probably prevented a world-war, which might have been fought over the partition and disintegration of China. In Europe the Balfour Government tried, with success, to heal another irritated spot—the relations between England and France. It is a curious fact that until the Crimean War all Britain's European wars had been fought against France. English foreign affairs in the eighteenth century have even been called the Second Hundred Years' War. Even late in the nineteenth century there was much friction between France and England, particularly during Kitchener's Sudan campaign, at the very end of which a small collision (quite bloodless) occurred between the British General himself and a small French force under Major Marchand at Fashoda (1898). During the Boer War the French Press had been, for the most part, hostile to Great Britain. King Edward VII., however, knew France well, and was rather popular in Paris; and so he was able personally to bring the French and British Governments together when he made his notable State visit to the French capital in 1904. The friendship, or "cordial understanding" (*Entente Cordiale*), between the two countries was registered in two specific agreements signed by M. Cambon, the French Ambassador in London, and by the Marquis of Lansdowne, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in April, 1904. The first Agreement removed the cause of friction between France and England in Egypt: for the French consented to recognize our permanent position there in return for our recognizing their special position in Morocco. The second Agreement similarly removed the source of estrangement between the two

countries in the Atlantic : the French abandoned the rights which they held under the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) to land on the " Treaty Shore " of Newfoundland, and to use the shore for fishing purposes. In return Great Britain ceded some West African territory which rounded off a French colony.

These two Agreements constituted the famous Entente of 1904. There was no alliance, as British public opinion was not yet ripe for such a great change in our policy, which for nearly fifty years had been conducted according to the principle of " isolation."

In 1906 the Balfour Government was defeated at a General Election and gave place to a Liberal Government with Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman as Prime Minister; but although the new Government in several respects departed from the policy of its predecessor, in foreign affairs it followed precisely the same lines. The Foreign Office, with Sir Edward Grey as Secretary of State, completed the Lansdowne Agreements of 1904 by making similar agreements with Russia in 1907. Again there was no alliance, no binding of England's hands for future contingencies, but an understanding was come to in *regard* to the competition of Russian and British interests in Persia on the one hand and Tibet on the other. Thus the Dual Entente—England and France—became the Triple Entente of England, France, and Russia, the two latter countries being also bound together by an alliance which had been made in 1895. Thus the Great Powers of Europe were in two diplomatic groups—the " Entente " and the " Triplice," as the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy was called. The existence of these groupings did not make for war; they made a balance; and balance is a condition of international peace.

From 1815 till 1906 Great Britain and Europe enjoyed, on the whole, good times; and in particular the Victorian

Age was one of marked advance, morally and materially. But from 1906 onwards, Great Britain, Europe, the whole world, received one wound after another, until it seemed as if an age of barbarism must come. Only the extraordinarily highly developed material resources of the old countries and of America enabled human society to withstand the appalling losses made by devastating revolutions as well as by the biggest of all wars.

The revolutions began as efforts on the part of educated people to get more control of political activities. In China the "intelligentsia," chiefly Chinese students and journalists, brought about the overthrow of the Manchu (or Tartar) imperial clan, which since 1643 had ruled over the vast and teeming country. With the destruction of the throne, the ancient bureaucracy was done away with; in their places hordes of adventurers gradually seized the sources of power. In Peking a weak central government continued to function, and along the coasts the European-managed customs service maintained an efficient organization; but in the interior provinces illegal military bands held sway, leading to murder, robbery, and famine. This condition of affairs lasted until the Washington Conference of 1922, after which some improvement slowly began to be made.

Mexico had found peace for over thirty years under the firm government of Porfirio Diaz, but in 1911 his hands through age became weaker, and he was overturned by Madero, an honest but impracticable visionary, at the head of the Progressive party. The result of this *coup d'etat*, which was brought about by violence and arms, was ten years of civil war, thus further depleting the resources of the world and allowing for the emergence of the old forces of rapine and civil hate.

Another revolution occurred in 1908 in Turkey, when the Young Turks—directed by a "Committee of Union and Progress," which sat first at Geneva, then at Paris, next at

Salonica, and finally at Constantinople—overturned the autocratic regime of Abdul Hamid and established a parliamentary constitution. The Hamidian regime was certainly no great thing, but it had the merit of being " customary "—it was old and accepted, and fitted into the European system. The new regime was a sham ; the much advertised Parliament became merely the mouthpiece of the ambitious Committeemen, under whom Turkey was speedily embroiled in one war after another, until finally she plunged into the desperate adventure of joining Germany in 1914. But the most costly revolution of all, which probably caused more pain, physical misery, and moral decline than any event since the invasions of the Mongols, was the Russian revolution. This occurred during the Great War itself.

CHAPTER XIII

DOMESTIC HISTORY BEFORE THE WAR

WITH large tracts of the world coming into anarchy and something approaching to barbarism, and when the hope of humanity depended on the remaining parts of the globe, like the British Empire, Europe, North and South America, remaining stable, it was a monstrous crime against civilization for the Imperial German Government to precipitate a European War.

Since 1906 the condition of England had been happy on the whole, though troubled. The Balfour Government had suffered a dramatic fall. In the year 1903 the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain, one of the driving forces of the Government had resigned in order, as a private man, to devote his energies to a campaign for Imperial Preference and Tariff Reform " Imperial Preference " meant levying a tax on imported grain, except on grain coming from the British Dominions, which would be

admitted free of tax. " Tariff Reform " meant taxing imports, not merely to raise a certain amount of revenue, but in order to direct industry into certain channels—for instance, iron-ore from Sweden might be admitted tax-free as being raw material, but steel rails from Sweden would be charged a heavy tax, so as to give the British steel industry an advantage. The campaign for Imperial Preference and Tariff Reform made a considerable impression on the country, yet the British people as a whole remained true to their belief in Free Trade. It was generally held that if a tariff on imported goods would stimulate home manufacture, it would also exclude a large number of imports ; and as imported goods are paid for by exports, the tariff which diminished the import trade would also diminish the export trade.

The dispute among the Unionist-Conservative members over Tariff Reform undoubtedly weakened the Balfour Government. Another circumstance which diminished its* influence in the country was the question of Chinese labour. After the conclusion of the Boer War, the British High Commissioner, Sir Alfred (promoted to be Lord) Milner, had authorized the South African goldmines to employ labourers recruited in China. These Chinese coolies had to enter into indentures, binding themselves to remain for a certain time at the mines, and to submit to certain discipline. Workmen in Britain were very unsympathetic to the introduction of " Chinese labour " into South Africa, for they believed that this would supersede the labour of British workmen there; and they even suspected that Chinese labourers might be brought to England to "undercut" the wages of the British labourer. At the General Election of 1906 the Liberal and Labour parties vigorously raised a cry against " Chinese cheap labour," and supported the cry with all the resources both of pictorial posters and of platform arguments. This was recognized as a shrewd attack, but probably no one ever expected that it would sweep

away the Conservatives like a flood. The Government secured the return of only 157 members. The Premier himself, Mr. Balfour, was defeated at Manchester, and had to find another seat in the safe Conservative quarter of the City of London. The Liberal party had 379 members returned; the Labour party, which had hitherto been practically negligible, had 51 members; the Irish Nationalists had their customary 83. Mr. Balfour at once resigned, and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman formed a Cabinet. This was a purely Liberal Administration—that is to say, all the members of the Cabinet were or became members of the Liberal party; but it had the consistent support in the House of Commons of *the* Labour party and the Irish Nationalists. Thus it could count upon a majority of 356 votes over the Conservative Members of Parliament.

Having been out of power for ten years, and now having at its command an overwhelming parliamentary vote, the Liberal Cabinet could scarcely be expected to content itself with just the humdrum work of administration. It at once engaged upon a course of legislation which made an abiding mark upon the social and political life of the country.

In this important body of domestic legislation there were some Acts which stand out with particular prominence. The Old Age Pensions Act (1908), by one gigantic stride, guaranteed a pension of five shillings a week to every person of the age of seventy or over whose means did not exceed £28 per annum. These pensions were to be wholly paid out of the national revenues; no contribution towards a pension fund was taken from any individual. The sum payable to each pensioner has since been increased to seven shillings and sixpence per week. Although this is not a large sum, the total cost of the Old Age Pensions in 1922 was £22,000,000.

The National Health Insurance Act (1911) established an insurance fund to give medical assistance and maintenance grants to all employed people when ill. Only those earning

^250 per annum or less are comprehended within the scheme. Fixed weekly contributions are required from the employees and the masters, and are supplemented by a State contribution. In order to make the scheme actuarially sound, workers are not given the choice whether they will be included within it or not. This sickness insurance has been a great boon to people. On the other hand, it has imposed a very serious charge upon industry—both workers and masters—and it does, to this extent, handicap trade. It has therefore never been very popular.

The Unemployment Insurance Act ensured workmen in the building trade (which is peculiarly liable to interruption from weather) against unemployment. Like the Health Insurance scheme, it is based on fixed, compulsory contributions from masters and men, supplemented by a State contribution. The Fund thus constituted is, like that of the Health Insurance Fund, self-supporting; and therefore, as the cost of the benefit has increased, so the rate of contributions has had to be increased. The Act has also been extended to include other industries beside the building trade. The contributions are a very serious charge upon industry; but unemployment insurance, provided that industry can bear the charge, is both from the individual and the national point of view an excellent investment.

Another method devised to diminish unemployment was to establish Labour Exchanges (1909)—central clearing houses where workers and " jobs " could be registered, so that vacant places could be at once filled. The use of the Exchanges (which are now called Labour Bureaus) has not yet entered fully into the habits of the people, so that the results have not been wholly satisfactory, while the expense has been very high. Nevertheless, the Labour Bureaus or employment exchanges perform a real service to the country, and should be more resorted to by all sections of the people.

The Trades Disputes Act (1906) was not designed to give tangible benefits to the people, as the Acts above-mentioned

were; it was merely a change made by Statute in the Common Law. A decision of 1901 in connection with the Taff Vale Railway had established the rule that trade unions could be sued for damage due to actions or instructions of their officials. The Act of 1906 made this impossible, by declaring that a trade union could not be made the subject of a civil action in a court of law. Thus trade unions were put outside the Common Law which governs the conduct of associations; but no great harm has been done, for the unions have not attempted to use this position to inflict damage on employers. The good sense and moderation of the English people have always, in the long-run, made for that moderation in politics which alone makes it possible for people to live together.

This, too, might be said of the Parliament Act (1911). The Liberal party since 1906 had controlled the House of Commons, but the House of Lords, being Conservative before 1906 and not being subject to any General Elections, remained Conservative afterwards. The Liberal Government naturally found that their legislative activity was hampered by the existence of a predominantly Conservative Second Chamber, which, according to the custom of the Constitution, could reject any Bill of the House of Commons. In particular there was one Bill which the Government had given its word that it would pass; this was a Bill to give the " Home Rule " to Ireland which the Liberal party had been urging for twenty years. Nearly every peer was absolutely against Home Rule for Ireland. The Act of Union had been passed in 1800, after Ireland, during a previous " Home Rule " period, had risen in rebellion at one of the most desperate crises of the French War. Since then it had been claimed as a " tradition of British statesmanship " to maintain the Union. Mr. Gladstone, on the other hand, had introduced the First Home Rule Bill in 1886, as the only means he could think of to end the " lacerating struggle " which in those days was devastating

Irish society. In 1906 there was no lacerating struggle; Ireland was perfectly quiet, excellently administered, and extraordinarily prosperous. Already the Wyndham Act had resulted in the conversion of the great bulk of Irish peasants from tenants to owners; and under the system of Agricultural Co-operation, at which the Irish had shown themselves very capable, the country was becoming productive and extending its markets every year. Thus, while the First Home Rule Bill was designed to end the lacerating struggle, the Third Home Rule Bill actually renewed it. Gradually unrest appeared in Ireland, culminating in the Rebellion (in co-operation with the Germans) in 1916, and in the "murder campaign " of 1921-22. This does not mean that the policy of Home Rule for Ireland in 1906 was wrong; there is no means for making such a judgment. What can be said with certainty is that either the Third Home Rule Bill ought never to have been passed by Parliament, or else, having been passed by Parliament, it ought to have been put into effect. The real misfortune of Ireland was due to the fact that when the Bill had passed all the necessary stages the European War broke out, and the Act was indefinitely postponed.

Having made up its mind to pass the Irish Home Rule Bill, the Liberal Government took the drastic but inevitable step of trying to change the Constitution so that the House of Lords could not reject the Bill. In 1910 the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith (Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman had died in 1908) introduced another Bill to take away from the House of Lords the power to reject any Money Bill, or to reject any other Bill which had passed in three successive sessions of the House of Commons. It is doubtful if public opinion would have supported the Government over this Bill if the House of Lords had not surprised the country in 1909 by rejecting the Budget for the year.

The Bill (subsequently called the Parliament Act) was contested with the greatest energy by the Conservatives in

the House of Commons and in the House of Lords; but, although feeling ran high, there were no " scenes " ; and in the last critical debate of all in the House of Lords, when the fateful division was taken, the tradition of British statesmanship, the dignity of the House, were never for a moment forgotten. Ultimately the peers only acquiesced in the-Bill passing through their House when the Government intimated that they had advised the King to create enough new Liberal peers to pass it.

When the Parliament Bill became law people expected that the House of Lords, then shorn of its power, would become a negligible element in the Constitution. But the tradition of English politics is that the best must be made of every situation, and that the existing Constitution must be carried on. So the House of Lords, having made its fight against the Parliament Bill, at once acquiesced in the new situation, and used with skill and energy all the powers which it still held under the Act. The House became more prominent than ever; and among other things it duly rejected the Home Rule Bill three times, as was permitted under the Parliament Act. On the third rejection, however, the Bill automatically went, over the heads of the peers, to the King for the Royal Assent, which, in accordance with the custom of the Constitution, was duly given in 1914. When this happened John Redmond declared at Dublin : " Home Rule for Ireland is as certain as the rising of to-morrow's sun." It is true that the Protestants of Ulster had declared their intention of resisting the Act; they had set the evil precedent of arming themselves to withstand the law; the Liberal Government had weakly and culpably allowed the arming and drilling to take place, and the Conservative party had made the deplorable statement that it would support the Ulstermen in their armed resistance. The appeal to arms is the bankruptcy of politics and of man's power of civil, peaceful life. This was the greatest misfortune of England's long history. Who was to blame—

Ulster for threatening arms against the law, or the Asquith Government for getting an Act passed which touched people so closely that they would fight rather than endure it? Such was the condition of affairs when, on June 28, 1914, the crime at Sarajevo set in train forces which were to plunge the whole of Europe into war.

CHAPTER XIV

FOREIGN AFFAIRS BEFORE THE GREAT WAR

SINCE 1906 the international situation in Europe had been very unstable. European stability depended upon the existence of certain treaties, like the treaties of 1815, which stabilized frontiers at the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and the Treaties of Paris (1856) and Berlin (1878), which defined the political frontiers in the Balkans. The European treaty system cannot be considered as a rigid, immutable thing; it must be amended and adapted to new conditions as they arise, but this adaptation must be made by consent of the Great Powers who made the treaties and are their custodians. Any forcible change in these treaties by one Power without the consent or against the will of the other Powers is a crime against the peace of Europe.

The annexation of Alsace and Lorraine by Germany in 1871, which was achieved by violence and without the consent of the Concert of Europe, was a broad breach made in the European States System. It destroyed the equilibrium between France and Germany, and thus gave rise to that unstable condition on the French eastern frontier which seemed to be making war a possibility every year between 1871 and 1914. One crisis after another was tided over by the statesmen of Europe, but the cumulative effect of these crises, coming as they did with only short intervals between

them, was to make war at every new crisis more difficult to avoid.

A continuous series of events, directly causing* the Great War, can be discovered from 1908. In that year the Government of Austria-Hungary suddenly notified the Powers that it had decided to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Congress of Berlin had entrusted these two Turkish provinces to Austria, to be administered by her, but still to be under the nominal sovereignty of Turkey. The change which Austria now made (October 3, 1908) in the situation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, by declaring them annexed to her Empire, may have been a change of form rather than of substance; but it was at any rate a cold-blooded breach of the Treaty of Berlin, to which Austria had been a signing party. It could not, according to any principle of international law and morality, be done by one party without asking the leave of the rest. The responsibility of the Emperor Francis Joseph and of his Chancellor, Count Aehrenthal, for this reckless act against international comity cannot be diminished by any argument. The gravity which attaches to the acts of all high statesmen can be appreciated by any person who reflects how dearly Austria paid for this misdeed : her magnificent Empire was disrupted and converted into a small, starveling republic dependent on the charity of Europe. Her last Emperor died almost unnoticed, three years after the Great War, on the island of Madeira.

No sooner had Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina than Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria denounced the Turkish suzerainty and declared himself to be a sovereign Tsar. Greece took full possession of Crete, which had hitherto (for about ten years) been governed by a Greek Prince under the authority of the Powers. The Balkan States—Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria—formed a " Balkan League " (1909), with the object of taking advantage of any opportunity which might arise to drive either the Austrians or the Turks from the Balkan area. Another stage seemed

about to be accomplished in the partition of Turkey. To the surprise of Europe, however, the first military blow came from Italy, which in 1911, failing to come to an agreement with the Porte concerning Italian interests in Tripoli, sent a fleet and invaded that North African Province of Turkey. The war ended on October 18, 1912, with the Treaty of Lausanne: Tripoli was annexed to Italy. The treaty was signed while another Turkish war was just starting; for the Balkan League, having presented demands for the better government of Turkey, and having been refused, made war upon the Porte. This was the First Balkan War, fought in 1912-13 by Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, and Bulgaria against Turkey. It ended with the Turks being completely driven out of Macedonia (including Salonica), and out of most of Thrace (including Adrianople). Only the Chatalja lines (about eight miles from Constantinople) stood between the Bulgarian army and the Turkish capital (May, 1913).

At this critical moment, however, the Balkan allies began to dispute among themselves concerning the apportionment of the conquered Turkish territory; and in July the Bulgarians on the Macedonian theatre of war suddenly attacked the Serbo-Greek lines. A Second Balkan War followed, between Bulgaria on the one hand and Serbia and Greece on the other. It was only finished by the intervention of the Roumanian army. A peace was *dictated* to the Bulgarians at Bucharest on August 10, 1913. Greece got Southern Macedonia and Salonica; Serbia got Northern Macedonia and Uskub; Bulgaria got part of Eastern Thrace, but not Adrianople. During the Second Balkan War the Turks had entered Adrianople, expelling the weak Bulgarian garrison. Moreover the Roumanian Government, as a reward for its intervention, had insisted upon getting a cession of territory (the Southern Dobruja) from the Bulgarians. Thus the Second Balkan War left the Balkan States bleeding, and also distracted by bitter memories and rankling grievances against each other. It also showed the Turks once

more how they could profit, even after grievous defeats, by taking advantage of the quarrels and disputes of their enemies.

On June 28 the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, nephew of the Emperor Francis Joseph, was visiting Sarajevo with his wife, when both he and his wife were shot dead in their carriage. This atrocious crime brought to a head the tension which had for long existed between the Austrian and Serbian Governments. The Austrian Government declared that Serbian officers were implicated in the crime, and on July 23 it presented an ultimatum. This document, among other things, protested against the anti-Austrian propaganda which (it was stated) existed in the Serbian schools and Press; and it demanded that the Austrian Government should be allowed to name such Serbian officials as it believed to be concerned in this propaganda, and to have them dismissed. In presenting this ultimatum the Austrian Government had received the official assurance of support from her ally, Germany. The Serbian Government declined to accede to the condition that the Austrian Government should be able to name Serbian officers for dismissal; accordingly, the time allowed for the ultimatum (forty-eight hours) having expired, an Austrian invasion of Serbia took place. The Russian Government, which for generations had considered itself to be the protector of the Balkan Slavs, began to mobilize its forces on the Austro-Russian frontier; and Germany, although not directly menaced by this, regarded it as a military threat and presented an ultimatum at St. Petersburg (August 1). When this ultimatum expired, she started the war of the Great Powers by striking right and left at Russia and at Russia's ally, France. Actually *it* was the French who were to be invaded first. On August 4 the German army from the neighbourhood of Aix-la-Chapelle crossed the Belgian frontier, as being the easiest route to France.

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This was the easiest route, partly because the country is, on the whole, flat and well supplied with roads, railways, and canals; and partly because Belgium, having been made neutral by the public law of Europe, was not seriously, until almost the last moment, expected to be invaded. The violation of Belgian neutrality, which Prussia, along with other Powers, had guaranteed by the well-known London Treaty of 1839, was probably the greatest, though not the only, blunder of Germany, which all through suffered from sacrificing moral and political considerations to military expediency. It is true that the invasion of Belgium enabled Germany also to invade and penetrate deep into the open north-eastern frontier of France; it is true also that the occupation of Belgium gave the Germans extra coal and iron-mines and a powerful industrial plant, without which they could scarcely have maintained the gigantic supplies of munitions which the war required. Nevertheless, it was a fatal mistake. Without the violation of Belgium, the British nation would not have come into the war in August, 1914. Besides this, the invasion of Belgium shocked the public opinion of the whole world, and so put Germany into that condition of moral isolation which gradually sapped her nerve and will.

Great Britain, although forming a friendly group with France and Russia since the Ententes of 1904 and 1907, had made no contract for giving military help to these countries. It is extremely doubtful whether public opinion would have supported the Liberal Government in joining in a war, even to defend the stability of Europe. But when Germany invaded Belgium, no choice was left to an honourable nation. Great Britain had guaranteed Belgian neutrality, and she must now defend it. Thus the invasion of Belgium made Great Britain engage in a war which, even without that, would have been her duty to take part in with every available "resource; for the war directly involved the balance of power in Europe—a balance which, on the victory of Ger

many, would have disappeared, so that the safety of even insular Britain would have gone.

It is said that about every hundred years a "disturber" appears in Europe—that is to say, that after about a hundred years of growth some State becomes so powerful that its people or rulers dream of going forward and gaining control of the whole of Europe, perhaps even of the world. This situation, the emergence of one State bent on universal domination, immediately causes the other European States (or a number of them) to join together to defeat the designs of the disturber, and a long, titanic struggle follows. In this struggle Great Britain, owing to her geographical position—an island, conveniently placed for access to Western or Central Europe, and standing upon the ocean routes—is always the controlling factor.

Such disturbers in Europe were Louis XIV., Napoleon, and William II. with his Junker *entourage*. In each struggle which the attempted domination of these three disturbers produced, England did actually control the course of the war, her fleets keeping the seas open to the Allies, her wealth and credit supplying their material needs, and her people, as each war went on, discovering to the world an unexpected resourcefulness and aptitude for the military art and for military organization.

CHAPTER XV

1914

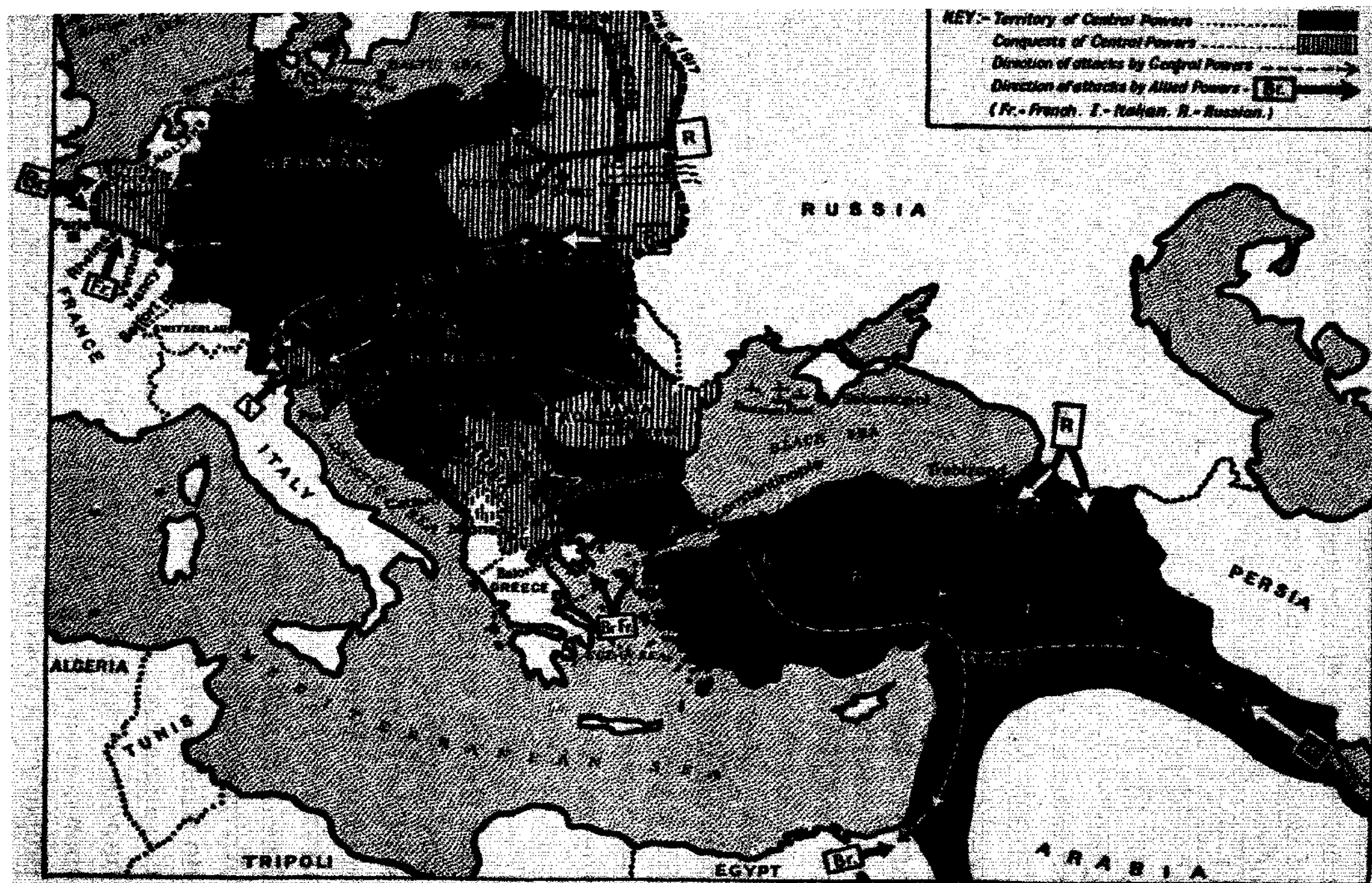
AFTER crossing the Belgian frontier, the German army attempted to storm the fortress of Liege. Failing in this, they subjected it to a bombardment by big guns of unprecedented weight. In those terrible circumstances the Belgian commander, General Leman, and his men held the

fortress until it was battered to pieces. It was captured on August 10. This was the occasion in which the German General Ludendorff first came into prominence. Leman was made prisoner till the end of the war. He never recovered from his experiences in that first shock of the world-war. He died in 1920.

After Ltege, the next Belgian post of defence was Najnur, at the confluence of the Sambre and Meuse. This great fortress was expected to defend itself longer than Liege. A thrill of surprise and depression went through Britain when it was known that Namur had fallen on August 23.

With magnificent precision, the British Expeditionary Force of 80,000 men—the whole of the available regular army, after drafts and garrisons had been provided for—was concentrated at the ports of embarkation and shipped over to Boulogne. Between August 16 and 20 it was taken up by railway to the French frontier and "advanced into Belgium. On the 23rd it was in the neighbourhood of Mons, and had obtained contact with the enemy, when* the Commander-in-Chief, Sir John French, divined that his right wing was uncovered, and that his whole army was in danger of being enveloped by the Germans. The truth was, though General French did not know it, that the French army, which was aligned along the Meuse and was opposing the main German advance, had been broken through by the enemy at Charleroi.

Then followed one of the most magnificent and desperate retreats in history, the British army marching back, pursued by an enemy that kept up the pressure continuously, and used every resource which it possessed of men or material to destroy the British or to drive them for refuge into some fortress, like Maubeuge, where they would be invested and shut up. The French army in like manner retired from the sector of Charleroi and went back, fighting incessantly rearguard actions against the foe, who came on with all the driving power given by superior resources, by



MAP OF THE WESTERN FRONT TO ILLUSTRATE THE WAR OF 1914-1918.

possession of the initiative, and by success already gained. Back went the French army, from one prepared position to another, with all the horrors of new and unknown methods of destruction coming upon it. In this crisis of the history of the world the calmness of General Joffre was the saving element. This man, with his strong physique, broad shoulders, large, serene forehead, and tranquil manner, had just the untroubled capable air about him which inspired confidence and prevented moral collapse. Yet the retreat showed no signs of stopping, and several times before the British recovered touch with the French army they were on the point of being annihilated. At last, on September 5, it became known in England that General von Kluck's army, which had hitherto been driving straight for Paris, was making a swerve to the left across the face of the opposing British army. The reason for this change of direction has never been wholly explained. Anyhow, it gave Joffre, who had never lost his grasp of the situation, the opportunity to strike. On September 6 he gave the order for a general attack on the German army, which was then only about nine miles from Paris. To support the attack the garrison of Paris itself was sent out rapidly in every sort of vehicle that could be procured; and all along the front of action in the areas of the Marne and Ourcq, French and British troops made their supreme effort. The effect was magical. In two days the swift and (as it seemed) irresistible German advance was checked and turned into a retreat. With rapid comprehension of the sudden change of front, the German High Command forthwith reversed its line of march, and retreated as swiftly as it had come. The Allies now in their turn made every effort to give the enemy no relief, and to press them back and back until, forcing the Germans on to "the run," as the saying was, they would bundle them out of France. But the forethoughtful Germans, even during their early victorious advance, had been preparing a possible line of defence. Now, when in their

retreat they reached the River Aisne, they settled down and dug themselves into the ground. The line here became rigid.

Then ensued a sort of race to the sea. Each army tried to outflank the other : the Germans pushed outwards on their right to try and get round the British army; the British pushed outwards on their left to get round the German army. Thus at last the opposing lines were lengthened till, simultaneously, they reached the Channel coast. Similarly on the French right, extensions of the front brought the line to the border of Switzerland.

The battle of the Marne is one of the grand facts of history. Undoubtedly it saved Paris; probably it saved all France, except the western ports, from being occupied by the Germans; perhaps it saved Europe. The losses of the Allies were almost as great as those of the Germans. Out of the British Expeditionary Force of 80,000 who crossed the Channel in August, very few ever returned; the old regular soldier, whose profession in life was the army, who took his pay and did his daily work in the same simple unimaginative way in peace-time as in war, expired gloriously in one act of the highest sacrifice and usefulness :

These in the day when Heaven was falling,
The hour when earth's foundation fled,
Followed their mercenary calling
And took their wages and are dead.¹

People in Great Britain, separated from the scene of conflict by the sea, and confident that the navy would preserve their immunity from invasion, found it difficult to realize at first that war—war upon a terrific and gigantic scale—was going on. The Government, however, of which Mr. Asquith was Prime Minister, realized the grandeur of the conflict at once, and organized a recruiting campaign with a thoroughness and ardour which aimed at bringing a consciousness of the gravity of the country's need home to every-

¹ A. E. Housman.

one. The response of the people was indeed magnificent; the recruiting offices were filled. The most inspiring thing of all was the way the young men gave up their careers, and simply, without any display of emotion, of joy or sorrow, followed their duty. It was during the Long Vacation that Great Britain declared War, when the young men of the Universities were scattered to their homes. But by 'the 5th of August they were streaming back to offer their services, while men of every profession and trade were thronging the recruiting offices to enlist.

For months most people continued to believe that the war would be short; in fact, there was only one man in England who from the start publicly stated that the war might last for years, and that everything must be done with this in view. This man was Lord Kitchener, who on the outbreak of hostilities had been made Secretary of State for War. A man of many limitations, he at least showed this sign of greatness, in that he alone foresaw the length and magnitude of the conflict, and at once prepared for it. All his enlistments were "for three years or the duration of the war " : the elastic period was thought by everybody to be merely excess of caution. In his speeches, also, Kitchener in his cold way showed more imagination, because he knew the truth better, than the most prescient of statesmen. He alone knew that it was conflict on the greatest scale and for the most weighty issues of history; and he knew, therefore, that to each individual the call of service was serious as the call of eternity.

It has been well said that in every man's life there is one supreme hour towards which all earlier experience moves and from which all future results may be reckoned. For every individual Briton, as well as for our material existence, that solemn hour is how striking. Let us take heed to the great opportunity that it offers, and which assuredly **we must grasp now and at once or never.**¹

¹ Lord Kitchener's speech in the City of London, July 9, 1915.

It may have been that the Germans calculated on the loose bonds of the British Empire being broken by the shock of war. If so, disappointment awaited them. From every British Dominion and Colony, on the outbreak of war, offers of assistance came pouring in. One of the first to send a cable message was Mr. Andrew Fisher, Premier in a Labour Government of the Commonwealth of Australia; he pledged Australia "to the last man and the last shilling". When the troops from Australia, Canada, and New Zealand arrived, it became clear that the military resources of the Empire had undreamed of strength and variety. The overseas troops had something especial about them; the individual men were all of magnificent physique, and they moved with a lithe, springing step that implied an unconquerable buoyancy of spirit.

Yet it took months for the Dominion troops to arrive, and almost a year for "Kitchener's Armies"—the newly recruited armies—to be trained. Meanwhile, to enable the small British field army to hold its line, troops of the Indian army were brought over to Europe, and Ghurkas and Sepoys fought Britain's battles from sodden and icy trenches in the strange countries of France and Flanders. It was a tragic though proud Odyssey for the martial races of India.

The invasion of Belgium was followed by the flight and emigration of large numbers of the Belgian people. Brussels, the capital, was occupied on August 20. Faced with the unknown terrors of capture by the German soldiers, with reports coming in daily of murder, torture, and burning, many Belgian families, taking with them what little property they could carry, went off to Holland, France, and Great Britain. Most of these refugees ultimately arrived in England, where funds were opened for their support, and hospitality was given in numerous private houses. For months the Belgian *emigres* lived with their hosts, but gradually they formed homes and supported themselves by

work, some in English businesses, some in munition factories which the Belgian Government (which sat at Havre in France) established in England for the supply of the Belgian army.

The tales of atrocities done by German soldiers in Belgium and France were only too well authenticated. The German military tradition was ruthless. The worst official act of this period of the war was the destruction of Louvain, with its priceless library, done by order of Major Manteuffel in August.

While Joffre and Sir John French were conducting their historic retreat from the Belgian frontier to the Marne, the Russian armies, on whose lateness the German General Staff was calculating, were already moving, and had penetrated deeply into East Prussia. But General SamsonofTs army was met by General Hindenburg on August 28 in the neighbourhood of the little village of Tannenberg, and utterly destroyed. Perhaps 50,000 Russians perished in the marshes round the Masurian Lakes, and 80,000 were taken prisoner. Yet it was not all loss, for the Russian invasion of East Prussia had to some extent relieved the pressure on the French and British armies in the West.

On the Western Front the battle of the Aisne resulted in "stalemate"; and accordingly the British army was transferred to a sphere where it would be nearer to its bases of supply, to Flanders. The Germans completed their work in Belgium by investing and bombarding Antwerp, which was taken on October 10, in spite of a valiant effort made to relieve it by the hastily raised British Naval Division. The Belgian army was withdrawn to the line of the Yser, which it defended in a long battle lasting throughout the rest of the month. Sir John French, taking up his new position on the right of the Belgians, made the momentous decision to push forward and occupy Ypres, one of the best places of **political or strategic importance on Belgium soil which**

was not yet in German hands. From October 21 till the end of the month the Germans made a series of desperate attacks on Ypres, which was held by every resource of man and material which General French could improvise. Thin as the British line was, it held long enough for the German assaults to be broken down. When the first battle of Ypres was over, winter, with its rain, mud, and cold, put an end to all big operations. The next five months were filled with uneasy, tenacious trench warfare.

Early in the war the Central Empires received a most useful ally in Turkey. Two German war-ships, the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*, which were in the Mediterranean, evaded the British squadron there. They went to the Dardanelles and were admitted on August 11. According to the treaties governing the Straits, the Turkish Government was bound to intern the two foreign war-ships, but week after week followed and no action was taken. Finally, on October 29, the Turkish Government threw off all further pretence and joined the German side in the war. It speedily became clear that Constantinople is one of the pivotal points of the world. Its possession by the German-Turkish Power sealed up Russia from the Mediterranean and put her under blockade.

Further off, the British sustained a disaster in the Pacific, when on November 1, Admiral Cradock's squadron was destroyed by Admiral von Spee off Coronel, on the Chile coast. However, a carefully planned and perfectly executed reply was made to this when Vice-Admiral Doveton Sturdee took a powerful squadron to the Falkland Islands and annihilated von Spec's force on December 8. The German cruiser *Emden*, which had been doing so much damage to allied shipping in the Indian Ocean since the war began, had been sunk by H.M.A.S. *Sydney* off the Cocos Islands on November 9. The German flag disappeared wholly from the East, for on November 7 the Japanese and English had taken Tsingtau, the German fortress in China.

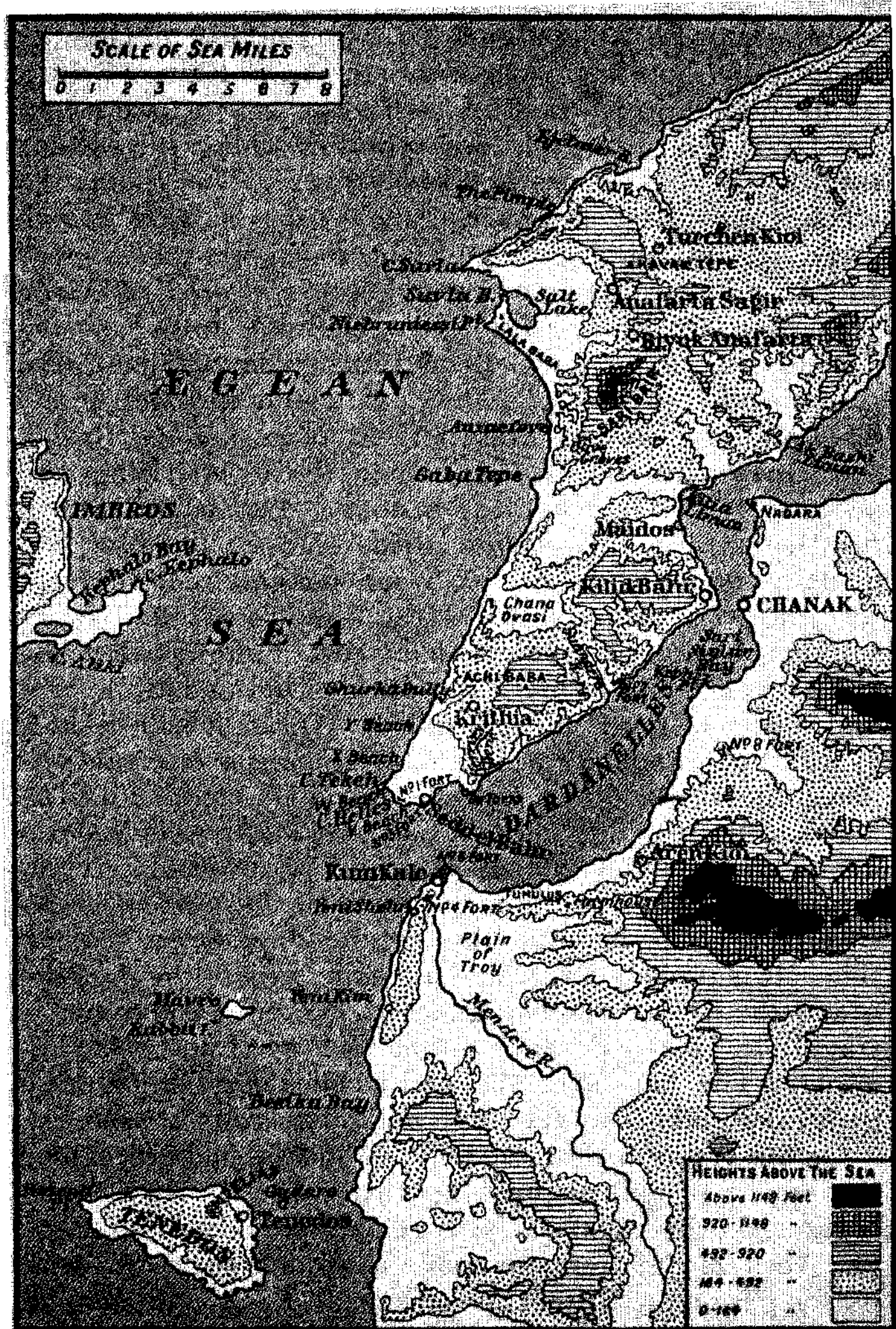
CHAPTER XVI

1915

IN 1915 the British made two grand attempts to break through the opposing line, in the West and in the East. Both attempts failed; and meanwhile the Germans, having walled off the British and French, were able to destroy the bulk of the Russian armies. The only gleam of success on the Allied side came from the intervention of Italy.

The year began well enough for the unfortunate Russians. Hindenburg failed in January in a series of attempts to capture Warsaw. In March the Russians captured the great Austrian fortress, Przemyśl. Fighting for the Carpathian passes was going on and a Russian invasion of the flat and fertile plains of Hungary was imminent. But in April the Germans had, with their usual skill and thoroughness, massed an overwhelming amount of men and material on the Dunajec River. On the 28th Field Marshal von Mackensen delivered the grand attack : the Russian line on the Dunajec was broken. Then ensued one of the most tragic campaigns which history has to chronicle. One after another, the Russian armies in Central Europe had to retire. Every day brought a fresh battle, and took further toll of the Russian soldiers. Army corps were broken; no line could be held; something like a million prisoners were taken by the Germans; and the only consolation was that the Russian Higher Command, amid these appalling catastrophes, kept its head and controlled the situation sufficiently to bring its more than decimated armies into comparative safety behind the Pripet Marshes.

Meanwhile the British had undertaken a great adventure, which was well worth trying, though it failed to end the war. The plan was to force the Straits of the Dardanelles and to occupy Constantinople, thus reopening free com-



munication with Russia, and destroying utterly all German designs in the East. On February 19 a Franco-British naval squadron had tried by itself to force its way through the Dardanelles, but had desisted after losing three ships sunk by Turkish mines in the Narrows. This ill-advised attempt may have forewarned the Turks of what was to come. At any rate, when the troop transports carrying Sir Ian Hamilton's Expeditionary Force appeared off Cape Helles on April 25, they found Gallipoli fully held by Turkish troops (under General Liman von Sanders), and protected by masses of barbed wire and machine guns. The landings effected, amid terrific losses, by the British and Australian soldiers are among the most daring and successful efforts in military history. Yet, when landed, the British had only narrow strips of coast to hold, perpetually under gun-fire, with no possible relief except by going on board ship. Heat, sand, flies, and every sort of physical discomfort daily cost hundreds of lives, and every attempt to break the Turkish lines amid the hills and coves of the Peninsula failed. At last it was decided to withdraw,* and an evacuation, even more wonderful, perhaps, than the landings, was effected on December 20. The heroic enterprise on Gallipoli had cost the lives of 120,000 men, and at the time the loss seemed without result. Yet it is probable that the military power of Turkey never recovered from the hammer-blows of the Dardanelles Expedition. It is probable, too, that a continuance of the pressure—and the loss of another 120,000, or even 300,000 men—would have taken the Expeditionary Force into Constantinople. The heroes of the Dardanelles Expedition have their immortal garland, though not the guerdon of success.

On the Western Front no military success had brightened **the** record of this depressing year. In March a badly organized British battle *at* Neuve Chapelle **had** had no effect. On April 22 the Germans made a sudden onslaught with poison gas on the British line at Ypres. The gas did make a



MAP OF THE BALKAN PENINSULA TO ILLUSTRATE THE WAR IN
MACEDONIA, 1915-1918.

breach through which Germans marched, until they were stopped in a wonderful fight by Canadian regiments. Throughout summer, when the Russian forces were losing line after line in Galicia, the French and British did nothing. In September a grand assault was planned to be carried out by the British in the neighbourhood of Loos and by the French in Champagne. Both efforts failed, and the British lost 50,000 men. In December Sir John French retired from the command of the British forces in France, and was replaced by Sir Douglas Haig.

Already the Government at home had changed its colour, in May, when Mr. Asquith, taking the leading Conservatives into the Cabinet, transformed his Liberal Ministry into a Coalition.

In October Bulgaria threw off the mask of neutrality and joined the German side. This, coupled with the appearance of Marshal von Mackensen's army in Serbia, made the military position of that unfortunate country impossible; and although a British and French force occupied the Greek city of Salonica, and advanced into Macedonia to help the Serfos, there was no hope. The remnants of the Serbian armies made their way through the Albanian mountains to the Adriatic Sea, where they were saved by British ships. Serbia and Montenegro passed into the hands of the Austro-Germans. These might have pressed on to Salonica, but the intervention of Italy (who joined the Allied side on May 23) kept the Austrians heavily engaged on the Trentino front.

Early in 1915 the Germans proclaimed a blockade of England—not an effective blockade, as required by International Law, but a paper blockade, designating a particular area where neutrals might not pass. Unable to patrol the North Sea and Atlantic with surface ships, or to take neutral ships in tow to German ports, the German Admiralty claimed the right to sink neutral ships at sight with submarines. But in this year their main demonstra-

tion was in sinking a British passenger Atlantic liner, the *Lusitania*, on May 7. The real attempt to starve out England came later. Yet already the German authorities had shown how thorough—and how unintelligent—was their policy of ruthlessness when in October 12 they had Nurse Edith Cavell shot at Brussels, after court-martial, for assisting in the escape of prisoners.

CHAPTER XVII

1916

BY the end of the year 1915 Britain had become a great military nation. The voluntary armies, which Lord Kitchener had started raising at the beginning of the war, had reached a total of five million men. Yet the effort of Great Britain had not reached anything like its maximum; the line which the British held in France was only a small fraction compared with that which the French forces held. During the late summer and autumn of 1915 voluntary recruiting had practically ceased to bring in any more recruits. So at Christmas-time Mr. Asquith's Government took the tremendous step of carrying a Conscription Bill for bachelors of eighteen to forty-two years of age through Parliament. In May, 1916, the Bill was extended to include married men. The Conscription Bills, although not *popular*, undoubtedly had the approval of the people, and they were put into effect without the slightest friction.

The failure of the British at Gallipoli was followed in the spring of the new year by a disaster in Mesopotamia. The Government of India had early in the war recognized the need of dealing with this Turkish province, and had landed a small force in the Shatt-el-Arab and occupied Basra. From there the British-Indian forces gradually

pushed onwards, and in July, 1915, entered Kut-el-Amara. A further advance towards Bagdad was then decided upon, and General Townshend got to a point twenty-five miles south of that city, and won the battle of Ctesiphon (November 22, 1915); yet he had not sufficient resources to follow up his success. He fell back to Kut, which on December 3 was completely invested by the Turkish army. A relief army from Basra fought several battles to save General Townshend, but in vain. The evacuation of Gallipoli by the British probably made the fall of Kut inevitable. It surrendered (with 11,000 troops) to the Turks on April 29, 1916.

In February, 1916, the Germans began at Verdun one of their biggest and most sustained efforts. In this long war, where many critical moments can be discovered, the failure of the Germans at Verdun may be taken as the turning-point. On February 2nd they undertook a great attack upon the French there and carried the first two lines of defence rapidly. The French, brilliant in attack, were never considered good at the long-drawn-out labours and sufferings of defence. In England, within the first week of the attack, when the Germans got within three miles of the fortress, Verdun was popularly given up as lost. But to the surprise of all the world, at the last moment, as it seemed, the French defence held; the German advance stopped. Week after week the assault went on, gaining a little, losing a little, while all the time the defence was steadily supplied with more men and munitions, the situation being controlled by the iron-willed Petain, who took over the command on February 25.

It looked as if the Germans had staked their all—reputation, men, material—on the taking of Verdun, for with incredible persistence they maintained the great assaults right into the summer; and intense fighting was still going on before Verdun when Field-Marshal Haig opened the battles of the Somme on July 1.

The Somme battles, which lasted all through summer and into the month of November, were, regarded as a unit, the biggest military effort of the war. They were combined operations of the British and French armies along a line of about thirty miles, and the immediate objects in front of them were the capture of Bapaume and Peronne. It was in the course of these battles that the British, on September 15, first showed to the astonished Germans and to the world the tanks which had long been preparing in secret. The Somme battles did not accomplish their ultimate aims; they did not "roll up" or break down the German lines. They cost the Allies about 400,000 men. They did, however, accomplish two things; firstly, they relieved the pressure on Verdun, and put its capture out of the reach of the Germans; and, secondly, the four months' battering which they inflicted on the German armies undoubtedly shook that magnificent military machine and robbed them of their confidence. There is little doubt that the Somme battles produced the German peace offer of December.

During the Somme operations fighting on the grand scale had been going on in the other theatres of war. In May the Austrians had started a great push against the Italians, which at first attained much success, but was ultimately checked. On the Galician front, General Brussilov, in June, directed a series of advances by the Russian armies, which were said to have resulted in the capture of about one million Austrian troops. But even Brussilov's advance stopped when the German General Bothmer took the Austrian line in hand.

Yet all seemed going well when the Central Powers, in addition to all their fronts in France, Italy, Galicia, and Macedonia, had to provide for a new front, of enormous extent, in Roumania. This kingdom declared war upon Austria-Hungary on August 27, and at once invaded Transylvania, where so many Roumanians lived under Hungarian rule. But the result was a surprise to the whole

world; for the German Government, in the midst of the Somme battles, were nevertheless able to concentrate eight divisions under General von Falkenhayn in Hungary, and to deal with the Roumanians in a campaign of unexampled swiftness. First Falkenhayn carried the Carpathian passes, and next the river-lines of Wallachia, each of which in turn the Roumanian army tried to hold. Bucharest fell on December 5. Finally the hard-lighting Roumanian General Avarescu found a stable line along the Sereth and Susitza Rivers, between Wallachia and Moldavia. The Franco-British army in Macedonia, under General Sarrail, had tried, by a grand offensive on the Bulgarian lines, to relieve the pressure on the Roumanians, but with little effect.

Thus the year 1916 had brought no appreciable change to the balance of military power in Europe. Further afield things went better for the Allies; German South-West Africa had been conquered in the winter of 1914-15 by Generals Botha and Smuts. German East Africa proved a more difficult colony to conquer, and fighting went on there till the end of the war. In March, 1916, however, the British had completed the conquest of the German Camerun in West Africa. In Arabia a new ally had arisen, when the Grand Sherif of Mecca, henceforth to be known as the King of the Hejaz, threw off his allegiance to the Turks and besieged the Holy places of Mecca and Medina.

On the sea the Germans made their only big effort when Admiral von Scheer brought out their Grand Fleet. It was met on May 31 in the North Sea by the British Grand Fleet under Admiral Jellicoe, in the battle of Jutland. Both sides lost heavily and both claimed the victory; but as the German fleet broke off the battle and retired to the Elbe, from where it never again came forth (except to surrender), the result is really not disputable. The degeneracy of the German naval spirit was seen in the execution of Captain Fryatt (July 27), the skipper of one of the Great Eastern Railway steamers, who had run his ship at a German submarine.

Another loss sustained by England in 1916 was when Lord Kitchener, on his way to Russia, went down off the Orkneys in H.M.S. *Hampshire*, on June 5.

The gigantic losses, the apparent ineffectiveness of the operations of the Allies in 1916, made the British public uneasy with the Asquith Government, and in December the Premier resigned in favour of Mr. Lloyd George, who reorganized the Coalition Government on new lines. The Cabinet was reduced to five members, who were to devote themselves exclusively to the war. The first members of this War Cabinet were the Prime Minister (Mr. Lloyd George), Lord Curzon, Lord Milner, Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Arthur Henderson; General Smuts was added in 1917. The rest of the Ministers were in charge of the Departments of State, and sat in Council by themselves when considering Home affairs, but they were not in the Cabinet.

On December 12 the German Government made its now famous "peace offer." It was not a real peace offer, for it suggested no terms; it was merely an invitation to negotiate. Undoubtedly the time was favourable to Germany, because she had all the "pawns"—Belgium, most of Roumania, Serbia, and North-Eastern France. For this reason the Allies refused to negotiate. In a letter, sent in the following January to President Wilson of the United States, Mr. Balfour, British Foreign Secretary, explained the reasons for the Allied refusal to negotiate, and stated (for the first time) that the restoration of Alsace and Lorraine to France was now one of the indispensable aims of the Allies in the war. This statement was equivalent to a declaration of continuance of the war until one or other side had been absolutely defeated, for the German Government never could bring itself—even when it was tumbling into ruins—to acquiesce in giving back the spoils of the war of 1870.

CHAPTER XVIII

1917

THE year 1917 was crowded with events which, on the balance, seemed to be against the Allies. In Great Britain the feelings of the people were depressed, and even the public announcements of Ministers were not wholly encouraging, except those of the Premier, Mr. Lloyd George, whose serenity never failed, and who consistently sounded the call of determination and vigour.

The early part of the year did provide a sure hope. The German Government, with folly which would have been incredible had it not been so frequently displayed before, declared an "unrestricted blockade" of England on January 31, 1917. All ships sailing to the British Isles were to be sunk at sight. The German Government must surely have known that this policy, if really put into practice, would bring the United States actively into the war; but they gambled on the chance—which they pretended to consider a certainty—that the submarines would starve out Great Britain before American assistance could be given in Europe. The desperate militarist Government at once proceeded with its policy: merchant ships—British, Norwegian, American—were torpedoed without warning. President Wilson, although often accused of hesitation, was really consistent all through the war; he had said before that if Germany sank American ships war would ensue. Now the condition had come into effect. On April 6 the United States Congress declared war upon Germany.

In the East the Allied military situation was greatly improved. The Russians in the previous year had made progress in Armenia and had captured Erzeroum. Further south the British arms in Mesopotamia, under brilliant

leadership by General Sir Stanley Maude, had retrieved the disaster of Kut, and had taken Bagdad on March 11.

On the Western Front, in France, the Germans confessed that they had lost the initiative by withdrawing their forces during February over a section of about a hundred miles (Arras-Soissons), to a shorter, well-fortified line, called the 'Hindenburg or Siegfried line. On Easter Monday the British army began a grand assault, which resulted, among other smaller gains, in the capture of the Vimy Ridge by General' Byng and the Canadian Division.

Yet these gains—Bagdad, Vimy, the intervention of the United States—were gravely compromised by the terrible events which occurred in Russia, and which soon took that powerful country entirely out of the war. The Russian bureaucracy had undoubtedly put its heart into the war, and made incessant and tremendous efforts, raising armies—eleven million men—which it could not adequately arm. Vast losses in men had been incurred, and the people—with little education and scarcely any idea of the real aims of the war—became afflicted with war weariness. The railways were congested and suffering from the lack of repair; food was not being transported freely, and the population of the cities were suffering from shortage of bread. In these conditions the Revolutionaries found their designs suddenly easy of accomplishment, careless that their country should lose its honour and prosperity.

On March 12 a Revolution broke out in Petrograd, beginning, it is said, among the pampered Guards, who refused to be sent to the front. On March 15 the Tsar, who had never swerved in his *fidelity* to the Allies, was forced to abdicate. At first allowed some liberty, he was later imprisoned, and with his wife, invalid son, and daughters, was butchered in cold blood by the Bolsheviks on July 16, 1918, at Ekaterinburg.

The leaders of the Russian Revolution meant to erect a constitutional government in place of the Tsar; but the

Cadet (or Liberal) Administration only lasted two months. It was followed by a moderate Socialist Government under Kerensky, which abolished the death penalty in the army. The army leaders tried to revive the *morale* of the soldiers by engaging in a vigorous attack on the Austro-Germans in Galicia in July. Heroically led by Kornilov and his officers, the attack was at first successful, but soon died down. The demoralization of the army was soon completed when the Bolsheviks (or Communists), led by Lenin and Trotsky, seized the Government in November. Private property was abolished: greed and laziness were the only emotions appealed to. The Bolshevik Government announced that it would not pay any of Russia's pre-war debts or war debts. It ceased fighting; and on March 3, 1918, made the surrender to the Germans known as the Treaty of Brest Litovsk.

The Revolution in Russia enabled the Germans to keep their troops in the West up to strength. This was perhaps the reason for the failure of the French in the grand attack which General Nivelle conducted in Champagne in April and May. The failure caused intense depression in France, and produced mutinies in the French army, as well as *ddfaitisme* among a section of the French public. Nivelle was superseded by Petain, who restored the discipline of the French army. He was successful, too, where Nivelle had failed, in gaining the Chemin des Dames on November 2. It was a brilliant recovery; no one knows how near France may have been to accepting defeat and peace in May or June.

Meanwhile the British army had made prolonged and heroic efforts to improve the military situation. The Ypres salient was the ground chosen for the great offensive on June 7. The attack began with the explosion of a huge British mine which destroyed the bulk of the German defences on the Messines-Wytschaete ridge. It ended on November 6, when the infantry had fought their way, liter-

ally foot by foot, on to the low ridge of Paschendaele. Ground to the depth of about five miles had been gained by the three months' agony.

Away to the south, at Cambrai, General Byng won a cleverly fought action on November 20. On the new Eastern theatre of war, the Roumanians, although robbed of all Russian help and thrown back upon their own weak resources, had made a splendid fight against the Germans, and brought them to a standstill. The greatest Roumanian victory was the battle of Marasesti, which began on August 14. In Palestine, General Allenby, who had been transferred from the French front in June, began a brilliant campaign, culminating with the occupation of Jerusalem on December 9.

These gleams of success, however, were dimmed by something which happened in Italy. There a stone had suddenly dropped out of the Allied arch which stretched from the North Sea to the Indian Ocean. On October 24, taking advantage of war weariness and Socialistic disaffection in one of the Italian armies, the Germans, having transferred some of their picked troops on the Italian front, broke through the opposing lines at Caporetto. A regular rout set in: Italy was open to invasion; the Austro-Germans made straight for Venice.

It was then in her hour of disaster and disgrace, that Italy did her finest thing in the war. The country, where social and political discontent had been rampant, suddenly pulled itself together. The Government, which had been weak and quarrelsome, became firm and united. The French and British Governments, seeing that now or never was the time, depleted their reserves and rushed troops and guns to Italy. The Italian armies themselves came to a stand on the Piave (December 9 to 19). Venice was saved.

The military situation of the Alliance was also saved. Yet the year ended without much ground for hope, except

in the serene strength of mind of the English Premier and the fiery energy of the new French Premier, Georges Clemenceau, who in November took office at the age of seventy-six. The German submarines were taking daily toll of the merchant ships—now mainly British ships—which supplied this country with food. By the end of the year over six million tons of shipping had been sunk.* No grander examples of human constancy and courage are to be found in history than the simple, undemonstrative heroism of two classes of Britons, the infantry of the line and the merchant seamen, whose daily task brought suffering and danger, with little outlook that gave any hope of life.

CHAPTER XIX

1918

ON January 8 Mr. Wilson stated the Fourteen Points, defining the aims, as he understood them, for which his country had engaged in the war.

The ill-health which afflicted Mr. Wilson almost immediately after the war was over, and which, in a brief space of time, removed him entirely from political life, prevented his plans for reconstruction from becoming complete, and dimmed his illustrious reputation. Yet for about a year, from March, 1917, to May, 1918, Mr. Wilson's messages and speeches had been a veritable gospel to war-weary and dejected France and England. He voiced the vague, half-felt aspirations of ordinary men ; and he put in clear, classic language the highest aspirations of the thinkers. His words reinfused the war with the ideals which four years of fearful struggle had tended to overlay with materialism. His utterances were the noblest and clearest expression of the war from the difficult point of view of the statesman

who is responsible for carrying on a war in which he cannot shed his own blood.

In spite of the entry of America into the war, the European Allies had to bear the most desperate onslaughts of Germany alone. For weeks before the blow came, a great German offensive had been expected and talked of in ordinary conversation and in the newspapers. It is said that General Sir Henry Wilson warned the Supreme Allied Council at Versailles that the attack would come upon the British line; but the Supreme Council disagreed, and proceeded to strengthen the French line at the expense of the British.

On March 21 the blow came, and a thunderbolt seemed to drive through the British army. General Ludendorff, having apparently concealed his movements from our aeroplane observers, massed great numbers of men and guns opposite that part of the British line which lay between the Somme and the Oise. The terrific onslaught broke the army at St. Quentin, where the line had been extended and thinned to a dangerous extent. For a couple of days it appeared as if Amiens and Arras would be taken. Practically all the painful gains of the British at the Somme were lost. It was in the course of the next month's desperate fighting that Field-Marshal Haig issued his famous call to the men under his command :

There is no other course open to us but to fight it out. Every position must be held to the last man; there must be no retirement. With our backs to the wall, and believing in the justice of our cause, each one of us must fight on to the end. The safety of our homes and the freedom of mankind depend alike upon the conduct of each one of us at this critical moment.¹

In England the greatest excitement, coupled with extreme dejection, prevailed. But the Government never faltered. An urgent cable message was sent to the Government of the

¹ *Special Order of the Day, April 13, 1918.*

United States for help; and in the meantime some 300,000 troops were shipped across to France from England. The boy conscripts, who were in training in the army at home, but who were under the legal age for foreign service, volunteered for the front, and gave their young lives in the supreme effort that stayed the German advance. For it was indeed stayed, just in front of Amiens, on April 24. The Germans claimed 90,000 British prisoners and 1,300 guns. Out of the disaster came two good things: one was the united command, which only the terrific break-through of the Germans on March 21 would have made the Allied Governments submit to. It was arranged in a conference at Doullens on March 26, when it was uncertain whether all was lost or not, between Marshals Haig and Petain, Clemenceau, the French Premier, and Lord Milner, the British Secretary of State for War. Marshal Foch was appointed Generalissimo. The other advantage which came from these fateful days was the impetus given to the arrival of American reinforcements. To the Allied summons for help, Mr. Wilson replied that eight million American soldiers would arrive to stop the Germans, however far they went—a promise which must have brought despair to the German General Staff.

Ludendorff's great effort had been made. He had taken the last real chance that offered to break the British army at the place where it joined the French, and thus to destroy the Allied line. The attempt had been grandly made, had been dramatically successful up to a point, then had failed. There was now little more to hope for; the Allied line had been reformed; American forces in enormous numbers were collecting in France (120,000 in April, 220,000 in May), and Marshal Foch, in supreme command, could dispose of these grand reserves to strengthen every point. Now was the last moment when the Germans could have made a peace which still would have saved the Hohenzollern Empire. But the Junkers could not own defeat to

their deluded people. Ludendorff went on, covering over the failure of March with other offensives, which, however superficially successful, were only losing battles.

Ludendorff's next grand assault was, like the first, delivered against the British, but this time on the north, in Flanders. It began on April 9, in the neighbourhood of La.Bassee, where a Portuguese division held a sector of the British line. The attack was at first successful; Wytschaete, part of Mount Kemmel, and other places were taken, but the Belgians on their sector made a fine defence; and French troops sent up by the supreme command to support the British at Mount Kemmel turned the balance against the Germans. Ypres remained in the hands of the British, and the Germans were no nearer the Channel ports for which they had-made this desperate thrust.

An epilogue to this battle for the Channel ports was the British attack on Zeebrugge. A small flotilla, led by H.M.S. *Vindictive*, on the night of April 22-23, landed a party of men on the Mole, which they blew up, while others took some ships into the mouth of the canal and sank them there. One of the chief exits for German submarines was thus blocked.

The last grand throw of General Ludendorff, this gigantic disposer of human lives, was made against the French line on May 27. The Germans broke the French defence on the Chemin des Dames, and burst onwards toward Paris. The French were forced back to the Aisne, and still further back to the Marne. The line of war had been swept back to the old area of September, 1914. But Rheims, on the extreme left of the German advance, remained unconquered, so that the Germans when they were going forward were making a deep salient, with its point towards (but still fifty miles from) Paris. It was then (July 18) that Foch decided to strike.

Foch as Generalissimo, could dispose of all the Allied troops in France; and now, with the American forces piling

up day by day—for the American Government had responded with magnificent zeal to the call of March 21—he had a powerful, free, reserve army with which to deliver a swinging blow at whatever vital point his master-mind detected.

On July 18 Generals Degoutte and Mangin, who had large forces of French and American troops ready in the sector between the Marne and the Oise, broke through the Germans on a front of about twenty-five miles. Soissons was retaken, and the Germans were driven back across the River Vesle.

On other sectors the reaction against the German advance was maintained steadily; and on August 8 the British Fourth Army and the First French Army made a great offensive effort from the front before Amiens. The Germans were forced steadily backwards, fighting stubbornly, without disorder, but leaving about 25,000 prisoners behind them.

With magnificent precision the Allies maintained the pressure, first one army, then another, taking up the task. The assault from the Amiens front (General Rawlinson) was succeeded by one from the Arras front, begun on August 21 (General Byng). By the 29th Byng was in Bapaume; by September Peronne had fallen. North of Arras, General Home took up the tale and went forward, **and** on September 2 broke the famous Drocourt-Que*ant " switch-line " which joined the Hindenburg (Siegfried) **line** to the German positions round Lens. The co-operation **and** co-ordination of Haig and Pershing with the scheme of Foch were magnificent. Like a great roll, the armies **unfolded their** activities, and, once started, they went ever **onwards**. Mangin, whose army **had originally begun the grand advance on July 18**, was now (September 8) right across the Aisne. On September 12 an American army drove the German-Austrtans out of the St. Mihiel wedge, which they had held since 1914. On the 15th the Central

Powers sent a message to Mr. Wilson, requesting his good offices for a peace negotiation. But the President refused to be entrapped into any compromising admission that would detach him from solidarity with the Allies.

The tide of the war had suddenly turned, and in a few weeks the Germans had lost the results of years of fighting. Meanwhile, on the other side of Europe, the bottom had dropped out of their military structure, for on September 15 the Allied Macedonian army under Franchet d'Esperey had roused itself from its long quiescence, and had broken the Bulgarian front (Battle of the Vardar). On the 30th Bulgaria surrendered, and put its railways at the disposal of the Allies for an invasion of Hungary or Turkey.

After Bulgaria came the turn of Turkey. On September 19 Allenby began his brilliant, dramatic advance from the front before Jerusalem. His cavalry broke through the resistance of the Turks on the plains of Esdraelon, and cut off their line of retreat. A rapid advance of Allenby's army, with the Emir Faisal's Arabs from the Hejaz co-operating on the east side of the Jordan, brought the British into Aleppo. In Mesopotamia General Marshall (who had succeeded Maude on that General's lamented death on November 18, 1917) was advancing towards Mosul, when Turkey signed an armistice on October 30.

The Austrian Empire was already crumbling. Physically exhausted, her people had no fight left in them, and in all the Slavonic districts revolts against the Habsburg authority were starting. Too late the Habsburg Government granted a Federal Constitution, with self-Government to each component part of the Empire. On October 24 the Italians (who in June had broken the last Austrian offensive) began their advance. The post of honour was given to the 10th Army on the Piave, consisting of Italian and British divisions, the whole under the command of Lord Cavan. The disorganized Austrian line gave way and dissolved in a rout. The whole action is called the battle of Vittorio

Veneto. On November 3 the Austrians signed an armistice and went out of the war.

The Germans were still fighting their losing battles. On September 27 the British and French forces began their grand attacks on the famous Hindenburg Line before Cambrai and St. Quentin; on October 2 the French were in St. Quentin; and on October 9 the British were in Cambrai. The German line from the Channel to the Aisne was swinging back, pivoting upon the strong east and west lines from the Aisne to the Meuse, of which the most solid portion was the Argonne *massif*, to the west of Verdun. The American army was given the task of fighting its way through the Argonne. Here was perhaps the stiffest of all the German resistance in the autumn of 1918; slowly the Americans fought through, while the French, under General Berthelot, on their left went forward and took the Chemin des Dames (October 11).

On the extreme north the Belgians advanced along the sea-coast and took Ostend (October 17), while the British under Plumer attacked along the whole Flanders front. The last battles of the British were fought in the area between the Scheldt and the Sambre from November 4 to 11. On the nth the British entered Mons, where they had started fighting in 1914. On the same day (at 5 a.m.) the Germans signed an Armistice, and at 11 o'clock the "cease fire" was sounded all along the Allied lines.

CHAPTER XX

THE CONFERENCE OF PARIS, 1919

T H E Armistice terms stipulated for more than the cessation of hostilities : they amounted to a surrender/ The German armies were to evacuate all occupied territory, and were to withdraw across the Rhine, leaving the whole of German

territory on the left bank, and the bridge-heads on the right, for the Allied armies to occupy. An enormous, specified quantity of guns and aeroplanes and German warships had to be handed over to the Allies. Even before the Armistice of November 11, revolutions had broken out in Austria and Germany, and thrones toppled down like houses of cards. The Emperor Charles of Austria abdicated on November 13, and departed, ultimately to make his grave, three years later, in Madeira. The Emperor William also went fleeing from his military headquarters at Spa across the Dutch frontier, losing his last chance to go and die upon the field of battle, of which he had shouted the glories for so long. At the same time as the Emperor William fell from the throne, every other German ruling prince had to abdicate; they were permitted to live on in Germany upon their private property.

From the beginning of the year delegates and officials from the various interested countries began to assemble in Paris, where the Peace Conference was to be held; and on January 18 the Conference was opened by President Poincaré". The chief British representatives were naturally the Prime Minister (Mr. Lloyd George) and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Balfour); besides these there were the Premiers of the Dominions—General Botha for South Africa, Mr. Borden for Canada, Mr. Massey for New Zealand. Other Dominion Ministers were also present, and one, General Smuts, took a leading part in bringing the League of Nations into existence. India was represented by Mr. Montague (the Secretary of State), by the Maharajah of Bikanir, and by Lord Sinha.

The British Delegation, which, with its large staff, numbered some hundreds of members, was housed in the magnificent Hotel Majestic in the Avenue Kleber. The whole hotel was given over to the Delegation, and (to avoid espionage) was looked after by servants brought over from England. Although there was no round of grand festivities

and display such as distinguished the Congress of Vienna, much quiet entertaining was done in the Majestic, and men of all nations met there. Picturesque figures of soldiers and statesmen flitted through the entrance-hall or sat at small tables discussing policy informally with their friends.

The chief work of the Conference was done by delegates of the Five Powers, whose especial position was based upon the magnitude of their efforts in the war. These were Great Britain, France, the United States, Italy, and Japan. Russia, owing to the Bolshevik Revolution, was not represented officially. The smaller belligerent European Allies—Belgium, Serbia, Roumania, Greece, Portugal—as well as the large number of others who had declared for the Allies, such as China, Siam, Guatemala, and others, attended plenary Conferences when their own interests were concerned. The "Big Five" who supplied the efficient motive power of the Conference were assisted by technical commissions, consisting of officials or of private people, who were especially qualified in whatever was the subject-matter of the commission—for instance, Waterways, or the Laws of War, or Armaments, or the Balkans, and so forth. In the sessions of the Conference French and English were recognized as the official languages, and any speech was translated from one into the other tongue. A remarkable feature of the Conference of Paris was that none of the enemy Powers was admitted to it, until the terms which they were to be required to sign had been fully discussed and finally determined on by the Allies. This method was adopted to secure the diplomatic solidity of the Allies against possible enemy intrigue or propaganda.

When the chief peace treaty—that with Germany—had been drafted, after four months of intense labour, it was presented to the German delegation, who were summoned to France and housed, not in Paris, but in the Palace of Versailles. They were allowed to make written comments on the draft treaty, and a few minor changes were per-

mitted; then the terms were signed in the plenary session held at Versailles on June 28, 1919.

The Treaty of Versailles, in the official British published copy, is a folio volume of 446 pages. The first place in it was given to the Covenant of the League of Nations. This was the work of a special Commission, consisting chiefly of President Wilson, M. Leon Bourgeois, General Smuts, and Lord Robert Cecil. The Covenant established an International Constitution for the world, and represents the most systematic effort made to bring into effect the agelong aspirations of the world for the rule of peace and justice.

The rest of the Treaty deals with Germany and with the political and economic affairs of the States whose borders touched upon Germany or her colonies. One great cause of war—the seizure of Alsace and Lorraine by Germany in 1871—was done away with by the return of these provinces to France. All the colonies of Germany were also taken from her and given into the charge of Allies—some to Great Britain, some to France, Belgium, or Japan—to be administered by the particular Power under a "mandate." The mandatory system was the idea of General Smuts, and was meant to protect the interests of those colonies of Germany, or those provinces of Turkey, like Syria, which could not govern themselves, and which nevertheless the Allies, who were fighting for freedom, did not think it right completely to annex.

Germany, even if she remained militarist in spirit, was to be rendered innocuous to her neighbours for the future by the strict limitation of her armaments, and especially by the provision in the treaty that her army should not exceed 100,000 men; moreover, this was to be only a voluntary army, each man being enlisted for a term of service of twelve years, so that a large reserve of trained men could not be formed by their being passed quickly through the ranks.

The moral aspect of the treaty was emphasized by Ger-

many acceding to a declaration, which was embodied in the text, that the guilt of making the war rested upon her; and she accepted responsibility for repairing the material losses inflicted upon the Allies, to a total of eight thousand million pounds *sterling*.

After the German treaty came the Austrian. By this time the high Allied statesmen had all departed from France, and the treaty was signed at St. Germain-en-Laye on September 10 with little pomp or circumstance. The discordant races whom the Habsburg Empire had hitherto administered had in the course of the war been promised their freedom. Therefore the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye recognized the independent existence of these " Succession States " : Austria was reduced to the area inhabited by purely German-speaking people; the Bohemians became the State of Czecho-Slovakia; Hungary (minus Transylvania, which went to Roumania) stood alone; Croatia was joined to Serbia under the common name of Jugo-Slavia; and the Trentino, Trieste, and part of Dalmatia went to the Kingdom of Italy. The Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain-en-Laye, together with the disintegration of part of Russia, made possible the re-creation of the ancient Republic of Poland—the largest of the new States which arose out of the war. Similarly, along the Baltic littoral new States had come into existence during the Russian Revolution—Lithuania, Latvia (the old Livonia), Esthonia, and Finland.

The Treaty of Neuilly (November 27) settled the conditions of peace with Bulgaria; and with Turkey the Treaty of Sevres was signed on August 10, 1920. This treaty reduced Turkey-in-Europe to the Chatalja lines and put the Straits under an international regime; it also gave to Greece Smyrna and a large part of Asia, Minor. But subsequent events were greatly to modify these provisions.

The Conference of Paris in 1919 had a far more difficult task than the Congress of Vienna had in 1814. In 1814

Europe was still old Europe, and the statesmen of that year had before them the comparatively easy task of "restoration." Thus Metternich, Castlereagh, Nesselrode, and the rest, while making certain important changes in frontiers, placed the old accustomed rulers back in the States from which Napoleon had driven them; thus the habitual States system of Europe was preserved. But the statesmen of 1919 could not do this; this war had begun as a war for the defence of small peoples; moreover, owing to the intensity of the hostilities, the Governments had made unheard-of calls upon the endurance and resources of all the peoples under their control. Therefore, at the end of the war, the victorious Governments had to make a peace settlement in accordance with the wishes of the peoples, to whom they had made so many appeals, and with whom they had entered into so many promises. Accordingly, they could not, for instance, restore the old Austrian Empire, although that Empire had performed a very useful function in Europe by preserving Free Trade and a form of common administration throughout all its territories. Many races of the former Austrian Empire had now to have their independence, and must be given it fully and without reserve. Thus new States arose, and the old Austria, shrunk to a rocky province of six million people, overloaded by its huge imperial capital of Vienna, lost all its splendour, its wide and profound learning, its art, its wealth, and became for a time a sad, poor-house in Central Europe. Austria did not begin to show any signs of revival until a scheme for the better management of its finances was drafted and put into operation by the League of Nations towards the end of the year 1922.

CHAPTER XXI

THE BRITISH EMPIRE DURING THE WAR

IN former days people had sometimes asked the question whether the British Empire would stand the test of a war. Its component parts were very widely separated from each other, their sense of common interest could not be very lively, and the whole was held together by administrative bonds which were of the very lightest kind. The alacrity with which the people of the Dominions and Colonies leapt to war to assist the Mother Country, and the steadfastness with which they persisted to the end, are among the most inspiring facts of history.

The circumstances of South Africa rendered the action of the Government there more difficult than in the other Dominions. South Africa had a comparatively small white population of about 1,500,000, and 5,000,000 coloured people; moreover, the Germans were on the spot, hostile neighbours, in German South-West Africa. Even the white population was not completely united, as some of the Transvaal Boers had not forgotten the war of 1899-1902 and their former independence. They had, however, been generously treated by Great Britain, having been given powers of self-government in 1906. The whole of South Africa had been formed into a Dominion—the Union of South Africa—in 1909. Fortunately, when the Great War broke out in 1914, the first Premier of United South Africa, General Botha, was still alive and in power. He was powerfully seconded by General Smuts, the Minister of Defence; and these two former adversaries of the British Empire now threw the whole weight of their character and influence into the war. First they had to suppress a rebellion of intransigent Boers—the former Generals Beyers and de Wet—and

then they led the South African forces into German South-West Africa, and captured its capital, Windhoek, on May 12, 1915. Botha then returned to Cape Colony; towards the end of the year he visited England and Europe. In February, 1916, Smuts took the chief command in German East Africa, where his fertile brain was pitted against another resourceful soldier, the German General von Lettow Vorbeck. From German East Africa Smuts came to Great Britain and joined the War Cabinet in 1917. His enormous industry, his power of rapid work, his philosophic outlook, and his fiery, infectious will-power, made him a particularly valuable member of the Government during the dark days of 1917-18.

The pressing need of the British Government all through the war was men, for in spite of the enormous numbers raised (about eight and a half million), shortage of men hampered every warlike scheme. Australia, Canada, and India were able largely to diminish this handicap. Australia raised an army of 400,000 men, without conscription; Canada, using conscription in the later stages of the war, maintained over 600,000. The Australian Commonwealth Premier, Mr. Hughes, a small, deaf man, with tremendous force of character (who had succeeded the patriotic Andrew Fisher as Prime Minister in 1915), threw himself heart and soul into the war. His speeches, during his visit to England in 1915-16, were among the most strengthening of the efforts of public speakers. The Canadian Premier, Mr. Borden, owing to the nearness of Canada, was able to spend more time in Britain, and became almost a familiar figure. He was a calm, sensible man, wholly devoted to the prosecution of the war.

The distant Dominion of New Zealand raised an army of 50,000 men; and in order that the drafts might be regularly supplied the New Zealand Government, with its habitual efficiency, passed a conscription law, and called up the men

in a stated, regular manner without any friction. The total number of men recruited in New Zealand was 220,000. Newfoundland maintained a regiment continuously on service in France. But the greatest source of physical power outside Great Britain was India, which put in the field 1,500,000 men, schooled in the splendid military traditions of the old Indian army. The existence of the Empire of India, with its great military machine always in working order, was a powerful asset to the British Government in England at the beginning of the war. An Indian army came to the Western Front in France in 1914 to fight alongside the British Expeditionary Force, while "Kitchener's Armies" were still being raised and trained; and the forces which conquered Mesopotamia under Maude and Marshall, and Palestine and Syria under Allenby, were preponderantly Indian. It was partly owing to gratitude, and partly owing to the confidence inspired by India's services, that Parliament made the now celebrated declaration of August 20, 1917, promising to endow India gradually with powers of self-government.

The only portion of the British Commonwealth of Nations which failed to catch the prevailing inspiration and ardour was Ireland. The old Irish regiments of the Royal Army fully maintained their fighting traditions; Ulster turned its regiments (which before it had been raising *to resist the Home Rule Act*) into a Division to fight the Germans; John Redmond, the Irish Nationalist leader, devoted his eloquence and his energy to stir his countrymen to join the forces; and William Redmond, his brother, took an infantry commission at the age of fifty-three, and died of wounds received in action in France, June 7, 1917. But as a whole, Ireland, outside Ulster, stood aloof, from the war. In Easter, 1916, a terrible rebellion took place, chiefly in Dublin, and large numbers of British soldiers had to be

diverted from righting the Germans to suppress it. During the rest of the war Ireland was carefully occupied by British troops.

The versatility—and the wealth—of the British people were to be seen not merely in the grand theatres of war, but in a number of less known efforts in nearly every quarter of the world. There was General Dunsterville's small force at Baku, trying to stiffen the Armenians against the Bolsheviks in 1918; Malleon's little body of British and Indians in Central Asia, in Turkestan; Ironside's miscellaneous corps in North Russia, amid the snows and ice of the Dwina—a corps which fought against the Bolsheviks until September, 1919. But the greatest versatility and adaptability were probably those of the sailors and airmen.

The German submarine campaign—the prolonged, intensive attempt to starve out Great Britain—reached its height during the last half of the year 1917. Any ship going to or coming from Britain was, if a German submarine could manage it, sunk at sight. At home the British farmers increased the area sown with corn—Britain being actually the only belligerent country which increased its produce of grain—but even so, the whole population in England and the armies abroad depended upon the safe bringing into port of cargoes of grain from overseas. The Admiralty dealt with the German submarine menace with a concentration of mind and a fertility of resource which were perhaps the greatest though the least spectacular service during the war. The East Coast of England was an impressive sight, every mile watched, seaplanes always on the horizon coming or going; swift motor-boats plying up and down : the whole seascape under a beautiful system of force and intelligence, which appears never to have made a serious mistake. Further out, the fishermen of England, converted into crews of trawlers, ceaselessly searched the

seas for mines, and kept the lanes for the trading ships free.

**Dawn off the Foreland—the young flood making
Jumbled and short and steep—
Black in the hollows and bright where it's breaking—
Awkward water to sweep.
" Mines reported in the fairway,
Warn all traffic and detain.
Sent up Unity, Claribel, Assyrian, Stormcock, and Golden
Gain."¹**

The Royal Air Force, which attained gigantic proportions in the last stages of the war, had no grand, established, ancient traditions to start from, as the navy had. It was almost new when the war began. Unlike the rest of the army, its duties at home were almost as important and as dangerous as its duties abroad; for in Britain it had the task of preserving the civil population from the German air-raids, which were meant to ruin the nerves of the people and to goad them into clamouring for peace. The Zeppelins in 1915 and 1916 caused more excitement than damage; a number were totally lost; the first to be brought down in England was attacked from an aeroplane by Lieutenant Leefe Robinson on the night of September 2-3, 1916, and destroyed by a bomb. Abroad the Allied and German air services vied with each other in fights, which, desperate though the fighting was, were conducted with much more chivalry by the Germans than they showed in their land battles. Most of the great airmen met their death in the air before the war was over: Immelmann, the German, who had brought down many Allied aeroplanes; Captain Ball, the most famous of many fine English airmen; and Guynemer, whose aeroplane now hangs in Les Invalides in Paris.

The German submarine campaign, though it failed to cut off the British food-supply, seriously restricted it.

¹ Rudyard Kipling, *Trawlers*,

Prices would have soared sky-high had not Government, early in the war, formed commissions—for instance, the Sugar Commission and the Wheat Commission—which bought and sold, as a monopoly and at a fair price, the commodities in which they dealt. Even so, shops were short of food, and in 1917 there was the sad spectacle of long queues of people waiting by the hour outside the butcher's or grocer's to purchase their necessary supplies. But in February, 1918, the Government introduced "rationing." Every civilian member of the population, including the King and Queen, was given a series of tickets (or "coupons") for every week, entitling him or her to a fixed quantity of meat, sugar, butter, and jam; each person had to register his name with his tradesmen, and could only deal with them. Each tradesman was then supplied weekly by the Government Supply Commissions with as much rationed food as was required to supply the rations for his registered customers. Thus each person's weekly coupon had a corresponding supply of food for which it could be exchanged at his grocer's or butcher's shop; and he could draw this food at any time that was convenient to him in the week. The effect of the rationing or "coupon"^M system was magical. Quite suddenly the melancholy queues of women and children in the poorer shopping streets disappeared: the ration-system had come into force. At once the queues melted away. The credit of this great success must be shared between the skilled Civil Servants who mapped out the organization so thoroughly and neatly beforehand, and to the ordinary person, especially those who kept house, whose intelligence grasped the system and worked it practically without a hitch. Coal was among the rationed commodities; bread never was; its price was kept low (at 9d. for the 4-pound loaf) by a Government subsidy to the bakers. As happens with all Government subsidies, especially when given broadcast, a good deal of the bread subsidy was wasted (about £9,000,000 annually

out of the annual subsidy of £60,000,000). The community would have got much better value if, instead of giving £60,000,000 to bread, the Government had reduced by £60,000,000 the taxes on tea and sugar, which everybody had to pay, and which bore especially heavily upon the poor.

Great Britain became during the war, more than ever since the Industrial Revolution started, a humming hive of industry. The withdrawal of men for the army made highly valuable everyone who was left. There was no unemployment. Every factory was working full time, most were working day and night, and their whole output was readily taken by the Government for the universal needs of the fighting services. The stupendous output of industry necessary for the war—not merely munitions of war, but of every sort of useful article—could not conceivably have been maintained unless the women of the country (as happened also in France, Germany, and Italy) had entered the factories. By the end of the year 1917 probably nearly all the shells shot by the Allies had been filled by women. In the later stages of the war women were used in the fighting services; for instance, as motor-drivers, not merely at home, but in France.

In Germany workers were conscripted, but not in the Allied countries. In Great Britain, while Government limited the wages and family allowances of soldiers and sailors to a moderate figure, in industry there was no such system. Under the law of supply and demand, the wages of workers rose, in some instances to an incredible height. The coalmines and, to a greater extent, the railways were controlled by Government, so that some regulation of wages was possible in those industries; but in privately conducted industries wages soared. Thus there were many anomalies: soldiers giving their labour, their limbs, and
ir lives, for one shilling and threepence a day, or about

thirty shillings a week including separation allowance to family; railwaymen earning a moderate wage (considering the level of prices) of £3 ^{to} £4 a week; men in steel factories earning £10 to £15 weekly; and even mere boys, doing light mechanical work, getting £3 to £4. The **lack** of system was illogical and not altogether just; but the community as a whole was reasonable, and although the inevitable levelling downwards of wages after the war caused enormous friction and discontent, the difficulties gradually passed away.

From 1914 to 1918 the King and Queen became more and more familiar figures in the country—not by reason of vainglorious speeches or by pseudo-military attitudes, as happened with the German Emperor, but by incessant, quiet work. Heart and soul in the war, and devoted to the Constitution, the Crown was a firm support to the Ministry at every moment of this prolonged crisis. Personal visits to all the great works, as well as to the soldiers, and the touching labour of personally decorating every honoured person—soldier or civilian—brought the King close to a large number of the people. Dynamic actions are seldom possible for a constitutional monarch; and people may have thought it easier than events proved for the King to give the sum of £100,000 from his personal fortune to the Exchequer for the purposes of the war. His eldest son was a soldier in France and Italy, though necessarily forbidden to go into an attack in case he should become a prisoner, and be held as a ransom for the war. Another of the King's sons was in the Royal Air Force; a third served at sea on the battleship *Collingwood*. The Royal Family characteristically reject[ed] the German name of **Coburg**, and took the name and style of the House of **Windsor**.

In the last stages of the war, when the spirit even of heroic Allies seemed to be drooping, and when dejection and physical strain were showing among the civil popula-

tion perhaps more than in the forces, the Prime Minister was a powerful asset. Like the younger Pitt, he may be called the *'pilot that weathered the storm." There comes a time in every severe and prolonged crisis in human affairs when people begin to wonder where they stand; when they lose their grasp on reality; when the known landmarks by which they regulate their life disappear; and when civilization seems crumbling into ruin. It is then that men may begin to despair, to lose nerve, to grow frantic and cowardly—aimless, hopeless, useless. This is the time when the supreme gift is the power of inspiring confidence; the power of looking squarely into the situation, and seeing it whole; the power of keeping a grip on reality, and still, to some extent, controlling it. It was this power that Pitt wielded, so that all his Cabinet appeared to rest on him; it was thus that Joffre showed himself during the retreat to the Marne, and that the solid merit of Haig was more than ever recognized in the German break-through of March, 1918. So it was at home; in Mr. Lloyd George the country recognized a pillar of strength; and this feeling—whatever qualities it was based on—was worth a million men. Confidence was not only given to the masses; it was equally felt by the eminent statesmen around the Premier. In him was focussed the nervous power which, if sustained without faltering, in the long-run brings success in war.

CHAPTER XXII

THE YEARS AFTER THE WAR

DURING the war the intensity of the struggle, the miseries and sacrifices which *had* to be endured, made people feel that the result of all this effort must be a new and better age. Even while the war was going on, the British Govern-

ment was able to begin the work of reconstruction, as it was called, although actually restoration would have been a better name. The structure of civilization had been greatly damaged, but it had not been destroyed, by war; and what was required was to repair and restore the hard-won gains of the past and then to go on improving them. Bolshevik Russia was the only country where people had tried to reconstruct society on an entirely new basis, and there the experiment had produced only physical and moral death.

One drastic change was made in the British Constitution while the war was in progress. This was the Representation of the People Act, 1918, which established something almost equivalent to universal adult suffrage in Britain. Every man attaining the age of twenty-one and every woman over thirty years of age were given the right to vote for elections to the House of Commons. Next year Parliament, having given women the right to vote, thought that it must logically go on and give them the right to sit in Parliament. The first woman elected was Viscountess Astor. The House of Lords, however, took a different view, and refused to admit women who were peeresses in their own right to be "Lords of Parliament."

Another war-time measure of the Government which was passed through Parliament with a view to the period after the war was Mr. Fisher's Education Act (1918). The objects of this were, firstly, to extend the age at which boys and girls should leave school from fourteen to fifteen; the second object was to provide for the establishment of Continuation Schools, to be attended by lads in employment during a certain number of their working hours. The Act was only partially put into operation, owing to the lack of money which, contrary to expectation, afflicted the country and Government after the war. The expenditure on National Education was increased at the end of the **war**, not

merely by Mr Fisher's Act, but by the adoption of the recommendations of Lord Burnham's Committee on the remuneration of teachers. It cannot be said that the country was being parsimonious in its attitude to National Education, when the Central and Local authorities were spending about £80,000,000 on schools in 1922.

The years after the war were filled at home with an extraordinary and disheartening number of labour strikes. This was not entirely due to the abnormal conditions created by the war; labour strikes had been very common in the four years before the war, something like twelve million working days having been lost in this way in 1913. But after the war the tendency of workmen to strike was increased by some inevitable circumstances. Under the pressure of war conditions, wages had been increased, in some industries moderately, in some excessively. After the war it was found that many industries could not continue to provide the increased wages; that is to say, the industries could not sell what they had made at a sufficiently high price to enable them to keep the men in employment with the war-time wage scale. This was, in particular, the experience of those industries which sold the bulk of their products abroad, such as the coal, steel, and cotton industries. Therefore the employers were bound by necessity to lower the wages, or else to close their works. The workmen, naturally, objected to having a smaller wage. Here clearly was a problem which should have been settled by investigation, reason, negotiation. It was merely a matter of accountancy to show from the ledgers and order-books of firms whether they could or could **not** pay the war-time scale of wages. But while some industries accepted investigation and arbitration, others **adopted** the "strike" to decide what the employers **could or would pay**.

The most celebrated out of literally thousands of strikes

between 1919 and 1922 were the Railway Strike of 1919 and the Coal Strike of 1921. The affair of the railways shows both the reason and the unreason of such disputes; for in the railway industry it is fairly simple to see what wages can be paid; the price of the product (*i.e.*, the mileage charge for passengers or goods) is known, and cannot be much varied, and the amount of tickets sold or to be sold can be accurately calculated. The cost of running the railways—all the cost except wages—can also be definitely ascertained, and there is little opportunity for varying this; so that the amount of money available for wages in the railway industry, and for profit to the shareholders and proprietors, is ascertainable at any moment. The railwaymen, therefore, can easily discuss wages in a scientific way with the railway directors, and usually they have done so, with good results, through their well-organized unions. In September, 1919, however, the railway men struck, and for a fortnight the traffic of the country was disturbed, although not stopped. At the end of a fortnight the union officials, of whom the chief was the statesmanlike Mr. J. H. Thomas, regained control of the movement and reopened negotiations based on the Railway Accounts. In a short time a fair decision was arrived at, and a scale of wages established which gave the railwaymen a living, and enabled them to be fully employed, when some two million workmen in other industries were unemployed during the trade crisis of 1921-22.

In the coal trade the accounts were not nearly so easy to investigate as in the railways. There are a very great number of coalmines; and there are a vast number of grades in the goodness of coal, so that no such thing as a standard price is possible. Moreover, the bulk of British coal is sold abroad, and the price of export coal varies every day, according to the "higgling of the market" and to the value of money for Foreign Exchange.

There were two points involved in the post-war coal dis-

putes. One was Nationalization; the other was wages. Many of the miners, or their leaders, desired the Government to buy out the mine-owners and to conduct the mines as one State industry. This plan, if carried into effect, would have simplified the accounting, and have made it fairly easy to see what wages the industry could bear. But the Government and people as a whole were against Nationalization of any industry. For experience had shown that management under National administration is very costly, and that either the price of the services given to the public becomes very high (as with the Post Office) or else the industry has to get outside support from taxes (as happened in the coal industry during the last year, 1920-21, when Government was controlling it under the war legislation). As regards the second point, wages, the figures of the trade showed clearly in 1921 that the industry, unfortunately, could not support anything like the scale of wages that was actually being paid. When this was realized, the miners demanded that the money available for wages from all the mines should be paid into a central fund or " pool " and then divided out among all the working miners, with variations, of course, according to the amount of work done by each man. The object of the pool method was that workers in low-grade mines should be in about as good an economic position as workmen in rich mines, just as in a big railway group the workers on a branch get the same wages as the workers on the main line. But the Government refused to bring in a Bill (the only way to secure a complete national mining pool), partly because it was held that a pool would diminish the incentive to individual enterprise in the separate mines, partly because it was felt that a-national pool could only be conducted by a State monopoly -that is,-that the pool really meant Nationalization.

Unfortunately, the miners resolved to test the feasibility of their aims by an appeal to force. They withdrew their labour, or, as others; say, the employers closed the mines

(both things actually happened), and economic war ensued, to see who could hold out longest. The great coal strike began on April 1, 1921. The result of the struggle was to depend, not on the comparative power of endurance of the miners and the coal-owners, but of the miners and the rest of the community. For coal is like wheat; without it, or some substitute for it, the community cannot go on living. In this dispute two things became clear; firstly, that the community as a whole were not sympathetic to the demand for a pool; secondly, that the community could get sufficient coal from abroad, supplemented by oil, to suffice for its bare needs. After six weeks the miners agreed to give up the demand for a pool, and on investigation scales of wages were adopted, varying with the profits to be realized by the industry. Unfortunately, before the dispute was settled, practically every factory in the country had to be closed for lack of coal. Thus industries which were just beginning to succeed in adapting themselves to the post-war market conditions suddenly were thrown out of work. Vast numbers of people, who had nothing to do with the coal dispute, lost their employment: foreign competitors captured, for the time being at least, many of our export markets. Thus, through the coal dispute, British industry, which was struggling, amid the universal impoverishment of the war-stricken world, to keep its head above water, received something very like a *coup de grace*. All this helped to bring on the unemployment crisis of 1921-22.

The coal strike, however, only aggravated a difficulty which would have come upon the country without it, though not so extensively as actually happened. Trade in Great Britain became slack, and gradually in many factories came to a standstill, in the year 1921. The causes—apart from "strikes"—were, firstly, the loss of wealth, and therefore of buying power among the community, owing to the war; secondly, the high taxation, which still further subtracted from people's wealth, making them buy less, and making

capital scarcer, so that business firms could only get it at a very high rate of interest; thirdly (and this was the chief cause), the impoverishment (owing to the war and to Bolshevism) of the Continent of Europe—impoverishment which spoiled many of the great export markets of Great Britain. The loss of buying power was apparent not merely in Europe, but even in the United States and in India and China, which were formerly great markets for the Lancashire textile industry.

By the end of the year 1921 the number of unemployed workers in Great Britain had risen to about two million. Such a condition of affairs is always a danger to public order; during this crisis, however, the whole community, including the unemployed, behaved with admirable restraint. There were no riots. Financial relief to unemployed persons was provided partly out of the Unemployment Insurance Fund in the industries which were under this system, and partly out of the "dole"—a weekly payment to each unemployed worker, distributed (throughout the period of crisis only) by the Government at a cost of over a million pounds a week. In the spring of 1922 trade in Great Britain began to recover a very little of its former prosperity. There were still, however, over one million unemployed workers in Great Britain at the end of the year 1922. The coal export trade made a great advance, for, owing to the arrangement made with the miners for lower wages, very much cheaper prices could now be quoted for export coal, and consequently many foreign markets were regained for Britain. Other industries benefited from loans raised by the Dominions, by foreign Governments, and by foreign firms in the City of London, the wealth thus lent ultimately going out of the country in the form of railway material, electrical plant, and so forth.

A further stimulus to trade was given by the conscientious labour of the Geddes Committee. This was a small body of five men, appointed in 1921 by the Prime Minister,

Mr. Lloyd George, to suggest means for cutting down Government expenditure by one hundred million pounds sterling. The Committee consisted of the Chairman, Sir Eric Geddes, a former General Manager of the North-Eastern Railway, who had been First Lord of the Admiralty in the war; Lord Inchcape, the Chairman of the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company; Lord Faringdon, Chairman of the Great Northern Railway; and two eminent men of business, Sir Joseph Maclay and Sir Guy Granet.

For six months they laboured at the complex Government accounts and estimates, and researched into the methods of administration. No member—although they were all busy men, whose time was valuable to them—missed a single meeting of the Committee. In December, 1921, they published the first of the now celebrated Reports. In all there were three Reports, long, thorough documents, containing practical suggestions, based on careful evidence, for reducing taxation by the sum of eighty-six million pounds. Even before any of the suggestions were put into effect the Government had made large economies in the administration. This, combined with the confidence inspired by the Geddes Reports, enabled men of business in the country to begin new enterprises, to restart others, and to induce the public to lend their capital on terms of moderate interest.

When the war was over the Prince of Wales began a series of tours in the Empire, in recognition of the common sentiment under which all the British Dominions, Colonies, and Dependencies had come to the help of the Mother Country during the war. The first tour was to Canada (1919), where the Prince's modest bearing, his manly speeches, his love of sport and outdoor life, made him a favourite with all people. The next tour was through Australia and New Zealand (1920). The Prince's third tour



was a more difficult effort: it was a journey through India, in the cold weather of 1921-22. At this time India was in a most disturbed condition; the new constitutional reforms had just come into effect, and the revolutionary propaganda of the "extremists" was being carried on at its highest pitch. Mr. Ghandi was preaching "non-cooperation"; and there was a danger that, though personal violence might not be shown to him, the Prince would find a chill reception everywhere. Nevertheless, the Prince went through the tour with the greatest spirit, and in nearly every city that he visited his handsome person and the simple charm of his manner attracted enormous crowds and sincere enthusiasm. From India he went to Japan, returning a visit which the Japanese Crown Prince had made to Great Britain in 1921. *The Times* newspaper justly called the Prince "our greatest Ambassador."

With the Conference of Paris in 1919 a "Conference Period" began, comparable with the "Congress Period"^M which followed upon the end of the Napoleonic Wars. During normal times intercourse between Governments is carried on by the Foreign Offices, through the agency of each country's ambassadors and largely by exchange of Notes. These ambassadors—trained diplomatists—are always cautious, capable men who usually settle any business between their respective Governments, without making any obvious mistakes and without ruffling anybody's feelings. This method of conducting international business is sound, but requires time (it is well-spent time), because the ambassadors are only agents: they receive instructions from their Foreign Offices, and their decisions are reviewed and revised by the Governments. In order to save time, in abnormal periods, during some crisis, the Prime Ministers, or Foreign Ministers, of different Governments have sometimes met together, and have made their decisions and agreements directly with each other, instead of

acting through the medium of their ambassadors. Such Conferences of Ministers took place frequently during the war, and in the war's last years had become, under the name of the Supreme Council, a regular part of the Allies' organization.

And now, in the troubled period after the war, the Prime Ministers of the former Allies still found it convenient to meet together, to settle swiftly and in direct conference with each other the vital questions of the day. The chief questions were how to obtain the reparation payments which Germany had promised to make under the Treaty of Versailles; how to bring Russia back into the European system; how to help Austria, bankrupt and starving; how to deal with China, which was dissolving into chaos.

The chief Conferences held were at Folkestone in 1920, at London, Boulogne, Washington, and Cannes in 1921, and at Genoa in 1922. The Reparations problem proved to be the most difficult to settle, the most obstinate in its resistance to treatment. The obligations of the Germans under the Treaty of Versailles were quite clear, and were not denied by them. Nevertheless, the German Government was always behindhand with its payments. Allied Conferences were held to consider what pressure should be brought to bear upon Germany to make her pay punctually, or how far some relaxation might be allowed. Once, in 1920, the French Government lost patience at the German delays, and sent troops which occupied Frankfort; and later, after the London Conference in '1921, the Allies applied the "Sanctions," which were allowed under the Treaty of Versailles in cases of infringement of the financial claims. Under these Sanctions a customs zone was established between the Rhineland Occupied Territory and the rest of Germany, and the duties paid there were placed to the account of the Allies. This and other Sanctions brought about increased payments for the Reparations account; yet in 1922 the Germans were still behindhand, and were

allowed some relaxation by the Allies. During the first half of this year Germany was paying Reparations at the reduced rate of about £2,500,000 a month. In the latter part of 1922, however, payment again failed; accordingly, early in 1923, the French proceeded to occupy the Ruhr district.

The most momentous Conferences were held at Washington in the winter of 1921-22, and at Genoa in the spring of 1922. The Washington Conference met on the invitation of Mr. Harding, the President of the United States, and it was attended by representatives of all the former Allies. The chief representative of the British Government was Mr. Balfour (subsequently Earl of Balfour); the Dominions—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa—were also represented. The two objects of the Conference were, firstly, to bring about agreement for the limitation of armaments, and secondly to prevent disputes between the Powers for control of the Pacific. An agreement for limitation of armaments—with regard to naval forces only—was completed by treaty on February 6, 1922. Each signing Power agreed to limit the total tonnage of its naval "capital ships" according to a fixed schedule (525,000 tons for the U.S.A., 525,000 tons for Great Britain, 175,000 tons for France, 175,000 tons for Italy, 315,000 tons for Japan). The agreement was to last till December 31, 1936 (Article XXIII.). Another treaty (dated December 13, 1921) bound the Contracting Parties for ten years to respect each other's rights in regard to their insular possessions and dominions in the Pacific Ocean. The British people on account of Australia, New Zealand, Hong-Kong; the Americans on account of the Philippines; the Japanese on account of their own Island Empire, were all vitally interested in this agreement. Even more important was the treaty (dated February 6, 1922) by which the Powers bound themselves to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China." In accord-

ance with the spirit of this agreement, the Japanese Government evacuated the Shantung Peninsula, which they held under the Treaty of Versailles, and Great Britain gave up Wei-hei-wei.

The statesmen at Washington accomplished a fine work. At the closing session the President of the United States said :

This Conference has wrought a truly great achievement. It is hazardous sometimes to speak in superlatives, and I will be restrained. But I will say with every confidence, that the faith pledged here to-day, kept in national honour, will mark the beginning of a new and better epoch in human affairs.

The Genoa Conference was held in April, 1922. Its moving spirit was the British Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, and its object was to bring about some amelioration in the economic condition of Europe. Ever since the Conference of Paris of 1919, where Mr. Lloyd George had proposed a Conference (which never took place) with the Bolsheviks at Prinkipo, the British Premier had been trying to bring Russia back into the European States system; for he rightly held that without Russia Europe was economically incomplete. The great difficulty lay with the Russian Bolshevik Government itself; it had confiscated all private property, it had repudiated all Russia's debts, and it refused to give to foreigners the ordinary legal guarantees for safety of life and property which all civilized States provide. The result was that Russia had practically no trade, either at home or abroad, and that, aided by a bad season, the bulk of the Russian population was suffering from pestilence and from prolonged famine.

It was to try and remedy this condition of affairs that the Bolshevik Government was invited to send representatives to Genoa. They came, not, as was at first expected, under their chief, Lenin (who, as transpired later, was becoming seriously ill), but with Tchitcherin, the " People's Com-

missary," and certain others. Germany was also at the Conference, attended by its Chancellor, Dr. Wirth, and its Foreign Minister, Dr. Rathenau (who was assassinated in Berlin three months later). All the other Powers of Europe, great and small, were represented; thus the Genoa meeting was the first truly European Conference held since the war.

With great patience and industry the Conference pursued its task of rebuilding the economic foundations of Europe, by improving or remaking the international agreements about transport, finance, and other matters. Great difficulties had to be met, particularly from the attitude of the Bolshevik delegates, who refused to acknowledge Russia's debts, and even claimed from the Allies repayment for Russia's losses in the war since 1917 ! In the middle of the Conference, also, the German and Russian Governments made a separate treaty, cancelling their debts against each other, and recognizing their respective Constitutions.

Quite apart from the Conferences was the League of Nations, of which practically all the States of the world were members, except Germany and Russia. The League continued to work through its permanent officials at Geneva, and through its Council and Assembly which met there from time to time. Many important international questions were submitted to the League for arbitration or decision, the most important being the questions of Vilna, Upper Silesia, and Austria. Vilna was an ancient and large city, claimed both by Lithuania and by Poland; Upper Silesia was in dispute between Poland and Germany. The League was able to suggest and carry through an equitable division of Upper Silesia. The Vilna question at the time admitted of only a provisional settlement. A Commission of the League, which met at Brussels in 1920 and at Paris in 1922, also made a valuable investigation of currency and other economic problems, and gave suggestions for the guidance of Governments in dealing with these

difficult questions. At the end of 1922 a scheme of the League, with a view to the restoration of the finances of Austria, was put into operation.

The war had shown the Empire strongly bound together by sentiment. Constitutionally there was only one prevailing[^] link, the Crown, to which every person in the Empire was in allegiance. Each Dominion had the same King; each governed itself. General Smuts had said in a speech of 1917 in London :

We see growing up before us a great number of strong, free nations all over the Empire. Nobody wants to limit the power of self-government. . . . All that we want is the maximum of freedom and liberty, the maximum of self-government, for the young nations of the Empire, and machinery that will keep these nations together in the years which are before them.

During the war the Premiers and certain other Ministers of the Dominions had on occasions sat with the British Cabinet in London, the whole assembly being called the Imperial War Cabinet. The Imperial War Cabinet met again in London in 1921, and was recognized as the permanent advisory body of the Empire. At the same time steps were being taken to complete the self-government, the " nationhood," of certain of the larger units within the Empire. The largest of these was India, which had supplied between one and two millions of men to the armies in the war of 1914-19. In a historic declaration, made in the House of Commons in August, 1917, the peoples of India had been promised institutions of government which should be a stage towards complete self-government or "Dominion Status." The promise was kept by the passing into law of the Government of India Act, 1919, establishing a central Legislature (of two Chambers) for the whole of India, elected by the peoples of India; the Provinces were each likewise to have their local Legislative Council and a

Cabinet of Ministers, with full power to administer certain definite spheres, which were assigned to them, such as education and public health. The new Constitution did not amount to Responsible Government, because the Ministers of the Central Administration—of the Government of India—could not be removed by votes of censure by the Assembly, nor were they bound to be representatives of the party which was dominant in the Assembly. Thus the Cabinet System, as it existed in Great Britain or the Dominions, was not yet introduced into India, because political parties had not yet been developed there; but a great step towards Responsible Government was made, and it only remained for the peoples of India to develop normal political opinion, and to evolve parties which would work for their objects by the use of the vote and by argument.

The next country to have its institutions defined was Egypt. This country, which since 1882 had been controlled by the British Foreign Office, had been annexed as a Protectorate in 1914, when its Khedive, Abbas Hilmi, sided with Turkey in the war. Many Egyptians, especially the educated student class, objected to being a British Protectorate and demanded independence; and to meet this claim the British Government showed a readiness which surprised even its warmest defenders. In 1922 an understanding was arrived at between Lord Allenby, the British High Commissioner, and the Egyptian Sultan, Fuad I. ; by this Great Britain promised to acknowledge Egypt's independence, while Egypt on her part promised perpetual friendship, and undertook certain safeguards which were necessary for the British Empire, especially in the area of the Suez Canal. The independence of Egypt was proclaimed in March, 1922.

Thus both in India and in Egypt difficulties which at one time looked like the beginning of the break-up of the British Empire disappeared before the reasonable and generous

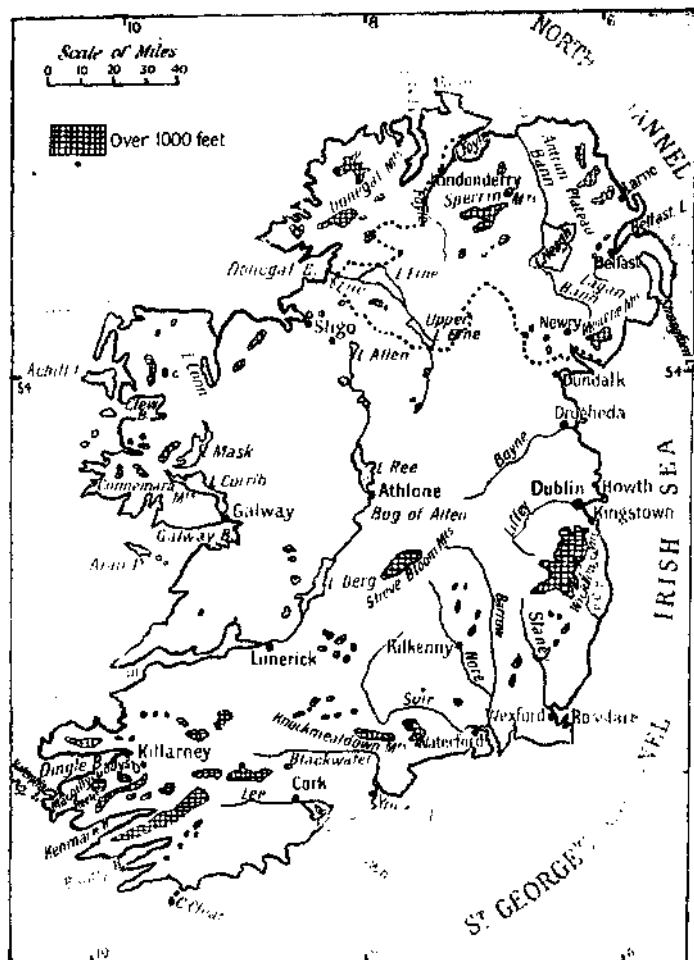
spirit in which the British Government met them. The Empire became in fact a *Commonwealth of Nations*. Could the same healing method be applied to the troubles of Ireland?

During the war the military occupation had kept Ireland quiet, but the end of the war naturally brought with it some relaxation of military methods. The Sinn Fein Society, which appeared to number in its membership the bulk of the Irish outside Ulster, raised a new cry, no longer asked for Home Rule, but for independence. They secretly enrolled men for hostilities, thus gradually forming an organization called the Irish Republican Army. In 1920 and 1921 the attempt of the British Government to keep order in Ireland by means of the police proved a failure. The members of the Irish Republican army, not acting in the open as a military body—a manifest impossibility in the face of British military strength—confined its efforts to assassination. Every week constables were murdered, and the same fate was shared by civilians who showed any readiness to support the British authorities. The British Government was active in recruiting the constabulary, and in searching for the disturbers of the peace and punishing them. It was like an intense silent tug-of-war : the constabulary holding tenaciously to their duty, and losing men by murder almost daily; the Sinn Feiners living a hunted life and doing deeds that made even their friends turn from them. It was all a contest of endurance, and terrible as were the losses to the constabulary and to the British soldiers, who were employed in increasing numbers in 1921, there can be no doubt that Great Britain could have endured longest. But the question had to be asked, Was the contest worth winning? Even if the Irish " gunmen " were imprisoned, hanged, or coerced into inaction, would Ireland ever become normal under British authority? Perhaps it would; and if the Sinn Feiners persisted in their demand for an independent Republic, Great

Britain would make the necessary effort to overcome this. But reasonableness might be tried first; an offer might be made to Sinn Fein, conceding all possible self-government, but not complete detachment from the British Empire. The impulse towards a settlement by peaceful compromise was increased when King George courageously visited Belfast in June, 1921, and made a notable speech on the need of the Irish people for peace. All this produced the famous Treaty of December 6, 1921. The British Cabinet undertook to recognize Ireland as a Free State, but an oath of allegiance must be taken by members of the Free State Parliament to the King:

I . . . do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established, and that I will be faithful to His Majesty King George V., his heirs and successors by law, in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The oath of allegiance was the crucial test. Great Britain would give up everything but this. The Sinn Fein representatives, of whom the chief were Mr. Arthur Griffith and Mr. Michael Collins, accepted the test and signed the Treaty. They had really got all that they wanted : Irish statehood established and recognized, but still in the British Commonwealth of Nations. They accepted this condition because without it, as Mr. Richard Mulcahy, a Sinn Fein General, touchingly said (referring to two young British officers who had been shot, and whose conduct he admired), "Ireland would have the Compton-Smiths and the Potters back again." He meant that so long as **Great Britain had** soldiers and officers like these, she **could never be beaten**. The **"Six Counties" of Ulster, which had been endowed with a Parliament of their own in 1920, were empowered to remain apart from the Free State if they chose to do so.** At the end of the year 1922 the Parlia-



MAP OF IRELAND, SHOWING THE IRISH FREE STATE AND NORTHERN IRELAND.

ment of Northern Ireland exercised its right of choice, and decided to stand by itself.

As the great Dominions, inhabited largely by white people, were now completely managing their own affairs, the attention of the Government and public at home became more fully directed to the Crown Colonies—the lands oversea, inhabited partly by white, partly by coloured people, and still governed to some extent from the Colonial Office at Whitehall. The Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1921 and 1922 was Mr. W. S. Churchill, a man of great imagination and force of character, who had been First Lord of the Admiralty in the early years of the war, then Minister of Munitions, and, in the year 1919-20, Secretary of State for War. Mr. Churchill now threw himself with energy into a policy which Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and Lord Milner had previously advocated—namely, that of developing, with liberal supplies of capital, the resources of the Crown Colonies, such as Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Tanganyika (formerly German East Africa), and Kenya (formerly British East Africa). The vigorous and picturesque speeches of the Colonial Secretary made the public realize the vast potential resources of the great domain which was vaguely summed up in the mind of the ordinary man as "Crown Colonies." A historic official tour of the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Wood, through the West Indies in 1921 brought these, the most ancient Colonies of Great Britain, into closer touch with the Mother Country.

The framework of British public life is the party system. The Government governs the country, public opinion supplies the motive-power, but it is through the party system that each of these two forces works. Without party a man is simply a voice crying in the wilderness, and a people is an unstable mass, swaying to and fro, knowing not what it wants.

The years 1914-1922 had brought great changes to the ancient two-party system under which England had been so long and so admirably governed. Even before the war the Conservative and Liberal parties no longer wielded the whole power of the people. Since 1906 the Labour party had formed a third powerful "group," and although, before the war, they had usually voted with the Liberals in Parliament, in the post-war period they stood wholly by themselves. On the other hand, the Irish Nationalist party had practically disappeared from Parliament, owing to the refusal of all Sinn Féiners to take seats in the House of Commons, and subsequently owing to the creation of the Irish Free State.

The greatest change, however, took place through the division of the Liberal party. That party had once been split by the Home Rule Bill of 1886; it was split again in 1916 by the secession of Mr. Lloyd George and his followers from following Mr. Asquith. Mr. Lloyd George held that Mr. Asquith, as Prime Minister, was not conducting the war as energetically as the resources of the country permitted; so, with the support of many of the Liberals and of all of the Conservatives, he became Prime Minister himself, with a Coalition Cabinet. From this time till 1922 Mr. Lloyd George had as his colleagues and followers in the Government Conservatives like Mr. Balfour (Earl of Balfour), Mr. A. Chamberlain, Lord Curzon, and Lord Birkenhead, and Coalition Liberals like Mr. Churchill, Sir A. Mond, and Mr. H. A. L. Fisher. At the same time a compact knot of Liberals (Old Liberals they might be called), like Lord Grey of Fallodon (Sir Edward Grey) and Sir John Simon, still adhered to Mr. Asquith. The vital political question of the day was : would the Conservatives and the Coalition Liberals (Mr. Lloyd George's Liberals) be forced together to form one party as contrasted with Mr. Asquith's Old Liberals, or would they drift apart, thus leaving three parties—Conservative, Coalition (Lloyd George) Liberals,

and Old (Asquith) Liberals, with a fourth powerful body, the Labour party, of which the outstanding leaders were Mr. J. IL Thomas, Mr. J. R. Macdonald, and Mr. Clynes.

It would be a great advantage to the country if each pair of parties would amalgamate so as to form two solid parties only, provided that each pair could be sincerely junited within itself, and work wholeheartedly for common objects. Thus it was hoped that the Conservatives and Coalition Liberals would be blended into one (just as formerly, the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists became fused), while the Asquith Liberals and the Labour party might be joined together. But in the years immediately following upon the war it became clear that no such result would take place. The Conservatives would not consent to be merged with Mr. Lloyd George's party, because a number of them disagreed with his Irish policy. The Asquith Liberals, on their side, would not consent to a union with the Labour party: they were much more "individualist" in their views and in their economic policy than were the Labour members; they still remained true to the views of Bentham and John Stuart Mill.

Yet, if the Asquith Liberals and the Labour party would not join together, there was always a chance that the Coalition Liberals and the Conservatives would do so, provided that the Irish Free State proved to be a success. At first the removal of the British Administration from Ireland merely showed how well that much-maligned Government had done its duty; for no sooner had it gone than tumult and civil war, robbery and murder, became, for a time, rampant. Gradually, however, the Free State Government asserted its authority and successfully put down an armed rebellion of Republicans in July, 1922. After the death of the first President of the Irish Free State, Arthur Griffith, and of Michael Collins (who was killed in ambush in August, 1922), the work of government was carried on with great courage and steadfastness by Mr.

Cosgrave, President, and General Mulcahy, Minister of Defence.

Thus the question of Home Rule could no longer be considered as dividing Mr. Lloyd George's followers from the Conservatives; and both had one great common interest in their conviction that Socialism was destructive to the common good of the people, and should be opposed with their united strength. There was no more ardent supporter of this view than Mr. Churchill, who devoted his talents of eloquence and argument to exposing the fallacies of Communism—the doctrine which had destroyed the social and economic fabric of Russia, and laid waste its population with famine and disease.

The one claim which Socialist thinkers have always made is that their system would secure for the masses a larger portion of this world's goods. Men have been invited to give up their liberty in order to obtain a greater measure of prosperity. But what has happened? What has happened on the only occasion when this terrible experiment has been carried out with ruthless logic to its final conclusion upon the body and the carcass of a great nation? Russia, the great granary of Europe, is rapidly being reduced to a desert. . . .

Socialism is the negation of every principle of British Liberalism, of every sentiment of the British heart. Socialism is barbarism; Socialism is slavery; and now we know that, in addition to that, Socialism is starvation.¹

On some such common principle as is suggested by this and other speeches of Mr. Churchill, Conservatism, of which his father, Lord Randolph, was an eminent exponent, and Liberalism, of which he himself was the ardent champion, might have joined hands, as Cavaliers and Roundheads did against the Levellers, in the time of Cromwell. They separated, however, and the General Election of November, 1922, showed that the separation was final. Mr. Lloyd

¹ Speech at Dundee, April 9, 1922, from *The Times* newspaper.

George's Liberal followers were thus outside the Government; their obvious allies would now be, not the Conservatives, but the "Asquith" Liberals. The Labour party, under Mr. J. R. Macdonald, formed the regular Opposition in Parliament.

One thing only is certain. The traditions of English political life, since the days of Strafford and Pym, of Bolin'g-broke and Walpole, of Pitt and Fox, of Disraeli and Gladstone, have grown and flourished through the two-party system. It exists in Canada, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand; and two parties, the Republicans and Democrats, focus in themselves the whole political activity of the American people. If England is still to be the school of the world's politics, the two-party system must return.

CHAPTER XXIII

A LITERARY RETROSPECT

IN the hundred and sixty years that we have been considering, the record of the British people is like that of the life of a man; good and bad have been mixed together, but the effort to live well has been persistent and has predominated, and the record taken as a whole is clean and honourable. During these hundred and sixty years, Great Britain, from being an agricultural community with pleasant country towns, became a land teeming with a vast industrial population, which could only be maintained by a huge export and import trade. Now the island is said to be overpopulated, and schemes of "empire-settlement," for the "block migration" of whole families, are being put into effect.

Along with this huge increase in the population there has been a real and 'wide diffusion of prosperity, although not so great as was hoped, and as is still possible if Capital

and Labour will agree with each other. And along with the diffusion of material goods has gone a spreading of intellectual culture, so that now newspapers and books come to every door, and every household can be, if it chooses, almost a little university in itself.

When the period opens in 1763, English literature was still in the Classical era, when men of letters wrote in the styles of recognized modes. It was the age of Johnson and of his splendid circle, which included Boswell, Goldsmith, Garrick, Reynolds, and Burke. Most of Johnson's work—his *Dictionary*, *Rasselas*, the *Essays*—were written before 1763, but his important edition of Shakespeare (with notes) came out in 1765, and the *Lives of the Poets* between 1779 and 1781. He died full of years and honour in 1784. Boswell's delightful *Life of Samuel Johnson*, by far the most famous biography in the English language, was published in 1791. Oliver Goldsmith, a rare genius, happy-go-lucky and always on the verge of bankruptcy or in it, wrote the *Vicar of Wakefield*, a perfect little novel of domestic life, in 1766, and the touching poem, *The Deserted Village*, in 1770; *She Stoops to Conquer*, a comedy that always pleases, first appeared on the stage in 1773. Johnson wrote his epitaph: "He touched nothing that he did not adorn" (*Nihil tetigit quod non ornavit*).

Reynolds, a man of many friendships, had no peer in British portrait-painting, unless it be the Scottish Sir Henry Raeburn, whose heroic men and magnificent horses recall the canvases of Velasquez. Reynolds was the first President of the newly established Royal Academy, and died in 1792. The last member of Johnson's circle to be mentioned stands forth by himself, Edmund Burke, the political philosopher, "the most magnificent genius that the conservative spirit has ever produced" (Morley). He was unable to prevent the tragic dispute between England and America by his celebrated *Speeches on Conciliation* (1774-75), and he may have been mistaken when he conducted the im-

peachment of Warren Hastings in 1787; but his *Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents* (1770) is an undying exposition of the party system of Government, and his *Reflections on the French Revolution* (1790) first unmasked the sinister demon of destruction, those resurgent forces of darkness which attend upon every violent change in a country's social and political institutions. He died in 1797, just after exposing in the *Letter on a Regicide Peace* the fallacies advocated by these war-weary people who would have cut short the national effort in the middle of the war.

The fine prose styles of the eighteenth century reached their acme in Gibbon, the majestic beauty of whose language has never been equalled in English histories, unless it be in Clarendon's *Civil War*. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* began to come out in 1776, the same year as Adam Smith published his grand treatise on Free Trade, *The Wealth of Nations*.

The novel was beginning its unrivalled course of popularity. Its English makers, Defoe, Fielding, and Richardson, were gone. Richardson, whose life began in 1689 and lasted till 1761, survived longest; but a vigorous school carried on the "novel" tradition, and with it prose literature became less bound by form, less classical, more romantic. Smollett's best novel, *Humphrey Clinker*, was published in 1770, the year before Scott was born. Horace Walpole, the splendid gossip and letter-writer of Strawberry Hill, had given a romantic bias to the novel by his *Castle of Otranto* (1764), a method diligently followed by Mrs. Anne Radcliffe, whose best-known work, *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, is so humorously parodied by Jane Austen in *Northanger Abbey* (written in 1798, though not published until 1816). These were not the only ladies who wrote. In the novel it may be said that women found their literary *metier*. Fanny Burney's *Evelina* (1778) is a delicious tale, in the form of epistles; but the time was still far off when the best known of all Englishwomen novelists,

"George Eliot" (1819-1880), with whom only the Frenchwoman, George Sand, can be compared, was to take rank with the giants of literature.

The best age of the Classical period, the Age of Johnson, was not so eminent in poetry as in prose, although Gray's perfect *Elegy written in a Country Churchyard* (1750) will always be read. Sheridan, one of the first of the great Harrovians who was to make this Public School so famous in the later Georgian period, was a dramatist rather than a poet. But the flame of British poetry was just beginning to burst forth again with the lyrics of the Scottish peasant Burns (1759-1796), soon to be followed by Wordsworth, Coleridge, Scott, Shelley, Keats, and Byron. The period of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars and the following five years were notable for the composition of *The Excursion*, *The Ancient Mariner*, *The Lady of the Lake*, *Prometheus Unbound*, *Hyperion*, and *Childe Harold*. Keats, Shelley, and Byron all died abroad, and within three years of each other: Keats, at Rome in 1821; Shelley, drowned off Spezzia in 1822; Byron, dead of fever at Missolonghi, in 1824.

After 1812, when *Waverley* was published, till 1828, when the *Fair Maid of Perth* practically ended the series, the novels of Scott were the chief events in the world of letters. Regarded as a whole, his novels form a spirited and faithful delineation of British—chiefly, though not wholly, Scottish—life from the period of the Crusades to Scott's own lifetime. Thus, for the eighteenth century, *The Bride of Lammermoor* is a tale of the reign of Queen Anne; *Rob Roy* of the Rebellion of 1715; *The Pirate* depicts the Shetland Islands in 1725; *The Heart of Midlothian* tells about the Porteous Riots, Queen Caroline, and Walpole; *Waverley* about Prince Charlie; the scene of *Redgauntlet* is laid about the year 1765, of *Guy Mannering* about 1871; and *The Antiquary* takes us to the last year of the eighteenth century. In the General Preface to the

Waverley Novels, Scott says that he formed the idea of depicting the national life in a series of novels by seeing how Maria Edgeworth was doing the same thing for Ireland by her stories, of which the first, *Castle Rackrent*, appeared in 1800.

Scott died in 1832, just about the time when Dickens was beginning his career as a shorthand writer and journalist, and when Thackeray, having left Trinity, Cambridge, was taking to his abortive legal studies in the Middle Temple. Thus the mantle of Scott fell on worthy shoulders; when once the new giants, Dickens and Thackeray, got into their stride, a series of novels ensued, comparable with the Waverley Novels, as unfolding the drama of the national life. But it was the present rather than the past national life that they depicted, although *Henry Esmond*, *The Virginians*, and *Denis Duval* show what Thackeray could do in historical romance. On the other hand, Dickens's excursions into the past, such as *Barnaby Rudge* and *The Tale of Two Cities*, are less successful as historical works. But real history may be studied in the delectable pages of *Pickwick* or *Nicholas Nickleby*, the life of the road, the inns, the stage coaches, middle-class life, London, the Provinces. So, too, with Thackeray : Georgian England lives for us again in the pages of *Vanity Fair*, *The Newcomes*, and *Pendennis*. This great period of the novel (the forties and the fifties) is notable for the political romances of Disraeli—*Coningsby* (1844), *Sybil* (1845), *Tancred* (1847), and others; for Bulwer Lytton's stories of past and present life—*The Last of the Barons* (1843), *Harold* (1848), *The Caxtons* (1850); for Borrow's out-of-doors stirring autobiography—*The Bible in Spain* (1843), *Lavengro* (1851), *The Romany Rye* (1857).

And then there come the prophets. These were notable men who had messages to deliver in the first half of the nineteenth century. Jeremy Bentham directed his philosophical mind to law, society, and education; he died in

1832, but his work was continued by John Stuart Mill, whose *Logic* was published in 1843, and *Principles of Political Economy* in 1848. Abroad, Karl Marx (1818-1883) wrote against Capital, and Auguste Comte (1798-1857) preached a philosophy of social service. But the most moving prophet in his own lifetime was Thomas Carlyle", whose winged words penetrated into every household, whose grand, stern face, in picture, was familiar to everyone, whose works were a banner and an inspiration to a somewhat jaded England. When invited to become a Professor at Edinburgh University, Carlyle, the Sage of Chelsea as he was even then recognized to be, replied that wherever he cared to hire a room for lecturing, there was his University. *Heroes and Hero-Worship* (1841) were lectures of which the message was more moving when heard than when read. But *Sartor Resartus* (1838) has not a word too much, and is a deep and powerful piece of social philosophy. *The French Revolution* gives a dazzling picture of an intense and abnormal time; while *Frederick the Great* is a grand, complete, and convincing account of one of the most potent personalities of history. Carlyle's works as they appeared were national events; people everywhere talked about them; the clergy, the politicians, the schoolmasters, quoted his writings; he was in his lifetime a national, a world-teacher, the apostle of democracy, the hater of shams. Moreover, he was the interpreter to the English of the old German culture, before Prussianism contained it in iron bands. His translation of *Wilhelm Meister*, his *Specimens of German Romance*, his essay on Jean Paul Richter, are the best introduction to the German literature of the *Erklärung* period.

What Carlyle was in prose, Browning was in verse. He was looked upon not merely as the sweet singer, the touching story-teller, the artistic literary genius, as Tennyson was regarded; Browning was above all, in his own day, a teacher, a prophet. He had a message of patriotism, in

Home Thoughts from the Sea (from *Dramatic Lyrics*); on optimism, in *Pippa Passes*; on justice, in *The Ring and the Book*. He died, at the age of seventy-two, in 1889, eight years after Carlyle. When these two giants were dead there were only two of the Victorian literary prophets left—John Ruskin (1819-1900), who, however, had now completed nearly all his writing in favour of the pursuit of beauty rather than wealth; and George Meredith, a philosophical Radical, whose splendid novels, rich in thought and incident, satire, wit, and romance, were only gradually recognized as masterpieces, and even to-day influence only the few. He died in 1909, but his best novels, *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*, *Harry Richmond*, and *The Egoist*, had appeared in 1859, 1871, and 1879.

Of minor, yet great and moving prophets, the reign of Victoria had a number. George Eliot depicted middle-class life in the Midlands, and had a message that was both sceptic and stoical; her long novels—*Adam Bede* (1859), *The Mill on the Floss* (1860), *Romola* (1863), and *Middlemarch* (1871) will always be read. Charles Kingsley (1819-1875), the Rector of Eversley in Hampshire, struck a far grander note—vigorous, buoyant, combative. Religion in the open air of the country and the betterment of the poor were the causes to which he devoted his life, and his life was filled to the brim with happy, wholesome work. In those days the phrase "muscular Christianity" was evolved, and its type was Charles Kingsley. His works do not touch the highest sphere of literature, though *Westward Hol* is cast in a grand mould and will live as a modern epical story of the reign of Elizabeth. His brother, Henry Kingsley, was the finer novelist: *Geoffrey Hamlyn* (1859), *Ravenshoe* (1861), *The Hillyars and the Burtons* (1865), are powerful romances of the jpiid-nineteenth-century life. But Henry Kingsley had no particular rhessage; nor had •the sisters Bronte, though *Jane Eyre* (1847) and *Wuthering Heights* (1848) are as sensational

when read to-day as they were to our surprised grandfathers and grandmothers in the middle of the century. The last of the great Victorian novelists to survive is Thomas Hardy, not a prophet—for people do not look to him for instruction or encouragement—but a master of pure English and a great delineator of " Wessex " peasant life, its superficial joys, its deep passionateness. His best work was *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, published in 1891, but the short stories *Wessex Tales* (1888) contain the pith of him.

Among teachers, rather than prophets, Darwin and Spencer should always be remembered. The idea of Evolution, of the tendency of things to experiment in every direction until they find the line best adapted to their environment, has for years now been part and parcel of modern thought. But it was a grand discovery when Darwin, after prolonged thought and observation, was led to expound it in the *Origin of Species* (1859). The merit of the discovery and explanation of the idea was shared by Alfred Russell Wallace, like Darwin, a naturalist who had travelled and researched in South America. Darwin's work is like that of Newton : he permanently influenced the method of science, and his work would still be potent even if his name were forgotten. The name of Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) was at one time as well known as Darwin's, but his influence has not been so lasting. Yet he was a great teacher of the Victorian Age, and in his time made political philosophy, ethics, and psychology, more popular and more widely read than they had ever been before or since, without their becoming superficial. His *Principles of Sociology* and *Man versus the State* can still be read with profit by all thoughtful citizens. In another sphere, literary criticism, Matthew Arnold (1822-1888) did in England the kind of work that the great French writers, like Sainte-Beuve, were doing abroad; while Walter Pater (1839-1894) was the finest exponent of

Æsthetic that England has produced. Turning his back on the crisp style which was becoming usual in the late Victorian period, Pater returned to rich, measured diction, such as Gibbon and Johnson and Sir Thomas Browne had used. Although not a passionate prophet like Carlyle or Ruskin, Pater, in works like *Marius the Epicurean*, *The Renaissance*, and *Imaginary Portraits*, has a message for us all, to pursue beauty, which, as Matthew Arnold says, is only truth looked at from another side.

Of good story-tellers, apart from the giants of literature, the Victorian Age had its fair share, like Anthony Trollope, who wrote about fifty novels, quiet narratives, about life in a cathedral city, or about squires and middle-class people in little country towns. The greatest of these mere romancers was undoubtedly Robert Louis Stevenson, who combined a rare gift for romantic story-telling with the highest technical perfection of style. Stevenson died in Samoa in 1894, to the consternation of the large public who were learning to look forward to a new romance like *Treasure Island* or *The Master of Ballantrae* as an almost annual pleasure. He was only forty-four years of age.

Post-Victorian letters present a more even but a lower surface than the Victorian. During the last twenty years books have been written with a high degree of workmanship; probably at no other period of English history has style been so uniformly correct—clever, fluent, and natural. But master-minds or master-geniuses have not come forth; there is no passionate prophet of his own age, as Carlyle was, no one commanding sweet singer, like Tennyson, whose work brought beauty into every home, and who was universally acclaimed as a national treasure during his lifetime. The Poet Laureate, Robert Bridges, has maintained the high tradition, writing beautiful poetry, classically correct. Henry Newbolt has nobly sounded the patriotic strain, writing ballads as strong and rousing as those of Campbell, the singer of the Napoleonic Wars.

Yet perhaps only one writer has been a potent moving force among a whole people. This writer is Rudyard Kipling, and the bulk of his work was done before Queen Victoria died. Kipling may perhaps be called the prophet of Imperialism. Beginning to work about 1886, after the policy of Lord Beaconsfield had aroused the nation to an appreciation of the Empire overseas, and shortly before the magnetic force of Joseph Chamberlain began to work in the same direction, Kipling expressed in strong, nervous language a rising feeling. No one has described so well the buoyant, wholesome, humorous young Englishman grappling with strange situations overseas. No one has used the method of the short story with greater effect—with style so crisp and strong, with enthusiasm so catching, with feelings so consonant with the yearnings of the age. For the English of the late Victorian and post-Victorian days looked out from the office and the factory to the coloured, crowded plains of India, or to the wide spaces of Africa and America, and thither Kipling, in manly, stirring fashion, led them. Who will carry on his message, or sound a new call for the people of to-day? The Great War had its poets; and noble, touching verses were written in that moving tragedy by young men who gave their lives. But the war has not found its Thucydides, though Masfield's *Gallipoli* and Buchan's *History* rank high. The post-war *malaise*—the pursuit of cheap pleasure, the discontent with daily work, the impatience of authority—has found, indeed, its castigator in Dean Inge, but the wider public has still to be moved. The nineteenth-century democracy listened to its Carlyle and Browning; the democracy of the twentieth century waits.

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